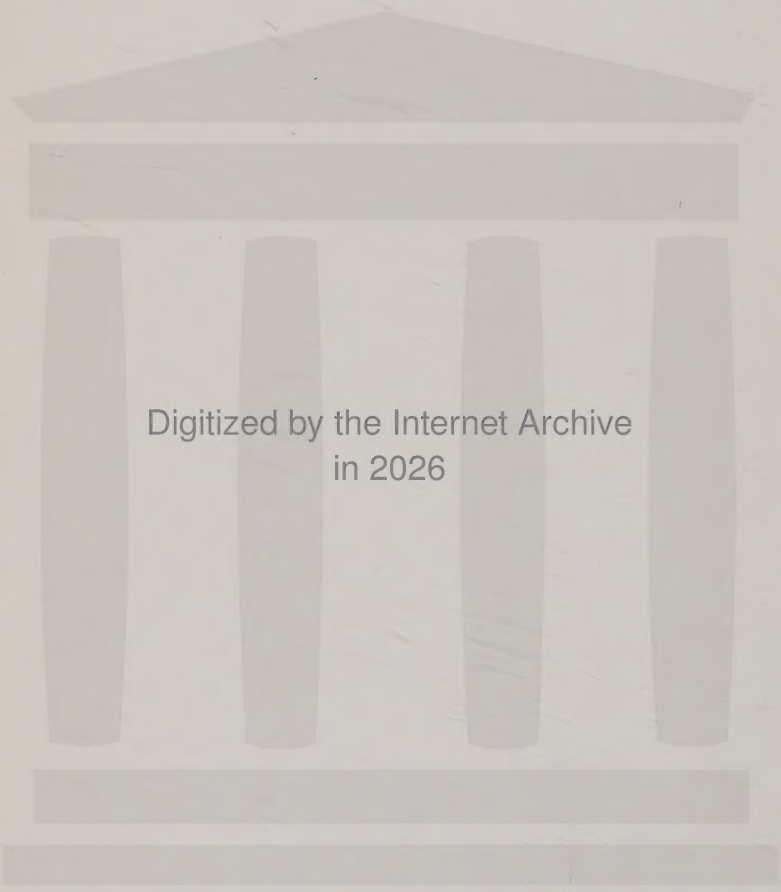
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THE NEW

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SOCIAL REFORM

INCLUDING

ALL SOCIAL-REFORM MOVEMENTS AND ACTIVITIES, AND THE ECONOMIC, INDUSTRIAL, AND SOCIOLOGICAL FACTS AND STATISTICS OF ALL COUNTRIES AND ALL SOCIAL SUBJECTS

EDITED BY

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PREFACE

THIS edition of the ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SOCIAL REFORM is not a revision of the old edition, but a completely new book, save for a few purely historical or economic articles, the subjects of which need no new treatment—altho many even of these are either revised or completely rewritten. All else is absolutely new and it is believed that the work is very much more comprehensive and complete.

The two main requisites of an encyclopedia are reliability and serviceableness. The first of these has been sought in this encyclopedia by having every article written by some specialist on its particular subject. Statements of reform have been written by a believer in the reform; together with this, however, or by reference to a corresponding article on the opposing side, a statement of the opposing view will be found. Historical, bibliographical, biographical, and statistical articles have been prepared and carefully revised by adequate authorities, mainly university professors and economic specialists.

Biographical articles, in the case of all living persons, have been, wherever possible, submitted to those persons. Articles on foreign countries have been either written by or submitted for revision to residents in those countries.

Serviceableness has been sought by making the work, while, as shown above, accurate and scholarly, yet popular and not technical. The encyclopedia is for general workers and students. It has been prepared by specialists for those who are not specialists. Its references to books are therefore in the main only to books available to English readers. Articles have been arranged as to length and quality with this idea of serviceableness in view. Articles upon the best-known men are therefore often the shortest and sometimes such men are even omitted. This is not because they did not contribute to social reform, and often to a much larger degree than many who are considered, but because the general reader does not need the story of their life. The space allotted to articles, therefore, has considered the needs of the reader more than the absolute importance of the subject.

To the more important articles are appended brief bibliographies of the best available books upon the subject. There has been no attempt to make these exhaustive, but they will serve to guide the student in his search for more complete information.

The subject of social reform is so vast, and may be made so inclusive, that almost any subject might have been included here; but the encyclopedia aims to distinguish sharply between subjects that belong mainly to the individual and those that belong mainly to society. A few subjects, such as religion, science, etc., that concern both the individual and society, are treated only in their social aspects. The aim, however, has been to give on all the broad range of social reform the experience of the past, the facts of the present, the proposals for the future. The biographical portions will be found to be especially full. Of living persons the encyclopedia treats only those having national recognition, and has thus been compelled to pass by many earnest and often more useful and successful workers in local fields. In statistics we have gone to the best sources, but it must be remembered that statistics and statements in social reform are somewhat like the endeavor to count blossoms in springtime. Even while the count is going on, new blossoms are continually appearing, while not seldom a sudden chill wind carries some blossoms which have been counted, to the ground before the tally is complete. It is springtime in social reform, and spring can never be put into any book.

Wherever possible we have made use of governmental and official figures, even while figures could be found slightly more recent, but less reliable. In cases like those of political returns, not usually reported by governments, we are indebted to year books, such as "The Statesman's Year Book," "Hazell's Annual," "The World Almanac," the "Reformer's Year Book," "The Daily Mail Almanac," Coglan's "Statistical Account of Australia and New Zealand," to German, French, and

other year books. To the large number of economic and sociological magazines, books, and sources quoted in this work we give credit in the text.

We desire to express our great indebtedness to the very large number of writers, scholars, and authorities who have contributed valuable articles, or have done the sometimes equally valuable work of revision. For the large majority of these it has been a gratuitous labor of love which alone has made this work financially possible. The names of our main contributors and revisers we give below, but the list is not a complete one. To a much longer list of society secretaries and others we are indebted for valuable assistance and material.

Especial acknowledgment is due to our assistant editor, RUDOLPH M. BINDER, Ph.D., and to FRANK H. VIZETELLY for valued aid and suggestion, both in the preparation of material and in seeing the work through the press.

W. D. P. BLISS.

NEW YORK CITY, March, 1908.

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THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SOCIAL REFORM

A

ABANDONED FARMS: The growth of modern commercial centers, the development of factory towns, the increasing part played in economic life by the railroad, the general drift of population from the country to the cities (see CITIES) have led, in certain sections of the country, to the abandoning of farms. The extent to which this has taken place has been by some exaggerated, and the prominence given to the subject a few years ago led to investigations which have shown the exaggeration; nevertheless, the number of abandoned farms, at times at least, has not been small, and the fact has a significance of the most serious character.

REFERENCES: *Reports of Labor Bureaus*, Massachusetts, 1890; Maine, 1890; articles in *Garden and Forest*, vol. vi.; *Chautauquan*, vol. xvi.; *The Nation*, vol. xlix. See also *Abandoning an Adopted Farm*, by Kate Sanborn, 1894; *Hunting an Abandoned Farm*, by W. H. Bishop, *Century*, 47, p. 915.

ABBOTT, LYMAN: Editor-in-chief of *The Outlook* (New York); born at Roxbury, Mass., 1835. He was graduated from the University of the City of New York in 1853 (D.D., New York and Harvard; LL.D., Western Reserve University), and in 1860 was ordained Congregational minister. From 1860–65 he officiated as pastor in Terre Haute, Ind., and 1865–69 at the New England Church in New York. For three years (1865–68) he was secretary of the American Union Commission (Freedmen's). In 1869 Dr. Abbott resigned from his pastorate, and for several years edited the "Literary Record" of *Harper's Magazine*. He was associate editor of *The Christian Union* with Henry Ward Beecher, and in 1888 succeeded the latter as pastor of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, resigning in 1898. In 1881 Dr. Beecher sold out his interest in *The Christian Union*, and Dr. Abbott became its editor-in-chief. Later its name was changed to *The Outlook*. Dr. Abbott believes that the problem of political economy is to seek a more equitable distribution of wealth, rather than to promote the larger accumulation of wealth; that social reform calls for a recognition of partnership relations between labor and capital, and the extension of the industrial functions of government. He holds that the principles of the spirit of Jesus Christ applied to social problems would furnish their solution. Among his works may be mentioned: "Christianity and Social Problems" (1897); "The Rights of Man" (1901); "Industrial Problems" (1905). *Address: The Outlook*, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York.

ABERDEEN, ISHBEL MARIA, COUNTESS OF: Born 1857. Throughout her varied life the Countess has always been interested in the welfare of the people, and so far as she has been able, both in Scotland, and in Ireland and Canada, during her husband's viceroyalties, she has given of her wealth, her influence, and her personal service to the improvement of the conditions under which the people, especially women, live. She has been at various times president of the International Council of Women, the Women's Liberal Federation, Scottish Women's Liberal Federation, and the Women's Industrial Council. In 1900 she edited the "Report of the International Congress of Women." She is the author of "Through Canada with a Kodak." *Address:* Vice Regal Lodge, Dublin, Ireland.

ABOLITION MOVEMENT: Abolitionist is a term used in the United States specifically for those who favored and sought to effect the abolition of slavery. We here consider the subject simply in the United States. (For the general history of the abolition of slavery, see SLAVERY.) It should not be forgotten, however, that the abolition movement in the United States was but a part of this more general movement.

Two tendencies, one from Christianity, the other from French naturalism and revolutionism, contributed mainly to the abolitionist movement in America. Its first open expression was among the Society of Friends or Quakers. As early as 1671 George Fox, in England, had spoken against slavery, and in 1696 the Pennsylvania Quakers advised their members against the slave trade. In 1774 all persons engaged in the traffic, and in 1776 all who would not emancipate their slaves, were excluded from membership among the Friends. John WOOLMAN (1720–73) and Anthony Benezet (1713–84) were prominent in this stage of the movement. In 1774 a Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery was formed by James Pemberton and Dr. Benjamin RUSH, and in 1787 was reconstructed under the presidency of FRANKLIN.

Early Abolitionists

The arguments of these earliest antislavery writers and workers were drawn mainly from general philosophic, humanitarian, and Christian principles. With Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Patrick Henry, and other Southerners, all of whom deplored and often spoke against, altho most of them practised, slavery, other reasons entered in. While not insensible to the humanitarian arguments, they based their position largely on the above-mentioned French political principles then spreading through this country, and thus regarded slavery as a giant evil, inconsistent alike with the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the spirit of Christianity. Other abolition societies were organized: In New

York (1785), Rhode Island (1786), Maryland (1789), Connecticut (1790), Virginia (1791), New Jersey (1792). The abolition of the slave trade by Great Britain in 1807, and by the United States in 1808, was a great advance. In 1777 Vermont formed a constitution abolishing slavery, and was soon followed by Massachusetts and other states, while many others gradually abolished it.

In 1819–20, the opponents of slavery made a stern resistance to the admission of Missouri as a slave state, but were defeated. The struggle, however, resulted in the so-called Missouri Compromise (1820), whereby slavery was legalized to the south of 36° 30′ N. Lat., and prohibited in all states that might be formed north of it (Mason and Dixon's line). California, however, tho lying partly south of this line, was admitted as a free state (1850), the Southern party obtaining in compensation the amendment of the Fugitive Slave Law, making it penal to harbor runaway slaves or to aid in their escape. But this is to anticipate. From 1801–47 there were various efforts participated in by Jefferson, Henry Clay, and James Madison, in the South, and Bishop Hopkins, Rufus King, President Harrison, and Dr. Channing in the North, to colonize the blacks in Africa. Liberia was declared independent in 1847. In 1831–32 the insurrection of Nat Turner in Virginia excited a strong desire for gradual abolition.

The first leader in *immediate* abolition was William Lloyd Garrison, a Massachusetts printer who (1829–30) worked with Lundy on his "The Genius of Universal Emancipation," published at Baltimore. In 1831 he began publishing *The Liberator* in Boston, and by 1832 the New England Antislavery Society was formed. In 1833 Garrison visited England and secured from Wilberforce, Zachary Macaulay, Henry Brougham, and others, a condemnation of the colonization societies. Garrison's principles were, in his own words—and they soon became the principles of all abolitionists, however they differed in method—that "the right to enjoy liberty is inalienable"; that "to invade it is to usurp the prerogative of Jehovah"; that "every man has a right to his own body, to the products of his labor, to the protection of law, and to the common advantages of society." He said: "We plant ourselves upon the Declaration of our Independence and the truths of Divine revelation as upon the everlasting rock. We shall send forth agents to lift up everywhere the voice of remonstrance, of warning, of entreaty, and of rebuke. We shall circulate unsparingly and extensively antislavery tracts and periodicals. We shall enlist the pulpit and the press in the cause of the suffering and the dumb. We shall aim at a purification of the churches from all participation in the guilt of slavery. We shall spare no exertions nor means to bring the whole nation to speedy repentance." Such were the principles, and such, at least in the earlier stages, were the methods of the abolitionists. Garrison was a firm believer in Christ. He proclaimed himself a follower of the Prince of Peace. Human life he came to regard as sacred above all things. Capital punishment and war, as well as slavery, were to him and to most abolitionists an abhorrence. Viewing the subject thus from the standpoint of morals rather than of any political expediency, slavery was to him a sin not to be gradually abolished, but to be left. In *The Liberator* (vol. No. 1, Saturday, Jan. 1, 1831), he wrote: "I w be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising justice. On this subject I do not wish to thi or speak or write with moderation. No, N Tell a man whose house is on fire to give a mod ate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his w from the hands of the ravisher; tell the moth to gradually extricate her babe from the fire in which it has fallen, but urge me not to u moderation in a case like the present! I am earnest; I will not equivocate; I will not excuse will not retreat a single inch; and I will be heard

Immediate Abolition

From the beginning, Garrison had declared no union with slaveholders, and proclaimed t Constitution "a covenant with death and agreement with hell." In Dec., 18 the American Anti-Slavery Socie was formed, with Beriah Green president and Lewis Tappan a John G. Whittier, secretaries. The dore D. Weld, Samuel J. May, a Wendell Phillips began lecturin In 1833, Miss Prudence Crandall, in Connecticu opened her school to negro girls. She w ostracized, the legislature forbade such schoo and she was imprisoned. Riots against abo tionists became frequent. Prices, ranging fro $3,000 to $20,000, were reported to be set the South on the heads of several of the leadi abolitionists. The latter sum was offered by s Mississippians for Garrison's head, and the sam amount, made up publicly in New Orleans, w offered for the person of Arthur Tappan. 1837 a slave was burned to death over a slow fi in St. Louis; and for his words in denouncing th Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, a Presbyterian minist who had established an abolitionist newspaper Alton, Ill., was mobbed and killed. Garrison, Boston, was seized by a mob, dragged by a ro half naked through the streets, and was on rescued by a *posse comitatus* and conveyed to t mayor's office. Abolitionist lecturers and sy pathizers were denounced from the pulpit a subjected to every indignity. Judge Birn declared that "the American churches were t bulwarks of American slavery." Such we some of the obstacles that abolitionist "apostle had to contend with. Yet while the majority pulpits either denounced the Garrisonian agi tion or else were silent on the subject of slave there were ministers in all denominations w were outspoken in their denunciation of t great wrong, and valiantly espoused the cause the slave. In the Unitarian denomination alo 170 ministers signed a protest against slave many of them preaching fearlessly against it, a willingly sacrificing favor and popularity in cause of freedom.

The American Anti-Slavery Society

As a not unnatural result of the popular pre dice and indifference, the Garrisonian wing n became very radical. They were accused advocating every kind of innovation, fr woman's rights to free love, and were freely nounced as "come-outers" and "infidels." ney, the Tappans, Gerrit Smith, Whittier, J Jay, Edward Beecher, Thomas Morris, others left the original organization of the Ga sonians, and in 1840 organized the American Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. They felt t the time was come for the organization of a political party, while the Garrisonians contin to radically urge their doctrines through parties. As a result, in 1840, the Liberty Pa

was organized, and in 1840 J. G. Birney was nominated for president, and Thomas Earle, of Pennsylvania, vice-president, polling 7,059 votes. In 1844 Birney and Morris polled 62,300 votes. These were drawn mainly from voters for Clay. As a result, Polk was elected, Texas annexed, and a vast amount of slave soil added to the United States. The policy then began to prevail in the North of advocating limitation of the slave area, and this led to the formation of the FREE SOIL PARTY. In this the Liberty Party was mainly merged, tho a few continued to vote a Liberty Party ticket to a much later date. In 1848 ex-President Van Buren was nominated as president by the Free-Soilers, and polled 291,363 votes.

Meanwhile, the agitation over the Fugitive Slave Law was coming to a head. The Constitution having recognized slavery by Art. iv., Sec. 2 of that document, it was declared that persons held to service or labor in one state under the laws thereof, and escaping to another, should be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor might be due. To this was added the amendment referred to above on the admission of California as a free state. The demand was made by the Free-Soil Party that this be repealed; yet in 1852 it polled a diminished vote. The same year Harriet Beecher Stowe published her "Uncle Tom's Cabin," which at once produced a remarkable effect in enlightening the people and arousing in them a sense of the injustice and evil of slavery. In 1855 Captain John BROWN went to Kansas to vote, and to fight as well, against the efforts of Missouri border ruffianism and squatter sovereignty to establish slavery in Kansas. The leading abolitionists were eagerly engaged in helping slaves to escape to Canada by means of the "underground railroad," or a series of houses whose inmates were willing to shelter and aid slaves in their secret flight to the North. In 1856 the Free-Soil Party was largely merged in the newly formed Republican Party, with Gen. John C. Fremont as standard-bearer. He polled, however, only 114 electoral votes to 174 by James Buchanan, the Democratic candidate.

In 1856, May 19th and 20th, Charles Sumner delivered his speech in the United States Senate on "The Crime Against Kansas." The speech was an exposure of the cruel injustice of the government of the United States toward the free citizens of Kansas, and was strong and fearless both in its argument and its invective. Whittier said that "it was the severe and awful truth which the sharp agony of the national crisis demanded." It caused intense excitement among the pro-slavery members of the Senate. After the adjournment of the Senate, as Sumner sat writing at his desk, he was assaulted by Preston S. Brooks, of South Carolina, and was so severely injured that it was four years before he could again take his place in the Senate, tho Massachusetts left it unfilled during his absence; he suffered from the effects of the murderous assault as long as he lived.

In 1857 the validity of the Missouri Compromise was rejected by the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott decision. (See DRED SCOTT.) In 1859 John Brown made his effort to rouse the slaves at Harper's Ferry, was captured, and on Dec. 2d, hanged.

In 1860 the success of the Republican Party led to the firing upon Fort Sumter (April 12, 13, 1861) and the opening of the war. The war was not begun to abolish slavery, but simply to put down the rebellion. But the antislavery feeling grew. The fugitive slave laws were abolished in 1864. On Jan. 1, 1863, Lincoln issued, as a war measure, his emancipatory proclamation; and finally, in 1865, Congress passed the amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery in the United States. On April 9, 1870, the American Anti-Slavery Society disbanded, believing its work fully done. (See NEGRO; SLAVERY; PHILLIPS; GARRISON, etc.)

The War of the Rebellion

REFERENCES: Among the best are *United States*, by Von Holst, vol. i.; *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*, by Wilson; *American Conflict*, by Greeley; *Speeches*, by Garrison; *Political History of the Rebellion*, by McPherson; *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, by Mrs. H. B. Stowe; *The Slave Power—Its Character, Career, and Probable Designs*, by John E. Cairnes; *Acts of the Anti-Slavery Apostles, Biographies of Garrison, Phillips, and Brown*, by Parker Pillsbury.

ABORIGINES PROTECTIVE SOCIETY, THE: An English society which is active on the CONGO QUESTION against the employment of the CHINESE in South Africa, and kindred questions. Secretary, H. R. Fox Bourne, Broadway Chambers, S. W., London, England.

ABRAHAM, WILLIAM: British member of Parliament; born 1842 in Wales; educated in the national schools at Carnarvon. Son of a miner, the lad was early put to the same work. Already in 1873 he was made the miners' agent to conduct their affairs and to mediate when necessary in all questions and disputes between the miners and the operators. He is known everywhere throughout Wales by the name "Mabon." In 1885 he was elected to Parliament to represent the radical interests in the Rhondda Valley, Glamorganshire, a seat he still occupies. He is also president of the Miners' Federation of Southern Wales. *Address:* Bryn-y-Bedw, Pentre, Rhondda, Glamorganshire, Wales.

ABSENTEEISM: The practise of absenting oneself from one's country, station, estate, etc. In sociology it is used mainly of landlords absenting themselves from their lands and letting them out to tenants, the landlords giving no time nor care to their possessions except to receive the rents, which they spend in other places and communities. It has been an especial evil in Russia, France, and Ireland; but it is becoming common also in the United States, where wealthy investors live on their rents, perhaps themselves residing in London or in Paris.

The evils of absenteeism are not hard to discover. There is, first, the loss of interest which a resident is apt to take in the things and persons about him. "It is not the simple amount of the rental being remitted to another country," says Arthur Young, "but the damp on all sorts of improvements." The absentee is also less likely to take account of circumstances (e. g., tenant's improvements), which render rack-renting unjust. He is less likely to make allowance for calamities which render punctual payment difficult. "Miseries of which he can see nothing, and probably hear as little of, can make no impression" (A. Young). He is glad to get rid of responsibility by dealing with a "middleman" or intermediate tenant. Without the softening influence of personal communication between the owner and the cultivator of the soil, the "cash nexus" is liable to be strained beyond the limit

of patience. There can be little doubt but that absenteeism has been one potent cause of the misery and disturbances in Ireland. The cruelest oppressors of the French peasantry before the Revolution were the *fermiers*, who purchased for an annual sum the right to collect the dues of absentee seigneurs; and this evil it is not hard to trace in American life. The proverbial hardness and harshness of the agent who collects rents for absent owners is not invariable, but is frequent. There is, too, the not-to-be-forgotten effect upon the absentee himself of collecting rents from strangers to whom he pays no duties. Sometimes it may be indeed for the good of a community that a rich and luxurious, and perhaps immoral, landlord be absent from it, but this brings us to another subject. (See LUXURY.)

Perhaps the safest generalization is that made by Senior, that "in general the presence of men of large fortune is morally detrimental, and that of men of moderate fortune morally beneficial, to their immediate neighborhood." It must be remembered, however, that to those who hold that land should be held only by those who use it, or that all land should be taxed to its full rental value, absenteeism is an evil incident to the present system that is to be overcome only by the overthrow of the present system. To others it is an evil to be overcome by the greater insistence upon the *duties* as well as the *rights* of wealth. A strong statement of a different but very real form of absenteeism we quote from a suggestive report of the Church League of Lowell, Mass., Oct. 9, 1893:

Industrial Absenteeism

"It is largely true that the labor of Lowell earns the dividends, but they are mostly spent elsewhere, because the stock of the mill corporations is owned elsewhere. Thus we are confronted by the worst kind of absenteeism. The profits earned here go from here, while the mass of poverty, want, and vice that accumulates in every large manufacturing center is dumped on the charity of our churches and the hospitality of our poorhouse. We see the dreary dwellings of the earners of scanty wages; we see the premature age and disability of those broken down by the rapidly increasing speeding of machinery; we confront the intemperance and vice that follow from the hard conditions and hopeless despair of their bettering. The notebooks of our ministers are filled with sad, sad cases of destitution, sickness, and death, made peculiarly sad by the life history of the mill operative."

Professor Hadley, in his "Railroad Transportation" (1886), p. 133, has some pertinent remarks on absentee shareholders.

ABSTINENCE, REWARD OF: An expression in political economy, first used by SENIOR to denote the profits which he considered to be the "natural" reward of the capitalist for the use of capital which he had abstained from using in immediate consumption. The phrase is called "well chosen" by Mill, and has been widely adopted, and undoubtedly contains some element of truth; but it is, nevertheless, considered to be inapt by most economists to-day, since it is at least in great danger of misleading. Thus, when Jevons says, in his "Political Economy Primer," that "Capital is the result of saving or abstinence," he either expresses a mere truism, or states what is very frequently not the fact. If he means that capital is wealth that has not been consumed in other ways, he says what goes without saying; but if he means that capital is the result of saving and abstinence, so that the capitalist deserves to be rewarded because of his self-sacrifice, he implies what is very often *not* the case. All capital is by no means the result of careful saving and economy. It is notoriously very often the result of shrewd and fortunate investment by those who have lived at the same time in the utmost luxury and self-indulgence. It is made frequently by speculation and financiering in the "bulling" and "bearing" of stocks, in the engineering of some corner or combination in the market, in land speculation, and in a hundred other similar ways. Many fortunes have been begun as the result, perhaps, of abstinence and economy at the start, but after this, have been made by the bold, shrewd, and fortunate investment of the little sum. If the reliance had been *simply* on abstinence and economy, there would have been no fortune. G. Bernard Shaw, in the "Fabian Essays," calls "reward of abstinence" that "gleam of humor which still enlivens treatises on capital."

ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE, THE: See AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.

ACCIDENT INSURANCE: Insurance against accidents is a recent growth, tho the Hanseatic League seems to have developed a form of mercantile insurance in 1541, and England against the casualties of warfare in 1665. Modern accident insurance was planned in England in 1845, and the Railway Passengers Assurance Company began business there in 1849. Two years earlier (1847) four health-insurance companies had been formed in Massachusetts. In 1863 James G. Batterson formed a Railway-Passengers Insurance Company in Hartford. To-day accident insurance in the United States protects at least a million men and their families, and pays $20,000,000 a year in claims. (See also INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE, and INSURANCE.)

REFERENCES: *A Study of Accidents and Accident Insurance* by George E. McNeill, Boston, 1900; *Accident Preventing* in *Cassier's Magazine*, July 1905; *The Outlook*, Dec. 31, 1904.

ACCIDENTS IN INDUSTRY: The number of persons who are annually killed or injured in the United States as the result of industrial accidents is only approximately ascertainable in the present state of our vital and labor statistics. It is, however, a factor of such economic and social importance that in many other countries careful and comprehensive inquiry is made into the subject through factory inspectors, or other departments specifically charged with the duty of investigating causes and conditions detrimental to health and life in industry. The vital statistics of the United States census for the registration area contain, it is true, a statement of the number of deaths caused by accidents among occupied males; but there is no conclusive information available as to how many of the accidents reported under death certificates are specifically chargeable against industry or occupations on account of inherent or removable hazards or circumstances dangerous to human life. The nearest approach to an answer to the question as to the number and degree of frequency of accidents and injuries in American industry, is an estimate of the number of deaths occurring annually among all occupied males in the United States generally and in manufacturing and mechanical employments in particular. This, however, does not answer the equally important questions as to the probable number of workmen injured or incapacitated and

the degree of injury sustained, which require separate consideration, and regarding which our present state of statistical information is exceedingly unsatisfactory.

An approximate estimate of the annual loss of life from accidents among occupied males in the United States may be arrived at by the following method. Estimating the male population, ages fifteen and over, for the middle of 1906 as 28,322,000, and applying to this number the accident death-rate for occupied males, returned by the last census as 1.13 per 1,000, the resulting total is 32,004 fatal accidents in the mortality of the entire adult male population of the United States in 1906. In other words, it would appear to be safe to hold, upon the basis of this estimate, that from 30,000 to 35,000 fatal accidents occur annually in the United States among males of ages fifteen and over. An equally useful method is to first estimate the probable total mortality from all causes and then apply the normal percentage of deaths from accidents as determined by the last census for occupied males generally. For illustration, in the male population, as given above, at an annual normal rate of 15.0 per 1,000, as determined by the census, there occur approximately 424,830 deaths from all causes. Since in the mortality for occupied males 7.53 per cent are deaths from accidents, the probable number of such deaths is 31,990 per annum, or about the same as determined by the previous method.

General Estimate

In these estimates I have considered the adult male population as a whole and made no distinction between accidents in general and occupation accidents in particular. It is possible, however, to arrive at an approximate estimate as to the probable number of deaths properly chargeable to industry by the following method. In mercantile employments in which there are practically no occupation accidents, properly to be considered as such, the general accident rate is 0.46 per 1,000, as compared with 1.13 per 1,000 for males in gainful occupations generally. The excess or difference of 0.67 per 1,000 may be assumed to constitute the extra risk from accident in industry in general. If, upon the basis of the population as previously given, we estimate the number of accidents at the rate of 0.46 per 1,000, the annual number of deaths from accidents is 13,028. If this number is deducted from the total previously given, there remains an actual difference of 18,976 deaths from accidents, which would represent the result of employment or exposure in occupations or industries more or less hazardous and detrimental to human life. So that, restating the conclusion, it would appear to be a safe and conservative assumption that in the aggregate American adult male population there occur annually from 30,000 to 35,000 fatal accidents, and that of this number from 18,000 to 20,000 are the probable result of dangerous or hazardous employments.

Accidents, thus defined, comprehend the whole field of injury to men engaged in gainful occupations. *Industrial accidents* proper affect almost entirely those who are employed in factories and workshops or manufacturing and mechanical industries generally, including under this term all the trades and employments of a more or less mechanical nature, at which men work for wages and which require skill and ability beyond the grade of common labor. The number employed in this group, upon the result of the last census, is estimated for 1906 at 5,603,100. The general accident rate of this group, according to the census, was 0.88 per 1,000; and if this rate is applied to the number given, the probable annual accident mortality among adult males in industrial occupations generally is 4,931. Estimated by the percentage method, upon the basis of 6.44 per cent of fatal accidents among deaths from all causes among men in manufacturing and mechanical employments, the probable annual mortality from fatal accidents is 4,980, or almost the same.

In other words, approximately from 5,000 to 5,500 deaths from accidents occur among men in industrial occupations, and the remainder of the accident mortality among occupied males is generally chargeable chiefly against transportation, mining, shipping, fishing, and other dangerous employments. Since the accident mortality of men in mercantile employments is only 0.46 per 1,000, the probable excess in the accident death-rate of men employed in industrial occupations is 0.42 per 1,000, which, applied to the number employed, gives a total annual mortality of 2,353. So that, among men in strictly industrial employments in the United States, the average annual mortality from accidents is about 5,000 to 5,500, of which approximately 2,400 to 2,600 are chargeable against industry as a causative factor materially increasing the mortality from this group of causes.

Annual Average

For an estimate of the probable total number of accidents and injuries in American industry, only fragmentary data are available. The word "accident" has never been defined with sufficient accuracy, so that returns of one state are not strictly comparable with the returns of another. There is even less uniformity in this respect in the returns of different countries. The experience of accident insurance companies is also not useful for the end in view, in that for the protection of the companies against imposition and fraud the word "accident" is more strictly limited in the usage of accident insurance companies than in the returns of factory inspectors or bureaus of labor statistics. For this reason, the fact that, for illustration, the percentage of fatal cases to all accidents is about 1.3 in the experience of a large and representative company would not warrant the use of this figure in estimating the probable number of all injuries in American industry. Then, again, the experience of an accident company includes a large proportion of non-industrial risks on the one hand, and of extra-hazardous risks on the other.

Perhaps the most useful data are the accident statistics for the State of New York, which have been collected and published for the last four years. In the aggregate there have been reported 18,176 accidents during this period, of which 438, or 2.4 per cent, were fatal. If this figure is applied to the estimated number of deaths in industry, previously given as 5,000 to 5,500, the probable total number of accidents of all kinds in American industry upon this basis is from 200,000 to 250,000 per annum. It may be argued, of course, that the data for New York State are not sufficiently comprehensive and representative of American industry in general and that, therefore, the preceding estimate of approximately 250,000 accidents per annum is an overestimation of the facts. This may possibly be so, but, as I have previously pointed out, there is so wide a difference of opinion as to what properly constitutes an accident or injury of sufficient importance to come within the statutory requirements for reporting such accidents and injuries in industry generally, that no two estimates, upon whatever basis they may be adopted, are likely to agree. The New York State returns are in a large measure sustained by the corresponding data for Massachusetts, Wisconsin, and the United Kingdom. In Massachusetts, of the total number of reported industrial accidents, 2.46 per cent were fatal; in Wisconsin, 2.1 per cent; and in the United Kingdom 2.9 per cent. It would, therefore, appear to be a safe assumption that of all accidents in American industry 2.5 per cent are fatal; and if this figure is applied to the previous estimate of the accident mortality in industry, the resulting total is 208,300 industrial accidents per annum. This estimate includes all accidents of sufficient importance to cause at least a temporary loss of earnings, a loss of industrial efficiency, or a temporary suspension of labor.

New York

The data for New York are for twelve groups of industries, including metals and machinery, stone and clay, wood-work-

ing plants, leather and rubber, chemicals and explosives, paper and pulp, printing, textiles, clothing and laundry, food, tobacco and liquors, water, gas and electricity, and building. The space is not available for discussing these industries in detail, but the following table shows, first, the number of accidents in New York State during the four years 1901–4, according to degree of disability, and second, the estimated number of such accidents in American industry generally (5,600,000 male employees).

ESTIMATE OF ACCIDENTS IN AMERICAN INDUSTRY 1906

(Upon the Basis of the Data for New York State)

DEGREE OF INJURY	NEW YORK STATE (1901–4)		UNITED STATES (1906)
	Number	Per cent	(5,600,000 male employees) Number
Temporary disablement:			
Lacerations	3,315	18.2	37,911
Burns	1,136	6.2	12,915
Cuts	3,991	21.9	45,618
Bruises	3,277	18.0	37,494
Sprains	671	3.7	7,707
Fractures	1,219	6.7	13,956
Other injuries	1,069	5.9	12,290
Total temporary disablement	14,678	80.6	167,891
Permanent disablement:			
Partial loss of			
Eyes	94	0.5	1,042
Limbs	79	0.4	833
Hands, feet	136	0.7	1,458
Other parts	2,624	14.4	29,995
Total	2,933	16.0	33,328
Complete loss of			
Eyes	1	0.1	208
Limbs	3	0.1	208
Hands, feet	6	0.1	208
Internal injuries	66	0.4	833
Total	76	0.7	1,457
Total permanent disablement	3,009	16.7	34,785
Deaths	438	2.4	4,999
Not reported	51	0.3	625
Grand Total	18,176	100.0	208,300

I have every reason to believe that the foregoing estimate is conservative, and that the facts of actual experience will conform to the theory. In round figures, according to the preceding table, there occur annually some 200,000 accidents in American industry and industrial pursuits. Of this number some 5,000 are fatal and some 38,000 are of sufficient seriousness to cause either total or partial disability to perform remunerative labor. From an economic point of view, the problem of industrial accidents, in the light of these statistics, is a most serious one. The loss in industrial efficiency alone represents a vast sum of money, to which must be added the cost of illness, nursing, etc. How much of this waste of life and health is preventable cannot be discust without a lengthy consideration of the facts of each industry and occupation. In a not inconsiderable degree the solution of the problem lies with the workmen themselves, while much of it falls properly within the scope of preventive legislation and state control. Some industries are naturally more dangerous than others, while some are practically free from serious risk.

As a brief illustration of the degree of variation in risk, I have made an analysis of the Rhode Island occupation mortality statistics for the decade 1895–1904, and in outline the result is as follows:

Rhode Island

According to the Rhode Island returns for the ten years 1895–1904, there occurred among occupied males generally 18,403 deaths from all causes, of which 1,520, or 8.3 per cent., were deaths from accidents. Among women employed in industrial pursuits, there occurred during the same period 1,251 deaths, of which 43, or 3.4 per cent were deaths from accidents. The difference in the percentages is chiefly the result of a more general exposure of men to hazardous conditions detrimental to life and health. A discussion in detail of the Rhode Island statistics would far exceed the available space. I can only briefly touch upon the more important employments.

In general *mechanical industries* the percentages of deaths from accidents in the mortality from all causes were 7.1 for tool-makers, 6.8 for machinists, and 6.8 for mechanics generally. In the iron and steel industries the percentage was 7.6 and among molders 6.7.

In *general trades* and *industrial occupations* the information is available for seventeen different groups, in which the percentages of deaths from accidents vary between 20.0 for steamfitters and 1.3 for printers. For the separate groups the percentages are as follows: Steamfitters, 20.0; painters, 12.8; boilermakers, 9.7; masons, 9.0; tanners, 8.7; bakers, 7.6; stone-cutters, 7.5; tailors, 6.1; butchers, 6.0; rubber workers, 5.7; jewelers, 5.5; tin-workers, 5.1; plumbers, 4.7; barbers, 3.8; plasterers, 3.8; shoemakers, 2.9; printers, 1.3.

In the *textile industry* detailed returns are available for seven occupations, regarding which the respective percentages are as follows: Dyers, 11.4; carders, 10.5; weavers, 9.4; operators generally, 9.3; superintendents and overseers, 8.7; spinners, 3.1; wool-sorters, 2.6.

Among men engaged in *driving, teaming*, and allied occupations the percentages of deaths from accidents were: Teamsters, 14.7; hostlers, 14.3; cab and hack drivers, 14.3; drivers generally, 8.5; expressmen, 7.9; coachmen, 7.6; livery and stable keepers, 2.9.

Among men engaged in *contracting and construction* work, the percentages of deaths from accidents were: House-movers, 60.0; roofers, 33.3; slaters, 25.0; carpenters and joiners, 9.2; and contractors and builders, 5.7.

The preceding occupations include most of the more important industrial pursuits. If the comparison were extended to include men employed in railway transportation, shipping, mining, etc., the less serious character of industrial pursuits would be more apparent.

In four selected groups of mercantile occupations the percentages of deaths from accidents were: For manufacturers, 2.0; merchants, 3.8; clerks and salesmen, 4.5; and storekeepers, 5.7. All these percentages are considerably below the general average, and this is equally true for farmers, with a percentage of 5.4, and gardeners with only 3.6.

While this analysis is limited to the mortality statistics of the State of Rhode Island, it is quite probable that the conditions in manufacturing states or industrial sections generally are about the same. The facts stated emphasize the necessity and social duty of a more qualified and scientific system of factory inspection and the rendering of uniform reports regarding accidents and injuries among persons employed in American industry. (See DANGEROUS TRADES; INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE; MINING; RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.)

FREDERICK L. HOFFMAN.

Dr. Josiah Strong has made some startling but significant comparisons in regard to accidents. He says in a tract, "Safety and Security for American Life and Labor" (1906):

Our peaceful vocations cost more lives every two days than all that we lost in battle during our war with Spain. It has been pointed out that the Pennsylvania coal-fields alone furnish "an industrial Bull Run" annually.

In these piping times of peace, we in the United States kill in four years some 80,000 people more than all who fell in battle and died of wounds, on both sides, during the four years of our Civil War. Records of the War Department show 67,058 killed in action, and 43,012 who died of wounds in the Federal armies; total, not including those who died from sickness, 110,070. Confederate records were largely destroyed, but it is believed that their losses were proportionately severe. Total number of enlisted men in the Union Army, 2,800,000. The War Department estimates total Confederate force at something over 1,000,000 men. This would make total Confederate killed and dead from wounds about 40,000—total, both sides, 150,000.

The number who died by accidents and violence in the United States in 1900 was 57,513. (See Census Bulletin No. 83.) That is, in the same length of time, we are now killing 53 per cent more people than two great armies could destroy equipped with all the weapons of death that ingenuity could then devise, and making destruction their eager business.

We are killing more than twice as many every year as perished by violence in both the French and English armies during the Crimean War. There are more killed and wounded on our railroads every year than the entire losses of the Boer War on both sides in three years.

The perfection of modern firearms rendered the late conflict in Asia exceptionally bloody. The entire losses of the Japanese in killed and wounded were 153,652; those of the Russians 180,134—a total of 333,786. This estimate was made by Gen. Tarker H. Bliss, of the United States General Army Staff, and is officially described as very nearly accurate. The above figures do not include the losses by sea fights, which, however, add only a few thousand.

The casualties of our industrial army are, without doubt, at least fifty per cent greater every year. Of course, the losses of war include many deaths from sickness. These are not considered here because we have no means of estimating the number of corresponding deaths in our industrial army, caused by death-producing occupations. There is, however, a long list of trades which cause premature death, none the less surely because gradually.

A record kept during a part of last year showed 2,555 fatalities in New York City in nine months, which was at the rate of 3,406 for the year—an average of more than nine violent deaths a day.

Without any increase of the annual rate reported by the government in 1900, there will be 575,000 killed every ten years, besides some 5,000,000 injured, even if our proportion of accidents to the population should prove to be no greater than that of France. This is like massacring every inhabitant in three cities the size of Indianapolis, Kansas City, and Denver, every ten years, and at the same time maiming and mangling every man, woman, and child in Washington, Oregon, California, Nevada, Utah, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho, Montana, and Oklahoma, and doing it every ten years.

Is it not time for the public to know the magnitude of these perils of peace? Is it not time to learn that this wounding and killing—more frightful than that of war—is largely unnecessary? Is it not high time to take some active measure to stop it?

Comparing accidents abroad with these in the United States, Dr. Strong says:

Among a given number of coal miners there are more than twice as many fatalities in this country as in Great Britain; the proportion being 2.64 here to 1.27 there. Of a given number of railway employees we kill nearly three times as many, and injure more than five times as many as Great Britain; we kill two and a half times as many, and injure five times as many as Germany; we kill more than three times as many, and injure nearly nine times as many as Austria-Hungary.

Nor must we imagine that accidents have been reduced to a minimum abroad. An investigation of 15,970 accidents in Germany showed that 53 per cent of them were avoidable. If among a given number of employees we have more than twice as many accidents as Germany, and if more than half of Germany's accidents are avoidable, it would seem probable that more than three-quarters of our accidents are avoidable.

References: "*A Study of Accidents and Accident Insurance*," by George E. McNeill, Boston, 1900; *Census Bulletin*; *World's Work*, March, 1906; *The Independent*, April, 1906; *Charities*, July 7, 1906.

ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH: See Wealth.

ACTORS' CHURCH ALLIANCE: A society founded in 1899 by Rev. Walter E. Bentley, for the purpose of establishing closer relationship between the theater and the church. It appoints chaplains of all denominations to minister to the needs of the dramatic profession and agitates against Sunday performances and other evils of the stage. It has some 3,000 members, about half of these being of the dramatic profession. It is established in more than 400 towns of the United States and Canada, with local chapters in the larger cities, and is affiliated with the Actors' Church Union of England. President, Rt. Rev. H. C. Potter, D.D.; Secretary, Miss O. D. Drescher, 1431 Broadway, New York.

Mr. Bentley says:

One of the strangest facts in our complex civilization is that two of our greatest institutions, the Church and the theater, have been so far apart in sympathy and interest for so many centuries, and with the exception of a few feeble, spasmodic efforts, have not even tried to understand each other. This unhappy divorce has been injurious to both. The stage has lost the guidance and direction of the organized conscience of the community, while the Church in ignoring this great department of social action has lost that touch of nature which the stage supplies, and to that extent its grip on daily life. The Alliance seeks to correct this. It recognizes the stage as one of the greatest educational and ethical forces in society, potent to humanize, even while seeming but to amuse, and contributing so vitally for weal or for woe, to the character and destiny of the nation. It seeks to aid the Church at large in establishing closer relations with men and women following the dramatic profession, by making special provision for their needs and aiding them in any and every way conducive to their welfare. Clergymen of all denominations, Jewish and Christian, are appointed in every theatrical center, their duty being to visit members of the profession as temporary parishioners and to render them every service in their power. They also enlist the sympathies of local managers, and post Alliance calendars giving their names, churches, and services near the call board on the stage of every theater, signifying their willingness to care for any one who may be left sick in their town. Weekly notices are posted to the chaplains from the New York headquarters, giving, in advance, the arrival of the dramatic members, and thus the two are brought into immediate contact and are mutually introduced simultaneously all over the United States and Canada.

Another great aim of the Alliance is the effort to abolish Sunday performances, especially in the West. This is done not only on religious grounds, but also in justice to the actor, who, through this custom, is compelled to work seven days a week for six days' pay. Special Sunday services are provided by the chaplains, where the exigencies of traveling prevent the actor from attending the regular service; and social receptions are held whenever opportunity affords. Thus every effort is made to promote mutual good fellowship. Local chapters, consisting of the clergy, actors, and the public have been organized in about thirty-five of our largest cities, and everything possible is done to encourage and increase the support of the more wholesome drama and to bridge the chasm of misunderstanding between these two great departments of social life.

Walter E. Bentley.

ACTORS' CHURCH UNION: A union formed in England, in connection with the State Church, at about the same time and along the same lines as the Actors' Church Alliance (which see). It is now established in about twenty-three metropolitan and 137 provincial counties in Great Britain. The Bishop of Southwark is its president. Honorary secretary, Rev. Donald Hole, 20 Woodview Gardens, Highgate, N. London, England.

ADAMS, FRANCIS: Writer in the cause of labor; born in Malta, 1862. He was educated for the civil service, but instead became a teacher and writer, issuing a volume of verse in 1884. In the same year he went to Australia for his health, and threw himself into the labor movement, issuing his "Songs of the Army of the Night," in 1887. In 1890 he returned to England, broken in health, yet continued to write for the cause of labor to the last, in *The Fortnightly Review* and elsewhere, and issued "The New Egypt" just before a final hemorrhage. On Sept. 4, 1893, he calmly and deliberately shot himself in the presence of his wife, and was buried "with clenched hands" in Margate Cemetery.

ADDAMS, JANE: Head of Hull House in Chicago; born at Cedarville, Ill., 1860; daughter of State Senator J. H. Addams. She was graduated from Rockford College in 1881, whereupon she traveled in Europe for two years. Together with Ellen G. Starr she founded Hull House in 1889, and has continued as its head ever since, developing its steady growth and large success and usefulness. Miss Addams has taken a promi-

nent part in almost every reform movement in Chicago, and even in the United States, especially in all that concerns women, children, and the tenement population. She was at one time appointed inspector of streets and alleys in the Hull House district, and introduced many reforms; and she has served also on numerous municipal and other public committees as well as on innumerable private ones. She has constantly been called upon to deliver commencement and other addresses, mainly upon some subject in social reform, from the standpoint of ethics and democracy; and she has written a large number of articles in magazines and elsewhere. Miss Addams is neither an avowed Socialist nor a Tolstoian, tho friendly to both those views and an active worker for many of their proposals. Her emphasis is upon the ethical side of the social movement, coupled with an insistence upon the democratic organization of industry, largely on socialist and trade-union lines. Among her writings may be mentioned: "The Subjective Necessity for Social Settlements" and "The Objective Value of a Social Settlement," in a volume entitled "Philanthropy and Progress," 1893; a contribution to "Hull House Maps and Papers," 1895; "Democracy and Social Ethics," 1902; "Newer Ideals of Peace," 1907. *Address:* Hull House, 335 S. Halsted Street, Chicago, Ill.

ADDERLEY, Hon. and Rev. JAMES GRANVILLE: Born 1861; educated at Oxford; first head of Oxford House, in East London. During the great dock strike he aided the dockers, raising £800 for them. He has officiated as curate or vicar in the parishes of Barking, Plaistow, Mayfair, and Marylebone, and since 1904 as vicar of Saltley, Birmingham; and he is on the Council of the Christian Social Union. Among his writings are: "Stephen Remarx" (1893), a Christian Socialist novel; "The New Floreat" (1895); "Christ and Social Reform"; "Looking Upward" (1896); "Francis of Assisi" (1901); "A New Earth" (1903); and "Behold the Days Come" (1907). *Address:* The Parsonage, Saltley, Birmingham, England.

ADLER, FELIX: Leader of the Society for Ethical Culture; born at Alzey, Germany, 1851; came to the United States in 1857; was graduated from Columbia College in 1870 (Ph.D., Berlin); professor of Semitic languages and literature at Cornell, 1874–76. In 1876 he founded the Society for Ethical Culture in New York City, and in 1879, under the name of the Workingman's School, he established the Ethical Culture School, which he still directs. Dr. Adler was a member of the Tenement House Commission in 1883, and in 1900 of the Committee of Fifteen. In 1902 he became professor of social and political ethics at Columbia University, the chair being especially created for him. He is chairman of the National Child Labor Committee, and gives much of his time to the work for children. Dr. Adler believes in democracy and in voluntary collectivism, but not in Socialism; in the sacredness of each person's individuality; and that the right democratic spirit will have been attained when the relations to equals, to those in the higher ranks, and to those in the lower ranks of life have been adjusted on an ethical basis. He is the author of: "Creed and Deed"; "Moral Instruction for Children"; "Life and Destiny"; "The Religion of Duty"; and "The Essentials of Spirituality"; and he was one of the founders of *The International Journal of Ethics. Address:* 152 West Street, New York City.

ADLER, VIKTOR: Physician; Socialist; born in Prague, 1852. Educated a physician, he gave up his profession for Socialist propaganda. In 1866 he started the *Gleichheit*, and succeeded in uniting the divided Austrian Socialist Party. He is now editor of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, the organ of the Austrian Social Democratic Party; and is author of many Socialist tracts and short books on labor chambers, universal suffrage, etc.

ADMINISTRATIVE NIHILISM: A phrase first used by Professor Huxley in an address before the members of the Midland Institute, 1871, to describe the doctrine (which he opposed) of those who believe that the state should be limited in its functions to the protection of its subjects from aggression. The address has since been published under this name of "Administrative Nihilism." Professor Huxley quotes approvingly Locke's maxim, that "the end of government is the good of mankind," and defines the good of mankind as "the attainment by every man of all the happiness which he can enjoy without diminishing the happiness of his fellow men."

ADULTERATION OF FOOD: In political economy this means "the act of debasing a pure or genuine article for pecuniary profit by adding to it an inferior or spurious article, or taking one or its constituents away." In England, as early as the thirteenth century, the legislature attempted, tho with but partial success, to strike a blow against it, showing that it existed even then; but it is modern invention and still more modern commercialism that has mainly produced it. Between 1851 and 1854 in England a sanitary commission, instituted in connection with *The Lancet* newspaper, and most ably conducted by Dr. Arthur Hill Hassall, made revelations of so startling a character that parliamentary action took place; and this, tho at first ineffective, has been improved, till it is now somewhat effective and has been followed by legislation in other countries.

I.—In the United States

It is in the cheaper grades that adulteration of food is commonly found. The greater temptation would naturally lie in debasing the dearer commodities, but those who buy the dearer commodities have obviously the means to make effective their demand for good qualities, and will not take the poorer. It is thus upon the working class that the burden of debased commodities mainly falls. Not all such deceptions are harmful to health; but they are all swindles whether harmful or not.

Food Budget

The United States Bureau of Labor in 1904 analyzed the household budgets of 2,567 working-class families. These are not typical budgets, it must be said, but exceptional ones since these families, averaging 5.31 persons each, had an average yearly income of $827.19. The average working-class family in America has nothing like this income. Fifty-one per cent of the unskilled shoe-workers of the nation receive less than $300 yearly. The general run of textile operatives receive but little more. The Pennsylvania bituminous-coal miners receive but $418.15, and the anthracite miners $684.71 (1904). The 1,300,000 railway workers, including all the salaried officials, average but $631 (1903–4), while the highly paid steel workers receive but $710 (1905). The normal working-class family, even allowing two bread-winners to

each, will probably not average more than $600 a year. The figures are of the utmost importance in considering the relation of household budgets to deceptive and debased foods; for the lower the income the more the family is rendered the prey of adulterations—the more it is forced to renounce the solid and nutritious foods wherein adulteration is least, and the more it is forced to have recourse to the less nutritious foods, including stimulants, condiments, and the like, wherein adulteration is greatest.

Meat, salt and fresh, furnishes 28.45 per cent of the value of the food consumed by these families. This is a high percentage, the actual one for all working-class families being more likely in the neighborhood of 20 or 23. Meat is not yet subject to substitution. But it is, in no slight degree, subject to debasement. If the reports of the special correspondent of the London *Lancet*, of Mr. Upton SINCLAIR, and of many other investigators are to be believed, meat slaughtered in the great packing-houses does not, by a large margin, meet the standard requirements. (See PACKING-HOUSES.)

Lard, which claims 2.86 per cent of the value of the food budget, may be mentioned here, by reason of its supposed kinship to meat. It is very generally adulterated. Forty-nine per cent of the samples reported examined in the Connecticut report for 1903 were "grossly adulterated" with cotton-seed oil. There is also a thing called "compound lard"—tho it is not likely that the qualifying word is generally revealed by the dealer to the average consumer—which is made almost wholly of cotton-seed oil, tho occasionally paraffin shares its company. "Real lard," says the report, "is a minor constituent."

Adulterated Articles

Milk, butter, and cheese form the second highest number in the food budget, 16.12 per cent of the total. The adulterations and debasements in this category are both so extensive and so intensive that space cannot be given for enumerating them. In spite of laws for the inspection of milk in most of the states, its "dosing" with formaldehyde and its adulteration are general. The cheaper grades of condensed milk are almost all frauds. Cheese is rarely the thing it pretends to be. Oleomargarin is still sold for butter, and a thing known as "renovated butter," temporarily transformed, according to Commissioner Blackburn of Ohio, from "unsalable butter in various degrees of putrefaction," is sold in large quantities. But a new process of "faking" butter, which is no more than the solidifying of skimmed milk, threatens an overflow of the markets, particularly in Canada, where it is now being unloaded.

Vegetables count for 9.72 per cent of the food budget. In their native form they are, of course, impossible to substitute. The canned goods, however, are very generally "freshened" or colored with chemical salts and preserved with boracic or salicylic acid. Peas, string beans, asparagus, corn, and tomatoes are all subject to this manipulation.

Sugar and molasses count for 5.34 per cent. Crystallized sugar is generally pure, but pulverized sugar is very liberally adulterated; and most, if not all, of the popular brands of maple sugar and sirup are substitutions. Molasses and fancy sirups are chiefly glucose.

Eggs count for 5.14 per cent and poultry for 2.90. Despite the apparent difficulty of fabricating eggs, the thing is said to have been done with a fair degree of success, tho it is believed that the business has declined. As for real eggs, the deception to the consumer is largely one of pretense as to comparative freshness. But "egg flake" and "bottled egg," which are, or until very recently have been, largely used by confectioners and bakers, are the product of putrid eggs deodorized by boracic acid.

Flour and meal claim 5.13 per cent, and bread 3.81. Not much can be alleged against the purity of ordinary flour and meal, altho the so-called gluten flour, which is generally sold, has been shown by repeated investigations to be largely fraudulent. The case against baker's bread is a much stronger one. Many of the grosser impurities have been reformed out of it; tho it is still freely "dosed" with alum.

Fruit comes to 5.05 per cent. Here is another commodity which in its ordinary form defies "doctoring." Canned or dried, however, it suffers a fate similar to that previously related of vegetables; while in the form of fruit-spreads it is subject to the most brazen and wholesale debasement or substitution.

Coffee and tea claim 4.90 per cent, of which tea represents about one-third. Virtually all sales of coffee to the consumer are fraudulent in one way or another. The average person who thinks he knows what he wants will almost invariably, when purchasing, ask his dealer for Mocha and Java, and it would be a queer sort of dealer who should reply that he had none. And yet, as 98.9 per cent of all coffee imported into the United States comes from Latin America, it is evident that very few persons in this country have ever tasted either Mocha or Java. In addition to this wholesale deception, coffee, especially when ground or pulverized, is very generally adulterated with beans, peas, barley, and other and less wholesome substitutes, while coffee "essence" and "coffee compounds" are almost invariably fraudulent. Tea is carefully inspected at the ports, and only a small quantity of really doctored leaves find their way here from abroad. But there is considerable "touching up" with graphite, adulterating, and even substituting within the country.

Fish is listed at 2.45 per cent. There is a good deal of seizing and destroying of superannuated fish by the health authorities (385,699 pounds in New York City in 1905), a good deal of transforming of one kind of fish into another by our restaurant keepers, and perhaps a certain amount of "touching up" for rejuvenating purposes by our market keepers.

Vinegar, pickles, and condiments are listed at only 1.26 per cent. No one acquainted with the food of the poor in a great city would accept these figures as typical. The real percentage—among the city poor at least—is considerably higher. The stinting of nourishing food develops an abnormal craving for acids, spices, and peppers, which the poor buy in large quantities. This whole class of commodities is subject to the most shameless adulteration and substitution.

A wide range of edibles is comprised in the final entry, "other food," with 6.24 per cent, or, including rice, 6.87 per cent. This total doubtless includes cocoas and chocolates, candy, cake, and ice-cream, breakfast foods and a host of articles such as baking-powders and cream of tartar. Cocoas and chocolates are very frequently adulterated, sometimes with no more than an excess of starch, wheat flour, or maize, but in other cases with foreign fats and insoluble matter. Candy, and particularly cheap candy, is largely adulterated. Said Dr. Lederle two years ago:

"It is, or was, hard to get pure candies. Years ago we found candies actually colored by poisonous colors, one of which was chrome yellow. Then terra alba, a white mineral, was used for 'loading' candy and cheapening it. So far as flavors are concerned, natural flavors have been almost entirely replaced by artificial compounds made by the chemist in the laboratory."

Much of the cake in the cheaper bakeries is unfit to eat, and as for the ordinary ice-cream it would be more appropriately named frozen starch and skimmed milk. Cream of tartar and baking-powder are variously adulterated or substituted, much of the former being nothing more than plain bicarbonate of soda. A report of the New York State Board of Agriculture in 1904 declared eight of seventeen samples to be substitutes.

For something like seventeen years strong efforts had been made to induce Congress to pass a pure-food bill. Several minor measures, affecting a few commodities, had been passed, but it was not until the summer of 1906 that a comprehensive bill was enacted. This act, approved by the president June 30, 1906, provides for the fixing of standards in foods, drugs, medicines, and liquors, and prohibits after Jan. 1, 1907, the manufacture of debased or misbranded goods in the territories, the insular possessions, and the District of Columbia, and the introduction of such foods into any state, territory, or possession of the Union. The Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Secretary of Commerce and Labor are designated to fix the standards and to "make uniform rules and regulations for carrying out the provisions" of the act.

Pure-Food Legislation

Under the provisions of the act an article of food is deemed to be adulterated in any of the following circumstances:

(1) If any substance has been mixed and packed with it so as to reduce or lower or injuriously affect its quality or strength.

(2) If any substance has been substituted wholly or in part for the article.

(3) If any valuable constituent of the article has been wholly or in part abstracted.

(4) If it be mixed, colored, powdered, coated, or stained in a manner whereby damage or impurity is concealed.

(5) If it contain any added poisonous or other added deleterious ingredient which may render such article injurious to health.

A proviso, however, exempts certain commodities artificially preserved in cases where the preservative is removable by the consumer, and when instructions are given for its removal. The general tendency of the act will be toward compelling manufacturers to state the character of their goods by proper labels. Dealers who can establish a guaranty from wholesalers, jobbers,

or manufacturers, that goods handled by them are unadulterated or properly labeled, are exempt from prosecution.

W. J. GHENT.

II.—In Great Britain

There was practically no effective legislative control over the purity of the food supply in Great Britain until the year 1875, when the Sale of Food and Drugs Act came into operation. This act provided for the appointment by local authorities of public analysts whose duty it was to examine samples submitted to them by an official acting under the direction of a committee representing what was known as a vestry, a body of local administrators which has now given place to a borough or county council. The appointments are referred to the Local Government Board which to some extent controls the operations of the act. Before the act came into force the practise of adulteration was not merely fraudulent in kind but was fraught also with the gravest risks to the public health. People were not only cheated, they were poisoned. This state of affairs was exposed in a remarkable series of articles which appeared in *The Lancet* from 1851 to 1860, and the appalling conditions soon came to the notice of Parliament, chiefly by the efforts of the founder of *The Lancet*, Mr. Wakley, M.P. for Finsbury. Acts were passed in 1860 and 1872, but these were inefficient. However, since the Act of 1875 was passed, the condition of the food supply has steadily improved, till at last the adulteration of food was confined merely to fraudulent practises, while the use of poisonous substances was virtually stamped out. At the present time it is seldom that cases are brought to notice of poisonous substances having been found in the foods submitted to the public analyst. The Act of 1875 was further strengthened in 1879 and again in 1899.

Sale of Food and Drugs

Meanwhile, however, adulteration has become a fine art, and every conceivable opportunity is taken to deceive the public analyst.

Food is "faked" so cleverly as to defy detection by the ordinary methods of analysis, and this is particularly true in regard to butter. The criterion of genuine butter is a certain proportion of volatile fatty acids, a criterion which is readily satisfied by substituting foreign fats which yield volatile acids in quantity compensating for the poor percentage of genuine butter, if indeed any is present at all. The chief article of food examined in England is milk, and the result shows generally an amount of adulteration equal to 10 per cent of the samples examined. Milk showing less fat than 3 per cent is regarded as having had part of its cream abstracted. Drugs form but a small proportion of the articles examined, but on the whole the results of examination prove satisfactory. The standard for drugs is generally held to be the British Pharmacopœia. It must be confest that analysts in England do not give that attention which ought to be given to substances which involve an arduous examination. For this, however, the analyst can hardly be blamed, since as a rule the fees which he is paid do not compensate him for any special work. The average fee received by the public analyst is usually less than half a guinea per sample. This fee may remunerate him satisfactorily in the case of the analysis of milk or of coffee, but such a fee would not be consistent with a complete analysis of spirits or water.

Clever Adulterations

Recently proceedings have been taken under the Food and Drugs Act against the sale of brandy and whisky, the composition of which did not accord with that of the genuine articles made entirely from grape and malt. Standards for genuine brandy and whisky have been laid down, which depend upon the amount of by-products of fermentation and distillation other than alcohol found in genuine brandy and whisky. Convictions have thus been obtained under the operations of the Food and Drugs Act. The fact that it can be proved by analysis that both brandy and whisky are frequently nothing but spirit derived from grain in the patent still, has thrown the spirit trade into a condition nothing short of alarm. There is no doubt that substitution has been practised by this industry for a long time; and the general opinion is that a clear and accurate description of the spirit sold for consumption should be declared on the label.

There is no immediate prospect of any serious fresh legislation of a general kind being made in England in regard to the adulteration of food. It is probable, however, that extra steps will shortly be taken in order to protect the public from the extensive watering of butter that goes on, and also its sophistication with foreign fats. Under the name of milk-blended butter, a good deal of that article is sold which contains no less than 25 per cent of water, and this retailed at 1 shilling per pound. It is a clever ruse on the public, and will probably be dealt with by a special statute. The samples of food and drugs examined annually by public analysts number about 50,000, and generally a third of this number consists of samples of milk. The rate of adulteration for all samples is approximately 10 per cent, a figure which year by year has shown slight reduction. The extent of adulteration, however, is probably greater than this, since when samples are obtained in an unofficial way the percentage of adulterated ones rises considerably. In past years the penalties have been too trifling to deter offenders from repeating the offense; but recently the fines inflicted have been much heavier, and with a salutary effect.

Legislation

It is to be regretted that England is still without any definite statutes concerning the use of preservatives and coloring-matters. A special departmental Committee was appointed several years ago to consider this question, and its members issued in 1901 a report containing their recommendations. These recommendations have never become law, altho the opinion of the public analysts has been guided by this report, and prosecutions have succeeded on the strength of the conclusions of the Departmental Committee. Briefly, these conclusions were that preservatives and coloring-matters should be absolutely prohibited from being used in milk and all other articles of food intended for infants or the sick, that formaldehyde be prohibited altogether, that borax compounds be allowed in limited quantity in cream and in butter, and salicylic acid in wines, etc., to the extent of one grain per pint. The use of copper salts for greening vegetables was condemned.

On the whole it may be said that the Sale of Food and Drugs Act is working well, and certainly since its inception the quality of the food supply has greatly improved; but evidence is not wanting that the act requires amendment in several directions, and public attention is being drawn to the fact. Perhaps the weakest section in the act is that which allows a dealer to sell any adulterated goods so long as he declares the fact. There is little doubt that tho this disclosure is publicly made by a notice in the shop or on the label of the goods, the public in many instances are careless and pay little regard to such declarations, or else the announcement escapes their attention on account of its being printed in small letters or in an obscure place. Of course, when the inspector appointed under the act gets samples in this way, the defense is that the fact that the goods were not genuine was

Effects of the Act

disclosed at the time of the purchase in one of the ways indicated. In most of the public houses in England a notice commonly hangs in the bar pointing out that the spirits are diluted with water "in compliance with the requirements of the Food and Drugs Act"!!! In some restaurants it is even declared that the milk sold cannot be guaranteed to contain its full complement of cream. Such methods are calculated to defeat the aim of the act, which is to provide the public with food of good quality and to protect them against fraud.

S. Archibald Vasey.

References: *The Independent*, May 24, 1906; *The Outlook*, March 3, 1906; *The Lancet*, London.

ADVERTISING: In the early and middle ages signs and criers were used for this purpose, and the public crier gradually became a necessary and important officer. The first advertisement in the United States appeared in *The Boston News Letter*, a two-page paper (8 inches by 12), in 1704. The first number of advertisements appeared in *The New England Weekly Journal* (Boston, 1828), and pertained to books, coffee, runaway slaves, sale of negro girls, etc. The New York *Sun*, established in 1833, contained advertisements of various kinds, tho not as numerous as at the present time. The first newspaper advertising agency was established in Philadelphia in 1840, by Volney B. Palmer. To-day there are over fifty. Magazine advertising began with *Scribner's Monthly* in 1870.

Growth of Advertising in Newspapers and Periodicals in the United States

Year	Subscriptions and sales	Advertisements	Per cent
1880	$49,000,000	$39,000,000	44
1890	72,000,000	71,000,000	49
1900	77,000,000	95,000,000	54

It is this advertising which makes possible the educational work (good and bad) of the daily press and of the weekly and monthly magazines. The amount expended in newspaper and periodical advertising in the United States was put by the census (1900) at $95,861,127. Advertising on bill-boards, fences, etc., has been estimated at $1,250,000 annually; street-car advertising at $2,000,000; lithographing (folders, etc.) at $15,000,000. These estimates are probably far too low. The total has been estimated at $600,000,000 annually. Mr. Post spends $600,000 annually in advertising his food products. $1,000,000 was spent in 1893 in advertising the breakfast food known as "Force," and more than $1,000,000 is spent annually in advertising "Peruna." A soap firm gave a three-years' contract to a magazine for a one-page advertisement at $4,000 per month.

Socialists believe that much of the money spent in advertising is an economic waste due to competition; but $95,000,000 expended on newspaper and periodical advertising is less than 1 per cent of the commerce of the country, spent for making it known. Movements and societies have recently been started, making propaganda against the abuse of advertising in beautiful and historic places, as well as against immoral and indecent advertising. The best known of these is the London "Society for Checking Abuses in Public Advertising" ("Scapa"), 1. Camp View, Wimbledon Common, S. W. London. Some cities have passed ordinances on the subject. For the United States, see American Civic Association.

References: *Publications of the American Statistical Association* (new series), vii., 52, Boston, 1900; *Journal of Political Economy*, ix., 218, Chicago; *Atlantic Monthly*, Jan., 1904; *Chatauquan*, Oct., 1903.

AFRICA: Reform in Africa is a question of the spheres of influence of the great powers. The following table shows the present situation:

Countries	Area in Sq. Miles	Population	Per Sq.M.	Protestants	Roman Catholics	Eastern Churches	Jews	Mohammedans	Others
Africa:									
Abyssinia	150,000	3,500,000	23	.....	2,000	3,098,000	60,000	50,000	290,000
British Possessions	2,391,000	38,105,000	16	2,024,000	325,000	1,000	16,500	12,217,500	23,521,000
Congo Free State	900,000	30,002,000	33	15,000	17,000	.....	.....	600,000	29,370,000
Egypt	400,000	9,734,000	692[1]	27,000	26,000	647,000	25,000	8,979,000	.....
Egyptian Sudan	95,000	2,000,000	8	.....	2,000	3,000	2,000	1,693,000	300,000
French Depend.	3,702,000	34,849,000	9	472,500	758,000	26,000	117,000	17,667,000	15,808,500
German Depend.	932,000	13,047,000	14	47,500	21,500	.....	.....	812,000	12,166,000
Italian Depend.	188,000	850,000	4	1,000	17,000	12,000	500	450,000	369,500
Liberia	35,000	2,060,000	58	65,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,995,000
Morocco	219,000	5,000,000	22	1,000	5,000	3,000	150,000	4,840,000	.....
Portuguese Depend.	794,000	8,248,000	10	11,000	1,270,000	.....	.....	270,000	6,697,000
Spanish Depend.	253,000	274,000	1	1,000	14,000	.....	.....	199,000	60,000
Turkish Depend.	399,000	1,000,000	3	.....	6,000	9,000	10,000	275,000	.....
Total Africa	11,403,000	148,669,000	13	2,665,000	2,493,500	3,799,000	381,000	48,752,500	90,578,000

[1] Nile valley.

There are 14,178 miles of railroad in Africa, distributed as follows: Algiers and Tunis, 3,039; British Possessions, 3,671; Egypt, 2,885; Orange Free State, 596; other countries, 3,987. (See also Cape Colony.)

AGAPE: A love-feast, or feast of brotherhood and social communion, in the early Christian Church. The name comes from the Greek word *αγάπη*, signifying love. At these feasts the rich Christians presented their poorer brethren with gifts, and all sat around the tables and ate together as a token of their equality before God. The utmost harmony and fellowship prevailed. Prayer opened and closed the meeting, and a bishop or presbyter presided. A portion of Scripture was read, expounded, and discust; and during the feast spiritual songs were sung. If any communication had been received from another church, or from an absent member or bishop, it was publicly read. Money was collected for widows, orphans, prisoners, the poor, and those who had suffered shipwreck. At the close the members embraced, and a "philanthropic prayer" was pronounced. A spirit of practical sympathy

and benevolence prevailed. The participators did not seek for private spiritualities nor for personal enjoyment, but acted as "members one of another." In the second century persecutions checked the agape, and in the third and fourth centuries they degenerated into a kind of banquet, where the deaths of relatives and martyrs were commemorated, and where the clergy and the poor were guests. The increase of wealth at last rendered their original purpose abortive, and transformed them into positive evils, and too often scenes of iniquity. Councils denounced them for their riotousness and debauchery, and finally banished them altogether.

The agape have been revived by the Moravians, who hold solemn feasts where wheaten bread and tea are set before the participants, and where prayer and praise are offered up. (See GILDS.)

AGE OF CONSENT: The "age of consent" is the age of the female below which carnal connection, either with or without consent, is declared rape, and the male is liable to punishment therefor. In all the states of the Union and in sections under government control, as the territories and the District of Columbia, as well as in all civilized foreign countries, legislators have recognized the fact that innocence should be protected from the designs of vicious men. Therefore the statutes provide that below an age varying in different localities no maiden may legally consent to carnal connection with a male of an age of discretion, which is placed usually at seventeen years. Tho the maiden may consent, the law holds that the male is liable to punishment just as if she had resisted, provided she is below the age limit set.

According to the common law of England, a female becomes a woman at twelve years of age. Until the year 1885, the age of consent in Great Britain, therefore, was the end of the twelfth year. In 1885, by the Criminal Law Amendment Act, carnal intercourse with a female under the full age of thirteen years, was made a *felony*, punishable by penal servitude for life or for any term not less than three years, or by imprisonment for any term not exceeding two years, with or without hard labor. The act further provides that carnal intercourse with a female between thirteen and sixteen years shall be deemed a misdemeanor, punishable at the discretion of the court by imprisonment for any term not exceeding two years, with or without hard labor.

In Great Britain

As the laws of the United States are based on the English statutes, it follows that in all of the original states the age of consent was held to be twelve years. In one or two of them, however, it was fixed as low as seven years.

These facts, coming to the notice of earnest people whose hearts had been stirred by the agitation for moral purity, started and sustained by Mrs. Josephine Butler, Wm. T. Stead, and others, in England, efforts were put forth in several states to raise the age of consent from seven or twelve years to an age where greater experience and knowledge of the world would constitute more adequate protection.

This movement has become general; and in nearly every state the age of consent has been raised to sixteen or eighteen years, and in one state—Wyoming—to twenty-one years. The greater number have placed the age at sixteen years; and in some of these states it is not likely to be raised higher, as in them a girl of sixteen is allowed to marry without the consent of her parents; and legislators are not inclined to raise the age of consent above this point.

In the United States

According to a careful canvass the age of consent in each of the different states is as follows:

TEN YEARS: Georgia; Mississippi.

FOURTEEN YEARS: Alabama; Missouri; Nevada; North Carolina; South Carolina; Virginia; West Virginia.

FIFTEEN YEARS: Texas.

SIXTEEN YEARS: Arkansas; California; Connecticut; Illinois; Indiana; Iowa; Kentucky; Louisiana; Maine; Maryland; Massachusetts; Michigan; Minnesota; Montana; New Hampshire; New Jersey; Ohio; Oregon; Pennsylvania; Rhode Island; South Dakota; Vermont.

EIGHTEEN YEARS: Colorado; Delaware; Florida; Idaho; Kansas; Nebraska; New York; North Dakota; Tennessee; Utah; Washington; Wisconsin; the District of Columbia (Washington City), and territory under government control.

TWENTY-ONE YEARS: WYOMING.

Two States, Alabama and Delaware, have followed the method adopted in Great Britain of making the punishment more severe when the female is under ten or twelve years, and lighter between that age and fourteen or sixteen years. One State (Georgia) is reported to have no statute which exactly covers the case.

It is greatly to be desired that those states in which the age limit is below sixteen years will speedily amend their code so as to place the limit at sixteen or, better, eighteen years.

At present there are not sufficient data obtainable to accurately describe the conditions that exist in foreign countries relative to the age of consent. As legislation abroad is quite conservative and governed largely by precedent, it is not to be expected that the same advance has been effected as in this country.

O. EDWARD JANNEY.

AGRARIAN PARTY: A German political party, formed in 1869, under the leadership of M. A. Niendorf and Elsner von Gronow, to represent the interests of the landlords. The party has endeavored to abolish taxes on land, and to limit the importation of foodstuffs. Its influence is considerable, as it has largely dominated the conservative interests in the Reichstag.

AGRICULTURAL COLLEGES AND EXPERIMENT STATIONS: The first agricultural school was founded by Fellenberg at Hofwyl, Switzerland, in 1806, and endured thirty years, educating 3,000 pupils. The Albert Institution, a great agricultural college, was founded at Glasnevin, near Dublin, Ireland, in 1838. In England a private experimental station was started at Rotham in 1843. The Royal College of Agriculture at Cirencester, England, was commenced in 1845, and a college of agriculture at Downton, in 1880. Various English colleges and universities have now agricultural departments. Grants of money in aid of agricultural education are made through the Board of Agriculture. Traveling-schools with dairy apparatus have been started. In Canada there is a successful agricultural college at Guelph, Ontario. Most of the Australasian colonies have agricultural colleges.

France has an elaborate system of agricultural

education under the national government, with the Institut National Agronomique at the head. There are three national schools of agriculture, with many secondary schools. Since 1879 instruction in agriculture, horticulture, and natural history has been obligatory in normal and primary schools. Belgium has developed a similar system. Denmark is giving much attention to this work, with an agricultural college at Copenhagen and numerous agricultural schools. Germany has no developed system, but many universities and industrial schools have agricultural courses. Italy, Sweden, Norway, and Russia are developing schools and colleges. Traveling instructors are employed in Norway and elsewhere. Germany has more than 100 experiment stations; France has 70; Austria 41.

In the United States the first agricultural college was established at Cleveland, Ohio, in 1855. Under the provisions of the acts of Congress of July 2, 1862, and Aug. 30, 1890, colleges having courses in agriculture are in operation in all the states and territories. In 1857 a bill was introduced by Senator Merrill of Vermont, who became a leader in the movement, and in 1862 a bill was passed donating land in each state for agricultural colleges. In 1887 Congress also appropriated $15,000 in each state for agricultural experiment stations. To-day there are sixty-six agricultural colleges, and there are experiment stations in nearly all the states and territories. Wisconsin started the first dairy school.

The total number of students in all departments of these institutions during the year ended June 30, 1904, was 53,161, of which number 6,726 were enrolled in institutions for colored students.

Of the students in the college departments, there were enrolled in regular four-year courses, as follows: Agriculture, 2,096; horticulture, 209; forestry, 26; mechanical engineering, 3,767; civil engineering, 3,222; electrical engineering, 2,936; mining engineering, 922; chemical engineering, 285; railway engineering, 3; sanitary engineering, 32; textile engineering, 95; general engineering, including unclassified first-year engineering students, 746; architecture, 227; household economy, 674; chemistry, 444; general science, 1,707.

There were enrolled in short courses as follows: Agriculture, 3,651; horticulture, 69; dairying, 673; mechanic arts, 1,145; household economy, 647; mining, 93.

The total income of the institutions, excluding the amount received for experiment stations, was $10,885,550, of which amount the several states and territories contributed $5,654,758, and the amount received from federal sources was $2,945,963.

The total value of all property amounts to $74,564,424, of which sum $28,388,826 is invested in interest-bearing securities.

The total income of the experiment stations in 1905 was $1,515,734, and they employed 845 persons. Of this work the Secretary of Agriculture says (1906):

The farmer will not fail the nation if the nation does not fail the farmer. He will need education to know the powers of the soil which are now hidden from him. The prospective yearly expenditure of $10,000,000 for educational and research work by nation and states, with such increases as may come from time to time, must have enormous effects. There may be agricultural schools for the small children, and agricultural high schools for the larger ones, and their education will be continued in the colleges.

The work of the Department of Agriculture has already had results which are valued at hundreds of millions of dollars annually, and yet the department feels that it has barely crossed the threshold of its mission of discovery and education. Cooperating to the same ends are 60 experiment stations in 51 states and territories, the 63 agricultural colleges, thousands of farmers' institute meetings yearly, many excellent agricultural periodical publications and new instructive books. Then there is a new line of work which is so productive of results that it is constantly extending, and that is the demonstration farm, the encouragement of individual farmers to change their agriculture so as to multiply their yields and their profits, and thus afford object-lessons to other farmers.

Thus it appears that forces are now at work which will very considerably increase the production of the farms within a generation, and which promise to continue the increase indefinitely.

In 1905 the secretary said:

Recent years have also witnessed the development of a great system of popular agricultural education for the adult farmer through the farmers' institutes which are now held throughout the country and annually attended by about a million men and women engaged in agricultural pursuits. With the growth of the research work of this department and the experiment stations it has become very evident that publications alone would not meet the demand for information regarding improved methods of agriculture and the ways in which the results of scientific investigation may be applied to agricultural practise. The absence of agricultural instruction in the schools and the coming on to the farms of millions of people from foreign lands, together with the wide-spread interest in the results of agricultural research, have made it necessary that means be devised for giving agricultural people instruction by word of mouth which will enable them to understand and utilize the information so largely given out in the publications of this department and the stations.

For this purpose the farmers' institutes established under public authority in the states and territories furnish an agency of great usefulness. It has therefore seemed highly desirable that this department should ally itself closely with the farmers' institutes, and make them efficient instruments for the wide diffusion of the knowledge gained by the department and other agencies for agricultural research. With this end in view a farmers' institute specialist was appointed two years ago in the Office of Experiment Stations, and efforts have been made to place at the disposal of the institute lecturers the information gained by the department in many lines.

AGRICULTURAL LABORERS: See AGRICULTURE; WAGES.

AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATION SOCIETY, THE: Founded in England in 1901, by the amalgamation of the British Agricultural Organization Society with the National Agricultural Union. Its object is education and the development of cooperation in British agriculture. The society (*a*) advises with regard to the preliminary steps to be taken in the formation of a society; (*b*) supplies model rules giving societies a legal constitution without trouble or expense; (*c*) gives information concerning the working of other societies, with the object of mutual help and experience; (*d*) is in a position to negotiate with firms in a manner impossible for a local society; (*e*) institutes systematic methods of administration in order to secure good management. The number of societies affiliated with the Agricultural Organization Society in 1906 was 140. Secretary, J. Nugent Harris, Dacre House, Dacre Street, Westminster.

The Irish Agricultural Organization Society has 718 societies affiliated with it (see IRELAND) with 76,334 members. Secretary, R. A. Anderson, 22 Lincoln Place, Dublin.

AGRICULTURE: The importance of the part played by agriculture in the economic, commercial, and industrial life of man, and the gravity of the economic problems involved, it is impossible to overestimate. In most countries more people are engaged in agriculture than in any other class of occupation. In the United States (1900) it was 35.7 per cent; in Hungary (1900), 68; in Italy (1901), 59; in Russia (1897), 58; in Austria (1900), 58; in Sweden (1900), 49; in Denmark (1901), 48; in France (1896), 44; in Ireland (1900), 44; in Norway (1900), 41; in Germany (1895), 37; in Switzerland (1888), 37; in Holland (1899), 30; in Belgium (1900), 21; in Scotland (1901), 12; in England and Wales (1901), 8. These figures include those engaged in fishing.

This, however, shows only the direct importance of agriculture. Indirectly it influences all

occupations. If the agricultural population is prosperous, it must affect every other class, and vice versa. This is not only because every man and woman and child must consume the products of agriculture, but because the size of the farm population makes it the one great market for almost all manufactured articles which relate to the necessities of life, and because the agricultural element affects politics and furnishes the great bulk of materials of commerce. It was not until the tribes of the world first commenced agriculture and gave up their nomadic habits that civilization can be said to have really commenced. On the other hand, there is probably no occupation so affected by the varying social and political conditions of man as agriculture, because no occupation so depends for its life on settled habits, peaceful life, and general prosperity.

Indirect Influences

Yet, important as it is, agriculture to-day faces the most serious problems in the greatest countries of the world: the U. S., Russia, Germany, to a less extent in France, but in Great Britain most of all. The drift of population to the city, and of industry to manufacturing and trade, has meant to a serious extent the decline of agriculture. Mr. James J. Hill (see below) says: "Agriculture, in the most intelligent meaning of the term, is something almost unknown in the U. S." In Great Britain the agricultural problem has been acute for the last thirty years. In Russia a changing political condition, commencing with the freeing of the serfs, has driven millions from their former feudal tenures of land, without economic ability to get land or maintain independence. In other countries, tho less seriously, agriculture has also suffered by the movement toward the city and toward manufacturing and trade. In most countries, too, especially in the U. S., all that the farmer buys, and the transport and marketing of his crop, are passing under the control of the monopolist and organizer of trade, while agriculture itself is the most difficult occupation to organize, so that often the agriculturist seems to have to cope single-handed with a market under the bond of combination. To-day there is, however, a wide-spread revival of interest in agricultural development, and a very general effort at agricultural education. The farmers are beginning to cooperate in many ways, but theories of reform differ.

Early political economy, especially among the Romans, had much to say about agriculture. Cato, Cicero, Seneca, Pliny, Varro, and Colomella treat agriculture in a half patronizing, half dilettante way, but yet give some good suggestions and teach the importance of all men having something to do with agriculture, and recommend small farms and free labor. It is a sad comment on their lack of earnestness that Rome fell largely on account of its large farms, tilled by slave labor.

The period of the Middle Ages was too stormy to develop much thought on agricultural lines, tho many of the monasteries and some of the greatest monks and bishops gave good examples of Christian cooperation and community life in the tilling of fields with their own hands and for the common good.

It is, however, the French Physiocrats, headed by Quesnay and Gournay, who have placed the greatest importance on agricultural production. With them agriculture (including mining, as, in a sense, the cultivation of the soil) is the only industry that produces wealth. Commerce and manufacture, they held, only change the form and place of wealth. All taxes, therefore, they taught should be placed on land; hence they are the true progenitors of the single tax. Their doctrine, too, fell in with the tendency to revert to nature and simplicity, taught by Rousseau and the "natural" school. Adam Smith brought thought back to more balanced views; but the rising industrialism, developed by the invention of machinery and steam power, drew men away from agriculture. There was a rush into industry, and agriculture was neglected. The land, in England especially, fell under the control of great landowners, who leased their farms out at will, usually to tenants, and left the agricultural laborer often as poorly paid and less cared for than the slave. Slaves cost money; laborers could be had for the asking. The chain-gang and the lash were common sights on English fields, and the homes of the English laborers were more rotten than slave pens. The more balanced views of Adam Smith were forgotten in carrying out his principles into the doctrinaire position of Ricardo and the orthodox school. Malthus's conclusion as to the law of population, that it was necessary that the poor perish, stilled England's conscience. To buy in the cheapest and to sell in the dearest market was considered a law of God. Labor was a commodity that must obey this "natural" law. The repeal of the Corn Laws marked an epoch in the development of agriculture and in the world.

Physiocrats

J. S. Mill is the first writer to treat the agricultural question from both a moral and an economic basis; yet, in his economic teachings, as contrasted with his socialistic philosophizings, he scarcely departs from the orthodox position. He compares the English system of large farms owned by lords (*la grande culture*) with the French, Flemish, and Rhenish systems of peasant proprietorship, or small farms owned and operated by peasants, and draws a strong argument in favor of the latter, saying, "Give a man the secure possession of a bleak rock, and he will turn it into a garden; give him a nine years' lease of a garden, and he will convert it into a desert." He shows also that small farms owned by their operators increase production, because more labor and more fertilizing are expended upon each farm than would be on the same land less divided. Following Mill, economic writers have taken one side or other of this question, either favoring *la grande culture* or peasant proprietorship, but, until very recently, for the the most part conforming to the view of Mill. *Metayage* (see METAYER), or the system of the peasant leasing and operating a farm on the condition of giving the landlord half of the produce—a system prevailing mainly in Italy and other southern European countries—has had some advocates, but not many.

J. S. Mill

Facts, however, are leading many minds today in another direction. It is being found that small farming does not pay. Mr. D. A. Wells said as early as 1889, "that the only possible future for agriculture, prosecuted for the sake of producing the great staples of food, is to be found in large farms, worked with ample capital, especially in the form of machinery, and with labor organized somewhat after the factory system, is coming to be the opinion of many of the best authorities, both in the U. S. and Europe" ("Recent Economic Changes," p. 460). Mr. Wells adds in a note:

"La Grande Culture"

An American practical farmer, the owner and manager of 7,000 acres (Mr. H. H——, of Nebraska), to whom the writer is indebted for many items of information, communicates the following additional review of this subject from the American (Western) standpoint: "The average Western farm is now recklessly managed, but capital will come in greater volume and set up processes which will displace these wasteful methods. The revolution is certain, even if the exact steps cannot now be precisely indicated. At present the hay, and much of the grain, and nearly all of the tools and implements are unsheltered; and more than 50 per cent of the hay is ruined for a like reason, while the animals themselves (I do not mean now on the wild-stock ranges, but even on the trans-Missouri farms) have no roof over their heads, except the canopy of heaven, with the mercury going occasionally 20° and even 30° below zero. These wasteful methods in farming are in part promoted by the U. S. Homestead law and the occupation of the hitherto inexhaustible expanse of cheap lands. When the ignorant, degraded, and impecunious can no longer acquire 160 acres upon which to employ their barbarous methods, and when the land already taken up

shall have risen from the low prices at which it now stands to $50 or more per acre, a new dispensation will arrive. Neither the cattle nor the food which the cattle consume will then be raised by any such methods as now prevail; neither will they be exposed to the elements in winter. True enough, the opening up of other virgin fields in Australia, South America, Africa, and elsewhere may retard this rise in the value of the land in the western part of our continent, and thus to a certain extent delay the passing of the land exclusively into the hands of larger capitalists and better managers; but it must be considered that not all climates are suitable for energetic, capable farming populations, and likewise that the best forage plants are restricted to temperate latitudes."

Already the process of displacing the small farms by large farms, operated by capitalistic labor, is far along in the U. S. (See HOMES.) Says a writer in the "Fabian Essays":

Even agriculture, that one occupation in which old-fashioned individualism might be supposed safe, is being subjected to capitalism. The huge farms of Dakota and California, containing single fields of wheat miles long, are largely owned by joint-stock corporations and cultivated exclusively by machinery. These huge farms, combined with the wheat "corners" in New York and Chicago and the great railway corporations of America, have played havoc with many of the small farmers of the Mississippi valley, as the statistics respecting mortgaged farms will show. And when it is remembered that the American farmer will be more and more obliged to meet the growing competition of the wheat of India, produced by the cheapest labor in the world, his prospects do not appear very bright.

Capitalism

For several years past, however, general trade conditions, connected with unusually large crops, have prevented disaster to the farmer in the U. S. He has been enjoying a period of unexampled prosperity, and has been paying off his mortgages, and accumulating wealth. Said Mr. James Wilson, U. S. Secretary of Agriculture, in his report for 1906:

Economic revolution in the art and science of agriculture, which became noticeable in this country half a dozen years ago, has continued during 1906, with tremendous effect upon the nation's prosperity. Crops so large as to be beyond any rational comprehension have strained the freight-carrying ability of railroads. Directly and indirectly the farmer has set up a demand for iron and steel that has exceeded the productive power of the chief producer among nations. His contribution to the supply of loan capital has been beyond calculation and recalls the fact that the depression in the loan and investment market of 1903 was cleared away by the following crop.

Official Report, 1906

Meanwhile the farmer has been a generous consumer, and has given powerful support to the market of the industrial producer, to the trade of the merchant, and to the wages of the workingman. The farmer has become aware of the importance of the place that he occupies in the republic, and in the pride of his occupation he is ready to offer this yearly account of himself to the people. . . .

Taken at that point in production at which they acquire commercial value, the farm products of the year, estimated for every detail presented by the census, have a farm value of $6,794,000,000. This is $485,000,000 above the value of 1905, $635,000,000 above 1904, $877,000,000 above 1903, and $2,077,000,000 above the census for 1899. Farm products continue to be so far beyond the national requirements that the farm still overshadows the mill, the factory, and the workshop in providing exports. With his surplus beyond the nation's need, the farmer has loaded the fleets of oceans. These products were exported to the value of $976,000,000 during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1906—enough to build a high-class railroad half-way around the earth. This is the largest amount ever reached by agricultural exports for this or any other country, and exceeded by $24,000,000 the extraordinary value of 1901, which had previously been the record year.

Principal among the items that make the increase over the fiscal year 1905 are grain and its products, chiefly wheat and flour, for which the gain was $79,000,000; packing-house products, for which the gain was over $37,000,000; cotton, $19,600,000; various seeds, $6,355,000; dairy products, $3,900,000; and live animals, $2,400,000. Products exhibiting a decrease were mostly inconsiderable. In hops, the decline was $1,355,000; tobacco, $992,000; vegetable oils, $726,000; fruits, $440,000.

Cotton maintains its long lead over other chief exports, with a value of $401,000,000 for 3,634,000,000 pounds, so that the latest year was exceeded only by 1898, 1899, and 1905 in quantity exported; but in value of exported cotton the figures for 1906 are $19,600,000 higher than for 1905, which was previously the record year, and $29,000,000 higher than for 1904, which was third in order in the value of these exports.

In his report for 1905 the secretary said:

Every sunset during the past five years has registered an increase of $3,400,000 in the value of the farms of this country; every month has piled this value upon value until it has reached $102,000,000; that portion of the national debt bearing interest is equaled by the increased value of farms in nine months, and this increase for a little over a year balances the entire interest- and non-interest-bearing debt of the United States.

Nevertheless, the problem remains. Mr. James J. Hill, president of the Northern Pacific and Great Northern Railroads, said in an address delivered at the Minnesota State Fair at St. Paul, 1906:

There must be a national revolt against the worship of manufacture and trade as the only forms of progressive activity and the false notion that wealth built upon these at the sacrifice of the fundamental form of wealth production can endure. The first requisite is a clear recognition on the part of the whole people, from the highest down to the lowest, that the tillage of the soil is the natural and most desirable occupation for man, to which every other is subsidiary and to which all else must in the end yield. . . . Within forty-four years we shall have to meet the wants of more than 200,000,000 people. In less than twenty years from this moment the United States will have 130,000,000 people. Where are these people, not of some dim, distant age, but of this very generation now growing to manhood, to be employed and how supported? When the search-light is thus suddenly turned on we recognize not a mere speculation, but the grim face of that specter which confronts the unemployed, tramping hateful streets in hope of food and shelter. . . .

James J. Hill

In the year 1950, so far as our own resources are concerned, we will approach an ironless age. For a population of 200,000,000 people our home supply of iron will have retreated almost to the company of the precious metals. There is no substitute whose production and preparation for practical use is not far more expensive. Not merely our manufacturing industries, but our whole complex industrial life, so intimately built upon cheap iron and coal, will feel the strain and must suffer realinement. The peril is not one of remote geologic time, but of this generation. And where is there a sign of preparation for it? . . . Only one half of the land in private ownership is now tilled. That tillage does not produce one half of what the land might be made to yield, without losing an atom of its fertility. Yet the waste of our treasure has proceeded so far that the actual value of the soil for productive purposes has already deteriorated more than it should have done in five centuries of use. There is, except in isolated and individual cases, little approaching intensive agriculture in the United States. There are only the annual skimming of the rich cream, the exhaustion of virgin fertility, the extraction from the earth by the most rapid process of its productive powers, the deterioration of life's sole maintenance. And all this with that army of another hundred million people marching in plain sight toward us, and expecting and demanding that they shall be fed. . . .

Every farm properly cared for should be worth more money for each year of its life. The increase of population and demand, the growth of the cities and markets, and the development of diversified farming with density of settlement should assure a large increment. Even where large quantities of new and fertile land are opened, these influences, together with the lowest cost of transportation in the world, should make the growth of values steady.

Within the twenty years between 1880 and 1900 the aggregate value of farm lands and improvements, including buildings, declined in every one of the New England and Middle States, except Massachusetts alone. The total decrease in value for these ten states of the first asset of a civilized people is more than $300,000,000. Nor is the attempted explanation by the Census Bureau of this shrinkage either adequate or convincing. Even the great and fertile State of Ohio, in the Middle West, showed a decline of more than $60,000,000. On the new lands of the West, where once the wheat yield was from twenty to thirty bushels an acre, it is now from twelve to eighteen. . . .

In manufactures we have come to consider small economies so carefully that the difference of a fraction of a cent, the utilization of a by-product of something formerly consigned to the scrap heap, makes the difference between profit and bankruptcy. In farming we are satisfied with a small yield at the expense of the most rapid soil deterioration. We are satisfied with a national average annual product of $11.38 per acre, at the cost of diminishing annual return from the same fields, when we might just as well secure from two to three times that sum. . . . If a process for extracting metallic wealth from rocks were to be discovered to-morrow,

such as to assure the country an added volume of $1,000,000,000 in wealth every year, the nation would talk of nothing else. Yet these things would be but a trifle when compared with the possibilities of agricultural development in the United States.

The government should establish a small model farm on its own land in every rural congressional district, later perhaps in every county in the agricultural states. The new crusade should be proclaimed everywhere, from the executive chamber, from the editorial office, from the platform, and above all from every college class room and from every little schoolhouse in the land.

Agricultural Decline in Great Britain

In Great Britain the problem confronting agriculture is at least as serious as it is in the U. S., and more acute. Says Mr. E. A. Pratt ("The Transition in Agriculture," 1906): "The opening up of vast expanses of virgin soils in the U. S., Canada, Argentina, Australasia, and elsewhere, to the production of wheat on a scale to which there could be no possible approach in the United Kingdom; the quick transport of these and other foreign or colonial supplies by ocean steamers at rates which were so low that they became almost a negligible quantity; the invention of refrigerating processes which nullified climate, as steam had already annihilated distance, and opened up British markets to the almost limitless supplies of meat, butter, and other perishables from distant lands; the steady fall in the price of wool, owing to the magnitude of the flocks raised in our colonies—these and other causes, apart from the advent of a succession of unfavorable seasons, were sufficient in themselves to disturb the very foundations of British agriculture, and to show that the old order of things in regard thereto was passing away."

A report of the Agricultural Committee of the Fabian Society (July, 1905) comments as follows:

The decline of agriculture in Great Britain began about thirty years ago. The bad harvests of 1876–82 caused widespread ruin, while in the same period the introduction of very cheap ocean transport and the extension of agriculture in America and elsewhere led to a tremendous fall in prices. According to the Board of Trade figures, the fall in 1898–1902, compared with 1871–75, has been 37.7 per cent in corn, and 18.1 per cent in meat, bacon, and dairy produce. The effect on incomes derived from land has been catastrophic. The landlord's share, the gross annual value of lands assessed to income tax under Schedule A (including tithe rent charge, ornamental gardens, gardens exceeding one acre, farmhouses and buildings, etc.) fell in Great Britain from £59,568,253 in 1879–80 to £42,507,895 in 1902–3. The average reduction in rent has thus been 28.5 per cent, but in some localities the fall has been as much as 60 per cent. The fall in the value of the fee simple is about the same, and small and encumbered owners have suffered most. Farmers' capital was largely swept away in the early years of the decline, and even now they have to live close and can save but little. The estimated amount of farmers' profits fell in Great Britain from £28,405,086 in 1879–80 to £14,288,974 in 1902–3, or one half. Agricultural laborers alone have gained during the last thirty years; but altho the average weekly earnings in England are now 18s. 3d., there is, according to the estimates made by Mr. Wilson Fox, of the Labor Department of the Board of Trade, "a deficit of 2s. 0½d., if the value of food, the cost of rent, firing, light, clothes, and club is compared with the earnings of the head of the family (without allowing for any expenditure on beer, tobacco, and household requisites)." The balance must be made good from the earnings of wife and children, from the garden, the poultry, or the pig.

Between 1871 and 1904 arable land in Great Britain has decreased by 3,122,000 acres, and permanent pasture has increased 4,668,000 acres. There has been a great change from corn-raising to cattle-rearing and dairy-farming, with less employment of labor. Simultaneously imports have increased enormously, not only in grain and meat, but also in dairy produce, eggs, poultry, etc., where we might have hoped to hold our own.

The landlord system must bear a large share of the blame for the decay of agriculture. The bad times found many landlords with burdened estates and no reserve, saved in prosperous times, wherewith to keep their property in a state of efficiency. Placed in the position of the social and economic leaders of the rural districts, they have, as a class, largely devoted themselves to drawing their rents and trying to escape public burdens. They have not compelled their tenants to be good farmers; in fact, by obstructive rules and by annual tenancies, they have often prevented improvements. They have not stood between the agricultural laborers and their employers; on the contrary, by neglecting to provide a sufficient supply of sanitary cottages, they have powerfully contributed toward the rural exodus. Locally they have misused their economic strength for political and sectarian ends; while nationally they have set up a false ideal before the nation. To-day they still draw about £43,000,000, or three times the farmers' profits, from the land of Great Britain, with, as the evidence before the Royal Commission on Agriculture showed, disastrous results to the nation. "The evidence goes to show that overrenting (1) has been a chief cause of depression in bringing farmers to ruin, and in deteriorating the condition of the land; (2) is even now very general; and (3) that the opinion that further reductions are necessary and inevitable, is, among farming witnesses, practically universal. . . . There is much evidence to show that reductions are by no means universal, and that, in many districts and on many estates the system of temporary remissions or abatements, sometimes wholly insufficient to meet the times, is still common. In many cases, even in districts where depression is general, there would seem to have been neither reductions nor abatements of any kind." (Royal Commission on Agriculture Minority Report, F. A. Channing, M.P.) The main work of administration is done by a private service of estate agents, bailiffs, and foremen; and the landlord is a mere parasite on the industry of the country. Farmers, as a body, have shown a great lack of that capacity and adaptability with which men in other occupations have met bad times. They have clung to the old idea that wheat-growing was their only duty, and stubbornly resisted every attempt to persuade or coax them into better business methods. . . .

The Landlord System

Between 1851 and 1901 the number of adult males engaged in agriculture has fallen from 1,904,687 to 988,340, altho one would have expected that the practical elimination of female labor (where there was a fall from 436,174 to 52,459) and the great decline in the employment of males under twenty (from 327,615 to 186,076)—both of these being healthy developments—would have to be compensated by an increase in the number of men.

The weakest point in the present system is the marketing of farm products, and before we can tackle reconstruction, we must find the cause of this weakness. Our butter comes from Denmark, Russia, France, Australia, New Zealand; cheese from Canada, United States, Holland, New Zealand; eggs from Russia, Denmark, Germany, Belgium, France; vegetables from France and Germany.

Small Holdings

Much thought has recently been given to measures that would tend to remedy this state of affairs. There may even be said to be a "new agricultural movement." Efforts have been made to develop small holdings; and to accomplish this was the especial aim of the Small Holdings Act of 1892. By this act county councils were authorized to acquire land, divide it into small holdings of from one to fifty acres, erect buildings thereon, and provide roads, fences, water-supply, and drainage; but the main idea was to sell such holdings, on an instalment system, to the persons wanting them. A council was authorized to let the land only when "of opinion that any persons desirous of themselves cultivating small holdings were unable to buy on the terms fixt by this act, or where the land had been hired by the council on lease or otherwise"; and even then the size of the holding so let must not exceed fifteen acres, or be of a greater annual value than £15. The county councils were also authorized to advance a would-be tenant four fifths of the purchase money on the security of the building. The results thus far have not been large. The procedure has been so costly and complicated, and so hampered by formalities and restrictions of every kind, that County Councils have, as a rule, hesitated to take in hand a great amount of trouble, without any corresponding guaranty of permanent success; and in 1905 a Parliamentary Committee was appointed to inquire into the workings of the act. Too often the small freeholder has had to sink

all his available capital in securing the land, has had to satisfy many legal demands, has consequently found himself encumbered with the burden of a heavy mortgage. The report of the committee mentioned above calls the act "a complete failure."

More has been accomplished by agricultural cooperation. An AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATION SOCIETY was established in 1901, and five years later it had 140 other societies affiliated with it. The Fabian report calls cooperation the "secret of success." It says:

Cooperation

Cheap railway transport and better conditions of sale can be obtained if the farmers will combine. What has hitherto been lacking is the desire for combination, tho in a few localities that defect is being slowly overcome. What characterizes the agriculture of the Continent is the prevalence of combination. Alike in Denmark, Germany, France, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Hungary, Finland, Poland, Servia, we find a network of cooperative societies all over the country—societies for the cooperative purchase of seeds, manures, implements and machinery, cooperative creameries for the production of butter and cheese, egg-collecting societies, societies for the sale of fruit or grain, export societies, mutual insurance societies, and so on. This voluntary cooperative movement is generally fostered by the State, and has received much aid from landlords and religious bodies.

E. A. Pratt, in his "The Transition in Agriculture" (1906), argues in favor of allotments to the working classes in the towns, to prepare them to become freeholders; and he instances the successful experience of Aylestone, a suburb of Leicester. He says:

The Aylestone solution of the problem here presented is: The cooperative tenancy, under the most economical conditions, of allotments which will (1) give a factory worker healthy recreation; (2) enable him to supplement wages and decrease household expenses by the production of fruit and vegetables, which will, at the same time, give his family a better food-supply than would otherwise be possible; (3) afford him an opportunity, while still engaged in a factory, of gaining such experience of, and acquiring such taste for, market-gardening work that, when the factory failed him, he would still be able to contribute to the support of his family, if not keep them and himself altogether, by becoming a market-gardener, instead of having to depend on such odd jobs as he might be able to pick up as one of the unemployed.

Another and most important contribution to the means of solving the problem, is the Garden City idea, combining the best in city life with the advantages of the country. (See GARDEN CITY.) Socialists of the Fabian type, as evidenced in the report of their committee, would have a large policy of State intervention and control. Says the report:

The breakdown of private enterprise in agriculture has left us with landlords and farmers impoverished, with agricultural laborers earning less than, or just over, subsistence wages. Much capital has been lost, the agricultural population has declined to a dangerous degree. There is no organization for the supply of our growing town markets, everywhere is chaos, while the foreign producer every day gains ground by superior organization. It is necessary for the State to interfere, partly to secure the better utilization of our national resources, partly to increase our agricultural population. We must look forward to five and twenty years of resolute effort; prosperity cannot be restored in a day. The class most needing protection, the laborers, must be dealt with first, in order to raise them to a decent level of comfort. A living-wage must be secured to them and, as a consequence, the farmers' rents must be fixt at a fair level. An Agricultural Court must be set up in each county to regulate wages and fix rents. Continental success in agriculture depends on cooperation, and that in turn is associated with the peasant proprietor system. That system for sundry reasons cannot be adopted here, but its advantages can be obtained through security of tenure. The small farm system should, therefore, form the basis of our reconstruction, free play being left for a graded system of farms where possible. In each county an Agricultural Committee should have compulsory power to acquire land and let it out to tenants, chiefly small holders. It should have power to advance capital to individuals on the collective guaranty of its tenants, and it should be its duty to organize the collection of farm produce and its disposal in the market.

Meanwhile there is progress. A Board of Agriculture for Great Britain was established by Parliament in 1889; and was constituted in 1903 as a Board of Agriculture and Fisheries. It has divisions on animals, intelligence, land, and fisheries. In Ireland a Department of Agriculture and Technical Institution was created in 1899. (See IRELAND.) Agricultural education has also been much advanced. Some eighteen institutions may now be classed as AGRICULTURAL COLLEGES. The Rothamsted Experimental Station, and numerous local societies contribute to the advance. Wise effort in certain directions and in certain quarters has produced satisfactory results. The breeding of high-class live-stock of all types has undergone great expansion, partly in order to provide good dairy cattle and the best qualities of meat, and partly as a separate commercial enterprise, to supply the requirements of countries which have looked to Great Britain as the land whence the best of breeding-stock could be obtained. The production of fruit in Great Britain is said to have doubled during the last thirty years. Flour production is likewise largely increased. Market-gardening, potato-raising, and vegetable-raising have also grown. It is along such subsidiary lines that many people believe that England's agricultural future will develop.

Progress

Ever since the time of Young, the agricultural system of France has been the classic form of small proprietorship. Nearly half the people are engaged in agricultural pursuits; but one generation having succeeded another, and the individual plots of land having been still further divided, the *morcellement* has gone so far that some of the holdings are of the most diminutive proportions. Again, a property of twenty or twenty-five acres may be represented by thirty, forty, or fifty small patches and parcels of land scattered over an entire commune. The caring for such minute parcels of land involves an amount of labor akin to slavery. In his "Relèvement de l'Agriculture," Lafargue wrote:

France

The condition of agriculture brought about by our subdivision of land, and the distance from each other of the morsels belonging to one owner, condemn a man to work such as animals and machines ought to execute, and not only reduce him to the level of a beast, but curse the soil with sterility.

Léonce de Lavergne says in "L'Économie Rurale de l'Angleterre, d'Écosse et de l'Irlande":

Altho the French laborer is frequently proprietor of the land, and thus adds a little profit to his wages, he does not live as well as the English farm-laborer. He is not so well fed, not so well clothed, and is less comfortably lodged. He eats more bread, but it is generally made of rye with the addition of maize, buckwheat, and even chestnuts. . . . He rarely eats meat. I am acquainted with parts of France where people live on seventy centimes (fourteen cents) a day.

Mr. Pratt, in his "The Transition in Agriculture," speaks of these conditions as follows:

Nor have the results of peasant proprietorship in France been more satisfactory from a financial standpoint. "Proprietors" they may be in name, but few of the peasants hold their land free of mortgage and many of them are heavily indebted besides. They not only cultivate the soil under the most laborious of conditions, but they must meet, as best they can, the demands of the State, the usury of the money-lender, and also the fees of the lawyer who fattens alike on the land transfers and on the quarrels and lawsuits. "Of the 8,000,000 proprietors in France," wrote M. Lecouteux, when professor of rural economy at the Institute, "3,000,000

are on the pauper roll, exempt, that is, from personal taxation"; while of the remainder, at the period of which this authority speaks, 600,000 proprietors paid contributions to the State amounting to only five centimes each. "Getting rid of one order of landlords and their rents," adds M. Lecouteux, "they have subjected themselves to another, tho invisible, order—the mortgagees, and to their heavier and more rigid rents."

Nevertheless, there is a brighter side. Agricultural cooperative societies or syndicates have taken a deep hold in France, and are gradually accomplishing many beneficent reforms. France devotes some 5,000,000 acres to the cultivation of the vine, and is in many ways one of the leading agricultural countries of the world.

The system of land tenure and the condition of agricultural population is very different in different portions of the German Empire. Generally, small estates and peasant proprietorship prevail in the West-German states, while large estates prevail in the Northeast. In the Prussian provinces of Pomerania, Posen, and East and West Prussia, estates of 250 acres and more are the rule. In Westphalia and Oldenburg the agricultural laborer rents a small plot of ground from his employer on condition of giving him a certain number of days' work in return for a lower rate of wages than would otherwise be paid in the district. The laborer is a small cultivator on his own account, not as a rule rich enough to possess a team of horses, but allowed the use of his employer's team when necessary, and receiving other assistance in kind. The relations between the two parties are reported to be more favorable than in any other part of Germany. In Southern Germany small holdings prevail, but here the laborer is himself a small freeholder, who ekes out the scanty resources of his own property by performing service for the farmers who have more land than they can cultivate themselves. This becomes the more necessary, because on the death of the small freeholder any land which he has accumulated does not pass intact to his appointed heir, as in Westphalia. It is, as a rule, subdivided among his children, who must recommence the laborious process of saving, if they are ever to be in a position of independence.

Germany

Mid-Germany—i. e., the district between the Weser and Elbe—is the home of the different classes of peasant farmers and of what are known as free laborers. These are drawn from different classes of the village population, possessing larger or smaller plots of land held on different systems of tenure handed down from feudal times, and known as Kötter, Brinksitzer, Häusler, or Anbauer. To the larger farmer (*Bauer*), or to the large landed proprietor (*Gutsbesitzer*), they are all merely day-laborers in the strictest sense of the term.

In the wide expanse of territory east of the Elbe the contract between the agricultural laborer and his employer takes a great variety of forms; but in what Professor Knapp calls the most typical districts, where great estates (*Rittergüter*) are numerous and settlements of peasant farmers (*Bauerndörfer*) few, the most usual form has hitherto been that known as socage tenancy (*Instenwesen*). Here the landowner enters into a contract for a lengthened period, which assures him of the services not of an individual merely, but of a family. The family is settled in a cottage upon the landlord's estate, and must be prepared to provide a man and an assistant—a so-called socager (*Scharwerker*)—to perform the agricultural labor required on the estate. A very small daily wage is paid in return; the socage tenant generally receives a portion of garden-ground for his own use in addition to his house, and a few acres of land are cultivated for him within the estate; whatever these produce, whether corn, other kinds of produce, or potatoes, belongs to the socage tenant (*Inste*). Finally, the socage tenant has a right to thrash his landlord's corn during the winter in return for a certain proportion of the yield. This remuneration in kind is often more than he can use, but he is at liberty to sell it, and the proceeds, together with a very small daily wage, represent the extent of his pecuniary resources. As a rule he owns a cow or a few sheep, and in all cases he keeps one or two pigs. As far as health and good nourishment are concerned, the condition of such a laborer leaves little to be desired, and lately much has been done to remedy the miserable character of the cottages. Germany now produces one third of the world's output of sugar beets, and is the leading potato-producing country. Vineyards along the Rhine sometimes give a net return of $100 per acre.

In Belgium, Holland, and Denmark peasant proprietorship has gone very far, the individual holdings being very small. This very fact has, perhaps, been one of the main factors in promoting cooperation. For details, see those countries.

Agriculture has been called "the backbone of Italy." Very few parts of the civilized world, indeed, have a more distinctly agricultural character than this country, where "the rural laborers may be counted by millions, while the industrial operatives are only numbered by thousands." Great as is the importance of the agricultural question, however, it is extremely difficult to grasp, owing to the extraordinary complexity and variety of the conditions of Italian land tenure. It includes the medieval manor (*latifondo*), cultivated on the most primitive extensive system, the most perfect system of intensive cultivation on a large scale; "petite culture" pushed to the extreme of specialization, and the same methods applied to the most heterogeneous mixture of products; rents varying from 5 lire to 2,000 lire per hectare; peasant proprietorship, "metayer" farming, feudal tenancies, and hired labor. In every separate district the phenomena of rural economy have special, exclusive, characteristic features, arising from an infinite diversity of local circumstances.

Italy

There are three typical forms of agrarian contract in Italy—the "metayer" system (*mezzadria, mezzeria, colonia*), in which the principle of profit-sharing finds its simplest expression; the leasehold system (*affitto*), and the system of home cultivation by means of hired laborers (*salario*). Each of these systems has given rise to innumerable deviations in practise, and each passes by insensible gradations into the other. Many agriculturists cultivate part of their land as metayers, part as leaseholders, and part as the farm servants of a landlord. Agriculture, however, generally is in a very primitive condition. Lombardy is the garden of Italy, with 1,600,000 acres of irrigated land, and its intensive culture. Italy has over half a million people engaged in raising silkworms.

In Switzerland industry and agriculture are very closely connected. "The peasant when unoccupied by his land easily finds some useful employment in a multiplicity of other labors,

arying from tree-felling and wood-carving to he manufacture of watch-springs. The artizan or factory hand is, on the other hand, generally half a peasant, possessing some few square yards of land, with a cow or a few goats."

Switzerland

The Swiss system of land tenure, which is favorble to the formation of small freeholds, also ontributes to the prosperity of the agricultural opulation. By far the greater part of the land held in farms varying in size from two to five ectares, and in many industrial districts an inumerable quantity of minute holdings are to be ound cultivated by members of the working lass. The question of rent is an unimportant ne in Switzerland, as it is rare to find a farm hich is not worked by the owners; but owing to ie continual subdivision of property the land is n many cases heavily mortgaged.

The existence of large areas of common land *Allmend*) in Switzerland is of great benefit to the gricultural classes. These lands are said to be survival from the times when the whole soil of ie country was held by the nation in common. he first departure from this custom was made by ie Romans, who granted lands to veteran solers; gifts of land to religious foundations—to ie Abbey of St. Gall, for example, in the eighth entury—did still more to establish the principle f private property; but even as late as the thireenth and fourteenth centuries by far the greater art of the soil of Switzerland was held in comoh. In 1803, under the influence of ideas which ound expression in the French Revolution, the ommon lands were to a great extent sold by the ommunes to private persons. It was believed hat private ownership would lead to better cultvation and to the eventual decrease of poverty, ut the results showed that in most cantons the tep had led to the increase of pauperism. The ommon lands now existing include (1) gardens, rchards, and vineyards, situated for the most art in valleys or on hillsides; (2) pasture lands oth in the lowlands and on mountains; (3) forsts, where the inhabitants of the commune have he right of gathering firewood; (4) marshes, onds, peat bogs, and the shores of lakes.

Where farms are large enough to absorb more abor than the family of the owner can supply, hey are cultivated by permanent laborers, who ve with their employer and practically form art of his family. These laborers are engaged or long periods, and the best relations exist beween them and their employers. Day-laborers, n the other hand, find themselves in a very untable position, as the demand for extra labor is ot continuous, but confined to certain seasons of he year, such as the hay harvest.

Of the remaining countries of Europe, Austria nd Russia, which are the most important agriulturally, present sharp contrasts with modern ethods on some farms, and most primitive methods generally. For the division of the land, see the article on the respective countries, and for statistics as to crops, see the last division of this article. Spain has ew advanced methods, in spite of her extensive ultivation of vines, oranges, and olives. In outh America the Argentine Republic is taking large place in the world's agricultural market ith wheat, wool, cattle, and wine. Brazil holds leading place with coffee. In Mexico the raisng of cattle and sheep is the main agricultural interest. For Canadian conditions, see CANADA. In Africa, Egypt under English administration and Fellah labor produces large amounts of sugar and high-grade cotton. China and India, in spite of ancient methods and rude implements, produce important crops by irrigation and garden-like culture. For Australia, see AUSTRALIA.

Other Countries

REFERENCES: *Primitive Property*, by Émile de Laveleye, Eng. transl., 1878; *History of Agriculture and Prices in England* (1882), and *Work and Wages* (1885), by Rogers; *The English Village Communities*, by F. Seebohm, 1889; *Travels in France*, by Arthur Young; *One Hundred Years' Progress*, in the *Report of the U. S. Department of Agriculture*, 1872; *American Farms*, by J. R. Elliot; *Land and Labor in the U. S.*, by W. G. Moody; *The Transition in Agriculture*, by E. A. Pratt, 1906. Consult also various government reports.

Statistics of Agriculture

United States

Persons engaged in agriculture (at least ten years of age)

Agricultural laborers	4,410,877	3,747,668	663,209	3,004,061
Dairymen and dairy-women	10,875	9,983	892	17,895
Farmers, planters, and overseers	5,674,875	5,367,169	307,706	5,281,557
Gardeners, florists, nurserymen, etc	61,788	58,928	2,860	72,601
Lumbermen and raftsmen	72,020	71,920	100	65,866
Stock raisers, herders, and drovers	84,988	83,056	1,932	70,729
Turpentine farmers and laborers	24,735	24,454	281	*
Wood-choppers	36,075	35,962	113	33,697
Other agricultural pursuits	5,532	5,289	243	*19,520
Total	10,381,765	9,404,429	977,336	8,565,926

* From the *Twelfth Census*, vol. v.

NUMBER AND ACREAGE OF FARMS, AND NUMBER OF ACRES IMPROVED AND UNIMPROVED: 1850 TO 1900*

YEAR	Number of farms	Total acres in farms	Average number of acres to a farm	PER CENT OF FARM LAND	
				Improved	Unimproved
1900	5,737,372	838,591,774	146.2	49.4	50.6
1890†	4,564,641	623,218,619	136.5	57.4	42.6
1880†	4,008,907	536,081,835	133.7	53.1	46.9
1870†	2,659,985	407,735,041	153.3	46.3	53.7
1860	2,044,077	407,212,538	199.2	40.1	59.9
1850	1,449,073	293,560,614	202.6	38.5	61.5

* From the *Twelfth Census*, vol. v., pp. xvii, xviii, xxi, and xxii.

† Not including farms of less than three acres, which reported the sale of less than $500 worth of products in the census year.

VALUE OF FARM PROPERTY: 1850 TO 1900*

YEAR	Value of all farm property	PER CENT OF VALUE OF ALL FARM PROPERTY IN—		
		Farm land, with improvements, including buildings	Implements and machinery	Live stock
1900	$20,439,901,164	81.3	3.7	15.0
1890	16,082,267,689	82.6	3.1	14.3
1880	12,180,501,538	83.7	3.3	13.0
1870†	11,124,958,747	83.3	3.0	13.7
1860	7,980,493,063	83.3	3.1	13.6
1850	3,967,343,580	82.5	3.8	13.7

* From the *Twelfth Census*, vol. v., pp. xxxiv., 694, 696, 698, and 700.

† Values for 1870 were reported in depreciated currency. To reduce to specie basis of other years they must be diminished one fifth.

NUMBER OF FARMS OF SPECIFIED ACREAGE: 1900, 1890, AND 1880 *

YEAR	Under 3 acres	3 and under 10 acres	10 and under 20 acres	20 and under 50 acres	50 and under 100 acres	100 and under 500 acres	500 and under 1,000 acres	1,000 acres and over
1900	† 41,385	225,844	406,641	1,257,496	1,366,038	2,290,282	102,526	47,16
1890	(‡)	(‡)	265,550	902,777	1,121,485	2,008,694	84,395	31,54
1880	§ 4,352	134,889	254,749	781,574	1,032,810	1,695,983	75,972	28,57

PER CENT OF FARMS

YEAR	Under 3 acres	3 and under 10 acres	10 and under 20 acres	20 and under 50 acres	50 and under 100 acres	100 and under 500 acres	500 and under 1,000 acres	1,000 acres and over
1900	0.7	4.0	7.1	21.9	23.8	39.9	1.8	0.8
1890	.....	.....	5.8	19.8	24.6	44.0	1.8	0.7
1880	0.1	3.4	6.3	19.5	25.8	42.3	1.9	0.7

* From *Twelfth Census*, vol. v., pp. xlv. and 690.
† Including all farms of less than three acres that, continuously, require the labor of one individual.
‡ Not separately reported, but included with farms under ten acres, numbering 150,194 or 3.3 per cent of all farms.
§ Including only those that reported the sale of products of $500 or over in the census year.

PRODUCTION OF CROPS *

CROP	Unit of measure	1850	1900	1905
Corn	Bushel	592,071,104	2,666,324,370	2,707,993,540
Wheat	"	100,485,943	658,534,252	692,979,489
Oats	"	146,584,179	943,389,375	953,216,197
Barley	"	5,167,015	119,634,877	136,651,020
Rye	"	14,188,813	25,568,625	28,485,952
Buckwheat	"	8,956,912	11,233,515	14,585,082
Rice	Pound	215,313,497	250,280,227	637,000,000
Flaxseed	Bushel	562,312	19,979,492	23,400,534
Hay, forage	Ton	13,838,642	† 79,251,562	60,531,611
Cotton	Bale ‡	2,469,093	9,534,707	11,320,000
Tobacco	Pound	199,752,655	868,112,865	633,033,719
Hemp	"	69,742,000	11,750,630	.....
Beans	Bushel	§ 9,219,901	5,064,490	.....
Peas	"	(§)	9,440,210	.....
Potatoes	"	65,797,896	273,318,167	260,741,294
Sweet "	"	38,268,148	42,517,412	.....

* From the *Twelfth Census*, vol. vi., pp. 72, 76, 80, 84, 88, 92, 94, 216, 326, 330, 419, 425, 436, 438, and 591; and *Eleventh Census*, Agriculture, p. 89.
† Exclusive of cornstalks.
‡ Commercial bale.
§ Beans and peas given as one crop.

A.—FARMS CLASSIFIED BY TENURE

Owners	3,148,648	54.9	59.8	21.0	90.4	4.9
Part owners	451,376	7.9	8.5	4.0	2.7	1.0
Owners and tenants	53,299	0.9	1.0	0.2	0.6	0.1
Managers	59,085	1.0	1.2	0.2	0.3	1.6
Cash tenants	751,665	13.1	9.6	36.6	1.1	76.8
Share tenants	1,273,299	22.2	19.9	38.0	4.9	15.6

B.—FARMS CLASSIFIED BY AREA IN ACRES

Under 3	41,385	0.7	0.7	0.6	3.9	7.6
3 and under 10	225,844	3.9	3.5	6.8	10.6	15.9
10 and under 20	406,641	7.1	5.7	16.0	13.2	17.7
20 and under 50	1,257,496	21.9	18.3	45.9	20.4	24.2
50 and under 100	1,366,038	23.8	24.8	18.0	12.6	14.4
100 and under 175	1,422,262	24.8	27.2	8.9	17.7	12.3
175 and under 260	490,069	8.6	9.5	2.2	4.5	5.2
260 and under 500	377,951	6.6	7.4	1.2	7.9	2.0
500 and under 1,000	102,526	1.8	2.0	0.3	6.1	0.3
1,000 and over	47,160	0.8	0.9	0.1	3.1	0.4

† From the *Twelfth Census*, vol. v., pp. lxvi., xciv., xcvii., civ., cxii., 4, and 5.

NUMBER OF FARMS OF SPECIFIED TENURE *

YEAR	Number of Farms	PER CENT OF FARMS OPERATED BY—		
		Owners	Cash Tenants	Share Tenan
1900	5,737,372	64.7	13.1	22.2
1890 †	4,564,641	71.6	10.0	18.4
1880 †	4,008,907	74.5	8.0	17.5

* From the *Twelfth Census*, vol. v., p. 688.
† Not including farms with an area of less than three acre which reported the sale of less than $500 worth of produce the census year.

FARMS OPERATED BY FARMERS OF SPECIFIED RACE †

CLASSIFICATION OF FARM	Number of farms	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION				
		All farms	Farms operated by farmers of specified race			
			White	Negro	Indian	Mongo-
All farms	5,737,372	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100

Great Britain and Ireland

PERSONS ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURE ‡

	1881	1891	1901
Farmers, graziers	633,787	597,878	577,17
Farmers, graziers, sons or other relatives returned as assisting in the work on the farm	280,964	297,099	320,97
Agricultural laborers, farm servants	1,192,725	1,072,059	869,72
Gardeners, nurserymen, seedsmen, florists	168,846	199,014	239,68
Others—shepherds, farm bailiffs, etc	86,009	83,706	102,24
Total	2,362,331	2,249,756	2,109,81

‡ From the *General Report* on the 1901 census.

Cultivated Land

	England Million Acres	Wales Million Acres	Scotland Million Acres	Great Britain Million Acres
1871–75	23.91	2.65	4.56	31.12
1905	24.61	2.79	4.88	32.28

Arable Land

1871–75	13.69	1.07	3.48	18.24
1905	10.85	0.81	3.43	15.09

Holdings and Acreage

	No. of Holdings, 1905	Acreage under crops and grass	Average size	
			1905	1895
England	372,144	24,611,186	66.1	65.3
Wales	60,429	2,794,661	46.2	47.1
Scotland	79,131	4,880,985	61.7	61.5
Great Britain	511,704	32,286,832	63.1	62.6
Ireland	515,803	4,656,227	9.02	9.4*

* 1896 figures.

The various sizes of these holdings were:

	1–5 Acres	5–50 Acres	50–300 Acres	Above 300 Acres
England	81,232	166,622	109,498	14,792
Wales	10,342	31,671	18,008	408
Scotland	18,685	34,673	23,055	2,718
Great Britain	110,259	232,966	150,561	17,918
Ireland	62,126	363,541	* 80,564	† 9,572

* 50–200 acres.
† Above 200 acres.

Concerning allotments of one acre and under in Great Britain, these numbered in 1895 579,133; those of less than one acre were 541,990, and of one acre, 37,143.

In Ireland there were, in 1905, 78,001 holdings not exceeding one acre.

Live Stock, 1876–1906

Year	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
1876	1,863,410	9,995,028	32,262,579	3,734,429
1886	1,927,527	10,872,811	28,955,240	3,497,165
1896	2,115,440	10,941,655	30,853,789	4,300,960
1906	2,108,879	11,732,061	29,109,971	3,499,232

Acreage under Crops and Grass

	1876–80 (Acres)	1891–5 (Acres)	1901–5 (Acres)
Wheat	3,190,086	2,016,467	1,676,839
Barley	2,752,850	2,277,014	2,024,180
Oats	4,170,324	4,370,834	4,203,003
Beans and peas	755,700	495,797	424,490
Potatoes	1,384,515	1,266,218	1,214,284
Turnips, swedes and mangolds	2,792,956	2,656,574	2,394,222
Flax	138,404	83,420	48,744
Total arable land	.....	20,345,937	19,135,694
Permanent grass	.....	27,642,070	28,577,400
Total acreage under crops and grass	47,403,060	47,988,007	47,713,094

Acreage under Crops, 1906

The figures for the United Kingdom include the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands.

	Great Britain	Ireland	United Kingdom
Corn Crops—	*Acres*	*Acres*	*Acres*
Wheat	1,755,696	43,888	1,801,279
Barley	1,751,238	176,520	1,931,627
Oats	3,042,926	1,076,281	4,138,378
Rye	64,808	10,336	75,415
Beans	288,891	1,959	290,978
Peas	153,979	301	154,430
Total	7,057,538	1,309,285	8,392,107

The acreage under wheat in 1906 was a decrease of 41,299 acres for Great Britain, and an increase of 6,028 acres for Ireland. The acreage under barley increased in both countries.

Produce of Crops, 1905–6

	Total Produce	Yield per acre	Average yield per acre for 10 years 1896–1905
	Bushels	*Bushels*	*Bushels*
Wheat	59,091,772	33.66	31.22
Barley	60,553,977	34.58	33.04
Oats	123,383,857	40.55	38.92
Beans	9,970,892	34.73	28.59
Peas	4,515,783	30.21	26.61
	Tons	*Tons*	
Potatoes	3,428,711	6.06	5.78
Turnips and swedes	22,627,840	14.22	12.96
Mangold	8,538,480	19.79	18.70
	Tons	*Cwts.*	*Cwts.*
Hay (clover, sainfoin, etc.)	3,200,969	29.21	29.06
Hay (permanent grass)	5,384,892	22.51	23.49
Hops (cwts.)	245,688	5.26	....

Germany

Number of Farms under Cultivation

Year	Of less than 2 hectares	2–5 hectares	5–20 hectares	20–50 hectares	50–100 hectares	100–500 hectares	More than 500 hectares	Total farms
1895	3,236,367	1,016,318	998,804	239,643	42,124	20,881	4,180	5,558,317
Per cent	58.2	18.3	18.0	4.3	0.7	0.4	0.1	100
1882	3,061,831	981,407	926,605	239,887	41,623	20,847	4,144	5,276,344
Per cent	58.0	18.6	17.6	4.5	0.8	0.4	0.1	100

Land under Cultivation and Its Distribution According to Sizes of Farms

1895 (hectares)	2,415,914	4,142,071	12,537,660	9,459,240	3,697,961	6,571,104	4,460,792	43,284,742
Per cent	5.5	9.6	29.0	21.9	8.5	15.2	10.3	100
1882 (hectares)	2,159,358	3,832,902	11,492,017	9,080,545	3,334,918	6,053,415	4,225,526	40,178,681
Per cent	5.4	9.5	28.6	22.6	8.3	15.1	10.5	100

Of the total number of farms in 1895, 4,626,483 were entirely devoted to agriculture, and the remainder (931,834 farms) to forestry and agriculture combined. The total number of hectares under crops was 32,517,941; under forests, 7,582,276; and under crops and forests combined, 3,184,525.

MAIN CROPS, 1893–1905. (In Tons)

YEAR	Rye	Wheat	Potatoes	Oats
1893	8,941,914	3,405,021	40,724,386	4,180,457
1894	8,343,033	3,336,369	33,608,894	6,580,100
1895	7,724,902	3,171,844	37,786,006	6,244,473
1896	8,534,037	3,419,928	32,329,046	5,969,465
1897	8,170,511	3,263,235	33,776,060	5,718,644
1898	9,032,175	3,607,610	36,720,609	6,754,120
1899	8,675,792	3,847,447	38,486,202	6,882,687
1900	8,550,659	3,841,165	40,585,317	7,091,930
1901	8,162,660	2,498,851	48,687,261	7,050,153
1902	9,494,150	3,900,396	43,462,393	7,467,250
1903	9,904,493	3,555,064	42,901,530	7,873,385
1904	10,060,762	3,804,828	36,287,192	6,936,003
1905	9,606,827	3,699,882	48,323,353	6,546,502

The hay harvest in 1905 was 26,265,411 tons. There were also produced 487,068 tons of spelt and 2,921,953 tons of barley. The following figures show the proportions between the areas of cultivated land under the different crops in 1905: Rye, 15.6; wheat, 19.2; spelt, 14.6; barley, 17.9; potatoes, 145.7; oats, 15.7; hay, 44.1.

In the entire German Empire there were, in 1900, 52,332,000 apple-trees; 25,116,000 pear-trees; 69,436,000 plum-trees, and 21,548,000 cherry-trees. Total fruit-trees, 168,432,000. In 1905 there were 39,511 hectares of land under hops, the total harvest being 58,513,800 pounds. The wine production in 1905 amounted to 3,855,978 hectoliters (about 102,000,000 gallons), to a total value of 109,000,000 marks. The total area of land under tobacco was, in 1904, 15,883 hectares, yielding 68,761,800 pounds of tobacco.

The World

PERSONS ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES *

COUNTRY	Year	Persons	Per cent of population
United States	1900	10,512,029	35.9
	1890	8,626,088	38.0
Germany	1895	8,292,692	37.5
	1882	8,236,496	43.4
Austria	1900	8,205,331	58.2
	1890	8,469,223	64.3
Hungary	1900	6,055,390	68.6
	1890	5,425,205	69.9
Russia	1897	18,245,287	58.3
Italy	1901	9,666,467	59.4
	1881	8,580,978	56.7
Switzerland	1888	488,534	37.4
France	1896	8,421,319	44.3
	1891	6,535,599	40.0
Belgium	1900	697,372	21.1
	1890	649,252	22.9
Netherlands	1899	592,774	30.7
	1889	541,274	32.7
Denmark	1901	531,165	48.0
	1890	228,316	27.1
Sweden	1900	982,986	49.8
	1890	944,562	54.0
Norway	1900	359,763	41.0
	1891	384,426	49.6
England and Wales	1901	1,152,495	8.0
	1891	1,336,945	10.4
Scotland	1901	237,311	12.0
	1891	249,124	14.0
Ireland	1901	876,062	44.5
	1891	940,621	44.0
Great Britain	1901	2,265,868	12.4
	1891	2,526,690	15.1

* From the *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*, 1906.

The following tables have been compiled from the Year Book of the U. S. Department of Agriculture (1905), except where otherwise stated:

WHEAT CROP OF THE WORLD

COUNTRY	1901	1905	Percentage of world crop (approximate)
	Bushels	*Bushels*	
United States	748,460,000	692,979,000	20
Ontario	22,118,000	22,195,000	..
Manitoba	52,094,000	57,518,000	..
Northwest Territories	13,212,000	29,309,000	..
Rest of Canada	4,000,000	4,000,000	..
Total Canada	91,424,000	113,022,000	3
Mexico	12,021,000	6,000,000	..
Total N. America	851,905,000	812,001,000	24
South America	87,417,000	171,445,000	5
United Kingdom	55,581,000	62,059,000	2
Norway	300,000	300,000	..
Sweden	4,193,000	5,419,000	..
Denmark	942,000	4,500,000	..
Netherlands	4,231,000	4,400,000	..
Belgium	14,143,000	13,000,000	10
France	310,938,000	338,785,000	..
Spain	136,905,000	83,605,000	..
Portugal	10,000,000	5,000,000	5
Italy	164,587,000	160,000,000	..
Switzerland	4,400,000	4,090,000	..
Germany	91,817,000	135,947,000	4
Austria-Hungary	180,900,000	227,646,000	7
Rumania	72,386,000	100,000,000	..
Bulgaria	24,000,000	39,000,000	..
Servia	8,102,000	12,300,000	..
Montenegro	200,000	200,000	..
Turkey in Europe	22,000,000	20,000,000	..
Greece	6,400,000	6,000,000	..
Russia in Europe	401,772,000	568,532,000	17
Total Europe	1,513,797,000	1,790,693,000	54
Russia in Asia	61,149,000	107,903,000	3
India (British)	264,825,000	281,263,000	9
Asia, other	69,600,000	66,969,000	..
Total Asia	395,574,000	456,135,000	14
Africa	50,672,000	41,500,000	1
Australia	49,877,000	56,215,000	2
New Zealand	6,733,000	9,411,000	..
Total	2,955,975,000	3,337,400,000	..

The wheat crop of the United States for 1906 was approximately 740,000,000 bushels; that of the United Kingdom, 50,091,772.

EXPORTS *

COUNTRY	1900	1904
	Bushels	*Bushels*
Argentina	73,495,142	90,115,115
Australia	14,516,808	38,376,297
Belgium	9,700,854	18,217,597
Bulgaria	5,140,065	20,286,368
Canada	14,773,908	20,646,926
Chile	422,465	3,146,413
Germany †	12,463,765	8,640,465
India (British)	1,632,649	83,128,241
Netherlands	28,487,704	41,268,227
Rumania	27,664,693	26,719,065
Russia	74,140,227	‡173,935,704
Servia	3,641,128	3,098,326
United States	215,990,073	44,012,910
Other countries	15,658,000	10,268,000
Total	497,727,481	581,859,654

IMPORTS

Belgium	41,846,866	64,160,456
Brazil	§10,800,000	§14,400,000
Denmark	3,171,461	5,735,740
Finland	3,463,811	3,413,760
France	5,809,831	8,625,293
Germany †	49,245,745	75,436,443
Greece	6,873,282	5,878,684
Italy	26,941,158	29,670,497
Japan	3,056,847	6,701,969
Netherlands	44,416,219	58,916,277
Portugal	5,029,092	3,282,298
Spain	8,502,071	8,253,950
Switzerland	14,684,666	19,072,525
United Kingdom	182,099,771	219,713,498
Other countries	33,075,000	37,063,000
Total	439,015,820	560,324,390

* Flour included, being converted into grain at the rate of four and a half bushels to the barrel.
† Not including free ports.
‡ Preliminary figures excluding the trade over the Asiatic frontier (excepting the Black Sea ports of the Caucasus).
§ Estimated.

GENERAL NOTE.—It should not be expected that the world's export and import totals for any year will agree. Among sources of disagreement are these: (1) Different periods of time covered in the "year" of the various countries; (2) imports received in year subsequent to year of export; (3) want of uniformity in classification of goods among countries; (4) different practises and varying degrees of failure in recording countries of origin and ultimate destination; (5) different practises of recording re-exported goods; (6) opposite methods of treating free ports; (7) clerical errors, which, it may be assumed, are not infrequent.

The exports given are domestic exports and the imports given are imports for consumption, as far as it is feasible and consistent so to express the facts; no statement is for net exports or net imports. While there are some inevitable omissions from such a table as this, on the other hand, there are some duplications because of reshipments that do not appear as such in official reports.

INDIAN CORN

COUNTRY	1900	1904	Per cent of world crop
	Bushels	*Bushels*	
United States*	2,105,103,000	2,467,481,000	79
Canada (Ontario)	27,947,000	20,880,000	..
Mexico	92,204,000	90,000,000	..
Total N. America	2,225,254,000	2,578,361,000	83
Chile	1,500,000	1,477,000	..
Argentina	55,612,000	175,189,000	..
Uruguay	3,035,000	3,035,000	..
Total S. America	60,147,000	179,701,000	5
France	22,232,000	23,000,000	..
Spain	26,016,000	21,300,000	..
Portugal	16,000,000	15,000,000	..
Italy	87,969,000	87,000,000	..
Austria-Hungary	161,793,000	83,295,000	..
Rumania	85,047,000	19,598,000	..
Bulgaria and East Rumelia	18,000,000	18,000,000	..
Servia	18,472,000	9,498,000	..
Russia	34,256,000	26,032,000	..
Total Europe	469,785,000	302,723,000	9
Africa	27,350,000	33,391,000	1
Australasia	10,025,000	10,519,000	..

* The corn crop of the United States in 1905 was 2,707,993,590 bushels; that of 1906 (approximately) 2,881,000,000.

OATS

COUNTRY	1901	1905	Per cent of world crop (approximate)
	Bushels	*Bushels*	
United States	736,809,000	953,216,000	27
Ontario	80,803,000	108,890,000	..
Manitoba	28,673,000	46,917,000	..
Northwest Territory	11,463,000	29,631,000	..
Rest of Canada	50,000,000	50,000,000	..
Total Canada	170,939,000	235,440,000	7
Total N. America	907,748,000	1,188,656,000	34
United Kingdom	175,816,000	181,706,000	5
France	225,283,000	282,642,000	8
Germany	485,716,000	451,017,000	12
Austria-Hungary	192,088,000	208,351,000	6
Russia in Europe	595,658,000	851,706,000	24
Total Europe	1,884,945,000	2,188,258,000	62
Asia	28,439,000	84,949,000	2
Africa	9,373,000	8,000,000	..
Australia	12,423,000	9,064,000	..
New Zealand	19,687,000	15,012,000	..
Total Australasia	32,110,000	24,076,000	..
Grand total	2,862,615,000	3,493,939,000	..

BARLEY

	Bushels	*Bushels*	
United States	109,933,000	136,651,000	11
Canada	28,851,000	46,288,000	4
Mexico	7,727,000	7,500,000	..
Total N. America	146,511,000	190,439,000	16
United Kingdom	69,841,000	66,541,000	6
France	38,857,000	42,873,000	4
Germany	152,537,000	134,204,000	10
Austria-Hungary	120,213,000	136,151,000	10
Russia in Europe	235,760,000	338,854,000	28
Total Europe	782,326,000	857,284,000	73
Russia in Asia	4,157,000	8,109,000	..
Japan	83,352,000	70,000,000	6
Total Asia	87,509,000	78,109,000	7
Africa	52,919,000	44,850,000	4
Australia	1,870,000	2,116,000	..
New Zealand	1,060,000	1,164,000	..
Grand total	1,072,195,000	1,173,962,000	..

RYE

	Bushels	*Bushels*	
United States	30,345,000	28,486,000	2
Canada	3,489,000	2,633,000	..
Total N. America	33,834,000	31,119,000	2
United Kingdom	2,000,000	2,000,000	..
France	58,198,000	60,267,000	4
Germany	321,350,000	378,204,000	26
Austria-Hungary	119,171,000	155,119,000	10
Russia in Europe	738,923,000	708,707,000	50
Total Europe	1,366,186,000	1,415,800,000	96
Russia in Asia	16,002,000	28,733,000	2
Grand total	1,416,022,000	1,475,652,000	..

POTATOES

COUNTRY	1900	1904	Per cent of world crop (approximate)
	Bushels	*Bushels*	
United States	210,927,000	332,830,000	8
Canada	57,108,000	55,436,000	1
Mexico	269,000	†400,000	..
Newfoundland	1,354,000	*1,350,000	..
Total N. America	269,658,000	390,016,000	10
Chile	10,000,000	6,131,000	..
Austria-Hungary	611,005,000	520,460,000	12
Belgium	87,913,000	91,632,000	2
Denmark	23,332,000	24,214,000	..
Finland	15,367,000	†16,500,000	..
France	426,422,000	451,039,000	10
Germany	1,491,255,000	1,333,326,000	31
Italy	*29,395,000	*29,395,000	..
Malta	901,000	733,000	..
Netherlands	80,415,000	94,421,000	2
Norway	22,924,000	17,253,000	..
Rumania	3,482,000	3,001,000	..
Russia, European	944,215,000	893,908,000	20
Servia	1,047,000	718,000	..
Spain	†84,481,000	†84,481,000	2
Sweden	57,216,000	51,314,000	1
United Kingdom:			
Great Britain	102,106,000	133,961,000	3
Ireland	68,762,000	98,635,000	2
T'l Un'd Kingdom	170,868,000	232,596,000	5
Total Europe	4,050,238,000	3,844,991,000	89
Japan	9,890,000	11,274,000	..
Russia, Asiatic	18,054,000	18,800,000	..
Total Asia	27,944,000	30,074,000	..
Africa	2,678,000	4,048,000	..
Australia	15,202,000	16,777,000	..
New Zealand	6,311,000	5,025,000	..
Total	4,382,031,000	4,297,062,000	..

* Estimated from returns for census year.
† Average production.

RICE [Cleaned]

COUNTRY	1900	1904	Per cent of world crop (app.)
	Pounds	*Pounds*	
United States (including Philippine Islands and Hawaii)	964,300,000	1,163,400,000	1
United States (in North America)	*253,100,000	586,000,000	..
Mexico	45,800,000	†48,700,000	..
North America	307,300,000	643,800,000	..
South America	24,600,000	25,000,000	..
Italy	1,614,100,000	†1,644,700,000	2
Spain	431,300,000	394,600,000	2
British India	47,024,800,000	49,682,900,000	50
Ceylon	528,000,000	†558,800,000	..
French Indo-China	8,500,000,000	8,500,000,000	8
Japanese Empire	14,291,900,000	18,658,700,000	19
Java and Madura	10,644,000,000	†10,091,200,000	10
Korea	§3,800,000,000	†3,700,000,000	3
Philippine Islands	‖677,800,000	544,000,000	..
Siam	§3,600,000,000	§4,600,000,000	4
Straits Settlements	‡86,000,000	†95,000,000	1
Total Asia	89,152,500,000	96,430,600,000	98

RICE [Cleaned]—(*Continued*)

COUNTRY	1900	1904	Per cent of world crop (app.)
	Pounds	*Pounds*	
Egypt	20,000,000	20,000,000	..
Fiji	‡1,000,000	†3,000,000	..
Hawaii	¶33,400,000	¶33,400,000	..
Total Oceania	34,600,000	36,400,000	..
Total	91,584,400,000	99,195,100,000	..

* Commercial movement. † 1903 figures used.
‡ Estimated from official returns for acreage.
§ Estimated from exports of this country, and from per capita consumption of Japan for 1894–1903 (300 pounds per annum). ‖ Census, 1902. ¶ Census, 1899.

SUGAR

COUNTRY	1901-2	1905-6	Per cent of world product (app.)
CANE SUGAR	*Tons**	*Tons**	
United States:			
Louisiana	321,676	330,000	5
Texas	(†)	12,000	..
Porto Rico	85,000	210,000	3
Hawaii	317,509	370,000	5
Cuba	850,181	1,300,000	20
Mexico	103,110	105,000	1
Brazil	349,088	275,000	4
Total America	2,742,191	3,291,308	49
Asia:			
British India‡	2,022,476	1,725,300	26
Java	767,130	993,900	15
Philippine Islands	78,637	135,625	2
Total Asia	2,868,243	2,854,825	42
Oceania	169,858	223,000	3
Africa	278,926	295,000	4
Europe: Spain	28,000	28,000	..
Total cane-sugar production	6,087,218	6,692,133	..
BEET SUGAR			
Europe:			
Germany	2,305,013	2,425,000	33
Austria-Hungary	1,301,548	1,510,000	21
France	1,123,545	1,085,000	15
Russia	1,098,983	1,000,000	14
Belgium	324,960	330,000	4
Netherlands	203,193	210,000	3
Other countries	393,236	410,000	5
Total Europe	6,750,478	6,970,000	96
Total United States	163,126	283,717	4
Canada	.....	11,419	..
Total beet-sugar production	6,913,604	7,265,136	..
Total cane and beet sugar	13,000,822	13,957,269	..

* European beet-sugar production, as estimated by Licht, in metric tons of 2,204,622 pounds; sugar production of India, as officially estimated, in long tons of 2,240 pounds; and other data, as estimated by Willett and Gray, also in long tons of 2,240 pounds.
† Not estimated.
‡ Official estimates for such parts of India as return agricultural statistics.

The beet-sugar product of the United States in 1906 was, approximately, 345,000,000 long tons.

Tobacco

Country	1900	1904	Per cent of world crop (app.)
	Pounds	*Pounds*	
United States:			
Continental	814,345,000	660,461,000	32
Porto Rico	6,000,000	*7,000,000	..
Total United States in North America	820,345,000	667,461,000	32
Total Canada	†11,267,000	‡11,035,000	..
Cuba	§54,400,000	§45,748,000	2
Mexico	20,599,000	*25,000,000	1
Brazil*	55,000,000	55,000,000	3
Austria-Hungary	143,782,000	102,815,000	5
Russia	153,609,000	*174,000,000	8
Total Europe	485,727,000	452,010,000	22
British India*	441,000,000	441,000,000	22
Dutch East Indies	92,918,000	96,100,000	4
Japan	90,473,000	†106,075,000	5
Philippine Islands	§35,100,000	§33,100,000	1
Turkey||	*66,000,000	§90,000,000	4
Total Asia	725,491,000	766,275,000	37
Total Africa	25,582,000	21,487,000	1
Total Australia	1,631,000	760,000	..
Fiji	14,000	58,000	..
Total Oceania	1,645,000	818,000	..
Total	2,201,193,000	2,046,817,000	..

* Average production.
† Census.
‡ Estimated from returns for census year.
§ Unofficial estimate.
|| Including European Turkey.

Wine

The following table shows estimates of wine production in gallons by the principal wine-producing countries according to the French publication *Moniteur Vinicole*, and is for the year 1903:

Country	Gallons	Per cent of world product (approximate)
France	935,223,510	30
Italy	898,178,000	28
Spain	396,255,000	12
Algeria	157,806,625	5
Austria	124,159,900	4
Portugal	92,459,500	3
Russia	73,967,600	2
Chile	60,759,100	2
Turkey and Cyprus	55,475,700	2
Hungary	55,475,700	2
Bulgaria	52,834,000	1
Germany	50,192,300	1
United States	44,908,900	1
Rumania	34,342,100	1
Greece	34,342,100	1
Argentine Republic	26,417,000	..
Switzerland	15,850,200	..
Servia	11,887,650	..
Brazil	7,264,675	..
Australia	6,604,250	..
Tunis	6,604,250	..
Other countries	21,363,661	..
Total	3,162,371,721	..

Hops

Country	1901	1905	Per cent of world crop (approximate)
	Pounds	*Pounds*	
United States	38,800,000	51,200,000	20
Austria-Hungary	33,426,000	40,005,000	15
Belgium	9,149,000	*11,000,000	4
France	7,056,000	*6,800,000	2
Germany	27,599,000	64,500,000	24
Netherlands	137,000	†125,000	..
Russia*	11,000,000	14,500,000	6
United Kingdom	72,731,000	77,946,000	30
Total Europe	161,098,000	214,876,000	80
Total Australasia	2,004,000	2,194,000	..
Total‡	201,902,000	268,270,000	..

* Unofficial estimate.
† Average production.
‡ Excluding Canada, for which the census of 1901 shows a production during the preceding year of 1,001,203 pounds.

Wool (1904)*

Country	Pounds	Per cent of world product (approximate)
United States	291,783,032	11
British Provinces	12,000,000	..
Mexico	10,000,000	..
Total North America	313,783,032	12
Central America and West Indies	5,000,000	..
Argentina	370,000,000	14
Brazil	1,500,000	..
Chile	7,500,000	..
Uruguay	96,000,000	4
Venezuela	15,000,000	..
Other South America	20,000,000	..
Total South America	510,000,000	19
Great Britain and Ireland	133,124,762	5
France	91,000,000	3
Spain	102,600,000	4
Portugal	13,410,000	..
Germany	49,590,000	2
Italy	21,451,000	..
Austria-Hungary	64,300,000	1
Russia, including Poland	361,100,000	14
Sweden and Norway	8,200,000	..
Turkey and Balkan Peninsula	67,500,000	2
Other Europe	14,000,000	..
Total Europe	926,275,762	35
Russia	60,000,000	2
Central Asia	46,000,000	1
British India	85,000,000	3
Asiatic Turkey	33,000,000	1
China	35,000,000	1
Other Asia	15,000,000	..
Total Asia	274,000,000	10
Africa	134,425,000	5
Australasia	480,000,000	17
Oceania	50,000	..
Grand total	2,643,533,794	..

* From statistics prepared by W. J. Battison of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers.

Exports of Wool

Country	1900	1903	1904
	Pounds	*Pounds*	*Pounds*
Algeria	12,221,851	16,689,429	21,519,315
Argentina	222,915,944	425,467,795	371,697,065
Australia	335,722,862	324,563,030	395,130,825
Belgium	24,174,749	47,128,185	42,106,322
Cape of Good Hope	27,671,036	65,524,078	38,733,879
France	103,492,296	117,425,271	130,119,445
India (British)	22,148,531	33,326,503	38,602,768
Netherlands	20,139,509	42,214,830	33,032,572
New Zealand	140,706,486	155,128,381	126,834,850
Peru	7,793,334	9,257,920	7,952,000
Russia	30,775,906	30,071,056	*35,137,754
Spain	13,794,481	25,096,103	28,808,285
United Kingdom	24,928,800	35,950,200	37,858,500
Uruguay	58,984,957	92,124,262	‡87,153,504
Other countries	120,434,000	165,342,000	143,228,000
Total	1,165,904,742	1,585,309,043	1,537,915,084

Imports

Belgium	92,500,170	118,802,547	116,471,580
France	418,173,779	523,823,309	465,475,496
Germany§	346,268,073	425,726,618	413,781,976
Netherlands	28,122,934	49,996,876	42,618,842
Russia	39,046,076	71,007,060	†35,354,431
United Kingdom	382,432,027	351,928,151	344,758,631
United States	103,583,505	173,742,834	249,135,746

* Including wool combed, carded, and dyed.
† Preliminary figures excluding the trade over the Asiatic frontier (excepting the Black Sea ports of the Caucasus).
‡ Average of 1900–3. § Not including free ports.

Silk *

Country	1900	1904	Per cent of world product (approximate)
Western Europe:	*Pounds*	*Pounds*	
France	1,623,000	1,378,000	3
Italy	10,000,000	10,803,000	24
Spain	185,000	170,000	..
Austria-Hungary	690,000	694,000	1
Total	12,498,000	13,045,000	29
Levant and Central Asia:			
Anatolia	838,000	1,096,000	..
Syria and Cyprus	992,000	1,036,000	..
Salonika and Adrianople	31,000	564,000	..
Balkan States	168,000	337,000	..
Greece and Crete	110,000	143,000	..
Caucasus	772,000	794,000	..
Persia and Turkestan (exports)	683,000	939,000	..
Total	3,894,000	4,909,000	11
Far East:			
China—			
Exports from Shanghai	10,199,000	9,293,000	31
Exports from Canton	4,422,000	4,705,000	
Japan—			
Exports from Yokohama	9,094,000	12,846,000	28
British India—			
Exports from Calcutta	617,000	397,000	..
Total	24,332,000	27,241,000	..
Grand total	40,724,000	45,195,000	..

* Estimate of the Silk Manufacturers' Association of Lyons.

Cotton Spindles in Operation

Country	1906	1901
Great Britain	50,000,000	46,100,000
Continent	35,500,000	33,350,000
United States	24,781,000	20,870,000
East Indies	5,200,000	5,007,000
Total	115,481,000	105,627,000

Cotton

[Bales of 500 pounds, gross weight, or 478 pounds of lint, net]

Country	1900	1904	Per cent of world crop (app.)
	Bales	*Bales*	
Total United States (including the Philippine Islands)	10,129,125	13,444,946	67
United States:			
Continental*	10,123,027	13,438,012	67
Porto Rico†	.....	836	..
Total United States (in North America)	10,123,027	13,438,848	67
Mexico	100,527	‡119,000	..
Total North America	10,230,168	13,565,992	68
Brazil§	209,000	165,000	..
Total South America	258,200	216,204	1
Total Europe	17,201	17,125	..
British India‖	2,262,467	2,837,166	14
Ceylon†	559	371	..
China	1,192,000	1,192,000	5
Cyprus	2,269	1,118	..
Dutch East Indies†	14,274	§11,000	..
French Indo-China†	5,015	14,000	..
Japan	28,217	16,262	..
Persia	32,000	32,000	..
Philippine Islands	6,098	6,098	..
Asiatic Russia	633,065	579,000	3
Total Asia	4,238,964	4,752,015	24
Egypt	1,124,632	1,316,212	6
Total Africa	1,148,811	1,346,126	6
Oceania	247	137	..
Grand total	15,893,591	19,897,599	..

* "Linters," a by-product, not included; quantity of "linters" produced as follows: 150,105 bales in 1900, 173,667 bales in 1901, 205,254 bales in 1902, 203,437 bales in 1903, and 253,077 bales in 1904.
† Exports.
‡ Average production.
§ Estimated from exports and an assumed annual home consumption of approximately 50,000,000 pounds.
‖ Exports and mill consumption.

Imports

Country	1900	1903	1904
	Bales	*Bales*	*Bales*
Austria-Hungary	557,548	688,041	700,062
Belgium	160,699	246,879	186,228
Canada	102,646	101,800	118,583
France	891,960	1,167,740	967,710
Germany.*	1,653,606	1,992,090	2,082,693
Italy	565,866	711,035	713,733
Japan	701,760	816,657	733,849
Mexico	43,461	64,680	84,025
Netherlands	193,724	199,729	203,091
Russia	777,353	1,061,822	†907,051
Spain	305,325	368,653	325,157
Sweden	78,727	83,194	80,325
United Kingdom	3,231,087	3,113,890	3,559,028
United States	97,555	102,177	126,587
Other countries	305,600	243,200	247,600
Total	9,666,917	10,961,587	11,035,722

* Not including the free ports.
† Preliminary figures excluding the trade over the Asiatic frontier (excepting the Black Sea ports of the Caucasus).

(See "General Note" to "World's International Trade in Wheat.")

COTTON CONSUMPTION OF THE WORLD*

CONSUMPTION, BALES, 500 POUNDS	Great Britain	Continent	United States	India	Total World
1888–89	3,016,000	3,256,000	2,148,000	697,000	9,267,000
1889–90	3,227,000	3,432,000	2,185,000	791,000	9,795,000
1890–91	3,384,000	3,631,000	2,367,000	924,000	10,511,000
1891–92	3,181,000	3,640,000	2,576,000	914,000	10,586,000
1892–93	2,866,000	3,692,000	2,551,000	918,000	10,422,000
1893–94	3,233,000	3,848,000	2,264,000	959,000	10,601,000
1894–95	3,250,000	4,030,000	2,743,000	1,074,000	11,543,000
1895–96	3,276,000	4,160,000	2,572,000	1,105,000	11,605,000
1896–97	3,224,000	4,368,000	2,738,000	1,004,000	11,880,000
1897–98	3,432,000	4,628,000	2,962,000	1,141,000	12,888,000
1898–99	3,519,000	4,784,000	3,553,000	1,314,000	14,015,000
1899–1900	3,334,000	4,576,000	3,856,000	1,139,000	13,773,000
1900–1	3,269,000	4,576,000	3,727,000	1,060,000	13,416,000
1901–2	3,253,000	4,836,000	4,037,000	1,384,000	14,415,000
1902–3	3,185,000	5,148,000	4,015,000	1,364,000	14,478,000
1903–4	3,017,000	5,148,000	3,909,000	1,368,000	14,311,000
1904–5	3,620,000	5,148,000	4,310,000	1,474,000	15,542,000
1905–6	3,771,000	5,252,000	4,726,000	1,500,000	16,299,000

* From the *World Almanac*, 1907.

LIVE STOCK

COUNTRY	CATTLE		Horses	Sheep	Swine
	Total	Milch cows			
Total United States (including Hawaii and Philippine Islands)	68,968,654	.....	21,871,281	51,001,809	55,174,579
United States:					
Continental—					
On farms	66,861,522	19,793,866	18,718,578	50,631,619	52,102,847
Not on farms	1,616,422	973,033	2,936,881	231,301	1,818,114
Alaska	18	13	5	.....	10
Porto Rico	260,225	73,372	58,664	6,363	66,180
Total United States (in North America)	68,738,187	20,840,284	21,714,128	50,869,283	53,987,151
Canada	5,947,512	.....	1,522,993	2,777,980	2,665,256
Mexico	5,142,457	.....	859,217	3,424,430	616,139
North America	83,945,546	.....	24,596,012	57,312,650	57,931,756
South America	66,679,376	.....	5,905,597	95,851,319	4,881,715
Austria-Hungary	17,533,876	.....	4,264,571	13,974,428	12,675,239
Belgium	1,782,290	873,794	245,781	235,722	1,154,721
Bulgaria	1,596,267	.....	494,557	7,015,385	367,501
Denmark	1,840,466	* 1,089,073	486,935	876,830	1,456,699
Faroe Islands	3,950	.....	632	91,034	15
Finland	1,417,503	* 1,052,564	316,600	919,333	213,867
France	14,136,869	* 7,438,464	3,138,507	17,800,965	7,522,383
Germany	19,331,568	* 10,456,137	4,267,403	7,907,173	18,920,666
Gibraltar	.....	.....	450	.....	.....
Greece	406,744	.....	159,068	4,568,158	.....
Iceland	26,539	.....	46,475	486,347	.....
Italy	5,000,000	.....	741,739	6,900,000	1,800,000
Luxemburg	94,849	.....	19,557	19,689	109,355
Malta	7,851	.....	3,475	18,529	5,078
Montenegro	60,000	* 20,000	3,000	400,000	8,000
Netherlands	1,690,463	973,098	295,277	606,785	861,840
Norway	950,201	* 689,563	172,999	998,819	165,348
Portugal	817,000	.....	90,000	3,064,100	1,200,000
Rumania	2,545,051	380,720	864,324	5,655,444	1,709,205
Russia (Europe)	39,453,556	.....	24,323,294	59,665,801	12,275,731
Servia	956,661	170,329	184,849	3,061,759	959,580
Spain	2,075,142	.....	498,157	13,025,512	1,743,863
Sweden	2,545,583	* 1,763,176	546,943	1,105,903	796,572
Switzerland	1,340,375	* 739,922	124,896	219,438	555,261
Turkey and Crete	1,000,000	* 300,000	600,000	10,000,000	.....
United Kingdom	11,674,026	4,211,917	2,116,798	29,076,738	3,601,665
Total Europe	128,286,830	.....	44,006,287	187,693,892	68,102,589
British India	86,517,184	* 25,412,822	1,423,072	21,577,896	.....
Japanese Empire	1,298,663	.....	1,390,054	2,769	1,168,279
Asia	106,630,174	.....	11,067,766	91,613,884	3,842,740
Africa	8,630,006	.....	863,876	27,693,836	1,170,448
Australia	7,850,520	1,551,206	1,595,256	65,822,918	1,062,703
New Zealand	1,736,850	498,241	314,322	18,280,806	255,320
Oceania	9,786,506	.....	1,928,830	84,216,468	1,330,659
Total	403,958,438	.....	88,368,368	544,382,049	137,259,907

* Cows.

ALADYIN, ALEXIS: Political leader of the Russian peasant party, "the Group of Toil," in the first Russian Duma. Born in 1873 of extremely poor peasant parents, he worked in the fields and attended local schools till he decided to become a physician, when he worked his way into the University of Kazan. He remained there three years, but was finally expelled because of doubtful propensities and free speech. He went at once to the outskirts of Kazan and labored among the workmen, organizing trade-unions. Arrested in 1895 he was liberated on $500 bail pending the delivery of the verdict; but on learning that he was to be sentenced to four years of solitary confinement and eight of exile in Archangel, he managed to cross the frontier, and lived a precarious life in Brussels, Paris, and London, acquiring many languages and much information. He lectured for a while at Toynbee Hall. Upon the issuance of the manifesto of October, 1905, however, Aladyin returned to Russia via Finland. Taking part in a strike in St. Petersburg, he had to leave and went to Sembersk where he found his family. He was obliged to leave this place, but was, nevertheless, elected by the villagers to the Duma. He immediately formed all the peasant and labor deputies into a party of which he became the effective leader. His economic ideas are those of an opportunist socialism adapted to Russian conditions.

ALASKA: A territory of the United States, bought from Russia in 1867. It has an area of 590,889 sq. m. Of the 368,103,680 acres of land, 367,983 are unappropriated and unreserved. The population in 1900 was 63,592, of whom 30,507 were whites (27,307 males); 29,536 natives (Indians, Eskimos, Aleuts, etc.); 3,116 Chinese. It has probably decreased since then. The town of Nome had 12,468 inhabitants; Skagway, 3,117; Juneau, 1,864; Sitka, the seat of administration, 1,396. Alaska has neither legislature nor constitution, but is governed by Congress and administered by a governor and other officials appointed by the president. There are three judicial districts and three courts. Education is directed by an agent of the U. S. Commissioner of Education. In 1903 there were 47 public schools with 2,108 pupils. Numerous missions carry on educational as well as religious work.

The chief industries are seal and salmon fisheries and mining. The gold produced in 1904 was valued at $9,160,500; the silver at $256,900. Gold is found mainly in southeast Alaska (low grade), at Cape Nome, and on the Yukon River. The seal fisheries of the Pribilof or Seal Islands are leased to an American company under restrictions. The number of skins shipped from these islands in 1904 was 14,368. Besides this there is pelagic seal-hunting off the northwest coast and in the Bering Strait by Canadians and Indians who caught 12,791 seals in 1903. But this industry is in danger of being exhausted. The annual catch of the salmon fisheries is valued at over $8,000,000. There are thirty companies with thirty-five canning and twelve salting plants. Agriculture is possible in some parts of the territory during the brief summer, but is little developed. The U. S. government has made some experiments along that line. The exports to the U. S. in 1904 (besides gold) were valued at $10,698,694, and to Canada $1,001,990. The imports from the U. S. amounted to $11,227,698, and from Canada $1,034,401. There is a railway from Skagway (near Sitka) toward the Yukon, of a total length of 112 miles. There are seventy-five post-offices, and telegraphic connection with the U. S. and Canada. Labor conditions are so uncertain as to render it impossible to state them briefly. There has been "claim jumping" and trouble over mining-laws.

ALBRECHT: An early communist and so-called "prophet," who, with Weitling, spread through Germany the gospel of communism. On account of his utterances he was put in prison for six years, where his only reading was the Bible; but in 1841 he escaped to Switzerland. Thenceforward he devoted himself to preaching, often in Old Testament prophetic language, the gospel of Bible communism. He wrote numerous tracts, among others: "Die Wiederherstellung des Reiches Zion" ("The Restoration of the Kingdom of Zion"); "Das baldige Wiedersehen am Alter der Freiheit"; "Herausforderung der Priesterwelt," etc.

ALBRECHT, THEODOR C.: German privy councilor; chief of the Imperial Geodetic Institute; born in Dresden, Aug. 30, 1843; studied at the technical high school of Dresden, and at the universities of Berlin and Leipsic (Ph.D., 1868). In 1875 he received the title of professor, and in 1898 was appointed privy councilor. He is an authority on housing, settlements, and kindred questions in Germany, and is the author of various scientific works. *Address:* Burggrafenstrasse 25, Potsdam, Germany.

ALCOHOL: See Liquor, Consumption of.

ALDEN, PERCY: British social reformer, author, and Member of Parliament; born in Oxford, 1865; educated at Baliol College, Oxford. He was warden of the Mansfield House University Settlement from 1891 to 1901, being elected honorary warden upon his retirement. From 1892 to 1901 he was councilor of the borough of West Ham, and in 1898 officiated as deputy mayor. Mr. Alden has lectured on social and labor problems in the United States, New Zealand, and Australia. He was cooptated a member of the London School Board in 1903; and he is a member also of the Fabian Society. In 1906 he was elected to Parliament as a "Liberal," tho in favor of most of the measures adopted by labor and evolutionary socialists; and he is prepared to work with any man proceeding in the right direction. The social problem has become the deep abiding interest in his life. Author of "The Unemployed: A National Question." *Address:* 1 Woburn Square, W. C. London, England.

ALLAN, WILLIAM: Labor organizer; born in Ulster, Ireland, 1813. His father removing to Glasgow, William became a piecer in a cotton factory there, and later was apprenticed to an engineering firm in that city. In 1835 he began working as a journeyman engineer at Liverpool. He became the general secretary of his union in 1847, and retained this office even after the society was merged in the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, being reelected annually for more than twenty years. William Allan was the originator of the "new unionism" of his time. Remarkable for executive ability, he built up, out of the fragments of organization in the engineering trade, a great national society. He died in 1874.

ALLEMANE, JEAN: French Socialist; compositor; founder of the Cooperative Printing Association; editor of *Le Parti Ouvrier*; born 1843. He was arrested as a communist in 1871 and suffered penal imprisonment eight and one half years, being released by amnesty in 1880. He has been an active Socialist leader ever since.

ALLEN, CHARLES GRANT BLAIRFINDIE: Novelist; born in Kingston, Canada, 1848; was graduated from Merton College, Oxford; taught in Jamaica. He was the author of popular scientific works on evolution. His first novel was "Philistia" (1884). Allen became a Socialist, and introduced many radical views into his novels: "The Woman Who Did" (1895), and "A Bride from the Desert" (1896). He died in London in 1899.

ALMSHOUSES: See Poorhouses.

ALTGELD, JOHN P.: Governor of Illinois; born in Prussia, 1848, but early emigrated to the United States with his parents, who settled on a farm near Mansfield, O. He attended the district school, but at the age of sixteen enlisted and participated in the closing campaign of the Civil War. The next few years he spent in teaching, studying, and working as a farm-hand. He read law in St. Louis and then opened an office in Savannah, Mo. In 1874 he was elected prosecuting attorney of Andrew County, but in October, 1875, he removed to Chicago. In 1884 he ran for Congress on the Democratic ticket, but was defeated. In 1886 he was nominated for Superior Judge of Cook County, which at that time gave a Republican majority of about 12,000, and was elected by a large majority, the laboring men being especially active in his interests. He was on the bench nearly five years, being Chief Justice of the Superior Court for one year. A multiplicity of private interests compelled him to resign this position in August, 1891. He became wealthy principally by the buying and selling of real estate in Chicago and investments in street-railways. He designed and built a number of the finest business blocks in Chicago. He was nominated for Governor of Illinois in the Democratic Convention of 1892, and was triumphantly elected, to the surprize of even his own party. For over thirty years Illinois had been considered safe for a Republican plurality of 25,000 to 50,000.

Altgeld gained the hostility of many of the wealthy classes through his pardoning, on June, 1893, of the so-called Chicago Anarchists. Whether right or wrong, there was no question among those who knew him that Governor Altgeld acted from conscientious principles and contrary to his political interests. In the great Pullman strike of 1894 he publicly addrest President Cleveland, protesting against the sending of United States troops to keep the peace in Illinois when not requested to do so by the Governor, he believing that Illinois was abundantly able to protect her own citizens, and asserting that such action on the part of the Federal Government overrode the Constitution, and set up what might easily lead to a military absolutism. In politics a Democrat, Altgeld became in his views increasingly radical, and he took active part in various radical political movements. He died March 12, 1902.

ALTRUISM: A term used in sociology and philosophy to denote the benevolent instincts and emotions in general, or action prompted by them; and more specifically used of that theory of life which would make the living for others the central thought of life and the essence of religion. It was first employed by Comte, but has passed into general use. Herbert Spencer says: "If we define *altruism* as being all action, which, in the normal course of things, benefits others instead of benefiting self, then from the dawn of life altruism has been no less essential than egoism." (See Individualism; Socialism.)

ALTRUIST COMMUNITY: A small attempt at community life, with office in St. Louis, Mo. It was first organized in 1868 in Jasper County, Mo., with ten members. Unable to meet its payments for land, it has made various other attempts, and now owns eight and a half acres near Sulphur Springs, and is engaging in the poultry and gardening business. It has also a headquarters in St. Louis, where it publishes a monthly, *The Altruist*, and a book of 424 pages containing a full explanation of its principles and organization. From the beginning Mr. A. Longley has been the organizer and head. *Address:* 2711 Franklin Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.

AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION OF IRON, STEEL, AND TIN WORKERS, THE: An important trade-union of the United States; organized in Pittsburg, 1878, by the amalgamation of the United Sons of Vulcan (organized 1858), the Associated Brotherhood of Iron and Steel Heaters, Rollers, and Roughers of the United States (organized 1872), and the Iron and Steel Roll Hands Union (organized 1873). Joseph Bishop was the first president of the association, but John Jarrett, who was elected in 1880 and served till 1883, was largely instrumental in shaping it. In 1881 the association took a prominent part in the formation of the American Federation of Labor; but in the following year it left the latter because of the dropping by the federation of its plank favoring protection. The association has always been a fighting organization and has had numerous strikes, notably the great Homestead Strike. The association has opposed arbitration by third parties, but has been a leader in developing a sliding scale and other agreements with employers. The first sliding scale in the United States was formed by conference between the employers and the United Sons of Vulcan in 1865; and wage agreements with employers have been characteristic of the association; tho it has also had, mainly at the times of renewal of agreements, severe industrial struggles, strikes, and lockouts. At the annual meetings the president generally appoints a committee of forty members which meet the committees of manufacturers in conjunction with whom it fixes the rate of wages. The average monthly membership of the association in 1905 was reported as about 10,000.

References: *Report of the U. S. Industrial Commission*, vol. xvii. (1901), pp. 212, 339–345.

AMANA COMMUNITY: A German religious community in Iowa, reached at the station of Homestead, on the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad. The community numbers some 1,800 souls, owns about 25,000 acres, is rated at over $1,000,000 in capital, and is in every way an

economic and industrial success. Mainly agricultural, it has herds of blooded cattle, sheep, hogs, and a large number of fine horses. It also does a growing manufacturing business. The two largest woolen mills in Iowa are owned and operated by the community. The famous colony blue prints are made here; 80 pieces of these, containing 45 yards each, are turned out in a day. The community has, moreover, two large flouring mills, with full roller process and elevators, manufacturing pearl barley and hominy. There are three machine-shops where the machinery used by the community is repaired. Besides these there are dye-shops, blacksmith shops, sawmills, a printing-office, and other lesser industries. Their business is growing, because their patrons are well treated. Their goods are honest goods, the Amana brand telling its own story.

The community lives in eight villages, two or three miles apart, Amana being the center, and Homestead the most important railroad office.

Organization

Each village has its own doctor, school, post-office, store, hotel, and place of meeting. The government of the community is vested in a president—now Dr. Jacob Winzenried—and a board of thirteen directors, elected annually by the community. Family life is preserved inviolate, each family living alone, except where two or three prefer to live in the same house. They come together, however, for common meals in little boarding-houses, one for every thirty to forty persons. The fare is simple, but abundant and healthy. The houses are pleasant and homelike, tho unpainted, being covered in summer with vines and surrounded bylittle flower gardens. The communism is absolute, all the necessities of life being provided freely for all, and the industries being operated for the equal advantage of all. The life is simple and quiet, there being few amusements and little variety; national holidays and memorial days, however, are observed. The

Belief

community is very religious. A prayer-meeting is held in each village every night of the week, where the men sit on one side and the women on the other, and quietly sing their German Lutheran chants, or pray, or read from the Bible or the books of their prophets or leaders. They call their communities True Inspiration Congregations, and believe in the Trinity, justification by faith, the resurrection of the dead, the gradual purification of the impenitent by fire, the communism of all saints as a necessary part of Christianity. They believe that an era of inspiration began in the eighteenth century, the Holy Ghost speaking to their founder, Erasmus Gruber, and other "prophets." They drink wine made by their own labor, formerly brewing the best beer of the state, and deriving quite a profit from this, which practise, however, they quietly ended when Iowa became a prohibition state, doing this out of respect to the law and the opinions of their neighbors. Wine, however, they give to their employees in harvest time as freely and generously as to themselves. The life being so simple and quiet, and without great educational advantages, many of the young people leave, and are allowed to do so, but often are glad to come back to the peace

History

and quiet plenty of the communal home. They do not seek new members, but elect to membership those who come and after trial prove themselves of the right spirit. The universal language is German. The beginning of the sect was in Würtemberg, Germany, where it was founded in 1714 by Erasmus Gruber. Later Christian Metz became their leader, and he brought them to the United States in 1843. First settling in Ebenezer, Erie County, N. Y., they moved to their present site in 1855–64.

References: *Cooperative Communities in the United States*, by Rev. A. Kent; *Bulletin of United States Department of Labor*, No. 35, July, 1901.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION: See Constitution.

AMERICA: See United States, etc.

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE, THE: An academy organized in Philadelphia, Dec. 14, 1889, with the object of furnishing a platform for the discussion of the various problems of modern life, paying particular attention to those which were not adequately represented in the work of other learned societies. The academy holds four scientific sessions each year, in addition to the annual meeting of two days' duration, which is held in April. The proceedings of the academy are published in the form of a bi-monthly periodical called *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*.

In earlier years the numbers of *The Annals* contained papers upon many topics, but more recently the policy has been to devote each number to some special topic. Recent issues have been devoted to such subjects as City Life and Progress, Child Labor, Philanthropy and Penology, Insurance and Commercial Organization, and Business Management and Finance. From time to time monographs on special topics have been published as supplements. Among these may be mentioned "Housing Conditions in Jersey City," by Miss Mary B. Sayles. Bound copies of the various numbers are sold at $1.25 each.

Any person interested in the general purposes of the academy may become a member, if approved by the council, by paying the annual membership fee of $5.00 or a life fee of $100.00. Life members are exempt from annual fees. Members receive all the publications of the academy and are entitled to submit papers and communications and to attend and participate in all scientific meetings. The members (1906) number 3,713, of whom 116 are life members. The list embraces a large number of the prominent thinkers and writers on political, economic, and social topics in America, with an increasing representation from Mexico, South America, and Europe.

During the last sixteen years more than 500 of the more important articles appearing in *The Annals* have been reprinted and sold at low price. Among these may be mentioned: "The Development of Park Systems in American Cities," by Andrew W. Crawford; "Principles of Reform and Penal Law," by Charlton T. Lewis; "Recent Tendencies in American Legislation," by Samuel J. Barrows; "Supervision of Charities in New York," by Robert W. Hebberd; "World Currents in Charity, Theory and Practice," by Charles R. Henderson; and "The Theory of Social Forces," by Prof. S. N. Patten.

All meetings of the academy are held in Philadelphia, and the active executive officers are largely connected with the University of Pennsylvania. Secretary, Carl Kelsey, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR LABOR LEGISLATION, THE: Formed 1906. Objects: (1) To serve as the American branch of the International Association for Labor Legislation (q. v.); (2) to promote the uniformity of labor legislation in the United States; (3) to encourage the study of labor legislation.

Dues: $1.00 annually; $3.00, including receipt of the monthly bulletin of the international association. President, Prof. R. T. Ely, University of Wisconsin. Secretary, A. F. Weber, New York

State Department of Labor, Albany, N. Y. Executive Committee, president, and secretary, *ex-officio*: A. J. Boulton, H. W. Farnam, C. P. Neill, H. R. Seager, and C. R. Woodruff.

AMERICAN CIVIC ASSOCIATION, THE: Formed June 10, 1904, by the amalgamation of the American Park and Outdoor Art Association and the American League for Civic Improvement. Object: civic improvement. It represents cooperation on a national scale for the promotion of a more beautiful America in every city, village, and hamlet in the country. It serves as a clearing-house for improvement work, bringing the local workers into helpful contact with one another and placing the experience of all at the command of each. Members, 2,200. Annual meeting, October. Reports and pamphlets. Annual subscription, $3.00. President, J. Horace McFarland, Harrisburg, Pa.; secretary, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, 703 North American Building, Philadelphia, Pa.

AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION, THE: Founded in 1885 "for the encouragement of economic research . . . and of perfect freedom of discussion." It has no creed. Persons of all shades of economic opinion are found among its 1,000 members, and widely different views are given a hearing at its annual meetings and in its publications.

Every member receives all current reports and publications of the association. The publications, begun in 1886, contain nearly a hundred of the most important economic monographs that have been published by American students, besides a large number of papers and discussions by leading experts in practical and in academic life. A list of doctoral dissertations in progress in American universities is now annually prepared by the Publication Committee. Annual dues, $3.00. President, Prof. Jeremiah W. Jenks, of Cornell University. Secretary, Prof. W. M. Daniels, Princeton, N. J.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, THE: Organized (in its present form), 1886. Prior to the Civil War, and even till 1881, national trade-unions in the United States multiplied without any corresponding success in the formation of enduring alliances.

Labor federations, in so far as they existed, were local in character. Thus, the General Trades Union of the City of New York, active in the labor field as early as 1833, was a federation composed of twenty-one trade societies of that city. The General Trades Union of Boston was organized in 1834 upon the same general lines. A constitution adopted at the convention was later ratified by the sixteen local unions in the federation. Similar unions were formed in other cities, notably Baltimore and Philadelphia.

Early History

The Industrial Congress of the United States, which met in New York, Oct. 12, 1845, represents a nearer approach to a national federation of labor. The convention was called together mainly through the efforts of the New England Workingmen's League and the National Reform Association of New York, elected officers, and adopted a declaration of principles. The second Industrial Congress, which met in New York, June 10, 1847, included representatives from the states of New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Illinois, and Kentucky.

Little was attempted and less achieved in labor federation on a national scale between 1850 and 1864; but as soon as the Civil War had closed, interest in this direction rapidly developed. The twelfth annual session of the National Typographical Union in 1864 adopted a resolution instructing the delegates present to recommend to the local unions of the cities and towns the formation of central federations "for the mutual protection and support of the workingmen of all trades." In 1865 twelve men, independently of any trade-unions to which they belonged, met in Louisville for the purpose of discussing plans to further the interests of the labor movement, and issued a call for a general convention to be held in Baltimore the following year.

On the 26th of March, 1866, the presidents of various national trade-unions met in New York City and decided to hold a national convention in Baltimore during the month of August. This was supplemented a little later by a call addrest to the workingmen of the United States in the interest of the eight-hour working-day. All trade-unions were invited to participate in the coming convention, with representation upon the basis of two delegates for each trades assembly and one for every local organization.

On Aug. 20, 1866, the National Labor Union, the name given to the new organization, met in Baltimore, elected a full set of officers, and adjourned without adopting a formal platform or making any provision for raising revenue.

The National Labor Union reassembled in 1867 at Chicago, and again in 1868 at New York, displaying considerable vigor in agitating the national eight-hour law. Other important questions discust in the different conventions were labor leagues, apprentices, cooperation, convict labor, public lands, taxing bonds, national banks, money, and political organization. Altho conventions were held in 1869, 1870, and 1871, the membership steadily dwindled until in 1872 a final effort to revive interest resulted in the nomination of an independent candidate for President of the United States. Active participation in the national campaign of that year created internal dissensions which hastened the downfall of the organization.

In response to a call sent out in 1881, delegates from various trade and labor organizations met in Pittsburg, Nov. 15, 1881, and formed the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, with John Jarrett, president of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, as temporary chairman. The platform of the federation set forth the objects of the organization as follows: The passage of laws in state legislatures and in Congress for the incorporation of trade-unions and similar labor organizations; compulsory education of children; prohibition of children from working under the age of fourteen; uniform apprentice laws; an effective national eight-hour law; restriction of the "order" or "truck" system; a mechanics' lien law; repeal of all conspiracy laws against organized labor; a bureau of labor statistics; protection to American industry; a law to prevent the importation of foreign laborers under contract; and proper representation of all trades and labor organizations in law-making bodies.

A National Federation

For several years after 1881 the history of the general federation movement in the United States centers largely in the struggle between the Knights of Labor and the trade and labor unions, turning mainly on the question of the autonomy of each trade. Keen rivalry developed. The most prominent leaders of the two parties were Mr. Powderly, Grand Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, and Mr. George E. McNeill. That a feeling of antagonism was present from the beginning is suggested by a communication issued by the federation to the trade-unions. In this address the federation declared: "Open trade-unions, national and international, can and ought to work side by side with the Knights of Labor, and this would be the case were it not for men either overzealous or ambitious who busy themselves in attempting the destruction of existing unions to serve their own whims." *The Cigar-Makers' Journal* referred to the federation movement of 1881–82 as in "a chaotic state pulled and dragged in all directions. Some advise us," the article continues, "to adopt new systems of organizations defying practical experience and common sense. If the representatives of the bona-fide trade-unions, not of so-called labor clubs, are true to their mission, they will make a bold stand against all inferior systems of organization."

Struggle with Knights of Labor

The year 1886 marks an important period in the history of labor federation. Not only did the Knights of Labor in that year reach their greatest numerical strength, but at the same time the movement toward the national federation

of trades gained new vigor in the transition of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions into the American Federation of Labor. The Federation of Trades and Labor Unions as then constituted did not satisfy the more energetic and ambitious among the labor leaders of the time, who were desirous of reaching some agreement with the Knights of Labor whereby the friction between that organization and the trade-unions should cease. In response to a call issued by P. J. McGuire (general secretary of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners), A. Strasser (president of the Cigar Makers' Union), P. J. Fitzpatrick (president of the Iron Molders' International Union), Josiah Deyer (secretary of the Granite Cutters' International Union), and W. H. Foster (secretary of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions), a trade-unions' conference met in Philadelphia on May 17, 1886, and agreed upon certain proposals to be submitted to the special session of the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor soon to be held at Cleveland, O. Contrary to the wishes of the trade-unionists, no definite action on "the treaty" was taken at the meeting of the General Assembly, and a further effort to arrive at a permanent understanding with the Knights of Labor was made later in the year.

When the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor assembled at Richmond in October, 1886, the trade-union officials offered a further protest against the attitude of the Knights toward the unions, and asked for some assurance that the trade-unions thereafter would not be interfered with by the organizers of the order. The response of the General Assembly was to adopt a resolution compelling all employees in the cigar trade, who were members of both the Knights of Labor and the Cigar Makers' International Union, to withdraw from the union or leave the order, and adjourned without making further advances toward a peaceful settlement of the difficulties.

Throughout this controversy between the Knights and the trade-unions, the Federation of Trades had exerted its influence steadily in favor of the latter. Accordingly, when the representatives of various trade-unions arranged to meet in Columbus, O., the first week in December, 1886, the legislative committee of the federation decided to hold its annual convention at the same time and place for the purpose of cooperating with the conference of the trade-union officials.

The two conventions met on Dec. 7th and 8th, respectively, and the members of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions attended the sessions of the trade-union conference in a body. On the third day of the conference, the committee of the whole reported to the federation that its committee had attended the conference and that all the delegates had been admitted as members thereof. The legislative committee also reported that the trade-union conference had formed a new organization known as the American Federation of Labor, with a constitution designed to protect the interests of trade-unions. It was agreed that all moneys, papers, and effects of the old federation should be turned over to the officers of the new organization, and that all per capita tax due the old federation should be collected by the new federation. From this time the Knights of Labor steadily declined in membership and power while the American Federation advanced with rapid strides. At the present time (1907) the Knights play an inconsiderable part in the labor movement, while the American Federation is steadily gaining in influence. The conventions of 1886, 1887, and 1888 were called respectively the first, second, and third convention of the American Federation; but by order of the convention of 1889 the origin of the federation in all official documents is dated from 1881.

Final Organization

The American Federation of Labor, upholding the principle of trade autonomy, favors the local trade-union composed of members following a single vocation, and attached to a national trade-union. Where the local union is not affiliated with a national organization, it receives a charter directly from the American Federation and becomes known, for instance, as "Ship Carpenters' Union, No. 6,976." On the other hand, the organizers of the federation often find it necessary to form into one local union workers of miscellaneous crafts. Hence federal labor-unions exist in those localities where separate trade-unions are impracticable. As soon as a sufficient number of a craft is admitted, a new local trade-union, recruited from the membership of the mixed union, is formed. This trade "local" in turn joins the national union of its craft wherever possible. According to the report for November 1906, there were 27,500 local unions and 759 local trade- and federal labor-unions directly affiliated with the national federation.

Local federations, commonly known as central labor-unions, aim to embrace all local unions in a given area, and at the same time to maintain the strict autonomy of each trade or industry. Altho in general, representation, membership, etc., are left by the American Federation to local regulation, the national constitution provides that "no central body affiliated with the American Federation shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a local union, chartered by a national or international union having affiliation with the American Federation."

Next in gradation to the local federation is the state federation of representatives from the various labor organizations in the state. State branches meet annually and seek to exercise functions analogous to those carried on by the national federation in its larger field of activity.

As a fourth form of organization, the American Federation recognizes as its most important subdivision the national union of workmen engaged in a single calling. In May, 1904, there were 118 international unions having complete jurisdiction over their own trades, with a membership approximating 2,000,000 work-people affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Structurally, the most important feature of the national federation is the representative convention which meets in annual session. The constitution provides: "The basis of representation in the convention shall be: From national and international unions, for less than 4,000 members, one delegate; 4,000 or more, two delegates; 8,000 or more, three delegates; 16,000 or more, four delegates; and so on. From central bodies, state federations, federal labor-unions, and local unions having no national or international union, one delegate."

Form of Organization

In this scheme of representation, a compromise has been sought between equal representation and proportional representation. Proportional representation seemed to give an unfair advantage to the larger unions, and, on the other hand, equal representation placed undue power in the hands of the smaller unions. A system has therefore been adopted by which a part of the membership is represented according to a progressive ratio, and the other part—many of whom

re also represented through their respective national and international unions—by one delegate from each organization.

Strict adherence to this progressive ratio avoids the chief efect of proportional representation; as applied by the .merican Federation, however, it succeeds in keeping the umber of delegates within proper limits rather than in iving each union a measurable weight in legislation. The ollowing law, adopted in 1887, neutralizes any restraint laced on the strong unions by progressive representation: Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, ut if a call of the roll is demanded by one tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast *one vote for every one undred members*, or major fraction thereof, he represents, ut no city or state federation shall be allowed more than ne vote." Thus the power is retained by the large unions ith the additional consideration, it is claimed, of harmful entralization in the hands of the few. Where proportional epresentation prevails, it is difficult to unite the numerous elegates for common action. Under the American Federaion's plan of progressive representation, the limited number f men who exercise a controlling voice based on the total embership of their respective unions, are in a position to orm a combination at any time to rule the convention.

The chief administrative body of the American ederation is the Executive Council, composed of he national officers: a president, eight vice-residents, a secretary, and a treasurer. The xecutive Council supervises the work and decides questions of policy between conventions. he most important single official is the president. Ie is elected by the annual convention and holds ffice for one year. Owing to the voluntary ature of the American Federation, its executive ead has comparatively slight official power; but s the recognized leader of the American trade-nion movement, he exerts considerable influence ver the activities of national and international nions. He receives a fixt annual salary of 3,000. The remaining officers are paid as ollows: the secretary and the treasurer, an nnual salary of $2,500 and $200 respectively; he vice-presidents, $4 per day and expenses hen attending council meetings.

The receipts and expenditures of the American ederation from 1881 to 1905 were as follows:

Year	Receipts	Expenditures	Year	Receipts	Expenditures
1881	$174	$136	1894	$15,346	$17,302
1882	125	252	1895	13,751	15,612
1883	690	352	1896	16,290	15,452
1884	357	543	1897	18,639	19,113
1885	584	450	1898	18,894	19,197
1886	474	510	1899	36,757	30,599
1887	1,939	2,074	1900	71,125	68,373
1888	4,512	3,933	1901 *	115,220	118,708
1889	6,838	6,578	1902	144,498	119,086
1890	23,849	21,070	1903	247,802	196,015
1891	17,702	13,190	1904	220,995	203,991
1892	17,834	18,324	1905	207,417	196,170
1893	20,864	21,383			

Finances

Starting in 1881 with an annual tax of three ents per member of the affiliated unions, the 'Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions" reduced this sum to one cent per member he following year. In 1883 provision was made that each national union should pay into the central treasury for 1,000 members or less, $10; 1,000 to 4,000, $20; 4,000 to 8,000, $25; 8,000 to 2,000, $30, etc. When the American Federaion was formed in 1886, an annual tax of six ents per member was placed on national and ocal unions. The following year this tax was educed to three cents a year for national and ocal organizations, with a tax of $25 a year on entral labor-unions and state federations. After arious changes from time to time, the present ate was fixt as follows: "From international or national trade-unions a per-capita tax of one half of one cent per member per month; from local trade-unions and federal labor-unions, ten cents per member per month, five cents of which must be set aside to be used only in case of strike or lockout; from local unions, the majority of whose members are less than eighteen years of age, two cents per member per month; from central and state bodies $10 per year, payable quarterly."

The objects of the American Federation, as stated in the Preamble and Article II. of the Constitution, are as follows:

Wherbas, a struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world, between the oppressors and the opprest of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit;

It therefore behooves the representatives of the trade- and labor-unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of the rights to which they are justly entitled.

We therefore declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough federation, embracing every trade and labor organization in America, organized under the trade-union system.

Article II., Sec. 1. The objects of this federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local trade- and labor-unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of central trade- and labor-unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into state, territorial, or provincial organizations, to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

Sec. 2. The establishment of national and international trade-unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

Sec. 3. An American federation of all national and international trade-unions, to aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union-label goods; and to secure national legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

Sec. 4. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

Union Labels

Aside from the more general activities involved in the closer association of trades, certain typical activities are displayed by the American Federation in (*a*) the use of the union label, (*b*) boycotts and strikes, (*c*) the introduction of the eight-hour day, and (*d*) politics and legislation.

(*a*) The American Federation has made no attempt to control the labels of its national and international unions, merely indorsing and advocating those already adopted by the different trades. Local and federal unions directly attached to the American Federation, however, receive their labels from national headquarters. The federation calls upon all union men to demand goods bearing the union stamp, and urges the formation of active labor leagues to aid in educating the consuming public to the nature, appearance, and value of trade labels. In order to gain uniformity and more particularly to prevent counterfeiting, a universal label has from time to time been suggested. In 1900 the officials of the American Federation obtained a legal opinion to the effect that counterfeiting could be better punished if all unions would surrender their labels and adopt that of the Federation of Labor. Inasmuch as this would involve the surrender by each union of some part of the very trade autonomy for which the federation has always contended, and the recognition of the federation as one organization, at least for the purpose of "issuing, controlling, protecting, and defending the universal label," the step has not been taken. The secretary reported to the

twenty-fifth convention (1905) that there were fifty-six labels and ten cards issued by national unions which had received the indorsement of the American Federation.

(*b*) The federation has paid considerable attention to the exercise of the boycott as a national function. The method usually employed is as follows: Local or national unions with grievances against certain firms send resolutions to the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor. The committee of the Federation whose duty it is to investigate the justice of the complaint, reports to the executive council, or to the annual convention if in session.

Strike Policy

In case the complaint is deemed just, a boycott is declared on the products of the firm or firms involved, and the names of the manufacturers are published monthly in the "unfair list" of *The American Federationist*, the official journal of the American Federation of Labor. In addition to placing the firms on the "unfair list," circulars are sent to the unions in the federation, requesting all union men to cease purchasing the products of the boycotted firms. At the present time the national officials exercise considerable care in the use of the boycott, and concentrate attention upon a small number of firms.

The American Federation of Labor has regarded the strike as the best means to gain trade-union ends under a system of capitalistic production, and has advocated thorough organization along trade lines as the strongest protection to labor. Being merely an advisory center, and depending upon the voluntary loyalty of trade-unionists working through their respective nationals, the federation has been unable to act positively or directly with respect to strikes. It can recommend and urge certain policies, but it lacks the centralized control, and has in consequence followed a conservative course through the various conflicts between employer and employee. The secretary of the American Federation before the fifteenth annual convention, 1895, declared that sympathetic strikes were not opposed and assistance would be given wherever it was needed; nevertheless, he added, as there is a limit to the assistance exacted of one union in support of another union, the safest plan is to allow the individual organization itself to be the judge. This position, when strictly adhered to, limits the federation in its activity to a convenient center from which moral and financial aid may be distributed.

(*c*) In 1882 the platform of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions declared: "The National Eight-Hour Law is one intended to benefit labor and relieve it partly of its burdens. We therefore demand the enforcement of said law in the spirit of its designers."

Eight-Hour Movement

A resolution of the third session in 1883 stated that the federation "considers the question of shortening the hours as paramount to all other questions at present"; and in the secretary's report to the convention of 1884, a plan to shorten the hours of labor was strongly urged. In consequence of this agitation it was suggested that the unions be canvassed as to the desirability of a universal strike not later than May 1, 1886, at which time all branches should simultaneously demand the eight-hour day. Realizing that the federation was weak in authority and numerical strength, the officials asked the cooperation of the Knights of Labor. The latter organization failed to support the movement, and the plan did not reach serious proportions. The next attempt came in 1888, when a resolution passed the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, fixing May 1, 1890, as the day for a general strike, and arranging for preparatory mass-meetings to be held in various cities and towns. Renewed efforts to form a temporary alliance with the Knights of Labor failed, but circulars and pamphlets were scattered widely, and prominent speakers were sent by the American Federation to different parts of the country to prepare trade-union members for the proposed universal strike.

Warned by the complete failure of previous general strikes, the more advanced leaders agreed that the struggle could be carried on more successfully if certain trades were selected to make the fight, supported by the combined strength of the other unions working through the federation. Consequently a series of individual trade strikes was determined upon, in which one trade after the other would be selected to strike for shorter hours until all trades had obtained the eight-hour day. In the eight-hour strike of 1890, the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners was selected by the federation to make the fight. A special assessment was levied, and every effort made to win the strike, with the result that the carpenters and joiners established the eight-hour day in several large cities. Finally, at the twenty-fourth annual convention, the American Federation indorsed the eight-hour movement of the International Typographical Union, and promised to levy the constitutional assessment on the membership if, at any time after Jan. 1, 1906, the Typographical Union needed further assistance.

(*d*) The American Federation thus far has successfully resisted all attempts to engage the organization in political activity. Freedom from political affiliation has not been maintained without a struggle on the part of the more conservative element in the federation.

Political Attitude

The first convention held in Pittsburg declared, "that we recommend all trades and labor organizations to secure proper representation in all lawmaking bodies by means of the ballot, and to use all honorable measures by which this result can be accomplished." At almost every convention of the American Federation, and invariably at meetings of local, state, and national unions, the same question has arisen in some form or other. Particularly have the political Socialists endeavored to commit the federation to political socialism, but thus far without success. So long as the pressure upon the federation to declare for independent action did not become annoying, a positive declaration of principles was withheld. But when the Socialist Labor Party as a member of the Central Labor Federation of New York City sought admission into the Federation of Labor, the application was rejected on the ground that no political party as a party has the right to be represented in the councils of trade-unions. With most immediate socialistic proposals, the federation, however, is in sympathy.

Among the important subjects before the convention of 1893 was the following "political program," which was referred to the affiliated unions to be voted upon during the year:

WHEREAS, the trade-unionists of Great Britain have, by the light of experience and the logic of progress, adopted the

principle of independent labor politics as an auxiliary to their economic action; and

WHEREAS, such action has resulted in the most gratifying success; and

WHEREAS, such independent labor politics are based upon the following program, to wit:

1. Compulsory education.
2. Direct legislation.
3. A legal eight-hour work-day.
4. Sanitary inspection of workshop, mine, and home.
5. Liability of employers for injury to health, body, or life.
6. The abolition of the contract system in all public work.
7. The abolition of the sweating system.
8. The municipal ownership of street-cars, and gas and electric plants for public distribution of light, heat, and power.
9. The nationalization of telegraphs, telephones, railroads, and mines.
10. The collective ownership by the people of all means of production and distribution.
11. The principle of the referendum in all legislation.

Therefore, RESOLVED, that this convention hereby indorses this political action of our British comrades; and

RESOLVED, that this program and basis of a political labor movement be, and is hereby, submitted for the consideration of the labor organizations of America, with the request that their delegates to the next annual convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed on this most important subject.

At the fourteenth convention, 1894, the first nine planks of this political platform were adopted with little discussion and with substantially no change. Plank 11 was incorporated with plank 2, making that plank read: "Direct legislation through the initiative and referendum." Plank 3 was made to read "a legal work-day of not more than eight hours." In plank 8 the words "water-works" were substituted after the words "street-cars." The great discussion came on plank 10. After a long debate it was defeated, and three resolutions substituted for it, as follows: (1) The abolition of the monopoly system of landholding, and the substitution therefor of a title of occupancy and use only (carried by a vote of 1,217 to 913). (2) The repeal of all conspiracy and penal laws affecting seamen and other workmen, incorporated in the federal and state laws of the United States. (3) The abolition of the monopoly privilege of issuing money, and substituting therefor a system of direct issuance to and by the people. Subsequent efforts on the part of radical trade organizations became so persistent that the New York convention of 1895 declared: "Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor." Succeeding attempts to commit the organization to a definite political program have been defeated, so that at the present time the American Federation stands independent of party affiliation.

As the American Federation wields little authority over the national unions, and has no way to secure unity of sentiment on any political issue, the probable result of independent political action would be internal strife with danger of complete disruption. Accordingly, the federation has chosen to advocate labor legislation and to take an active part in any move leading to the betterment of labor conditions rather than to participate as an organization in national and state elections. Each convention directs attention to special reforms, whereupon the executive council frames a bill embodying the necessary provisions, and champions its course. The legislative committee maintained at Washington is especially helpful in promoting this work. Among the chief reforms so advocated in recent years have been: The national eight-hour law, Chinese exclusion, the initiative and referendum, trust legislation, anti-injunction laws, and the abolition of convict and imported contract labor. In addition to these efforts, the federation has sought to prevent legislation considered harmful to the working classes in general, such as anti-scalping laws, compulsory arbitration, and compulsory union incorporation.

Thus in the general activities of the American Federation are reflected something of that prudence and moderation which characterize the present industrial life of the East. It has advocated the individual trade strike in preference to the general or sympathetic strike; it has repeatedly placed itself on record as opposed to political action; it has advanced the principle of organization according to trades; and lastly, by guaranteeing to each national or international union complete jurisdiction over its own trade, has gained to a large extent the good-will of the individual members. So long as efficient leadership maintains this traditional conservatism there is every reason to predict that the American Federation will remain an important factor in the American labor movement. Much credit for this must be given to its president, Mr. Samuel GOMPERS, one of its founders, elected its first president, and so continuing with the exception of one year (1895) down to the present time.

The organization in October, 1906, had an enrolment of 119 international unions consisting of approximately 27,500 local unions, 36 state federations, 538 central labor-unions, and 759 local trade- and federal labor-unions. It is claimed that the unions represent a membership of over 2,000,000.

Some 250 monthly or weekly periodicals are published by the unions, but *The Federationist*, edited by Mr. Gompers and published monthly, is the official organ.

The officers of the federation are: President, Samuel Gompers, Washington, D. C.; secretary, Frank Morrison, Washington, D. C.; treasurer, John B. Lennon, Bloomington, Ill.; first vice-president, James Duncan, Boston, Mass.; second, John Mitchell, Indianapolis, Ind.; third, James O'Connell, Washington, D. C.; fourth, Max Morris, Denver, Col.; fifth, Denis A. Hayes, Philadelphia, Pa.; sixth, Daniel J. Keefe, Detroit, Mich.; seventh, William D. Huber, Indianapolis, Ind.; eighth, Joseph F. Valentine, Cincinnati, O.

The headquarters of the organization are at 423 G Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

WILLIAM J. KIRK.

REFERENCES: Annual Reports of the Federation Conventions; Files of *The Federationist;* Pamphlets published by the Federation, particularly, *What Does Labor Want?* Samuel Gompers, *The Philosophy of the Labor Movement*, George E. McNeill; *The Safety of the Future Lies in Organized Labor*, Henry D. Lloyd; *Why We Unite: Philosophy of Trade Unions*, Dyer D. Lum; *Has the Non-Unionist a Moral Right to Work, How, When and Where He Pleases?* Frank K. Foster; *History of Trade Unions*, William Trant; *The Philosophy of the Eight-Hour Movement*, Lemuel Danryed; *The Eight-Hour Day*, Samuel Gompers; *No Compulsory Arbitration*, Samuel Gompers; *Organized Labor, Its Struggles, Its Enemies and Fool Friends*, Samuel Gompers; *Condition of Women Workers*, Ida M. Van Etten (all these can be obtained from the Federation headquarters); *Labor Problems*, Adams, Th. S., and Sumner, Helen S. (1905); *Studies in American Trade-Unionism* (Jacob H. Hollander, ed.), chap. xii.; *The Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor*, Wm. Keep (1906); *Organized Self-Help*, H. N. Casson (1901); *The Labor Movement*, George E. McNeill (1886).

The growth of the central organization of the principal national trade-unions since 1896 is set forth in the following table compiled from the secretary's report to the convention of 1904 :

Year	Charters Issued				Gains in Membership	Net Gain in Membership	Total Membership	National Unions affiliated	Receipts	Expenditures.
	National Unions	State and City Federations	Local Unions	All Organizations						
1897	8	20	189	217	62,292	7,490	264,825	55	$18,640	$19,114
1898	9	12	182	203	34,280	14,791	278,016	67	18,894	19,197
1899	9	36	405	450	141,390	71,406	349,422	73	36,757	30,591
1900	14	101	734	849	300,446	198,899	548,321	82	71,126	68,373
1901	7	127	782	916	361,410	239,216	787,537	87	115,221	118,708
1902	14	138	877	1,024	283,827	236,862	1,024,399	97	144,498	119,087
1903	20	174	1,139	1,333	615,731	441,401	1,465,800	113	247,803	196,016
1904	11	104	328	443	253,485	209,600	1,675,400	120	220,996	203,991

In 1906 the executive council of the federation, moved somewhat by the political successes of the English Labor Party (see GREAT BRITAIN), determined, not indeed to change the non-partizan policy of the federation, but to urge upon all unions and members affiliated with it to make a strenuous political effort, irrespective of party, to defeat candidates for Congress and others who were opposed to the views of labor, and to elect those friendly thereto. A committee of the federation reported a list of those candidates for Congress who should be supported, as well as a list of those who were to be defeated, and Mr. Gompers and others undertook a strenuous campaign against the latter. The council embodied its demands in the following Bill of Grievances:

HONORABLE THEODORE ROOSEVELT, *President of the United States;*

HONORABLE WILLIAM P. FRYE, *President pro tempore, United States Senate;*

HONORABLE JOSEPH G. CANNON, *Speaker, House of Representatives, United States.*

GENTLEMEN: The undersigned Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and those accompanying us in the presentation of this document, submit to you the subject-matter of the grievances which the workmen of our country feel by reason of the indifferent position which the Congress of the United States has manifested toward the just, reasonable, and necessary measures which have been before it these past several years, and which particularly affect the interests of the working people, as well as by reason of the administrative acts of the executive branches of the government and the legislation of the Congress relating to these interests. For convenience the matters of which we complain are briefly stated, and are as follows:

Bill of Grievances

Eight-Hour Law.—The law commonly known as the Eight-Hour Law has been found ineffective and insufficient to accomplish the purpose of its designers and framers. Labor has, since 1894, urged the passage of a law so as to remedy the defects, and for its extension to all work done for or on behalf of the government. Our efforts have been in vain.

Without hearing of any kind granted to those who are the advocates of the Eight-Hour Law and principle, Congress passed, and the president signed, an appropriation bill containing a rider nullifying the Eight-Hour Law and principle in its application to the greatest public work ever undertaken by our government, the construction of the Panama Canal.

The Eight-Hour Law in terms provides that those intrusted with the supervision of government work shall neither require nor permit any violations thereof. The law has been grievously and frequently violated. The violations have been reported to the heads of several departments, who have refused to take the necessary step for its enforcement.

Convict Labor.—While recognizing the necessity for the employment of inmates of our penal institutions, so that they may be self-supporting, labor has urged in vain the enactment of a law that shall safeguard it from the competition of the labor of convicts.

Immigration.—In the interest of all of our people, and in consonance with their almost general demand, we have urged Congress for some tangible relief from the constantly growing evil of induced and undesirable immigration, but without result.

Chinese Exclusion.—Recognizing the danger of Chinese immigration, and responsive to the demands of the people, Congress years ago enacted an effective Chinese exclusion law; yet, despite the experience of the people of our own country, as well as those of other countries, the present law is flagrantly violated, and now, by act of Congress, it is seriously proposed to invalidate that law and reverse the policy.

Seamen's Rights.—The partial relief secured by the laws of 1895 and 1898, providing that seamen shall not be compelled to endure involuntary servitude, has been seriously threatened at each succeeding Congress. The petitions to secure for the seamen equal right with all others have been denied, and a disposition shown to extend to other workmen the system of compulsory labor.

Ship Subsidy.—Under the guise of a bill to subsidize the shipping industry, a provision is incorporated, and has already passed the Senate, providing for a form of conscription, which would make compulsory naval service a condition precedent to employment on privately owned vessels.

Having in mind the terrible and unnecessary loss of life attending the burning of the *Slocum* in the harbor of New York, the wreck of the *Rio de Janeiro* at the entrance to the Bay of San Francisco, and other disasters on the waters too numerous to mention—in nearly every case the great loss of life was due to the undermanning and the unskilled manning of such vessels—we presented to Congress measures that would, if enacted, so far as human law could do, make impossible the awful loss of life. We have sought this remedy more in the interests of the traveling public than in that of the seamen, but in vain.

Having in mind the constantly increasing evil growing out of the parsimony of corporations, of towing several undermanned and unequipped vessels, called barges, on the high seas, where, in case of storm or stress, they are cut loose to drift or sink, and their crews to perish, we have urged the passage of a law that shall forbid the towing of more than one such vessel unless they shall have an equipment and a crew sufficient to manage them when cut loose and set adrift; but in vain.

Trusts and Interstate Commerce.—The antitrust and interstate commerce laws enacted to protect the people against monopoly in the products of labor, and against discrimination in the transportation thereof, have been perverted, so far as the laborers are concerned, so as to invade and violate their personal liberty as guaranteed by the Constitution. Our repeated efforts to obtain redress from Congress have been in vain.

Anti-Injunction Bill.—The beneficent writ of injunction, intended to protect property rights, has, as used in labor disputes, been perverted so as to attack and destroy personal freedom, and in a manner to hold that the employer has some property rights in the labor of the workmen. Instead of obtaining the relief which labor has sought, it is seriously threatened with statutory authority for existing judicial usurpation.

Committee on Labor.—The Committee on Labor of the House of Representatives was instituted at the demand of labor to voice its sentiments, to advocate its rights, and to protect its interests. In the past two Congresses this committee has been so organized as to make ineffectual any attempt labor has made for redress. This being the fact in the last Congress, labor requested the speaker to appoint on the Committee on Labor members who, from their experience, knowledge, and sympathy, would render in this Congress such service as the committee was originally designed to perform. Not only was labor's request ignored, but the hostile make-up of the committee was accentuated.

Right of Petition Denied Government Employees.—Recently the president issued an order forbidding any and all government employees, upon the pain of instant dismissal from the government service, to petition Congress for any redress of grievances or for any improvement in their condition. Thus the constitutional right of citizens to petition must be surrendered by the government employee in order that he may obtain or retain his employment.

Redress for Grievances.—We present these grievances to your attention because we have long, patiently, and in vain waited for redress. There is not any matter of which we have complained but for which we have, in an honorable and lawful manner, submitted remedies. The remedies for these grievances proposed by labor are in line with fundamental

law, and with the progress and development made necessary by changed industrial conditions.

Labor brings these, its grievances, to your attention because you are the representatives responsible for legislation and for failure of legislation. The toilers come to you as, your fellow-citizens, who, by reason of their position in life have not only with all other citizens an equal interest in our country, but the further interest of being the burden bearers, the wage-earners of America. As labor's representatives we ask you to redress these grievances, for it is in your power so to do.

Labor now appeals to you, and we trust that it may not be in vain. But if, perchance, you may not heed us, we shall appeal to the conscience and the support of our fellow-citizens.

(Signed) *Executive Council, American Federation of Labor.*

AMERICAN FORESTRY ASSOCIATION, THE: Organized 1882; incorporated 1897. Objects: (1) The promotion of a business-like and conservative use and treatment of the forest resources of this country. (2) The advancement of legislation tending to this end both by the states and the Congress of the United States, the inauguration of forest administration by the Federal Government and by the states, and the extension of sound forestry by all proper methods. (3) The diffusion of knowledge regarding the conservation, management, and renewal of forests, the proper utilization of their products, methods of reforestation of waste lands, and the planting of trees.

The association enrols all who realize the importance of the preservation of forests, and in particular appeals to owners of woodlands, to lumbermen and foresters, as well as to engineers, professional and business men who have to do with wood and its manifold uses, and to persons concerned in the conservation of water supplies for irrigation and other purposes. The dues are $2 per year. The association has more than 5,000 members, residents of every state in the Union, Canada, and foreign countries. It has its own organ, *Forestry and Irrigation*, which is sent free to all members each month. President, Hon. James Wilson, United States Secretary of Agriculture. Secretary, Prof. Thos. E. Will, 1311 G Street, Washington, D. C.

AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL SERVICE, THE: Organized in New York City in 1902, as the outgrowth of the League for Social Service, which was founded in 1898 by Drs. Josiah STRONG and TOLMAN. Objects: (1) To gather from all possible sources facts of every kind which bear on social and industrial betterment. (2) To interpret these facts by ascertaining their causes and effects, thus gaining their real significance; and (3) To disseminate the resulting knowledge for the education of public opinion, which is the generic social reform.

The membership is limited to forty, but the constitution provides that men and women distinguished for public service or deeply interested in industrial and social betterment may be elected associates. Distinguished students of social subjects are elected collaborators.

The institute has a large number of foreign collaborators, and has been influential in starting similar institutes in Great Britain, Sweden, and elsewhere; while it is in active communication with societies of a similar nature in other countries. In this way a considerable international exchange of information has resulted, and has been published in *Social Progress*, edited by Dr. Strong and others. The institute has made noteworthy sociological exhibits at the expositions of Paris (1900), St. Louis (1904), Liège (1905), and Milan (1906); and it arranged for an Exposition of Safety Devices in New York (December, 1906.) Out of this has grown a movement for a permanent museum of Safety Devices in New York City, to which the Institute is now giving its main efforts, and for which quarters are opened at 231–241 West Thirty-ninth Street. See MUSEUMS OF SECURITY. The institute makes special investigations, at cost only, for students and others desiring such services; and it disseminates the information it collects to its members in all countries. Annual dues: Members, $2; Societies, $5. President, Josiah Strong. Director, Wm. H. Tolman, 231–241 West Thirty-ninth Street, New York City.

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, THE: The oldest and strongest of the associations in this country devoted exclusively to the promotion of international peace; organized in New York in 1828. Through the influence of William Ladd, the American "Apostle of Peace," the various state and local peace societies, which had been at work since 1815, were induced to unite and thus establish a national organization.

The society moved to Hartford, Conn., in 1835, and then to Boston in 1827, where its headquarters have been ever since. As early as the "thirties" the society advocated the general adoption of arbitration, and the establishment of a permanent congress and court of nations. The monthly journal of the society, *The Advocate of Peace*, first published at Hartford by William Watson, for the Connecticut Peace Society, has appeared since 1834. The society, before taking over this paper, had previously published *The Harbinger of Peace* and *The Calumet*.

The purpose of the society was from the first declared to be to "diffuse light respecting the evils of war and the best means of effecting its abolition." This twofold aim has been its object ever since. It has been among the foremost of the agencies advocating a permanent system of arbitration for the settlement of all international controversies. In 1840 the Society published, in a book of 700 pages, "Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations." It has since published and distributed many millions of pages of books and pamphlets, on all phases of the subjects of peace and war. Through its agency many valuable contributions have been made to the literature of international peace, including Sumner's oration on the "War System of the Commonwealth of Nations," Emerson's "Essay on War," Channing's "Lecture on War," Judge Jay's "Review of the Mexican War," etc.

The society was the first to take up, at the suggestion of Joseph Sturge of England, in 1841, the idea of holding international peace congresses. The result was the first great congress held in Exeter Hall, London, in 1843, organized by the London Peace Society. Out of this first congress grew the remarkable series of congresses from 1848 to 1851, in which the American Peace Society had large delegations. In 1872, through the efforts of Dr. James B. Miles, then secretary of the society, the International Law Association was organized, and held its first meeting in Brussels the following year. Twenty-three conferences of this association have been held, the last of which was at Berlin in October, 1906. This association has done much for the promotion of arbitration, the improvement of international law, and better relations in general between the nations.

Beginning in 1837 with a petition to the Legislature of Massachusetts, the society has been active with both the state and national governments with a view to practical legislative action toward permanent international arbitration and peace. It was the first to suggest, in the "eighties," the holding of a Pan-American conference, for the purpose of promoting greater friendship and better trade relations between the American states.

The American Peace Society has been represented in nearly all of the international peace congresses held since 1889, as well as in the national arbitration conferences held at Washington; and many of its members have been prominent in the work of the Mohonk Arbitration Conference, organized in 1895 by Mr. Albert K. Smiley.

In the spring of 1903 a resolution, prepared by the secretary of the society, and supported by a considerable number of individuals outside, was unanimously voted by the Massachusetts Legislature, urging the Congress and Government

of the United States to take steps toward the establishment of a periodic congress of nations. This proposal has met with unexpectedly strong and wide approval, has been made a leading feature of the program of the INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION, and will probably be one of the foremost subjects of discussion at the second Hague conference.

The society is stronger, more active, and more influential to-day than ever before in its history. It has a growing membership in all parts of the United States. By means of committees it is promoting interest in the peace movement among business men, among workingmen, among ministers and churches, etc. President, Hon. Robert Treat Paine. Secretary, Benjamin F. Trueblood, 31 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.

AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION, THE: Founded 1903. Object: The encouragement of the scientific study of politics, public law, administration, and diplomacy. It meets annually in December. Dues, $3. President, Albert Shaw, New York. Vice-presidents: Albert Bushnell Hart; F. N. Judson; H. A. Garfield. Secretary and treasurer, W. W. Willoughby, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

AMERICAN PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION LEAGUE, THE: Organized (1893) to promote the reform of legislative assemblies, by abandoning the present system of electing single representatives on a majority or plurality vote in limited territorial districts, and by substituting the following provisions:

(1) That all representatives be elected "at large," on a general ticket either without district divisions or in districts as large as practicable.

(2) That the election be in such form that the several parties or political groups shall secure representation in proportion to the respective number of votes cast by each. President, William Dudley Foulke, Richmond, Ind. Secretary, Robert Tyson, 10 Harbord Street, Toronto, Can.

AMERICAN PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION, THE: A secret association, commonly called the A. P. A. It was organized in 1887 against the asserted attack of Roman Catholicism upon the American public school and other American institutions. In 1890 or thereabouts it became very active, published an outspoken organ in Boston, Mass., and created widespread agitation and excitement. The association was organized by H. F. Bower, and rapidly grew in strength, claiming in 1895 a membership of 2,000,000, and extending into Canada, Great Britain, and Australia. Its influence, however, soon disappeared, and has now practically passed away.

The reasons given for the existence of the order were stated by one of its members to be as follows:

(1) The Roman Catholic attack on our public-school system. (2) The attempted foreignizing, by force, of whole communities, in language and religion, by Romish priests. (3) The complete control of our great cities by Romanism. (4) The fact that our army and navy are almost wholly Romanized. (5) The remarkable increase of untaxed church property. (6) The frequent desecration of the American flag by priests. (7) The Jesuit control of the heads of the government at Washington. (8) The well-known public declaration of the Pope that the United States is his one bright hope for the future.

As a proof of the need of the order, the Rev. James B. Dunn, secretary of the Committee of One Hundred, of Boston, in a tract published by the committee, quotes from the papal encyclical of Jan. 10, 1890, where the Pope states that Roman Catholics are:

> Even in politics, always to serve first the interests of Catholicism, and to submit themselves in obedience to the will of the pontiff as to God himself, and that the civil laws are binding on them only so long as they are conformable to the Roman Catholic religion. In that same encyclical the Pope says it is a duty to resist all civil laws hostile to anything ordered by the Church, and a crime to obey them. These being the facts, is it not quite certain that whatever his private or personal opinion and feelings may be as an American citizen, every good Roman Catholic must support the Church as against the State? . . .
>
> That cases happen in which the State demands one thing from the citizen, and religion the opposite from Christians, and this undoubtedly *for no other reason* than that the heads of the State pay no regard to the sacred power of the Church, or desire to make it subject to them. No one, however, can doubt which is to receive their preference. . . . It is an impious deed to break the laws of Jesus Christ for the purpose of obeying the magistrates, or *to transgress the laws of the church* under the pretext of observing the civil law. . . .
>
> If the laws of the State are in open contradiction with the divine law, if they command anything *prejudicial to the Church*, or are hostile to the duties imposed by religion, or violate *in the person* of the supreme pontiff the authority of Jesus Christ, then indeed it is a duty to *resist* them and a *crime* to obey them—a crime fraught with injury to the State itself. . . .
>
> Furthermore, in politics, which are inseparably bound up with the laws of morality and religious duties, men ought *always* and in the *first place to serve*, as *far as possible*, the *interests of Catholicism*. As soon as they are seen to be in danger, all differences should cease between Catholics. Since the fate of states depends principally on the disposition of those who are at the head of the government, the Church cannot grant its patronage or favor to men whom it knows to be hostile to it, who openly refuse to respect its rights, who seek to break the alliance established by the nature of things between religious interests and the interests of the civil order. On the contrary, its duty is to favor those who, *having sound ideas as to the relations between Church and State, wish to* make them both harmonize for the common good. These principles contain the rule according to which every Catholic *ought to model his public life.*

Papal Encyclicals

Dr. Dunn also quotes one of Cardinal Manning's sermons, representing the Pope as saying:

> I acknowledge no civil superior; I am the subject of no prince; and I claim more than this. I claim to be the supreme judge on earth, and director of the consciences of men; of the peasant that tills the field, and the prince that sits on the throne; of the household that lives in the shade of privacy, and the legislature that makes laws for kingdoms. I am the sole last supreme judge on earth of what is right and wrong.

Of these and other similar quotations Dr. Dunn says:

> In view of such declarations and teachings, we ask, Can a good Romanist be at the same time a loyal American citizen?
>
> Many Romanists, no doubt, mean to be loyal citizens of the republic, and honestly think they are; yea, we are quite willing to believe that the great body of them have no wish to interfere with the liberties and institutions of America, and that if called upon to choose between serving our government and the power at Rome, think they would abjure Rome. But it must be remembered that they belong to a system in which free agency is impossible. As we have seen, the Vatican claims absolute and supreme authority in all things, civil as well as spiritual, and every member of that Church is bound to render to the pontiff absolute and unquestioning obedience. . . . Can any person who is loyal to Romanism be true to republicanism? Can a Romanist be a good citizen of America? . . .

(For an answer from the Roman Catholic standpoint to the statements of the A. P. A., see ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

Arguments against the A. P. A.

But Romanists are by no means the only ones who criticize and oppose the attitude of the A. P. A. H. K. Carroll wrote in *The Methodist Review*, 1895, a plea for Protestants to conquer their prejudices and to be reasonable in the matter. Concerning the assertion

that Roman Catholics cannot be good citizens, Dr. Carroll says:

Are Catholics disloyal? I do not remember ever to have seen the affirmative of this question supported by the citation of any act. It is commonly argued from the doctrine of papal supremacy. Catholics, it is urged, know no higher law than obedience. The people obey the priests implicitly, the priests are in complete subjection to the bishops, and the bishops are bound to do whatever the Pope tells them. This Pope is a foreign potentate who assumes to be superior to kings and governments; and he would, if he could, subordinate the State to the Church. In answer let me ask, Is it not obvious that he could not if he would? Where is there a state over which he exercises even a shadow of sovereignty?"

Concerning the relation of the Roman Catholic Church to our public schools, Dr. Carroll says:

Does the Church of Rome desire to destroy our public-school system? "Destroy" is a strong word. I doubt whether it is right to apply it even to the most hostile opinion that prevails among the hierarchy. The most any Catholic has asked for is exemption from payment of the public-school tax or division of the school funds. In neither case would the system be destroyed. If the first alternative were adopted it would impair the integrity of the system and limit it. It would not be for all the people as it is now, but only for the larger part of them. If the second proposal were accepted we should have in this country the conditions that prevail in England and elsewhere. We should have both the secular and religious elements represented in our public schools. The system would be greatly changed and impaired, but it would not be destroyed. It would not be fair, I think, to say that the hierarchy would destroy our public school; but it is fair to say that they are not satisfied with it as it is.

References: *North American*, clix., 67; clxvii., 658; *American Journal of Politics*, v., 504.

AMERICAN PURITY ALLIANCE, THE: Incorporated under this name in 1895, as the continuation of the New York Committee for the Prevention of State Regulation of Vice, which commenced its work in 1876 and has held thirty annual meetings.

Objects: The repression of vice, the prevention of its regulation by the State, the better protection of the young, the rescue of the fallen, the extension of the White Cross among men, and to maintain the law of purity as equally binding upon men and women.

The chief present work of the alliance consists in organizing methods for the instruction of the young in schools and colleges, for the information of teachers, parents, and physicians in sexual hygiene; the distribution of purity literature, of which a supply of thirty-four pamphlets is kept on hand at its headquarters; and the publication of *The Philanthropist*. It is the American branch of the International Federation for the Suppression of State Regulation of Vice, and is actively interested in the suppression of the "White Slave" traffic. It is constantly at work to prevent attempts at state or city regulation of prostitution. Annual dues, $1. President, O. Edward Janney, M.D., Baltimore, Md. Secretary, Percy Russell, 93 Crooke Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y. Office, 400 West Twenty-third Street, New York City.

AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION, THE: A union organized in Chicago in 1893 under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs. It played a large part in the Pullman Strike, and virtually ceased to exist after the failure of that strike. The report of the Commission on the Pullman Strike said of this union:

The theory underlying this movement is that the organization of different classes of railroad employees (to the number of about 140,000) upon the trade-union idea has ceased to be useful or adequate; that pride of organization, petty jealousies, and the conflict of views into which men are trained in separate organizations under different leaders, tend to defeat the common object of all, and enable railroads to use such organizations against each other in contentions over wages, etc.; that the rapid concentration of railroad capital and management demands a like union of their employees for the purpose of mutual protection; that the interests of each of the 850,000 or more railroad employees of the United States, as to wages, treatment, hours of labor, legislation, insurance, mutual aid, etc., are common to all, and hence all ought to belong to one organization that shall assert its united strength in the protection of the rights of every member.

AMERICAN SECULAR UNION AND FREE-THOUGHT FEDERATION, THE: Organized 1876. Object: "To propagate the nine demands of liberalism as specified in our constitution. To effect a total separation of Church and State, not only in name as it now is, but as an actual fact. Taxation of church property, the elimination of all religious teaching in the public schools, and the abolition of all those clearly unconstitutional measures which are wrongly called Sunday laws." Annual report, $1. Secretary, E. C. Reichwald, 141 South Water Street, Chicago.

Nine Demands of Liberalism

(1) We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall be no longer exempt from taxation.

(2) We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in the legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by the public money, shall be discontinued.

(3) We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

(4) We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

(5) We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the governors of the various states, of all the religious festivals and feasts shall wholly cease.

(6) We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

(7) We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

(8) We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

(9) We demand that not only in the Constitution of the United States and of the several states, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION, THE: Founded 1865 in Boston, Mass., at a meeting called by Drs. S. G. Howe, Nathan Allen, R. T. Davis, and F. B. Sanborn, and presided over by Gov. John A. Andrew. Its first president was Prof. W. B. Rogers, founder of the Boston Institute of Technology; and its first secretaries Dr. Samuel Eliot and F. B. Sanborn. Ensuing presidents have been Dr. Samuel Eliot, George William Curtis, Prof. B. Peirce, President Gilman of Baltimore, President A. D. White of Cornell, Gen. John Eaton, Carroll D. Wright, Prof. Francis Wayland, F. J. Kingsbury, Oscar S. Straus, and other eminent scholars and publicists. It conducts its work under the five departments of Education, Finance, Health, Jurisprudence, and Social Economy. Heads of these departments have been David A. Wells, Dr. Francis Lieber, George S. Boutwell, President Woolsey, Charles L. Brace, Robert Treat Paine, John Graham Brooks, Edward Atkinson, Dr. Walter Channing, Dr. Stephen Smith, Judge S. E. Baldwin, Rev. H. L. Wayland, Robert C. Winthrop, Judge

Emory Washburn, and many others. Mr. Sanborn remained secretary from 1865 until 1898, and was succeeded by Rev. F. S. Root, who died in 1906, and was succeeded by Prof. I. F. Russell of New York, the present secretary. Meetings have been held annually for forty-two years, and hundreds of addresses and papers have been read, many of them afterward published in *The Journal of Social Science*, edited in turn by S. Eliot, Henry Villard, F. B. Sanborn, and F. S. Root. From the Social Science Association have sprung the National Prison Association, the National Conference of Charities, and numerous branch societies, clubs, etc. Its main office was for years in Boston, then in New Haven, Conn., and is now in New York. It numbers some 600 members in all parts of the United States, but chiefly in New York and New England. Secretary, Prof. I. F. Russell, 120 Broadway, New York City.

AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION, THE: This association was organized in 1839, and has a membership of about 600. A quarterly publication was begun in 1888, by means of which special statistical monographs are being presented to the public, and in addition this journal contains a record of current statistical literature, which is intended to inform the members concerning the most important and recent statistical inquiries made in foreign countries. This publication has reached (March, 1906), its seventy-third number, and is recognized as a valuable record of statistical work. The present constitution of the association is as follows:

ART. I. This association shall be denominated the American Statistical Association.

ART. II. The objects of the association shall be to collect, preserve, and diffuse statistical information in the different departments of human knowledge.

ART. III. The association shall be composed of fellows and honorary members.

ART. IV. All members shall be chosen by the board of directors, the affirmative votes of four-fifths of the members of said board being necessary to a choice. Each fellow shall pay annually $2, or $20 at some one time.

ART. V. Fellows only shall be entitled to vote, but honorary members shall have the right to sit and deliberate in all the meetings of the association.

(ARTS. VI., VII., and VIII. omitted.)

NOTE.—Each member shall be entitled to receive all reports and publications of the association.

The association's presidents have been: Hon. Richard Fletcher, A.M., LL.D.; George C. Shattuck, M.D., LL.D.; Edward Jarvis, A.M., M.D., and Francis A. Walker, Ph.D., LL.D. Its present officers are: President, Carroll D. Wright, LL.D. Vice-presidents, Horace G. Wadlin, Litt.D.; Henry C. Adams, Ph.D.; Henry Gannett; S. N. D. North, LL.D.; Walter F. Willcox, Ph.D. Corresponding secretary and librarian, Horace G. Wadlin, Litt.D., Public Library, Boston, Mass. Treasurer, S. B. Pearmain, 53 State Street, Boston, Mass. Recording Secretary, Carroll W. Doten, A.M., Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass. Councilors, Cressy L. Wilbur, M.D.; F. L. Hoffman; Chas. Edward A. Winslow. Committee on Publication, Davis R. Dewey, Ph.D.; John Koren; Edward M. Hartwell, M.D. Committee on Finance, Osborne Howes; Walter C. Wright; S. B. Pearmain. Committee on Library, Hon. Julius L. Clarke; Rev. Samuel W. Dike, LL.D.; W. Z. Ripley, Ph.D. (See also AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION and INTERNATIONAL STATISTICAL INSTITUTION.)

ANABAPTISTS: A religious community that arose principally in Germany in the sixteenth century, opposing the baptizing of infants (whence their name), but better known for their revolutionary and communistic social efforts. Thomas Munzer (1520), the leader of a set of enthusiasts called the prophets of Zwickau, did much to spread the beliefs of Anabaptism through Saxony and Switzerland. Waldshut became one of their centers of propagation. Revolting from the rigid rule of the state and from the false formalism of the Church, they carried their principles too far, and it is certain that in some places the movement, guided by ambitious and licentious men, broke into lawlessness and lust. But for the most part the Anabaptists have been a maligned and misrepresented class of people, who earnestly desired and sought for a greater fulness of truth and brotherhood than any institutions under the then existing conditions provided. Their doctrines were: The equality of all Christians, the community of goods, the baptism of the Spirit, adult baptism, and the establishment of the kingdom of heaven on earth. About 1525 the "Peasant War" broke out, partially caused and largely supported by these doctrines. The laboring classes were at this time cruelly opprest by the government, and the teachings of Anabaptism spread rapidly through Holstein, Westphalia, and the Netherlands. Again and again they were checked, and scattered, and persecuted even to death; but traveling preachers continued the agitation, and organizations sprang up wherever persecution turned its back.

History

In 1534 they became masters of Münster; they destroyed churches and appointed twelve judges to rule over the city. A tailor named Jan van Leiden had himself crowned king, and for a year the city was given over to every kind of madness and licentiousness. At the end of that time several Protestant princes conquered the city and restored peace and order by executing the ringleaders of the uproar. In Amsterdam and other cities, however, Anabaptists, who had little in common with the lustful fanaticism of Buckhold, spread their doctrines. The Revelations of St. John was their chief source of doctrine; and their main desire was to found a new kingdom of pure and primitive Christianity. David Joris (1501–56), one of the chief of these, united liberalism with anabaptism, introduced much mystical theology, and strove to unite the different Christian sects. Another prominent leader was Menno Simons. In spite of dangers and persecutions he gathered together the scattered and disheartened Anabaptists of Germany and the Netherlands, known in the United States as "Mennonites." He explained his belief in a book published in 1556, "Elements of the True Christian Faith," which is still an authoritative book among the Mennonites. His adherents believe in strictly following the teachings of Scripture, in rejecting the taking of oaths, every kind of revenge, war, divorce (except for adultery), infant baptism, and the undertaking the work of a magistrate. Their belief is that while magistracy is necessary for the present time, it is foreign to the kingdom of Christ. The education and theology of the colleges they set very little value upon. Menno called his adherents "God's congregation; poor, unarmed Christian brothers." In Germany the Mennonites are called *Taufgesinnte*, and in Holland, *Doopsgezinden*.

The church is a literal communion of the saints, which must be kept pure by strict discipline.

They celebrate the rite of feet-washing. Their bishops, elders, and teachers serve gratis. They are split into many divisions, mainly the strict and the mild Mennonites. The latter are known as Wäterlanders, from a place in Holland. Some of their divisions take names from the peculiarities of their dress—Buttoners, Hook-and-eye-ers, etc. The purity of their lives, however, commands respect, and their industry makes them prosperous.

References: *The Social Side of the Reformation*, by E. B. Bax; *A Valuable Chapter in Ethic of Free Thought*, by Karl Pearson; *Anabaptism*, by Richard Heath; also Ranke and other writers on the Reformation.

ANARCHISM (Gr. χν, privative, and ἀρχή, government): The social doctrine of the abolition of government of man by man, and the constitution of society without government. In this article the subject is considered under three heads: (1) Individualist or Philosophical Anarchism; (2) Anarchist Communism; and (3) Arguments against Anarchism.

Under the general definition there are two schools of anarchists, totally distinct and even opposed in their doctrines, methods, and in their general characteristics. The two schools are those of the individualist anarchists (often called in this country philosophical anarchists), and, secondly, the school of anarchist communists, a school which, however, is gradually dying out, and which the more thoughtful anarchists deny to be anarchism at all. The individualist anarchists, tho the fewer in number, are, in this country especially, the abler body of thinkers, and carry to their fullest logical results the principles which a great many individualists accept but do not carry out. Individualist anarchists do not believe in the use of force—not because they hold that it is wrong to use it, but because they are aware that the use of force never truly liberates, while their aim is absolute liberty—their motto being "Liberty, not the daughter, but the mother of order." They start from the philosophy of individual sovereignty, and apply it to the problems of social science with relentless logic. By no means objecting to organization and cooperation, provided it be voluntary, they would have all organization spring from the individual.

Anarchist communists, on the other hand, form a wholly different school of thought. They do not believe in government, and they do believe in overthrowing it by force. On its ruins they would plant a communal life, whose ideal is very little different from that of the Socialists, except that it is not to be realized through the state. Most of the men who are called anarchists in the press, particularly of Europe, and almost all the bomb-throwers and dynamiters of recent years on either continent have been anarchist communists. This school is mainly European, while individualist anarchism is mainly American. Anarchist-communism counts among its followers names favorably known to science and letters, such as Krapotkin and Réclus, while many, even of the dynamitards, have been men of education and sometimes refinement. Nevertheless, it is mainly a movement among the working classes, particularly of France, Italy, Spain, and to a less extent, Germany and Austria. In England there are but few anarchist communists. In America they are found only in a few cities. The so-called Chicago anarchists were anarchist communists. Individualist anarchism, on the other hand, is not a class movement, but almost purely intellectual, naturally drawing its strength largely from the classes possessed to-day of intellectual advantages. It will thus be seen that in philosophy, method, and general characteristics the two classes of anarchists are carefully to be distinguished. Both are distinctly revolutionary and opposed to the state; but the one starts from the individual, and advocates a revolution through ideas; the other starts from the community, and advocates a revolution through force. We print a statement of individualist anarchism by Victor S. Yarros, former associate editor of *Liberty*, and a statement of anarchist communism by Pierre Krapotkin, perhaps its most distinguished representative. Mr Yarros writes:

I.—Individualist or Philosophical Anarchism

Definition and Statement

The individualistic or philosophical anarchists favor the abolition of "the state" and government of man by man. They seek to bring about a state of political freedom—of anarchy. To comprehend the precise import of this statement it is essential to grasp and bear in mind the definitions given by the anarchists to the terms employed in their expositions. The current misconceptions of the anarchistic doctrines are chiefly due to the persistent, tho largely unconscious, habit of interpreting them in the light of the popular definitions of the terms "state," "government," etc., instead of in the light of their own technical use of these terms. The average man on being told that the anarchist would abolish all governmental restraints, not unnaturally concludes that the proposition involves the removal of the restrictions upon *criminal* conduct, the relinquishment of organized defense of life, liberty, and property. Those who are familiar with the doctrine of non-resistance to evil, preached by the early Christians and by the modern Tolstoïans, generally identify anarchism with it. But such interpretations are without any foundation. The anarchists are emphatically in favor of resistance to and organized protection against crime and aggression of every kind; it is not greater freedom for the criminal, but greater freedom for the non-criminal, that they aim to secure; and by the abolition of government they mean the removal of restrictions upon conduct intrinsically ethical and legitimate, but which ignorant legislation has interdicted as criminal. The anarchistic principle of personal liberty is absolutely coincident with the famous Spencerian "first principle of human happiness," the principle of "equal freedom," which Mr. Spencer has exprest in the formula, "Every man is free to do what he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man." It is, in fact, precisely *because* the anarchist accepts this principle without reservation, and insists on the suppression and elimination of *all* aggression or invasion—all conduct incompatible with equality of liberty—that he declares war upon the "state" and "government." He defines "state" as "the embodiment of the principle of invasion in an individual or band of individuals, assuming to act as representatives or masters of the entire people within a given area." * Government he

* The definitions here given are those formed and consistently used by Benjamin R. Tucker, the editor of *Liberty*, the organ of the philosophical anarchistic movement.

defines as "the subjection of the non-invasive individual to an external will"; and "invasion" as conduct violative of equal freedom.

Program

Perhaps the clearest way of stating the political program of the anarchists will be to indicate its relation to other and better-known theories of government. The anarchists, agreeing with the view of the true Jeffersonian Democrats, that the best government is that which governs least, sympathizing with the position of the old Manchester individualists and *laissez-faire-ists*, who believed in a minimum of government interference, as well as with the less vague doctrines of the more radical modern individualists of the Spencerian school, who would limit the state to the sole function of protecting men against external and internal invaders, go a step farther and demand the dissolution of what remains of "government"—viz., compulsory taxation and compulsory military service. It is no more necessary, contend the anarchists, that government should assume the protective military and police functions, and *compel* men to accept its services, than it is that government should meddle with production, trade, banking, education, and other lines of human activity. By voluntary organization and voluntary taxation it is perfectly possible to protect liberty and property and to restrain crime. It is doubtless easy to imagine a society in which government concerns itself with nothing save preservation of order and punishment of crime, in which there are no public schools supported by compulsory taxation, no government interference with the issue of currency and banking, no custom-houses or duties on foreign imports, no government postal service, no censorship of literature and the stage, no attempt to enforce Sunday laws, etc. The *laissez-faire-ists* of the various schools have familiarized the thinking public with such a type of social organization. The anarchists simply propose to do away with the compulsory feature of the single function reserved for government by the radical *laissez-faire-ists*. In other words, they insist on the right of the non-aggressive individual to "ignore the state," to dispense with the protective services of the defensive organization and remain outside of it. This would not prevent those who might desire systematic and organized protection from combining to maintain a defensive institution, but such an institution would not be a government, since no one would be compelled to join it and pay toward its support. Anarchy, therefore, may be defined as a state of society in which the non-invasive individual is not coerced into cooperation even for the defense of his neighbors, and in which each enjoys the highest degree of liberty compatible with equality of liberty.

With regard to the question of putting down aggression, the jurisdiction of the voluntary defensive organization would of course extend to outsiders, and not be limited by its membership. The criminal are not to secure immunity by declining to join defensive associations. As the freedom of each is to be bounded by the equal freedom of all, the invader would be liable to punishment under anarchism no less than under government. Criminals would still be tried by juries and punished by executive officers. They would not be allowed to set up ethical standards for themselves and to do what is right in their own eyes. Such a doctrine involves not the *abolition* of government, but the widest possible extension of it. It repudiates all ethical principles and abandons all attempts at enforcing justice and protecting rights. Every man is allowed under it to govern his fellows, if he has the will and the power, and the struggle for existence in the simplest and crudest form is revived. Anarchism, on the other hand, posits the principle of equal liberty as binding upon all, and only insists that those who refrain from violating it should not be interfered with in any way, either by individual governors or combinations of would-be rulers.

Arguments for Anarchism

Anarchists reject governmentalism because they find no ethical warrant and no practical necessity for it. It appears to them self-evident that society, or the community, can have no greater claims upon the individual than the component members of it have. The metaphysical and misleading analogies between society and organism, upon which is usually founded the governmentalist's theory of the prerogatives of the state, anarchists reject with undisguised contempt. "The community," or "the state," is an abstraction, and an abstraction has neither rights nor duties. Individuals, and individuals only, have rights. This proposition is the corner-stone of the anarchistic doctrine, and those who accept it are bound to go the full length of anarchism. For if the community cannot rightfully compel a man to do or refrain from doing that which private and individual members thereof cannot legitimately force him to do or forego, then compulsory taxation and compulsory cooperation for any purpose whatever are wrong in principle, and government is merely another name for aggression. It will not be pretended that one private individual has the right to tax another private individual without his consent; how, then, does the majority of the members of a community obtain the right to tax the minority without its consent? Having outgrown the dogma of the divine right of kings, democratic countries are unconsciously erecting the dogma of the divine right of majorities to rule. The absurdity of such a belief is apparent. Majorities, minorities, and any other combinations of individuals are entitled to insist on respect of their rights, but not on violating the rights of others. There is one ethical standard, not two; and it cannot be right for government to do that which would be criminal or immoral when committed by individuals. Laws of social life are not made at the polls or in legislative assemblies; they have to be discovered in the same way in which laws of other sciences are discovered. Once discovered, majorities are bound to observe them no less than individuals.

No Ethical Warrant for Government

As already stated, the anarchists hold that the law of equal freedom, formulated positively by Spencer and negatively by Kant, is a scientific social law which ought to guide men in their various activities and mutual relations. The logical deductions or corollaries of this law show us at once our rights and our duties. Government violates this great law not only by the fact of its very existence, but in a thousand other ways. Government means the coercion of the non-invasive, the taxation of those who protest against being forced to join the political organization set up by the majority. It enacts statutes and imposes restraints which find no sanction in

the law of equal freedom, and punishes men for disobeying such arbitrary provisions. It is true that governments profess to have the public welfare in view, and to enforce nothing save what morality and justice dictate. Justice, however, is invariably confounded by governments with legalism, and by the enforcement of justice they often mean the enforcement of the very laws which they enact in violation of justice. Thus laws in restraint of trade and of exchange are enforced in the name of justice, whereas justice demands the fullest freedom of trade and exchange. Strictly speaking, the enforcement of justice cannot be undertaken by government at all, since a government that should attempt to enforce justice would have to begin by signing its own death-warrant. A government that would enforce equal freedom and let the inoffensive alone would be, not a government, but a voluntary association for the protection of rights.

In republican countries men loosely speak of their "free government," their "government by consent." In reality there is no such thing as government by consent. Majorities rule, and the minorities are forced to acquiesce. The principle of consent is clearly fatal to governmentalism, for it implies the right of the non-invasive to ignore the state and decline to accept its services. Ethically a man has a perfect right to do this, for the mere refusal to join the political organization (which is merely an insurance association) is not a breach of the principle of equal freedom. Our "free governments" deny this right, hence they are immoral. They cannot become moral except by ceasing to be governments and becoming purely voluntary associations for defense.

Apart from the question of compulsory taxation and compulsory military service, on the abolition of which anarchists alone lay stress (altho they readily admit that the police functions of government will be the last to disappear), there is little, if any, difference between anarchists and Spencerian individualists, on the question of government interference. The cessation of such interference with economic relations —with the issue of money, banking, wages, trade, production, etc.—is advocated on the ground that the solution of the social problems is to be found in liberty rather than in regulation, in free competition rather than in state monopoly. Anarchists are opposed to trusts and monopolies, but they would not substitute public for private monopoly. All monopoly rests on legal privilege, on injustice, on violations of equal opportunity, and therefore the anarchist demands equality of opportunity and free competition rather than restrictive, paternalistic regulation of industry and commerce. On the subject of public education, postal service, poor laws, sanitary supervision, etc., anarchists, in common with advanced individualists, hold that government interference is as pernicious practically as it is unwarranted ethically. Corruption and inefficiency are evils inseparable from government management, and there is nothing which government does that could not be done better by private enterprise under free competition.

In short, the anarchists object to governmentalism because it is unethical, as well as unnecessary and inexpedient. Government is either the will of one man or the will of a number of men, large or small. Now, the will of one or many is not a criterion of right and justice, while for the adjustment of the conflicting interests of the members of society such a criterion is an absolute necessity. Majority rule, and even the rule of a despot, may be, under certain conditions, preferable to a state of civil chaos; but as men advance and study the facts of their own development, they begin to realize the truth that there is no relation whatever between right and numbers, justice and force. Majority rule is discredited along with despotic rule, and ethical science becomes the sole guide and authority. The social laws need to be applied and enforced as long as predatory instincts and invasive tendencies continue to manifest themselves in human relations, and this necessitates the maintenance of associations for the protection of freedom and the punishment of aggression. But the governmental method is not adapted to the promotion of this end. Government begins by coercing the non-invasive individual into cooperation for defense and offense, regardless of the fact that a benevolent despotism is not a whit more defensible than a selfish despotism.

Majority Rule Discredited

In general, it may be stated that any methods not in themselves invasive are regarded as legitimate by the anarchists in the furtherance of their cause. But they rely chiefly, if not entirely, on the methods of education—theoretical propaganda of their views—and of passive resistance to government. In violence, so-called propaganda by deed and subterranean plotting against existing institutions, they do not believe. Political changes may be brought about by revolutions, and possibly also such economic changes as are contemplated by the state Socialists. But freedom can rest only on ideas and sentiments favorable to it, and revolutionary demonstrations can never abolish ignorance and the spirit of tyranny. Freedom cannot be forced on those who are not fit for it. The emancipation of the people from the aggression of government must come through their own deliberate choice and effort. Anarchists can but disseminate true political teachings and expose the nature and essence of governmentalism. Anarchists, however, do not believe that it is necessary to convert the whole people in order to carry their principles into practise. A strong and determined minority could, while remaining passive, successfully resist the attempt of government to tax them and otherwise impose its will upon them. Public opinion would not approve of a government campaign of violence against a number of intelligent and perfectly honest individuals banded together for the sole purpose of carrying on their legitimate activities and asserting their right to ignore injunctions and prohibitions having no authority from an ethical point of view.

Methods

Even if anarchists believed in the use of violent methods—and if they thought that violent resistance to government would hasten their emancipation, they would certainly resort to it, since it is not immoral or invasive to use force *against* invaders—there would be one important difference between them and other schools of reformers. Anarchists would not prevent others from living under government side by side with them, while other reformers seek to impose their schemes on the whole community in which they live. Thus the state Socialists, in pursuance of their program of state monopoly of capital, intend to suppress all competition and all rivalry on the part of individual owners of

capital. The anarchists, on the other hand, if allowed to remain outside of the governmental organization, would force no one to join them or follow their example. Still, as a matter of fact, anarchists abjure violence even in their own interests, vividly realizing the truth that the progress of justice and freedom is arrested in a state of war. Peace is an essential condition to the spread of rational ideas and the growth of the sentiment of toleration. Appealing as they do to the ideas and feelings of justice, it would be suicidal for anarchists to encourage violence and excite the lowest passions of men by revolutionary tactics.

To reform by ordinary political methods the anarchists are also opposed, at least under present conditions. As they do not seek any new positive legislation, they can expect nothing from politics. They demand the repeal of the legislation which improperly restricts men's freedom of action, and such repeal they cannot secure while being in a minority. Whether they would cooperate with other parties in attempting to carry specific measures of repeal, would depend largely on circumstances. It is to be remembered that, while the anarchists are strenuous in their opposition to every vestige of government, they do not expect to realize their entire program at one stroke. They are prepared for very slow and gradual reform, and would welcome the success of any single libertarian proposal. They would rejoice in the triumph of the free-trade idea, the repeal of the laws perpetuating land monopoly and monetary monopoly, and the abolition of special privileges. If they do not form themselves into a political party for the purpose of attaining one or more of these objects, it is because they can do more by other methods. Moreover, to enter into the political arena is to recognize, by implication, the principle of government. To vote is to coerce or to threaten coercion. Behind the ballot is the bullet of the soldier, ready to force the defeated minority into submission. The voter does not merely assert his right to self-government; he sets up a claim to govern others. The anarchist cannot employ a method which would put him in such a false light.

Thus the anarchist is neither a government bomb-thrower nor a revolutionary bomb-thrower. He objects to the use of violence by the government as well as against it. He restricts himself to the method of education and such passive resistance as is exemplified by a refusal to pay taxes or rent or import duties on commodities purchased in foreign countries.

Historical Sketch of Individualist Anarchism

Philosophical anarchists usually regard Proudhon as the founder of their school of social science; but there were in America, altho far less widely known, men entertaining anarchistic views before Proudhon's time. We will, therefore, first notice the anarchist movement in America, and then consider it in other countries. America, or at least the United States, with its early extreme individualism and fear of the state (see Centralization), was the fitting birthplace of anarchistic thought.

Josiah Warren

Josiah Warren, a plain and only moderately educated New Englander, but a man of unusually independent and earnest spirit, was probably the first to enunciate precise anarchistic conceptions. He had become interested in the social views and plans of Robert Owen, at this time first taking root in the land; had joined the Owenite community at New Harmony; had carefully studied its principles and mused upon its failure, till finally, about 1828, he reached the conclusion that its principles were exactly the opposite of the true ones, and that instead of the communistic idea of each working for all, as Owen taught, the true way to produce order, harmony, and well-being was for each to live, in his own way, absolutely untrammeled by others, so far as he did not intrude upon the similar privileges of others. His thoughts took especially a financial turn, and he came to the conclusion that cost was the true limit of price; that usury and profit in all their forms were, therefore, economically wrong, and, moreover, that they would disappear under perfectly free competition. He sought to put his ideas into practise, to actually test them before giving them to the world, and therefore started, and for two years successfully carried on, a store in Cincinnati, where cost was the limit of price, and where usury and profit were eliminated. Finding that he was doing a business of $150,000 a year—a large amount for Cincinnati in those days—he was convinced of the practicality and correctness of his idea, and therefore closed his business to devote his life to the propagation of his ideas. His main writings were "True Civilization," a short work, first published in 1846, and "Equitable Commerce," in which he elaborated his ideas of cost as the limit of price. These books found at least a few thoughtful readers. Stephen Pearl Andrews declared at a later day that the "True Civilization" was the text and basis of all his own writings, and John Stuart Mill refers to Warren with expressions of deepest interest and respect.

Other Americans

Others, however, were thinking in the same line. Lysander Spooner may be called the Nestor of anarchism, of the extreme individualistic school. Commencing public life as a young lawyer in Worcester, Mass., he first showed strong analytic and argumentative powers in several pamphlets defending Deism against Christianity, but soon passed more and more into sociological studies and controversy, coming to hold and defend extreme views as to individual sovereignty and the tyranny of the state. As early as 1844 he established a private mail between Boston and New York, and later extended it to Philadelphia and Baltimore, achieving success, until at last compelled to stop, owing to petty and constant persecution and annoyance from the government. From that time he devoted his great abilities to the promulgation of his ideas. During the antislavery contest he did good work as an abolitionist, and incorporated his views in "The Unconstitutionality of Slavery." His legal acumen appears in his "Trial by Jury," in which he reverts to the early and true meaning of the phrase—a trial by one's peers; and protests against the absurd and monstrous system (as he claims it to be) of ignorance and injustice now passing under that name. How far he carried his ideas appears in an unsigned monograph from his pen, entitled "Revolution."

Stephen Pearl Andrews was a disciple of Warren. As Warren especially studied economic questions, so Andrews studied the family and marriage. His "Science of Society," published in 1850, is still considered by philosophical anarchists a classic on the subject. Warren himself declared it a better statement of his own ideas than he himself could write. (For further account, see Andrews.)

We now first come to the influence of Proudhon in America, Col. William B. Greene, of Boston, being the first in this country known to have declared himself a follower of the great Frenchman. Colonel Greene's book on "Mutual Banking" is one of the most acute and searching inquiries into the monetary problems to be found in the literature on the subject. Colonel Greene was a keen, logical thinker and a profound scholar. He was a remarkably witty speaker and writer, and his book, entitled "Socialistic, Communistic, Mutualistic, and Financial Fragments," shows his power and versatility. E. H. Heywood, a writer on various subjects, was another disciple of Warren. He is the author of a number of very able pamphlets. Charles T. Fowler, also a disciple of Warren, was a Unitarian minister when he first fell under the influence of Warren. He studied Proudhon, and after leaving the church devoted himself to the propaganda of anarchistic doctrines. He died leaving an admirable series of pamphlets on social and economic problems.

Present Writers

These men, however, while holding essentially anarchist views, and contributing, severally, to the development of anarchism in the United States, did not adopt the name anarchist, and did not really start the movement which has taken such definite shape under that distinctive denomination. The man who, assimilating and profiting by the teachings of Proudhon Warren, Greene, and the American and English individualists, formulated a consistent and comprehensive anarchistic philosophy, and started the practical anarchistic movement is Benjamin R. Tucker, the editor of *Liberty*, the organ of anarchism. Mr. Tucker was a young man, a student of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, when he, becoming interested in social reform, sought the acquaintance of Warren and Greene. The latter called his attention to Proudhon's "What is Property?" and so impressed was he with the originality and value of that revolutionary (in an intellectual sense) and epoch-making work, that he set himself the task of translating it into English. No work has ever enjoyed the privilege of a more competent rendering into another language. The vigor and eloquence of Proudhon's style was fully preserved in the translation, and to this is due a large share of the influence exerted by Proudhon's work in America and England. A few years later Mr. Tucker started his periodical, *Liberty*, which has been for more than two

decades the recognized authority on anarchism. Mr. Tucker does not strictly follow Proudhon, any more than he strictly follows Warren. He rejects the inconsistencies of the former as he does the crudities of the latter. He may be said to have *organized* the various anarchistic ideas—economic, political, etc.—into a coherent and systematic whole. Where Proudhon was vague and Warren inadequate, Mr. Tucker is clear, logical, consistent, and scientific. Mr. Tucker has influenced a considerable number of able men in journalism and other professions, as well as some of the prominent men in the labor movement. We will only mention here the name of Dyer D. Lum, one of the leaders of the early Greenback movement. Mr. Lum, while sympathizing to some extent with the methods of revolutionary reformers, was for several years before his death a vigorous and scholarly champion of the economic and political ideas of anarchism.

The growth of anarchism has not been rapid, and its history is not eventful or sensational. Its indirect influences, however, have wrought great changes in social science and in the intellectual attitude of sociologists and reformers.

Europe

In Europe, the real history of philosophic anarchism begins with PROUDHON. We study him here but in brief, in relation to the movement of anarchism. Born in 1809, after a bitter personal experience with poverty and ill-paid work, he published in 1840 his great work, "What is Property?" Of this an admirer says: "He first with genius, and with learning and acumen rarely equaled, pleaded for absolute liberty of the individual and the doing away with all government. Property in its modern sense he showed to be, not the product of individual labor on the part of the owner of the property, but the product of the labor of others, taken from them by legalized wrong, or by aid of monopolies and class legislation created by the State. Hence the truth of his celebrated sentence, 'Property is theft.' The cure, he argued, was to do away with all government, and then each individual could retain that which he had produced, so that justice and order and well-being would be the result of liberty."

The book exposed him to new persecution from the government and learned societies, which continued more or less to his death in 1865. He passed much of his life in Belgium, banished from France. Yet he was ever active and at times popular in France. He was elected in 1848 to the Constituent Assembly by 77,000 votes, which, together with his frequent imprisonments and banishments, as well as the suppression of his books, shows his power and influence in his generation. Yet few followed him understandingly. Proudhon himself declared that even those who voted for him did not understand his views. He believed that in America (as seems to be the case) his thoughts would first take root. His principal writings besides the above-named are: "The Creation of Order in Humanity" (1843); "A System of Economical Contradictions" (1848); "Justice in the Revolution and in the Church" (1858); "Justice" (revised edition, 1859–60).

Proudhon was right; few followed him understandingly. The movement that sprang from his teachings has in the main, in Europe, been anarchist communism, which is no more like philosophic anarchism than Proudhon was like Bakounin. The real followers of Proudhon and philosophical anarchism, in Europe, can almost be counted on one's fingers, tho their influence has been more marked than this might seem to indicate.

In Germany Caspar Schmidt, better known under his *nom de plume* of Max Stirner, laid what some regard as the ethical foundations of anarchism in his "Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum" (1845). John Henry Mackay, a Scotchman by birth, but with a German mother, and brought up in Germany from boyhood, has developed philosophic anarchism in poems, a novel ("The Anarchists," translated into English, 1891), and other works. In England philosophic anarchism under this name has had scarcely any development at all; but perhaps this is only because so much of its individualism, of which there has been considerable development, has come so near to philosophic anarchism in such writers as Herbert Spencer, Auberon Herbert, Wordsworth Donisthorpe, Thomas Mackay, Frederick Millar, and others.

VICTOR S. YARROS.

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II.—Anarchist Communism

The following statement of anarchist communism is abridged from a tract on "The Place of Anarchism in Socialistic Evolution," by Pierre A. Kropotkin:

"All things belong to all, and provided that men and women contribute their share of labor for the production of necessary objects, they are entitled to their share of all that is produced by the community at large. 'But this is communism,' you may say. Yes, it is communism, but it is the communism which no longer speaks in the name of religion or of the State, but in the name of the people. . . . The tendency of this closing century is toward communism, not the monastic or barrack-room communism formerly advocated, but the free communism which places the products reaped or manufactured in common at the disposal of all, leaving to each the liberty to consume them as he pleases in his own home.

"This is the solution of which the mass of the people can most readily take hold, and it is the solution which the people demand at the most solemn epochs. In 1848 the formula 'From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs' was the one which went straight to the heart of the masses, and if they acclaimed the republic and universal suffrage, it was because they hoped to attain to communism through them. In 1871, also, when the people besieged in Paris desired to make a supreme effort to resist the invader, what was their demand? That free rations should be served out to every one. Let all articles be put into one common stock and let them be distributed according to the requirements of each. Let each one take freely of all that is abundant, and let those objects which are less plentiful be distributed more sparingly and in due proportions—this is the solution which the mass of the workers understand best. This is also the system which is commonly practised in the rural districts (of France). So long as the common lands afford abundant pasture, what commune seeks to restrict their use? When brushwood and chestnuts are plentiful, what commune forbids its members to take as much as they want? And when the larger wood begins to grow scarce, what course does the peasant adopt? The allowancing of individuals.

France

"Let us take from the common stock the articles which are abundant, and let those objects whose production is more restricted be served out in allowances according to requirements, giving preference to children and old persons—that is to say, to the weak. And, moreover, let all be consumed not in public, but at home, according to individual tastes and in company with one's family and friends. This is the ideal of the masses.

"But it is not enough to argue about 'communism' and 'expropriation'; it is furthermore necessary to know who should have the management of the common patrimony, and it is especially on this question that different schools of Socialists are opposed to one another, some desiring authoritarian communism, and others, like ourselves, declaring unreservedly in favor of anarchist communism. In order to judge between these two, let us return once again to our starting point, the revolution of the last century.

"In overturning royalty the Revolution proclaimed the sovereignty of the people; but, by

an inconsistency which was very natural at that time, it proclaimed not a permanent sovereignty, but an intermittent one, to be exercised at certain intervals only, for the nomination of deputies supposed to represent the people. In reality it copied its institutions from the representative government of England. The Revolution was drowned in blood, and, nevertheless, representative government became the watchword of Europe. All Europe, with the exception of Russia, has tried it, under all possible forms, from government based on a property qualification to the direct government of the little Swiss republics. But, strange to say, just in proportion as we have approached nearer to the ideal of a representative government, elected by a perfectly free universal suffrage, in that same proportion have its essential vices become manifest to us, till we have clearly seen that this mode of government is radically defective. Is it not, indeed, absurd to take a certain number of men from out the mass, and to intrust them with the management of *all* public affairs, saying to them, 'Attend to these matters; we exonerate ourselves from the task by laying it upon you; it is for you to make laws on all manner of subjects—armaments and mad dogs, observatories and chimneys, instruction and street-sweeping; arrange these things as you please and make laws about them, since you are the chosen ones whom the people have voted capable of doing everything'? It appears to me that if a thoughtful and honest man were offered such a post he would answer somewhat in this fashion:

"'You intrust me with a task which I am unable to fulfil. I am unacquainted with most of the questions upon which I shall be called on to legislate. I shall either have to work to some extent in the dark, which will not be to your advantage, or I shall appeal to you and summon meetings in which you will yourselves seek to come to an understanding on the questions at issue, in which case my office will be unnecessary. If you have formed an opinion and have formulated it, and if you are anxious to come to an understanding with others who have also formed an opinion on the same subject, then all you need do is to communicate with your neighbors and send a delegate to come to an understanding with other delegates on this specific question; but you will certainly reserve to yourselves the right of taking an ultimate decision; you will not intrust your delegate with the making of laws for you. This is how scientists and business men act each time that they have to come to an agreement.'

Argument

"But the above reply would be a repudiation of the representative system, and nevertheless it is a faithful expression of the idea which is growing everywhere since the vices of representative government have been exposed in all their nakedness. Our age, however, has gone still further, for it has begun to discuss the rights of the State and of society in relation to the individual; people now ask to what point the interference of the State is necessary in the multitudinous functions of society.

"Do we require a government to educate our children? Only let the worker have leisure to instruct himself, and you will see that, through the free initiative of parents and of persons fond of tuition, thousands of educational societies and schools of all kinds will spring up, rivaling one another in the excellence of their teaching. If we were not crusht by taxation and exploited by employers, as we now are, could we not ourselves do much better than is now done for us? The great centers would initiate progress and set the example, and you may be sure that the progress realized would be incomparably superior to what we now attain through our ministries. Is the State even necessary for the defense of a territory? If armed brigands attack a people, is not that same people armed with good weapons the surest rampart to oppose to the foreign aggressor? Standing armies are always beaten by invaders, and history teaches that the latter are to be repulsed by a popular rising alone. While government is an excellent machine to protect monopoly, has it ever been able to protect us against ill-disposed persons? Does it not, by creating misery, increase the number of crimes instead of diminishing them? In establishing prisons into which multitudes of men, women, and children are thrown for a time, in order to come forth infinitely worse than when they went in, does not the State maintain nurseries of vice at the expense of the taxpayers? In obliging us to commit to others the care of our affairs, does it not create the most terrible vice of societies—indifference to public matters? . . .

No Need of the State

"Let others, if they will, advocate industrial barracks or the monastery of authoritarian communism, we declare that the tendency of society is in an opposite direction. We foresee millions and millions of groups freely constituting themselves for the satisfaction of all the varied needs of human beings—some of these groups organized by quarter, street, and house; others extending hands across the walls of cities over frontiers and oceans. All of these will be composed of human beings who will combine freely, and after having performed their share of productive labor will meet together, either for the purpose of consumption, or to produce objects of art or luxury, or to advance science in a new direction. This is the tendency of the nineteenth century, and we follow it; we only ask to develop it freely without any governmental interference. Individual liberty! 'Take pebbles,' said Fourrier, 'put them into a box and shake them, and they will arrange themselves in a mosaic that you could never get by intrusting to any one the work of arranging them harmoniously.

"Now let me pass to another part of my subject—the most important with respect to the future.

"There is no more room for doubting that religions are going; the nineteenth century has given them their death-blow. But religions—all religions—have a double composition. They contain, in the first place, a primitive cosmogony, a rude attempt at explaining nature, and they furthermore contain a statement of the public morality born and developed within the mass of the people. But when we throw religions overboard or store them among our public records as historical curiosities, shall we also relegate to museums the moral principles which they contain? This has sometimes been done, and we have seen people declare that as they no longer believed in the various religions, so they despised morality and boldly proclaimed the maxim of *bourgeois* selfishness, 'Every one for himself.' But a society, human or animal, cannot exist without certain rules and moral habits springing up within it; religion may go, morality remains.

If we were to come to consider that a man did well in lying, deceiving his neighbors, or plundering them when possible (this is the middle-class business morality), we should come to such a pass that we could no longer live together. You might assure me of your friendship, but perhaps you might only do so in order to rob me more easily; you might promise to do a certain thing for me, only to deceive me; you might promise to forward a letter for me, and you might steal it, just like an ordinary governor of a jail. Under such conditions society would become impossible, and this is so generally understood that the repudiation of religions in no way prevents public morality from being maintained, developed, and raised to a higher and ever higher standard. This fact is so striking that philosophers seek to explain it by the principles of utilitarianism, and recently Spencer sought to base the morality which exists among us upon physiological causes and the needs connected with the preservation of the race.

Ethical Side

"Let me give you an example in order to explain to you what *we* think on the matter.

"A child is drowning, and four men who stand upon the bank see it struggling in the water. One of them does not stir; he is a partizan of 'Each one for himself,' the maxim of the commercial middle class; this one is a brute, and we need not speak of him further. The next one reasons thus: 'If I save the child, a good report of my action will be made to the Ruler of heaven, and the Creator will reward me by increasing my flocks and my serfs,' and thereupon he plunges into the water. Is he, therefore, a moral man? Clearly not! He is a shrewd calculator, that is all. The third, who is a utilitarian, reflects thus (or at least utilitarian philosophers represent him as so reasoning): 'Pleasures can be classed in two categories, inferior pleasures and higher ones. To save the life of any one is a superior pleasure, infinitely more intense and more durable than others; therefore, I will save the child.' Admitting that any man ever reasoned thus, would he not be a terrible egotist? and, moreover, could we ever be sure that his sophistical brain would not at some given moment cause his will to incline toward an inferior pleasure—that is to say, toward refraining from troubling himself? There remains the fourth individual. This man has been brought up from his childhood to feel himself *one* with the rest of humanity; from his childhood he has always regarded men as possessing interests in common; he has accustomed himself to suffer when his neighbors suffer, and to feel happy when every one around him is happy. Directly he hears the heartrending cry of the mother, he leaps into the water, not through reflection, but by instinct; and when she thanks him for saving her child, he says, 'What have I done to deserve thanks, my good woman? I am happy to see you happy; I have acted from natural impulse, and could not do otherwise!'

"You recognize in this case the truly moral man, and feel that the others are only egotists in comparison with him. The whole anarchist morality is represented in this example. It is the morality of a people which does not look for the sun at midnight—a morality without compulsion or authority, a morality of habit. Let us create circumstances in which man shall not be led to deceive nor exploit others, and then by the very force of things the moral level of humanity will rise to a height hitherto unknown. Men are certainly not to be moralized by teaching them a moral catechism; tribunals and prisons do not diminish vice—they pour it over society in floods. Men are to be moralized only by placing them in a position which shall contribute to develop in them those habits which are social, and to weaken those which are not so. A morality which has become instinctive is the true morality, the only morality which endures while religions and systems of philosophy pass away.

"Let us now combine the three preceding elements, and we shall have anarchy and its place in socialistic evolution.

"Emancipation of the producer from the yoke of capital; production in common and free consumption of all the products of the common labor.

"Emancipation from the governmental yoke; free development of individuals in groups and federations; free organization ascending from the simple to the complex, according to mutual needs and tendencies.

"Emancipation from religious morality; free morality, without compulsion or authority, developing itself from social life and becoming habitual.

"The above is no dream of students, it is a conclusion which results from an analysis of the tendencies of modern society; anarchist communism is the union of the two fundamental tendencies of our society—a tendency toward economic equality and a tendency toward political liberty. So long as communism presented itself under an authoritarian form, which necessarily implies government, armed with much greater power than that which it possesses to-day, inasmuch as it implies economic in addition to political power—so long as this was the case communism met with no sufficient response. Before 1848 it could, indeed, sometimes excite for a moment the enthusiasm of the worker who was prepared to submit to any all-powerful government, provided it would release him from the terrible situation in which he was placed, but it left the true friends of liberty indifferent.

Fundamental Tendencies

"Anarchist communism maintains that most valuable of all conquests—individual liberty—and moreover extends it and gives it a solid basis—economic liberty—without which political liberty is delusive; it does not ask the individual who has rejected God, the universal tyrant, God the king, and God the Parliament, to give unto himself a god more terrible than any of the preceding—God the community, or to abdicate upon its altar his independence, his will, his tastes, and to renew the vow of asceticism which he formerly made before the crucified God. It says to him, on the contrary, 'No society is free so long as the individual is not so! Do not seek to modify society by imposing upon it an authority which shall make everything right; if you do, you will fail as popes and emperors have failed. Modify society so that your fellows may not be any longer your enemies by the force of circumstances; abolish the conditions which allow some to monopolize the fruit of the labor of others; and instead of attempting to construct society from top to bottom, or from the center to the circumference, let it develop itself freely from the simple to the composite, by the free union of free groups. This course, which is so much obstructed at present, is the true, forward march of society;

do not seek to hinder it, do not turn your back on progress, but march along with it! Then the sentiment of sociability which is common to human beings, as it is to all animals living in society, will be able to develop itself freely, because our fellows will no longer be our enemies, and we shall thus arrive at a state of things in which each individual will be able to give free rein to his inclinations, and even to his passions, without any other restraint than the love and respect of those who surround him.'

"This is our ideal, and it is the ideal which lies deep in the hearts of peoples—of all peoples. We know full well that this ideal will not be attained without violent shocks; the close of this century has a formidable revolution in store for us; whether it begins in France, Germany, Spain, or Russia, it will be a European one, and spreading with the same rapidity as that of our fathers, the heroes of 1848, it will set all Europe in a blaze. This coming revolution will not aim at a mere change of government, but will have a social character; the work of expropriation will commence, and exploiters will be driven out. Whether we like it or not, this will be done independently of the will of individuals, and when hands are laid on private property we shall arrive at communism, because we shall be forced to do so. Communism, however, cannot be either authoritarian or parliamentary, it must either be anarchist or non-existent; the mass of the people does not desire to trust itself again to any savior, but will seek to organize itself by itself."

History and Methods of Anarchist Communism

Anarchist-communism, tho more or less indebted to the thoughts of Rousseau, Proudhon, Ruge and others, owes its origin as a movement to the Russian Bakounin. Born of aristocratic and even princely parentage, Michael Bakounin, at first an officer in the Russian army, threw up his commission at the age of twenty-one, disgusted by the oppression of the government and the consequent sufferings of the poor, and studied philosophy, reading Hegel and Schopenhauer in St. Petersburg and Berlin. Coming into revolutionary circles mainly under the influence of Arnold Ruge, who represented the extreme Hegelian left, Bakounin took part in the Dresden insurrection of 1848, and was arrested and condemned to death, but eventually handed over to the Russians and imprisoned in Schlüsselberg and in 1852 sent to Siberia, whence, however, he eventually escaped through Japan and the United States, and in 1861 appeared in London, a revolutionist, declared by his enemies to be half crazed by his years of suffering and imprisonment. Be this as it may, he threw himself into revolutionary propaganda of every kind, mainly as an Internationalist, but sometimes as a Panslavist, and occasionally as a Nihilist. Switzerland, Italy, and southern France were the main scenes of his efforts, but he contrived to fill all Europe with his spirit of revolution. Gradually his utterances became wilder and his position more extreme. He commenced to preach the gospel of pan-destruction. When the International was founded in London under the presidency of Marx in 1864, Bakounin did not at first connect himself with it. But later, realizing what capital could be made of it, he threw himself into the movement, and almost captured the International for anarchism. He did capture it in Italy, Spain, southern France, Belgium, and to a large extent in Switzerland and other countries. In 1872, however, Marx as president contrived to have the congress of the International called at The Hague, where Bakounin could not come, since he was only secure in Switzerland, and would have been arrested in traversing any country through which he could have reached The Hague. At this congress, therefore, the adherents of Bakounin were defeated, and the General Council of the International was transferred to New York City. It resulted in the death of the International; but out of the split came the modern movements of democratic socialism and anarchist-communism, economic schools which, altho previous to 1872 more or less confounded, are now utterly distinct and even opposed. The ultimate ideals of the followers of Marx and Bakounin were not, however, so different. They both believed in communism, and communism was the early name for all socialism as well as for anarchist-communism; the split came in methods. The followers of Bakounin believed in destroying the State; Marx stood for capturing the State by legitimate political means, and through the State establishing the Social Democracy or communism. Both opposed the present State; but one sought to overturn it at once by force, the other sought to capture it and use it.

Origin

For a considerable time the anarchist-communists, especially in the southern countries, were stronger than the Socialists. The working classes did not see the strength of the Socialist program. Anarchist-communism appealed to revolutionary deed. Words, its advocates declared, were cheap. The propaganda by deed has ever been the favorite policy among anarchist-communists, being defended, tho not practised, even by such men as Krapotkin and Réclus. But organization among anarchists has never prospered. Their policy lends itself to individual deed. Bakounin did not quietly accept his defeat by Marx at The Hague. He and his adherents called another congress in Switzerland, and declared that they were the true International. From this time anarchist-communism had an organized existence. (For further details as to the preceding period, see Bakounin; International.)

In 1876 Bakounin died, Elisée Réclus, Paul Brousse, and others gathering around his grave, ready to carry on his work. In October of the same year a congress was held at Bern and enunciated the principles of anarchist-communism, altho still under the name of Socialism. It denounced even the Paris Commune, as not having entirely eliminated the principle of authority. At this congress were present two Italian delegates, Carlo Cafiero and Enrico Malatesta, who in April, 1877, went home to head a revolution in the Italian province of Benevento. They burnt archives, and laid their hands on what arms and money they could find, distributing them among the people. The same year a congress was held at Verviers, where Krapotkin first appeared on the scene under the name of Scrachoff. In 1878, Brousse and Krapotkin commenced publishing the *Avant-Garde*, the first anarchist organ. The same year, Nobeling and Hodel made their attack upon Kaiser Wilhelm at Niederwald; the cooper Broncasi attempted the life of Alphonso XII., and Passanante the life of King Humbert I. of Italy. At a congress at Freiburg that year, a letter from Réclus made the following succinct statement of anarchist-communism: "We are revolutionaries," he said, "because we desire justice. . . . Progress has never resulted from mere peaceful evolution; it has always been an outcome of a sudden revolution. The necessary preliminary preparation of the minds of men may be a gradual process, but the realization of their hopes comes abruptly. . . . We are anarchists, who recognize no one as our master, as we are ourselves the masters of nobody. There is no morality without liberty. . . . We are also international collectivists, for we are aware that the very existence of human beings necessarily implies a certain social grouping." The congress voted for the appropriation by the community of all wealth, the abolition of the State, and even of any central administrative agency; and as regards means of propaganda, the congress favored the dissemination of anarchist ideas, and even rebellion and revolutionary deed. In 1879 the *Avant-Garde* ceased to appear, and Krapotkin and others started a new paper, the *Révolté*, at Geneva (later moved to Paris). The same year Johann Most, expelled from Germany and driven from the Socialist meetings, arrived in London, Dec., 1878, and in Jan., 1879, began publishing his paper, *Freiheit*.

Organization

In 1880 Otero Gonzales attempted the life of Alphonso XII. At a congress held in Switzerland in this year, Krapotkin advised the adoption of the name "Anarchist-Communism" in the place of "Collectivism." In 1881 the French anarchists and Socialists finally separated, and a congress of anarchists was held at London. Krapotkin was banished from Switzerland for his utterances; Most, in London, was sentenced to sixteen months' hard labor for his words concerning the assassination of the czar. At the close of the sixteen months he removed, with his paper, to the United States. There were outbreaks in southeast France, and many discoveries of dynamite plots were reported. Anarchists were arrested all through southern France. In the north, Louise Michel delivered a series of lectures. The daughters of Elisée Réclus ostentatiously contracted "free marriages." Krapotkin himself was arrested. In 1883 the anarchist trials in France took place, and forty-seven were sentenced, among them Louise Michel. All through Europe at this time anarchists were being arrested and sentenced. In Spain a campaign was undertaken against the Black Band. In December Cyvoct was tried at Lyons for having caused the explosion at Bellecour Theater, and was sentenced to death, but the sentence was commuted by President Grévy. The year 1884 was comparatively calm, tho dynamite was found laid against the Federal Palace at Bern, and led to the expulsion of anarchists from Switzerland. In 1885 German anarchists were tried. Krapotkin published this year his "Paroles d'un Révolté" and Réclus his "The Products of the Earth." An attempt was also made to blow up the English House of Parliament. In 1886 there were several riots in Europe, especially at Charleroi, and the great strike at Chicago took place, with the famous Haymarket meeting, the arrest of eight anarchists, and the condemnation of seven of them to death (in 1887). (See Chicago Anarchists.) In 1887 *L'Idée Ouvrière* was started at Havre. In 1888 the *Père Peinard* began to appear in Paris, a paper written in the slang of the

streets. In 1890 the first international May-day demonstration took place, and the anarchists took advantage of it in incendiary speeches and gatherings. Merlino, Malato, and Louise Michel were imprisoned. *The International*, an anarchist paper, was started in London. In 1891 French anarchists agitated chiefly against the army and the police. At Levallois the black flag was unfurled. Several anarchist papers were started, among them the *Pot à colle* and the *En-dehors*. In 1892 bombs were exploded in France in private houses of deputies and at cafés, among others at the Café Rich. In June one of the dynamiters, Ravachol, was condemned to death, and executed in July. In 1893 there was more violence in Spain. Pallas was tried and executed for throwing a bomb at Marshal Campos at Barcelona, and there was also a terrible bomb explosion at the El Liceo Theatre in Barcelona. On Dec. 9th, Vaillant threw a bomb in the French Chamber of Deputies. In 1894 severe laws against anarchists were passed in France and other countries; 100 anarchists were arrested in France alone and several deported. The papers *Révolté* and *Père Peinard* were seized and compelled to discontinue. Jean Grave, the leading anarchist-communist after Krapotkin and Réclus, was imprisoned. Vaillant was executed. Émile Henry threw a bomb in the Café Terminus. Bombs were exploded also in the Hôtel St. Jacques and other houses. An attempt was made to murder the prefect of Barcelona. An Italian anarchist, Cesario Santo, assassinated the French President, Carnot, at Lyons. Restrictive legislation in Italy sought not only to arrest all anarchists, but to close all trade-union meetings. In Germany the kaiser introduced severe measures against both anarchism and socialism, which, however, were rejected by the Reichstag.

History

In 1893 an attempt was made to hold an anarchist-communist congress in connection with the World's Fair at Chicago, but it had to meet surreptitiously on account of the police, and when it met its members could agree upon no program nor declaration of principles, tho it is said that an international committee was chosen. In America anarchist communism has held on to the name of the old International longer than in Europe. In 1872, as we have seen, the general council of the International was transferred at Marx's suggestion to New York City. But in this country it never thrived. The fundamental differences between the Socialists and the anarchists soon showed themselves here, as in Europe. In 1877, the Socialist wing, in a meeting at Newark, took the name of the Socialist Labor Party (see SOCIALISM), and practically left the International to the anarchists. The split, however, was not at once complete. In 1883 the Socialists met at Baltimore and the anarchists at Pittsburg, and these took the old name of the International Working People's Association. By 1885 the split with the Socialists was complete, and since then in America, as in Europe, anarchists and Socialists have had nothing in common. The congress at Pittsburg adopted unanimously a manifesto or declaration of motives and principles, often called the Pittsburg proclamation, in which they describe their ultimate goal in these words:

America

"What we would achieve is, therefore, plainly and simply:

1. Destruction of the existing class rule, by all means—i. e., by energetic, relentless, revolutionary, and international action.

2. Establishment of a free society based upon cooperative organization of production.

3. Free exchange of equivalent products by and between the productive organizations without commerce and profit-mongery.

4. Organization of education on a secular, scientific, and equal basis for both sexes.

5. Equal rights for all without distinction to sex or race.

6. Regulation of all public affairs by free contracts between the autonomous (independent) communes and associations resting on a federalistic basis."

In 1881, however, another association was formed, designated by the initials I. W. A., or International Workmen's Association, differing in a few particulars only from the I. W. P. A. It lays greater stress on education and is somewhat less inclined to favor violence in the present, holding that a revolution in the minds of men must precede the political revolution. The following explanation of its principles and methods is taken from the "First Report of the Kansas Bureau of Labor Statistics":

"To print and publish and circulate labor literature; to hold mass-meetings; to systematize agitation; to establish labor libraries, labor halls, and lyceums for discussing social science; to maintain the labor press; to protect members and all producers from wrong; to aid all labor organizations; to aid the establishment of unity and the maintenance of fraternity between all labor organizations; to bring about an alliance between the manufacturing and the agricultural producers; to encourage the spirit of brotherhood and interdependence among all producers of every state and country; to ascertain, segregate, classify, and study the habits and acts of their enemies; to secure information of the wrongs perpetrated against them, and to record and circulate the same; to arouse a spirit of hostility against and ostracism of the capitalistic press; to prepare the means for directing the coming social revolution by enlightening public opinion on the wrongs perpetrated against the producers of the world; to obliterate national boundary lines and sectional prejudices, with a view to the international unification of the producers of all lands; and to eradicate the impression that redress can be obtained by the ballot. The organization is formed on the 'group' system—that is, any person who subscribes to these principles may become an organizer. He organizes a group of eight besides himself. When this group becomes thoroughly conversant with the principles and methods of the organization, each member becomes an organizer and forms a group of his own; and this goes on indefinitely. North America is divided into ten divisions—the Canadian, the British Columbia, the Eastern States, the Middle States, the Western States, the Rocky Mountains, the Pacific Coast, the Southern States, the Mexican, and the Missouri Valley. Each division is presided over by a division executive of nine persons. The International was organized on its present basis on July 15, 1881, with fifty-four delegates, representing 320 'divisions,' or groups, composed of 600,000 members. The countries represented were France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Austria, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Russia, Siberia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Turkey, Egypt, England, Mexico, and the United States."

It is the agitation of these groups of the I. W. A. and the I. W. P. A. which produced what popular anarchistic communism there is in this country. But the movement has come to naught. The I. W. A. and the I. W. P. A. no longer exist save in the minds of a few half-crazed persons, and the only recent activity has been the publication of a paper and the occasional delivery of speeches by Most and others, which make "good copy" for the newspapers. There have been also a few attempts of devoted but fanatical men to assassinate men of wealth and influence, like Frick and Russell Sage; but these acts have been very rare. When an agitator like Most speaks, he will often get a large audience, who will cheer his utterances, but the movement has no power.

Among English workingmen, too, there is little, if any, anarchism. The head of Oxford House, in East London, testified that there were no anarchists among the English working people, and that the last place possible for a man to arrive with a bomb was East London. Among the foreign residents in London there are some anarchist clubs, and there is some anarchist-communism among the intellectual radicals, but it has little force.

During the last decade a marked change has taken place in the anarchist-communist field. Heretofore the line between it and individualist (or philosophic) anarchism has been clearly drawn, and the former was almost identical with the revolutionary movement—that is to say, with the party or organization that both preached and practised the so-called "propaganda by deed." The assassination of the Spanish minister Canovas (1897) did not attract much attention; but when the unoffending, really liberal and unhappy Empress of Austria was assassinated in Switzerland (1898) a decided reaction against indiscriminate murder took place among those who, by simple acquiescence, had permitted themselves to become identified with the revolutionary movement. Large numbers of these withdrew altogether, denouncing the last killing as wanton and unjustifiable, while others, led by their individualistic and pacific tendencies, came more and more to consider the egoist-anarchist (or Tuckerian) movement the most congenial atmosphere. Of course, open adhesion to this latter was not in many cases given, because the antipathy existing in the ranks of the communists against anything individualistic was so great and so deep-seated that it could not be quickly or very generally overcome. The result, therefore, was that many ceased their open allegiance to the cause of the dynamiters, without affiliating themselves formally with any other movement, altho quietly expressed sympathy with individualism became quite common.

Recent Developments

It cannot be denied, too, that the tremendous advance of socialism in late years, apparently offering an immediate opportunity to overthrow the existing political *régime*, has attracted many of the more opportunist of the communists. These latter, however, were not displeased with the assassination, in 1900, of the King of Italy by Bresci, since Humbert was the responsible head of the repressive movement that was then being vigorously carried on by the Italian Government against all the open manifestations by labor-unions as well as those by the more radical reformers. Even the assassination of President McKinley at Buffalo by Leon Czolgosz in 1901, tho the act of one who was not actually affiliated with any definite movement, and who, so far as is known, acted wholly of his own volition, was not a particularly unwelcome deed to those communists who had been shocked by the killing of the Empress of Austria. Open and almost unqualified approval by the American press and public of the recent political assassinations in Russia has been pointed to by revolutionists as showing that it is not assassination of rulers *per se* that conservative people object to, but that they consider it reprehensible in other countries than those with an autocratic form of government merely because they feel that oppression by rulers has not yet reached a point where such tactics are justifiable. It becomes, therefore, merely a question of difference in opinion as to the quantitative valuation of the denial of liberty in countries having a more representative form of government. The individualist anarchists, as a rule, believe that assassination of rulers is

not justifiable where free speech and free press are not wholly denied; and this has come to be the real dividing line between them and the communists on the question of methods of propaganda.

Literature

Anarchist-communism in America now has no specific organ in English. *The Firebrand*, started on the Pacific coast some years ago, was moved to San Francisco and its name changed to *Free Society*; afterward it was moved successively to Chicago and to New York, and finally went out of existence in 1905. Since then *The Demonstrator*, published at Lakebay, Washington, by a group of colonists, is the principal organ in English which at the present time shows any sympathy for communism, tho, as a matter of fact, the colony is founded upon individualistic principles, and probably a majority of the colonists are individualists. It is, moreover, about the only really successful colony of radical reformers, which many attribute to the fact that the utmost freedom in every direction is accorded to the colonists by their by-laws. The communists have organs in French and Italian in New York, San Francisco, Paterson, N. J., and Charleroi, Pa., tho they are usually feebly supported and lead a precarious existence. *Mother Earth* is a small magazine recently founded in New York, and, altho having on its staff such revolutionists and communists as Emma Goldman and Max Baginsky, is not distinctively a communist organ, as some of its writers, present and prospective, are of individualist tendencies. The chief organ in German in America is *Freiheit*, edited for many years by John Most. In his death the militant revolutionists lost their most vigorous propagandist, altho his work was of such a nature that there was always a group who dissented violently from his methods as well as from his ideas. Voltairine de Cleyre is one of the most rational of the exponents of the doctrine that is now before the public, tho in recent years she has been prevented by ill health from being as active on the lecture platform as formerly. Her poems, are among the most effective of the literature of communism, but they are not collected in book form.

In France, Italy, and Spain the movement, tho not so vigorous as formerly, is still far from dormant, and has demonstrated its vitality by the continued publication of several newspapers, such as *L'Ere Nouvelle* and *Les Temps Nouveaux* (France), *Il Pensiero* (Italy), *El Progreso* (Spain), and a number of others. In England *The Freedom* is about the only paper to sustain the movement. The most prominent English anarchist communist is John Turner, who was detained under the immigration laws upon a recent visit to this country, and afterward ordered deported to England. He was imprisoned for more than three months at Ellis Island, pending an appeal of his case to the Supreme Court of the United States, but before the final decision was rendered he was released on bail, delivered a number of lectures in different parts of the country, and eventually returned voluntarily to England before the decision ordering his deportation was handed down. The recent release of Alexander Berkman, upon the expiration of his fifteen-year sentence in the penitentiary at Pittsburg, where he was incarcerated for an attempt upon the life of H. C. Frick, one of the steel magnates, has passed without any particular demonstration on the part of the communists, altho he is now doing some lecturing. Krapotkin, tho now quite old, is still the leading anarchist-communist of the world, tho the learned Elisée Réclus, recently deceased, was about his equal in popularity.

C. L. Swartz.

Bibliography: *Le Problème Humain et la Solution Libertaire*, and *Les Tentatives de Communisme Pratique*, by E. Armand; *God and the State*, by M. Bakounin; *Moribund Society and Anarchy*, by Jean Grave; *Anarchist Morality*, *Anarchism: Its Philosophy and Ideal*, *Anarchist Communism*, and *Paroles d'un Révolté*, by P. Krapotkin; *Anarchy*, and *A Talk about Anarchist Communism*, by Malatesta; *Socialisme et Anarchisme*, by A. Hamon; *A Mon Frère le Paysan*, and *Evolution, Révolution et Idéal Anarchique*, by Elisée Réclus; *About the Revolution*, and *Where is Your Brother?* by V. Tscherkoff.

III.—Arguments against Anarchism

1. The argument against individualist anarchism is, first, that it starts from a false basis. The individual, say the philosophical opponents of anarchism, is not sovereign; he does not even exist. Man is not born to and never attains, nor can attain, individual sovereignty. From his birth to his death he is dependent upon his fellowman, and ever must be so long as he is a social being. Society is not made up of units, but is one; and the sooner this is realized, and man no longer attempts an impossible individual sovereignty, the sooner will the individual find his true freedom in developing his inmost personality in the unity of a perfect state. Anarchism is opposed thus, first, because it misreads the *facts* of individual life. Second, the opponents of anarchism assert that for anarchists to define the State as *necessarily* invasive, because states always have been more or less invasive, is to be illogical. The State, according to the anarchist's own admission, is a power, and has been, as at least most anarchists admit, in the past a necessary power. Why, then, throw away that power? Why—since some cooperative organization for defense and other purposes anarchists themselves declare necessary—not use the State, making it non-invasive? To say that the State cannot be harnessed to do the will of the people, because it never has been wholly so harnessed in the past, is as if a man before the discovery of the uses of electricity should declare that electricity always *must be* harmful, since it always had done harm. The fact is, say these critics, that the State, with all its evils—and they are to be admitted, every one—has in the past been immeasurably useful and beneficial, and should not be thrown away, but captured and improved and made to do the will of freemen.

2. As to the anarchist assertion that states have no right, for example, to compel any man to pay a tax, since no individual has a right to tax another, and the mere multiplying individuals into a majority cannot make that right in many persons which is wrong in one, it is said that this is purely a doctrinaire position of unproven ethics. That it seems axiomatic and convincing to a certain class of minds by no means proves its truth. The opposite assertion that the individual is born in society, and has as his only right to take his place in society, which is a natural unit, and not made up of individual units, and has rights and duties of its own, among others that of ordering the conditions of society according to the will of the majority, and compelling others to support it, is, it is claimed, as plausible a dogma as the anarchist dogma, and a good deal more deducible from facts. The truth is, that the science of social ethics is as yet so utterly undeveloped that to talk of what is ethically right in society is to say nothing. One man holds this opinion; another that; and neither can convince the other. The only possible way out of social problems, unless one take the religious ground of theism, and find in that a law of procedure, is to slowly learn by experience; believers in government, therefore, base their main arguments against anarchism on the facts of experience.

3. It will not work. Said President Andrews in a discussion with Mr. Tucker at Salem:

Impracticable, say its Opponents

Suppose the citizens of Salem to constitute an anarchistic group under the beautiful social compact which Mr. Tucker describes. Not many days will elapse before some of the parties to that compact will show how useless it is. Let some rioters from Beverly or Beverly Farms invade the Salem group. The foreman of the town calls all hands to turn out and put them down. One man replies that he does not care to come out; he has the rheumatism, or he is reading a book, or engaged in some other work, and says, "I pray you, have me excused." What is going to be done? I know of no way in which the anarchistic group named Salem can defend itself—as Mr. Tucker says is legitimate—except by coercing Meroz to come up to the help of the Lord against the mighty. The anarchist must here renounce his theory and resort to some of those species of action which Mr. Tucker denounces as not permissible because of the nature of coercion, aggression upon individual rights.

Says another writer: "Some rule there must be under any theory. You cannot escape law.

If it is not the rule of brotherhood, it must be the rule of might. You do not escape rule by flying to anarchy. Says Mr. Donisthorpe, in his 'Individualism: A System of Politics': 'It is a mistake to suppose that anarchism is lawless. Nothing of the kind. Where there is no ruling body; where there is no governmental authority, as in San Francisco within the memory of many of us, what happens? Did the marauders and pests of society carry all before them? Not a bit of it. Those who had inherited the habits of a social and methodical mode of life, owing to its greater average economy, banded themselves together and straightway lynched those who were desirous of violating the principles of order and method.' This, says Mr. Donisthorpe, was anarchism. Exactly; and most people prefer Uncle Sam, with all his faults, to Judge Lynch."

Concerning the economic impossibilities of anarchism, G. Bernard Shaw says:

> The full economic detail of individualist anarchism may be inferred with sufficient completeness from an article entitled "State Socialism and Anarchism; How Far They Agree, and wherein They Differ," which appeared in March, 1888, in *Liberty*.
>
> "The economic principles of modern socialism," says Mr. Tucker, "are a logical deduction from the principle laid down by Adam Smith in the early chapters of his 'Wealth of Nations'—viz., that labor is the true measure of price. From this principle these three men [Josiah Warren, Proudhon, and Marx] deduced 'that the natural wage of labor is its product.'"
>
> Now the Socialist who is unwary enough to accept this economic position will presently find himself logically committed to the Whig doctrine of *laissez-faire*. And here Mr. Tucker will cry, "Why not? *Laissez-faire* is exactly what we want. Destroy the money monopoly, the tariff monopoly, and the patent monopoly. Enforce then only those land titles which rest on personal occupancy or cultivation;* and the social problem of how to secure to each worker the product of his own labor will be solved simply by every one minding his own business."
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> Let us see whether it will or not. Suppose we decree that henceforth no more rent shall be paid in England, and that each man shall privately own his house and hold his shop, factory, or place of business jointly with those who work with him in it. Let every one be free to issue money from his own mint without tax or stamp. Let all taxes on commodities be abolished, and patents and copyrights be things of the past. Try to imagine yourself under these promising conditions with life before you. You may start in business as a crossing-sweeper, shopkeeper, collier, farmer, miller, banker, or what not. Whatever your choice may be, the first thing you find is that the reward of your labor depends far more on the situation in which you exercise it than on yourself. If you sweep the crossing between St. James' and Albemarle streets you prosper greatly. But if you are forestalled not only there, but at every point more central than, say, the corner of Holford Square, Islington, you may sweep twice as hard as your rival in Piccadilly, and not take a fifth of his toll. At such a pass you may well curse Adam Smith and his principle that labor is the measure of price, and either advocate a democratically constituted state Socialist municipality, paying all its crossing-sweepers equally, or else cast your broom upon the Thames and turn shopkeeper. Yet here again the same difficulty crops up. Your takings depend not on yourself, but on the number of people who pass your window per hour. . . .
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> It is useless to multiply instances. There is only one country in which any square foot of land is as favorably situated for conducting exchanges, or as richly endowed by nature for production as any other square foot; and the name of that country is Utopia. In Utopia alone, therefore, would occupying ownership be just. In England, America, and other places, rashly created without consulting the anarchists, Nature is all caprice and injustice in dealing with labor. Here you scratch her with a spade; and earth's increase and foison plenty are added to you. On the other side of the hedge twenty steam-diggers will not extort a turnip from her. Still less adapted to anarchism than the fields and mines is the crowded city. . . . "

Such, in brief, is Mr. Shaw's argument. Anarchism aims to establish individual liberty; but as long as any occupier can have the best lands in agriculture and the best building lots, he can, under free competition, receive enormous gains over his competitor—can with these gains buy machinery that others cannot afford, and run his competitors out of business, reenacting under anarchism all or most of the industrial evils that we have to-day—the development of great monopolies, the oppression of the small producer, wage slavery, the unemployed, etc. It is not government, but the natural inequalities of land and of human ability that are the fundamental source of the economic differences, and under competition the under dog must always serve the upper. The only way to individual freedom for all men is, then, to pool the difference of land and talent and have all work for all, which is collectivism. Such is, in brief, the "Socialist" argument against anarchism.

4. As to the anarchist communists, who are collectivists, it is said that for the poor, ignorant, and downtrodden to attempt to overthrow the state by force is but folly, no matter what the aim. To appeal to force will simply call out force, and the strong and rich and powerful will surely win. Moreover, to appeal to force without organization, as anarchist communists do, is to appeal to force in the weakest possible way. It may kill a few kings; it can never overthrow kingdoms. If it could overthrow the state it would simply produce a chaos, in which the strongest would rule and enact anything but equality on earth.

* See Mr. Tucker's article entitled "A Singular Misunderstanding' in *Liberty* of Sept. 10, 1892. "Regarding land," writes Mr. Tucker, "it has been steadily maintained in these columns that protection should be withdrawn from all land titles except those based on personal occupancy and use."

ANDREWS, ELISHA BENJAMIN: Chancellor of the University of Nebraska since 1900; born at Hinsdale, N. H., 1844. He served in the United States army, 1861–64, and was wounded at Petersburg (1864), losing an eye. Andrews studied at Brown University, Providence, R. I., and at Newton Theological Institution, Newton, Mass. (D.D., LL.D.). He was principal of the Connecticut Literary Institution, Suffield, Conn., 1870–72; pastor of the First Baptist Church, Beverly, Mass., 1874–75; president of Denison University, Granville, O., 1875–79; professor of homiletics in Newton Theological Institution, 1879–82; professor of history and political economy at Brown University, 1882–88; professor of political economy and finance in Cornell University, 1888–89; president of Brown University, 1889–98; superintendent of schools, Chicago, 1898–1900. Andrews was appointed one of the commissioners sent by the United States to the monetary conference at Brussels in 1892. In political economy he is of the historical school. On the question of the tariff, he believes in the infant-industry argument, and would carry it further than Mill. With regard to currency he is an ardent bimetalist; and on questions of industry he would neither nationalize nor municipalize any industry, monopoly or otherwise, till every available resource in the way of regulation had been tried in vain; he would then nationalize or municipalize, tho with care. Author: "Institutes of Our Constitutional History, English and American" (1887); "Institutes of General History" (1889); "Institutes of Economics" (1889); "An Honest Dollar" (1893); "Wealth and Moral Law" (1893); "History of the United States" (1894); "History of the United States in Our Own Time" (1904). *Address*, Lincoln, Neb.

ANDREWS, STEPHEN PEARL: Author; born in Templeton, Mass., 1812; studied at Amherst College; practised law in New Orleans. In 1839

he went to Texas where, becoming an abolitionist, he converted many of the slave owners, who were also landowners, by showing them that they would become rapidly rich from the sale of land if immigration were induced by throwing the country open to free labor. In 1843 he went to England in the hope of raising money to pay for the slaves and make Texas a free state. He was well received; but the plan was finally abandoned through fear that it would lead to war with the United States. Returning to America, he went to Boston and took part in the antislavery movement there.

While in England he learned of phonography, and after his return wrote and published extensively on that subject and on the philosophy of language in general. He was the founder of the present system of phonographic reporting, and is said to have been familiar with thirty languages. In later life he wrote more on sociology, especially on the family, taking an extremely individualistic position. He is claimed by the American philosophical anarchists as one of their great writers. (See ANARCHISM.) His most important works on that subject are: "Cost the Limit of Price" (New York, 1851); "The Constitution of Government in the Sovereignty of the Individual" (1851); "Love, Marriage, and Divorce and the Sovereignty of the Individual": a discussion by Henry James, Horace Greeley, and Stephen Pearl Andrews, edited by the latter (1853). Andrews died in New York City in 1886.

ANIKIN, STEPAN VASILIEVICH: Representative in the first Russian Duma from the province of Saratof; born 1869, of peasant parents. He attended a mechanical school at Saratof, and later was a zemstvo teacher in the county schools at Athar and Petrovsk. After numerous difficulties with the local authorities he was twice imprisoned. In the Duma he became a leader in the "Group of Toil." He died in Kief prison in 1907.

ANSEELE, EDOUARD: A leading Belgian Socialist and founder of the Socialist cooperative movement in Ghent. Born in Ghent, 1856; son of a shoemaker; studied at the royal atheneum of that city: became a notary and later a typesetter. Founded (1879) the "Vooruit," a Socialist cooperative club, with which was connected a cooperative bakery. This was the beginning of the great Socialist cooperative movement. (See BELGIUM.) Anseele is editor of the *Vooruit*, and treasurer of the International Socialist Committee. He was elected deputy from Liège in 1894 and 1898, and from Ghent, 1900; and was common councilor in Ghent in 1895. He is the author of various Socialist tracts, and of a Flemish socialistic novel for which he suffered six months' imprisonment.

ANTHONY, SUSAN BROWNELL: Lecturer, abolitionist, woman suffragist; born at South Adams, Mass., 1820. After completing her education, Miss Anthony taught in New York State from 1835–50. She first spoke in public in 1849, and from that time took part in the temperance movement, organizing societies and lecturing. Through her exertions and those of Mrs. E. C. STANTON, women came to be admitted to educational and other conventions, with the right to speak, vote, and serve on committees. This, however, was only gained after great opposition and public ridicule. About 1857 she became prominent among the agitators for the abolition of slavery. In 1858 she advocated the coeducation of the sexes. Since then her energies were chiefly directed to securing equal civil rights for women. In 1854–55 she held conferences in each county of New York in the cause of female suffrage. She was active in finally securing the passage of the act of the New York Legislature of 1860, giving to married women the possession of their earnings, the guardianship of their children, etc. During the war she devoted herself to the Women's Loyal League, and obtained 400,000 signatures to a petition in favor of the Thirteenth Amendment. In 1860 she started a petition in favor of leaving out the word "male" in the Fourteenth Amendment. In 1867 she went to Kansas with Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucy Stone, and there obtained 9,000 votes in favor of woman suffrage. In 1868, with the cooperation of Mrs. Stanton, Parker Pillsbury, and George F. Train, she began in New York City the publication of a weekly paper called *The Revolution*, devoted to the emancipation of women. In 1869, with Mrs. Stanton, she organized the National Woman's Suffrage Association. In 1872 she cast ballots at the state and congressional election in Rochester, in order to test the application of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments of the United States Constitution. She was indicted for illegal voting, and was fined by Justice Hunt; but in accordance with her defiant declaration, she never paid the penalty. Between 1870 and 1880 she lectured in all the Northern and several of the Southern States more than 100 times a year. In 1881 she wrote, with the assistance of her coeditors, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Matilda Joslyn Gage, "The History of Woman Suffrage," in two volumes. In 1883, with Mrs. Stanton, she began in Europe the movement which led to the International Council of Women, held in Washington, 1888. In 1904, in her eighty-fourth year, she attended the International Council of Women in Berlin. She died in 1906, honored and loved.

ANTI-CIGARET LEAGUE, THE NATIONAL: Incorporated in 1901 as the outgrowth of the work of Miss Lucy Page Gaston, in 1897, as editor of *The Christian Citizen*, the organ of the National Christian Citizenship League, and as national superintendent of Christian citizenship in the W. C. T. U. The object of the National Anti-Cigaret League is to organize a national movement for the purpose of combating by all legitimate means the cigaret habit, and the use of tobacco in any form by boys. In furtherance of this object the National Anti-Cigaret League proposes to bring into cooperation all forces honestly working toward the same end in all countries; to hold public meetings; publish and circulate literature; to organize and maintain anti-cigaret leagues, and in every way possible to make sentiment against the manufacture, sale, and use of cigarets, giving special attention to needed legislation and to the enforcement of existing laws on this subject.

The league works by having anti-cigaret bills introduced in legislatures, by organizing anti-cigaret clubs in schools and elsewhere, by holding meetings, and by circulating pledges and literature, especially its monthly organ, *The Boy Magazine*, edited by Miss Gaston. A very large agitation on the subject has been created, and bills introduced in many state legislatures. President, David Paulman, M.D.; superintendent,

Miss Gaston; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Caroline F. Grow, 1119 Woman's Temple, 184 La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.

In England also there has been considerable agitation of the subject. An International Anti-Cigaret League was formed in 1901, the founder and secretary being Rev. Frank Johnson, 57-59 Ludgate Hill, London.

ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE, THE: Formed 1898. Its constitution says: "This league was organized to aid in holding the United States true to the principles of the Declaration of Independence. It believes that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and holds self-government to be fundamental, and good government but incidental. It demands for all people under the United States government the rights guaranteed by the Constitution. Its object is by all proper means to oppose as inconsistent with American ideals the forcible extension of the sovereignty of the United States over foreign peoples and in particular to work constantly for the early and complete independence of the Philippine Islands." The league has enrolled a very large number of influential men as vice-presidents, and for several years after its organization was very active in holding meetings and issuing tracts and circulating literature. President, Moorfield Story; secretary, Erving Winslow, 20 Central Street, Boston, Mass.

ANTIMONOPOLY PARTY: Organized at Chicago, May 14, 1884. It nominated Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, for the presidency. Its platform demanded economical government, the passage and enforcement of equitable laws, including an interstate commerce law, labor bureaus, industrial arbitration, a direct vote for senators, a graduated income tax, payment of the national debt as it matures, and "fostering care" for agriculture. It denounced the tariff and the grant of land to corporations. Its nominee was also indorsed by the GREENBACK PARTY, and polled 130,000 votes.

ANTIPOVERTY SOCIETY, THE: Founded in New York City in connection with the Henry George movement of 1885–87. It was formed as a society, under the auspices of which "Father McGlynn" could conduct his work for land reform, which was then assuming large proportions.

> The object of the society was "to spread, by such peaceable and lawful means as may be found most desirable and efficient, a knowledge of the truth that God has made ample provision for the needs of all men during their residence upon earth, and that poverty is the result of the human laws that allow individuals to claim as private property that which the Creator has provided for the use of all."

The president was Dr. McGlynn. The first public meeting was held May 1, 1887, in Chickering Hall, and public meetings were continued for many months amid intense excitement. This was largely due to the personal interest taken in Dr. MCGLYNN and in his contest with his archbishop and the papal authorities. As that passed away the excitement of the movement gradually dwindled, and the meetings ceased. (See GEORGE, HENRY; LAND; MCGLYNN; SINGLE TAX.)

ANTIPURITAN LEAGUE, THE: Formed in London with the object of fighting against "Puritanism." It seeks to enrol those who resent Puritan domination, so that they may become as potent a force at elections as the Puritans are at the present time. The league stands for the recognition of the right of every citizen to decent and humane recreation. It advocates temperance in pleasures, instead of abstinence from them, and a rational use of the Sunday, instead of Sabbatarianism. It views with alarm the growing power of what may be called the Puritan party in English national and municipal politics. Those who regard half of human life as inherently vile, who look upon a dance or the drinking of a glass of beer as a mortal sin, are a small minority of the people of England. But they are admirably organized, and are consequently able to get their representatives elected to municipal bodies, and to frighten timid candidates into pledging themselves to their policy.

The league aims at organizing the forces which can be directed against coercive Puritanism, at bringing home to the mind of the ordinary citizen the dangers which its domination involves, and at educating the public mind to a saner view of public enjoyment. Its manifesto, from which this account is taken, is signed by such men as Hubert Bland, G. K. Chesterton, Stewart D. Headlam, Conrad Noel, and Cecil Chesterton, who is the honorary secretary. *Address:* 11 Warwick Gardens, Kensington, W., London, England.

ANTIRENTERS: An organization which from 1839 to 1849 resisted the collection of rent on certain manorial estates in New York State. Large portions of Columbia, Rensselaer, Greene, Delaware, and Albany counties, in the State of New York, belonged to manors, the original grants of which were made to "patroons" by the Dutch Company and renewed by James II. The tenants had deeds for their farms, but paid annual rental in kind, instead of a principal sum. After 1790 this arrangement caused growing dissatisfaction among the tenants, and in 1839 they refused to pay rent and began a reign of terror. In 1847 and 1849 the Antirenters "adopted" a part of each state ticket, and showed a voting strength of about 5,000. In 1850 the legislature directed the attorney-general to bring suit to try title. The suit was decided in 1850, but both parties were then ready to compromise—the owners by selling the farms at fair rates, and the tenants by paying for them.

ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF AMERICA, THE: The Ohio branch, formed in Oberlin in 1893, was the first state league organized. Rev. Howard H. Russell was the chief factor in its formation, and the first state superintendent. In 1895, at a meeting called in Washington, D. C., he was chosen national superintendent and organizer. There are now forty-three states and territories organized. About 350 people, including stenographers and mailing-clerks, are giving their entire time to the work of the league. The league publishes thirty-six state papers (thirty-two monthlies and four weeklies), with an aggregate circulation of nearly a quarter of a million.

The object of the league is the most radical repression and ultimate suppression of the liquor traffic. Its method is the federation of existing agencies—especially the churches. Its departments of activity are agitation, legislation, and law enforcement. It is interdenominational and

omnipartizan. Each state league is busily engaged in securing advanced legislation in harmony with the growing public sentiment, and in putting into operation such legislation wherever possible. Hundreds of towns and cities, townships and counties, are abolishing the saloons under the local option laws that have been secured through the efforts of the league in different states.

The national league, with offices at Washington, D. C., and Columbus, Ohio, is seeking advanced legislation in Congress, in harmony with the legislation that is being secured in the several states. General superintendent, Rev. P. A. Baker, Columbus, Ohio; assistant general superintendent, Rev. G. W. Young, D.D., Louisville, Ky.; superintendent of the legislative department, Rev. Edwin C. Dinwiddie, Washington, D. C.; attorney of the national league, Mr. Wayne B. Wheeler, Columbus, Ohio.

ANTISLAVERY: For the American Antislavery Society, see ABOLITION MOVEMENT; for foreign societies, see BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTISLAVERY SOCIETIES.

ANTITUBERCULOSIS: See TUBERCULOSIS.

APPLEGARTH, ROBERT: Manufacturer, trade-unionist; born at Hull, England, 1833. Unapprenticed, he picked up the trade of a joiner and cabinet-maker, moved to Sheffield in 1852, and soon became the most prominent member of the local Carpenters' Union, inducing it to unite with the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners in 1861. From 1862 to 1871 he held the office of general secretary of this organization, voluntarily resigning at last. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the London School Board from Lambeth in 1870; and was invited to be a candidate for Parliament at Maidstone, but retired in favor of Sir John Lubbock. In 1871 he was appointed a member of the Royal Commission on the Contagious Diseases Act. Resigning his secretaryship he entered journalism for a time, but before long became foreman to a firm manufacturing engineering and diving apparatus, eventually becoming proprietor of the business. He always retained his interest in trade-unionism. Mr. Applegarth sought to win for the trade-union organization a social and political status, and was, in his day, an ideal representative of the labor movement in the political world.

APPONYI, ALBERT G. A.: Austro-Hungarian count; born in Vienna, 1846; leader (since 1891) of the National Hungarian Party; hereditary member of the House of Magnates; from 1900 to 1903 President of the House of Representatives; reconstituted his party in 1904. He is an active worker for international arbitration and in the movement for the International Parliament. *Address*: Schloss Eberhard, Presburg, Hungary.

APPRENTICESHIP: A system whereby a person, usually a minor, is bound by law or trade regulations to work for another in consideration of maintenance or money wages, and for the purpose of receiving instruction in some trade or art. The question of apprentices and the apprenticeship system has always been of more or less importance in the United States. During the earlier part of the nineteenth century it was the cause of a large number of strikes among the workers who were suffering from the effects of an overcrowding of the trades by half-instructed apprentices and child laborers. It was partly for the purpose of correcting these abuses that the first national unions were organized in this country. Of late years, however, the question has again become prominent because of the agitation of the employers, who claim that the restrictions of the unions upon the number of apprentices allowed in each trade have caused a shortage of skilled labor, seriously interfered with the development of industry, and prevented the American boy from learning a trade.

The apprenticeship system is of comparatively recent origin, beginning as it did with the gild system of the Middle Ages. Adam Smith, in his "Wealth of Nations' (I. x. 2), states that "Apprenticeships were altogether unknown to the ancients. Roman law is perfectly silent in regard to them. I know no Greek or Latin word (I might venture, I believe, to assert that there is none) which expresses the idea we now annex to the word apprentice."

Gild System

The gild system, with its handicraft methods, its production solely for local markets, its steady employment, uniform wages, and lack of business depressions and panics, made an ideal setting for a very complete and thorough system of apprenticeship. The youth was bound out, or indentured, by his parents to a master with whom he lived and in whose shop the trade was learned, the master agreeing to furnish the apprentice with food, clothing, and shelter, and to teach him the trade; the latter agreeing to obey the orders of the master, keep all business affairs secret; and behave himself properly under all conditions. In England the usual period of apprenticeship was about seven years; in France, from three or four years to six, and in Germany, from two to four years, after which the apprentice became a journeyman with all the rights and privileges of the latter. In 1513 an indenture fee of 2s. 6d. was charged in England by the masters, and under James I. this was increased.

The Statute of Apprentices (1562) legalized the practises and customs of the gild system. It declared that no person could engage in any trade without having served an apprenticeship of seven years; that the master must hire one journeyman for every three apprentices, and for every apprentice above this number, still another journeyman; that the hours of labor should be twelve in summer and from daybreak until nightfall in the winter; and that wages should be fixed by magistrates who were also empowered to settle all disputes arising between master and apprentice. This law was of the greatest value to the journeymen. It made their condition secure, and practically guaranteed steady employment at wages "sufficient for the hired person in times of need as well as in times of abundance."

With the development of industry, following closely upon the invention of the steam-engine, these regulations seriously interfered with the *laissez-faire* ideas of the employers, who chafed at the restrictions placed upon industry, at the fixation of the hours and wages of labor, and at the limitations to the freedom of competition. Consequently it is natural to expect that they should fight (as they did) the enforcement of the Statute of Apprentices as bitterly as the gilds, and that the unions should stanchly support it. With the passage of years, however, the law was practically nullified by being flagrantly disregarded by the employers. Skilled laborers were dismissed and their places filled with hundreds of child-workers and apprentices. Instances are recorded in which "manufacturers employed as many as a hundred apprentices for every two skilled workmen," with the result that many of the skilled trades were ruined because of the ignorance of the workers. At the same time child and woman labor appeared in its most horrible aspects. Wages, no longer fixed by magistrates but by the employers, were reduced again and again, while the hours of labor were correspondingly increased. In an attempt at satisfying the demands of the employers the courts then interpreted the law as applying only to towns and cities, and to those industries in existence at the time of its passage. In 1809 the woolen industry was freed from the restrictions, and in 1814 the law was repealed in toto. From that time to the present, apprenticeship in England has remained untouched by governmental regulations.

In the United States

In the United States, during the first half of the nineteenth century, the matter of apprenticeship was a troublesome one for the workers. As early as June, 1803, we find the Philadelphia Typographical Society passing resolutions to the effect that "No member of this society shall be permitted to work at presswork with any person who is not a regularly bred, bound apprentice till twenty-one years of age, except under penalty of expulsion." In 1807 the same organization considered it advisable to hold a conference with the master printers and ask that none but its members or "at least men who have served a reg-

ular apprenticeship" be employed by them. In 1808 it fixed eighteen years as the age at which a person could be apprenticed, and in 1809 it set the period of apprenticeship for pressman or compositor at three years. No attempt, however, was made to limit the number of apprentices in this trade until 1835, in which year such a resolution was adopted by the New Orleans Typographical Society.

At that time the same struggle against the abuses of the apprenticeship system is to be noted in all lines of industry. T. V. Powderly, speaking of the latter portion of the first half of the nineteenth century, said that "The time of every session of the convention of every trade organization was taken up in discussing two measures, the question of wages and the regulation of the number of apprentices, other matters being of secondary importance." Employers considered it their unquestioned right and privilege to hire as many apprentices as they saw fit. With the use of labor-saving machinery the latter could produce as much as and at a lower price than could the skilled mechanics. It was in order to correct these abuses that several unions were formed at this time among the better class of workmen. The National Association of Hat Finishers (1854) was among the first of those formed for this purpose, and was followed in 1859 by the Iron Molders Union of America. Each of the journeymen molders had been compelled to accept two apprentices to be hired and taught by them, and it was only by means of their organization that they were able to put an end to this obnoxious system. The short-lived National Labor Union of 1860 declared for "a more rigid enforcement of the apprenticeship system as a preventive against filling the shops with botch mechanics." The Industrial Brotherhood followed it in 1874 by declaring in its preamble that it stood for the advancement of "the standard of American mechanics by the enactment and enforcement of equitable apprentice laws." Declarations of other unions at this time were to the same effect.

In the succeeding years the regulations and restrictions of the unions were so successful in removing the more flagrant abuses of the system, that for years this question has received comparatively little attention either from the public or from the workers themselves. Its decreasing importance is readily shown by the small number of strikes declared each year for the purpose of enforcing apprenticeship regulations, this number comprising but $1\frac{1}{10}$ per cent of all strikes during the period 1881–86, and further decreasing to $\frac{1}{10}$ of 1 per cent during the period 1881–1900. It is further evidenced by the fact that the census for the year 1900 returned but 81,482 apprentices and helpers in sixteen trades and other miscellaneous industries, or 2.45 per cent of all workers engaged in those occupations.

The immediate cause of the lately renewed agitation concerning the apprenticeship question is the claim of the employers that the unions have restricted the number of apprentices to such an extent that it is impossible to obtain enough skilled mechanics to meet the industrial demands.

Present Agitation

They are reiterating the arguments of the earlier unionists, that "the shops are being filled with botch mechanics" and that the "trade will be ruined unless a higher grade of labor is assured." The sources from which the larger factories formerly drew their supply of skilled workmen—i. e., (1) the small general shop, and (2) immigration—have practically disappeared. The large factory has absorbed the smaller, while the greater number of immigrants no longer come from the manufacturing countries of northern Europe. These conditions have resulted in demands for the establishment of manual training schools and trade-schools, and for the adoption of Industrial Education. The sincerity of the employers in their demand for a better grade of mechanics is seriously questioned by the unionists, who note that this demand is linked with agitation for the "open shop" and the destruction of organized labor. The workers also feel that such schools would greatly add to the number of workmen in the trades, thus increasing competition, lowering wages, and making employment less continuous. They also fear that if a person learn his trade in a school, rather than by working with union men "upon the job," he will acquire ideas and opinions different from those of the laborers, and will be taught the tenets of non-unionism by his instructors, thus rendering impossible the united action of the workers for their general betterment. It is impossible to predict the outcome of the agitation for industrial education and trade-schools, bitterly opposed as it is by the unions; yet, the permanent agreement between the Mason Builders' Association and the bricklayers' unions of Boston and vicinity, presents a very unique solution of the matter, as is shown by the following quotation taken from that agreement:

> The parties to this agreement (the employing masons and the bricklayers' unions) agree that they will join in an effort to establish an institution in this city where all the trades shall be systematically taught, and that when such a school is established they will unite in the oversight and care of the same.

Just as the evolution of industry and the development of society made impossible the enforcement of gild regulations concerning apprentices, so the same causes have practically abolished the necessity for, and the practicability of, the further application or retention of the old system of apprentices in most trades and occupations. A few trades remain, however, in which handicraft still retains an important place, such as in stone-cutting, carpentry, bricklaying, jewelry repairing, etc.; and it is in these scattered trades that an apprenticeship system can be retained to advantage. But under the large-scale production of to-day, specialization, the minute division of labor, and the extended use of machinery have made it unnecessary that a worker serve an apprenticeship and thus be skilled in all branches of his trade. In an ordinary factory but one or two all-around mechanics are required, the remainder of the workers being machine hands, mere automatons, who feed the material into the machine and make but a small portion of the finished product. In the majority of cases the worker cannot learn all the branches of the trade even tho he desired to do so, because of the fact that it is seldom that they are to be found under the roof of one establishment.

To learn all branches would thus necessitate a change of employers, and under such conditions a regular apprenticeship is impossible. Besides this, owing to our policy of standardization, the American factory turns out but a limited number of patterns or styles, and no necessity arises for the cultivation of individual skill or craft. Then, too, the employer seldom knows his trade well enough to teach it to his apprentices if he have any. He is engaged with the administrative side of the business, and knows but little of its mechanical processes. The workers, not being paid for teaching the apprentices, do not care to bother with them. The result is that the latter are usually left to pick up what they can of a trade by watching others, and sooner or later become what are known as "monkey-wrench mechanics." Many of the boys who enter a factory do not wish to spend three or four years in learning a trade. They desire to make money, and a job operating a machine will pay them higher wages and is more easily learned than a trade. This is also satisfactory to the employer, who desires that his workmen acquire speed and turn out a large product, rather than that they be taught all the branches of the trade as the unions require under an apprenticeship system. Even tho the employer attempt to teach the trade to his apprentices, he realizes that in a short time after the completion of their

Influence of Modern Methods

instruction they would undoubtedly leave his employ and enter that of another, perhaps his competitor. Another consideration which makes the retention of the old apprenticeship system impossible is the fact that employment in the United States is at the best an uncertain matter. Panics, strikes, business failures, etc., force the laborer to travel from shop to shop and from city to city in search of work. Such unstable conditions of industry make the serving of an apprenticeship in almost any trade a practical impossibility.

Several of the large corporations, especially in the metal trades, have established carefully worked-out systems of apprenticeship in connection with their factories, the most notable of these, perhaps, being that of the Baldwin Locomotive Works. Some of these corporations apprentice a youth for four years, some for three. Some use a form of indenture or agreement, while others demand a money deposit on the part of the apprentice, as evidence of his intention to complete the course of instruction, the deposit being returned at the close of the term, with an additional sum given as a reward for good behavior and faithfulness. The wages of the apprentice vary considerably, both with the practises of the firm with whom he is working and with the extent to which he has completed his term.

Union Regulations

It is impossible to review here with any degree of thoroughness the various regulations placed by organized labor upon the hiring of apprentices. Only a general résumé of the situation, supplemented with a few specific examples, can be given. Apprentice regulations are fixt to a greater or less extent by the national union of the trade, but it seldom happens that these regulations are followed very closely by the local organizations. The latter may, and often do, make and enforce rules which differ greatly from those established by the national association, local conditions being the determining factor in each case.

The usual term of apprenticeship is three or four years, altho in some cases a shorter or longer period is demanded, as, for example, in the case of the watch-case engravers who require five years, and the New York electrical workers who only require two years. It is an almost generally established rule that apprentices must begin their trade before the age of sixteen or seventeen, the upper limit to the apprenticeship period usually being twenty-one years. It is customary for the unions to limit the number of apprentices that may be hired by an employer. In some trades this number is very low, as is the case with the stone-cutters, who forbid the employment of more than one apprentice to fifteen cutters, or more than two to any number less than a hundred cutters. In other trades, however, the number is very much greater, the pressmen, as also the trunk and bag workers, allowing one apprentice for every four journeymen. In some cases apprentices are affiliated with the union of the journeymen of their craft, and are classed as "auxiliaries"; in others, they support separate organizations, altho in a very large number of cases they belong to no organization whatsoever. In some trades the apprentices are forced to work longer hours than the journeymen, but as a rule they are taught all the branches of the trade.

According to the New York Electrical Workers' Union, an apprentice is "a boy registered by the union, who is employed to do errands, carry material to or on the job, attend lockers, and assist the journeymen in testing, but for no other purpose. Apprentices must not encroach on the work of helpers, or work with tools." They must be under nineteen years of age and must serve for two years. A shop can have one apprentice for the first ten journeymen or part thereof, and one more for every additional ten journeymen above the first ten. The United Association of Journeymen Plumbers allows one apprentice to a shop; the International Association of Machinists restricts the employer to one apprentice per shop and one for every five journeymen; the Iron Molders' Union permits one apprentice to eight workmen; the Typographical Union, one to seven; and the Cigar Makers' Union one to five.

The system of apprenticeship adopted by the Mason Builders' Association and the bricklayers' unions of Boston and vicinity is so unique that it deserves detailed mention in this place. By its terms no limit is placed upon the number of apprentices which may be hired by an employer, altho it is required that an apprentice shall be not less than sixteen years of age nor more than twenty-one, that he shall serve for three years, and that he shall be able to read and write the English language. A joint committee of the employers and the unions can be appealed to either by apprentice or employer in cases of disputes and failure to keep the agreement. The agreement fixes the pay of the apprentices at the rate of "eleven cents per hour during the first year, twelve cents per hour during the second year, thirteen cents per hour during the third year, and fifteen cents per hour for any additional years which they may be forced to serve under these rules; these sums to be paid weekly." In addition to this the apprentice receives an allowance of $50 the first year and $75 for every additional year, payable in quarterly instalments. An apprentice shall not be eligible to membership in the bricklayers' union of that locality unless he carries a card showing that he has completed the required term of instruction as laid down by the clauses of this agreement.

As typical of existing conditions, the recent investigation of the apprenticeship system in California by the labor commissioner of that state may be of interest ("Eleventh Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of California," 1904). In 1904 it was found that, of all the trades investigated, 13.41 per cent had no apprenticeship system, and that 30.9 per cent of the remainder imposed no restrictions upon the employers. "Generally the period of apprenticeship varied from two to five years, three and four years being the more common." Sixteen to eighteen years seemed to be the average age at which apprentices were taken.

All the states of the Union, excepting Idaho, Wyoming, and Nebraska, have elaborate apprenticeship laws upon their statute books, permitting and regulating the binding out of apprentices to employers and masters. These laws are practically obsolete, however, having been replaced by the regulations of the unions. The United States statutes permit the public printer to employ any number of apprentices less than twenty-five which he considers to be consistent with the economical operation of the office. So far as could be ascertained, no court in the United States has ever decided any case relating to the matter of regulating or restricting the terms of apprenticeship.

In Foreign Countries

In foreign countries, England excepted, the apprenticeship system is governed to a greater or less extent by statutory provisions. In some instances very "elaborate regulations exist, and the system holds absolute sway as far as the training of mechanics is concerned." The situation in England is similar to that in the United States, the terms of the apprenticeship being regulated by the respective unions. In this regard it is interesting to note that in 1897 Mr. and Mrs. Webb claimed that but 90,000 of the 1,490,000 trade-unionists of England belonged to unions which were strong enough to enforce apprenticeship regulations.

In France, during the period 1890–99, but $\frac{15}{100}$ of 1 per cent of all the strikes concerned the enforcement of apprenticeship rules. In that country, the terms of the apprenticeship contract are provided for by the laws of 1851 and 1892. No limit is placed upon the number of apprentices permitted each employer; but the latter is obliged to educate an apprentice if he be sixteen years of age and illiterate. For apprentices under fourteen years of age, and for those between fourteen and sixteen, the hours of labor are limited to ten and twelve per day respectively. Persons convicted of crime or of certain misdemeanors cannot hire apprentices unless they obtain a permit from the mayor of the town.

The labor unions of the cantons of Switzerland supervise the regulation of apprentices provided the unions contain a majority of the workers

in the trade. The apprentice is indentured by means of a written contract, and must not be made to work more than ten hours per day if he is between thirteen and fifteen years of age, nor more than eleven hours if he is over fifteen years of age. Night and Sunday work is generally forbidden. Every apprentice must be examined by a public board before he is admitted to the trade as a journeyman.

In Germany the law of 1897 provides for the regulation of apprentices. Only those persons enjoying all their civil rights can employ apprentices, and then only on the condition that the agreement with the apprentice be in writing four weeks prior to the commencement of the term. Three years is the average length of the term, altho chambers of commerce and trade are given the right by the government to "fix the duration of apprenticeship in each trade" as well as the maximum number of apprentices which may be employed in those trades, provided that the government has not already taken some action in regard to the matter.

In Austria "much attention is being given to perfecting the apprenticeship system." In non-manufacturing trades the terms of service are from two to four years, and in manufacturing trades not more than three years. No apprentices may be hired by any person previously convicted of a crime.

Belgium has no apprenticeship laws.

The employers claim that in restricting the number of apprentices the unions are trying to obtain monopoly of the trades, are preventing hundreds of boys from learning a trade, and are seriously hindering the development of industry. The unions, however, argue that they have no desire to obtain any monopolies. They claim that if there were no regulations fixing the number of apprentices allowed an employer, the skilled mechanics would soon be replaced by ignorant and unskilled apprentices, and that the standards of the trade would deteriorate, wages decrease, and employment become less steady and continuous. In support of their arguments they point to the conditions which existed in the various trades before the unions were strong enough to enforce restrictions and regulations. They also claim that it is the employer who is to be blamed for the shortage of skilled labor, inasmuch as he often refuses to take as many apprentices as the unions permit, because he dislikes to be bothered with their instruction, and will not teach them all the branches of the trade. In short, he has brought about a shortage of skilled labor because he has been more anxious to have his workers acquire speed—which means a greater output, and consequently greater profits to him—than to have them acquire a thorough knowledge of the trade. The unions further state that it is only by means of the trade-unions that conditions can be maintained which make it worth a boy's efforts to learn a trade.

Arguments

Under ordinary conditions of trade, with a period of apprenticeship fixed at three years, and one apprentice to every five workers, the present force of journeymen in all trades could be doubled once in every fifteen years. However, there is no necessity for fixing the limit at one apprentice for so small a number of journeymen, since there are few trades in which it would be requisite to have the number of skilled workers doubled every fifteen years.

IRA CROSS.

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AQUINAS, ST. THOMAS: The chief representative of the theology, philosophy, and economic teaching of the medieval Church; born in 1225 or 1227, at the castle of his father, the Count of Aquino, in the territories of Naples; received his education at Monte Cassino and the University of Naples. When but seventeen years old, in spite of the opposition of his family, he took the habit of the Dominican order at Naples, and was afterward sent away to study theology and philosophy under the famous Albertus Magnus at Cologne and Paris. Aquinas early gained distinction as a student of theology, and began his lectures, which were given at Paris, Rome, Bologna, and other places. He was on familiar terms with many princes of his time, and especially honored by the kings of France and of Naples, who frequently sought advice from him. Clement IV. offered him the archbishopric of Naples and the abbacy of Monte Cassino, both of which were declined. It was on the route to the Council of Lyons, whither he had been specially summoned by Gregory X., that Aquinas died, March 7, 1274. He was canonized in 1323 by Pope John XXII. In his life there was a union of simple piety with the greatest philosophical power. He fulfilled the ecclesiastical ideal of a saint and a father of the church. As a theologian his name stands with that of Augustine.

Aquinas represents scholasticism, the philosophy of the Middle Ages. Scotus Erigena, the earliest schoolman, said: "There are not two studies, one of philosophy and one of religion; true philosophy is true religion, and true religion is true philosophy." Hence the greatest work of Aquinas, the "Summa Theologiæ," aimed to give a summary of all the science of the time. This work is divided into three principal parts which may be said to treat respectively of God, man, and the God-Man. The latter part of the third division was added after the death of the author. With regard to the other works of Aquinas, it may be said that all his writings lead up to the "Summa."

To Aquinas theology is the sum of all science, and hence he is little interested in economics. But since the scope of the "Summa" was so wide, he was obliged to deal to a certain extent with both politics and economics. His statements have great value to students of social questions, because he so thoroughly represented medieval Church thought. In regard to private property, Aquinas justified individual ownership. He argued that the results of private ownership were beneficial, and he adopted Aristotle's theory that property should be owned separately, but used for the common good. In dealing with the subject of property as it concerned the monastic orders, or as it affected the highest sort of Christian living, Aquinas takes the conservative view. He holds, in opposition to many in the monastic orders who wished for absolute poverty, not only individual, but corporate, that property is only injurious when it hinders the spiritual life. A moderate property, especially if possest by a religious order, is not necessarily an evil.

Economics

In regard to the bestowal of charity, Aquinas does not unduly exalt almsgiving. The practise is obligatory; but at the same time alms need only be given, as a general thing, after a man has provided for himself and his family in a proper way. The giving should usually be from the superfluity—what remained after legitimate expenses.

One example of Aquinas's teaching on politics may be referred to. On the question of the right of government to tax its subjects, he favors the subjects rather than the prince. He says that rulers should seek the common good of the people in preference to their own advantage. Hence they should not take from their subjects by taxation save when some public need arises. Their revenues should be derived from their own special possessions.

Right of Taxation

In treating of commercial ethics, Aquinas follows generally the teaching of the earlier church fathers, and stands firm for the application of Christian principles to trade. He agrees with the old views as to usury, and especially with those of his instructor, Albertus Magnus. Usury is wrong. Money is consumable; the borrower has a natural right to make use of it when loaned, and the lender should not ask a payment for its use in addition to the return of the original sum, as this would be a double charge.

Trade was, in Aquinas's view, a base thing, and even sinful when carried on for the sake of gain. But it was not so when the trader pursued it as a means of livelihood, and was contented with a moderate profit, which he used for good purposes. Further, trade was also right when it served the public interest and provided a country with the necessities of life. The civil law was wholly imperfect, then as now, from a Christian standpoint, in its provisions regarding business. The Christian principle was, according to Aquinas, that no one should ever demand or pay more than a just price. He was conscious of the opposition between his teaching and the civil law, but he explains that human law has its necessary limitations, and does not prohibit everything that is wrong. Divine law is higher, and must forbid all things that are opposed to justice and virtue.

Divine Law

The scholastic philosophy reaches its culmination in Aquinas, and no medieval writer has had more influence than he. His "Summa Theologiæ" is even now, to a great extent, a recognized manual of the theology of the Roman Catholic Church.

REFERENCES: There is no adequate account of the economic teaching of Aquinas, which may be best collected from his own works. See the *Summa Theologiæ* as to private property, Secunda Secundæ, Quæstio 77, Articulus 3; Q. 66, Art. 1, 2; as to voluntary poverty, Q. 188, Art. 7; as to alms, Q. 32, Art. 5, 6; as to slavery, Pars Prima, Q. 96, Art. 3; Prima Secundæ, Q. 94, Art. 5; as to price, Secunda Secundæ, Q. 77; as to usury, Q. 78; as to taxation, *De Regimine Judæorum* among the Opuscula. The best brief account will be found in *La Philosophie de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, by C. Jourdain (1858). See also, *Economic History*, by W. J. Ashley (1888), vol. i., pt. 1, and the same author's article on *Aquinas* in Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*, to which article we are in the main indebted for that portion of our article bearing on Aquinas's economic teaching.

ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION, INDUSTRIAL: The phrase "industrial arbitration and conciliation," in its broadest sense, refers to the entire subject of the methods of maintaining or, if broken, of restoring peaceful relations between employers and employees. (See also COMPULSORY ARBITRATION; NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION; NEW ZEALAND; TRADE AGREEMENTS.) But each of the terms "arbitration" and "conciliation" has a narrower technical meaning of its own. When the negotiations between employer and employees are conducted entirely between the two parties or their representatives and the procedure consists only of discussion and mutual concession between the two, the process is known as "conciliation." But when employer and employed refer the question at issue to final decision by some person or body other than the parties directly in dispute, it is called "arbitration."

If the reference to arbitration be made voluntarily by both parties, or if the acceptance by them of the decision or "award" when made be voluntary, the procedure is known as "voluntary arbitration." If, on the other hand, the government requires that, upon the motion of either party, or upon its own motion, the case shall be submitted to arbitration, and provides for the enforcement of the award when rendered, the process is "compulsory arbitration." To constitute compulsory arbitration in any true sense, it may be emphasized that the acceptance of the award must always be compulsory, whereas the reference to arbitration need be compulsory only for either party when the other desires it, tho it may be compulsory also for both without the desire of either.

Intervention by a third party may, however, take another form. The third party may intervene, either upon his own initiative or by invitation of one or other of the parties, simply for the general purpose of endeavoring to bring about a settlement of the dispute. Such action constitutes "mediation." When one or more employers negotiate with their employees collectively, concerning the terms of future employment, the procedure is known as "collective bargaining," a phrase of recent origin which is gaining wide usage. "Collective bargaining," it will be seen, is virtually conciliation in collective differences concerning terms of future employment.

The term is applied, not because the procedure is something essentially different from conciliation, but because conciliation in such form is of tremendous significance under modern industrial conditions.

The agencies of arbitration and conciliation may be either private or public. Considering first the former, we find them most highly and widely developed in Great Britain, the United States being second in importance in this field. Belgium and France, however, stand first in some respects in results accomplished. The development of these private agencies naturally lies within that period in which the modern industrial system, characterized by the employment of considerable numbers of work people in a single establishment or undertaking, has existed, and, at the same time, combined action by employees with reference to the conditions of employment has been recognized as legal. Roughly speaking (exact dates are impossible for the more general facts of this subject), the period of development of private agencies of industrial peace in Great Britain, where the oldest of these are found, appears to date from the third decade of the nineteenth century. In the U. S. the period of development of such agencies is approximately that since the Civil War, or the last forty years.

Private Agencies

The most primitive agency, so to speak, is an informal committee of unorganized employees, named for a particular occasion to negotiate with the employer. Such temporary conference committees are not uncommon in unorganized trades, but are usually resorted to only for negotiations within the limits of a single establishment, tho occasionally utilized in the case of several establishments.

Organization of labor opens the way for the development of conference bodies in two important respects. In the first place, with local unions affiliated with national organizations, the size of the field for which such bodies are available becomes extended beyond the single establishment or locality, until it becomes national in extent, covering an entire industry in a given country. In the second place, with the existence of permanent unions of work people, the temporary conference committee develops most easily into a *permanent* agency of peace, be it local or national. Very often the regular union officers, local or national, constitute a standing agency for negotiations, thus doing away with the necessity for naming special committees.

As the field of collective negotiations between employers and employees extends beyond a single establishment or firm, so as to involve a considerable number of employers, there arises the need of a representative body to act for the latter. The most elementary agency in such case, as in the case of employees, is a temporary committee named for a particular occa-

Collective Negotiations

sion. Such temporary conference committees of employers are not infrequently used in the case of negotiations covering a single locality where the employers have no organization. But more often they occur where the employers have some kind of organization, and such organization of employers, just as in the case of the employees, gradually paves the way for the development of permanent negotiation agencies.

So long as agencies of industrial peace in a given trade are employed only for the settlement of occasional disputes, they rarely develop beyond conciliatory conferences between temporary committees, resorting sometimes to arbitration by some equally temporary arbitration agency. The development of such temporary agencies into more permanent forms occurs usually in connection with collective bargaining. Collective bargaining being one of the fundamental methods of trade-unionism, it is usually found in practise wherever employers recognize its justice and advantages, or wherever the latter, because of the strength of organized labor, must perforce submit to it. Where it does occur, it commonly results in a written agreement as to terms of employment which is signed by the respective parties or their representatives. Such agreements are commonly known as "trade agreements" or "joint trade agreements," or "industrial agreements"; and the system of regulating the terms of employment by such agreements is often designated, especially in the U. S., as the "agreement system." A special form of agreement with respect to wages is the "sliding scale," in which the wages, instead of being fixt absolutely at a certain point for a given period, rise and fall at a rate agreed upon as the market-price of the product of the labor in question fluctuates.

Trade Agreements

Joint trade agreements are not infrequently adopted in the settlement of industrial disputes, and they are probably most often introduced into a given establishment or trade in that manner. When so adopted in the character of a treaty after a struggle between the parties, they are more frequently drawn for an indefinite time than when adopted as a result of amicable negotiations; in the latter case they are as a rule adopted for a definite period. Obviously in either case, but especially so in the latter, such written contracts (and they often read as formal contracts, sometimes with an exchange of nominal sums of money in more complete fulfilment of the contract idea) introduce a powerful influence for industrial peace in the simple element of permanency which they give to the conditions of employment. But a far more important assurance of industrial peace very often appears in connection with such agreements in that they contain clauses providing for the settlement by conciliation or arbitration of any differences that may arise in their interpretation. It is also frequently provided that, pending arbitration of such differences, there shall be no cessation of work. Manifestly, under such an agreement the certainty of industrial peace is limited only by the degree of loyalty with which the two parties adhere to the terms agreed upon. In only a very few instances do joint agreements prescribe fines for failure to carry out the arbitration decisions under them.

In the U. S. trade agreements do not, as a rule, make provision for their renewal; and the system becomes permanently established chiefly by custom. It is generally regulated by custom or by the constitutions or rules of the employees' organizations, and sometimes also by the rules of employers' organizations. In Great Britain, however, it is common for the system to be maintained under permanent written compacts or agreements, regulating the modes of procedure, etc. This undoubtedly adds to the stability of the system.

With the agreement system maintained chiefly by custom in the U. S., it is not surprizing that permanent machinery in connection with it, either for collective bargaining by which agreements are made, or for conciliation and arbitration in cases of dispute, is comparatively rare, tho it has been developed in some cases. The usual American practise is to name a conference committee for each periodic negotiation, or an agreement and conciliation committee for each dispute as it arises, or to choose an arbitrator for each special occasion. But in Great Britain it is usual to name permanent boards or joint-committees which are to decide in all matters under dispute. The British boards for collective bargaining are often known as "wages boards," and those for the settlement of differences as "boards of conciliation" or of "conciliation and arbitration," while the term "trade boards" is sometimes used for both classes together.

In regularly established collective bargaining it is rare, in the U. S., to find any resort to arbitration when conciliation fails to bring about an agreement. Such appeal to arbitration is less seldom in Great Britain, but in both countries the general sentiment appears to be strongly opposed to submitting the general terms of future employment to the decision of an outsider. Future terms of employment, however, are more frequently submitted to arbitration as a means of escape from a deadlock in conciliation. In the case of interpretation differences, resort to arbitration is much more frequent; and in all systems of collective bargaining which make any provision for such disputes, it is usually provided for as a second resort after conciliation.

In collective bargaining the actual process of negotiation is usually one of "higgling" between the two sides, each acting as a unit, until by mutual compromise a unanimous agreement is reached. Final decision of a question by majority vote of the conference is very rarely allowed; and usually, especially in the less permanent bodies in American practise, equal representation of employers and employees is not specially striven for. But in bodies constituted for conciliation of interpretation differences, it is common to find equal representation of employers and employees provided for, and decisions by majority vote are sometimes allowed. In cases of arbitration it is usual to have only one arbitrator, who is regarded as impartial and disinterested with respect to the particular trade or dispute; or else a board composed of an uneven number, in which, however, the final decision is practically that of a single member or umpire.

Mediation Agencies

Private *mediation* agencies—that is, agencies constituted by outsiders to intervene between employers and employees—are rare as compared with the agencies of peace constituted by the two industrial classes themselves. Occasionally it happens, in the case of a strike or lockout, usually one so serious as to affect the interests of the public, that an individual or a committee, either chosen or acting of its own volition, intervenes to bring about a settlement.

Usually, the mediators in such a case are prominent men of the community, and not infrequently public officials. The most notable instance of this sort in the U. S., because the interests involved were no less than national in extent, was the intervention of President Roosevelt in the coal strike of 1902.

Permanent private mediation agencies are even more rare than the temporary ones just noted. About the only thing of the kind in Great Britain are the "district boards of conciliation" which have been established in several industrial centers, usually under the auspices of the local board of trade, the most important being the London Conciliation Board. This board, which was an outgrowth of the great strike of London dock-laborers in 1889, comprises a number of conciliation committees, each composed of equal numbers of employers and employees, with one committee for each prominent group of trades in the city. In addition there is a central board composed of equal numbers of representatives named by employers and employees, to which cases may be taken on appeal from a committee, and which offers facilities for arbitration in case its efforts at conciliation are unsuccessful. The results accomplished by the district boards of conciliation in Great Britain have been insignificant except in the case of the London board which has accomplished some substantial results. Its work has not been extensive, however, and has been done chiefly through mediation upon its own initiative. A very notable permanent private mediation agency in the U. S., and the only significant one in this country, is that which has been established by the National Civic Federation in its Industrial Department. This agency has been active in a number of important disputes, and with a considerable degree of success. What it has accomplished has been almost entirely along lines of conciliation through mediation upon its own initiative.

Statistics

There are no comprehensive statistics of private agencies of industrial peace for any country except Great Britain, for which there are fairly complete statistics of the permanent private agencies; and as these are of especial interest because they present facts for the country most advanced in the use of such agencies, the following from the most recent reports may be quoted here. During the year 1904 the number of permanent boards of conciliation and arbitration known to have considered cases was sixty-two, one of which was a "district board," one a "general board," or one established by employers and employees but not confined to a single trade, while the other sixty were "trade boards," or those instituted by employers and employees for a given trade. The following table shows the amount and results of work done by these boards in 1904:

BOARDS	NO. OF BOARDS WHICH		NO. OF CASES	
	Considered cases	Settled cases	Considered	Settled
Trade boards	60	52	1,413	610
General boards	1	1	1	1
District boards	1	1	4	4
Total	62	54	1,418	615

Of the 803 cases not settled, 748 were "withdrawn, referred back, or settled independently of the boards," and fifty-five were pending at the close of the year. Of the 615 cases settled, 400 were settled by boards or committees, that is, by conciliation, and 215 were decided by arbitration or umpires named by such boards or committees. Among the cases settled were ten strikes or lockouts, of which seven were settled by conciliation, and three by arbitration. The number of boards known to have settled cases varied but little from 1900 to 1904, having numbered in those five years respectively 64, 54, 57, 62, and 54.

Since, as noted in the foregoing, recognition of collective disputes as legal is of comparatively recent date, and individual disputes were characteristic of the industrial régime prior thereto, it is not surprizing to find that the oldest government agencies for industrial peace were established for individual disputes. In Great Britain, prior to 1803, a series of statutes, going back as far as the Statute of Apprentices in 1562, contained provisions with reference to disputes between masters and servants. All of these provided simply that disputes should be summarily settled by justices of the peace, the authorities charged with the fixing of wage-rates for all labor under the then existing system of government regulation of industry.

Government Agencies

In 1803, 1804, and 1813 special acts for disputes in the cotton industry were passed, differing from the earlier laws in that they provided that disputes should be settled by arbitration by two referees appointed, one by the employer, the other by the employee, from nominations made by a justice of the peace to whom the dispute was to be referred for final decision in case the two arbitrators could not agree. Finally these three laws were consolidated and extended to all industries by the Consolidation Act of 1824. This act did not alter any of the provisions for arbitration, except to forbid justices of the peace to fix future wages without the consent of both master and workman, this limitation being practically a recognition of the principle of freedom of contract between employer and employed which had been formally established by the repeal of the Statute of Apprentices in 1814.

All the earlier statutes had provided compulsory arbitration for all disputes; the Consolidation Act provided still for compulsory arbitration for interpretation differences, but recognized the fundamentally different character of disputes touching future terms of employment by providing only voluntary arbitration for such, at least for all those touching wages. The Consolidation Act was passed because the earlier laws had been effectual; yet it proved a total failure, tho it was in force until 1896. It appears to have been an anachronism. It was passed coincidently with the formal recognition of the right of working men to combine by the repeal of the combination laws by Act of 5 Geo. IV., ch. 95, the Consolidation Act being 5 Geo. IV., ch. 96. With the repeal of the combination laws the pressing problem of industrial peace became at once that of collective disputes, whereas the Consolidation Act offered only provisions drawn essentially for the individual disputes of an earlier régime.

For the most notable agency for the settlement of individual disputes, and one which is still in existence, one must turn to continental Europe, to the French system of *Conseils des Prud'hommes*

or Councils of Experts. These were first instituted in France in 1806. The law of that year, since frequently amended, which established the system in France, applied also to Belgium, which was then a French dependency; and the first Belgian Council was established in 1809. Laws regulating the system were afterward passed by the Belgian Government. Prior to the acquisition of the Rhine Province by Germany, councils under the French law were established there, and from thence the institution spread to other parts of Germany, being regulated by state or municipal statutes until 1890 when an imperial law governing the system was passed. In 1882 the Swiss canton of Geneva established a council, followed by the cantons of Neuchâtel (1885), Vavd (1888), Basel-Stadt (1889), Lucerne (1892), and Bern (1894). In 1893 Italy established the system. In all five of the countries named—France, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy—the systems of Conseils des Prud'hommes, or Gewerbegerichte, as they are called in Germany, are still maintained, and are in active operation. In 1903 there were in France 153 councils which heard disputes; in Belgium, 33; and in Germany, 400. In 1905 Switzerland had at least 7 councils, and in 1899 Italy had 39.

Conseils des Prud'hommes

With regard to details of organization and procedure the councils in different countries vary considerably, but the general plan of all is essentially the same. They are established by the government, either national or local, but their members are elected by the employers and employees within their jurisdiction, except the president and vice-president who in France and Switzerland are chosen by the members from among their own number, but in Belgium, Germany, and Italy are appointed independently by the government. Two bodies are organized in each council: the one a conciliation bureau or committee; the other the general, or arbitration bureau. Cases go first before the conciliation bureau where an effort is made to bring about a settlement by conciliation. If such effort fails, the case goes to the general bureau for final decision. In both bureaus there are always equal numbers of employers' and employees' representatives. The procedure is compulsory upon the desire of either party, and awards or decisions are enforceable as in ordinary civil courts. The jurisdiction of the councils is limited essentially to individual disputes growing out of the interpretation of existing contracts.

Procedure

The systems of Conseils des Prud'hommes have been very successful and are doing a large amount of work. Thus, in 1903, the number of cases brought before the councils in France was 43,832; in Belgium, 8,277; and in Germany, 97,561. Of the cases before the French councils 18,591 were settled by conciliation, 4,588 by arbitration, and 16,240 were withdrawn by the parties.

Imprest by the obvious evils of the industrial warfare of strikes and lockouts which affect the general public as well as the contestants, many governments have in more recent years endeavored to provide by law for the settlement of collective industrial disputes. In 1905 no less than fifty-one different national or state governments had some provision of law relating to the subject, and a number of these had passed more than one act upon the subject. With but three unimportant exceptions, all this legislation is the product of the last thirty years. With this mass of laws all that can be attempted within the limits of the present article is a very general classification according to their more important characteristics and results, considering first foreign statutes and afterward American laws.*

Government Agencies for Collective Disputes

Standing quite by themselves as the only general compulsory arbitration laws in the world are four statutes of the British colonies in Australasia. These, with the dates of the earliest laws in each case, are: New Zealand (1894), Western Australia (1900), New South Wales (1901), and the Commonwealth of Australia (1904). These compulsory arbitration laws, in their present form, have practically unlimited jurisdiction over collective industrial disputes of all kinds, except that the Commonwealth law takes cognizance only of disputes extending beyond the limits of any one of the Australian states. They provide, except in New South Wales, for both conciliation and compulsory arbitration. New South Wales provides only for compulsory arbitration. The conciliation agency provided is, in New Zealand and Western Australia, a board whose members are elected in equal numbers by employers and employees, with a chairman chosen by the members; in the Commonwealth the same agency as for arbitration. For arbitration the three state laws provide a court consisting of three members appointed by the government: one from nominations made by employers, and one from nominations made by employees, while the president is chosen directly by the government from the highest civil court of the colony. In the Commonwealth the arbitration court consists of only a single judge appointed by the government. All of these compulsory arbitration laws proceed upon the principle of utilizing to the utmost the advantages for collective negotiations to be derived from organization of employers and employees, especially the latter.

New Zealand Australia

In connection with these compulsory arbitration systems, strikes and lockouts are very largely prohibited, especially in the New South Wales and Commonwealth laws. In practise the three state laws have proved generally successful to the extent of having practically eliminated strikes and lockouts from industrial life, the Commonwealth act being too recent to show results in practise. The most notable development in practise has been the fact that, for the most part, the conciliation provisions have been of little use and most of the work has had to be done sooner or later by the arbitration courts. For this reason the New Zealand law, which originally required conciliation procedure, had later to make it optional; while New South Wales made no provision whatever for conciliation in her law. The whole tendency of practical experience has thus been to enlarge the scope of the compulsory arbitration features, and to employ them exclusively, with a consequently increasing amount of the virtual government regulation of industrial relations which compulsory arbitration involves.

Three of the countries which have the systems

* The laws are described as they are at present, without special reference to amendments; and the year given in parentheses refers to the time when the earliest law of the kind in question was passed.

of Conseils des Prud'hommes, or industrial courts for individual disputes, have utilized those courts for intervention in collective disputes also, viz., Germany (1890); Italy (1893); and Switzerland (Cantons of Geneva, 1882; Vavd, 1888; Lucerne, 1892; and Bern, 1894). In Switzerland there is provision only for conciliation by the courts in collective disputes; while in Germany and Italy arbitration is also provided, but the distinction between individual and collective disputes is carefully preserved, and for the latter the arbitration is entirely voluntary in character. Very little has been accomplished under these provisions for collective disputes, except in Germany. The German courts have developed extensive activity in their field, and are accomplishing important results, for the most part entirely by conciliation. Thus, in 1903, the German courts intervened 174 times in collective disputes, and settled sixty-one—fifty-four by conciliation, and seven by arbitration.

Germany Italy Switzerland

Another group of foreign laws may be distinguished in those which undertake to establish permanent special agencies for the settlement of collective disputes.

Permanent Government Agencies

The oldest of these is a British law of 1867, known as Lord St. Leonard's Act, which attempted to foster the establishment of boards for conciliation and arbitration after the pattern of the French Conseils des Prud'hommes by granting to such boards, when established voluntarily by employers and employees, and fulfilling the requirements specified in the law as to organization and procedure, a license under which they might exercise the powers specified in the Consolidation Act of 1824, to compel the presence and testimony of witnesses and enforce arbitration awards except when the latter concerned future wages. This law was, however, a total failure, as were likewise two British colonial statutes which copied it; namely, a law of 1873 in Ontario (Canada), and one of 1891 in Victoria, the latter with all compulsory arbitration features eliminated, and both with no restriction as to disputes touching future wages.

Holland and Belgium

In Belgium (1887) and the Netherlands (1897) are two laws, the later one modeled after the earlier, which provide for the establishment of councils of labor and industry, composed of members elected in equal numbers by employers and employees. These councils, which are under very direct government supervision, have a threefold function: (1) To give information or advice to the government concerning the condition of labor; (2) to serve as conference committees for collective bargaining, and (3) to settle industrial disputes. For the two latter purposes conciliation only is provided for. The system of councils of labor is in active operation in both countries, Belgium having seventy-six councils in 1903, Netherlands ninety in 1904. In practise the function of the councils as statistical and advisory agents of the government has been most important, especially in Belgium. In the Netherlands they have accomplished most in the way of collective bargaining and settlement of disputes. Thus, in 1903 they assisted seventy-three times in amicable negotiations concerning terms of employment, twenty-eight cases of which concerned government work; and in 1904 they intervened in thirteen strikes and lockouts, and brought five to a settlement.

In 1892 New South Wales passed an act providing for permanent councils of conciliation, and a council of arbitration for the settlement of collective disputes. There were to be either several conciliation councils in industrial districts into which the colony should be divided, or one large colonial council from which a special council for each dispute could be chosen, the members of these conciliation councils to be elected in equal numbers by employers and employees, with a secretary appointed by the government. The one court of arbitration was to consist of three members, one each to be named by employers and employees, with the third (the president) to be chosen by the other two, or, failing that, appointed by the government. In each dispute there were to be efforts at conciliation first, with appeal to arbitration or, if the parties desired, reference to the arbitration court in the first instance, arbitration in any case being voluntary in character.

Three of the British Canadian colonies have copied this New South Wales statute—British Columbia (1893), Ontario (1894) and Quebec (1901)—without important modifications, except that Ontario by subsequent amendment (copied in Quebec also) enabled the government to itself appoint the members of the council of arbitration, and permitted that council to mediate in disputes of its own motion, thus providing an essentially independent government agency in place of one established by employers and employees. The system of conciliation and arbitration councils contemplated in the New South Wales law has been practically a failure in the four British colonies which adopted it. The machinery for it was set up in all save British Columbia, where it was never established, but so little was accomplished by the councils that New South Wales finally abandoned the whole system, and Ontario and Quebec amended the plan by providing for independent mediation in disputes by the clerk of awards; or registrar as he is styled in the two Canadian laws. Something more has been accomplished by the registrars alone (the registrar intervened in twelve disputes in 1902 in Ontario), but no important results have thus far been attained.

Canada

A very elaborate act of 1894 in South Australia provided for a system of boards of conciliation and arbitration on the same general plan as the New South Wales system just described, but providing, instead of purely voluntary arbitration, what may be designated as permissive compulsory arbitration; that is, a system of compulsory arbitration, very much the same as that of New Zealand, but applicable to employers and employees only so far as they chose to voluntarily put themselves under its jurisdiction. The act, however, failed utterly, simply because none chose to submit to it.

In connection with laws making provision for permanent special agencies for collective disputes, passing mention may be made of the Austrian law of 1896. This law, which established gilds for the mining industry, incidentally provides for conciliation in collective disputes (there is also provision for individual disputes), through the agency of the executive committees of the gilds, tho scarcely anything has been accomplished by this provision. The Danish Act of 1900, which gives private boards of arbitration for interpretation differences power to summon and examine witnesses, may also be mentioned.

Government Officials

A more numerous group of laws is comprised by those which, without creating any special agency therefor, provide for conciliation or arbitration of collective disputes through some government officer or administrative body. The earliest of these acts, and perhaps the most important, is the French law of 1892. This law provides for mediation by local justices of the peace, either for conciliation by committees named by the parties to the dispute in question, with the justice as chairman, or if conciliation fails, by three arbitrators, one being named by each of the parties, with an umpire either chosen by the two, or, in a deadlock, named by the local civil judge; the entire procedure is voluntary for the parties. Mediation by a justice may occur upon application of the parties or, in case of strikes and lockouts, on the justice's own motion. Large results are being accomplished under this French law. Thus, in 1903 intervention under it was attempted 152 times (143 times in strikes and lockouts), fifty-eight upon the initiative of the justices, and fifty-three disputes were settled, fifty-one by conciliation and two by arbitration.

Great Britain

Next in importance to the French law is the British act of 1896, which provides for mediation by the British Board of Trade. In case of disputes, the board is empowered, of its own volition, to inquire into the circumstances and endeavor to bring about conciliation. Upon application from either party, it may name one or more private persons as conciliators; or, on application of both parties, appoint an arbitrator for voluntary arbitration. The board may also encourage the formation of private boards of conciliation. Three British colonies have copied this act of the mother country (New South Wales, 1899; the Dominion of Canada, 1900; and Nova Scotia, 1903) with no important change, save that New South Wales and the Dominion both add provisions for formal public investigation of disputes in New South Wales, at the option of the government; in the Dominion at such option and with the consent of both parties. The duty of intervention under the law is delegated in New South Wales to the minister of public instruction, labor, and industry; in the Dominion to the minister of labor; and in Nova Scotia to the provincial secretary.

As to the results achieved under these laws, nothing had been accomplished in Nova Scotia down to the middle of 1905. Results in New South Wales have been very meager, and altho the act is still in force there it has practically been superseded by the compulsory arbitration law of 1901. Under the British and Canadian acts, however, substantial results have been accomplished. Thus, during the two years ended June 30, 1903, there were forty-one interventions, actual or requested, by the British Board of Trade under the law of 1896. In all of these application from one or both parties was received, and the same has been true with but very few exceptions in previous years. Of the

forty-one cases, in four the board declined to act; four were settled by the parties during negotiations, two by conciliators named by the board, and twenty-seven by arbitrators chosen by the board; three failed of settlement, and one was pending at the close of the year.

The most striking feature of the British act has been its usefulness in offering a means of escape from deadlocks in private negotiations, and the results accomplished in this direction have led to the adoption by many private boards of rules providing for an appeal to the Board of Trade when the private board is unable to agree. Of experiences under the Canadian act it may be noted that the power of public investigation specially provided in that act has been used with good effect in some stubborn disputes, through the publicity thus secured. A law somewhat resembling the British act of 1896 is that of 1894 in British Columbia, which makes it the duty of the provincial secretary to assist the parties to a given dispute in forming a conciliation council and, if need be, an arbitration council, for that particular controversy; but there is no provision for mediation by the secretary himself. The act offers these councils large official sanction by providing that the members, tho chosen by the parties, shall receive appointment from the provincial governor, and by giving them power to summon witnesses. The expenses of such councils are paid by the government. In practise, however, the act has been fruitless, no councils ever having been formed under it.

Switzerland

In Switzerland there are two practically identical laws (Basel-Stadt, 1897, and St. Gallen, 1902) which provide for intervention in industrial disputes by the council of state, either upon request from the parties or, in grave cases, upon its own motion, by appointing a board of conciliation comprising equal numbers of employers and employees for purposes of conciliation only. There has been some little activity by the councils of state under these acts, that in Basel-Stadt having intervened in six disputes in 1904, and settled three.

In Austria, under a general clause of the factory law (1883), the state factory inspectors have developed large activity as mediators in industrial disputes. The greater part of such work is done in connection with individual disputes; but much is done also in collective differences, as shown by the fact that in 1903 they intervened in 110 strikes and lockouts.

The remaining three laws in the group of those providing for intervention of government officers are statutes relating only to special industries or special subjects of dispute. The earliest of these is a statute in Nova Scotia (1888), providing for arbitration of disputes in coal mines owned by, or leased from, the government. These are under the administration of a commissioner of works and mines who, in case of a dispute concerning wages, may refer the dispute to arbitration by a board comprizing two members permanently appointed by the provincial governor, one member each named by employers and employees, and a fifth chosen by the last two. A unique feature of this arbitration plan is a provision for the posting by each side of a money forfeit, a certain amount of the wages due the workmen and an equal sum by the employer, to be paid over to the one party in case the other does not at once submit to the award. Awards may also be enforced by ordinary process in the civil courts, so that the system amounts to compulsory arbitration. This statute has been almost a dead letter, however, having been invoked but twice down to 1905.

American Laws

In 1904 a decree of Argentina, notable as the first South-American law dealing with the settlement of industrial disputes, made it the duty of the chief of police of Buenos Ayres to intervene as mediator in collective disputes over questions of Sunday rest or hours of work. But by far the most important of the laws for special industries or subjects is the Canadian Railway Labor Disputes Act of 1903. This provides for intervention by the minister of labor in collective disputes involving suspension of work or interference with traffic on railways. The minister is to intervene primarily for the purpose of bringing about conciliation. That failing, the case is submitted to arbitration by a conciliation committee or board of arbitrators composed of three members, one named by each of the parties, and the third chosen by the other two or by the parties. The arbitration is purely voluntary, but publicity of awards is required.

Of the remaining two foreign laws, providing for permanent industrial agreements between employers and employees, one was the British Arbitration Act of 1872, which contemplated the drawing up of permanent agreements between employers and employees. These agreements, in addition to specifying the terms of employment, should designate some agency to arbitrate disputes, such agencies to have the power of compelling the production of evidence. This act, however, altho it remained in force until 1896, was from the first a dead letter, no agreement under it ever being made. A more modern law for agreements is one in the Swiss Canton of Geneva (1900), which provides both for regular periodic collective bargaining and trade agreements, and for the settlement of disputes. Three successive methods and agencies are specified for either purpose: (1) A conciliation conference of employers' and employees' delegates; (2) mediation between the delegates by a representative of the council of state of the canton; (3) arbitration by a board composed of the delegates and the central committee of the Geneva Conseil des Prud'hommes. In case of disputes the council of state may itself inaugurate proceedings as above. There is no means provided to enforce arbitration awards, but strikes and lockouts pending proceedings, or under agreements made under the law, are forbidden.

In the U. S. no provision has ever been made for individual disputes; but the federal government and twenty-four of the states have made some provision by law for collective disputes. Two federal laws have been passed (1888 and 1898), both limited in application to interstate commerce. The former specified two procedures: (1) Voluntary arbitration of disputes by a board of three members, the only action of the government being the endowment of such a board with power to secure evidence, and the publication by the Commissioner of Labor of the award; (2) public investigation into the causes of a dispute and the best mode of terminating it, to be instituted upon the government's initiative by a commission comprizing two members named by the President of the U. S. together with the Commissioner of Labor as chairman, the findings of the commission to be made public. No arbitration under the law of 1888 ever occurred, but one public investigation was made under it in the great Pullman strike of 1894, the investigation being made after the dispute was practically ended, and the elaborate report being devoted to a history of the case and discussion of the general question of methods of settling such disputes.

United States Laws

Many of the recommendations of the commission of 1894 went into the law of 1898, which repealed the earlier act. This later law, which is still in force, provides for two procedures also: (1) Mediation by the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Commissioner of Labor upon request of either party; and (2) arbitration essentially as in the law of 1888, except that awards are made enforceable by process of law, tho submission to arbitration is entirely voluntary. There has been no practical application of this law.

The thirty different state laws (in twenty-four of the states), which had been passed down to 1905, present so many similarities that they may be grouped in four classes. The first group comprizes those laws which provide for local arbitration, with no permanent agency therefor, and includes four special acts: Maryland, 1878; New Jersey, 1880; Pennsylvania, 1893; and Texas, 1895. Ten laws have incidental provisions for state boards; namely, those of California, Colorado, Idaho, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Montana, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Wisconsin. The general features common to nearly all these laws are: (1) That they provide only for voluntary arbitration; (2) that the agency in each case is a temporary board; and (3) that such boards are given power to compel the presence of witnesses and the production of evidence. As to practical results these laws have all been dead letters, tho all, except the special act in New Jersey, still stand on the statute-books.

Local Arbitration

A second group of state laws includes those which provide for permanent district or county boards established by private parties. These are as follows: Pennsylvania (1883), Ohio (1885), Iowa (1886), and Kansas (1886). The characteristic features common to all of these are: (1) Provision for permanent tribunals established jointly by employers and employees; (2) licensing of such tribunals by local civil courts and endowment of them with power to compel the presence of witnesses and the production of evidence; (3) provision only for voluntary arbitration by such tribunals. The only tribunal ever established under any of these laws was active in connection with the coal trade in Pennsylvania, and had considerable success for a couple of years (1883–85).

State Boards

In a third group of state laws are five providing for arbitration or conciliation through the mediation of state commissioners of labor: Colorado (1887), Missouri (1889), North Dakota (1890), Washington (1903), and Maryland (1904). The more important characteristics of these laws are as follows: (1) In three states (Colorado, North Dakota, and Washington) mediation by the commissioner is provided for only upon application from a party to the disputes; but in the other two (Missouri and Maryland) there is provision for mediation upon the initiative of the commissioner; (2) in Colorado and North Dakota mediation with a view to conciliation only is contemplated, in Missouri both conciliation and arbitration are specified, and in Washington and Maryland conciliation, arbitration, and public investigation of disputes are provided for; (3) arbitration, where provided, is to be by a board with members chosen in equal numbers by the parties, and an odd member selected by the others, except in Missouri where the commissioner is to be the odd member, but public investigation is in each case to be by the commissioner. Concerning results accomplished under these provisions, nothing was ever done in North Dakota, and after a year the provision was repealed. Very little was ever accomplished in Colorado, and a state board of arbitration was established there in 1897. Somewhat more has been accomplished in Missouri, tho there, too, the provision has been practically

superseded by a state board established in 1901. In Washington, in the ten last months of 1904, the commissioner intervened in twelve disputes (ten strikes and lockouts) and secured settlements in six, one by arbitration, the others by conciliation. The law of Maryland, which gives the commissioner the broadest powers for intervention of any, is still too recent to afford evidence as to results in practise.

Special Commissions

By far the largest and most important group of American state laws includes those which create a special board or commission for the settlement of industrial disputes. These are to be found in the following seventeen states: New York and Massachusetts (1886), Montana (1887), Michigan (1889), California (1891), New Jersey (1892), Ohio (1893), Louisiana (1894), Connecticut, Illinois, Minnesota, and Wisconsin (1895), Utah (1896), Colorado, Idaho, and Indiana (1897), and Missouri (1901). The laws of New York and Massachusetts, where state boards were first established, are the sources from which most of the other states have drawn nearly all the provisions of their laws. The fundamental features of the state-board laws, as they now stand, may be summarized as follows: (1) All the boards consist of three or five members, except in Indiana and Idaho where the permanent commission comprizes two members. The members are appointed by the governor, except in New York where, as the result of a consolidation of departments in 1901, the board consists of the commissioner of labor, appointed by the governor, and the two deputy commissioners, appointed by the commissioner.

All but four states (Connecticut, Michigan, New Jersey, and New York) specify equal representation of employers and employees on the board, and five states (Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, and Utah) require bipartizan political representation. (2) Three procedures are specified for boards —mediation for conciliation purposes, arbitration, and public investigation. Mediation is specified for all save the California board, and is made the duty of all those boards in case of actual or threatened strike or lockout. Arbitration is specified for all the boards, but is always voluntary, tho six states (Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, and Ohio) make some provision for the enforcement of awards. For purposes of arbitration there is to be added to the state commission in Idaho and Indiana the circuit judge of the county. Public investigation of more serious or stubborn disputes is specified for all the boards, except in Utah, and the authority to make such investigations may be exercised of the board's own motion, except in California where request from one of the parties to the dispute is necessary. (3) With the single exception of California, all the states confer upon their boards some authority for the purpose of compelling the presence of witnesses and the production of evidence.

Results

Turning to results accomplished by state boards, all of the seventeen statutes providing for them still stand on the statute-books, and under all of them boards have been at some time established. In nine states, however, the boards have displayed little or no activity. These nine states are California, Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, and Utah. In the other eight states—Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Wisconsin—the boards have records of considerable activity ever since their establishment. Among these the leading one, certainly at present, is the Massachusetts board, and the following summary of its work is given as the best example of what has been accomplished by state boards in this country:

Year	Interventions		Settlements				
	Total number	In strikes and lockouts	By conciliation	By arbitration	By decision on submission by one party	By public investigation	Total
1886 (4 mos.)	4	2	1	1	..	..	2
1887 ..	21	10	7	9	..	..	16
1888 ..	41	31	12	9	1	2	24
1889 ..	23	15	9	6	..	..	15
1890 ..	34	27	8	5	1	1	15
1891 ..	29	20	9	7	..	..	16
1892 ..	40	25	7	8	1	..	16
1893 ..	32	23	8	4	..	..	12
1894 ..	38	23	7	8	..	..	15
1895 ..	32	19	5	10	..	..	15
1896 ..	29	15	4	11	..	..	15
1897 ..	36	18	5	12	1	..	18
1898 ..	19	13	2	5	..	..	7
1899 ..	26	22	11	1	..	..	12
1900 ..	50	39	15	2	..	..	17
1901 ..	94	72	36	7	..	..	43
1902 ..	106	65	35	24	..	..	59
1903 ..	167	70	26	51	..	..	77
1904 ..	122	54	22	44	..	..	66
Total .	943	563	220	224	4	3	460

The Massachusetts board has been notably successful in arbitrations, especially in recent years. Nearly all of these have been on wage questions in the great boot and shoe industry of the state, where the board is held in so favorable an estimation that many agreements between employers and employees provide for reference to the state board when the parties cannot agree.

Leonard W. Hatch.

References: *The Agencies of Industrial Peace*, in *Labor Problems* (chap. viii.), by T. S. Adams and H. L. Sumner, New York, 1905; *Methods of Industrial Peace*, by Nicholas P. Gilman, Boston and New York, 1904; *Principles and Methods of Industrial Peace*, by A. C. Pigou, London, 1905; *Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration*, by Douglas Knoop, London, ib., 1905; *Report of the (U. S.) Industrial Commission*, 1901, vol. xvii., part i., chap. 2, and part iii.; *Government Industrial Arbitration*, by Leonard W. Hatch, in *Bulletin No. 60 of the U. S. Bureau of Labor*, September, 1905.

Dates and Statistics

The first French Conseils des Prud'hommes was constituted at Lyons in 1806 in the silk trade.

The first permanent board of conciliation was organized in 1860 in Nottingham, England, in the hosiery and glass trade, largely through the efforts of A. J. Mundella. Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy" gives the following detail of the board established in 1869 in the manufactured iron trade of the north of England:

> The men belonging to the different works select in each case by ballot a delegate, and the employers belonging to a single firm are similarly represented by a single delegate. The members of the board thus constituted elect a president, together with one secretary, from among the delegates of the masters, and a vice-president, together with a second secretary, from among the delegates of the men. They also elect a standing committee, as it is called, consisting of five representatives of the men and ten representatives of the masters (five of whom alone are able to discuss or vote on any question); and of this committee the president and vice-president are ex officio members, without enjoying any power of voting. The standing committee meets every month, or, if occasion demands, more frequently, and the board itself meets twice a year and at other times when summoned by the committee. In the first instance, all questions are laid before the committee. They are submitted in writing to the secretaries, seven days before the meeting; the written reply of the other side is usually placed before the same meeting, and an agreement of submission signed by the parties concerned. If the standing committee cannot arrive at an agreement, the referee, who is a permanent official, is called in and can take evidence; and in this way all questions may be settled, except a general advance or reduction in wages, or the appointment of an arbitrator. These questions the board alone can decide, and it also determines matters referred to it from the standing committee, selecting an arbitrator if it cannot itself arrive at an agreement. The necessary expenses of the board are defrayed by the subtraction of a penny every fortnight from the wages of every workman earning upward of half-a-crown a day, and by requiring each firm to pay an amount equal to that thus subtracted from the wages of employees.

In Australia the Federated Seamen's Union drew up a scheme for a board of conciliation which was accepted by the Australasian Steamship Owners' Association in 1889.

In the U. S. the first recorded instance of arbitration was at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when a copper arbitration board was established in the mines of Simsbury, now called East Granby, in Connecticut. The next recorded attempts at a peaceful settlement of industrial disputes were those of the Sons of Vulcan between 1865 and 1876. On Feb. 13, 1865, a Committee of Boilers met a Committee of Iron Manufacturers and agreed upon a sliding scale of wages, thus to this extent forming a board of conciliation. (See Amalgamated Associations of Iron and Steel Workers.) In 1870 some of the shoe manufacturers of Massachusetts formed a committee of five to meet with the committee of the Knights of St. Crispin, and to draw

up a scale of wages for the ensuing year. This was the first board of arbitration or conciliation in Massachusetts.

In 1878 Mr. Joseph D. Weekes was sent to inspect the English boards of conciliation and on his return presented a report to the Governor of Pennsylvania. The result was the Wallace Act of 1883, by which voluntary boards of arbitration might be established in Pennsylvania.

In New York City the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, a Protestant Episcopal organization, organized a Council of Conciliation and Mediation, in 1903, with Bishop Potter as its president, and with one workingman and one business man as other members. It has been active and useful on more than one occasion.

Recent Statistics

In Great Britain in 1905, sixty-six permanent boards of conciliation and arbitration considered 1,726 cases, of which 834 were withdrawn, referred back, or settled independently of the boards; 614 were settled by the boards or committees; 225 by arbitrators or umpires appointed by them; and fifty-three remained over, under consideration.

Of the 358 disputes referred to above, under strikes and lockouts, which caused a stoppage of work, thirty, involving directly 10,546 work people, or 15.6 per cent of the total for all disputes, were settled by conciliation or arbitration. The work people involved in stoppages settled by arbitration formed 3.3 per cent of the total number involved during the year, and the proportion involved in disputes arranged by conciliation 12.3 per cent.

In Germany two kinds of conciliation tribunals exist—the Courts of Arbitration for the gilds of handicrafts, and the Industrial Courts for the rest of the working classes. There were 411 Industrial Courts in Germany at the end of 1905. During the last five years these courts acting as conciliation boards were able to settle 51 per cent of the disputes referred to them, the extremes being a maximum of 86 per cent (1905) and a minimum of 27 per cent (1902).

In France recourse to conciliation is almost invariably on the requisition of the work people, or on the initiative of a justice of the peace. In a considerable percentage of cases the offer of mediation is refused (34 per cent of the total for 1901–5), for the most part by the employers. Where conciliation committees are formed by consent of both sides, however, a successful issue appears to be reached in a large proportion of cases (over 60 per cent of the cases of actual reference in 1901–5).

In Holland the Chambers of Labor are the official boards of conciliation. In 1899 these took part in thirteen cases of negotiations concerning terms of employment. In 1903 that number had increased to seventy-three, the total number of such cases during the five years 1899–1903 being 242.

Italy has kept close to the old French institution of the Conseils des Prud'hommes, which France itself has found unsuited to the adjustment of industrial disputes. The Italian Courts of *Probi Viri* are established by royal decree, but no great number of these courts appear to have been formed, and their interventions in disputes have been few (forty-three during the seven years 1897–1903), tho, on the other hand, they have, almost without exception, intervened successfully.

In the U. S. the state boards intervene far oftener on their own initiative than by invitation. Of sixty-three cases of intervention in New York State in 1902–4, fifty were on the initiative of the Conciliation Board. In Ohio the board took the initiative in fifty-one out of fifty-seven cases of intervention during the three years 1901–3. In Indiana during 1902–4 the State Labor Commission took the initiative in eighteen out of a total of twenty-one interventions. In Massachusetts during the same period the board intervened of its own initiative 171 times out of a total of 395 cases. Considering that these conciliation boards offer their services so often without invitation, the number of successful interventions is considerable. The figures for the last three years covered by the returns show 36.5 per cent of successes in New York, and 67 per cent in Massachusetts.

ARBITRATION, INTERNATIONAL: See International Arbitration.

ARBOR DAY: A certain day in the year appointed by different states in the United States, on which people, and especially school-children, are asked and encouraged to plant trees in order to counteract the tendency to forest extermination. (See Forestry.) The Nebraska State Board of Agriculture established the first Arbor Day in 1879. To-day it is appointed in almost every state and territory, and usually falls late in April or early in May.

ARBOUX, DAVID LOUIS ISAAC JULES: French chaplain; born at Montauban, Nov. 20, 1847; went to Paris in 1868, and was with Martin Paschon, president of the consistory of the Reformed Church of England in that city. He took active part in the Franco-German War. In 1873 he was appointed and has since remained Protestant chaplain of the prisons on the Seine; and he is a member of the Board of Directors of Prisons in General. Arboux has written various works on prisons, and also on socialistic subjects.

ARCH, JOSEPH: English labor leader; born 1826; leader of the English agricultural laborers' movement (1870–88), and founder of the National Agricultural Laborers' Union (1872), of which he became president. He was the son of a laborer, and worked on the farm from an early age. For some years he used his spare time preaching for the Primitive Methodists, and when the movement began among the agricultural laborers he used his talent in their behalf, soon being recognized as a leader. Four times a candidate for parliamentary honors, he was successful as the nominee of the Liberal Party for northwest Norfolk in 1885, 1892, 1895, and 1900, after a defeat in 1886.

ARGYRIADES, PANAGIOTES: French Socialist; lawyer; born in Kastoria, Macedonia, 1832. He practised law in Paris, where he founded *La Question Sociale* and *L'Almanach de la Question Sociale*. Argyriades, who was a militant propagandist, died in 1901.

ARISTOCRACY: Term which, literally, means government by the best; but in ordinary use "the best" means simply "the highest in rank and in opulence"; so that the word has come to mean a government where the supreme power is exercised by those highest in station, inheritance, blood, or wealth. With the word used in this sense, it is generally claimed that the United States is to-day more of an aristocracy than of a democracy. Dr. Josiah Strong, in "Our Country," wrote, even in 1885:

> Every nation has its aristocracy. In other lands the aristocracy is one of birth; in ours it is one of wealth. It is useless for us to protest that we are democratic, and to plead the leveling character of our institutions. There is among us an aristocracy of recognized power, and that aristocracy is one of wealth. No heraldry offends our republican prejudices. Our ensigns armorial are the trade-marks. Our laws and customs recognize no noble titles; but men can forego the husk of a title who possess the fat ears of power.

Some claim that this power of wealth goes to the ablest, but against this assertion may be quoted the following extract from an article by John Stuart Mill (*Fortnightly Review*, February, 1879):

> The very idea of distributing justice, or of any proportionality between success and merit or between success and exertion, is in the present state of society so manifestly chimerical as to be relegated to the regions of romance. It is true that the lot of individuals is not wholly independent of their virtue and intelligence; these do really tell in their favor, but far less than many other things in which there is no merit at all. The most powerful of all the determining circumstances is birth. The great majority are what they were born to be. Some are born rich without work, others are born to a position in which they can become rich by work, the great majority are born to hard work and poverty through-

out life, numbers to indigence. Next to birth the chief cause of success in life is accident and opportunity. When a person not born to riches succeeds in acquiring them, his own industry and dexterity have generally contributed to the result; but industry and dexterity would not have sufficed unless there had been also a concurrence of occasions and chances which falls to the lot of only a small number. If persons are helped in their worldly career by their virtues, so are they, and perhaps quite as often, by their vices; by servility and sycophancy, by hard-hearted and close-fisted selfishness, by the permitted lies and tricks of trade, by gambling speculations, not seldom by downright knavery. Energies and talents are of much more avail for success in life than virtues; but if one man succeeds by employing energy and talent in something generally useful, another thrives by exercising the same qualities in outgeneraling and ruining a rival. It is as much as any moralist ventures to assert, that, other circumstances being equal, honesty is the best policy, and that with parity of advantages an honest person has better chances than a rogue. . . . The reward, instead of being perfectioned to the labor and abstinence of the individual, is almost in reverse ratio to it; those who receive the least labor and abstain the most.

See also CORRUPTION; DEMOCRACY; LUXURY; WEALTH.

ARISTOTLE: Greek philosopher; born at Stageira 384 B.C.; died in 322. He was a pupil of Plato at Athens, and is said to have been called "the intellect of the school." After Plato's death (347 B.C.) Aristotle left Athens, and in 342 B.C. was invited to Macedonia by Philip, and became the teacher of Alexander. He remained here till Alexander started on his Asiatic expedition (334 B.C.), when he returned to Athens and opened a school called the Lyceum, and (from his practise of walking as he lectured) the "Peripatetic" school. He died at Chalcis in Eubœa, aged sixty-two. His main works are the "Nicomachean Ethics," "Organon" or "Logic," "Rhetoric," "Poetics," "Physics," and "Politics." His knowledge for his times was encyclopedic. His thorough knowledge of facts made him much more concrete and scientific, and as objective as Plato was idealistic and subjective. The following summary of his economic and sociologic positions is abridged from Professor Ingram's "History of Political Economy," p. 16:

Aristotle, like all the Greek thinkers, recognizes but one doctrine of the State, under which ethics, politics proper, and economics take their place as departments, bearing to each other a very close relation, and having, indeed, their lines of demarcation from each other not very distinctly marked. When wealth comes under consideration, it is studied not as an end in itself, but with a view to the higher elements and ultimate aims of the collective life.

The origin of society he traces not to economic necessities, but to natural social impulses in the human constitution. He opposes the suppression of personal freedom and initiative, and the excessive subordination of the individual to the State, and rejects the community of property and wives proposed by Plato for his governing class. The principle of private property he regards as deeply rooted in man, and the evils which are alleged to result from the corresponding social ordinance he thinks ought really to be attributed either to the imperfections of our nature or to the vices of other public institutions. Community of goods must, in his view, tend to neglect of the common interest and to the disturbance of social harmony.

Of the several classes which provide for the different wants of the society, those who are occupied directly with its material needs—the immediate cultivators of the soil, the mechanics and artificers—are excluded from any share in the government of the State, as being without the necessary leisure and cultivation, and apt to be debased by the nature of their occupations. In a celebrated passage he propounds a theory of slavery, in which it is based on the universality of the relation between command and obedience, and on the natural division by which the ruling is marked off from the subject race. He regards the slave as having no independent will, but as an "animated tool" in the hands of his master; and in his subjection to such control, if only it be intelligent, Aristotle holds that the true well-being of the inferior as well as of the superior is to be found. This view, so shocking to our modern sentiment, is of course not personal to Aristotle; it is simply the theoretic presentation of the facts of Greek life, in which the existence of a body of citizens pursuing the higher culture and devoted to the tasks of war and government was founded on the systematic degradation of a wronged and despised class, excluded from all the higher offices of human beings, and sacrificed to the maintenance of a special type of society.

Like the other Greek social philosophers, Aristotle recommends to the care of governments the preservation of a due proportion between the extent of the civic territory and its population, and relies on antenuptial continence, late marriages, and the prevention or destruction of births for the due limitation of the number of citizens, the insufficiency of the latter being dangerous to the independence and its superabundance to the tranquillity and good order of the State.

Aristotle's economic and social ideas are found almost exclusively in his "Politics." The following quotations give some of the salient points:

It is evident that the State is a creation of nature, and that man is by nature a political animal. The State is, by nature, clearly prior to the individual and to the family, since the whole is of necessity prior to the part. . . . The proof that the State is a creation of nature, and prior to the individual, is that the individual, when isolated, is not self-sufficing; and, therefore, he is like a part in relation to the whole. But he who is unable to live in society, or who has no need, because he is sufficient for himself, must be either a beast or a god. He is no part of the State. A social instinct is implanted in all men by nature, and yet he who first founded the State was the greatest of all benefactors ("Politics," i., 2).

There are many difficulties in the community of women, and the principle on which Socrates rests the necessity of such an institution does not appear to be established by his arguments (ii., 1).

Property should be in a certain sense common, but is as a general rule private; for when every one has a distinct interest, men will not complain of one another, and they will make more progress because every one will be attending to his own business (ii., 5).

The beginning of the reform is not so much to equalize property, but to train the noblest sort of natures not to desire more, and to prevent the lower from getting more; that is to say, they must be kept down but not ill-treated (ii., 7).

ARMSTRONG, SAMUEL CHAPMAN: General, philanthropist, educator; born in Hawaii in 1839; son of an American missionary; educated in Hawaii and at Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. In 1862 he joined the army and served through the war, afterward accepting a position in the Freedman's Bureau. He enlisted the American Missionary Association in the cause of negro education, and founded the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute (1868), at Hampton, Va., devoting the remainder of his life to this undertaking. He died in 1893.

ART AND SOCIAL REFORM: Art meant originally skill in fitting. The artist was simply the skilled workman, and not different from the artizan. He was the man who could make good houses to live in, and particularly good houses in which to enshrine the public's ideals, good temples, baths, etc. He was one who could make good furnishings for the houses—good chairs, good vases, good mosaics, good statues and pictures of the gods. Art was thus developed as soon as and to the extent to which the community was lifted above absolute want and the struggle for mere physical existence—i. e., as soon as people had opportunity to think of the quality as well as the quantity of its work. Hence the great art periods of a nation have been either when the nation was rich and prosperous (e. g., the age of Phidias in Athens, The Renaissance in Italy and France, the age of Merry England), or when the people were at least enjoying the fruits of victory or of success in any line (e. g., periods of Gothic art). If, however, a nation becomes wealthy, not by conquest or slow growth, but by producing commodities and selling them, it is evident that the nation will not produce a great art, because it will be compelled to think more of the quantity than the quality of its work; or, if it think of quality, it will think mainly of commodities as

fitted to sell. The rich nations of to-day being commercial nations, we need not be surprized to hear artists complaining of the real dearth of art, altho we have in England and America phenomenal wealth. It is evident, from this consideration alone, how social conditions can affect art. We shall in a moment see how art can affect social conditions. For the moment, however, we must notice another point. If art be the production of commodities worthily expressing a nation's aspirations—public buildings, statues, and pictures of its gods, its heroes, its ideals of beauty and of power—it will follow that it will attain to high development where *hand*-work is largely practised, since this allows the expression of ideals; and conversely it will attain meager development where machine-work prevails, since this does not allow of much expression of ideals. Here, too, remembering that the present age is characterized by machine production, we see a very potent cause for the present dearth of art.

Influence of Social Conditions

Once again, when a community becomes divided into two classes, one having leisure and wealth and not producing commodities, the other class poor and doing the productive work, a desire for art will spring up amid the leisure class and not in the other. But since the leisure class does not itself produce, the desire will not create art, but a dilettante, artificial, unnatural desire for art; while the producing class, not having leisure, and being compelled to think mainly how to get a bare existence, will not be able to produce art; especially when the nation's production is mainly carried on by machinery. In such a community the artist will come to be considered very different from the artizan. The artist will usually become an affected idler and the artizan an unartistic "hand." It is only too evident that this is the state of affairs to-day. Such are but some of the ways in which social conditions affect art.

Let us now see some of the ways in which art affects social conditions. Art we have seen to be the producing of good work. Now, when a community thinks a great deal of producing good work—good houses and furnishings for houses, worthy temples, public buildings, baths, etc.—it follows inevitably that the people do not think so much of merely producing commodities to sell. As a people primarily commercial cannot be primarily artistic, so a people primarily artistic cannot be primarily commercial. It raises a different ideal. The ideal of good work operates in various ways. It produces a demand for leisure in which to do the work. An artistic nation will never live in a hurry. It will seek freedom in which to work. It will not endure great factories and machine-made work. It is a fact that almost all the great artists and poets and idealists to-day are among the bitterest foes of the commercialism and mammonism of the present time, and are, for the same reason, among the most earnest workers for social reform. A high and uncommercial social development develops art, and the art demands and calls for social reform, thus producing action and reaction. Thus, great artists like William Morris and critics like John Ruskin are never weary of condemning the shoddy work and commercialism and baseness and ugliness which characterize so much of modern life. Nor are they ever weary of comparing it, to the damage of the present, with the beautiful work of ages when commerce was not a god, and when machines had not crowded people into slums, nor prevented expression entering into the work of the producer. A somewhat smaller number of artists, poets, and idealists, and especially the greatest among them, are equally ready to work not for "the good old times," but to bring in the better new times, when machines shall not be abandoned, but when brotherhood shall rule in society, making all classes workers, but giving to all classes immunity from the mere struggle for bare existence. They long for the day when all men shall have time to think of producing good work, using machinery indeed, but using it mainly in producing materials to be worked upon and made beautiful by the free hand expressive of the free creative soul.

Morris and Crane

Particularly have William Morris and Walter Crane, two English artists of genius, thought deeply and written suggestively on the relation of art to social reform. Morris's life was revolutionized by his sense of the importance of this relation. Until the age of fifty he lived, as many artists live, in aristocratic seclusion, absorbed in poetry and the decorative arts. In his "Earthly Paradise" he confest that he was but "the idle singer of an empty day." And then, at an age when most men would consider their work done, he was impelled to study social problems, and became an ardent Socialist, writing Socialist articles, tracts, and poems, lecturing in the open air in London's parks, and serving on Socialist committees. In a lecture on "Art and Socialism," he has given us, in these pregnant words, his social-artistic creed:

> I put forward a claim on behalf of labor enslaved by commerce, which I know no thinking man can deny is reasonable, but which if acted on would defeat commerce; that is, would put association in the stead of individualist anarchy.
>
> I have looked at this claim by the light of history and my own conscience, and it seems to me so looked at to be a most just claim, and that resistance to it means nothing short of a denial of the hope of civilization.
>
> This then is the claim:
>
> *It is right and necessary that all men should have work to do which shall be worth doing, and be of itself pleasant to do; and which should be done under such conditions as would make it neither overwearisome nor overanxious.*
>
> Turn that claim about as I may, think of it as long as I can, I cannot find that it is an exorbitant claim; yet I say if society would or could admit it, the face of the world would be changed; discontent and strife and dishonesty would be ended. To feel that we were doing work useful to others and pleasant to ourselves, and that such work and its due reward *could* not fail us! What serious harm could happen to us then? And the price to be paid for so making the world happy is revolution.

When Morris died, his mantle fell on Walter Crane more than upon any other single man. Crane, too, is an active Socialist. Some of his best cartoons have been made for the Socialist press, and he is a familiar figure at London Socialist gatherings. In an essay in his book, "The Claims of Decorative Art" (1892), he writes as follows on "The Prospects of Art Under Socialism":

> Socialism presents a new ideal to humanity. It is a religion and a moral code, as well as an economic system. Its true realization would mean unity of public sentiment and the sympathy of a common humanity freed from the domination of class and the grinding conditions of commercial competition. Such an atmosphere could not but be favorable to art in the highest degree.
>
> Not only would the common property in the beauty of nature not be allowed to be disfigured for the purposes of private gain, but with leisure and security of living it would not be a question, as it is now so often, with the artist or craftsman, hindered, in pursuing his higher aims, and in seeking perfection in his craft, by the cramping consideration that it will not pay.
>
> And what is true of art work is, after all, true of all work.

A profit-grinding system must of necessity be against the best in all ways.

Greater simplicity and dignity of life, too, which would naturally result from a juster distribution of wealth, would have its effect on both art and architecture, and would find expression in simpler and sincerer forms of construction and ornament.

If we imagine a truly socialized community—a state of equal condition (not necessarily of mental capacity or other quality) wherein every able-bodied member served the community according to his capacity, it might necessitate a portion of time (determined by the numbers of the community and their necessities) being spent in some form of manual labor. This in itself would be an advantage and physical benefit to each individual; nor so long as enough leisure was secured would mental capacity be likely to suffer, in its true sense, or the art instinct or capacity either—on the contrary. There is nothing, after all, like close intimacy with nature and fact to strengthen the character all round, and clear the mental vision of morbid states; and as for art, like the wrestler, it always gains new vigor every time it touches the ground—the ground of common nature and common life. . . .

The type of artist—supposing artists existed as a class or order in a socialistic community—most likely to be fostered would, I think, be probably such as that represented by the master craftsmen of the Middle Ages, such as Albert Dürer or Holbein, for instance—men capable of design in all kinds of materials, who could design a building, make the pattern of a jewel or a gown, draw a title-page or paint a portrait. What may be called, in short, the all-round artist would be likely to be more in demand than the specialist more or less fostered under present conditions.

The essence of art is harmony and unity. Before we can hope to get harmonious art and thought, therefore, we must realize harmony and unity in life.

William Morris and Walter Crane are, however, but the two most prominent representatives of artistic tendencies that are worldwide. Before their time, and without their definite Socialist tendencies, Jean François Millet had stirred the heart of all mankind with his delineations of French peasants—dull victims of age-long oppression. And since Morris and Crane began their work, Constantin Meunier, the Belgian sculptor, has stamped on the imagination of his age the somber and tragic figures of mine- and factory-workers.

Meunier, Watts, Burne-Jones, Lilien

Two other of the great English artists of the past generation, George Frederick Watts and Sir Edward Burne-Jones, felt at least something of the social tragedy of our time, and prefigured it in their art. All over the Continent of Europe, younger artists are now working along socialistic lines. The most talented, perhaps, of these younger men is E. M. Lilien, of Berlin, a Jewish black-and-white artist, who has illustrated Rosenfeld's "Songs of the Ghetto" with haunting power, simplicity, and pathos. The *Wahre Jacob* of Stuttgart, and the socialistic papers of Italy and France often bear striking witness to the influence of humanist ideals on the new generation of artists.

The impress of the social spirit on the broader art, which includes not merely pictures, but also poetry, music, the drama, and literature, is a challenging portent in our age. Shelley's ethereal song was colored by a spirit of intense social revolt. Richard Wagner, the greatest figure in modern music, was in his earlier life a rebel and a revolutionist, and has written voluminously of his subversive social ideals. Henrik Ibsen, the greatest figure in the modern drama, remained throughout his life an unsparing critic of modern society. Victor Hugo's "Les Miserables," probably the greatest novel of the nineteenth century, is a poignant revelation of that nether world which is not far from us all. Sudermann and Hauptmann, the leading German dramatists of to-day, Maeterlinck, the Belgian poet and playwright, G. Bernard Shaw, the English satirical dramatist, Tolstoy, the Russian novelist, and Maxim Gorky, this latest and menacing figure who comes to us "out of the depths" —are all preoccupied with social problems.

Literature, Poetry, Drama

Here in America the ideal of a new society has fired the souls of our most important writers. Whitman's "Leaves of Grass" has become the Scripture of the democratic movement in its largest sense. The dean of American novelists, William Dean Howells, has known the lure of the social ideal, and at one time it looked as if he, like his friend Edward Bellamy, might abandon literature for socialism. Edwin Markham leapt into fame with a poem that voiced the bitter cry of "The Man with the Hoe." Jack London, the most brilliant of our younger men of letters, is a militant Socialist: and Upton Sinclair's "The Jungle," a Socialist novel dealing with the horrors of the Chicago slaughterhouses, has done for wage slavery something of what Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" did for chattel slavery.

It is not difficult to understand why the social problems of our day grip the heart of the artist. In the deepest sense, the social instinct and the artistic instinct are one. The instinct that drives men on to the achievement and realization of perfect social forms is the same as that which impels the artist to express himself in poems, statues, and paintings. The true reformer is a social artist molding the rough materials out of which shall come a new and radiant world. In the degree that he fulfils his mission, he becomes truly godlike, creating and shaping the universe anew.

LEONARD D. ABBOTT.

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ARTHUR, PETER M.: Late head of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers in the United States; born in Scotland, 1836; came to America when ten years old. He was employed in an engine-house in various capacities, until at length he became an engineer. Early interested in the organization of his craft, he was in 1874 elected to its highest office, being reelected annually until his death. Under him the Brotherhood became one of the most powerful altho most conservative trade-unions in the country, numbering some 30,000 men. He was much criticized by many in the labor movement for not being more willing to combine with other labor organizations. Arthur regarded himself as the head of a business corporation formed to subserve the interests of its members; and he felt that, however he or any one else might personally look upon any matter, his plain duty was to serve only those who had placed him at the head of their organization. He died in 1903.

ASSOCIATED CHARITIES: See CHARITY ORGANIZATION.

ASYLUMS: See DEAF AND BLIND ASYLUMS.

ATELIERS NATIONAUX: National workshops; a term used in France for the workshops established by the Provisional Government of France in the Revolution of 1848, to give work to the unemployed.

The Provisional Government had scarcely been established (in February, 1848), when a committee of Socialists demanded of it the recognition of the right to work. Louis Blanc and one or two others were the only real Socialists in the government, and the demand of the men was only reluctantly conceded, for political reasons. Louis Blanc says distinctly that the government nominally yielded, but appointed a committee secretly instructed to make the experiment fail, and the most cursory examination of the evidence shows that it is impossible to judge correctly of the *ateliers nationaux* on the supposition that they were merely a *bona fide* effort to carry out the decree establishing the "right to work."

Louis Blanc advocated the formation of a ministry of labor, but this was negatived. In place of it, as a compromise, a government labor commission, under the presidency of Louis Blanc, was established, with power of inquiry and consultation only. Meanwhile, the carrying out of the decree by the establishment of national workshops was confided not to this commission but to the Minister of Public Works, M. Marie. This was followed the next day by a decree specifying various public works to be started. Besides the works organized by the Minister of Public Works, the Minister of War opened works in the Champs de Mars. All went well while the number of the unemployed was less than 6,000, but as soon as that number was exceeded the workmen of each *arrondissement*, after having visited all the open works in succession without result, returned to their *maire's* offices tired, starving, and discontented. Louis Blanc, resigned and publicly denounced the scheme as not being conducted in good faith.

Louis Blanc Denounces the Scheme

Each *maire's* office was authorized to pay every unemployed workman 1.50 francs per day on production of a ticket showing that there was no vacancy for him in the national works. The fixed sum of two francs was paid to any workman engaged on the public excavation works, without regard to his age, the work done, or his calling. The workman, therefore, made the following simple calculation, "The state gives me thirty sous for doing nothing; it pays me forty sous when I work, so I need only work to the extent of ten sous."

As the numbers claiming work or relief rapidly increased, both the bureaus and the *maires'* offices became the centers of tumultuous crowds. Therefore, Émile Thomas, a chemist connected with the *École Centrale*, was commissioned by M. Marie to reorganize the works on a complicated and absurd semimilitary plan. When Émile Thomas took the work in hand, the number of unemployed in Paris was estimated at from 13,000 to 14,000, in addition to 4,000 or 5,000 already engaged on public works. This number continued steadily to increase day by day, without, however, any corresponding expansion of the public works. After a meeting of the chief engineers, who were unable to suggest means of employing usefully more than a few hundred of the 14,000 unemployed men, it was resolved to undertake a series of works in the plain of Monceaux, which, if serving no other object, would at least have the advantage of keeping the crowd employed. Already the whole scheme was costing 20,000 fr. a day, and measures were contemplated for reducing and finally extinguishing the pay to the idle.

Political feeling between the Moderates and the Extremists was already running high in view of the elections which were fixt for April. The strength of the former centered in the Hôtel de Ville, that of the Socialists in the Luxembourg. The national works depended politically on the Hôtel de Ville. From this time it becomes progressively more difficult to treat the works as a purely economic experiment. That the administration of the works was on an altogether unnecessary scale is not denied even by the director, who, however, declared that he was continually under the necessity of finding places for crowds of applicants sent to him with recommendations which he could not resist. Thus a large number of actors, painters, commercial clerks, and others, thrown out of work by the crisis, having been refused tickets for admission to the works as not wearing the workman's blouse, were employed by the director as pay agents.

The National Assembly met on May 4th. Louis Blanc renewed his motion for a minister of labor, which was rejected On the 15th the Assembly was invaded by the mob, and from that time the antisocialist tendency of the government became more marked. The new government immediately determined to reduce and suppress the national works, which were draining the treasury and demoralizing the people, and which were suspected of being centers of intrigue on the part of Louis Bonaparte. The result was the bloody insurrection of June 23d and following days, which was only suppresst after three days of street fighting. Soon after Louis Napoleon was elected President of the Republic. The gigantic schemes subsequently carried out under the Second Empire for the rebuilding of large parts of Paris served for many years to provide employment for Paris workmen, and while they lasted formed an effective substitute for the ill-fated national works.

REFERENCES: *Histoire des Ateliers Nationaux*, by Émile Thomas (1848); *Histoire de la Révolution Française*, by Louis Blanc; *Histoire de la Révolution de* 1848, by Lamartine; *Le Placement des Employés* (*Office du Travail*), 1892.

ATHENS, SOCIAL POLITY OF CLASSIC: Greek social thought centered around the state, and the state usually meant the municipality, or the city (hence, *political economy*, the economy of the city). Of this policy Athens under Pericles was the most brilliant example. In the first place, it was, *with the exception of its slave basis*—of which we shall speak later—to a large extent democratic. Even during the kingly or traditional period, there seems to have been recognition of the popular power in the brotherhoods (*φρατρίαι*) and clans (*γενη*), believed to rest, and probably actually resting, on consanguinity. This largely disappeared under the Eupatrids, but was more than revived by Solon. He established the *εκκλησία*, or assemblies of the whole people, to elect the archons and councilors; to judge the former at the annual expiration of their office; and to accept or reject all the laws and decrees proposed by the council. (See REFERENDUM.) Under Clisthenes all free inhabitants of Attica were admitted to citizenship. This, however, is the least interesting of Athens' sociological features.

Mr. W. D. P. Bliss, in *The Outlook* (Nov. 11, 1905), has argued that socialism was virtually tried in Athens, under Pericles. This was the exact period of Athens' greatest glory and of the production of individualities so great that Francis Galton, of the highest authority in anthropological science, says: "A population of 90,000 produced two men, Socrates and Phidias, whom the whole population of Europe has never equaled, and fourteen men of an ability of which the Anglo-Saxon race has only produced in 2,000 years five equals." He asserts that the average ability of the Athenian race was about as much above that of the English race as that race is above the African negro. J. A. Symonds favorably quotes this, and says that the population of classic Athens, taken as a whole, was perhaps as superior to ours as our race is to that of the Australian savage. This Mr. Bliss considers mainly due to Athens' socialism, of which he says, in substance:

It practically asked from each citizen according to his ability, and gave to each according to his need. This was accomplished in the main by two institutions: the so-called "liturgies," securing from the rich gratification for the less fortunate, and above all by the "dicasticon," or daily money payment for public service, given to practically any citizen who wished it, and in quantity sufficient to enable him to live upon it in respectability and ordinary comfort. It was the latter institution which above all made Athens socialistic. It was introduced by Pericles, as we may clearly learn, among other sources, from Aristotle ("Politics," ii., 12) and Plato ("Gorgias," 575). We will consider the latter first.

Socialism

The dicasticon was the daily money payment, first of one obol and later of three, to any Athenian citizen who did duty as a *dicast* or juror in the multitudinous courts of Athens. One obol is three cents—seemingly a small affair, and yet, measured by Athenian prices, sufficient to maintain life in

respectability and comfort, and paid sufficiently frequently to form, Mahaffy tells us ("Old Greek Life," p. 68), "an income on which most of the poorer citizens lived." Professor Boeckh, in his "Public Economy of Athens," estimates that prices in Athens, under Pericles, were at least ten times lower than in modern times. He who received three obols a day therefore received the equivalent of ninety cents to-day. He probably received vastly more compared with modern city prices. It has been calculated that 6,000 persons received the dicasticon each day, supporting perhaps 30,000 persons (including wives and children), or about one third of the free population. And this payment was only the principal one of several similar payments. It was for service in the courts; but for attendance at the *ecclesia*, or popular assembly, to which also any Athenian citizen could go, there was another payment, an *ecclesiasticon*, varying at different times from one to nine obols. Moreover, the city saw to it that her poorest citizen could enjoy the drama and the religious festivities, both of which were considered municipal functions which it was important that every citizen should attend. Therefore the poorest citizens were paid a *theoricon* of two obols for the drama, besides various payments for the different religious festivities. It must be remembered, too, that the greatest Athenians lived in the simplest way. Therefore, those who were paid their three obols a day could not only live, but live as did the best. And all this was the result of its socialistic government. The state was omnipresent. It conducted and maintained the religious rites of the city, the Panathenaic and other festivals. It built and cared for the temples, baths, gymnasia, stoa, theaters, and market-places. It cared for the arts. The Parthenon and the Acropolis were the creation of state artists. The state entered into trade. It owned and operated mines in Thrace and Attica. The silver Laurium mines constituted the first Attic treasury. The revenues of the state were mainly derived, not from citizen-paid taxes, but from woods, pastures, lands, houses, and mines, all owned and operated by the state. The state largely watched over and guided the colonial system, which was almost the ruling feature of Athenian financial life. The state built the wharves and warehouses of the Peiræus; it controlled the weights and measures; it examined balances and minted coin. It entered into distribution, providing food at cheap price in time of want; and it regulated the price of corn.

The result of all this was the high development of the individual. The Athenian was delivered from the necessity to "hustle" for a livelihood. Any Athenian who wished it was allowed to devote his life to money-making. Some did, and accumulated wealth. But such were few, and those few were compelled to spend their money for the public good. The vast number of Athenians preferred, and were encouraged to prefer, higher things. Commerce and trade were generally left to slaves. Athens' "Four Hundred" were devotees of art and philosophy. The state believed in competition, but in the higher life, not in the market. The *liturgies* of the wealthy were used to institute prize games or art contests. Athens' great dramas were prize plays. In economics she practised socialism, and so freed men for the higher life.

Athens fell because she was not moral. Her socialism, we have said, was selfish. Her public men were often corrupt; her family life was impure. Greece, too, was not socialistic. She was at best but a loose federation of competing republics. She fell before a united Macedon, even as Macedon fell before the larger unity of the Roman Empire. Her slavery, too, largely undermined her. The number of these slaves cannot be determined with any certainty. They were scarcely regarded as men, but as the tools or machinery of the day. Yet they had rights. Professor Ingram, writing in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," in the article on "Slavery," says:

Slavery

The condition of slaves at Athens was not in general a wretched one. Demosthenes ("In Mid.," p. 530) says that, if the barbarians from whom the slaves were bought were informed of the mild treatment they received, they would entertain a great esteem for the Athenians. Plautus in more than one place thinks it necessary to explain to the spectators of his plays that slaves at Athens enjoyed such privileges, and even license, as must be surprizing to a Roman audience. The slave was introduced with certain customary rites into his position in the family; he was in practise, tho not by law, permitted to accumulate a private fund of his own; his marriage was also recognized by custom; tho in general excluded from sacred ceremonies and public sacrifices, slaves were admissible to religious associations of a private kind; there were some popular festivals in which they were allowed to participate; they had even special ones for themselves both at Athens and in other Greek centers. Their remains were deposited in the family tomb of their master, who sometimes erected monuments in testimony of his affection and regret.

Thus Athens may be looked at from the standpoint of social science in at least two opposite ways. Looking at its free population, it may be considered a socialistic city, and the Socialists may use it as an illustration of great individualities produced, not by competition, but by socialism. Looking at its large slave population and the despite put upon manual labor, Athens may be considered as an oligarchy, intellectual, brilliant, but resting on injustice and immorality.

ATKINSON, EDWARD: American economist; born in Brookline, Mass., 1827; educated principally at private schools. His reputation was made by the numerous pamphlets and papers which he contributed to current literature on economic topics. The subjects treated embrace such general topics as banking, competition, cotton, free trade, mechanical arts, and protection. The most important of his addresses are "Banking," delivered at Saratoga in 1880 before the American Bankers' Association; "Insufficiency of Economic Legislation," delivered before the American Social Science Association; "What Makes the Rate of Wages?" before the British Association for the Advancement of Science; address to the chiefs of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, at their convention in Boston in 1885; vice-presidential address on "The Application of Science to the Production and Consumption of Food," before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, in 1885. Among his pamphlets are the following: "Labor and Capital, Allies, not Enemies" (New York, 1880); "The Railway and the Farmer" (ib., 1881); "The Distribution of Products" (ib. 1885).

In 1886 Atkinson began the preparation of a series of monographs on economic questions, for periodical publication. Through his efforts was established the Boston Manufacturers' Mutual Fire Insurance Company, an association consisting of a number of manufacturers who, for their mutual protection, adopted rules and regulations for the economical and judicious management of their plants. Atkinson invented an improved cooking stove called the "Aladdin cooker." He died December, 1905.

AUER, IGNAZ: German Social Democrat, and member of the Reichstag; born in Dommelstadt, 1846; educated in the public schools; a saddlemaker by profession. From 1874 to 1877 he was secretary of the Social Democratic Party in Hamburg, and from 1877–78 editor of the *Berliner Freie Presse*, and later of the *Hamburger Gerichtszeitung*. In 1877 he was elected a member of the Reichstag for Auerbach, and was reelected in 1880, 1884, and 1890. *Address*: Kreuzbergstrasse, 30, Berlin, S. W., Germany.

AUSTIN, JOHN: English writer on jurisprudence; born at Creeting Mill, Suffolk, England, 1790. He entered the army at the age of sixteen, but after five years returned to London, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1818. He was an intimate friend of Jeremy Bentham and of James and John Stuart Mill, and developed an academic rather than a professional career. In 1826 he was appointed professor of jurisprudence in the University of London but had to resign his chair four years later for lack of students who would pay class fees. Austin was a member of the Criminal Law Commission and of a Maltese Commission, but devoted himself mainly to his

writings, best known for their clear tho abstract development of the doctrine of sovereignty. His "Province of Jurisprudence Determined" was published in 1832, while an additional volume, under the title "Lectures on Jurisprudence," was published by his widow (née Sarah Taylor), in 1866. He died in Surrey, England, 1859.

AUSTRALIA: The Australasian colonies comprize the continent of Australia, the adjacent island of Tasmania, and the islands of New Zealand. On Jan. 1, 1901, the five mainland states and Tasmania became the commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand retaining its position as a separate colony.

I.—Statistics

AREA AND POPULATION

STATE	Area in acres	Area in sq. m.	Population, 1903
New South Wales	198,848,000	310,700	1,417,870
Victoria	56,245,760	87,884	1,205,513
Queensland	427,838,080	668,497	523,266
South Australia	578,361,600	903,690	389,727
Western Australia	624,588,800	75,920	254,309
Tasmania	16,778,000	926,215	174,233
Commonwealth of Australia	1,902,660,240	2,972,906	3,964,918
New Zealand	66,861,440	104,471	894,206
Australasia	1,969,521,680	3,077,377	4,859,124

Australasia, including the native races, had in 1903 a density of 1.61 persons per square mile—a rate far below that of any other civilized country. From the earliest years of settlement there was a steady, if not powerful, stream of immigration; but in 1851, memorable for the finding of gold, the current was swollen by many thousands. Immigration was long aided by the State. Recently, however, there has been much emigration, and in 1902–3 emigration exceeded immigration.

The progress of the chief cities has been remarkable, and has no parallel among the cities of the Old World, and rarely in America. The population of the chief cities in 1903 was: Sydney, New South Wales, 511,030; Melbourne, Victoria, 501,460; Adelaide, South Australia, 168,066; Brisbane, Queensland, 124,463; Wellington, New Zealand, 53,082; Perth, West Australia, 46,400; Hobart, Tasmania, 34,682. The cities are well laid out, often beautiful, and provided with museums, art galleries, libraries, etc. All the capitals are liberally supplied with parks and recreation-grounds. In Sydney and suburbs there are parks, squares, and public gardens comprizing an area of 4,598 acres, including 745 acres which form the Centennial Park.

Fully 95 per cent of the people are of British origin. In 1901, the aborigines numbered 40,880 full-blooded and 7,368 half-castes.

Vital Statistics

Of the total male population, 28.65 per cent are married; and of the female, 31.71. The birth-rate in 1903 was 25.16. It has been declining for some years, and in 1903 a royal commission investigated the causes of this and of the mortality of infants. It was found that there had been a serious diminution of fecundity since 1889, due chiefly to deliberate prevention of conception and the destruction of fetal life, and to the consequent pathological causes. Illegitimate births are rather numerous, the total number in the whole of Australasia during 1903 being 6,912, equal to 5.75 per cent of the total births.

The death-rate is 12.07, much below that of any of the European States, and is steadily declining. Every year sees an advance in the sanitary condition of the people in the large centers of population, and to this cause may be ascribed the greater part of the improvement. As to suicides, the experience of Australasia agrees with that of other countries, namely, that the tendency to self-destruction is increasing.

In 1903 the marriage rate was 6.63 per thousand. The following table shows the number of decrees of dissolution of marriage and judicial separation granted in each state in quinquennial periods since 1871, so far as it has been possible to procure the information. Divorce was legalized in New South Wales in 1873, and the figures of that state for 1871–75 only cover the two years 1874 and 1875.

STATE	1871–75		1881–85		1891–95		1896–1902	
	Divorces	Judicial Separations	Divorces	Judicial Separations	Divorces	Judicial Separations	Divorces	Judicial Separations
New South Wales	21	...	116	6	1,087	55	1,675	110
Victoria	33	6	74	8	441	10	700	4
Queensland	4	1	5	2	26	3	62	5
South Australia	22	3	31	10	30	2	* 42	3
Western Australia	...	...	5	...	9	...	47	1
Tasmania	9	...	9	...	21	2	34	...
New Zealand	*..	*..	*..	*..	101	14	426	25
Australasia	89	10	240	26	1,715	86	2,986	148

During the five years ended 1895 the marriage rate fell considerably in Australasia. It was lower in every state than during the preceding quinquennial period, and lower everywhere than during the five years 1881–85; but during the last five years the rate rose again in every state except South Australia.

In all the Australasian provinces the State system of education is secular. Compulsory clauses find a place in the acts of the various states; but the enforcement of these is not everywhere equally strict. In Victoria, for example, compulsory attendance at school has been rigorously insisted upon, while in Queensland the principle of compulsion has been allowed to remain almost in abeyance, and in the other states it has been enforced with varying degrees of strictness. In Victoria, Queensland, New Zealand, Western Australia, and South Australia, the primary education provided by the State is entirely free of charge to the parents; in New South Wales and Tasmania small fees are charged, but these are not enforced where the parents can reasonably plead poverty. In 1903 there were in New South Wales 2,862 public schools with 243,516 children; and 841 private schools with 58,258 pupils; in Victoria, 1,988 public schools with 251,655 pupils; and 798 private schools with 45,658 pupils; in South Australia, 276 public schools with 67,697 pupils, and 205 private schools with 10,269 pupils; in Queensland, 1,023 public schools with 69,759 pupils, and 171 private schools, with an average daily attendance of 12,494. During the year 1903 the cost of administration and maintenance

Education

* Information not available.

of the State schools of Australasia was £2,530,618, while the revenue from fees, rents, sales of books, etc., amounted to £125,399, leaving a net cost to the State of £2,405,219, excluding a sum of £287,458 expended on school premises.

Great progress has been made in education. The following table affords a comparison of the number of literates and illiterates in every 10,000 of the population:

Degree of Education	Population over 5 years of age				
	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Read and write	7,001	7,038	8,270	8,804	9,099
Read only	1,380	1,186	689	303	229
Cannot read	1,619	1,776	1,041	803	672
Total	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000

University education is provided at five universities, as seen in the following table:

University	Students attending lectures		
	Matriculated	Not matriculated	Total
Sydney	724	53	777
Melbourne	509	119	628
Adelaide	343	299	642
New Zealand	646	216	862
Tasmania	51	11	62
Total	2,273	698	2,971

Technical instruction is given in nearly all the capital cities of Australasia, as well as in many other parts of the country, and the question of extending the scope of the teaching in the various subjects is at present occupying the attention of the authorities in several of the states.

In the eyes of the State all religions are equal in Australasia, and State aid to the denominations has now been abolished in all the provinces of the group. South Australia, in 1851, was the first state to withdraw such aid, after it had been in force only three years.

Considerable outdoor relief is given in Australasia. The sum of indoor and outdoor relief, public and private, in 1903, in the seven colonies was £1,382,790. There are also many private charities, most of them being aided by the State. There were, 1902, 3,779 friendly societies, with 343,861 members. There are many ecclesiastical charities of the different denominations. In 1902 14,577 persons were cared for in destitute asylums. There were 349 hospitals in 1903.

One point in Australia is of special interest. It is said that "Australia is a continent without an orphanage, a country without an orphan. Each waif is taken to a receiving-house, where it is cared for until a country home is found. The local volunteer societies canvas their neighborhoods and send to the Children's Committee of the Destitute Board the names and circumstances of such families as they have found where children may be placed. The Children's Committee selects that home which it judges is best adapted to the development and care of the child in question. When of school age the child must be in school. The local volunteer committee looks after its care and culture. When the child is fourteen years old he begins to work. His earnings are placed in the postal savings-bank, and at seventeen or eighteen he goes into the world an independent man. The State, at an expense of less than $70 a year, has raised a man or woman to contribute to its wealth, and prevented the manufacture of a criminal, and the expense of courts, prisons, and reformatories."

The number of insane persons in Australasia under official cognizance in the various government hospitals for the treatment of the insane, at the end of 1902 was 15,673, equal to 3.36 per 1,000 of the population, or corresponding to one insane person in about every 300. This rate is below that prevailing in England, where one person in every 293 is officially known to be insane.

In Australasia 65.25 per cent of the male population and 19.88 per cent of the female are breadwinners. The number engaged in each class of occupation in 1901 was as given in table at bottom of page.

Thus 564,744 persons are engaged in the primary productive industries, agricultural, pastoral, and mining.

Gold-mining has played the most important part in Australian industry, having largely drawn her populations. Her gold product, too, doubled from 1890 to 1900, and almost equaled that of the United States and the Transvaal, her only rivals. In 1903 the exported gold was valued at £17,124,233. The gold produced in 1899 was £14,459,000. Other metals, however, are growing relatively important, the total mineral produced in 1899 being £22,201,000.

Industry

In wool-raising Australia leads the world, exporting in 1903 a value of £13,997,233. The wool crop has recently temporarily decreased, owing to drought, but scarcity has kept up its value.

Cattle-raising is also important, especially in Queensland, there being 9,838,000 cattle in 1899.

Manufacturing has, as yet, been comparatively little developed. High wages and a high protective tariff are the main features.

Agriculture is increasing, and Australia is becoming an important factor in the world's wheat product. (See Agriculture.)

The discovery of gold in 1851 divides the industrial history of Australia into two periods. Prior to 1851 Australia appeared to be destined for a purely pastoral country, but the discovery of gold effected a revolution in all industrial relations. The supply of labor in many occupations speedily became exhausted, and most branches of industry and all public works were at a standstill. The fever brought not only young, stalwart, enterprising men, but also multitudes whose chief idea was that wealth could be acquired almost without exertion. Unable to endure the hardships of the

	Professional	Domestic	Commercial	Transport	Industrial	Agricultural	Pastoral	Mining
Males	84,451	56,877	222,546	139,995	435,507	317,115	81,617	136,068
Females	50,195	178,563	40,042	3,914	91,880	26,702	3,115	37
Persons	134,646	235,440	262,588	143,909	527,387	343,907	84,732	136,105

digger's lot, the latter mostly drifted back to the chief towns; and there was speedily presented the spectacle of thousands of unemployed clamoring for government work, while the more stalwart laborers were earning extraordinary wages in the gold-fields. At the height of the gold discovery the earnings of miners in some cases were prodigious. Making allowance for illicit digging, in the first half of 1852, the average wage of all miners could hardly have been less than thirty shillings per day. From 1872 to 1893, however, the production of gold fell away, and gradually other industries were developed. The years 1892–95 were years of great disturbance, centering round the crisis of 1893. Since then conditions have improved and wages risen.

Wages

The movement in wages from 1896 to 1901 was distinctly upward. Carpenters, for example, were in 1896 paid 8*s.* per day in Sydney, while in 1900 their wages were 9*s.* 6*d.*, in 1901, 10*s.*, and in 1902, 9*s.* 6*d.* Tho wages in Melbourne at these periods were lower than in Sydney, their upward movement has been even greater, for in 1896 carpenters' wages in Melbourne ranged between 6*s.* and 7*s.* per day, the greater number being employed at the lower figures, while in 1900 the accepted rate was 8*s.* 3*d.*, in 1901, 10*s.*, and in 1902, 9*s.* As regards other trades connected with building, there has also been a marked improvement, and the rates of 1903 approach very closely those paid in 1891—that is to say, before the changes accompanying the financial crisis began to be felt. The following are the wages paid in 1903 in certain manufacturing industries:

Industry	Average weekly wages (£. s. d.)			
	New South Wales	Victoria	Queensland (Brisbane)	New Zealand
Males				
Cooperage	2 5 0	2 4 6	2 0 4	1 10 7
Sawmills	1 15 7	2 3 0	1 13 3	1 9 0
Wood-turning	1 16 11	.....	1 14 8	1 9 5
Agricultural implements	1 7 10	.....	.....	1 15 6
Brass and copper	1 9 8	1 9 8	1 9 4	1 12 0
Ironworks and foundries	1 18 3	1 15 7	.....	
Engineering	1 14 9	.....	1 16 0	1 13 0
Stoves and ovens	1 12 3	1 12 8	0 17 8	1 13 9
Tinsmithing, sheet iron-works	1 6 2	1 7 7	1 3 7	1 6
Tobacco, cigars	1 9 7	1 14 0	1 12 9	.....
Boots and shoes	1 12 9	1 15 1	1 7 6	1 13 4
Woolens	1 3 7	1 3 6	.....	1 15 9
Females				
Confectionery	0 9 3	0 13 4	0 7 4	0 8 2
Jam and fruit canning	0 12 3	0 13 10	0 10 3	0 8 3
Tobacco, cigars, etc	0 16 6	1 1 1	0 15 8	.....
Woolen mills	0 12 11	0 17 8	.....	0 16 11
Boots and shoes	0 12 3	0 14 0	0 12 10	0 13 3
Clothing (tailoring)	1 1 8	.....	0 13 10	0 15 11
Dressmaking and millinery	0 10 5	0 11 9	0 10 0	0 10 3
Printing and bookbinding	0 11 0	0 13 2	0 11 6	0 12 7

These figures must be accepted with a certain degree of caution. In each state a considerable number of juvenile workers is employed, but only in Victoria is their actual strength ascertained, and as the average weekly wage paid in any establishment would depend to a large extent on the proportion of juvenile labor employed, a fair comparison is impossible while that information is lacking.

Considering the comparatively high rate of wages which prevails, food of all kinds is fairly cheap in Australasia, and articles of diet which in other countries are almost within the category of luxuries are largely used even by the poorer classes. The quantity of meat used by the Australasian people is the most remarkable feature of their diet. The consumption per inhabitant in Germany is 64 pounds, while in Australia it is nearly four times that quantity. In the United States, a meat-exporting country, the consumption is about two thirds of that of Australasia.

The expenditure of Australia coming under the designation "cost of living" amounted in 1903 to £42 19*s.* 1*d.* per head, made up of the following items:

Division of Expenditure	Total expenditure	Per inhabitant
		£ s. d.
Food and non-alcoholic beverages	£65,499,000	16 14 5
Fermented and spirituous liquors	14,217,000	3 12 7
Tobacco	3,365,000	0 17 2
Clothing and drapery	17,868,000	4 11 3
Furniture	2,075,000	0 10 7
Rent or value of dwellings	19,574,000	5 0 0
Locomotion	7,156 000	1 16 6
Fuel and light	5,416,000	1 7 8
Personal attendance, and lodging	7,032,000	1 15 11
Medical attendance and nursing	4,652,000	1 3 9
Religion, charities, education	3,075,000	0 15 8
Art and amusement	4,831,000	1 4 8
Books, newspapers, etc	1,804,000	0 9 3
Postage and telegrams	1,098,000	0 5 7
Direct taxes not falling on trade	1,706,000	0 8 9
Household expenses not included	5,447,000	1 7 10
Miscellaneous expenses	3,574,000	0 18 3
Total	£168,389,000	42 19 1

Tho Australasia has but the population of a province of some of the great European powers, in the wealth and earnings of its people it stands before most of the secondary states, and as regards wealth and income per head of population it compares favorably with any country. The following table shows the value of private property for the whole of Australasia, and the increase thereof at intervals of twenty-five, and in one instance fifteen, years:

Year	Value of Private Property
1788	Country first colonized
1813	£1,000,000
1838	26,000,000
1863	181,000,000
1888	1, 15,000,000
1903	1,204,042,000

For all Australasia, the value of land in private hands is £461,255,000.

The value of land and improvements together amounts to £836,770,000, or 69.5 per cent of the total value of property. The classification of the elements is as follows:

Classification	Commonwealth States	New Zealand
Land	£373,679,000	£ 87,576,000
Houses and improvements	310,265,000	65,250,000
Live stock	96,915,000	28,394,000
Household goods	30,899,000	5,661,000
Personal effects	12,464,000	2,498,000
Machinery, excluding mining	33,495,000	6,725,000
Shipping	6,359,000	1,944,000
Mining properties and plant	32,199,000	3,911,000
Merchandise on hand	59,640,000	14,915,000
Coin and bullion	26,064,000	5,189,000
Total	£981,979,000	£222,063,000

From 1880–84, for the Commonwealth the percentage of people possest of property at the time of death was 11.1. From 1890–94 it was 14.1, and from 1895–1900 it was 17.23. These figures show a distribution of property not to be paralleled in any other part of the world, but are not in sufficient detail to enable the question of distribution to be adequately discust. During the year 1903 the number of adults in the state was 735,589, and of these 190,617 were possessors of property, and 544,972 were without property. As regards the distribution among the 190,617 property owners, the following table throws much interesting light:

Categories	Number of persons with property	Proportion of total adults in each category per 10,000	Total value of property	Percentage of property belonging to persons in each category
£50,000 and over...	987	13	£130,521,100	35.4
25,000 to £50,000.	1,099	15	38,261,700	10.4
12,500 to 25,000.	2,397	33	41,125,900	11.2
5,000 to 12,500.	6,041	82	46,226,000	12.5
200 to 5,000.	120,798	1,648	107,315,600	29.1
Under £200.....	59,295	809	5,327,700	1.4
No property.....	544,972	7,400	.....	....
Total adults.....	735,589	10,000	£368,778,000	100

It would thus appear that 987 persons—that is to say, 0.13 (about one eighth of one) per cent—were possest of £130,521,000, or 35.4 per cent of the whole property of the community; 2,086 persons held £168,782,800, or 45.8 per cent of the total; and probably half the property of the state is in the hands of 3,000 persons. According to C. E. Russell (*Everybody's*, September, 1906), most of the troubles in Australia come from its land system. Crown land was originally given away to "the better classes" for a song. He says:

Diffusion of Wealth

In Victoria about a dozen families own one tract of 2,000,000 acres, chiefly used for sheep-runs and hunting grounds. For miles together are no inhabitants and no production except of primeval forest and native grass. Outside of this splendid domain settlers clamor for land; inside, the total population is insignificant and the use of the lands inconsiderable.

The last compilation of agricultural statistics by the government of Victoria makes this startling showing of conditions in that state:

Size of Holdings	Number of holdings	Total area	Area under cultivation
100,000 acres and more.....	8	2,448,433	8,209
50,000 acres to 100,000.....	15	983,948	5,835
20,000 acres to 50,000.....	121	3,549,351	13,953
10,000 acres to 20,000.....	180	2,583,802	20,905
5,000 acres to 10,000.....	309	2,162,458	42,808

The fact that of nearly 2,500,000 acres held by eight persons only 8,000 acres produced anything, amounts to a demonstration that these things cannot continue. Yet these are typical conditions. In Queensland six families own 1,500,000 acres. One estate amounts to 250,000 acres. Ninety-two families hold 3,000,000 acres. Estates equivalent in size to a New England county were obtained in the old days, fifty years ago, for perhaps fifty cents an acre, and are now valued at $15 or $20 an acre, or even more; meantime, they lie as nature made them.

The total indebtedness of Australasia to British investors is set down at £407,290,000, and the annual return therefrom, excluding absentee incomes, £17,702,000. The capital sum represents a weight of £84 15*s.* 7*d.* per inhabitant, and the annual return £3 13*s.* 8*d.* The apparent interest earned is, therefore, over 4¼ per cent, a rate which must be considered very favorable, seeing that £250,415,000, or three fifths of the total, comprizes government and municipal securities. The Indebtedness of the states of the commonwealth to British creditors amounts to £343,938,000, or £86 16*s.* 3*d.* per inhabitant, of which £188,345,000 is due by the central governments, and £8,221,000 by local bodies, while £147,372,000 represents private investments. The indebtedness of New Zealand is £63,352,000, or £75 4*s.* 5*d.* per inhabitant, of which £48,049,000 is owing by the central government of the colony, £5,800,000 by local bodies, and £9,503,000 represents private investments.

The external trade of Australia is larger than that of any British possession, India alone excepted.

Year	Imports	Exports	Value per inhabitant
			£ *s.* *d.*
1861.....	£17,562,960	£17,399,656	30 5 10
1871.....	16,715,442	21,225,797	22 14 10
1881.....	29 031,131	27,528,583	24 16 0
1891.....	37,711,053	36,052,145	22 19 1
1901.....	42,433,811	49,606,172	24 4 3
1904.....	37,920,242	57,489,216	24 1 3

These figures would be still larger if proper records had been kept.

Commerce

The chief exports are: From New South Wales: wool, silver, gold, coal, and hides (there are 30,000,000 sheep in the colony); from Queensland: gold, wool, frozen meat, hides, and sugar; from Victoria: gold wool, wheat, and butter; from South Australia: wool, wheat, and copper; from West Australia: gold, wool, pearl, and timber; and from Tasmania, gold.

Customs duties through the commonwealth are uniform. The trade of the commonwealth with the more important countries was (1903): Exports to United Kingdom, £19,962,503 (mainly wool); India, £5,601,972; Ceylon, £3,973,799; France, £3,216,526; Germany, £3,134,683; United States, £2,625,399 (mainly wool). Imports from United Kingdom, £19,855,340 (mainly cottons and iron work); United States, £6,368,532 (mainly wheat and machinery); Germany, £2,358,533; New Zealand, £2,301,792.

One third of all goods now imported into Australia may be said to be of non-British origin as compared with one fourth ten years ago. The chief factor in bringing about this change is undoubtedly the establishment of direct and rapid communication between Germany, France, Belgium, Japan, the United States, and the Commonwealth. The German and French governments subsidize lines to Australia.

The imports from the United States amounted, in 1903, to £6,368,532, or nearly half the total imports from all foreign countries. Next in order comes Germany with £2,358,553, followed by the Netherlands and Java with £847,387, and France with £506,667. The chief imports from the United States are boots and shoes, barley, wheat, flour, agricultural implements, leather, machinery, metal manufactures, kerosene, printing paper, tobacco, tools, vehicles, and timber. The chief

imports from Germany comprize wearing apparel, dynamite, candles, fancy goods, pianos, machinery, metal manufactures, piece goods, and manures.

II.—Constitution and Government

New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, West Australia, and Victoria formed, Jan. 1, 1901, the federal commonwealth of Australia. Power (largely nominal) is vested in the king, represented by a governor-general, and in a Senate and House of Representatives. The present governor-general is Lord Northcote. The Senate consists of 36 members, 6 from each original state, chosen by direct vote of the people. The House has 75 members, chosen for three years by direct vote. New South Wales has 26 members, Victoria 23, Queensland 9, South Australia 7, Western Australia 5, Tasmania 5. The governor-general may assent or withhold assent to any law, or return it with recommended amendments, or reserve it two years for the king's pleasure. State governors are still appointed by the crown, and State Parliaments legislate on matters not transferred to the Federal Parliament. There can be no State religion. Trade between the states must be absolutely free. The executive of the commonwealth is the governor-general, with a council of seven ministers. The Hon. Alfred Deakin is minister.

In the first election (1901) the first cabinet, formed by Sir Edward Barton, had a majority of both houses, tho the Labor Party secured 36 seats in the House and 8 in the Senate. Mr. G. H. Reid led the opposition, and Mr. Watson the Labor Party. The second general election (1903) returned to the Senate 8 Conservatives, 14 Liberals, 14 Laborites, and to the House 26 Liberals, 26 Conservatives, and 23 Labor members. In April, 1904, Mr. Watson formed a Labor ministry, having, with the aid of the Liberals, defeated Mr. Deakin's Government (Conservative). In August, 1904, however, he was defeated on a bill favoring trades-unionists over non-unionists, and Mr. Reid formed a Liberal ministry. July 5, 1905, he was defeated, largely on account of his denouncing the "White Australia" policy, and Mr. Deakin returned to office. There are now 23 Laborites in the House out of a total membership of 75. In the separate Australian legislatures there are many more Labor representatives: 34 in Queensland, 25 in New South Wales, 22 in Western Australia, 18 in Victoria, 6 in South Australia, and 7 in Tasmania. The Australian Labor Party is not avowedly a Socialist Party, nor are all its members Socialists, but its platform is virtually socialistic, both in its immediate proposals and in its tendencies.

State socialism is well known to have played a large part in Australia, and the railroads and most public services are owned and conducted by the government. Hence Australia is sometimes called a socialistic commonwealth. But the fact is that it is quite as true to say that there is no socialism in Australia as that there is much. Either statement is inexact. There is a great deal of State socialism, conducted mainly by a capitalistic government, and considerable democratic socialistic sentiment, but little more.

The State ownership of railroads in Australia may be said to have even tended to temporarily check the advance of real socialism; for investors, unable to invest or to speculate in railroads, have gone the more extensively into land speculation. Land booms have been universal. As they began to fail, capital poured in from England to keep them up and to defer, tho only finally to intensify, the inevitable collapse. Capital, too, unable to obtain sufficient interest in ordinary production, has been put into banks to obtain 5 per cent, compelling the banks to invest in all they could that promised more than 5 per cent. Hence banks bought land, conducted farms, stores, anything that promised dividends. When the bubble finally burst the banks collapsed, the whole community suffered, and Australia, with the rest of the world, has had to struggle with the unemployed. The policy of the government in opening railroads before they could be made profitable, in order to develop the land, has meant large State debts, and often deficits, tho it probably means eventual profit. Conservatives, therefore, have taken advantage of this, and often declare government ownership in Australia a financial failure. For example, Mr. Charles Fairfield wrote, in "A Plea for Liberty" (1891):

Government Ownership

> Experiments in cryptosocialism, tried upon a society at base free, commercial, modern, English, would long ago have broken down on the financial side, had it not been that the legendary repute of those lands for natural wealth, such as gold, wool, a fruitful soil, and a fine climate, has tempted investors in Europe to fling their money at the heads of Australasian borrowers. Latterly, as the frightful cost and necessarily unproductive results of State socialism became apparent to colonial ministers, they have, to prevent a collapse of the whole thing, been driven to apply for ever-recurring loans in Europe on false pretenses. . . . The truth is, that nothing definite can be known about the finances of the Australasian colonies.
>
> State socialism there dares not present a genuine balance sheet. No attempt has been made to introduce the imperial system of simple, methodical, and exact account keeping.
>
> Meanwhile, for years past reports of imaginary surpluses, as well as misleading and worthless "official" statistics have been circulated in the Australasian colonies, and have been carelessly reproduced here. The statement is constantly put forward, for example, that the Victorian State railways, which are supposed to represent an expenditure on productive public works of the bulk of the money borrowed by that colony since 1865, honestly earn a surplus in excess of the interest on their cost. That statement is not and never has been true.

On the other hand, Sir Charles Dilke, in his "Problems of Greater Britain," says:

> The railways are used for the spread of education, and in New South Wales and some other colonies the school children are carried free of charge. In Victoria remissions of fares are made in the case of students in the schools of mines and in the schools of design. Specially low rates exist in all the colonies for suburban traffic. The fares in the neighborhood of Melbourne, for a district nearly thirty miles across, are, for single journeys, 1*d.* a mile, first-class, and ¾*d.* a mile second class; and return tickets are given at ½*d.* a mile, first class, and ¼*d.* a mile, second class; while monthly, quarterly, half-yearly, and yearly tickets are granted at great reductions even upon these low rates. The result is a wonderful spread of suburban railroad traveling, and the custom in Victoria is so developed that out of the large number of persons working in Melbourne who come in by train every day, a considerable proportion come to the town a second time in the evening to visit the theaters. The lowness of railway fares in Victoria is the more striking when we remember that wages are twice as high for shorter hours as they are in England, and that coal costs nearly twice as much. No one in Victoria now advocates private ownership of railways (p. 198).
>
> Not only have the State railways of Victoria been placed under non-political management, but this has been the case with the public departments generally (p. 199).
>
> The principle of government cooperation with localities has been carried into a large number of different fields in the colony of Victoria; tramways, for example, are constructed by municipalities on government loans, the State borrowing money for the municipalities on the best terms which the colony can command in the market, but the municipalities ultimately becoming the owners of the lines (p. 203).

In 1904 Mr. T. A. Coghlan, editor of the *Statistical Account of Australia and New Zealand*,

and universally regarded as the best authority, wrote:

To the proper development of a country like Australasia, ill supplied with navigable rivers, railway construction is absolutely essential. This has been recognized from an early period, and for the last forty years the governments of the principal states have been fully alive to the importance of carrying on the work. For a long time, however, they were hampered in their efforts by the difficulty of borrowing money in London at a reasonable rate of interest; but since the year 1871 considerable progress has been made in the work of construction; indeed, by far the greater portion of the public debt of Australasia has been contracted for railway purposes. As the area of the six states and New Zealand almost equals that of Europe or the United States of America, while the population numbers a little over 4,500,000, it is almost needless to say that many of the lines run through districts very sparsely peopled. This is particularly the case in the states of Queensland, South Australia, and Western Australia, where there are vast tracts of territory in which little in the nature of permanent settlement has yet been accomplished, and in none of the states can it be said that the railway lines traverse thickly settled areas. Indeed, if a fault may be found with the State policy pursued in the past, it is that in some cases expensive lines have been laid down in empty country the requirements of which could have been effectually met for many years to come by light and cheap lines, and that in consequence the railway administrators find themselves heavily burdened with a number of unprofitable lines. A few of these have been closed, and the remainder are worked at a loss. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, however, the railways of the commonwealth of Australia collectively yield a net return equal to 3.08 per cent, and those of Australasia 3.15 per cent on the cost of construction.

The facts in regard to the railways are as follows: In New South Wales, the first railways were projected as far back as 1846, and a few years afterward a company—the Sydney Tram and Railways Company—was formed. The company undertook the construction of a line from Sydney to Parramatta, a distance of fourteen miles; but as the capital became absorbed before the work was completed the company was unable to carry on operations, and in the end the government had to take the line, which was finished on Sept. 26, 1855.

The following table shows the extent of railway mileage in each state since 1861:

State	1861	1871	1881	1891–2	1903–4
New South Wales....	73	358	1,040	2,266	3,362
Victoria.....	114	276	1,247	2,903	3,381
Queensland.....	*	218	800	2,320	3,030
South Australia.....	56	133	845	1,823	1,901
Western Australia...	*	*	92	657	2,170
Tasmania.....	*	45	168	425	620
Commonwealth...	243	1,030	4,192	10,394	14,464
New Zealand.....	*	105	1,334	2,011	2,412
Australasia.....	243	1,135	5,526	12,405	16,876

* Railways not in existence.

At the close of the year 1903–4 the cost of construction and equipment of the State railways completed and open to traffic in the commonwealth was, in round figures, £131,930,000, or 57.96 per cent of the public debts of the states comprized in the federation, after deducting sinking-funds. The construction and equipment of the railways of Australasia cost £152,623,700, or 53.52 per cent of the public debt of Australasia, after deducting sinking-funds. The proportion of gross earnings absorbed by working expenses recently has been as follows:

State	Percentage of gross earnings absorbed by working expenses				
	1899–1900	1900–1	1901–2	1902–3	1903–4
New South Wales...	55.93	57.17	61.80	68.37	65.74
Victoria.....	62.89	62.17	64.31	66.69	58.82
Queensland.....	64.78	80.34	71.82	69.95	62.19
South Australia.....	56.37	58.95	63.54	58.01	58.19
Northern Territory..	164.47	182.59	276.70	113.40	77.73
Western Australia...	68.40	77.19	82.58	80.33	74.28
Tasmania[1].....	79.10	79.07	84.26	74.31	67.16
Commonwealth...	61.46	64.66	67.41	68.96	63.68
New Zealand[2].....	64.80	65.30	66.80	68.05	65.98
Australasia.....	61.94	64.75	67.33	68.73	64.05

[1] Years ended Dec. 31, 1899–1903.
[2] Years ended March 31, 1900–4.

Of 1905, Consul-General Bray says ("U. S. Consular Reports," November, 1905): "The gross revenue of the Australian Government roads the year ending June 30, 1905, was $56,436,837, with net earnings of $22,745,508."

Post and Telegraph

In Australia post, telegraph, and telephone are in the hands of the State. The first post-office was established in 1810, and in 1831 a twopenny post was introduced. In 1903 there were 6,501 post-offices in the commonwealth, conveying 12,844,300 letters or cards, 99,580,261 papers, and 44,314,366 packets. Excepting Western Australia, where there was no inland service, there were inland, intercolonial, and international parcels posts in operation in 1903; but statistics of the services on a uniform basis are not obtainable. In all the states there are money-order and postal-note systems in operation; and in all the states, except Victoria, Queensland, and South Australia, post-office savings-banks. In Queensland there is a government savings-bank, but it is not placed under the administration of the postmaster-general. The savings-banks, however, not administered by the government, are under trustees or commissioners usually nominated by the government. Returns of savings-banks show an enormous increase.

In 1861 the number of persons who had accounts in the savings-banks represented only 2.31 per cent of the entire population of Australasia; but in 1871 the percentage had risen to 5.98; in 1881, to 11.33; in 1891, to 19.47; in 1900–1, to 25.52 per cent; in 1902–3 the proportion was 27.69 per cent; while in 1903–4 it was 28.41 per cent. In 1903–4 the number of depositors were 1,352,853, with deposits amounting to £42,613,014, or an average sum of £31 9*s.* 10*d.*

In no other country in the world has the development of telegraphic communication been so rapid as in Australasia, and in none has it been taken advantage of by the public to anything like the same extent. Taking Australasia as a whole, there are only four countries that possess a greater extent of telegraph lines, and only seven in which a larger number of messages is actually sent. In no other countries, however, except the United Kingdom and Belgium, do the number of messages bear anything approaching the same ratio to the population. In Australasia, in one year, over three messages were sent over the telegraph for each inhabitant. In the United Kingdom the number was nearly two and one fifth for each inhabitant; and in the United States of America about one message to every inhabitant. The return for the United States, however, includes only the lines of the Western Union Company. In the whole of Australasia there were on Dec. 31, 1903, 4,282 telegraph stations, of which 987 were in New South Wales, 878 in Victoria, 481 in Queensland, 290 in South Australia, 172 in Western Australia, 321 in Tasmania, and 1,153 in New Zealand. There were 52,919 miles of telegraphic lines in 1903, and 14,673,452 messages were sent.

In connection with the telegraph departments of the various states, telephone exchanges have been established in the capitals and other important centers of population. In the Australasian states the rates for telephones at places of business range from £5 to £10 for the maximum length of wire—generally one mile, the colonies with a half-mile radius being New Zealand and Queensland—and the charge is higher in the city than in the

country. The following table shows the revenue and expenditure of the postal and telegraph departments of the states during 1903:

State	Revenue				Expenditure
	Posts	Telegraphs	Telephones	Total	
New South Wales	£652,761	£154,839	£105,002	£912,602	£884,963
Victoria	448,486	106,839	86,600	641,925	582,520
Queensland	191,931	83,266	27,321	302,518	425,568
South Australia	166,400	74,840	23,209	264,449	240,987
Western Australia	122,862	68,137	30,324	221,323	277,021
Tasmania	75,412	17,289	8,910	101,611	100,232
Commonwealth	1,657,852	505,210	281,366	2,444,428	2,511,291
New Zealand	343,207	166,536	71,028	580,771	526,747
Australasia	2,001,059	671,746	352,394	3,025,199	3,038,038

In the expenditure shown in the table, interest on the outlay on post-office buildings and telegraph lines and maintenance of buildings is not taken into account. If allowance be made for these, so far as is possible from the very imperfect returns concerning the expenditure on post-offices in each state, the total expenditure and the deficiency in revenue would be as follows:

State	Departmental expenditure	Interest and maintenance of works and buildings	Total charge	Deficiency in revenue
Commonwealth.	2,511,291	380,995	2,892,286	447,858
New Zealand...	526,747	78,535	605,282	24,511
Australasia....	3,038,038	459,530	3,497,568	472,369

With the progress of settlement and the increase of population, the expenditure on the postal and telegraphic services naturally expands, and it is apparent that in order to keep pace with the expenditure, the services must be conducted on a self-supporting basis. This, it is believed, can be reached with growth of population and consolidation.

III.—Social Reform

Social reform in Australasia may be said to have begun with the first formal recognition of the eight-hour day by the New Zealand Company in the settlement of Otago, under the influence of the Rev. Thomas Burns. Its spread through Australia is largely due to the Victorian Operative Stonemasons' Society, who set the movement on foot in Melbourne in February, 1856.

Eight-Hour Day

An eight-hour league was formed of united trades, and notice given that after April 21, 1856, no union man would work more than eight hours. The strength of the artizans' position in the labor market enabled them to win, and April 22d has been kept ever since as a public holiday, known as the Eight-Hour Day. The eight-hour day has come to be regarded as normal throughout Australasia. Nevertheless, it is fully realized only by the stronger unions and skilled trades. Gained at first without legislation, it has been found that legislation is needed to secure and maintain it.

In 1873 Victoria enacted a law limiting the employment of women and children to eight hours, and New Zealand almost immediately did the same. Other colonies have been much more slow in action. In 1885 a Victorian law (amended in 1896) fixed the closing of shops, except for certain trades, at seven P.M. five evenings in the week, and at ten on Saturday nights. New Zealand acted somewhat similarly in 1894, and closed all shops (with a few exceptions) for one afternoon. Other colonies have followed later. Victoria in 1896 created a Minimum Wage Board, which can fix minimum wages, hours, and the number of apprentices in such trades as Parliament determines. Western Australia and New South Wales have adopted compulsory arbitration laws mainly as in New Zealand.

Trade-unionism has played a prominent part in Australia, but with few features of especial interest. As early as 1850 a branch of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers was established in Australia, and since that date almost every industry has formed its own organization. Strikes have not been very frequent nor of very great importance till we come to the great strikes of 1890 and 1891, which mark an epoch in the development of the Australian labor movement. The membership of the trade-unions on Jan. 1, 1904, was:

Trade-Unionism

New South Wales	70,622
Victoria	7,942
Queensland	4,681
South Australia	7,300
West Australia	10,047
Tasmania	34
Commonwealth	100,626
New Zealand	25,354
Australasia	125,980

There are, however, perhaps twice that number more or less affiliated with the trade-unions. Their history is bound up with the great strike of 1890, which originated in an effort of the Shearers' Union to allow only union shearers to be employed. The wharf laborers struck to support them.

Difficulties had also arisen in the shipping trade, quite apart from the shearers' dispute, owing to the discharge of a fireman. Great discontent also existed among the marine officers, on account of lack of accommodation on board ship. Conference was declined by the employers, it being alleged that meeting on equal terms with their subordinates would destroy discipline on board ship.

In August, therefore, the marine officers struck, the wharf laborers came out a few days later, followed by the seamen and draymen, the Newcastle miners were locked out for refusing to hew coal which they believed to be intended for employers engaged in the strike, and in September the shearers were ordered to join the others. The strike spread from Victoria to New South Wales, Queensland, and New Zealand, and there was a general cessation of trade. The unionists were successful in stopping almost all the steamer traffic, and agriculturists were prevented from disposing of their produce. Food became very dear in consequence, and butter rose to as much as 2s. 9d. a pound. Some disorder developed but was put down, and the striking unions gradually found themselves losing.

The Great Strike

In Queensland the strike was less serious than in Victoria and New South Wales, because the Queensland Labor Federation ordered the execution of all existing contracts, and the shearers returned to work after being out only one week. By October the strike was practically at an end throughout the colonies.

In 1891 the shearing difficulty was renewed in Queensland and New South Wales, and a strike of much longer duration took place. "Obstacles were placed in the way of trains, bridges were weakened, armed mobs of men traveled about the

country burning and destroying the property of the pastoralists." Armed resistance to the government was advocated as preliminary to a general revolution throughout Australasia, and attempts were made to bring the railway servants and even the military over to the side of the strikers. Throughout March, April, May, and June arrests were frequent. Meanwhile shearing was carried on by means of free labor, and since the strike could not accomplish its objects and funds were exhausted, it was declared off on June 15th.

But it was the failure of these strikes which created the Australian Labor Party. Finding themselves defeated in the strikes, the men turned to politics. In some cases the victorious employers suddenly found themselves defeated in elections and their places taken by the very trade-unions' leaders they had defeated. Even strike leaders who had been sent to jail were nominated for Parliament.

Previously there had been a few working men elected as trade-unionists, but none on a distinctively Labor platform. A great impetus was given to the movement by the vivid speeches of the radical, "the great Pro-Consul," George Grey, ex-Governor of New Zealand, South Australia, and South Africa. With little organization and less money, 36 Labor candidates were elected (1891) in New South Wales. Since then the movement has grown throughout Australasia. South Australia was, however, the first state to form a direct Labor Party. In the Australian Federal Parliament there were in 1904 (second House) 23 Labor men in a house of 75. But they hold the balance of power. Free-traders and protectionists (formerly the main political issue in Australia) are so equal in numbers that the Labor men, by uniting with one party, can at any time defeat the other. Hence the continual changes and the Labor men themselves being given the government for five months (see above). The present ministry only holds by passing most of the bills the Labor Party demands. Hence largely the progress in legislation of Australia, covering Industrial Arbitration, Miners' Accident Relief, Coal Mines Regulation, Early Closing, Navigation Act Amendment, Land Tax, Old Age Pensions, Women's Franchise, Electoral and Trucks Acts, etc.

Labor Parties

At the third Interstate Labor Conference, held in Melbourne, July, 1905, the following objective was adopted:

(*a*) The cultivation of an Australian sentiment, based upon the maintenance of racial purity and the development in Australia of an enlightened and self-reliant community.

(*b*) The securing of the full results of their industry to all producers by the collective ownership of monopolies and the extension of the industrial and economic functions of the state and municipality.

The question of the tariff also received a large amount of attention—some delegates being favorable to making the advocacy of a high protectionist policy a *sine qua non* for labor candidates, but the majority held the view that to introduce the fiscal issue would be to split the ranks, and it was eventually decided to place a Tariff Referendum as a plank in the platform. "A progressive tax on land values" was also added to the platform.

The conference also carried a resolution against any alliance, coalition, or combination being entered into by Labor representatives in Parliament without the consent of the combined labor organizations. It was also decided in the event of labor governments coming into power, that the ministries should be recommended by the caucus.

It will thus be seen that the Labor Party is practically, tho not avowedly, a Collectivist or Socialist party; and an increasing section of the labor ranks advocate straight-out socialism. There is a strong agitation for a reduction of members in the upper houses, if not for the abolition of this branch of the legislature, in view of the fact that Australia has now fourteen houses of Parliament. The establishment of boards to regulate wages and conditions of workers and arbitration courts, and a movement to break up the large estates and throw the lands open to the mass of the people, constitute the most burning questions of the day in all parts of the commonwealth.

The Single Tax idea has some hold in Australia, owing to the land concentration, particularly in South Australia; and the movement was much helped by a visit from Henry George in 1890. In New South Wales a land tax is levied on the unimproved value; the present rate being one penny in the pound. An exemption of £240 is allowed, and if the unimproved value is in excess of this sum a deduction equal to the exemption is made, but when a person or company holds several blocks of land only one sum of £240 may be deducted from the aggregate unimproved value. The number of persons owning land in New South Wales is about 178,000, but the deductions allowed by law reduced the actual number of taxpayers to 41,000.

Taxation

The Land Tax Act in force in Victoria was passed with the object of breaking up large holdings. For this purpose it was declared that all "landed estates" should be subject to taxation; that a "landed estate" should consist of one or more blocks of land not more than five miles apart which possest an aggregate area of 640 acres and a capital value of more than £2,500; and that the value in excess of £2,500 should be taxed at the rate of 1¼ per cent per annum. In South Australia the land tax is calculated on the unimproved value, the rate being one halfpenny in the pound sterling, with an additional tax of one halfpenny on every pound in excess of £5,000. The amount of tax payable by an absentee, who is defined as a person who has been absent from or resident out of the state for twelve months, is increased by 20 per cent.

The land tax payable in Tasmania is at the rate of one halfpenny in the pound, where the assessed value is under £5,000; five eighths of a penny, where the assessed value is £5,000 and under £15,000; three quarters of a penny, where the value is £15,000 and under £40,000; seven eighths of a penny where the value is £40,000 and under £80,000; and one penny where the value is over £20,000.

Income taxes are also levied in all the states; In Victoria, e. g., the rate of income tax payable in the state varies according to the source whence the income is derived and the taxable amount of such income. On incomes derived from personal exertion, threepence in the pound is payable up to £300; on every pound in excess of £300 up to £800, fourpence; on every pound in excess of £800 up to £1,300, fivepence; on every pound in excess of £1,300 up to £1,800, sixpence; and on every pound in excess of £1,800, sevenpence; double these rates being payable on incomes the produce of property within the state. All incomes, except those of companies, of and under £150 escape taxation.

Such legislation is not revolutionary; yet it is this which has largely raised hostility to the Labor Party on the part of conservatives, making some of the latter class in Australia declare that the commonwealth is being ruined. Financial and economic returns, however, do not justify this criticism.

Political reforms have also had considerable

development in Australia. (See AUSTRALIAN BALLOT SYSTEM; also, for the Australian system of land registration, see TORRENS.) There has been considerable agitation in Australia for proportional representation and for direct legislation, but as yet with slight results. Currency reform has its various advocates in Australia, and especially bimetalists and others who declare that the great southern continent, like the rest of the world, has suffered from the appreciation of gold. Yet little of importance has been accomplished in the way of reform. For good or for evil, Australian finance is still ruled by English gold.

Political Reform

The woman's suffrage movement has gone further.

There are in Australia three distinct classes of suffrage, municipal, parliamentary, and federal. Women were given municipal suffrage in New South Wales in 1867; in Victoria, 1869; in West Australia, 1871; in New Zealand, 1877; in South Australia, 1880; in Tasmania, 1884. Parliamentary suffrage was extended to women of New Zealand in 1893; in South Australia, 1895; in West Australia, 1900; in New South Wales, 1902; in Tasmania, 1903; in Queensland, 1905. In 1902, the first federal Parliament extended the federal suffrage to all women in Australia upon the same terms as men. All women in Australia, therefore, upon the same terms as men, enjoy full municipal and federal suffrage, and the women of West Australia, South Australia, and New South Wales possess all forms of suffrage.

One problem that has vexed Australia considerably is that of the immigration and importation of cheap labor. The importation of Chinese labor was long more or less common to all Australia. According to the latest returns, there were 30,542 full-blooded Chinese in the commonwealth, and 24,000 other colored aliens. The immigration of the Chinese, however, has, after an intense excitement, been carefully restricted in all Australia. Kanaka labor has been another "burning question." Particularly has the introduction of Kanaka labor been a source of grievance to the trade-unions of Queensland. The Kanakas have been introduced mainly to work on the sugar plantations. The claim has been that white labor was unsuited to this work in this climate, while it was a good thing for the Kanakas, they going back to their Pacific island to carry home the benefits of civilization. On the other hand, the trade-unionists have asserted that this was simply an excuse to get cheap labor, and that the Kanaka trade was simply a disguised slave trade, done in ships little better than the old slave-traders and accompanied by most of the evils of that trade. The Kanakas were inveigled on board, often by "fire-water." Once there they were supposed to sign a document that bound them to labor for a term of years in the sugar fields. As none of them could read or write or understand the document they signed, this meant little. One hundred dollars a head the planter was wont to pay the "recruiter" for catching Kanakas and landing them in Queensland—rather less than African slavers' rates in the good old days, but the distance was less and the danger nothing, because the British Government protected this traffic. Finally, however, mainly from the agitation of the trade-unions and the Labor Party, aided in part by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, after a struggle of twenty years, Kanaka labor has become practically ended.

Kanaka Labor

The question of granting pensions to aged persons has been of late years much discust throughout Australia and New Zealand, and at the present time the old-age pension system is in operation in New South Wales, Victoria, and NEW ZEALAND. (See also OLD AGE PENSIONS.) The settlement of population on the land also has enlisted considerable attention. Large estates are being bought up and divided into allotments, which are sold to purchasers on easy terms, extending over many years. (See NEW ZEALAND.) Labor colonies for the unemployed are being agitated.

Important Australian societies are:

Imperial Federation League. President, Hon. Alfred Deakin, Llanarth, Walsh Street, South Yarra, Melbourne, Victoria.

Federal Council of Australian Labor Unions. Hon. Secretary Robert Storrie Guthrie, Knighton Villa, Peterhead, South Australia.

National Anti-Sweating League. Hon. Secretary, Samuel Mauger, M.P., 66 Bourke Street, Melbourne, Victoria.

Federal Single Tax League of Australia. President, Max Hirsch, 416 Collins Street, Melbourne, Victoria.

Peace Society (Australian Branch of the London Society). Chairman, Dr. Charles Strong, Avoca Street, South Yarra, Melbourne, Victoria.

Peace, Humanity, and Arbitration Society. President, Rev. Dr. Rentoul, St. Oswald's, Ormond College, Melbourne, Victoria.

Melbourne Socialist Society. President, H. H. Champion, Commonwealth Rooms, 117 Elizabeth Street, Melbourne, Victoria.

Christian Social Union. Adelaide Secretary, Rev. C. E. Doudney, Jeffcott Street. Melbourne Secretary, Rev. R. Stephen, Trinity College. Sydney Secretary, Rev. S. S. Tovey, St. John's, Bishopsthorpe Glebe.

Australian Woman's National League. President, Lady Janet Clarke Cliveden, East Melbourne, Victoria.

Woman's National Council (affiliated with the London International Council).

Effective Voting League of South Australia. President, Catherine Helen Spence, Aviland Avenue, N. Norwood, Adelaide, South Australia.

Salvation Army in Australasia. Chief Secretary, Col. W. T. Hoskin, 67 Bourke Street, Melbourne, Victoria.

REFERENCES: *A Statistical Account of Australia and New Zealand*, by T. A. Coghlan, Annual, Sydney; *Statistical Abstract for the Several Colonies and Other Possessions of the United Kingdom*, Annual, London; *The Year-Book of Australia*, ed. by Hon. Edward Greville, Annual, ib.; *Australian Federation*, by Sir J. A. Cockburn, ib., 1901; *Problems of Greater Britain*, by Sir C. W. Dilke, 2 vols., ib., 1890; *Newest England (Australia and New Zealand)*, by H. D. Lloyd, New York, 1900; *State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand*, by W. P. Reeves, 2 vols., London, 1902; *Australian Commonwealth*, by Greville Tregarthen, New York, 1903; *The Labor Movement in Australasia*, by Victor S. Clarke, 1906.

AUSTRALIAN BALLOT: A ballot the distinctive feature of which is that it contains the names of all the candidates, so that the voter is given but one single ballot to take with him into the polling-booth; and by making his cross on this one sheet against the names or emblem of the party for which he wishes to vote, he may indicate his choice and fold up and cast his ballot without any one knowing which way he has voted. It is called the Australian ballot because first used in Australia, having been first proposed by Francis S. Dutton of the legislature of South Australia in 1851, and adopted in that state and in the various other states of the Australian commonwealth during the "fifties" of the nineteenth century. In slightly different forms it was adopted in England in 1872, and in various English colonies. In 1882 it was advocated in the United States by Henry George, and first adopted by Massachusetts in 1888, and about the same time by the city of Louisville, Ky. In the original system the names of all the candidates are printed in alpha-

betical order, so as to compel the voter to make individual choice; but in many of the states of the American Union each party is allowed to have on the ballot a party symbol, so that by making one cross against this the voter may indicate his desire to vote the "straight ticket" of that party.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY: In the following article are considered all matters pertaining to Austria, as well as such conditions as are common to both Austria and Hungary. All questions specifically affecting HUNGARY are treated under that heading.

I.—Statistics

AREA AND POPULATION

CROWN LANDS	Area, square miles	Population, 1900	Per square mile
Lower Austria	7,654	3,086,382	405
Upper Austria	4,631	809,918	175
Salzburg	2,767	193,247	69
Styria	8,670	1,356,058	156
Carinthia	4,005	367,344	91
Carniola	3,856	508,348	132
Coast Districts	3,084	755,183	245
Tyrol	11,324	979,878	86
Bohemia	20,000	6,318,280	315
Moravia	8,583	2,435,081	284
Silesia	1,987	680,529	342
Galicia	30,307	7,295,538	241
Bukowina	4,035	729,921	181
Dalmatia	4,940	591,597	120
Hungary and Transylvania	108,258	16,768,143	153
Croatia and Slavonia	16,773	2,397,249	146
Fiume	8	38,139	...
Total	240,942	45,311,651	188

General Statistics

Austria proper has 115,903 sq. m. and a population of 26,000,000. Of this number about 9,000,000 are Germans, 6,000,000 Bohemians and Moravians, 4,250,000 Poles, 3,380,570 Ruthenians, and 1,200,000 Slavs. The principal cities are Vienna, with a population of 1,674,957 (1900); Prague, 201,589; Lemberg, 159,877; Gratz, 138,080; Triest, 134,143; Brünn, 109,346. The birth-rate in 1901 was 36.9; death-rate, 24. (See BIRTH- AND DEATH-RATE.) The illegitimate births (1897–1901) were 14.20 per cent, the highest ratio in the world, tho they varied from 41 per cent (1900) in Carinthia to 4.2 per cent in Dalmatia. Marriages in 1900 were 8.1 per 1,000 of population. (See MARRIAGE.)

In 1900, 79 per cent of the population were Roman Catholic, 12 per cent Greek Catholic, 2.3 per cent Greek Oriental, 4.7 per cent Jewish, 2 per cent Evangelical. Religious liberty is secure. There were (1900) 16,939 Roman Catholic priests; 7,860 members of male orders, and 19,194 of female. Education is on the increase, yet 31 per cent of the population above twelve years of age were (1900) unable to read and write. In 1890, however, it was 79 per cent. (See ILLITERACY.) In 1900 there were 16,211,272 who could read and write (an increase since 1880 of over 5,000,000), and 9,186,362 who could neither read nor write (a decrease since 1880 of nearly 700,000). Elementary schools (1902), 20,827, with 3,742,486 pupils and 96 training colleges. Gymnasia and real-schools (preparatory for universities or technical schools), 328, with 105,585 pupils. There were also 8 state universities, 49 theological colleges (45 Roman Catholic), 8 government technical schools, besides 4,230 special schools (agricultural, industrial, etc.). In 1904, 3,320 periodicals were published, of which 3,039 were in German, 172 being dailies. The *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* has the largest circulation.

Convictions for crime in 1903 numbered 33,940; for other misdemeanors, 581,254. There were 15 penal establishments, with 8,266 male prisoners and 1,069 female. (See CRIME.)

About 2 per cent of the population receive aid. There were in 1902, 1,643 poorhouses, with 37,808 inmates. The expenditures for these was 8,301,652 kronen. Institutions for relief vary greatly throughout the empire. They were formerly mainly in the care of the Church, but now tend to be transferred to civil officers. No one can claim relief for whom any third party is legally responsible. Recipients are bound to return the aid when they can. Aid must be limited to that which is necessary for existence, for the care of the sick, and for needy children. It is usually given in cash. Overseers or visitors (*Armenpfleger*) are not found everywhere, wherefore "Certificates of Poverty" are required, which are often misused. In Lower Austria the overseers of the poor usually serve without compensation. In Upper Austria the commissions for the poor are made up of the chief executive of the borough, a priest, and at least three overseers (*Armenväter*). In Vienna there are nineteen districts, each with a district committee, which elects a board of commissioners. There are also a general poor department and another department for orphans. There are many institutions which are partly private, but that are endowed with public funds. In 1899 there were in Vienna 951 endowments, with a capital of 6,140,939 gulden.

There are many Church institutions: Catholic or Protestant, several being connected with certain knightly orders. Charity organization is backward. The municipal Houses of Maintenance are better organized. The Vienna foundling asylum is the largest in the world. There were in 1902, 1,387 crèches, kindergartens, etc., and 220 orphanages. There are over 600 hospitals (16 for children).

There were in 1903, 585 savings-banks, with 3,464,715 depositors, and deposits amounting to 4,368,550,000 kronen.

Industry

The principal occupation is agriculture. Of the bread-earners 64.3 per cent are engaged in agriculture or fishing, 21.9 per cent in manufacturing or mining, and 6.4 per cent in trade and commerce; 63.2 per cent of the men are bread-earners, and 47.3 per cent of the women. The main crops are wheat, oats, rye, corn, potatoes. Rich soil, abundance of water, and a mild climate make Austria one of the foremost agricultural countries of Europe; 95 per cent of the land is productive. The breeding of stock is important. There are more than 4,000,000 horses, a number only surpassed by Germany and Russia. Over 30 per cent of the empire is in forests. Land in most of the provinces is well divided. Nearly 87 per cent of the peasants own their farms, but these are often too small to yield a livelihood. Mining is diversified and the resources rich. Coal is the most important product, worked mainly in Bohemia. Iron is found in large quantities. Copper and gold are also found. The mineral output of Austria was some $55,000,000 in 1890, and $75,000,000 in 1900. Salt is a State monopoly.

Manufacturing has recently made advances, being aided by the government in many ways: low railroad-fares, etc. exemption from import duties. The clothing industry of the empire employs about 800,000 workers; foods and drinks, 600,000; textile trades, 500,000; building trades, 400,000; woodwork, 325,000; iron and steel, 300,000; quarries and potteries, 150,000. Beet-sugar enjoys a liberal bounty. The glass industry is important in Bohemia. Tobacco is a government monopoly.

Wages are low. Ordinary labor averages 20 cents per day in the country and 50 cents in towns the varying from 7 to 61 cents. Skilled labor averages 70 cents. Carpenters receive from 61 cents to $1.29 per day. Locomotive engineers earn from 55 to 93 cents. (See WAGES.)

The general efficiency of labor is also low, scarcely averaging one eighth of that of the United States or one quarter that of Great Britain.

Commerce

Commerce is rapidly increasing. The exports of the total empire (Austria-Hungary) rose from 771,400,000 florins in 1890 to 1,084,000,000 fl. in 1905 ($450,000,000), the imports from 510,700,000 fl. to 1,078,900,000 fl. The value of the chief exports (1904) was: sugar, 151,885,000 kronen or half florins (krone = 20.3 cents); eggs, 105,567,000 kr.; cattle, 98,617,000 kr. The chief imports were cotton (raw), 215,226,000 kr.; wool, 129,888,000 kr.; coal and coke, 105,947,000 kr.; silk and manufactures, 83,499,000 kr. The chief exports (1904) were: to Germany, 1,037,321,000 kr.; Great Britain, 183,726,000 kr. (principally wheat and flour); Italy, 156,815,000 kr.; Turkey, 91,436,000 kr.; Switzerland, 79,741,000 kr.; Rumania, 75,868,000 kr.; Russia, 71,741,000 kr.; United States, 70,759,000 kr. The chief imports (1904) were: from Germany, 766,566,000 kr.; United States, 182,461,000 kr. (principally cotton and machinery); Great Britain, 155,076,000 kr. (principally cotton and machinery); British India, 130,436,000 kr.; Russia, 119,863,000 kr.; Italy, 104,617,000. The customs are fixt, common to Austria and Hungary, by the *Ausgleich* or Compromise of 1867.

II.—Constitution and Government

The reigning sovereign is Francis Joseph I., Emperor of Austria (1848) and King of Hungary (1867-). Austria and Hungary, by the Compromise (*Ausgleich*) of 1867, are, in most matters, completely independent, each having its own constitution, legislature and executive, and united only in having the same sovereign and the same management of foreign affairs, of the army and navy and of matters of finance, common to both. Such matters are regulated by a common ministry and two deputations, one Austrian, one Hungarian, of sixty members each, representing the legislatures of the two countries. These deputations meet annually, alternately in Vienna and Budapest, deliberate separately, and only meet to vote together without discussion, when there have been three failures to agree by communication. There is also a commercial union, renewable every ten years. In Austria, Baron von Bech is premier. The Austrian Reichsrath has two houses. The Upper House (*Herrenhaus*) has 238 members, of whom 16 are princes of the imperial family, 65 hereditary nobles, 17 archbishops and bishops, and 140 life-members, nominated by the emperor for service or merit. The Lower House (*Abgeordnetenhaus*) has 425 members; 85 represent large landed proprietors (5,431 in 1901), 21 the Chambers of Commerce, 118 the town voters (493,804), 129 the country voters (1,585,659), and 72 the whole body of male voters (5,004,222). At the end of 1906, however, the Reichsrath passed a universal suffrage bill which will completely change this. Bills must pass both houses and be ratified by the emperor. Austria's seventeen provinces have each its diet or Landtage. The parties in the Reichsrath are mainly divided on national or race lines.

With the exception of the Socialists, most parties in Austria proper may be termed Homerulers. The Czechs, the Poles, the Ruthenians, the Italians, etc., all aim at autonomy in some form or another. The government is carried on by a combination of parties, there being no permanent majority.

Finances

The budget estimate for the common affairs of the empire was (1905) 490,327,883 kr., almost wholly for military expenses. Of this amount 114,716,883 kr. were derived from customs. Expenditures rose from 281,820,000 kr. in 1890 to 368,010,000 kr. in 1904, of which sum Austria contributed 167,107,000 kr. and Hungary 87,630,000 kr.; with 113,273,000 kr. from customs.

The estimated revenue for Austria proper (1906) was 1,822,027,401 kr., and the expenditures 1,819,042,210 kr. The Austrian debt (1905) was 3,863,020,074 kr. (See FINANCES.)

The Austro-Hungarian army has on peace footing 318,347 officers and men, and 60,758 horses. The Austrian Landwehr has, besides, 37,032 officers and men, and the Hungarian Honvédsig 31,491. The yearly contingent for the common army is 59,024 officers and men from Austria and 43,899 from Hungary. The army on a war footing numbers 980,000 officers and men; besides 500,000 in the Landwehr and 1,000,000 in the Landsturm. The navy, mainly coast-defensive, has 12 battle-ships (9 modern), 3 armored cruisers, 22 lesser vessels, and 26 torpedo-boats.

Railways

The Austrian railway system must be studied in the light of its history. First begun by private effort, railways became so necessary that the government aided them by guaranteeing interest or direct State construction. The Revolution of 1848 and the Hungarian war, however, embarrassing it, the government sold out what interest it had in the roads, and Austria went through a long period of speculative railroad-building, ending for many of the roads in failure and bankruptcy. These weaker roads the government, after the crisis of 1873, was compelled first to aid and then to buy and operate. This policy has been largely carried out, but has not been adopted as a system on its own merits as in Germany. Where necessitated by poor private management the government in the main has had to buy simply the poorer roads. Nevertheless the State roads are a success, and the tendency is toward State ownership. In 1903 the State owned and operated 4,809 miles, besides operating 2,671 miles of companies' lines; the companies owned and operated 5,048 miles and operated 18 miles of State roads; 114 miles belonged to foreign lines. In 1906 the State bought another of the largest and best-paying

private roads in the Empire. There were 12,660 miles in all. The cost in 1903 was $1,397,970,000. Passengers carried were 176,467,000; freight, 121,491,000 tons. The receipts were 331,551,000 florins; the working expenses, 225,590,000 fl. The State revenue from the railways for 1906 was estimated at 304,218,570 kronen and the expenditures at 270,410,820 kr. There were 5,947 telegraph-offices, with 40,373.71 kilometers of wire and 16,463,654 messages. The urban telephone systems numbered 429; the interurban systems 134. There were 8,086 post-offices. Receipts (postal and telegraph) were 116,858,886 kr.; expenses, 117,519,722 kr. Of post-office savings-banks there were 6,339, with 1,860,347 depositors and deposits of 471,647,730 kr. at end of the year.

III.—Social Reform

The history of modern social reform in Austria begins with the Revolution of 1848. The years previous to this had been marked in industrial evolution mainly by the decay of the ancient gilds and the development of modern ideas. The Revolution of 1848 witnessed national political uprisings in Vienna, Italy, Bohemia, Croatia, and Hungary. A constitution was granted to Austria, but was soon abrogated, and imperial absolutism, in close alliance with the Catholic power, reigned supreme. In 1859, however, an industrial code was adopted which enjoined upon all manufacturers the maintenance of relations with the gilds, or the restoration of such relations where they had been discontinued, but the gilds continued to decline in spite of all efforts. Progress was mainly political with the distracting complications of an empire of such diverse racial constituents.

In 1866 Prussia gained the severance of Austria from the Germanic Confederation, and Italy soon after gained her freedom. Hungary, too, grew more and more restless, and the emperor had to grant concessions, till the present dual political system was organized in 1867. Since 1879, when Count Taaffe came into power, the government has been compelled to do more and more for the working classes. This, however, has been forced upon the government by the labor party, which in Austria, more than in most countries of Europe, has been purely socialistic.

A Viennese Workingmen's Mutual Improvement Society was started under the influence of Lassalle's agitation in 1867; and on April 11, 1869, it published the first number of the *Volkstimme*. In 1869 Austrian delegates were sent to the German Socialist Congress at Eisenach. The Austrian Government now prohibited all Socialist meetings, and the Socialist agitators had to concentrate their efforts to obtain freedom of coalition and universal suffrage.

After the German laws against the Social Democrats were passed in 1878, the Austrian Socialists, in part, lost heart. The Radicals declared for anarchism and the Moderates for the Liberals, working mainly on race lines. Between 1882 and 1884 the anarchists attempted much violence in Austria; the government resorted to strong measures, and the Socialist papers suffered much. Nevertheless, the trade-unions became the camping-grounds for the Socialists, and the propaganda was carried on.

Socialism

Since 1886 the movement has made steady progress. In 1888 a conference was held at Hainfeld, and, largely through the influence of the *Gleichheit*, Dr. Adler's paper, the Moderates and those Radicals who were not anarchists, united on the lines of Marxist socialism. The result was a rapid advance. Socialist papers obtained a wider circulation, meetings for the propagation of Socialist doctrines were held, and many new workmen's associations were founded. Strikes and agitation became common, and the government again tried repression. Papers were suppressed, and the editors of the *Gleichheit* arrested on charges of anarchism.

The winter of 1892 was marked in Austria by agitation on the part of the Social Democrats against the censorship of the press.

The early months of 1893 saw the opening of "a campaign in favor of universal, equal, and direct suffrage." The May Day celebrations took place throughout the empire, and developed into a gigantic demonstration, not only for the eight-hour day, but also for the suffrage. In Vienna 150,000 men and women marched in military order through the streets. A few weeks later the political victories gained by the German Social Democracy at the ballot-box were celebrated throughout the empire. In July 500,000 workingmen and women gathered in the very heart of Vienna and declared they would neither rest nor be deterred by any sacrifice until they had won.

In Oct., 1893, Count Taaffe introduced a bill granting a very much enlarged suffrage. Notwithstanding that by the provisions of the new bill the number of voters in Austria were doubled, the Social Democrats would only agree to accept it as a move in the right direction.

During the last ten years organization has gone on steadily but not rapidly. The Social Democrats in the empire are organized on a basis of "national autonomy and international solidarity." There are German, Czech, Polish, Italian, Slavic, and Ruthenian sections. They work harmoniously, but their progress has been retarded by the national jealousies and political efforts of the different races. In 1897 the government made a further electoral concession. To 383 deputies elected by privileged voters, 72 were added elected by universal suffrage. This at first seemed but to increase the international struggle. By 1901, however, the Socialists polled about 800,000 votes and elected 10 deputies (7 Czechs). The government was compelled to introduce various reform measures (see below), but the old national strife went on, tho largely fruitless to all parties. In 1905, however, a proposition of Baron Fejervary's Hungarian ministry to establish universal suffrage in that country caused widespread excitement in Austria, and on Nov. 2d a monster Socialist demonstration in Vienna led to a clash with the police.

Universal suffrage was finally granted, and as a result, in the elections of 1907, almost a revolutionary change was made. There were elected 82 Social Democrats, 66 Christian Democrats (Anti-Semites), 33 Agrarian Czechs, 31 of the (Catholic) Center; 25 Pan Germanists, 24 German Liberals, 22 Young Czechs, 18 German Agrarians, 15 Clerical Slavs, 14 Free Independent Pan Germanists, 14 Italians, 11 Clericals, 10 Radical Czechs, and 100 of minor parties. There are 2 Socialist dailies in German, the *Arbeiter Zeitung* at Vienna and the *Arbeiterwille* at Gratz. There are 25 other German Socialist journals. The Czech Socialists have also 2 dailies (at Vienna and Prague), and 12 other journals. There are 2 Polish, 4 Italian, 2 Slavic, and 1 Ruthenian papers. The women have a Socialist organ, the *Arbeiterinnen Zeitung*.

A so-called Roman Catholic Christian Socialism has had considerable development in Austria, under the patronage of Prince John of Lichtenstein and others, but it has meant little more than the Church of Rome taking an interest in political and social questions from the ecclesiastical-paternal standpoint. It has also contributed largely to the development of anti-Semitism.

Trade-unions

The trade-union movement in Austria runs parallel with the Socialist movement. The Industrial Code of 1859, trying to compel employers and employees to unite in trade-gilds, had failed. In 1869 a demonstration in Vienna won the right of combination for workingmen, and trade-unions slowly developed. A law of 1883 greatly modified the code of 1859. (See STRIKES.) The chief centers of Austrian trade-unionism are the industrial and populous districts of Lower Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia, while about a fifth of the total number of associations are established in Vienna. The highest organization is found in the printing trade and in the textile and metal industries.

The aggregate membership of all labor organizations in Austria in 1903 was 177,592, a net

increase of 13,104 in the year. The rapid progress made since 1892 is shown below:

End of—	Unions	Total number of members	Women included	Annual income	Annual expenditures
1892.....	1,308	70,343	4,263	.....	.....
1896.....	1,634	117,946	5,761	$197,034	$130,167
1899.....	2,263	157,773	9,206	370,488	349,688
1901.....	2,294	152,604	9,928	445,869	422,216
1902.....	2,370	164,488	8,958	523,437	478,508
1903.....	2,469	177,592	12,063	599,473	541,031

There are 74 national trade-unions, containing 154,665 members; 104 local assemblies, with 5,653 members, and 416 workingmen's associations, devoted chiefly to educational work, with 17,274 members. The following table shows the membership, receipts, expenditures, and cash balance of the largest national unions, 11 of which have upward of 3,000 members each. Two other unions, with smaller membership—hatters' and lithographers'—are included on account of their strong financial position. It will be observed that the printers, altho not the strongest union numerically, have by far the largest income It is said that the union contains nearly 90 per cent of all the printers in Austria.

Trade	No. of members	Annual receipts. Crowns	Annual expenditures. Crowns
74 national unions	154,665	2,942,855	2,647,066
Including—			
Railway workers.....	28,036	323,016	340,470
Iron and metal workers.	16,667	299,331	269,030
Textile workers.....	11,932	112,833	92,193
Printers.....	10,997	985,374	949,744
Wood workers.....	10,747	120,224	93,805
Miners.....	8,450	62,815	70,310
Tailors.....	4,871	50,464	47,103
Building laborers.....	4,478	46,631	37,223
Bakers.....	4,421	65,687	55,845
Paper and chemical workers.....	3,610	33,194	28,118
Shoemakers.....	3,007	41,893	38,443
Hatters.....	2,404	154,893	104,546
Lithographers.....	1,604	86,520	61,749
104 local mixed unions.....	5,653	17,685	19,238
416 educational associations	17,274	36,821	38,850
Grand total.....	177,592	2,997,361	2,705,154

Between 1850 and 1860 cooperation began in Austria, but has not had great development. A union of cooperative societies was organized in Vienna in 1874, with 217 societies in 1892. The same year there were 2,501 cooperative societies in Austria, of which 1,882 were loan societies and about 300 distributive.

At the close of 1900 there were 7,616 cooperative societies, including 5,098 credit, 758 distributive, and 1,760 other societies. Of the credit societies, 1,513 were of the Schulze-Delitzsch type, with 923,967 members.

Industrial betterment has at least begun. At Dornbirn, in connection with Herr Hammerle's cotton-mill, a picturesque industrial village has been developed. Cottages, with open verandas, covered with vines and grouped in gardens with fruit-trees, can be hired, with cow shed and pasturage, for some $34 per year, or bought for from $1,060 to $1,500. At Smichof, near Prague, Baron Ringhofer has done much building for the 1,000 men employed in his machine-works. Two-room dwellings or blocks can be rented for 55 cents per week, or 3 rooms for 75 cents. Detached houses are also being built. Baron Ringhofer has established a sick-fund and "welfare institutions."

Industrial Legislation

Industrial legislation is more advanced than cooperation, and recently the government has increasingly followed German precedents.

Accident insurance was made compulsory in Austria in 1887, and insurance against sickness in 1888. The aim is to keep all laborers from dependency. The minister of the interior requires such insurance of all employers where employment is at all dangerous, as in mines, quarries, buildings, factories, etc., and exempts all others. In case of fatal accident, the widow receives funeral expenses, 20 per cent of the husband's wage till death or remarriage, and 15 per cent for each child till the age of fifteen, or, if both parents are dead, such children receive each 20 per cent. Illegitimate children receive 10 per cent each, but the aggregate amount is not to exceed 50 per cent. In case of total disability the injured receives 60 per cent; in case of partial disability the amount is not to exceed 50 per cent.

The postal savings-bank system is more developed in Austria-Hungary than in any other country.

The Austrian provisions against non-employment are: (1) employment agencies carried on for gain, about 916; (2) the ancient trade-gilds, composed of employers and employees, of which there were 5,273 in 1895; (3) employees' associations (trade-unions and others); (4) relief stations on the German plan (see Germany); (5) labor registries, public or private. Vienna and Prague have large municipal registries. The public registries found 95,107 situations in 1903; agencies for gain, 44,034; the trade-gilds, 30,520; other agencies, 74,923.

The government has also made especial efforts in the interest of the industrial middle classes by creating a special department of the Board of Trade, the *Gewerbeförderungs-Dienst* (Service for the Promotion of Handicrafts and Trades), which has had a rapid growth and been imitated in other countries.

The staff consists of a large number of experts in the various trades and crafts, and of men devoted to the cooperative movement; the institute itself may be described as a social laboratory endowed and supported by the state. It has developed also a tendency which is becoming important throughout Austria—the endeavor to apply artistic methods to as many spheres of production as possible. It has a Trade and Crafts' Museum, now in its twenty-sixth year.

Important Austrian social reform institutes or societies are:

Arbeitstatisches Amt. Vienna, I., Biberstrasse 2. Chief, Dr. Victor Mataja. (Austrian Labor Department or Bureau.)

Gewerbeförderungsdienst des k. k. Handelsministeriums. Vienna, IX., 2, Severingasse 9. Chief, Dr. W. F. Exner. Secretary, Dr. A. Vetter. (Imperial Bureau for the Promotion of the Crafts.)

Arbeiterzeitung (Labor News; Socialist organ). Editor, Dr. V. Adler. Vienna, VI., Mariahilferstrasse 89. (Headquarters for Socialist and labor information.)

Wiener Volksheim (People's Palace). Vienna, XVI., Kofler Park 7. Secretary, Prof. Dr. Emil Reich. (Educational: furthering university extension, libraries, etc.)

Kulturpolitische Gesellschaft. Vienna, I., Giselastrasse. Chairman, Dr. Robert Scheu. (Object: political, economic, and social education in Austria.)

Sozialpolitischer Verein. Vienna, I., Helferstorferstrasse 3. Chairman, Dr. Sigismund Wolf-Eppinger. (Object: social reforms.)

Sozialwissenschaftlicher Bildungsverein. Vienna, VIII., Schlösselgasse 11. Chairman, Dr. Alexander Hollander. (Object: political and economic education.)

Allgemeiner Verband der auf Selbsthilfe beruhenden deutschen Erwerbs und Wirtschaftgenossenschaften in Oesterreich. Vienna, I., Giselastrasse 4. (Object: to protect the interests of the German cooperative societies in Austria.)

Allgemeiner Verband der landwirtschaftlichen Genossenschaften in Oesterreich. Vienna, I., Weihburggasse 12. (A union similar to the preceding, for agricultural cooperative societies.)

Reichsverband der deutschen Gewerbevereine Oesterreichs in Wien. Vienna, I., Eschenbachgasse 11. President, Section Chief Dr. W. F. Exner. (Object: promotion of the interests of German industrial associations.)

Wiener Volksbildung Verein. Vienna, I., Tegetthoffstrasse 4. Chairman, Dr. Friedrich Jodl. (Object: popular education.)

Oesterreichischer Zweigverein zur Hebung des Mittelstandes. (Austrian branch of the *Institut international des classes moyennes*, founded in Brussels, for the development of the middle classes.)

Oesterreichische Friedensgesellschaft. Vienna, I., Spiegelgasse 4. President, Frau Bertha Freiin v. Suttner. (Austrian Peace Society.)

Oesterreichischer Verein gegen Trunksucht. Vienna, I., Spiegelgasse 19. Secretary, Dr. Adolf Daum. (Austrian Temperance Society.)

Allgemeiner Rechtsschutz und Gewerksschaftsverein für Oesterreich. Vienna, X., Laxenburgerstrasse 8. Arbeiterheim. (General Trade Association Union.)

Vereinigung der arbeitenden Frauen. Vienna, I., Tuchlauben II. President, Frau Karoline Gronemann. (Working Women's Club.)

Allgemeiner Oesterreichischer Frauenverein. Vienna, XVIII., Gentzgasse 6. President, Fraülein Auguste Fickert. (General Austrian Women's Union.)

Verein der katholisch geschiedenen Eheleute. Vienna, IV., Leibenfrostgasse 6. (Society of Divorced Catholics, whose object is agitation for legalization of divorce.)

Verein zur Reform des Eherechtes. Vienna, VI., Mariahilferstrasse 5. (Object: reform of marriage law.)

Heimat. Vienna, I., Dorotheengasse 12. Chairman, Adolf Ruzicka. . (Girls' Friendly Society.)

Kinderschutzstationen. Vienna, I., Wipplingerstrasse 8. President, Dr. Prince Eduard von und zu Liechtenstein. (Children's Aid Society.)

Verein abstinenter Frauen. Vienna, I., Steindlgasse 2. President, Frau Emilie Kassowitz. (Women's Temperance Union.)

REFERENCES: *Statistisches Handbuch der Osterreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie*, Annual, Vienna; *Mittheilungen des Arbeitstatistischen Amtes in K. K. Handelsministerium*, ib.; *Osterreichisches Statistisches Handbuch*, Annual, ib.; *Osterreich-Ungarn im Welthandel*, by Engel, ib., 1902; *Beiträge zur Neuesten Handelspolitik Osterreichs*, in *Schriften des Vereins für Sozial Politik*, vol. xciii., Leipsic, 1901; *Austria*, by Sidney Whitman and J. B. McIlraith, New York, 1899; *Austro-Hungarian Life in Town and Country*, by F. H. E. Palmer, ib., 1903; *Political History of Europe since 1814*, by Seignobos, transl. by MacVane, ib., 1899.

AVELING, EDWARD: Socialist lecturer, born in 1851. He was educated at various schools and at University College, London, and went to Cambridge as Prof. Michael Foster's assistant in physiology. He has been professor of chemistry and physiology at New College, and of comparative anatomy at the London Hospital, and was a member of the London School Board in 1882. An avowed atheist, he became vice-president of the National Secular Society, socialist lecturer, journalist, author, and dramatist. Author: "Student's Marx"; "Student's Darwin"; "Botany for Students"; "Geology for Students"; "Physics"; "Biology"; translations of Marx's "Kapital" (vol. i.); Engel's "Socialism"; Haeckel's "Pedigree of Man"; Titchomiroff's "Russia." He married Eleanor, daughter of Karl Marx.

AVERY, MRS. SUSAN LOOK: Writer; reformer; born at Conway, Mass., 1817; educated at Utica, N. Y.; married (1844) Benjamin F. Avery (died 1885). She has largely devoted her life to speaking and writing on woman's suffrage, temperance, the single tax, and other reforms. *Address*: Louisville, Ky.

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BAADER, FRANZ XAVIER: German philosopher; born at Munich, 1765. His father counted among his friends some liberal German bishops, and shared their views. Franz Baader studied at the University of Freiburg, where he became the friend of Alexander von Humboldt. In 1826 he was made professor of philosophy and speculative theology at Munich, but desiring the reunion of Protestantism and Catholicism, and having uttered a remonstrance against the absolutism of the Roman court in 1838, he was deposed from his professorship. He gradually became more and more interested in social subjects, and recommended a theocracy, a state held together by Christian love, which should be equally free from lawless individualism and from despotism. Kaufman in his "Christian Socialism" has summarized Baader's view as follows:

> Without previous and perfect union between God and man, social union can neither be effected nor maintained. Social coordination and subordination must rest on Divine authority. All members of the social organism are what they are by the grace of God. Physical force without spiritual power, compulsion without conviction, fear without respect, interest without love, cannot permanently secure social order.
>
> Corporate action and association are essential to the common weal, because they imply organized social life. On the other hand, all attack on property by way of advocating a communistic redistribution is a crime against the common interests of all. The Christian law of mutual affection is the only safeguard against the disintegrating power of individualism. With the development of the moral and religious life of the nation, social evolution will become possible also, and thus the unhealthy elements of social progress will be eliminated without the adoption of revolutionary measures. *The Church must provide a new diaconate* to bring about a more equitable redistribution. The most perfect corporation is the Catholic Church; it is, therefore, the best type of social organization. The Church is altogether opposed to the heathenish view of ownership of property, which is purely selfish, and therefore antisocial, separating private from common interests. The Church regards all men as agents and stewards of their possessions for the common good.

Baader was, however, not destined to make any attempt to carry out his views, as he died in 1841, only three years after losing his Munich professorship. The "Encyclopedia Britannica" says of him:

> Baader is, without doubt, the greatest speculative theologian of modern Catholicism, and his influence has extended itself even beyond the precincts of his own church.

BABBAGE, CHARLES: English economist; born 1792; studied at Trinity College, Cambridge; was made a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1816; helped found the British Association; became professor of mathematics at Cambridge in 1828, and devoted much time and money to the building of two great calculating machines. In political economy, altho he did not contribute to economic theory, he nevertheless won a high place on account of his thorough and faithful descriptions of characteristic economic phenomena. Especially faithful and discerning were his analysis and portrayal of the benefits and effects of the division of labor. Political economy he was one of the first to declare not an exact science, like the mathematical, altho it did depend on "generals being much more frequently obeyed

than violated." He was no blind worshiper of Mammon, and sneered at the notion that no calling could be deemed respectable which did not produce wealth. In the public interest he believed that inventors should be generously rewarded by the state. He died in 1871.

Babbage's main works were: "On the Economy of Machinery and Manufactures"; "Thoughts on the Principles of Taxation with Reference to a Property Tax and its Exceptions"; "A Comparative View of the Different Institutions for the Assurance of Life"; "The Exposition of 1851, or Views of the Industry, the Science, and the Government of England"; "Passages from the Life of a Philosopher."

BABEUF, FRANÇOIS NOEL (called *Caius Gracchus*): French Socialist; born at Saint Quentin, 1760. Left alone at the age of sixteen, his youth and whole life was stormy and wild. From the commencement of the Revolution he wrote violent articles, and was tried, but acquitted. He edited a paper which he called *Tribun de Peuple*. This took place after the fall of Robespierre. He gradually became more violent, and gathered round him a body of men whose main idea was to put down inequality of condition. "We desire," said they, "real equality or death." They met at the Pantheon (till their public meetings were broken up by Napoleon), and there counseled how to rouse the people to insurrection. They aimed at a real community of goods. The public authorities were to organize industry. Every one was to have a right to lodging, food, *mediocre mais frugale*, clothes, washing, warming, lighting, and medical attendance. Babeuf's theory of communism was based largely on Morelly's "Code de la Nature." According to it, "the aim of society is the happiness of all, and happiness consists in equality. Let all the arts perish," cried its followers, "provided we obtain real equality." Government was to be absolute. No private individual was to be allowed to trade with foreign countries. Even within the country only such publications were to be allowed as taught the unqualified blessings of equality. All were to be drest alike save for differences of age or sex. Children were to be removed from the family at an early age, to be taught of "civism" and communism. Comfortable mediocrity was the openly exprest ideal.

Babeuf and his friends had planned a general uprising in May, 1796, but their plot was discovered a few hours before the time set for its execution, and in February of the following year, Babeuf and Darthé were condemned to die. They stabbed themselves before the tribunal, not fatally however, and they were guillotined the next day. Babeuf's last words were, "I wrap myself in a virtuous slumber."

BACON, FRANCIS, VISCOUNT ST. ALBANS: English scholar, philosopher, and diplomat; born in London, 1561; studied at the University of Cambridge at the age of thirteen. He entered diplomacy, and was one of the suite of the English ambassador at Paris. Later he studied law, became a member of Parliament, Solicitor-General, Keeper of the Great Seal, and Lord Chancellor, and was made Baron Verulam, then Viscount. In 1621 he was convicted of corruption in office on his own confession. After this he devoted himself entirely to science and literature till his death in 1626.

Altho dishonorable in public life, Bacon's fame as a literary and scientific man is of the first order. His life was contemporary with the birth of modern science, and with it his name has always been associated. As a literary man Bacon exhibits profound thought exprest in a remarkable and splendid style. There are few subjects with which he did not occupy himself. In his day economic questions did not form a separate study, nor were they of much account. Bacon, however, here and there touches on them, as in Essay xxxiv., "Of Riches," and in the essay on "Plantations." He discusses the government of colonies, and says: "Let there be freedom from custom till the plantation be of strength, and not only freedom from custom but freedom to carry their commodities where they may make their best of them, except there be some special cause of caution." In the "History of Henry VII," and in other shorter works he shows himself a deep student of human and social philosophy. "The New Atlantis" is a brief Utopia written between 1614 and 1617, and published a year after his death. Among his other works may be mentioned: "Essays," "The Advancement of Learning," the "Novum Organum," and the "History of the Reign of Henry VII."

BAGEHOT, WALTER: English banker and economist; born at Langport, Somersetshire, in 1826. He was the son of a banker, and studied at London University. After being called to the bar he chose to enter his father's bank, and later became known as a brilliant literary critic and writer. In 1858 he married the eldest daughter of James Wilson, editor of *The Economist*, and two years later succeeded to the editorship, continuing thus till his death. He was considered one of the best financiers of his day. His special service in economics may be said to have been to reconcile them with history. He had almost unbounded admiration for Ricardo, with whom as a successful man of business he had many points of agreement. "Adam Smith," he said, "discovered the country (of political economy), but Ricardo made the first map." He considered himself the last man of the ante-Mill period. Mill and Cairns had already shown that the old political economy was hypothetic, dealing not with real but imaginary "economic men," who were simply conceived "as money-making animals." In history and life, as Bagehot showed, men are not merely this. He named his great treatise "Lombard Street," not "The Money Market," because he desired to show that he dealt with the concrete and not the abstract. His sympathies were with the capitalists; yet to the working classes and trade-unions he was never hostile. His only remedy was *laissez-faire*. As was natural from his position, his best detailed work was in elucidating the orthodox teaching concerning banking and finance. He died in 1877.

Bagehot's main works were: "History of the Unreformed Parliament"; "Physics and Politics"; "Lombard Street: A Description of the Money Market"; "International Coinage"; "Literary Studies"; "Economic Studies"; and "Biographical Studies."

BAKERY AND CONFECTIONERY WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA: The bakery trade is one in which great evils exist. Working by hot ovens often in unventilated rooms and not infrequently in underground cellars is

very difficult, much work having to be done at night. The hours are often long and irregular and wages (except for organization) are very low. Frequently the baker, saturated with perspiration sleeps on his table or on flour bags, without undressing, ready for work the next morning. Organization began in New York, and by 1881 New York and Brooklyn had 5,000 union bakers, mainly German. The union struck for twelve hours, but lost and largely went to pieces. In 1885, however, Mr. Henry Weisman started the *German-American Bakers' Journal*, threw himself into building up a national union, with the result that to-day the national union had, 1905, 12,000 members and is working for an eight-hour day. *Secretary*, F. H. Harezbecker, 236 Superior Street, Cleveland, O.

BAKOUNIN, MICHAEL: The father of revolutionary anarchist-communism; born in Torschok, Russia, 1814, of aristocratic and even princely family. Educated for the military service, he became an artillery officer, and was stationed in Poland; but by 1835 became disgusted with Russian militarism, and went to Moscow to study philosophy, reading mainly Hegel and Schopenhauer, in company with Alexander Herzen, the later notorious Russian revolutionist, and others of similar type.

A Communist

In 1841 he went to Berlin, becoming particularly acquainted with Arnold Ruge, and writing in his *Deutsche Jahrbücher*, at Dresden. He was led by Ruge to be a communist. In 1843 Bakounin went to Paris, and there made the acquaintance of Proudhon and his writings, and learned to give to his communistic views an anarchistic basis. In 1849 he resided for a time in Leipsic, surrounding himself with Czech students, and endeavoring to provoke a fresh rising in Bohemia. When in that year the revolution broke out in Dresden, Bakounin joined it. He was, however, captured during a skirmish and condemned to death. On the eve of being shot he was handed over to the Austrian authorities, and tried by them for his part in the Czech rebellion. Again sentenced to death, he was claimed by Russia, and imprisoned in the fortress of Schlüsselburg, and in 1852 transported to Siberia. In 1860 Bakounin reappeared in London, having escaped from Siberia by the way of Japan and the United States. He immediately resumed his advocacy of Panslavism, and became more revolutionary than ever. He wrote in Herzen's journal, *Kolokol* (*The Bell*), and exerted wide influence, among other ways, by his brochure, "Romanoff and Pugatcheff."

When the International was formed in London in 1864, Bakounin did not at first join it; but soon realizing its power, he threw himself into it and became the leader of its anarchist wing against Marx, the leader of the Socialist wing. The names Anarchist and Socialist were not then used save in a vague way; both Marx and Bakounin called themselves communists, but gradually around these two leaders arose the two distinct movements which have since become the Socialist and anarchist-communist movements existing to-day, and completely opposing each other in all European countries. The difference, however, only gradually asserted itself. The International at first was simply an effort to unite the workers of all countries. (See INTERNATIONAL.)

The International

At a congress held in Geneva in 1867, Bakounin favored the abolition of centralized states, and the substitution of voluntary federations of independent communes. At the next congress, in 1868, at Bern, under the presidency of Victor Hugo, he urged joining the International. Failing to convince the assembly, he formed his supporters into a Social Democratic Alliance, the aim of which was to make land and capital the collective property of society, to be used by agricultural and manufacturing associations. Existing states were to "disappear in the universal union of free associations." The Alliance desired to be recognized as part of the International, but its claim was rejected, whereupon it dissolved after six months' existence, during which it had been active in Spain and Italy, and its sections joined the International separately.

On Sept. 28, 1870, Bakounin organized an insurrection at Lyons, but failing in France he resorted to Italy. In 1872, however, Bakounin was to make his break with the Marxian wing of the International. When the congress of the International was to be held in that year, Marx succeeded in having it called at The Hague, where Bakounin could not come, since he would have been arrested in passing through either France or Germany. At the congress, therefore, Marx had it all his own way. In Sept., 1873, both the Marxists and the Autonomists held a congress at Geneva, each claiming to be the true International. The autonomists were the stronger. Bakounin appeared to have conquered. It was the last congress of the Marxist International. The real triumph of Marxian socialism was not then apparent. Bakounin retired to Lugano, in Italy, but returned to Switzerland, and died in Bern, July 1, 1876. Eliseé Reclus, Paul Brousse, J. Guillaume, and others gathered round his grave, and organized the cause to which Reclus later gave the name of anarchist-communism. (See ANARCHISM.)

Bakounin is said, by Reclus, to have been a man of great thought, strength of will, and untiring energy. By Felix Dubois he is described as a man of no original thought, hungry only for a notoriety to be obtained by any means. He was the embodiment of the revolutionist. He wrote of the International:

> We wish to destroy all states and all churches, with all their institutions and laws, religious, political, juridical, financial, magisterial, academical, economical, and social, in order that all these millions of poor human beings, who are cheated, enslaved, overworked, and exploited—having been at last delivered from their masters and benefactors, whether official or officious, whether associations or individuals—may henceforth and forever breathe in absolute freedom.

His ideal of the future was not formulated. He wrote:

> All reasonings about the future are criminal, because they hinder destruction pure and simple, and fetter the progress of the revolution. . . . The revolutionist is a man under a vow. He ought to have no personal interests, no business, no feelings, no property. He ought to be entirely absorbed in one single interest, one single thought, one single passion—the revolution. . . . He has only one aim, one science—destruction. For that, and for nothing else, he studies mechanics, physics, chemistry, and sometimes medicine. With the same object, he observes men, characters, the situations, and all the conditions of the social order. He despises and detests existing morality. For him everything is moral that helps on the triumph of the revolution, everything is immoral and criminal that hinders it. Between him and society there is war—war to the death, incessant, irreconcilable. He ought to be ready to die, to endure torture, and with his own hands to kill all who place obstacles in the way of the revolution. So much the worse for him if he has in this world any ties of relationship, of friendship, of love! He is no true revolutionist if

The Revolutionist

these attachments stay his arm. Nevertheless, he must live in the midst of society, feigning to be what he is not. He must penetrate everywhere among the upper classes, as well as among the middle—into the merchant's shop, into the church, into the government offices, into the army, into the literary world, into the detective force, and even into the imperial palace. . . . He must prepare a list of those who are condemned to death, and dispatch them in the order of their relative misdoings. A new member can only be admitted into the association by a unanimous vote, and after his qualities have been proved, not by words merely, but by deeds. Each "companion" should have under his control several revolutionists of the second or third degree, not wholly initiated. He should consider them as part of the revolutionary capital placed at his disposal, and he should expend them economically and so as to abstract the greatest possible profit out of them. . . . The most valuable element are women who are completely initiated, and who accept our whole program. Without their aid we can effect nothing.

Bakounin's best work is probably "God and the State," which has been translated by B. R. Tucker (1883). His other writings were mainly attacks upon Marx and Mazzini, or violent "Bulletins of the Federation of the Jura."

BALANCE OF TRADE: The difference between the amount or value of the commodities exported from and imported into a country. The balance is said to be favorable to a country when the value of its exports exceeds that of its imports, and unfavorable when it is *vice versa*. This is derived from the old idea long prevalent, but especially developed by the MERCANTILISTS, that wealth consists only, or at least mainly, in money, and that therefore that country which exports more commodities than it imports must be rich, since it receives money in excess of what it pays for its imports. Clement Armstrong, in his "Treatise Concerning the Staple and the Commodities of this Realme" (1530), says: "The holl welthe of the realme is for all our riche commodites to gete owt of all other realmes, therefore redy money; and after the money is brought into the holl realme, so shall all peple in the realme be made riche therwith." This was the universal theory in the Middle Ages, when there was what has been called a "balance of bargain" theory, each state striving on every bargain to obtain a balance of money. The first real refutation of the theory seems to have been by Nicholas Barbon in 1690, tho it remained largely accepted till the onslaught upon it by Hume in his "Essays" (1752), and the more calm and judicious analysis of Adam Smith. To-day, when it is seen that wealth may consist in many things besides money, the absurdity of the theory is apparent. See Buckle's "History of Civilization in England," vol. i., pp. 210–212; W. Cunningham's "The Growth of English Industry and Commerce," p. 362; C. F. Bastable's "The Theory of International Trade," p. 164 (Dublin, 1887).

BALL, JOHN: English priest and revolutionist; born 1338; studied at St. Mary's, York, and was ordained to the priesthood not long after 1356, becoming one of the class of parochial chaplains, who corresponded among the clergy to the artizan class among the laity. It was toward the end of the long reign of Edward III. that the "mad priest," as it suited the landowners to call him, began to prophesy against the evils of his time; and, as John Richard Green has said, "in the preaching of John Ball England first listened to the knell of feudalism and the declaration of the rights of man." England was ripe for the message. The years of prosperity following the plague of 1348 had done more to open the eyes of the peasants than all the centuries of poor rations which had gone before. At first by royal proclamation, and subsequently by the repeated enactments with added penalties of the famous "Statute of Laborers," every effort was made to defeat the rising prosperity of the artizans and peasants, but every resistance only fanned the flame.

Such were the conditions amid which Ball began his life-work, and for twenty years preached Lollardism of a coarser and more popular sort than that of Wycliffe. He traveled from place to place, and preached in churchyards and from the market crosses to crowds, which were ever increasing as he incurred the greater displeasure of the authorities. He insisted on the necessity of marriage of the clergy, on a voluntary priesthood, and on the injustice of demanding tithes from poor men. From the headquarters which he maintained in Essex his work extended in all directions, and he gradually became the recognized head of an ever-growing labor party, whose sections in the different parts of the country were united by a great band of itinerant priests, whose office enabled them to travel unsuspected in every direction. While all this was going on events were rapidly preparing the way for insurrection. The peasants were filled with what Professor Rogers calls a "religious socialism." The actual outbreak was delayed by several causes, for the leaders were loath to provoke an appeal to arms, tho as early as 1375 they seem to have decided that it would ultimately be necessary. Between 1375 and 1377 riots were frequent, and the people were held back with great difficulty. Then Edward III. died, and the hopes of the popular party for a better state of things were revived for a short time, while the troubles with the French helped to distract attention from the troubles at home. But when defeat abroad added to misery at home was capped by a fresh tax levy, to which the poor were compelled to contribute as much as the rich, the suffering became unbearable. In the early part of 1381 Ball began sending letters to his party everywhere, saying that the time for action had come. In April he was imprisoned, first in Maidstone jail and then in the archbishop's palace at Canterbury; but his plans were too well laid to be so frustrated, and in June the storm burst. The people rose simultaneously in all parts of the country. Canterbury, where "the whole town was of their sort," was thrown open to the insurgents, who plundered the archbishop's palace and released Ball, who thenceforth became the heart of the movement, as Wat Tyler was its military head. Then they moved on London, occupied Blackheath and Southwark, and sent their demands to the king, at the same time crossing the bridge and burning the new palace of the hated John of Gaunt and the hospital of St. John. The best of order and discipline were maintained; gold and silver vessels they smashed with axes, jewels they brayed; they stole nothing. This was between the 11th and the 13th of June. On the 14th the insurgents insisted on a conference with the king, and he came forth from the Tower, and met them almost alone at Mile End, giving assent to their demand: "We will that you make us free forever, ourselves, our heirs, and our lands; and that we be no more bond or so reputed." He set clerks at work writing charters

His Life

Wat Tyler's Rebellion

of manumission, and giving these to them, he bade them go home at once, which many did, thus weakening their strength through division. On the 15th, while Tyler was conferring with the king alone, and under the protection of a safe-conduct, he was murdered by Walworth, the mayor, and the rebels having lost their chief and leader, fell into the stratagem of the king, who put himself at their head and persuaded them to leave London altogether. Ball seems to have made an unsuccessful attempt to rally the peasants again; but, being caught at Coventry, was hanged, drawn, and quartered, after the fashion of the time. "The peasants were dispersed and defeated," says Professor Rogers; "their leaders were tried, sentenced, and hanged; but the solid fruits of victory rested with the insurgents of June, 1381. Once in the history of England only —once, perhaps, only in the history of the world —peasants and artizans attempted to effect a revolution by force. They nearly succeeded—at least they became for a short time the masters of the situation. The English laborer, for a century or more, became virtually free and constantly prosperous."

FRANCIS WATTS LEE.

REFERENCES: *English Social Reformers*, by H. de B. Gibbins, London, 1892; *A Dream of John Ball*, by William Morris, London, 1888; *English Popular Leaders*, by C. E. Maurice, London, 1872; In an article on *John Ball*, by James Gairdner, in Stephen's *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1885), and in *An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory*, by W. J. Ashley (London, 1893), a less favorable view is taken.

BALLANCE, HON. JOHN: The first Liberal-Labor Premier of New Zealand; born in 1839; the son of a north Irish tenant farmer. Apprenticed to a Dublin ironmonger, he went to New Zealand in 1866 and became a sheep farmer; soon, however, he started a jeweler's shop, and later a paper. In 1875 he was elected to Parliament, and became a member of the cabinet from 1877 to 1879 and again in 1884 and 1887, and prime minister from 1891 till his untimely death in 1893. He gained his popularity largely by being the first promoter of New Zealand's present land system, in opposition to private monopoly in land. He inaugurated the village-settlement plan in 1886; was the author of the first land-value tax law; and took a leading part for manhood-suffrage. In 1890 he succeeded in uniting the Liberal and the Labor leaders; and on becoming premier he inaugurated the era of radical reforms with regard to land, etc., which has made New Zealand so prosperous.

BALLOU, ADIN: Founder of Hopedale Community; born in Cumberland, R. I., 1803. His ancestor, Maturin Ballou, in 1646 aided in founding the city of Providence, R. I. At eleven years of age Adin Ballou felt a fervor of the Divine spirit, and at eighteen he preached his first discourse. He became a Universalist, published books and pamphlets, and edited many papers on reformatory subjects. In 1841 he founded the HOPEDALE COMMUNITY in Massachusetts, which, as long as it remained under his management, succeeded in doing the good it started out to accomplish. Ballou remained at its head for over ten years, but was finally superseded by an intriguing business man, who got the lead and ruined the community. Mr. Ballou died in 1890. (For his views, see HOPEDALE.)

BALTIMORE, MD.: Social reform movements in Baltimore are characterized by qualities growing inevitably out of the somewhat unique position and history of the city. With a large negro population (a larger negro vote than any city in the union except Washington) the city has its full share of ignorance and poverty, and yet, descending from its early history, traditions of aristocracy and in some ways of feudal relationship between the rich and the poor, which are not common in the United States. Such relations exist elsewhere in the South, but in many ways Baltimore is not a Southern city. A situation favorable to commerce early developed a considerable foreign trade and local manufacture. The trade of the "Baltimore clippers" before the war became famous. Tho this was cut off by the war and hurt by the great fire of 1904, the city emerged from that experience to develop a very energetic commercial and industrial life.

History

The aristocratic element came first. The foundation of Baltimore in 1829 was under the influence of the proprietary government of Maryland. It had been the intention of Lord Baltimore, the first lord proprietor, to found a feudal state, largely for Catholics, tho Protestants were to be free to dwell there and conduct their faith. Maryland early outgrew this intention, but the influence of its beginnings has never wholly disappeared.

Ignorance, however, soon followed. Slavery was introduced and Maryland became a slave-holding state. Strong influences from Washington as well as in the State, in period of the rebellion, saved Maryland from seceding, but large numbers of her people sympathized with the South and many entered the Confederate army. After the close of the war the proximity to the South induced many colored freedmen to settle in Baltimore, providing her citizens and her commerce with cheap labor, and her politicians with a large element that could be easily bought. In 1900 Baltimore had a population of 508,957, of whom 79,739 were colored, 68,600 were foreign born, a small proportion for the U. S. The illiterate population was 29,148, of which 17,037 were colored and 12,111 "poor whites." Such conditions mean a low standard of labor, and Baltimore has never been a strong trade-union city. Commerce, however, has flourished.

Equally, however, until recently, has political corruption flourished, and Baltimore passed through a great period of municipal corruption in connection with public connivance with Senator Gorman's Democratic machine. In 1885, however, a Reform League was organized, and a fight upon corruption begun. For ten years, however, little or no impression was made. Only in 1895 did it succeed, through activity and watchfulness in ward clubs, in defeating the city machine, and electing a Republican governor and U. S. senator. But this was in part (tho not wholly) a mere party victory. In 1898, however, a new and progressive charter was obtained, going into effect March 1, 1900.

Corruption

Executive functions are vested in a mayor elected for four years, a few other officials, and in seven executive departments: Finance, Law, Public Safety, Public Improvements, Public Parks and Squares, Education, Charities and Correction, Review and Assessments. These officials (except the controller) and heads

New Charter

of departments were appointed by the mayor, subject to approval by the Second House, giving, therefore, very centralized responsibility, especially since they may be removed by the mayor, at pleasure, for the first six months, and after that by trial and for cause. The sole power of money appropriations is in a board of estimates, all of whom are elected by the people. No money can be appropriated unless actually in the treasury, a condition which works for honesty, conservatism, and against municipal operations. A separate spring election has called attention to city conditions as apart from the state and country, and has resulted in the election of better councilors. The result has been that Baltimore is almost unique among the large cities of the U. S. in not having the question of corruption prominently up for the last ten years, Much of the credit for this is due to the first mayor under the new charter, Thomas G. Hayes.

Civic Reform

The better element of citizens, however, have largely helped. The Baltimore Reform League is a somewhat small and compact organization of influential citizens, but a Municipal League, organized in 1905, enrolls 3,000 members.

It is in part due to Baltimore's wealth and aristocracy that the city, in spite of many ignorant citizens, has long ranked as one of the foremost educational centers of the country. Johns Hopkins University, opened in 1876 by the munificence of a Baltimore merchant, has been a pioneer in postgraduate study and has influenced the whole city. A Roman Catholic seminary and college, a woman's college, two colored advanced institutions, besides various professional schools and departments of the University of Maryland, increase this influence. The Enoch Pratt Free Library has 200,000 volumes and several branches. The Peabody Institute, founded by George Peabody, who laid the foundations of his wealth in Baltimore, has 145,000 volumes, art gallery, and conservatory of music. Public schools are also well developed, one of the chief successes of the new charter being in its freeing of the schools from politics and the development of the Department of Education.

Charity has been well organized in Baltimore. A fine Federated Charities Building was opened in 1903. The Lawrence House Settlement (founded 1893) and the more recent Locust Point Social Settlement are doing good work. Several churches have well-appointed parish houses for social work and many now show considerable institutional activity.

Charities

The following are some of the more important social and charitable institutions:

Federation Charities Building, 101 West Saratoga Street.
Lawrence House, 816 West Lombard Street.
Locust Point Social Settlement, 1504 Fort Avenue.
Baltimore Reform League, 18 East Lexington Street.
Municipal League, 126 Law Building.
Socialist Headquarters, 1011 East Baltimore Street.
Young Men's Christian Association, 302 North Charles Street.
Young Women's Christian Association, Park Avenue and Franklin Street.
Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 516 Park Avenue.
State Board of Education, Carrollton and Lafayette Avenues.
Baltimore Federation of Labor, Baltimore and North Streets.
Labor Leader, 27 Franklin Building.
Labor Lyceum, 1011 East Baltimore Street.
State Bureau of Industrial Statistics, 109 Equitable Building.

BANDS OF HOPE: Temperance organizations for juveniles, established throughout all English-speaking countries. In the United States the name has been generally changed to "Loyal Temperance Legion," altho some local organizations are continued under the old name. The Band of Hope pledge in this country is as follows: "I hereby solemnly pledge myself to abstain from the use of all intoxicating drinks, including wine, beer, and cider, as a beverage; from the use of tobacco in every form, and from all profanity."

The first society called a Band of Hope was formed in Leeds, England, in 1847, more than 200 children taking the pledge: "I promise to abstain from all intoxicating drinks as beverages." In Great Britain there are probably over 2,000 juvenile temperance societies of one kind or other. In 1851 the first Band of Hope Union was formed. Its sphere of work is in Bands of Hope, Sunday-schools, day-schools, colleges, orphan asylums, industrial and district schools, training ships, reformatories, and the homes of the children. The latest estimate of the strength of the movement shows that there are nearly 15,000 Bands of Hope and juvenile temperance organizations in Great Britain, with upward of 20,000 members.

BANK OF ENGLAND: Established in 1694 with a capital of £1,200,000. It was projected by William Paterson, a Scotchman who had had business experience in America. In 1816 the capital reached £14,553,000, the present amount, with a reserve fund of £3,000,000. Its issue department is limited to £14,000,000, tho this may be increased if other note-issuing banks discontinue issues. The Bank of England pays £180,000 a year for its exclusive privileges, and is paid £247,000 a year (less charges of £124,000) for acting as the government's banker in managing the national debt, loans, bonds, and much of the colonial business. In case of panic the government can permit the bank to issue notes beyond the legal amount, and this usually ends the panic. The bank is controlled by a governor, a deputy, and twenty-four directors, elected by the stockholders.

BANK OF VENICE, THE: This famous bank, which has played an important part in monetary discussion, dates according to some from 1171, and according to others, from 1619. This is because the latter authorities deny that up to 1619 it was a bank in any modern or correct sense of the word. Stephen Colwell, in his "Ways and Means of Payment," has made this bank an argument for the practicability of fiat money, tho these conclusions are severely criticized by their opponents. Mr. B. S. Heath, in his "Labor and Finance Revolution," says in brief:

Stephen Colwell's digest of fourteen authorities leads to the following deductions, as will be seen by perusal of his able work:

It proves that there was a national bank of Venice founded on a loan of 2,000,000 ducats spent by the State in 1171, and the bank existed within the memory of living men, a period of 626 years, during which time it was gradually enlarged over 700 per cent.

That, in 1423, the 4 per cent interest previously paid was abolished.

That all promise of reimbursement, other than transfer of credit receipts, was abolished.

That no coin was kept as a specie basis of credit, or for strengthening the nation.

That no promise to pay any coin was made after 1423, for nearly 400 years of its continuance.

That the premium fixt by law of 20 per cent premium over the Venetian gold ducat, so celebrated for its fineness in ex-

port, was a real superiority of legal money of account over the commodity gold, and over gold currency.

That it was not dependent on any promise of convertibility or redemption in gold, as no claim for any gold was acknowledged in the National Bank.

That it continued for nearly 400 years with all these extraordinary attributes, producing no financial derangements and no opposition; but, on the contrary, grew until it exceeded the money per capita of any nation in Europe, ancient and modern, and was the pride of Venice, the envy of Europe.

That it only fell when Napoleon conquered Venice, when it had reached an issue exceeding $16,000,000 of government credit or money for 200,000 people, excluding the dependencies of Venice.

On the other hand, Professor Dunbar, in Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy," gives an account different in several essential points. According to him, the bank was simply a bank of deposit under public officers. In 1619 it was changed into the Banco del Giro, long known as the Bank of Venice. It received funds both for the State and individuals, making a small charge for holding private deposits. Transfers were made upon the books by the order of depositors; bills of exchange were paid, and the tender of payment for any sum not less than 100 ducats could not be refused. Loans to the government compelled it to suspend more than once, especially from 1717–39. For the greater part of its existence, however, it received or paid out cash on demand. It kept its accounts in ducats *banco*, which had no corresponding coin, but were credited or redeemed by the bank as might be required at an advance of 20 per cent, above the ducat *effectivo* of the mint. Whatever be the origin of this, it seems finally to have represented a mere difference of denomination.

BANKS AND BANKING: A bank may be defined as an institution for receiving money at or without interest, for loaning, discounting, or transmitting money, and sometimes for issuing notes. (See SAVINGS-BANKS; COOPERATIVE BANKS; CURRENCY.)

I.—General History

The name "bank" is derived from the Italian *banco*, a bench, from the benches in the markets on which the early money-changers were wont to sit. Passing by obscure references to money-lenders and usurers on Assyrian tablets in Egyptian records and classic and sacred literature, the origin of modern banking is largely to be found in Florence, altho the BANK OF VENICE was the first real bank. The names of the Bardi, Acciajuoli, Peruzzi, Pitti, and Medici were famous throughout Europe. In 1345 the Bardi and the Peruzzi, the two greatest mercantile houses in Italy, failed. Edward III. owed the Bardi 900,000 gold florins, which his war with France prevented him from paying; and the King of Sicily owed them 100,000 gold fl. The deposits of citizens and strangers with the Bardi were 550,000 gold fl. The Peruzzi were owed 600,000 gold fl. by Edward III. and 100,000 by the King of Sicily, and the deposits they owed their customers were 350,000 gold fl. The fall of these two great pillars of credit involved that of multitudes of other smaller establishments. The city, however, recovered from this terrible disaster, and we find that between 1430–33 seventy-six bankers at Florence lent 4,865,000 gold fl. At one time Florence is said to have had eighty bankers, but not any public bank.

Early Banks

The first bank to be established on really modern principles as a bank issuing notes payable to bearers at sight is the Bank of Sweden, established by a Swede named Palmstruck, in 1656. Its first bank-note was issued in 1658. This bank became the Riks Bank (National Bank) of Sweden in 1688, and still carries on business as such. Banking in Germany, save for the great Bank of Hamburg, presents little of interest. Each German state had its own banking laws and banks of issue, confined mainly to its own neighborhood. After the unification of the empire by an act of 1875—the Bank of Germany was established, and thirty-two banks were recognized as possessing rights of uncovered issue of 135,000,000 marks, the bank of Germany being allowed 250,000,000 mk. The state itself has the right of issue of 120,000,000 mk. in small denominations. France has many large banks besides the Bank of France, among others the Comptoir d'Escompte, founded 1848; the Crédit Foncier and Crédit Mobilier, 1852; the Crédit Lyonnais, 1863; the Société Générale, 1864.

Continental European Banking

England has many old banks. Says Mr. Courteney: "The still existing bank of Messrs. Smith & Co., of Nottingham, the parent of the London establishment of Messrs. Smith, Payne & Smiths, claims to have been established in 1688; the Bristol Old Bank (Messrs. Baillie, Cave & Co.) dates from 1750; the Hull Old Bank (Messrs. Pease & Co.) from 1754; and many other country banks trace back their history to the latter half of the 18th century. It is believed that all these bankers issued their own notes payable to bearer as part of their business; and they were not very scrupulous in regard to the magnitude of the sums for which they were given. The Bank of England had not issued any notes for less than £20 previously to 1759, when it commenced the issue of £10 notes; but the country bankers put in circulation notes for such small sums that Parliament enacted, in 1775, that none should be issued for less than £1. In 1777 this minimum limit was further raised to £5, but in spite of this restriction the number and the amount of the issues of the country bankers soon became dangerously multiplied."

Banking in England

In 1792 there were said to have been 350 banks. In the panic of 1792–93, about 300 banks suspended payments, and 50 were totally destroyed. After the panic, however, banks gradually multiplied till 1825, when the circulation of notes of less than £5 was forbidden. Joint-stock banks with any number of partners were allowed to issue, but did not multiply again till 1834–36, when there was a rush into banking, leading to the passage of the Banking Act of 1844. (See BANK OF ENGLAND.)

II.—Banking in the United States to the Period of the War of the Rebellion

As early as 1690 the colony of Massachusetts issued bills of credit, making the paper legal tender for taxes and other debts, the notes being payable to the bearer on demand. This was five years before the establishment of the Bank of England; and William Paterson, the father of that bank, had been in the colonies and studied the Massachusetts experiment. This

Colonial Period

issuing of bills of credit was repeated with various modifications by Massachusetts and the other colonies through all their history. (See CURRENCY.)

In 1739 a land bank and a specie bank, according to modern banking methods, were started in Massachusetts. The latter, however, closed in 1740, when Parliament extended the old Joint-Stock Companies' Act (passed after the South Sea Bubble, 1720) to the colonies; the former bank, however, struggling and battling for its life for the next ten years.

Bank of North America

Dec. 31, 1781, Congress chartered the Bank of North America in Philadelphia. It had a capital of $400,000, and took its origin in a union of citizens of Philadelphia, formed to supply the army with rations. They were allowed to issue notes to buy the articles required. Congress ordered bills drawn on American ministers abroad to be deposited in the bank as a guaranty of payment; $70,000 in specie were subscribed by individuals in 1782, and the remainder by the government, out of the proceeds of a foreign loan. It issued convertible notes, redeemable in Spanish dollars; but the people were slow to take them. However, it made large dividends, and was attacked by a rival, which it was obliged to absorb.

The first bank of the United States under the Constitution was chartered by Congress in 1791. The capital was $10,000,000. One fifth of the stock was owned by the United States and $8,000,000 by the people. Six of the eight millions were government indebtedness; and $2,000,000, money. Notes of the bank were made receivable for all obligations due the government for twenty years, or during the life of the charter. The bank always paid coin when demanded, but the notes were legal tender to the government, and, therefore, satisfactory to the people, whether the bank paid coin or not. This was made plain by the law, and was demonstrated in the last four years of the life of the charter, when the most bitter controversy was carried on between the bank and the president and cabinet. When the time came to renew its charter (1811), ninety state banks had grown up to oppose it. It had been successful, and paid 8 or 10 per cent a year to its stockholders. It was charged that the bank controlled elections in the state, and was then laboring to control those of the nation. Reports charging the bank with corruption, and even insolvency, were circulated, and the charter was not renewed.

The following table, from the report of the Controller of the Currency for 1892, gives a convenient *résumé* of the banks in the United States in the period we are now considering:

SPECIE, CIRCULATION, CAPITAL, AND NUMBER OF BANKS IN THE U. S., 1774–1804

YEAR	No. of banks	Specie	Circulation	Capital
1774.....	.....	$4,000,000	.....	.....
1784.....	3	10,000,000	$2,000,000	$2,100,000
1794.....	17	21,500,000	11,600,000	18,000,000
1804.....	59	17,500,000	14,000,000	39,500,000

From 1800 to the War of the Rebellion

Banking of the wildest kind was now the rule. After 1805 notes were allowed for sums under $5, and finally were issued as low as for twenty-five cents. Specie was driven out. A crash came in 1809. Severe bank laws were passed. In 1813 the New England Bank was chartered as a bank of redemption at Boston, in order to keep the paper of the adjacent county at par. It did this, but was unpopular, and was the beginning of the Suffolk bank system.

The note circulation of the banks of the country is estimated, in 1811, by Gallatin, at $46,000,000. The country being at war, $57,000,000 were borrowed by the government from 1812 to 1814. Treasury notes for one year were issued in 1812 to the amount of $3,000,000; in 1813, to $6,000,000; and in 1814, to $8,000,000. Silver flowed to New England. In 1814 all the banks save those in New England suspended payment. Notes were depreciated from 20 to 50 per cent. The Secretary of the Treasury now began to be engaged in the money market. He tried to get the banks to come to some agreement. He ordered that taxes should be received only in specie, treasury notes, or notes of banks which received treasury notes at par. Madison recommended another national bank.

The second United States bank was finally opened Jan. 1, 1817. It began business with $1,400,000 in specie, $14,000,000 in stocks, and the rest in stock notes. It was to have a capital of $7,000,000. A second instalment of $2,800,000 was soon due, but only $32,400 was paid in specie, the rest mainly from notes or discounts of the bank itself. The third instalment was still worse. The bank discounted its own stock at par to pay the instalment. In Aug., 1817, the bank discounted its own stock at 125. The facilities for stock-jobbing were used. Congress resolved that after Feb. 20, 1817, only specie, treasury notes, and notes of specie-paying banks ought to be taken by the national treasury. The banks refused to resume before July, 1817. The Western banks were still comparatively sound. The Southern banks had become inflated. The inflation was increased during the year by the government paying off $11,000,000 of the public securities held by the banks. The note circulation at this time is estimated at $100,000,000.

The Second National Bank

By March, 1818, the discounts of the United States Bank were $43,000,000—$11,000,000 on stocks. It had $2,000,000 in specie. It had now eighteen branches, but only $3,000,000 of specie in them all. Its operations in the West drew that region into the "golden" age. The bank now bought $7,000,000 bullion in the West Indies. Fifteen months after it was started it was doubtful if the bank was solvent. In November, Congress appointed a committee of investigation, which reported unfavorably; but Congress would not respond, forty members being stockholders. The bank now took energetic measures to save itself, and in seventy days was solvent, but had ruined the community. In Aug., 1819, there were 20,000 seeking work in Philadelphia, and a similar state of things existed in other cities. Land in Pennsylvania was worth, in 1809, $38 per acre; in 1815, $150; in 1819, $35. The note circulation of the country in 1812 was about $45,000,000; in 1817, $100,000,000; in 1819, $45,000,000. Financial distress was general and lasted till 1823. Money was plentiful in the hands of those who had no debts to pay, as they would not invest. In 1823 the circulation of the United States Bank was very low—$4,081,842; but there was a great creation of banks, and the bank began to expand and receive the notes of all its branches.

In 1826 there was dulness and reaction throughout the year. In 1827 money was plentiful, and continued so with some changes till 1831. President Jackson commenced his attack on the United States Bank in his first message (1829). About 1830 American securities began to attract English investments, in canals, steamboats, and, later, in railroads. Currency, however, became more and more of a political issue.

The Bank War, 1832–1836

Jackson committed his party to hard money. In 1832 the United States Bank petitioned for a renewal of its charter, which was to expire in 1836. The bill passed both Houses, but was vetoed by the president. A violent warfare was now begun by the bank. It is certain

that the bank had paid little heed to the laws of the state or of prudence, expanding or contracting according to will. In 1832 Jackson defeated Clay by 288 to 49 in the electoral college. In his message in Dec., 1832, he recommended the sale of the $7,000,000 stock of the United States Bank which was owned by the nation, and an investigation into the bank. Bank shares fell from 112 to 104, but recovered to 112 on a favorable report of the treasury agent. This report showed $79,000,000 assets and $37,000,000 liabilities, besides $35,000,000 capital and $7,000,000 surplus. But when the government desired to pay the 3 per cents in July, 1832, the bank agreed to pay the interest on them if the payment might be delayed so long. It then negotiated a loan of $5,000,000 from Barings, the reason given being fear of the cholera. This caused fear for the public deposits, but a resolution that they were safe was carried, through the influence of the bank, 109 to 46. After Congress adjourned (Sept. 22, 1832), the president ordered Mr. Duane, the secretary of the treasury, to remove the public deposits from the bank. He refused, and was replaced by Mr. Taney, who did it. The order was that the collectors should send no more deposits to it, but to state banks. There was no sudden transfer, but it was proposed to withdraw at intervals. The bank began war, and began to draw in its loans. On the assembling of Congress, the Senate resolved (28 to 18) that the president had usurped unconstitutional powers. The House never noticed the resolution, but resolved (134 to 82) that the bank charter should not be renewed. The contraction of the money market caused great distress. It was stated that the bank caused this to obtain a renewed charter. It was claimed that they loaned to a select few who reloaned at usurious rates. The aggregate amount of loans, however, steadily decreased all these years.

Meanwhile, the bank war went on. The bank, finding that it could not coerce the people, and that smaller banks were taking its place, changed its policy and expanded, President Jackson using this as a proof that it had unnecessarily contracted before. The president induced many of the states to pass laws forbidding the issue of small notes, and this largely favored convertibility. These were times when cotton could command good prices, and railroad and other investments and speculation were good. The public debt was now nearly extinguished. On July 11, 1836, the president issued the famous Specie Circular, by which he ordered agents for the sale of public lands to take specie only. Congress in December passed an act rescinding this, but it did not become law, the president not signing it. The United States Bank not being able to renew its charter, now obtained a charter from Pennsylvania—by bribery, as it was asserted. It had not yet paid back the government stock or the dividends which it held for contracting a loan with France that finally never materialized. It continued to reissue the notes of the old United States Bank which it received. Gold, being forced on the market in this country, came here from England. In April, 1836, the gold reserve in the Bank of England began to lower, and this continued all summer. Nowhere had paper money been more in use than in the South. In March, 1837, several New Orleans houses failed. Next, the pressure was felt in New York, and then became general. There were 100 failures in New York in March, and the losses were $15,000,000. In March a meeting was held in New York, addrest by Webster. He laid the trouble to the government interfering with the currency and to the Specie Circular. A committee of fifty was sent to the president (Van Buren) to ask for its rescinding. The committee, in its address, spoke of 250 failures and 20,000 individuals discharged by their employers, and they laid it all to the effort to put metallic in place of paper currency. But they could obtain nothing from the president. In May the New York banks suspended in a body, a law being passed allowing them to suspend for one year. Suspension became general through the Union. Specie was driven out of the market, and all kinds of notes circulated instead. The New York banks then began to contract to be ready to resume. Nearly all the banks made money by the suspension, and paid good dividends during the year. In 1838, Congress passed an act forbidding the Pennsylvania Bank of the United States from using the old United States Bank notes. On May 10, 1838, most of the banks in New York City and in the Union resumed, the Bank of England sending $1,000,000 to aid them. There was a general revival of trade, but it was not permanent. Gold in the Bank of England again declined. The Bank of Belgium failed. The Bank of England borrowed £2,500,000 of the Bank of France. During the same year the Bank of the United States became involved in cotton speculation. Several banks, especially in the South and West, failed. The management of the United States Bank became reckless. It owed from $10,000,000 to $20,000,000, and tried to borrow of various banks in Europe. On Oct. 10, 1839, it failed, and carried with it all the banks of the South and West. Three hundred and forty-three out of 850 banks in the Union closed entirely, and 62 partially. Some $2,000,000 of government deposits were lost. This suspension lasted by law till Jan. 15, 1841. As soon as the bank opened again a run on it commenced, and it suspended finally Feb. 4, 1841. Its capital was a total loss, the shareholders receiving nothing. But all the creditors and all the circulating notes were paid in full, principal and interest, and the United States Treasury cleared some $6,000,000 above the $7,000,000 originally paid in.

The Panic of 1837

Widespread Depression

When it failed the Bank of the United States owed the Bank of England $23,000,000. Its failure, and, above all, the repudiation of indebtedness by several states ruined American credit abroad, and cost the bank many friends here.

In 1840 the Independent Treasury Act was passed, giving the government the custody of its own funds. It was only accomplished after a severe struggle, as it withdrew the public funds from use as banking capital.

NUMBER OF BANKS IN THE U. S., THEIR CAPITAL, ETC., IN THE YEARS 1811–40

YEAR	No.	Capital	Circulation	Specie
1811.....	89	$52,720,601	$28,100,000	$15,400,000
1830.....	330	145,192,268	61,323,898	22,114,917
1840.....	722	358,442,692	106,968,572	33,105,155

Among the new measures were the Suffolk Bank plan in Massachusetts, and the New York Safety-Fund System. The Suffolk Bank plan was merely an arrangement whereby

that bank was made the channel through which all notes of New England banks that found their way to Boston, as most of them naturally did, were at once forwarded to the issuers for redemption. The New York Safety-Fund System, which is the cardinal principle of the present national banking plan, required each bank to deposit, with the banking department of the state, securities consisting of federal or state stocks, or bonds and mortgages, which, in case of the failure of the bank, were sold, and the proceeds applied to the liquidation of its debts.

1840–1860

From 1844 things began to mend. Railroads were rapidly developed, and the discovery of gold in California added another powerful element to the industrial development. Our credit abroad slowly mended. By 1854 it was estimated that $200,000,000 of state, railway, and other bonds were held abroad, and in 1857, $400,000,000. Bank-notes expanded. Gold was exported; currency set toward the financial centers, the country banks keeping their balances generally in New York.

The following tables from the report of the Controller of the Currency for 1892, give the position of the state banks from 1834–63:

Year	Liabilities					
	No. of banks	Capital stock	Circulation	Deposits	Due to banks	Other liabilities
1834	506	$200,005,944	$94,839,570	$75,666,986	$26,602,293	.....
1839	840	327,132,512	135,170,995	90,240,146	53,135,508	$62,946,248
1844	696	210,872,056	75,167,646	84,550,785	31,998,024	5,842,010
1849	782	207,309,361	114,743,415	91,178,623	30,095,366	6,706,357
1854	1,208	301,376,071	204,689,207	188,188,744	50,322,162	13,439,276
1859	1,476	401,976,242	193,306,818	259,568,278	68,215,651	15,048,427
1863	1,466	405,045,829	238,677,218	393,686,226	100,526,527	53,814,145

Year	Resources							
	Loans and discounts	Stocks	Due from banks, etc.	Real estate, etc.	Notes of other banks	Specie fund	Specie	Other resources
1834	$324,119,499	$6,113,195	$27,329,645	$10,850,090	$22,154,919	$26,641,753	.....	$1,723,547
1839	492,278,015	36,128,464	52,898,357	16,607,832	27,372,966	3,612,567	$45,132,673	28,352,248
1844	264,905,814	22,858,570	35,860,930	22,520,863	11,672,473	6,729,980	49,808,269	12,153,693
1849	332,323,195	23,571,575	32,228,407	17,491,809	12,708,016	8,680,483	43,619,368	7,965,463
1854	557,397,779	44,350,330	55,516,085	22,367,472	22,659,066	25,579,253	59,410,253	7,589,830
1859	657,183,799	63,502,449	78,244,987	25,976,497	18,858,289	26,808,822	104,537,818	8,323,041
1863	648,601,863	180,508,260	96,934,452	31,880,495	58,164,328	46,171,518	101,227,369	22,003,443

III.—The War Period and the National Banking System

When the War of the Rebellion began, the paper in circulation in the country was about $200,000,000—about three fourths among the loyal states. The specie available was estimated at $275,000,000. The opinion was that the war would be short. In 1862, Congress authorized the issue of $150,000,000 in notes, of which $50,000,000 was for withdrawal of the demand notes. This was the famous Legal Tender Act. The notes were legal tender except for imposts on duties and interest on the public debt. The friends of these "greenbacks" claim that it was this limitation which caused them to depreciate; but we are here only concerned with the fact and its bearing on the banking system. (See Currency.) Whatever be the reason, they did depreciate. Albert Gallatin, in a famous proposition, advocated a prohibitory tax on existing bank-notes and the establishment of a currency founded on public stock, or possibly mortgages on real estate. John J. Knox, in his excellent review of the national banking system, ascribes the first suggestion of its underlying principles to an unknown writer in *The Analectic Magazine*, who, in 1815, a period of utter demoralization in our currency, advocated a system in which public funds were to serve as the basis, support, and limit of American money. But there was a formidable opposition to every description of banks of issue inherited from the experience of reckless banking. It was finally favored only under pressure of war necessity. Secretary Chase, in his first annual report (1861), discust the advantages of a national banking system substantially as finally adopted. But the country was not ready.

Present National Banking System

In December of 1862, Secretary Chase again urged upon Congress the advantages of a national banking system, and reiterated the danger of United States notes. Meanwhile, the sentiment in and out of Congress had rapidly changed in favor of the proposition, and on Feb. 25, 1863, a bill, recommended by Senator Sherman and favorably reported by the Finance Committee of the upper House became law. The vote taken in the Senate Feb. 12 stood 23 to 21; that of the House, taken Feb. 20, 78 to 64, the president signing five days later.

It is needless to remark, in view of the immense personal financial interests involved and the prejudices to be overcome, that the discussion of the bill was decidedly warm. The ablest arguments for and against were those made in the upper House by Senators Sherman and Collamer, the latter of Vermont. By this law any association of five or more persons was authorized upon deposit of registered or coupon bonds to the minimum amount of $50,000 to receive 90 per cent of the par value of the same in bank-notes, which, being properly signed, were receivable for all government dues, except duties on imports, and were payable on all government debts, except interest on bonds. In compensation for the issue privilege, banks organized under this act were required to pay a tax on circulation, the rate being fixed at 1 per cent by amendatory legislation in 1864. Each association was required to conform to the law of its own state in the matter of interest rates, and was compelled to maintain a special reserve for its notes and deposits, and to redeem circulation at the place of issue.

The amount of circulation was fixed at $300,000,000, to be distributed throughout the states, territories, and District of Columbia, one half in proportion to the population, the remaining half in proportion to banking capital and business needs. The law provided for the establishment of a finance bureau, at the head of which was to be an officer called the Controller of the Currency, who was given general oversight of the entire system. The original bill has been repeatedly amended, yet its leading features, with certain important exceptions, remain valid to-day; the principal changes being made the next year, providing for redemption in certain specified leading cities,

Working Method

excluding coupon bonds from the list of securities, increasing the minimum of capital from $50,000 to $100,000, and providing for the easy conversion of state banks.

The bill had received the president's approval Feb. 25, 1863, but it was nearly four months then before a bank was organized under it, and five before one was opened in the city of New York. Up to Dec. 10, 1863, only 134 had been incorporated, and up to Nov. 25, 1864, only 584, of which 168 were state banks, reorganized under the national law. It is obvious that up to this time the state banks had continued to supply the major part of the currency of the country.

Mr. Fessenden had now become the Secretary of the Treasury, and Mr. McCulloch Controller of the Currency, and they agreed in opinion that the time had come when it was necessary to discriminate against the state banks in some manner if the good to be hoped from the national system was to be realized. State-bank systems were antagonistic to the national system, and they should not be suffered to exist unchecked and uncontrolled. It was indispensable to the financial success of the treasury that the currency of the country should be under the control of the government, and this could not be the case so long as state institutions had the right to flood the country with their issues. So thought these officers; and under their recommendation Congress was induced to pass an act, approved March 3, 1865, which provided, "That every national banking association, state bank, or state banking association, shall pay a tax of 10 per centum on the amount of the notes of any state bank or state banking association paid out by them after the first day of July, 1866." This act has in substance been continued to this day, and is now in force. Under and in consequence of it state banks of issue have ceased to exist.

Until recently, the country has had a period of changes in the currency rather than in banks or banking. (See CURRENCY.) The failure of the important house of Jay Cooke & Co. in 1873 precipitated a crisis, but the holders of national bank-notes were protected by the treasury deposits. (See CRISES.)

More recently, owing to the silver question (see SILVER), there has been something of a serious agitation for the abolition of the tax on state banks. On the more recent enormous development of banking, we quote, in condensed form, an article in *The Independent* (1906), from Mr. Sereno S. Pratt (editor of *The Wall Street Journal*): "The banking power of the world is estimated at $33,608,000,000, of which 41 per cent is in the United States. The increase in this country is computed by the Controller of the Currency as having been 168 per cent in fourteen years, against 82 per cent in foreign countries. At this rate it will not be long before the United States will contain a larger banking power than all the other nations put together.

Recent Development

"The total bank deposits in the United States in 1904 were $10,110,000,000, as compared with $4,535,000,000 in 1893, an increase of 123 per cent. In the same year the total amount of actual money in the United States was $2,803,500,000, of which $1,982,000,000 were in upward of 15,000 banks; so that there were over three dollars of deposits to every dollar of money in the country and over ten dollars of deposits to every dollar of money in the banks. In this calculation the savings-banks are included, altho they are institutions of safe-keeping and investment and not of discount. . . .

The recent growth of banking in this country presents these striking features:

(1) The extraordinary expansion of the trust-company business; (2) the growth of the national-bank system, especially in the small towns of the agricultural districts; (3) a notable development of banking power in the West; (4) the banking concentration which has gone on in the principal cities; (5) the interownership or alliance of banks and trust companies, making what are sometimes called "chains" of banking institutions (see CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH); (6) an eager and wasteful competition for deposits; and (7) the introduction of "department-store" methods in banking, many banks and trust companies.

This enormous growth of banking, and especially its concentration, has called general attention to it. The bankers themselves are eagerly discussing important questions. Some of these are: Shall the national bank-note circulation be made more "elastic"? President Roosevelt and Secretary Shaw say that it should. Shall the trust companies, which have grown so rapidly in number, deposits, and power, be compelled to keep larger cash reserves? Secretary Shaw, in his annual report, recommends that the trust companies of large capitalization be permitted to take out federal incorporations. Shall the banks themselves keep stronger reserves or make provision for more elastic reserves by gathering larger amounts of cash in July and August for use in the crop-moving periods? Shall the payment of interest, on deposits subject to withdrawal by check, be prohibited or materially reduced? What provisions should be made for a larger banking publicity?

"Ten years ago there were only 569 trust companies. There are now 1,115. During this time their resources have more than doubled, and they now amount to $3,802,000,000, or more than 27 per cent of the entire banking power of the country. Their deposits amount to $2,847,000,000, as compared with $4,735,000,000 in the national banks. Over $1,000,000,000 of the total trust-company deposits are in greater New York, where their competition with the banks constitutes one of the problems of the situation. The banking system, however, has grown, tho not so fast as the trust companies.

"The national-bank expansion has been especially notable since 1900, when, by the Act of March 14th, national banks could be incorporated with a minimum capital of $25,000. This has led to the organization of 2,666 national banks, or practically one third of the total number chartered since the national banking system was established. Of the total $4,735,000,000 of national-bank deposits on Aug. 25th, $2,117,000,000 were in the country banks. Secretary Wilson says: 'One of the most notable outgrowths of savings by farmers is the very great multiplication of small national banks in recent years." There is in New York, Chicago, and St. Louis $1,342,000,000 of national-bank deposits, while in thirty-five other banking centers there is $1,275,000,000; and in the rest of the country $2,117,000,000. Twenty-one per cent of the deposits are in New York City, but Chicago and Philadelphia hold over $200,000,000; three other cities—Boston, Pittsburg, and St. Louis—hold over $100,000,000; and four others—Kansas City, Cincinnati, Cleveland, and Baltimore—over $50,000,000.

"The resources of the national banks of the United States are greater than the capital of all the railroads of the country. Their outstanding loans are larger than the public debt of Great Britain, Russia, Germany, Italy, or Spain. They hold in securities 2 per cent of all the stocks and bonds admitted on the New York Stock Exchange. They hold in actual money 66 per cent of all the money in all of the banking institutions, public and private, in the United States. Their circulating notes, amounting to $533,000,000, are 20 per cent of all the money in circulation in the United States.

Concentration of Banking Power

"There has at the same time been a remarkable concentration, which has been accompanied by a close alliance between the big banks and groups of trust and insurance companies. In New York there are fewer banks but larger increased banking resources than ten years ago.

"A recent compilation showed that there are 149 national banks in the United States having gross deposits of $5,000,000, or more. There are 28 banks having deposits of over $22,000,000. These include 14 in New York, 4 in Chicago, 4 in Philadelphia, 2 in Boston, 2 in St. Louis, and 1 each in Pittsburg and Kansas City.

"In New York the National City, the National Bank of Commerce, the First National Bank, the National Park Bank, and the Hanover National Bank take the lead, their combined deposits making a total of $662,000,000. This is indeed immense, and yet there are 5 banks in Great Britain (not counting the Bank of England) whose total deposits and current accounts make the imposing total of $1,060,000,000. Yet the total deposits of all the joint-stock banks in Great Britain, this time including the Bank of England, is over $1,000,000,000 less than those of the national banks of the United States.

"In Chicago there is one bank, the First National, having deposits of $95,000,000, which ranks with the first five banks in the country.

"Not a few trust companies have also attained great size. In 1905 there were 20 trust companies, 14 of them outside of New York, having assets in excess of $23,000,000. There are 5 trust companies in New York having combined deposits of $280,000,000, comparing with $662,000,000 in the five largest banks. *The London Economist* recently observed that concentration there had been checked for the time being. Just now this is the case in New York, but the tendency is irresistible, and it will again begin to show its power."

The more radical criticism of the banks varies from criticism of the national system to attacks upon banking altogether. It is argued that a state-bank issue would be less free from danger at the hands of agitators, since, if they did get control of the legislation of one state, they would not be likely to of all state legislations at the same time; and so the whole national system would not be endangered as if all were under the control of one national body. There are those who would do away altogether with the chartering of private banks by either state or nation as banks of issue. These argue that the present system gives enormous advantages to the favored few who have capital. They point out that under the present system any five rich men can loan the government $100,000, receive interest on the same without any serious risk to themselves, and yet, while receiving this interest on the whole $100,000, can get $90,000 of this to let out again at interest as a bank. They go on to argue that our whole banking and currency system since the war, if not before, has been controlled by the bankers of our great cities wholly in their own interests. They accuse them of first scheming to put limitations upon the government issue so as to lessen its value, thus causing depreciation; secondly, of buying up this depreciated currency, and with it purchasing United States bonds at par, and then getting Congress to vote, under the pretense that honesty demanded it, the redemption of these bonds in gold (having sold them for paper); and, thirdly, on top of all this, of scheming to reduce the volume of the currency, and so to raise the value of the notes in their possession. The People's Party, therefore, all Socialists, Nationalists, Greenbackers, Knights of Labor, and many even who do not indorse Greenbackism would have all banking carried on directly by the government, without the intervention of private banks chartered by either state or nation as banks of issue. Prof. Amasa Walker, Francis Bowen, and other economists oppose such private banks. (See Currency; Greenbacks; Paper Money; People's Party.) Philosophical anarchists and extreme individualists, on the other hand, would abolish the present system by putting no dependence upon government, but substituting mutual banks. (See Mutual Banks.) Others, who do not go so far as either of the above extremes, would have simply a government postal-bank system or land banks, as in Germany. (See Land Banks.)

Radical Views

IV.—Latest Statistics

World's Banking Power, 1905

Classification	1890	1905	Increase over 1890	
			Amount	Per Cent
	Millions	*Millions*	*Millions*	
Banking power of the U. S.	$5,150.0	$15,333.9	$10,183.9	197.7
Banking power of foreign countries.	10,835.0	19,158.5	8,323.5	76.8
Banking power of the world	$15,985.0	$34,492.4	$18,507.4	115.8

The banking power of the U. S., including the island possessions, consisting of capital, surplus, other undivided profits, deposits and circulation, is shown to be $15,333,865,561. These figures include funds of the national banks, amounting to $5,711,271,024; reporting state banks and bankers, $9,062,923,037; and non-reporting banks, estimated, $559,671,500.

The world's banking power in 1890 was estimated by Mulhall at $15,985,000,000, the U. S. being credited with something less than one third of that amount. The present estimate, compared with that of 1890, shows that the banking power of the U. S. has increased since that date to the extent of $10,183,900,000, or 197.7 per cent; that of the foreign countries, $8,323,500,000, or 76.8 per cent; and the combined banking power, $18,507,400,000, or 115.8 per cent.

It will be noted from the table on page 97 that the Southern States show the largest percentage of increase in deposits during the period from June 30, 1896, to June 30, 1905, the percentage of increase in this section being 246.1, followed by the Western States, where the ratio of increase is 234.6; and, in the order named, the Middle Western States with 180.3, the Pacific States 171.6, the Eastern States 129.2, and the New England States 50.1. The average of increase for the United States is 129.2 per cent.

The average individual deposit in the U. S. per capita of population has steadily risen from $69 in 1896 to $95 in 1900, $122 in 1904, and $136 in 1905. The volume of exchanges of the 103 clearing-houses in the U. S. amounted to $140,501,841,957, as against $102,356,435,047 for the year ended Sept. 30, 1904, an increase of $38,145,406,910 and the largest gain in any year since these statistics have been published. The general prosperity of the country and confidence in the stability of business credits are evidenced in the volume of clearings effected during the current year.

References: *Lombard Street*, by Walter Bagehot, 1873; *History of Modern Banks of Issue*, by C. A. Conant, 1902; *Chapters on the Theory and History of Banking*, by C. F. Dunbar, 1901; *Money and Banking*, by W. A. Scott, 1903; *Money and Banking Illustrated by American History*, 1903; *Growth of American Banks*, by S. S. Pratt, in *The Independent*, 1906.

THE PRINCIPAL BANKS OF ISSUE OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES ABOUT JUNE, 1905
(IN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS)

EUROPEAN, ETC., BANKS	Capital	Circulation	Deposits	Current accounts and deposits belonging to Treasury	Specie	Loans	Rate of discount
							Per cent
Imperial Bank of Germany	28.9	388.7	144.8	.....	237.7	329.6	3
Banks of Issue of Germany	15.8	38.4	22.1	.....	15.4	51.0	.....
Bank of Austria-Hungary	41.9	341.1	33.2	0.6	302.0	151.1	3½
National Bank of Belgium	9.6	134.9	14.6	2.6	23.6	124.5	3
National Bank of Bulgaria	1.8	8.2	13.9	.7	5.3	17.1	8
National Bank of Denmark	6.8	33.3	1.3	.....	24.7	16.7	4
Bank of Spain	28.9	311.2	113.8	6.9	186.1	167.3	4½
Bank of Finland	1.9	14.3	4.7	.....	5.1	20.5	5
Bank of France	35.2	871.1	132.7	57.4	798.8	221.5	3
National Bank of Greece	3.9	24.2	19.9	.5	.4	29.7	.....
Italy:							
Bank of Italy	28.9	188.2	34.9	42.4	121.9	89.7	5
Bank of Naples	11.6	61.9	16.2	.....	26.1	33.2	5
Bank of Sicily		14.4	7.3	2.9	8.8	10.4	5
Bank of Norway	3.5	21.6	2.3	.....	6.9	18.1	5
Bank of Netherlands	8.0	104.9	6.1	2.9	65.9	48.9	2½
Bank of Portugal	14.6	73.6	2.2	29.8	12.8	25.0	5½
National Bank of Rumania	2.9	32.6	.....	.....	10.1	16.9	5
United Kingdom:							
Bank of England	70.8	150.7	223.5	72.3	195.2	167.0	2½
Banks of Scotland	45.3	35.0	507.5	.....	27.2	347.5	.....
Banks of Ireland	35.5	32.3	267.5	.....	15.6	209.0	.....
Imperial Bank of Russia	28.3	486.0	79.9	43.9	522.7	253.5	5½
National Bank of Servia	1.1	6.5	.4	.....	3.7	3.5	6
Royal Bank of Sweden	11.9	47.9	14.7	.....	19.4	45.2	4½
Banks of Issue of Switzerland	30.1	45.2	272.8	.....	23.1	218.8	3½
Imperial Ottoman Bank	24.0	6.0	46.2	10.4	12.2	36.8	.....
Bank of Japan	15.0	131.3	8.4	116.1	60.4	148.8	8.03
Bank of Algiers	.....	22.3	2.3	7.6	10.8	21.1	.....
Total	506.2	3,625.8	1,993.2	397.0	2,741.9	2,822.4	.....
OTHER FOREIGN BANKS							
England, joint stock and private banks of [1]	263.5	3.0	3,204.4	.....	[2] 888.6	2,039.2	.....
Banks of Mexico	122.6	89.4	282.7	.....	72.2	242.9	.....
Banks of Canada	83.0	62.5	557.2	.....	19.6	569.9	.....
Banks of Australasia	87.5	22.8	587.7	.....	[3] 127.5	513.9	.....
Banks of Central and South America [4]	128.6	29.2	373.0	.....	[5] 143.0	342.2	.....
Total	1,191.4	3,832.7	6,998.2	397.0	3,992.8	6,530.5	.....

[1] Statement of European banks from *Bulletin de Statistique*, August, 1905, except deposits and advances of banks of Scotland and Ireland and the capital stock of the various banks.
[2] Cash money at call and short notice.
[3] Includes bullion, etc.
[4] Figures for 1904.
[5] Includes paper currency.

BANKING IN THE UNITED STATES

BANKS	Number	CAPITAL		INDIVIDUAL DEPOSITS	
		Amount	Per cent	Amount	Per cent
1905					
National	5,668	791,567,231	51.41	3,783,658,494	32.10
State, etc	10,742	671,599,149	48.59	7,567,080,822	67.90
Non-reporting	3,500	76,664,000		435,582,000	
Total	19,910	1,539,830,380	100.00	11,786,321,316	100.00

NATIONAL BANKS

DATE	Number of banks	Net deposits	Reserve required	RESERVE HELD		CLASSIFICATION OF RESERVE		
				Amount	Ratio to deposits	Lawful money	Due from agents	Redemption fund
		Millions	*Millions*	*Millions*	*Per cent*	*Millions*	*Millions*	*Millions*
1897 (Oct. 5)	3,610	2,195.6	452.5	695.9	31.7	388.9	297.0	10.0
1900 (Sept. 5)	3,871	3,281.0	684.1	983.3	29.7	518.4	450.7	14.2
1905 (Aug. 25)	5,757	4,735.5	972.1	1,027.3	21.7	665.6	338.4	23.3

Geographical Divisions	Individual Deposits			
	1896	1905	Increase	Per cent
	Millions	*Millions*	*Millions*	
New England States..	$1,193.3	$1,791.4	$589.1	50.1
Eastern States.....	2,291.7	5,252.7	2,961.0	129.2
Southern States.....	221.7	767.3	545.6	246.1
Middle Western States	877.8	2,461.2	1,583.4	180.3
Western States	128.8	430.9	302.1	234.6
Pacific States.....	231.8	629.5	397.7	171.6
Total.....	4,945.1	11,333.0	6,387.9	129.2

BANKS, LOUIS ALBERT: American clergyman; born at Cornwallis, Ore., 1855; educated in the public schools and at Philomath College of that state. In 1883 he was ordained an elder in the Oregon Conference of the M. E. Church, and has since served pastorates at Portland, Ore., Boise City, Ida., Vancouver and Seattle, Wash., and Cincinnati, O. Since 1886 he has been a pastor in the East where he has had prominent charges, and is now (1907) evangelist of the American Anti-Saloon League. In Vancouver he edited *The Pacific Censor*, state organ of the Washington Temperance Alliance, and so enraged the liquor dealers that in June of 1880 he was shot down on the streets by one of their agents. For two months he preached, reclining across chairs, to eager crowds. At the State Convention of Massachusetts Prohibitionists, held Sept. 8, 1893, he was nominated governor. A voluminous writer on religious and other themes, his main sociological works are "The People's Christ" (1891), and "The White Slaves" (1892), a study of Boston sweat-shops. *Address*: Nyack, N. Y.

BAPTISTS IN RELATION TO SOCIAL REFORM: In reviewing the relation of Baptists to social reforms, it is to be borne in mind that they do not constitute an organic body capable of giving a united authoritative expression of opinion on either social or religious matters, or of taking formal and concerted action thereon. While exhibiting a remarkable unity of doctrine and polity, they are, nevertheless, simply local societies, self-governing, and independent of one another. Indeed, to the sociologist this initial statement is one of deep interest, as these local societies were, in the times of the reformatory movements of the sixteenth century, already existing as free socialistic communities, and as such are deserving of the investigation of the social reformer. Mr. Richard Heath, in an article in *The Contemporary Review*, has clearly shown this fact. These societies have never completely lost the early social leaven, and in all times there have been among them earnest and able advocates of social, political, and religious liberty, contending for the separation of Church and State, liberty of conscience, government by consent of the governed, the kingdom of God on earth, and the inner light and teaching of the Divine Spirit. Baptists have, therefore, naturally affiliated themselves with the radical party in social and religious affairs. And yet this same love of individual liberty and a jealousy of autocratic external control have prevented the manifestation of this progressive spirit in the erection of great institutions or the promulgation of authoritative creeds. Perhaps, aside from individual expressions of this liberty-loving spirit, the widest influence which Baptists have exerted has been in a socialistic and missionary propaganda. Missionary zeal has ever been conspicuous among them both in home and foreign lands. In the modern missionary movement, William Carey and Adoniram Judson are conceded to rank among the foremost pioneers. In political revolutions they have been usually found on the liberal side, and many of the leaders have been drawn from among them. In the antislavery movement they took an early and decisive position, while in the Revolution they were, almost to a man, on the patriot side; and in a still earlier day Roger Williams was the first great apostle of religious liberty.

Missionary and Socialistic Propaganda

The recent social discussions have naturally awakened the interest of Baptists. In the Baptist Congress reports, almost from its commencement, in 1882, a prominent place has been accorded to social topics, and able contributions will be found in them to the solution of these questions. In the proceedings of the missionary annual meetings, which are the only general gatherings of Baptists of a national character, as well as in state conventions and local associations, social opinions of an advanced type on temperance, slavery, negro and Indian education, etc., have found expression in resolutions and memorials intended for transmission to Congress or state legislatures.

The Baptist Congress was instituted in Nov., 1882, by several clergymen and laymen "for the discussion of current questions," and has proved a very useful and efficient organization. Its inception is credited to Prof. E. H. Johnson, D.D., of Crozier Theological Seminary, Upland, Pa.

In 1889 a few of the younger Baptist ministers in the vicinity of New York commenced a paper called *For the Right*, devoted to Christian Socialism. It was published for eighteen months, and then discontinued for lack of financial support. The first editors of this paper were Rev. J. E. Raymond, Rev. Walter Rauschenbusch, Miss Elizabeth Post, and Rev. Leighton Williams. In Dec., 1892, a conference of Baptist ministers interested in social topics met in Philadelphia and formed an undenominational society known as the Brotherhood of the Kingdom, to be devoted to the study and propaganda of the social teachings and gospel of Jesus Christ. In August, 1893, the Brotherhood held a three days' conference at Marlborough-on-the-Hudson, discussing various aspects of the doctrine of the Kingdom of God, with a view to the publication of a volume of essays on the subject. Smiliar conferences have been held yearly since. (See Brotherhood of the Kingdom.)

Perhaps the considerations already stated may explain the small number of Baptist churches which have as yet sought to exemplify the social aspects of the Gospel in the various appliances and applications now becoming common. Yet the "institutional Church," as it is coming to be called, is by no means unknown among Baptists. Mention should be made also in this article of the advanced stand which many of the Baptist preachers and authors have taken on social topics. Dr. Francis Wayland and Dr. Martin B. Anderson, exerted as educators a profound influence during the antislavery agitation and the Civil War, as did also Dr. William R. Williams by his sermons. In conclusion, it may

"Institutional Churches"

be said that as yet the relation of Baptists to social reform is not so important for any distinct contribution that they have made to its literature or to its institutions as for the illustration which their own historical descent and present condition affords of the possibility, permanence, and prosperity of self-governing, self-perpetuating social communities. They early built upon principles in the religious sphere which have since been embodied in our political constitution, and are yet to be realized in a new social régime.

LEIGHTON WILLIAMS.

BARKER, WHARTON: Banker and reformer; born in Philadelphia, Pa., 1846; was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1866. The firm of Barker Bros. & Co. in 1878 acted as the financial agent of the Russian Government for the building of four cruisers. In 1879 he advised regarding the development of certain mines in Russia; and in 1887 he obtained valuable concessions in China. Barker remained a Republican until 1896, tho (since 1880) opposing the moneyed aristocracy. In 1896 he became a Populist, and in 1900 was presidential candidate of the antifusion Populists. He has written on the money question from the Populist standpoint, and in 1869 founded *The Penn Monthly* which, in 1880, was merged with *The American*, discontinued in 1905.

For the last six years Mr. Barker has urged the organization of a new party, to be called the Commonweal Party, and has striven to impress his views upon leaders among the wage-earning and salaried classes and among the farmers. He believes that the conflict between the people and the plutocrats will be fought on a platform of human rights versus property rights, for national money against bank money, for national railroads against private railroads, for a protective system that will protect the body of the people and destroy the trusts, and for direct taxation which will tax property and not persons. He stands for a foreign policy that will confine American activity to the American continent, and for an economic policy which, under commercial union, will extend free trade in America and set up a barrier against European and Asiatic complications. *Address*: 608 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

BARNARDO, THOMAS JOHN, AND THE BARNARDO HOMES: Founder of institutions in the United Kingdom and the colonies, by which over 60,000 orphans have been cared for, and over 17,000 emigrated to Canada or other British colonies. Dr. Barnardo was born in Ireland, 1845. Educated in parish schools and hospitals in London, Edinburgh, and Paris. Becoming interested in children he boarded out a group of children in 1866; established his first home, 1867, on Commercial Road; a village for girls with about fifty-two cottages at Ilford, 1873; Her Majesty's Hospital for Sick Waifs, 1873. Over 100 homes or branches have developed from this beginning, including an immigration depot in Ontario, and an industrial farm in Manitoba. Author, among other writings, of "Something Attempted, Something Done," and "The Rescue of the Waif." Died, 1905.

BARNES, G. MAHLON: National secretary of the Socialist party; born at Lancaster, Pa., 1866; attended Soldiers' Orphan School at Mount Joy; learned the trade of cigarmaking; and in 1887 removed to Philadelphia. He has been five times elected secretary of the local Cigar Makers' Union, resigning the office at the end of each term and returning to the work of his trade. He has also been repeatedly elected to conventions of the Cigar Makers' International Union and of the American Federation of Labor. In 1905 he was elected national secretary of the American Socialist party. *Address*: 269 Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

BARNES, GEORGE NICOLL: Labor member of Parliament; born at Lochee, near Dundee, Scotland, 1859. He was the son of a jute-mill employee, and was at an early age apprenticed to a Dundee engineer. Later he went to Barrow and to London, but subsequently secured work at Woolwich Arsenal, Millwall, Poplar, and Chelsea, having previously joined the union of his trade. A vacancy occurring in the council of the union by the retirement of John Burns, Barnes was elected in his place. From 1892 to 1895 he was assistant secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, and in 1896 was elected general secretary; he was prominent in the great lockout of 1897. In 1906 he was elected to Parliament from the election district of Blackfriars, Glasgow, and endorsed by the Labor Representative Committee. *Address*: 110 Peckham Road, S. E., London, England.

BARNETT, SAMUEL AUGUSTUS: Warden of Toynbee Hall, London; Canon of Bristol; born in Bristol, 1844; educated at Wadham College, Oxford. About 1872 he became vicar of St. Jude's Church, Whitechapel. In 1883 he presented to a small group of students, gathered in a room at Oxford, a plan for a settlement of university men to live and work among the poor. A small settlement of five men was made. Cambridge University joined with them, and in Jan., 1885, TOYNBEE HALL was founded with Mr. Barnett as warden. It was named for Arnold TOYNBEE. Mr. Barnett's central thought was that all true uplifting for the poor must come from life and from brother life. He and his wife, Henrietta O. Barnett, have been the authors of many essays and papers on various portions of the social problem, collected into a volume entitled "Practicable Socialism." Some of his more fundamental positions are as follows:

> The social reformer must go alongside the Christian missionary, if he be not himself the Christian missionary.
>
> The one satisfactory method of social reform is that which tends to make more common the good things which wealth has gained for the few. The nationalization of luxury must be the object of social reformers.
>
> The first practical work is to rouse the town councils to the sense of their powers; to make them feel that their reason of being is not political, but social; that their duty is not to protect the pockets of the rich, but to save the people. The care of the people is the care of the community and not of any philanthropic section.
>
> Societies which absorb much wealth and which relieve their subscribers of their responsibility are failing; it remains only to adopt the principle of the education act, of the poor law, and of other socialistic legislation, and call on society to do what societies fail to do.

Mr. Barnett's social efforts are not confined to Toynbee Hall. As a member of the Whitechapel Board of Guardians he has taken great interest in the reform of poor-law administration. He is also chairman of the Children's Country Holiday Fund; has aided very materially in the establishment of the Free Library in Whitechapel; and is one of the commissioners for that part of London.

He is also actively connected with the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants, with the Charity Organization Society, the School Board, the Teachers' University Association, and the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching. *Address*: Toynbee Hall, Whitechapel, E. London, England.

BARROWS, SAMUEL JUNE: Prison Commissioner and author; born in New York City, 1845; began work at the age of nine; received his elementary education in the night schools; studied stenography; was employed on the New York *Sun*, *The World*, and *The Tribune*; in 1868 became stenographic secretary to William H. Seward, Secretary of State; was graduated from the Harvard Divinity School in 1874 (B.D.). During the summers of 1873 and 1874 he was with General Custer on the Yellowstone, and in the Black Hills as correspondent to the New York *Tribune*. From 1874 to 1875 he studied at Leipsic, and in 1876 became pastor of the First Unitarian Church, Dorchester, Mass. From 1881 to 1897 he was editor of *The Christian Register*. In 1897 he was elected to Congress from the tenth district of Boston. He is one of the founders of the Massachusetts Prison Association, and helped to develop the probation system. In 1896 he was appointed by President Cleveland Commissioner for the U. S. on the International Prison Commission, and represented the U. S. at prison congresses in Paris, Brussels, and Budapest. He is chosen to be president of the next International Congress. Barrows is corresponding secretary for the Prison Association of New York and a member of the Commission on Probation and of the Commission on New Prisons. He has been a Republican in national politics, and an Independent in municipal politics, and believes that social reform must be obtained not through paternalism but fraternalism, evolution rather than revolution. Logic of democracy means no discrimination to race, sex, and creed, and better distribution of privilege. Democracy's problem is to secure the greatest privilege for the many without restricting the privilege of the individual. Author: "Shaybacks in Camp"; "Crimes and Misdemeanors in the United States"; "A Baptist Meeting House"; "The Doom of the Majority of Mankind." *Address*: 135 East Fifteenth Street, New York City.

BARTON, MISS CLARA: Founder of the Red Cross Society in the United States; born in Oxford, Mass., 1821; educated at home and in the public schools. At the age of fifteen she began teaching, continuing until her twenty-fifth year, when she took the graduating course at the Clinton Liberal Institute, N. Y. A pioneer in the public-school system, she opened the first public school at Bordentown, N. J., with six pupils; the school soon had 600 pupils. Afterward she became a clerk in the U. S. Patent Office, and was the first woman in any department to draw a salary over her own signature. During the Civil War she was active in the field, distributing provisions, clothing, and medicine sent for the relief of the soldiers. In 1865, by authority of President Lincoln, she instituted a search for missing men of the army, and succeeded in tracing 20,000 of the soldiers. At the request of afflicted people, she went about the country giving war lectures.

At the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War Miss Barton was associated with the International Red Cross Society of Geneva, and was present at most of the great battles, doing splendid service. She returned to America in 1873. After five years' effort she obtained recognition of the Red Cross Society from the U. S. Government, and became first president of the U. S. society. In 1904, when the society passed under government control, she resigned her presidency, whereupon she organized and was chosen first president of the National First Aid Association of America. Miss Barton is an earnest advocate of all useful reforms: Suffrage, temperance, social purity, equal pay for equal service, etc. Author: "History of the Red Cross" (1882); "History of the Red Cross in Peace and War" (1898); "Story of the Red Cross" (1904); besides many pamphlets, reports, etc. *Address*: Glen Echo, Md.

BASCOM, JOHN: American author and educator; born in Genoa, N. Y., 1827; was graduated from Williams College, 1849, and Andover Theological Seminary, 1855. From 1852 to 1853 he was tutor and from 1855 to 1874 professor of rhetoric at Williams College; from 1874 to 1887 president of Wisconsin University and professor of mental and moral philosophy; and from 1891 to 1901 professor of political science at Williams College. He has written extensively for the periodical press on prohibition, labor reform, etc. His main works are: "Political Economy," "Æsthetics," "Science of Mind," "Philosophy of Religions," "Philosophy of English Literature," "Ethics," "Natural Theology," "Comparative Psychology," "Sociology," "Words of Christ," "New Theology," "Social Theory," and "Growth of Nationality in U. S." *Address*: Williamstown, Mass.

BASLY, EMILE JOSEPH: French deputy; born at Valenciennes in 1854. Left an orphan and cared for in an asylum, he became a miner. In 1880 he organized a union at Angin, and became its general secretary. In 1884 he was active in a long strike. In 1885 he was elected to the chamber of deputies on a Socialist platform, and has been repeatedly reelected. During the strike in Decazeville in 1885 he explained the murder of one of the subdirectors as an act of popular justice. In 1887 he joined the group of republican-socialistic deputies; and in 1889 was a delegate at the International Labor Congress in Paris. Since 1900 he has been mayor and town councilor of Lens.

BASTIAT, FRÉDÉRIC: Political economist; born at Mugron, near Bayonne, France, in 1801. His father was a merchant in the Spanish trade, and he was left an orphan at the age of nine. He commenced active life in the establishment of his uncle; then tried farming at Mugron; and after the Revolution of 1830 was made justice of the peace of his canton. His first pamphlets were memoirs on local subjects; but he became interested in English writing on political economy, and it seems to have awakened him to new powers. His "Sophismes Économiques" gained him popularity and recognition. He soon became a dreaded foe of protection, and a friend of Cobden. An *Association pour la Liberté des Échanges* was formed at Bordeaux and another at Paris, with Bastiat as secretary. After the Revolution of 1848, he turned his shafts of wit and epigram against the Socialists, and even more against Proudhon. Elected to the Assembly of 1848–49, he spoke little, being mainly engaged on his great

work, "Harmonies," the first volume of which only was published before he died in Italy in 1850. "In this brilliant work," says Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy," "unhappily never finished, Bastiat shows the contrast between the internal weakness of the artificial organizations which are founded on constraint, and the prosperity spontaneously arising in an economic condition in which the equilibrium of individual and collective forces results from their free and reciprocal balance." (See Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy.*)

BATHS, PUBLIC: Public baths have existed from the beginnings of civilized society. Reasons partly climatic and partly religious led to their early development in Egypt and in all Oriental countries. Baths were connected with the gymnasia of Greece, and were developed into especially great splendor and size in imperial Rome. Such ruins as those of the baths of Caracalla show what an enormous size these establishments must have had. In reality, however, they were club-houses as well as baths, and included libraries, lecture-rooms, banquet-halls, dance-halls, gymnasia, porticoes, gardens, race-tracks, and every device for luxury and amusement. In the fourth century there are said to have been 800 baths in Rome, and they were copied in every Roman city and province. In the Middle Ages almost every village had its public bath, as is true to-day in Russia, Turkey, and Japan. In Tokyo there are said to be 1,000 public baths. Modern public baths began in Germany, tho Liverpool in 1892 erected the first public bath-house. In 1896 Parliament passed an act, permitting municipal and local authorities to establish public baths and laundries. Birmingham was the first city to do this, but to-day such establishments are found in almost every English city of any size. On the Continent they are not so numerous, yet to be found in all the larger cities.

United States

In the United States, the results of an extensive investigation conducted by the Federal Bureau of Labor showed the lack of facilities for bathing in the congested slum districts of Baltimore, Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia. The entire number of persons reported living in the selected districts on April 1, 1893, the date of the investigation, was as follows: Baltimore, 18,048; Chicago, 19,748; New York, 28,996; and Philadelphia, 17,060. It is explained in the report that the districts selected contain but a portion of the whole slum population of the cities included in the investigation, but were among the worst in these cities—the centers of the slum population.

The following table shows the number and percentage of families and individuals in houses or tenements having and not having bathrooms:

Since that date large progress has been made. A report of the bureau, prepared for the exhibit at St. Louis of 1904, finds that in 34 cities of the United States more or less adequate provision for public baths has been made by the municipality. Other cities are carefully considering the establishment of houses, and in some cases, notably in St. Louis, appropriations have been made for the purpose. The report describes and tabulates 88 municipal public baths and 11 non-municipal.

The municipal baths in existence may be classified in a general way into five types: The beach bath, the floating bath, the pool bath, the shower-bath, and the combined shower and pool bath. The beach and the floating baths may be said to represent the earliest type of bath, while the shower-bath represents the latest development in this direction.

Beach baths with the simplest of accommodations have been in existence for many years. The L Street Beach in Boston is, however, the oldest of them for which information could be secured, having been established in 1866. Boston now maintains 10 beach baths; Milwaukee, 4; Chicago, 3; Baltimore, 3; while 1 or 2 are found in Cleveland, Ohio; St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minn.; Cambridge, Mass.; Detroit, Mich., and Bridgeport, Conn.

Floating baths were established by the city of Boston as early as 1866 and by the city of New York as early as 1870. Boston still maintains 12 of these houses, New York 15, and Brooklyn 5. One or two baths of this character are maintained also by Providence, R. I.; Hoboken, N. J.; Springfield, Taunton, Worcester, and Newton, Mass.; Hartford, Conn., and Washington, D. C.

Pool baths are of various kinds. The first established by any American city, as far as known, was constructed in 1885 by Philadelphia. That city was compelled to abolish its floating baths at that time owing to the pollution of the water, replacing them with pools in various parts of the city. It now has in operation 15 pool baths. Chicago has 2 elaborate baths of this character, while similar ones are found in Holyoke (4) and Boston (1), Mass.; Newark, N. J. (3); Utica, N. Y. (1); and Kansas City, Mo. (1).

The three kinds of baths just mentioned, it will be noted, are available only in the warm season—perhaps four months in the year. While they are excellent as affording recreation and facilities for securing a degree of cleanliness, it is apparent that the best results cannot be secured thereby. Hot water is essential not only to a thorough cleansing of the body, but also to render possible the giving of baths during the season when baths are most needed and when the facilities for bathing are most lacking. The tub bath, while serving a useful purpose under certain circumstances, has now been almost entirely abandoned in public baths. It is now very generally conceded that the shower or rain bath is best adapted for all public purposes. As has been stated, these baths have been in use for many years in many of the public baths in Great Britain and the Continent of Europe. Their general establishment by municipalities in this country, however, began about ten years ago. Baths of this character were, indeed, established by private philanthropic enterprise some years pre-

City	Population of Houses or Tenements having Bathrooms				Population of Houses or Tenements not having Bathrooms			
	Number		Per cent		Number		Per cent	
	Families	Individuals	Families	Individuals	Families	Individuals	Families	Individuals
Baltimore	296	1,663	7.35	9.21	3,732	16,385	92.65	90.79
Chicago	110	748	2.83	3.79	3,771	19,000	97.17	96.21
New York	138	1,888	2.33	6.51	5,774	27,108	97.67	93.49
Philadelphia	560	3,080	16.90	18.05	2,753	13,980	83.10	81.95

viously through the efforts of Dr. M. Morris and others, and had been introduced in the Charlesbank gymnasium baths by the city of Boston as early as 1889. If the two modern types of baths, consisting of showers alone, or showers in connection with a pool, are considered together, it is seen that Milwaukee established the West Side Natatorium in 1890, Chicago opened the Carter H. Harrison Bath in 1894, while other cities followed their example during the succeeding years. At the present time 39 baths of these types are in operation by various cities in the United States, and many more are under construction. Of the houses devoted especially to the furnishing of shower baths, Boston, Mass., maintains 10; Chicago, Ill., 7; New York, N. Y., 3; Brooklyn, N. Y., 2; Baltimore, Md., 2; Buffalo, N. Y., 2; Yonkers, N. Y., 2; while 1 each is maintained by Rochester and Troy, N. Y.; Cleveland, Ohio; Louisville, Ky., and Portland, Me. Of the houses containing a pool in addition to the shower equipment, Milwaukee maintains 3 and Brookline, Mass., and Syracuse and Albany, N. Y., each 1. New York and Brooklyn recently opened elaborate bath-houses in which the equipment consists almost entirely of showers. These cities have also planned a number of additional houses, one of which will contain a pool of tempered water in addition to the shower equipment.

The costs of the baths range from $461,000 (site $331,000) for a bath now being built in Boston, to $500 for one in Chicago (for building and equipment only on public land).

The exceedingly small cost of maintenance per bath is clearly shown. This cost ranges from one fourth of a cent in the fifteen municipal pool baths of Philadelphia to three or four cents in the indoor shower-baths in the larger cities. In a few of the smaller cities the cost runs considerably higher, this being due probably to the small number of bathers as compared with the size and equipment of the houses.

As regards the policy of furnishing baths entirely free of expense to bathers it is seen that at the floating baths in 9 cities no fee is charged for their use, while small fees are charged at such baths in 3 cities. In 3 cities all beach baths under the direct control of the municipalities are entirely free, while in 8 cities a small charge is made for the use of bathing-suits, etc. In 3 cities all pool baths are entirely free, while in 4 a small fee is charged. In 9 cities free shower-baths are found, while in 4 a charge is made. In 1 city the combination shower and pool baths are entirely free, while in 3 cities the privilege is contingent upon a small fee.

In considering the figures showing cost of maintenance per bath it should be remembered that in nearly all baths in which a fee is charged certain days or hours are usually set apart, during which baths are given free of charge.

A most interesting development of the public-bath movement has been the introduction of shower-baths in the public schools in a number of cities.

In certain cities a direct connection between the bath and the school is encouraged by locating the public bath near the school.

Swimming instruction during vacation is a feature of the floating, beach, and pool baths of New York, Brooklyn, and a number of other cities, while all indoor baths which maintain a tempered pool all the year, without exception, provide for instruction of this character during the entire year.

The public laundry is a feature connected with a number of the public municipal baths. The municipal bath-houses of Baltimore, Chicago, Cleveland, and Troy contain well-appointed public laundries where women may take their soiled clothes and in a comparatively short time accomplish the task of washing and ironing under the most desirable conditions. This feature has been a most unqualified success in all the institutions in which it exists, and is an especial boon to the poorer classes.

REFERENCES: *Bulletin of the U. S. Bureau of Labor*, No. 54, 1904; *Municipal Baths*, by J. Lee, in *Charities*, March 2, 1901; *Municipal Baths*, by M. R. Maltbie, in *Municipal Affairs*, Dec., 1898.

BAUER, STEPHEN: Secretary of the International Labor Bureau at Basel, Switzerland; born at Vienna, Austria, 1865; LL.D., Vienna, 1889; studied with traveling scholarship 1890 and 1891 in Paris and London; statistician of the Chamber of Commerce in Brünn, Moravia, 1892–99; lecturer from 1893 to 1899 at the Polytechnical High School of Brünn. In 1899 he held summer courses at the University of Chicago, and in the same year was appointed to the chair of political economy at Basel, which he still occupies. He was chief of the Swiss Census at Basel in 1900, and since 1901 has been chief of the International Labor Bureau. As the result of his experiences in Austrian, French, Swiss, and American factory towns, Dr. Bauer has advocated national labor laws, international understandings concerning such legislation, trade boards of arbitration, co-operation, industrial insurance, and municipal reforms. He believes in permanency of employment as necessary to the greater well-being of the workers, in greater leisure and the useful employment of that leisure, and in the generation of an atmosphere of freedom in which all good things would grow. Author: "Die Arbeiter der Brünner Maschinen-Industrie"; "Wages and Labor Policy in Australasia"; "Night-Work of Women"; "Dangerous Trades," etc., besides numerous articles on the history of political economy, etc. *Address*: Rebgasse 1, Basel, Switzerland.

BÄUMELER, JOSEPH: Head or leader of the Separatists, who in 1818 founded the communistic colony of ZOAR. Originally a weaver, and later a teacher, he seems to have been a man of unusual organizing ability, a fluent speaker and natural leader. The community was at first celibate, but between 1829 and 1830 they began to permit marriage, and Bäumeler himself took a wife. Under his lead the community prospered greatly, and when Bäumeler died in 1837 the loss was said to be almost irreparable to the community. (See ZOAR.)

BAX, ERNEST BELFORT: Author; Socialist; born at Leamington, England, 1854; educated privately, but later studied in Germany. In 1882 he joined the Social Democratic Federation, and in 1883–84 was on the Executive Council. In 1885, in consequence of a "split" in the original body, he founded, in conjunction with William Morris, the Socialist League. Later on, the league developing anarchist tendencies, he returned to the Social Democratic Federation, and has actively participated in the work of that body ever since, having been the federation's delegate at most of the international congresses. For a time he edited the party organ *Justice*, and during the Socialist League period, together with William Morris, he edited *The Commonweal*. Mr. Bax's socialism has its foundation in the doctrine of Marx, but he is prepared to criticize certain applications of the Marxian theory of historical determinism at present current. Author: "Ethics of Socialism," "Outlook from the New Standpoint," "The Problem of Reality," "German Society at the Close of the Middle Ages," etc. *Address*: Middle Temple, London, England.

BAZARD, SAINT-AMAND: Follower of St. Simon; born in Paris, 1791; won the Cross of the Legion of Honor for the part he took in the defense of Paris (1813). He had a good position in the Prefecture of the Seine, but becoming interested in the efforts for democratic freedom, he went to the south of France and took part in the activity of the Carbonari. Returning to Paris, he joined the Saint Simonian School, and became its leading economist and editor of its journals, the *Producteur* and the *Globe*. He advocated compulsory free education, and the gratuitous giving by the State of land and capital for life tenancy *only* (so as to prevent accumulation), the State to give to each his deeds and to receive from each according to ability. In 1828 he gave, in Paris, a long course of lectures which largely made Saint Simonianism popular. In 1831 he opposed ENFANTIN, his colleague, at the head of the Saint Simonian school, on the question of marriage and divorce, and died in 1832 of a broken heart at the division of the school. His

main work is "Exposition de la Doctrine de Saint Simon."

BEBEL, FERDINAND AUGUST: Socialist; born 1840, near Cologne; educated as a turner; passed through the usual grades of apprenticeship and journeymanship, and after his *Wanderjahre*, spent in South Germany, established himself in 1860 at Leipsic. His first public activity was as an upholder of Schultze-Delitzsch's cooperative movement, to which Lasalle also at first adhered, and he became prominent in political and educational work among workingmen. He threw all his influence against Lasalle and the Universal Association when the latter was founded.

Prior to 1866 Bebel had no sympathy with socialism, but from that time his views rapidly changed. He joined the International, becoming influential enough to take a prominent part in bringing together the followers of Marx and Lasalle, thus helping to make the Social Democratic Party. When elected President of the Union of German Working Men's Associations in 1867, he persuaded the organization to unite with the International—at the time an important step in the movement toward socialism.

Bebel and Liebknecht became the leaders of social democracy in Germany in the elections of June, 1893, and continued so till the latter's death. Bebel still remains the most pronounced Socialist in the German Reichstag, to which he has been continuously elected, and the membership in which gives him the right to bitterly attack the government and to advocate socialism in brilliant speeches widely quoted throughout Germany. Bebel once summarized his views thus: "We aim in the domain of politics at republicanism, in the domain of economics at socialism, in the domain of what is to-day called religion at atheism." In 1872 he was sentenced to imprisonment for two years and nine months on a charge of lese-majesty, and has been repeatedly imprisoned since—for nine months in 1886. This, however, has only increased his popularity as the leader of German socialism. He has been elected from Glauchau-Meerane, Dresden, Strasburg, Hamburg, Saxony, and elsewhere. In 1868 he was connected with the *Volkstaat* at Leipsic, and since 1891 with the *Vorwärts* at Berlin. Main writings: "Unsere Ziele," 1869; "Deutscher Bauernkrieg," 1876; "Christentum und Sozialismus," 1883; "Die Frau und der Sozialismus," 1883 (later revised); "Die Sonntagsarbeit," 1888; "Für Volkswehr gegen Militarismus," 1898; and "Die Sozialdemokratie und das Allgemeine Wahlrecht," 1895. *Address*: Habsburgerstrasse 5, Berlin, Germany.

BECCARIA, CESARE BONESANO, MARQUIS OF: Italian political economist; born at Milan in 1738; educated at a Jesuit college at Parma. He was an able mathematician, an expert in many sciences, and belonged for twenty-five years to the magistracy, serving under the Austrians, who in 1768 formed for him a chair of political economy in Milan—the second of the kind in Italy. His famous little tract, "Dei delitti e delle pene," has been translated into twenty-two languages. Beccaria arrived at many of the conclusions of Adam Smith and of Malthus; and he is the author of the famous phrase, "The greatest happiness of the greatest number." He asserted that "coldly (rigidly) examining human nature, we see that every man is absolutely *egotistic*, and that on this basis alone legislation can be established if it is not to be knocked over constantly; that nobody cares anything for the universal happiness or for the good of others, and that every man makes himself the center of all the things that happen in the world." He died in 1793.

BECK, KARL JOSEPH: Swiss Christian Socialist; born at Sursee, Lucerne, 1858; was graduated from the University of Innsbruck (Th.D. 1885); from 1885 to 1888 vicar of the Roman Catholic community in Basel. He became active in socialism in 1888, and took part in the Labor movement instituted by the Swiss Workingmen's Association. From 1888 to 1891 he was professor of exegesis, ethics, and pastoral theology at the Theological Seminary in Lucerne; and since then he has held the chair of pastoral theology at the University of Freiburg. Since 1902 he has edited the *Monatsschrift für Christliche Sozialreform*. During the semester 1906–7 he was rector of the University of Freiburg. His political aim is to bring about a realization of religious justice in social matters, through cooperation of democracy and socialism. *Address*: University of Freiburg, Switzerland.

BECKER, AUGUST: German Socialist and journalist; born about 1810; son of a clergyman; studied for a short time theology in Giessen where he became acquainted with Georg Büchner whose political creed he adopted. He was arrested and sentenced to four years' imprisonment, but was soon liberated, whereupon he went to Geneva. Becoming a zealous communist, he published pamphlets, and wrote articles in radical papers, notably the *Rhenische Zeitung* and *Vorwärts*. In 1848 he began to publish, in Giessen, a journal called *Der Jüngste Tag*. He was elected to the Hessian legislature, and later emigrated to America, where, after a wandering and adventurous life, he died in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1875, as a reporter for a daily paper.

BECKMAN, ERNST: Swedish editor, educator, and social reformer; born about 1840; studied at Hernösand seminary and in England and the United States. From 1876 to 1879 he was inspector of public schools in Södermanland, where he did much to promote instruction in sloyd. He was editor of *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* (Stockholm) 1880–83; studied social economy in Switzerland in 1884; and was thereafter sent by the Swedish government to study conditions among working men in England and Germany. He was a member of the first Swedish laborers' insurance committee (1884–89), and of a working men's protective committee (1891). In 1894 he was active in endeavoring to regulate labor conditions in Stockholm. He was an alderman of Stockholm from 1886 to 1895, serving on many labor committees. In 1886 he studied English charity organizations, the results of his investigations forming the basis for the organization of the Swedish charitable societies. From 1893 to 1899 he was rector of a coeducational school in Stockholm. As a member of the Riksdag (first elected in 1886) he has been active in promoting legislation for the regulation of labor disputes.

BEECHER, HENRY WARD: American clergyman and reformer; born in Litchfield, Conn., 1813;

studied at the Boston Law School; was graduated at Amherst in 1837; studied theology at Lane Seminary. In 1839 he entered upon his first pastorate, the Lawrenceburg, Ind., Presbyterian Church, but soon went to the Second Presbyterian Church of Indianapolis, where he served for eight years. In 1847 he accepted an invitation to become pastor of the Plymouth Congregational Church, Brooklyn, N. Y. This society had just been formed by a few leading men especially interested in temperance, the new school theology, antislavery, and other questions of reform. He labored with this people until his death, which terminated a pastorate of forty years. As a preacher and reformer he had world-wide fame and influence. In the Plymouth pastor the oppress ever found a champion for their cause. On his platform in *antebellum* days stood Frederick Douglass, the black man, pleading for his race. Here often appeared fugitive slaves whose freedom Mr. Beecher purchased with the contributions of his congregation. Here Wendell Phillips, the abolitionist, was invited to voice his convictions when driven by mobs from the halls of New York City. Here Kossuth, the exile, pleaded for his people, and $10,000 was raised for the freedom of Hungary. Here Mr. Beecher was confronted by a fierce mob which attempted to "clean out the nigger-worshiper." In 1850, in his famous star paper "Shall We Compromise?' in *The Independent*, he vigorously opposed the proposal of Webster and Clay to save the Union by moral compromise.

Beecher did much toward shaping the course of the Republican Party as a new political force. In 1863 he visited Great Britain, and there vindicated his national government. He spoke in several of its principal cities, where sympathy for the Confederacy prevailed. His life was often threatened; the press denounced him; and he frequently confronted vast, turbulent mobs, contending with them for an hour or more before they would listen to his argument. Once he reached the platform only by being carried over the heads of the dense crowd. But by his good humor, pluck, and eloquence he converted men to Northern principles. Tho a formidable opponent of the Southern policy, after the war he manifested great tolerance and compassion for the defeated states and their leaders. In 1870 he became editor-in-chief of *The Christian Union*, retaining this office till 1881. (See ABBOTT, LYMAN.) Through his voice and pen he had the widest influence of any preacher in America. Author: "Star Papers" (2 vols.); "Lectures to Young Men"; "Lectures upon Preaching"; "Patriotic Addresses"; "Evolution and Religion"; "Plymouth Pulpit Sermons." He died in 1884.

THOMAS A. BICKFORD.

BEESLY, EDWARD SPENCER: Positivist; author; born in Worcestershire, England, 1831; educated at Oxford; was assistant master in Marlborough College, 1854–59; professor of history, University College, London, 1860–93. His life has been principally devoted to the propagation of the positivist philosophy of religion, founded by Auguste Comte. He has also favored radical social reforms, and in 1863 presided at the organization of the INTERNATIONAL. From 1878 to 1901 he was president of the London Positivist Society, and in 1893 founded *The Positivist Review*, to which he is still a frequent contributor. In 1868, in recognition of his services to trade-unionism when it was suffering under unjust laws, he was made an honorary member of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners. Beesly is the translator of Comte's "Discourse on the Positive Spirit," and joint translator of the same author's "Positive Polity." He has written: "Catiline, Clodius, and Tiberius," 1878; and "Queen Elizabeth," 1892. *Address*: 21 West Hill, St. Leonards-on-Sea, England.

BELGIUM: A kingdom of Europe, formed as an independent state in 1830, with constitution (1831), and guaranteed neutrality by treaty of London.

I.—Statistics

Belgium has a population (1900) of 6,693,548, with 11,373 sq. m. It is the most densely inhabited country in the world: 589 to the square mile. About 3,000,000 of its inhabitants speak Flemish (in the north), and a slightly smaller number speak French (in the south). Almost all are Roman Catholics. Chief cities (1904): Brussels (capital), 598,599; Antwerp, 291,949; Liège, 168,532; Ghent, 162,482. Of the total population (1900) 3,324,834 were males and 3,368,714 females. Of the males 2,047,607 were unmarried; 1,146,774 married; 127,014 widowed; and 3,439 divorced. Of females 1,968,383 were unmarried; 1,143,483 married; 252,202 widowed; and 4,646 divorced. The birth- and death-rates per 1,000 inhabitants since 1847 are shown in the following table:

PERIOD	Birth-rate	Death-rate
1847–56	.....	23.52
1857–66	31.54	23.59
1867–76	32.47	21.73
1877–86	31.21	21.31
1887–96	29.04	20.92[1]
1897–1901	28.96	18.23
1904	27.60	16.89

[1] Death-rate for 1897–1900.

In 1904, the percentage of illegitimate births to total births was 6.59, having fallen from 7.20 in 1871–80.

	1880	1890	1900	1902	1903	1904
Marriages per 1,000 inhabitants	7.03	7.32	8.62	8.11	7.87	8.02
Marriages to 1 divorce	1 82	1 30	83	80	75	61

The annual numbers of suicides were: 1871–80, 441; 1881–90, 658; 1890–1900, 799; 1900–1, 856.

General education has been low but is rising. In 1902 the percentage of the population enrolled in elementary schools was lower than in any other country of western and northern Europe. In 1904 there were 859,436 pupils in 7,092 schools. In 1880, of the population more than seven years of age, 33 per cent were unable to read and write; in 1890, 28 per cent; in 1900, 22 per cent. There were, in 1904, 2,688 infant schools with 254,658 children, and 3,897 adult schools with 193,907 scholars. Middle-class public schools for boys numbered 88 with 17,112 pupils; and for girls 40 with 7,689 pupils. Royal atheneums and colleges numbered 35, with 7,641 pupils; normal schools, 58, with 4,980 students. There are 4 uni-

versities: at Brussels, Ghent, Liège, and Louvain (R. C.), with a total attendance of 3,780 students.

General Statistics

Besides these there are 80 colleges, 65 middle-class private schools for boys, 150 private institutions for girls, and numerous private primary schools, mainly under ecclesiastical care. There are 8 commercial high-schools, and 84 schools of design with 14,977 students. In 1871 the state appropriated 15,282,171 francs for primary education, and in 1903 the sum of 43,867,450 fr. Crime, measured by commitments in the assize courts, has fallen from 97 in 1890, to 72 in 1903, but commitments in the Correctional Tribunals have risen from 40,275 in 1890 to 56,754 in 1903. Commitments in police courts have likewise increased 54 per cent since 1880. The population in the workhouses (*dépôts de mendicité*) was 2,857 in 1880, and 4,781 in 1890; in the refuges there were 1,983 in 1898, and 1,733 in 1903; in the schools of charity there were 698 in 1890, and 2,222 in 1903.

In no other country is so large a proportion of the population employed in purely industrial occupations. Mining, especially of coal, is very important, and cheap fuel has led to considerable metallurgical industry. Manufacture is the most important source of wealth. Textile industries employed 169,493 people in 1896; clothing, 137,903; metal, 133,875; mining, 128,313; building, 93,942; food products, 90,285. Characteristic features are very low wages, and an unusual proportion of small industries. Belgian glass works lead the world. Brussels lace and carpets are renowned.

Engaged in Industry

(Not in private houses or public works)

Size	Enterprises		Workmen	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
With no employees...	165,000	70.08	.....	.....
1– 4 employees.....	54,500	24.09	95,000	13.92
5–49 "	14,800	5.12	177,000	25.96
50–499 "	1,500	0.63	250,000	36.66
500 or over employees.	200	0.08	160,000	23.46

Wages are low but rising. Blacksmiths (1903), made 17 cents per hour; carpenters, 15 cents; compositors, 13; laborers, 10; hod-carriers, 9; machinists, 13; plumbers, 15. (See Wages.)

Industrial Conditions

In 1896 more than one fourth of the population, without distinction of age or sex, earned less than 2 francs (40 cents) per day; 172,000 earned from 2 to 3 fr.; 169,000, from 3 to 4 fr.; and 102,000 over 4 fr. More than 100,000 men received from 3 to 3½ fr. per day; and more than 80,000 received less than 2½ fr. per day. Of the women, more than 100,000 received between 1 and 1½ fr. per day (less than 30 cents). The hours of labor are long.

Agriculture occupies a comparatively small place. In 1895, 1,204,810 persons or 18.79 per cent of the population were engaged in agriculture; and 49.5 per cent of the farmers owned their farms. These are usually very small, tho the average size is increasing somewhat. In 1895, there were 544,041 holdings of less than 1 hectare (2.47 acres). Agricultural wages, in 1895, were 1.98 fr. (38 cents) per day without food for men, and 1.22 fr. for women.

The coal industry has increased from a product valued at 169,680,000 francs in 1880 to 286,648,000 fr. in 1904. (See Coal.) There were (1903) 218 coal mines of which 123 were worked. 139,592 persons were employed in these, of whom 95,033 men, 6,976 boys, and 55 women worked underground. There were (1903) 16 pig-iron works, 35 blast-furnaces, 44 works for the manufacture of iron, 343 puddling furnaces, 35 steel-works, and 49 Bessemer converters. Of shipping, Belgium had (1904) 65 steamers and 4 sailing vessels, with a total tonnage of 102,737. The number of vessels entering Belgium (1904) was 9,063, with a tonnage of 11,176,239.

The commerce of Belgium more than doubled from 1890 to 1900. In 1904 the exports amounted to 2,183,300,000 francs; and the imports to 2,782,200,000 fr. Chief exports: coal, textiles, sugar, machinery, agricultural products. The commerce of Belgium with the leading countries was (1904): Exports to Germany, 505,473,000 francs; Great Britain, 392,324,000 fr., chiefly iron, steel, and iron and cotton manufactured goods; France, 346,670,000 fr.; Netherlands, 268,781,000 fr.; United States, 86,324,000 fr., chiefly rubber goods, glass, iron and steel work, jewelry. Imports from France, 465,684,000 francs; Germany, 351,025,000 fr.; Great Britain, 335,404,000 fr. (chiefly cottons, woolens, machinery); Netherlands, 240,873,000 fr.; United States, 222,301,000 fr., chiefly wheat, provisions, cotton.

II.—Constitution and Government

Belgium is a constitutional kingdom. The reigning sovereign is Leopold II.; the Premier, Comte de Smet de Naeyer. Legislative power is vested jointly in King, Senate, and Chamber of Deputies. The Senate has 110 members, of whom 83 are elected directly for eight years by manhood suffrage, tho heads of families, those with diplomas of higher education, those occupying certain positions, or those having certain property, may have one or even two additional votes, giving them a balance of power, much opposed by the Socialists. The 27 indirectly elected senators represent county councilors. The Chamber of Deputies has 166 members, elected for two years, one for every 40,000 people. Belgium has compulsory voting, and a system of proportional representation of minorities. The leading political parties are the Clerics or Catholics, the anti-Clerics or Liberals, and a well-organized Socialist party. The Catholics are generally strongest in the Flemish provinces, and the Socialists in the Walloon. The Senate stands: Catholics, 61; Liberals and Progressists, 43; Socialists, 6. The Chamber of Deputies: Led by the Premier, 87; Liberals and Progressists, 41; Socialists, 35; Christian Democrats, 2.

The estimated public revenue for 1906 was 558,863,927 francs; expenditures, 557,805,483 fr.; public debt (1905 consolidated), 3,117,038,048 fr. Taxation presses somewhat heavily altho the debt was largely contracted in the construction of public utilities, particularly the State railroads; and the revenue from these more than covers the interest.

The standing army numbers 49,731 men. It is recruited by voluntary enlistment, supplemented by annual levies. The war strength is 180,000 men.

Belgium was one of the first countries to develop State railroads. She began her system in

1833, and in 1904 the State had 4,008,291 meters (2,500, miles) and private companies 530,998 meters (330 miles). Belgium has more railroads per sq. m. than any other European country; and the rates are lower. In 1904 there were carried by the State roads 136,409,599 persons, and by private companies 16,455,767. The gross receipts of the State roads were 232,314,767 francs, of which 74,279,290 fr. were for passengers; and of the private roads 27,949,884 fr., of which 7,940,523 were for passengers. The expenses of the State roads were 138,381,322 fr., leaving a profit of 94,376,418; those of the private companies were 12,619,157 fr., leaving a profit of 15,330,327. The first cost of the State roads from 1834 to 1904 was 2,161,245,528 fr.; the total net receipts 1,885,332,731 fr., and the financial charges 1,740,895,391 fr.

State Railroads

On Jan. 1, 1905, there were 1,330 post-offices in Belgium. Postal receipts for 1904 were 30,095,288 francs; expenses, 15,256,520 fr. There were 1,438 telegraph offices, with 4,110 miles of line, carrying 15,586,354 dispatches; the receipts were 11,203,006 fr.; and the expenditures, 7,618,064 fr. There were 20,875 telephone stations, with 58,590 miles of telephone wire, and 47,010,611 conversations. The receipts were 4,956,011 fr. Telegraph and telephone lines are all owned and operated by the State.

III.—Social Reform

In Belgium reform ideas began to work early in the nineteenth century. The spirit of cooperation and organization came down from the Middle Ages. Belgian trade-unions are developed from old trade benefit societies which arose toward the end of the eighteenth century after the abolition of the old medieval gilds in 1795. Thus, for example, the Hat-makers' Benevolent Union was originally a trade friendly society, but became in 1838 "a society for the maintenance of prices and for resistance." Even down to the second half of the century the old spirit lingered. In 1867 the weavers at Ghent still bore on their banner the motto, "God and the Law" (*God en de Wet*).

Trade Unions

The Master Glass-workers' Association at Charleroi was established in 1836; the Free Typographical Association originated in 1842; the Jewelers' and Goldsmiths' Society in 1852. The trade-union movement in Belgium, however, early took a socialistic form. (For early Belgian theoretical and Christian Socialists, see COLINS; HUET; LAVELEYE.) Karl Marx, banished from Germany and Paris came with his friend Engels to Brussels, where they gathered around them a little band of Socialists, and here published the famous manifesto of 1847. Organization, however, did not endure till the International gained footing in Belgium in 1866. It spread rapidly in the crowded industrial cities, and especially in the mine region where men, and women too, worked long hours for piteous wages. Marx called Belgium the paradise of capitalism. Sections were formed at Brussels, Ghent, Antwerp, Bruges, and Charleroi, and elsewhere in the mining section. Papers were started, and some strikes were carried out. De Paepe became a leader. In 1877, however, he declared for Marxian socialism, and the movement became split. The anarchist wing, however, did not endure. A new and most important movement now sprang up, which has differentiated the Belgian Socialist movement from that of any other country, and made it one of the strongest in the world.

In the year 1879 a Ghent typewriter, an active Socialist, Edward ANSEELE, founded a cooperative bakery, and in connection with it a club, the *Vooruit*. Up to this time cooperation had not succeeded in Belgium, but this Socialist cooperative movement succeeded and spread. A similar organization, called the Maison du Peuple (House of the People), was started by the Brussels Socialists in 1882, and another at Verviers in 1884. In the next four years the movement spread through all the important Belgian cities and industrial centers. Soon the societies began selling other things than bread, till gradually the movement became one of vast size and importance. By 1893 the Maison du Peuple had 10,000 members, representing some 10,000 families, and manufactured 100,000 loaves of bread a week. It possest a large club house, which was the center of Socialist propaganda, a library, a tool store, and other property; and it provides coal, groceries, meat, furniture, clothing, medical attendance, and insurance, all at cooperative prices. It maintains a monthly, a weekly, and a daily. This cooperative society gave stability to the Socialist movement.

Socialism

In 1885 a Socialist workingman's party was organized (*Parti ouvrier belge*), and in 1893 this was able to effect in a few days a veritable revolution in the Belgian Constitution. Hitherto the Belgian Socialist had been able to accomplish little politically, because of property limitations to the suffrage. A bill to institute free suffrage was introduced into the Chamber and Senate and defeated. Immediately the Labor Party called a universal strike. M. Volders, the leader of the Labor Party, was arrested with two others. M. Buls, the Brussels burgomaster, ordered "The House of the People" closed, and prohibited meetings and processions. But this only added fuel to the flame. Collisions with the police took place. Numbers of men, women, and even children were shot down, and some mortally wounded. But the strike was won. On April 18th, only eight days after its rejection of universal suffrage, the Constituante (the Assembly) met, and a hurried plan to revise the Constitution and grant a vastly enlarged tho not universal suffrage was devised and carried, and the Labor Party declared the strike off. Since then the party has had a growing representation in the legislature, and the government has been compelled to introduce many reforms (see below). In 1902 the Socialists undertook to gain complete universal suffrage by another universal strike. This time, however, they were unsuccessful, and the attempt even resulted in some setback; nevertheless, the movement is still strong and growing. M. Vandervelde writes of it (1906):

In Belgium all labor unions and societies of any importance, with the exception of the glass-workers, compositors, and a small number of Christian cooperative societies, are affiliated with the Workmen's Party. According to the latest statistics there were 95,000 labor-union Socialists out of a total of 132,000 organized workers. The Socialist strength is thus about 72 per cent of the total. As for the cooperative societies, the great majority are not only commercial, but also political organizations. Some of them hold to the Clerical Party, and to be admitted to any of these one must fulfil his religious duties and pledge himself to the defense of "property, religion, and the family." But the other societies, much more powerful in the industrial centers, adhere to the Workmen's Party. It is necessary, on entering any of them, to accept the Socialist program and agree to the deduction from the annual profits of sums, more or less considerable, for use in the party's general propaganda.

Labor Organizations

The various local federations that compose the party present identical characteristics throughout the country. At the center is the cooperative society, whose home, la Maison du Peuple, is the home also of the friendly societies, the labor unions, the political groups, the artistic and educational associations, all of which constitute the federated organization. In Brussels, for instance, the cooperative society—la Maison du Peuple—includes about 20,000 families. Its busi-

ness averages about $1,200,000 annually. It has butcher shops, grocery, dry-goods, and department stores, a dairy and two large bakeries, which produce annually almost 12,000,000 loaves of bread of 2.2 pounds each. This society devotes annually about $10,000 to the Socialist cause, and moreover, furnishes free quarters to the seventy groups belonging to the federated organization of that city.

Similar organizations, tho in differing degrees of development, are to be found in all the principal centers. Thus, in the very bosom of capitalist society, is found another society, like a state within a state, the members of which are united, not only by their political convictions, but by economic ties that become more binding as time runs on, and that insure a stable and enduring organization.

These Belgian Socialist societies now number 238, with annual sales of $7,600,000. There are 6 Socialist dailies, notably *Le Peuple* (Brussels) and *Vooruit*, 22 weeklies, and 14 monthlies. These Socialist successes have compelled the Roman Catholic Church to make especial social efforts in Belgium. (See CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.) Dr. Varlez writes of them (1906):

Especially have the Catholic Conservatives been active, and for every working-class Socialist or Cooperative Society they have organized a similar cooperative society, only in connection with the Conservatives. These cooperative societies, altho with less enthusiasm and vitality than the working-class societies, nevertheless slowly grow. They are largely supported by the Catholic clergy in the villages and country towns of Flemish Belgium. Many, however, of the most conservative Catholics oppose these efforts to organize such societies for fear that they will one day break away from their conservative moorings. They advocate instead, organizing the working class into religious charitable and beneficial societies, in union with the Church and wealthy conservative patrons. Many such conservative and religious societies are organized, particularly in the villages, and take a great variety of forms—organizations for the cooperative purchase of food, grain, machinery, and other supplies; for the improvement in the breeding of horses, cattle, and other animals; for cooperative dairies, breweries, and the like; for mutual relief and benefits, loans and insurance; for a thousand forms—all alike, however, in being organized under the patronage of the Church and opposed to the democratic Socialist organizations. Strenuously opposed by the Socialists, Christian, and non-Christian, attacked by the freethinkers, now numerous in every country of the Latin race, these agricultural religious organizations embrace now some 100,000 of the peasantry and are still growing.

State action for the working classes has been largely on the lines of savings funds and insurance for old age and for the unemployed and also of direct protection of laborers. There are special acts dealing with contract of employment (1900); truck-system (1887); shop regulations (1896); employment of women, children and young persons (1889) with many regal decrees incidental thereto; Sunday rest (1905); safety and security of labor (1899) completed by important decrees of 1905; workmen's compensation for accidental injuries (1903). There are also other institutions created by law on behalf of the working classes, viz.: councils of experts (1889); councils of industry and labor with a view to prevent and settle trade disputes (1887); trade-unions (1898); benefit societies (1894); laborers' dwellings (1889). In 1906 there was established a bureau in aid of the middle classes, dealing with industrial education and other matters concerning the small traders, etc. The State Savings-Bank of Belgium was established by a law of March 16, 1865, and to it was added the Pension Fund, established in 1850. Its total receipts in 1905 were 1,143,900,000 francs. The movement has now become international, and any one depositing in the savings-banks of France, Belgium, or Holland can transfer his account to any of these countries without cost. Savings-banks have had a remarkable development in Belgium, owing to incessant agitation on the part of the teachers, and are due to the initiative of the city of Ghent. They have spread to almost all the cities and towns of the country, especially since the issue in 1881 of savings cards, to which the children can attach stamps of 10, 5, or 2 centimes (one cent), and which, when they amount to a franc, can be deposited with the savings-bank, in any branch or in any post-office. At the end of 1902 out of a total of 1,151,756 pupils 360,000 had about 10,000,000 fr. in the banks. The bank has also been allowed by different laws to make loans to various funds of social benefit, such as co-operative societies, agricultural banks, and workingmen's dwellings. At the end of 1904, seven agricultural banks had loans amounting to 7,873,000 fr., and 166 societies for erecting workingmen's dwellings had loans of over 66,000,000 fr., and more than 33,000 houses had by this means been erected.

State Savings-Bank

The Old Age Pension Fund, established in 1850, permits the granting of pensions not above 1,200 francs, and made payable at different ages, between fifty and sixty. This has become of particular importance since the granting by the State, in 1900, of premiums to persons entitled to a pension through the endowment of a friendly society, or to persons of modest means, directly connected with the institution. A Department of Life Insurance was created in 1889, and connected with the savings-bank, but limited to the insurance of those who have borrowed for the construction of a workingman's dwelling. In 1894 it widened its scope, and is now open to all, with the maximum limit of 5,000 fr. insurance.

Public Labor Bureaus for the Unemployed (Bourses du Travail), mainly of a charitable nature, have existed in Belgium for some years, beginning at Liége in 1888, but have not been favored by the working classes, except at Liége itself, and have only been made use of by the least efficient, and that without large results. Their main effort has been to find places for those out of work. More recently, however, beginning at Ghent in 1901, there has developed a plan of insurance against unemployment, which has had more success, and is being largely copied throughout Belgium and in other countries. This is the creation of a public fund by the municipalities, to be increased by private gifts, and to be used in supplementing the out-of-work benefits given by trade-unions. Thus every trade-unionist receiving a small out-of-work benefit from his union, can, under due restrictions, have this supplemented by a grant from the fund of perhaps 50 or 30 per cent of the amount of his benefit. Non-unionists can get the same aid by paying dues to a special thrift fund. This plan has the advantage of being taken out of the sphere of charity and of cooperating with and calling out the efforts of organized labor. By May, 1904, there were seven such funds established by the principal cities of Belgium. The portion of the plan for trade-unionists seems to have been very successful; whereas that for non-unionists seems to have failed. Labor colonies, for the unemployed, or more truly for vagrants, are maintained by the Belgian Government at Merxplas and Wortel, and are called "Colonies Agricoles de Bienfaisance"; they are practically penal colonies for vagrants, committed by judicial authority or municipalities. They are committed for a certain period, but receive a small wage, which is kept for them. Merxplas is for those who have committed some misdemeanor; Wortel for those who

The Unemployed

have committed none, but are reduced to vagrancy. There is also a private labor colony at Haeren, near Brussels. There is a system of Central Inspection and a Superior Council of Relief. Under these each commune is responsible for its relief work, tho weak communes may combine. "Commissions d'Assistance" are created for each commune, or union of communes, with from five to ten members, among which must be a clergyman, an alderman, and a laborer. No salaries are paid, tho the laborer can be indemnified for time lost. Women are eligible. The indigent are divided into those unable to work, those willing to work, but unable to find it, and those unwilling to work. To the first class is given relief, indoor relief for the most part. Private charity in Belgium is very great, providing for at least one half of the indigents, but is controlled by the State. For the other two classes there are workhouses, refuges, and schools of charity. The workhouses are for persons able to work, but who do not. The refuges are intermediary between the workhouses and the poorhouses, for those willing to work, but unable through sickness, old age, or disability. Persons found begging can be assigned to these for seven years. In 1901 there were 6,384 in these refuges. The schools of charity are compulsory training schools for youths up to eighteen, who have become vagrants or have committed misdemeanors. The expense for these institutions is divided equally between the State, province, and commune. Very low wages are paid in the workhouses and refuges.

Important Belgian societies and institutions for social reform are:

Institut de Sociologie Solvay, founded 1901. Leopold Park, Brussels.
Office du Travail. 2 Lambermont, Brussels.
Caisse d'Epargne. 50 Rue Fossé aux Loups, Brussels.
La Bourse du Travail. 17 Rue de l'Amigo, Brussels.
La Maison du Peuple. 11 Rue Joseph Stevens, Brussels. (Socialist Cooperative Society.)
Ligue Belge du Droit des Femmes, founded 1892. Secretary, Mlle. Marie Popelin, Hôtel Ravenstein, Brussels.
Ligue Patriotique contre l'Alcolisme, founded 1879. Secretary, Dr. de Vaucleroy, 306 Avenue Louise, Brussels.
Société Belge d'Economie Sociale, founded 1881. Hôtel Ravenstein, Brussels.
Société Belge de la Paix et de l'Arbitrage, founded 1885. Secretary, Henry de la Fontaine, Sénateur, 81 Rue d'Arlon, Brussels.
Société Belge de Sociologie, founded 1899. Secretary, Camille Jacquart, 11 Rue Brialmont, Brussels.
Société de Moralité Publique, founded 1881. Secretary, Ed. Belleroche, 65 Rue de Stassart, Brussels.

REFERENCES: *Annuaire Statistique de la Belgique*, Brussels; *L'Office du Travail de 1895–1905*, ib., 1905; *La Législation et les Œuvres en Belgique*, by S. J. Vermeersch, Louvain, 1904; *Cities of Belgium*, by Richard Grant Allen, 1897.

BELLAMY, EDWARD: American nationalist and author; born in Chicopee Falls, Mass., 1850. He graduated at Union College and studied law, but soon entered journalism, writing for many papers, principally the Springfield *Union*. His first novel was "A Nantucket Idyl." "Dr. Heidenhoff's Process," "The Blind Man's World," and "Miss Ludington's Sister" followed. All are dreamy, fantastic novels, but with such power that Mr. Howells declared that "the mantle of Hawthorne has fallen upon Mr. Bellamy." He then wrote "Looking Backward," upon which his great fame depends, and which many consider to be the ablest socialistic Utopia ever written. (See NATIONALISM.)

In *The Nationalist* magazine he has related how he came to write that book; how it took shape from an original plan to write a sort of fairy tale of social felicity—"a cloud palace for an ideal humanity"—in the shape of a great world nation. "The idea of an industrial army for maintaining the community, precisely as the military army protects it, suggested the advisability of seeing if a plan which was found to work so well for purposes of destruction might not be profitably applied to the business of production, now in shocking confusion." This idea had been vaguely floating in his mind for a year or two, but it was not until he began to work out the details of his romance that he perceived the full potency of the instrument he was using. This led to a complete recasting of the book, both in form and purpose, and the author was filled with the fervent desire to acquaint the people of his country with its beneficent possibilities—a desire which the popularity of "Looking Backward" has abundantly realized. The form of a romance was reluctantly retained, with a view to obtain a reading for the book.

The year 2000 was fixed upon as the date of the story, at which date Mr. Bellamy believed that nationalism would be in operation.

The book soon made a sensation; a Bellamy Club was started in Boston, and from that grew the Nationalist Club, and then the Nationalist movement. (See NATIONALISM.) The book reached a sale of over 500,000 copies in this country, and has been translated into most of the languages of Europe. In the beginning of 1891 Mr. Bellamy commenced the publication of a weekly, *The New Nation*, as an organ of nationalism. It was suspended, however, at the close of 1893. In 1897 he published "Equality," a continuation of "Looking Backward," and on the same lines, but a larger book. Bellamy died in 1898.

BELLERS, JOHN: Quaker; philanthropist; born about 1654. He was a member of the Society of Friends, joint lord of the manor of Coln St. Aldwyn's, and devoted to philanthropic projects. He wrote numerous pamphlets, the best known of which is "Proposals for Raising a Colledge of Industry," in which he proposed that the rich should provide capital and receive profit by building a college in which destitute men and women could find work. He died in 1725.

BEMIS, EDWARD WEBSTER: Superintendent of water works; economist; born in Springfield, Mass., 1860; graduated from Amherst College, 1880; Ph.D., Johns Hopkins University, 1885; in charge of the departments of history and political economy at Vanderbilt University, 1887–92; assistant professor in economics, University of Chicago, 1892–95; professor of economics and history at Kansas State Agricultural College, 1897–99; head of the Department of Municipal Monopolies in the Bureau of Economical Research, New York City, 1899–1901. In 1901 he was appointed superintendent of water works in Cleveland, O., by Mayor Johnson, a position he still occupies. An investigator and writer upon municipal monopolies and kindred questions, he has appeared frequently before courts and state commissions as expert witness for cities in cases involving the rights of the people with respect to gas companies. Mr. Bemis, while believing in municipal ownership of public-service corporations and public ownership of railways and telegraphs and a few other monopolies of that

character, does not agree with socialism in the operation and ownership of competitive industries, but believes in heavy taxation of all special privileges and in legislation safeguarding the health, education, and welfare of the community. Author: "Municipal Ownership of Gas in the United States," "Cooperation in New England and the Middle States," "The Labor Organizations of America," "Municipal Monopolies," "Reports of the Cleveland Water Works." *Address*: Cleveland, O.

BENTHAM, JEREMY: Political economist; born in London, 1748; graduated at Queen's College, Oxford, at the age of eighteen. He was called to the bar in 1772, but never practised his profession. Bentham became the greatest critic of government and legislation in his day. His first publication was "A Fragment on Government" (1776); and his first important economic treatise was "A Defense of Usury," in which he tried to prove by close reasoning that when the legislature fixes a maximum rate of interest it does not benefit the right persons, but encourages deceit and raises the rate of secret interest by adding the danger of discovery. He urged that every man is the best judge of his own welfare, and that it is for the public good to leave him free to seek it. Bentham published "A Manual of Political Economy," but he influenced economic thought even more by his philosophic writings. Beccaria in 1764 had coined a convenient phrase, "The greatest happiness of the greatest number," and Bentham took this up and made it the ruling principle and chief end of legislation. This, too, he taught to be identical with the extremest *laissez-faire*. Bentham was also a great believer in education, especially of the working classes, whom he considered the most important part of the community. He aided Robert Owen by taking shares in his factory at New Lanark.

Bentham's works and life, edited by Bowring, fill eleven volumes, of which the tenth and eleventh contain the life. His chief economical works are: "Protest against Law Taxes"; "Supply without Burden"; "Tax with Monopoly" (i. e., a tax on bankers and stockbrokers); "Defense of Usury and of Projects in Arts"; "Manual of Political Economy"; "Conversion of Stock into Note Annuities"; "Invention and Discovery"; "Hard Labor Bill"; "Tracts on Poor Laws and Pauper Management." He died in 1832.

BENTLEY, WALTER E.: Founder of The Actors' Church Alliance; born in Sheffield, England, 1864. He came to the United States in the eighties, and entered on a commercial career, but soon forsook that for the stage, toured the country for several seasons as a Shakespearian actor, and attained great success. Later he sought holy orders in the Episcopal Church, was ordained by Bishop Huntington in 1892, and served in the diocese of central New York until 1897, when he was called to be vicar of St. Mark's, New York, afterward becoming assistant to the Rev. Dr. Heber Newton. While at St. Mark's, Mr. Bentley aided in forming "The Peoples Club" No. 1, and for some time was its energetic secretary. In 1899 he founded The Actors' Church Alliance, and as national secretary and organizer he extended it throughout the United States and Canada and all over Great Britain and Ireland. Mr. Bentley is now rector of the Church of the Ascension in Brooklyn, where, in addition to his religious work, he has a well-equipped theater in full operation as an important adjunct to religious and social effort. *Address*: Church of the Ascension, Kent Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

BEQUESTS. See Gifts and Bequests.

BEQUEST, POWER OF: This is an inheritance of modern nations from the Roman law, which allowed three fourths of the inheritance to be willed away from the next of kin. The Koran allows two thirds, and the Mishna recognizes gifts of property to take effect on death. (See Gifts.)

BERGER, VICTOR L.: American Socialist; editor of the Milwaukee daily *Vorwärts*; born at Nieder Rehbuch, Austria-Hungary, 1860; educated in Budapest and Vienna. On account of reverses the family emigrated to the United States, where Berger at first worked as a metal polisher, later becoming a public-school teacher. A pioneer organizer in socialism, he became prominent in the Social Democracy and in the Social-Democratic Party, and has been a member of the latter party's executive board from the beginning. Tho a firm Socialist, he has been a leader of the liberal wing, for which he was criticized by members of the "orthodox" wing. He has been the party candidate in Milwaukee for the mayoralty, for Congress, and for the Senate. He has written: "Socialism, What it is and What it is Not (1900); "The Trust Question" (1900); and "Municipal Socialism" (1902). *Address*: 614 State Street, Milwaukee, Tenn.

BERLIN: Capital of the German Empire; founded in the twelfth century; prominent since the fifteenth century, and a leading city from the time of the Great Elector Frederick William (1640–88). Under Frederick the Great large manufactures grew up, and the city became an industrial center as well as a royal residence. It has recently grown very rapidly in population, as will be seen from the following figures: 1800, 172,132; 1870, 774,498; 1890, 1,578,516; 1900, 1,888,574; 1905, 2,033,900. In 1897 the capital stock of companies doing business in Berlin was 1,100,000,000 marks with an output of nearly 2,000,000,000 mk. There were (1904) 12,967 factories employing 272,768 persons. Cloth printing and dyeing, iron and steel, and clothing are the leading industries. Twelve railways pass through the city, and about 35,000 freight steamers enter the Spree annually. There has been much overcrowding, and tho a great deal has been done the evil still remains. The death-rate, however, has fallen from 32.94 in 1876 to 24.58 in 1901. Municipal lodging-houses provide cheap and sanitary lodgings for the needy, and great efforts are made to make it possible for the poor to live outside the city (see German Municipalities). The poor relief is under strict municipal control, tho about 3,000 unpaid citizens assist the paid workers (see Elberfeld System). In 1904–5 Berlin spent 14,817,364 marks on poor relief, besides 8,288,300 mk. on free hospitals for the poor.

The city government of Berlin is most efficient. The council is composed of 144 members elected for six years, one third of the seats being vacated every two years. The council elects the burgomaster and other chief officials. In spite

of its large population the city has only six seats in the Reichstag, which in 1900 were occupied by four Socialists and two Radicals. In the Landtag it has nine seats, all of which were held by Radicals in 1898. The franchise for city elections, however, divides the voters (all males over twenty-four, who are not criminals or paupers) into three classes according to the taxes they pay, a system which greatly favors the larger taxpayers.

The city has gone very far in the direction of public ownership, and with brilliant success. It owns four immense gas-works, electric-lighting plants, and water-works estimated at 65,000,000 marks; the latter give the city a net income of about 2,000,000 mk., and a sinking-fund for paying off the original cost. The sewage system is considered a model and there is a successful municipal sewage farm which enables the city to carry on a very remunerative garden trade. There are municipal abattoir and fourteen municipal markets. The street-car system is private until the plants revert to the city in 1911; but the companies pay over 800,000 mk. annually in taxes, pave the streets on which the cars run from curb to curb, and are strictly under the control of the municipality. The municipal debt of Berlin was 351,979,367 mk. in 1904, but there were assets of 749,123,593 mk. The receipts and expenditures in the same year were 181,758,962 mk. This was considered favorable, and the taxes on incomes of less than 900 mk. were remitted, and also the rent tax. The taxes in 1904–5 were 75,367,504 mk. or 38.10 mk. per capita. The University of Berlin (founded 1810) and its various educational, literary, artistic, musical, and scientific institutions make it a brilliant intellectual center.

References: *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Berlin*, 1905; *Municipal Government in Continental Europe*, by Albert Shaw, 1895.

BERNSTEIN, EDUARD: Leader of the Revisionists or evolutionary wing of the German Social Democrats; born in Berlin, 1850, of Jewish parentage, his father a locomotive engineer; educated in the Werder Gymnasium. He held a position in a bank from 1866 to 1878, and then became private secretary to Karl Hoechberg, a millionaire supporter of the Social-Democratic Party. Expelled from Germany by the anti-Socialist legislation of 1881, he went to Switzerland and edited the *Sozialdemokrat*, the efficient organ of the Social-Democratic party. He resided in London from 1888 to 1901 when he returned to Berlin, and in the following year was elected to the Reichstag from Breslau (reelected 1903; defeated 1907). In 1899 he published his famous work "Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratic," the book which has led to the great "Revisionist" controversy in the German socialist party. It was written in defense of a series of articles he had contributed to the *Neue Zeit*, and which contained the following sentences:

> The Social Democracy has neither to expect nor to wish an early downfall of the existing economic system, if such is thought to be the product of a great devastating crisis. I openly declare that I have not much concern nor use for what is commonly understood as the "ultimate aim of socialism." This aim, whatever it may be, is of no importance at present; the *movement* is of *all importance* to me. And by the term "movement" I understand not only the general movement of society, that is, social progress, but also the political and economic agitation for effecting this progress.
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> If the Social Democracy should in the present state of society actually take possession of the political power, it would at once be confronted by an unsolvable problem. It could not immediately decree away capitalism; indeed, not even dispense with it. And also, it could not guarantee capitalism the security which it must needs have in order to perform its functions.
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> Thus the question is raised whether this state of things would not postpone the realization of socialism to a day never to come, or at least postpone it for generations. If under the realization of socialism is understood the establishment of a strictly regulated communistic state of society, then this seems as yet very distant to me. On the other hand, it is my firm belief that the present generation will see the realization of *much socialism*, if not in a patented form, yet certainly in a very material way. (*Neue Zeit*, No. 18, Jan. 29, 1898.)

Accordingly, Bernstein demanded working for socialistic reforms under the present system, expecting this system to gradually grow into socialism. These views were at once considered heretical by orthodox Socialists all over the world. English life with its practical character, and the work of English and German statisticians and political economists, had had their effect on Bernstein. He follows Marx without considering him infallible.

There was an effort to read Bernstein out of the party, but in the Hanover convention of 1899 the South-German Social Democrats stood by him almost in a body. Auer, the party secretary, was one of his sturdiest defenders. David Peus, Von Elms, Frohme, Heine, and others were with him. Vollmar could well say at the close of the convention, "The renewed attack of the 'party purifier' has been repelled." And altho the Bernstein theory was rejected at the conventions in Lübeck and Dresden, it has obtained such an influence in the party—especially among the trade-union leaders of Germany—that it cannot be driven out of Social Democracy. Bernstein's great opponent is Karl Kautsky.

In addition to the work mentioned in the foregoing, Bernstein has written "Zur Theorie und Kritik des Sozialismus," in the *Sozialistische Monatshefte* (Berlin); "Wie ist Wissenschaftliches Sozialismus möglich?" (ib.); and "Die heutige Sozialdemokratie in Theorie und Praxis" (1906), besides numerous articles and essays. He has also edited the writings of Lassalle. *Address:* 5 Rosenheimerstrasse, Berlin W., Germany.

BESANT, ANNIE (*née* **WOOD**): English writer and lecturer; born in London, 1847. Her father dying while she was yet young, she was brought up by her mother under straitened circumstances, mainly at Harrow. She married the Rev. Frank Besant in 1867. Two children were born to them, and during a sickness of the younger Mrs. Besant fell into great doubts as to the goodness and then as to the being of God. She strove to find comfort from High Church fathers and Broad Church thought (consulting, among others, both Dr. Pusey and Dean Stanley), but failed to find relief. and became an avowed atheist. Her husband felt that he must leave her and take her children, even by force of law, from what he considered her pernicious teachings. This not unnaturally embittered her against Christianity and the Church, and she devoted all her energies to writing and lecturing for Free Thought. Becoming acquainted with Mr. Bradlaugh, she spent many years working with him, lecturing through all England, and editing *The National Reformer*. She became convinced of and advocated the necessity of neo-Malthusianism—in

limiting the number of children, especially among the poor. Gradually she came to work more among and for the poor, and at last became an avowed Socialist and was for a time the most famous and active woman worker for socialism in England. She was especially active in work for women, organizing them into unions, and in particular successfully conducted the great strike of the match girls in East London. She wrote continually, becoming a FABIAN, and the author of one of their collection of essays. Her socialism finally took her away from Mr. Bradlaugh, and more recently her religious nature has made her embrace theosophy, becoming at first the friend and confidante of Madame Blavatsky, and now practically her successor. At present it is to theosophy that she devotes her main time and thought. Her writings are very numerous, mainly brief essays or tracts on free thought, Malthusianism, socialism, and theosophy. In 1885 she wrote an interesting book of "Autobiographical Sketches."

BESANT, SIR WALTER: English author and philanthropist; born at Portsmouth, 1838; educated at King's College, London, and Christ's College, Cambridge. After graduating, he accepted the appointment of senior professor in the Royal College of Mauritius, but soon after resigned and returned to England. He was the author of numerous works, one of which had an important social outcome. It was due to an ideal pictured in his "All Sorts and Conditions of Men" that the People's Palace in East London was built—a large club house for workingmen, where they can find art, amusement, education, bathing, gymnasium facilities, etc. Besant died in 1901.

BETHEL: A remarkably successful colony for epileptics and other unfortunates at Bielefeld, Westphalia, Germany. The colony began with epileptics, tho now it embraces all classes of misfortune, bodily and otherwise. In 1867 a few Westphalian pastors and laymen, following the example of Pastor Bost of La Force, in Dordogne, France, decided that the Church had a duty toward the epileptic. A farmhouse near Bielefeld was bought; a few epileptics came; and the colony was called Ebenezer—"the stone of help." Two years later a home for deaconesses was planted close by to train workers, and was called Sarepta—"the place of purifying metal." The names are important because they show the spirit of the place. Three years later Pastor von Bodelschwingh and his wife were placed in charge. Pastor von Bodelschwingh's father was Prime Minister of Prussia; his wife's father was likewise in the Prussian Cabinet. To-day, instead of one building, there are over 150, and Bethel now receives every class of unfortunates. Indeed, any one in trouble may come. The main branches of the colony are five in number: (1) The home for epileptics, or Bethel proper; (2) Sarepta, the home for training nurses (now numbering about 1,100); (3) Nazareth, the brotherhood for training deacons (about 370); (4) Wilhelmsdorf, the colony for vagrants and the unemployed; and (5) the Workmen's Home Association, an organization for providing homes of their own for the working classes of Germany.

Among the Bethel's 150 buildings there is place for virtually any ill. It has a large idiot colony, nearly one third of the inmates being of this class. It has two orphanages called "The Good Shepherd" and *Kinderheim*, "the Children's Home." For inebriates there is the *Friedrichshutte*, "Frederick's Cot," named for the late German Emperor, and opened just after his demise. One remarkable spot on the colony grounds is the *Eickhof*, where wealthy voluntary patients, who have made shipwreck of life, through drink or fast living, may come, and, among equals of their own class and surrounded by physical comforts, be compelled nevertheless to labor with their own hands. There is also a house which welcomes those who can find no opening elsewhere, because they have been convicted of dishonesty of some kind. Such are some of the wide charities of this unique colony.

The daily life of the colonists is divided between work and prayer. The whole atmosphere of the place is religious, tho religion is forced upon none. Yet without it Pastor von Bodelschwingh would say Bethel could not live. But even the epileptic children and the noblemen's sons must work. It is the genius of Pastor von Bodelschwingh which finds work which each can do. Almost all that Bethel uses is made by the colonists: houses, furniture, clothing, food, etc. The carpenters live for the most part in a house called Little Nazareth. Near this is the tailors' home, Peniel, "the face of God"; not far away are "Horeb," the shoemaker's house; "Gilgal," the blacksmith's shop; "Sharon," the seedsman's store. There are bookbinding, book printing, and bookselling. Books made at Bethel are sold throughout Germany. There are also saddlers, basket-makers, and other trades. "Hebron" is the farmhouse of the colony. They also make bricks in Bethel, turning out 4,000,000 bricks per year.

A most important part of the colony is Wilhelmsdorf, a colony for the unemployed. But for this see LABOR COLONIES. Nor is even this all. The Workmen's Home Association makes loans to working men, on security of land and house, and so enables them to own their homes and a little land. Skilled epileptics are the architects and builders of these houses, tho to-day the work is spreading to different portions of the empire. Bethel largely supports itself by the work done by its members. Little or no pay is given even to those who give the skilled work of overseeing or directing. They are assured a home and livelihood; in case of sickness or need they know that they and theirs will be provided for with loving care; what they need they can have. Out from the training-homes, therefore, pour men and women who, with no thought of pay, give trained effort that guides the multitudinous activities of the colony, and sends out even foreign missionaries to carry on similar efforts in Africa and elsewhere. Yet money is made in many ways. Into one busy house in the colony come cast-off clothing or articles of any nature sent from all over Germany, to go out in most cases renewed and fit for use by somebody in the colony, or to be sold at low price to the peasants in the vicinity. A poor woman in Germany collected from her friends and neighbors a garretful of old corks and sent them to Bielefeld. To-day the traffic in old corks fills several houses at the colony, employs forty clerks, and brings in $10,000 per year. A wealthy patient arrived at Bielefeld who did not know how to do anything except collect postage-stamps. Bodelschwingh set him to doing this. To-day

the postage-stamp bazaar of the colony occupies a house, employs many clerks, and brings in considerable revenue. Children from all over Germany collect used stamps and send them to the colony. There is at the colony a "fragment man" who has a genius for turning into use and money the fragments which other people throw away. In more ordinary lines of trade, Bethel puts up and sells over the world pure bromide, for which epileptics have such continual need and which it is difficult to get pure. In ten years over 10,000 epileptics have been thus supplied in Germany alone.

Bethel is not, however, wholly self-supporting. It needs gifts and receives them. The royal house of Prussia takes great interest in it and gives it favors and gifts. But more particularly does Bethel rely upon the interest and gifts of the Westphalian farmers who live in the district. Pastor von Bodelschwingh is a skilled solicitor of aid. Once he asked all German parents to give him a *pfennig* for each sound and healthy child, for him to spend on the maimed and unfortunate. At present about $7,510 per year comes from the school children of Germany. Some $50,000 per year is collected for the colony by sixty regular collectors. The neighboring provinces appropriate to its use $15,300 per year. Altogether Bethel has and spends, apart from the labor colony, about $300,000 per year. It has property valued at 6,562,057 marks net.

BETHEL (SHELBY COUNTY, MO.): A communistic settlement of 4,000 acres, established about 1844 by a German-American, Dr. Keil. With little capital, but great industry, the community by 1854 had a woolen-mill, a grist-mill, several shops, and a church; the population was then 650. In 1855 Dr. Keil, with eighty settlers from Bethel, started a similar community of 18,000 acres at Aurora, Ore. Dr. Keil was president of both; and down to 1872 both properties stood in his name, but were administered by a board of trustees. In 1872, however, Dr. Keil gave each adult member a title deed to one parcel of land, tho the administration remained communistic. The life was simple and uneventful; a strict family life was maintained. Dr. Keil died in 1877, and Bethel dissolved in 1880 and Aurora a year later.

BIBLE AND SOCIAL REFORM, THE: Charles Kingsley called the Bible "the reformer's guide," and declared its keynote to be justice from God to those whom men oppress; glory from God to those whom men despise." Herr Todt, the German Christian Socialist, wrote: "Whoever would understand the social question and contribute to its solution must have on his right hand the works on political economy and on his left the literature of scientific socialism, and must keep the New Testament open before him."

Those who hold that the Bible teaches definite principles as to the formation of human society upon earth, usually maintain that the Old Testament, through its history and in the Mosaic covenant, teaches the general principles of national righteousness, while the New Testament bids us fulfil this righteousness through the life in Christ in the heart. It is held by many Christian Socialists that the Old Testament covenant teaches what may be called the law for society. It founded a theocracy on earth. God was the Universal Father; every man of the theocracy a brother. Property in land was not absolute; the land was conceived as belonging to God. No individual could own it in fee simple. He could only use it. In its use he was inalienably protected. It came to him through the family as an inalienable inheritance. If, through poverty, or misfortune, he temporarily parted with it, it returned to him in the year of jubilee. No landless, homeless class could, therefore, be *permanently* developed among the Hebrews.

The law went further. It cared especially for the poor, the opprest, the children, the fatherless, the widow. Usury (or interest; all scholars agree that the two words originally meant the same thing) was positively forbidden between members of His kingdom. The law provided for every one's independence. It not only provided land for the worker, but defended him in the ownership of clothes, tools, etc. (capital), which could not *permanently* be taken from him. If taken as a pledge, they must be returned before night. No permanent mortgage indebtedness was, therefore, possible on either land or capital—that is, the law was truly socialistic in providing in the name of organized society for both land and capital for every family. And this was *not*, be it remembered, a law of mere individual righteousness. *In order to reap its benefits, the family had to belong to the theocracy.* The Jew could take interest from a foreigner; the foreigner could be enslaved, even killed. The law was essentially national and institutional.

Such was the law of the Jewish kingdom, however and whenever developed. These conclusions are not therefore bound up with any view of the Higher Criticism. The Jews did not indeed observe it. They wandered far from it. But the law endured. The psalmists and the prophets are full of blessings on those who keep the law; are full of woes and condemnation upon the nation that wanders from it. The ceremonial was the precious shrine of a moral law still more precious. It is the moral law that is prominent. In the Psalms, Canon Fremantle has told us, there is not one word about circumcision, not a word about the passover, not a word about Sabbaths, not a word about ceremonial uncleanness. Just relation between man and man; God in the natural, the national, and social life—these are the constant themes. The same is true of the prophets. Isaiah says: "Bring no more vain oblations: incense is an abomination to me; the new moons and Sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting. Learn to do well; seek judgment [justice]; relieve the opprest; judge the fatherless; plead for the widow." . . . Micah says: "Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? . . . What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly and love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God?" Such was the kingdom of heaven, of the law, and of the prophets. They thundered, not against the ritual law, but against those who robbed it of its meaning. They witnessed not against sacrifices, but against sacrifices of other people's property.

But the law failed. Law could not save, as law cannot save to-day. And yet it did not fail. It was *the schoolmaster to bring us to Christ.*

"What the law could not do in that it was weak through the flesh," that Jesus Christ came to fulfil. This is the *second* half of Bible sociology.

Christ's first preaching was of a kingdom.

"From that time Jesus began to preach, and to say, 'Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.'" He sent out His disciples and the seventy to preach "the Gospel of the kingdom." Almost all His parables are about the kingdom. Of the kingdom are His main discourses. Just before His crucifixion He entered Jerusalem as a king. Before Pilate He declared that He was a king. On His cross was the inscription in three representative languages of the earth, declaring Him to be a king. After His resurrection He continued forty days "speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God." What did Jesus Christ mean by the kingdom of God? A kingdom implies four things. It implies a *king*, a ruler; it implies a *law*, the law of the king; it implies, *subjects* who obey, or should obey, the king; it implies a *realm*, where the king rules. What king, law, subjects, and realm does Christ refer to? Where is the kingdom of heaven? It cannot be far away, because eighteen centuries ago Christ declared that it was "at hand." It cannot be unknown, because Christ referred to it in His first utterances as something that His hearers perfectly well understood. It must by them have been understood of that kingdom of God which Moses tried to establish; of which David and the kings were faulty symbols; for which the prophets prayed and the poets sang; to which every Jew looked forward with a longing the more passionate the more it seemed deferred. Undoubtedly this was what the Jew understood by Christ's teaching. Yet it was not to be as they thought. It was to be spiritual, and for all nations. It was not to come by earthly might or by any law. It was to be chosen of men in freedom, not forced upon them; it was to come "without observation," and by the power of the Spirit. Such, in brief, is the social teaching of the Old and New Testaments. (See articles CHRISTIANITY; CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM; JUDAISM.)

BIELEFELD. See BETHEL.

BIMETALISM: Term designating the use of gold and silver as money at relative values set by legislative enactment, or the union of these two metals in circulation as full money, at a fixt rate; specifically that system of coinage which recognizes both coins of silver and coins of gold as legal tender to any amount, or the free coinage and concurrent use of the two metals as a circulating medium at a fixt relative value.

The final report of the (English) Royal Commission on Gold and Silver, reporting in 1888, describes bimetalism as follows: "A bimetallic system of currency to be completely effective must, in the view of those who advocate it, include two essential features: (*a*) An open mint ready to coin any quantity of either gold or silver which may be brought to it. (*b*) The right on the part of a debtor to discharge his liabilities, at his option, in either of the two metals, at a ratio fixt by law." It is usually understood to mean that the two metals are used thus at a fixt proportion to each other, as in the countries of the Latin Union, in which the ratio of 1 gold to 15½ silver by weight formed the legal basis, or as in the United States, in which the ratio is 1 to 16.

Bimetalism as an economic question is of recent date, the word having been first used by M. Cernuschi in 1869, altho the concurrent use of gold and silver as money is as old as civilization. (See MONEY.) The modern discussion of it, however, arose only shortly before the fall in the gold value of silver, which began about 1873.

History

Up to the year 1819 almost all nations issued coins of both gold and silver, as well as of other metals, and tried to regulate their relative values by royal or governmental proclamations. Altho supply and demand continually tended to change the relative value of the two metals, and altho from about 1760–1810 enormous quantities of silver poured into the world from mines in Mexico and elsewhere (so that in 1800 the world's annual silver product was nearly three times its product in 1700), the actual alteration in the relative values aforesaid was but slight. In 1803, therefore, France adopted her famous law, making fifteen and a half parts of silver equal to one part of gold in all transactions, which had the effect, despite still greater changes in relative production, of maintaining the relative values of the metals almost exactly steady at the figures named until the demonetization of silver by Germany in 1873. England, however, in 1816, under the second Lord Liverpool, took an opposite course, and demonetized silver as a standard, and ever since has used it only as a metal for subsidiary coinage. But now began a contraction of the currency of the world. The silver product of Mexico, owing mainly to revolutions in that country, fell off one half; the total gold product of the world for various reasons declined; paper currencies in France and England were retired; the United States (see CURRENCY) went through marked depressions, with all forms of wild state banking. At the same time increasing discoveries and inventions cheapened production.

By 1849 prices had fallen some 65 per cent, and money (in England, gold) had become by so much the more valuable. Contracting currency (see CONTRACTION) increased the value of loans. But suddenly (1849) came the gold discoveries of California and Australia. In 1859 thirty times as much gold was produced in the world as in 1810. Money became cheap. Prices rose. Gold threatened to be so plenty that monometalists began to talk about demonetizing it. From 1862–1865, moreover, the United States issued paper money (greenbacks, etc.) and liberated $600,000,000 of gold, which went to Europe, and mainly to England. If the gold-holders and gold-lenders were to retain any advantage from their gold, it was necessary to take some steps. Consequently they sought (the extreme believers in silver say conspired) to get possession of as much gold as possible, and then to induce the various nations of the world to demonetize silver, to make gold the only legal tender. Soon the promise of unlimited outflow of gold from the mines began to fail, and thus to vastly increase the value of their gold.

Gradually the arguments of English economists in favor of the single gold standard began to make impression, and this was deepened by indications that an excessive supply of silver from the Bonanza mines of Nevada might be expected. In 1867, in connection with the Paris Exhibition of that year, an international monetary conference was held at Berlin, and since even delegates from the United States, among others, supported resolutions advocating the demonetization of silver, the idea of gold monometalism spread.

The war of 1870–71, by securing to Germany a large sum of gold and merchantable paper equivalent to gold, in payment of the indemnity of $1,000,000,000 exacted from France, put Germany into a position to establish the single gold standard for herself. The law of Dec. 4, 1871, completed July 9, 1873, superseding the local coinage by an imperial coinage, demonetized silver by restricting its coinage to the amount regarded as necessary for change. The influence of Germany's action was felt in other quarters than the silver market, and its results everywhere had the effect of increasing the depression of silver. In 1873 Denmark, Sweden, and Norway followed her in adopting the single gold standard. Holland followed in 1875.

Silver Demonetized, 1873

In the United States, the influence of the bankers and capitalists had already caused the withdrawal of the greenbacks, the issue of interest-bearing bonds, the vote to pay both capital and interest in gold (altho in some cases it had not been promised to be paid in gold), and, besides all this, the gradual contraction of the currency; and thus, of course, the enhancement of the value of gold. (For the details, see CURRENCY.) Hitherto silver, since the beginning of the war at least, had played a small part in United States monetary affairs. During the war, and till about 1876, it was mainly a question of paper or gold. This led to unforeseen consequences. Silver—hitherto technically, altho not practically, a legal tender and standard of value—was, in 1873, technically demonetized.

(See CURRENCY:) A bill was introduced into Congress and passed Feb. 12, 1873, nominally to regulate details of coinage at the mint, but which, without mentioning the demonetization of silver, did practically accomplish this by not mentioning silver coins except for small change, and saying that no coins either of gold or silver should be coined except those therein set forth. It elicited at the time small attention. Few knew that it demonetized silver, and the most stalwart friends of silver voted for it. Silver was scarcely an issue.

But gradually, as the country saw the circulation contracting, and the opponents of contraction found that they could not obtain a paper currency, they turned to silver, and then discovered that it had been demonetized. The excitement was intense. Mr. Sherman and the few who knew what had been done were branded as traitors by the growing friends of silver. It was charged that demonetization had been carried by a conspiracy of a few Congressmen with the "gold kings" of Wall Street, to carry out "a world conspiracy" to demonetize silver and make gold the ruler of the world.

A monetary commission was appointed by Congress in 1876, which reported strongly in favor of silver, and led to the call of an international monetary conference at Paris in 1878, to secure the cooperation of the European powers in remonetizing silver. Meanwhile, the development of gold monometalism had gone on.

The Paris conference took no positive action toward silver remonetization. In the United States, however, the Bland Bill of 1878 did to an extent remonetize silver. It did not wholly, for altho, as originally reported by Mr. Bland from the House Committee on Coinage, it did propose the full remonetization of silver by authorizing its unlimited coinage at the ratio of 1 to 16 on private account, the bill, as finally passed, restricted coinage to $2,000,000 a month on government account. And the secretaries of our treasury, like the Bank of France, have been agreed in regarding their stock of gold alone as the reserve for the security of the notes they are obligated to redeem on presentation.

This was at length replaced in 1890, after almost annual attempts at a full free-coinage act, by a compromise measure, commonly known as the Sherman Act. This directed the treasurer to purchase silver bullion aggregating 4,500,000 ounces a month, or so much thereof as might be offered at market price, and to issue in payment for such purchases silver bullion treasury notes.

Meanwhile, on the Continent the gold monometalists had succeeded in permanently demonetizing silver. By an international agreement of the Latin Union in 1874, the coinage of silver had been limited; by an agreement of 1877 it ceased. The Paris conference of 1878 had been decided for gold.

We now come to the money crisis of the summer of 1893. The United States was left alone, of the great powers of the world, to deal with silver. Various events conspired to bring on this crisis. Losses on loans in the Argentine Republic compelled England to draw in her gold. Then came the failure of the Australian banks, demanding more gold from England. Austria-Hungary and Rumania decided to change to a gold standard. On the top of all this, the English Indian Government was induced (June 26, 1893) to stop the free coinage of silver. The crisis in America almost immediately followed. Silver dropt to the lowest point ever recorded. The day after the news from India, silver mines began to close in Colorado, and distress became intense. Meanwhile, some of the banks, not knowing what was coming, had begun a policy for which many of them dearly paid. It is claimed by silver extremists that the banks, or at least some bankers, planned, by reducing their circulation and by refusing credit, to create a slight pinch, to lay this to lack of confidence in the Sherman Act, and so compel Congress to repeal the Sherman Act and thus put the whole world in the hands of the triumphant gold metalists, as all the great powers, except the United States, were already. However, the banks did not know what elements were uniting to cause, not a slight pinch, but the worst monetary crisis the country had known for at least twenty years. President Cleveland was induced to summon an extra session of Congress to meet the emergency. It became impossible even for perfectly solvent manufacturing concerns to get enough money to pay their wages. Every device was used for money. Clearing-house notes were issued in large quantities. Banks in unprecedented numbers failed, altho with abundant assets, because they could not get currency to meet the demand. The calling of Congress (Aug. 7th) strengthened confidence temporarily. Large amounts of gold were obtained from England, and a little easement made. On Aug. 11th Mr. Wilson, of West Virginia, introduced a bill in the House, repealing the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman Act, but renewing the pledge to maintain the parity of gold and silver. This passed the House by a vote of 240 to 110. Then came a long contest in the Senate. After much discussion in committee and caucus, Senator Vorhees introduced a bill, repealing the purchasing clause, but more strongly pledging the maintenance of bimetalism. Finally, however, after months of talk, it passed the Senate, was accepted by the House, and approved by the president Nov. 1st. Such is a brief outline of the monetary history from which the bimetalist controversy cannot be separated, and without a knowledge of which it cannot be understood.

Crisis of 1893

Since Nov., 1893, the bimetalist controversy has turned more upon fact than upon theory.

In this country, however, the bimetalists must not be confounded with those friends of silver who have fought for bimetalism, not from any theory or belief in bimetalism itself, but simply from a desire to expand or at least to prevent the contraction of the currency, and believing the use of silver to be the most available means to this end. By no means have all the supporters of silver in the Congressional battle been bimetalists. On the other hand, by no means have all the opponents of silver been monometalists. On the contrary, many of them believe in bimetalism, but have argued that the United States cannot afford to use depreciated silver when all the rest of the world is using gold. They have held that we must adopt the gold standard, and then work for an international agreement to use silver. It will be thus seen how complicated has been the condition of the bimetalic controversy in the United States. And this is but a brief statement of the subject. The intensity of feeling on the matter can only be realized when one reads the violent language of the friends of silver, classing the gold men with the most heinous traitors to the country, and threatening violence and war if silver be demonetized. This feeling can be understood only when one realizes what a contracting currency means, and how these men believe that the demonetization of silver is a deliberate plot to contract the currency. Says one writer:

Bimetalists and Free-Silver Men not the Same

All business and productive enterprises are a speculation. The farmer borrows money expecting to sell wheat at a certain price and pay his debt in money. Meanwhile the price of wheat falls 50 per cent. Where one bushel would have

paid his debt when contracted, it now requires two bushels, and the burden of the debt has grown 100 per cent. During the past twenty years this is exactly what has occurred. Our universal, all-important standard of measure has doubled. Every debtor and producing nation except the United States is a bankrupt nation. They borrowed money for private and public enterprises when prices were high, and must pay interest and principal when prices are low. Australia, with its bountiful resources and immunity from war; Egypt, Italy, Portugal, and the Argentine Republic are acknowledged bankrupts. France, Spain, and other nations escape the acknowledgment only by falsely doctoring their books. The reason is, the burden of their debts has nearly doubled. The people of the United States have paid two thirds of their war debt since 1865; yet, measured in wheat, cotton, corn, and many manufactured articles, it will require to-day more of the products of their muscle and brain to pay the remaining one third than it required in 1865 to pay the entire debt. Only a land of fabulous resources can endure this fruitless slavery. When we consider that the private debts of the country are one half the value of the country, it is no wonder that panic, depression, idleness, and despair are upon us.

In following the monetary history of the bimetallic controversy we have already seen many of the arguments *pro* and *con*; but as that history is confused with other questions, we tabulate here the main arguments for bimetalism.

Arguments for Bimetalism

1. That there is not enough gold produced in the world to do the business of the world, and that, therefore, unless silver or some other metal be used, the sufferings must be experienced which all economists are agreed would result from a contracting or insufficient currency.

2. Bimetalists argue that even if this be not the case, on general principles two metals are not so apt to fluctuate as one, and that if one metal be driven out of circulation temporarily, the other metal will remain, fluctuating perhaps, but still fluctuating less than the vanished metal. Jevons has illustrated this as follows:

> At any moment the standard of value is doubtless one metal or the other, and not both; yet the fact that there is an alternation tends to make each vary much less than it would otherwise do. It cannot prevent both metals from falling or rising in value compared with other commodities, but it can throw variations of supply and demand over a larger area, instead of leaving each metal to be affected merely by its own accidents. Imagine two reservoirs of water, each subject to independent variations of supply and demand. In the absence of any connecting pipe, the level of the water in each reservoir will be subject to its own fluctuations only. But if we open a connection, the water in both will assume a certain level, and the effects of any excessive supply or demand will be distributed over the whole area of both reservoirs. The mass of the metals gold and silver, circulating in western Europe in late years, is exactly represented by the water in these reservoirs, and the connecting pipe is the law of the seventh Germinal, An. xi. (1803), which enables one metal to take the place of the other as an unlimited legal tender.

3. Bimetalists claim that the depreciation of silver which has taken place has been due to unfavorable legislation, and that all the financial suffering which it has caused proves what need the world has of silver. If this goes on, they argue, nothing less than a most disastrous shock to the expansion of the world's commerce can be expected. And no remedy except the remonetization of silver has been suggested.

Arguments against Bimetalism

Contrary arguments come from two main sources: (1) From those who believe in a gold monometalism, and (2) from those who consider *both* monometalism and bimetalism to be faulty, and would meet the monetary need in other ways. The arguments brought by monometalists against bimetalism are very numerous and sometimes from such different standpoints that they seem contradictory, but may be summarized here. It is urged that, however we legislate, two metals cannot be a standard at the same time, because at any given time, according to Gresham's law (see MONEY), the poorer metal will drive the better metal out. If then, it is said, we attempt to have a double standard, it really means to choose the poorer standard of the two, and thus to have all the evils of a depreciated and depreciating currency. It is urged that the fall of prices has not been due to the appreciation of gold, as bimetalists assert, but to the cheapening cost of production. Monometalists point to the danger of there being such an increased production of silver as to threaten great depreciation of its value; and therefore, if accepted as a standard, the great lessening of money values, involving general financial ruin. The only way to prevent this, they urge, is to maintain gold as the most fixt and universally accepted measure of value, and then to use various forms of credit to do the exchange of the world where gold is not sufficient, using silver, copper, etc., only for subsidiary coin. Already, they assert, credit performs 93 per cent of the exchanges of the world. (Bimetalists deny this, and say that monometalists consider too much the methods of the financiering class. They say that the vast millions of the earth's population do not use forms of credit; that retail stores use it little, farmers still less, and artizans and day laborers scarcely at all. For these credit is no relief, since they have no credit. Credit, moreover, gives out when it is most needed, and throws the world back on an insufficient amount of gold just when gold is most in demand.)

The argument against bimetalism by those who would have neither bimetalism nor monometalism is (1) that bimetalism has not worked and cannot work without international agreement, and that this is well-nigh impossible to get, it always being the interest of the capitalists of one nation to adopt a gold standard if they can only induce some other nation to adopt a silver standard; (2) that the great need in currency is of a fixt standard, which, to remain fixt in proportion to prices, must be elastic in *volume*, which is possible neither with gold nor silver; so that we require some better system than either monometalism or bimetalism. (See MONEY.)

On Continental Europe, the most distinguished bimetalists have been: Henri Cernuschi, Prof. A. Wagner, A. Schaeffle, E. de Laveleye, and Baron von Kardoff; in England: Profs. Marshall, Sidgwick, Nicholson, Foxwell, and Symes, and the Hon. G. J. Goschen; in the United States: Henry C. Carey, President F. A. Walker, Hon. William D. Kelley, Hon. John P. Jones, John B. Howe, W. F. Balch, and Elisha B. Andrews.

Of the present, the situation is so involved that it is hard to speak. The large majority of professorial economists in this country are bimetalists in theory, but believe that to be successful international agreement is necessary; and they feel that this is at present impossible of attainment. In May, 1895, a significant bimetalic conference was held in London, but for all this recent history, see CURRENCY. See also CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY.

REFERENCES: The literature on the subject is very extensive, to a great extent in articles and letters in periodicals. The arguments on the subject will be found stated in Jevons, *Investigations in Currency and Finance*, London, 1884; *Money and the Mechanism of Exchange*, 1875; *Reports of Committee of House of Commons on Depreciation of Silver*, 1878; *Report of Commission on Trade and Industry*, 1886; and Appendix *B* to third *Report*, by R. H. Inglis Palgrave; *Report of Commission on Gold and Silver*, 1887; S. Dana Horton, *Silver as an International Question* (an address to Congress); *American Reports from Consuls of the United*

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BIOLOGY AND SOCIAL REFORM: The connection between biology and social reform is one which tends to be brought into greater prominence with the advance of knowledge. It is not long ago since the whole class of phenomena which human society presents was regarded apart in itself and as having little or no connection with those to be observed elsewhere in the history of life. The first consistent attempt on an extended scale to connect together through the principle of development and continuity both classes of phenomena was made by Mr. Herbert Spencer. "Social Statics," which in many respects may be regarded as the starting-point of the synthetic philosophy, dates back to 1850. One of the leading ideas in this system of philosophy—in which *First Principles*, *Principles of Biology*, *Principles of Psychology*, *Principles of Sociology*, and *Principles of Ethics* have been steps in an ascending series—has been to trace this principle of development up to and into human society. Toward the elucidation of the laws at work in this society, all the work of science in lower fields has been regarded as preliminary. It was, however, with the publication of Darwin's "Origin of Species" in November, 1859, that the greatest impetus was given to the study of human society from the biological standpoint. The full effect of this impetus is not yet felt in many departments of knowledge which are almost certainly destined to be eventually profoundly altered by it. For many years after the publication of this epoch-marking book the effect of the fructifying ideas which it contained was necessarily limited to a few departments of knowledge. Gradually, however, the circle of their influence has extended, until one after another of lower sciences, and particularly those connected with life, have been reconstructed and transformed. The principle of the continuity of development, structural and functional, is now well established; but in the long uphill battle which has had to be fought before the ideas connected with it obtained general acceptance, it has necessarily happened that the sciences connected with man in society have been the last to be influenced. But that they are now beginning to feel the effect of the revolution is evident. What we are coming to see is that in human society we have only the last and most complex chapter in the history of life. The historian, the political philosopher, the economist, and the student of ethical phenomena are all dealing with just the same problems, altho in different form, that science has been concerned with at earlier stages, and even to a large extent throughout the history of life. It is in the proposed solutions to problems connected with the distribution of wealth that we have at the present day the dividing lines which separate most of the various political parties into which our modern society is split up. It is with these problems, too, that the economist is largely concerned. Yet such problems in themselves constitute only an aspect of the highest and most complex phase of that struggle and rivalry of existence with which the biologist has already dealt on a lower plane. Some of the older economists, indeed, at times saw this more or less clearly. "Only through the principle of competition has political economy any pretension to the character of a science" was a dictum of John Stuart Mill. The point at which the social sciences tend to be most significantly influenced by biology may be indicated. What is becoming more clearly recognized is that, as biology would lead us to expect, the conditions affecting the distribution of wealth, which the evolutionary forces at work in human society are ever tending to develop, are not necessarily those that parties or classes desire for themselves, but rather those which are continually tending to produce the highest efficiency of the whole social organization. The old utilitarian ideal of the greatest happiness of the greatest number is not, therefore, always, or even often, the same as the ideal of the greatest utility. Thus in a sense the whole of the problem before modern socialism can be stated in biological terms: Is it a movement which is tending to produce the highest standard of social efficiency, or is it one the effect of which will be to produce the maximum of ease and comfort to the largest number of individuals? The lesson of biological science for society would appear to be that, so far as it produces the latter to the exclusion of the former, to that extent it must fail of ultimate success (but see EVOLUTION).

Breadth of the Subject

BENJAMIN KIDD.

BIRMINGHAM: City of Warwickshire, England; one of the chief industrial centers of England, and the leading hardware city of the world; population (1905) 542,959. It was an Anglo-Saxon town, and became an important industrial city even in the Middle Ages. Its great importance, however, dates from the seventeenth century, in the manufacture of swords and guns. As early as 1727 its hardware manufacturers are said to have employed 50,000 persons. By the end of the century it was known throughout the world. In the industrial revolution of the era of the eighteenth century it became a Liberal center, and in the nineteenth century a leader in reform and chartism. Evils, however, developed, and by 1873 Birmingham's municipal government was considered one of the worst in England.

In 1873 came a change. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain was elected mayor, and commenced an era of municipal activity. The sum of £2,000,000 was paid for the plant of two gas companies, a large price; yet the profits the first year were £34,000, and they have since doubled. The price, too, since 1875 has been reduced from 3s. to about 2s. per 1,000 feet. Since 1889 the employees have had the eight-hour day. In 1874 the city paid £1,350,000 for the existing water-works of a private company, and since then the works have been extended, the daily supply doubled, and the cost to consumers much reduced. In 1875 Mr. Chamberlain laid before the council an Improvement Scheme, which has since been adopted, and whereby the city took forty-five acres of the most crowded and most unwholesome portions of the city, covered by 1,368 houses, condemned the whole district, and has opened in its place the

finest public thoroughfare of the city, "Corporation Street," lined by fine business blocks. These buildings have not been sold, but leased for seventy-five years. The gross outlay April, 1904, was £1,730,303, but the yearly cost is lessening and the rentals are growing. In fifty years from the time of the investment the debt will all have been paid, and the city will own these structures in clear title. Mr. Chamberlain believes that Birmingham will be the richest municipal corporation in the kingdom. The investment already pays, since the death-rate of this district has been lowered, from 60 to 20 or 25 per 1,000. The city has developed a fine sewerage system and a large sewage farm, a wholesome and agreeable tract of land under high cultivation and with rich crops. Birmingham was the first city in England to establish municipal baths. The first was opened in 1851, at a cost of £24,000, and there are now four, besides swimming-baths, Turkish baths, etc. The city has laid and owns several lines of tramway, within the city limits, but leases them to private companies on favorable terms. It is calculated that in twenty-one years this will pay for the whole investment. As the city can borrow at 3 per cent, it is a profitable investment. The companies have to pay all bills for maintenance and repairs, and are minutely supervised as to the furnishing and lighting of the cars. The city owns her own markets, having bought them of the manorial lord in 1824, and they now yield some £10,000 a year profits. The city owns more than ten parks, for its population of 500,000. Its debt, which before Mr. Chamberlain became mayor was small, is now some £15,000,000, but it has assets of £16,000,000, and the rates are almost exactly what they were in 1873.

Improvement Scheme

In 1899 the electric plant was also municipalized. In 1896 a municipal technical school was erected at a cost of £100,000; it has some 3,000 pupils. The city has other schools, colleges, art school, galleries, etc. Queen's College is connected with the London University. The municipal government is conducted by fifty-four councilors and eighteen aldermen. The councilors are elected once for three years, one third going out of office each year. The aldermen are elected by the council for six years. The city has a lord mayor who is elected annually by the council. Birmingham is now often spoken of as "the best governed city in the world."

Government

References: *History of the Corporation of Birmingham*, by Bunce, 1885; *Municipal Government in Great Britain*, by Albert Shaw, 1895; article in *Harper's Monthly*, lxxxi, 99, by Julian Ralph.

BIRNEY, JAMES G: Abolitionist; Presidential candidate of the Liberty Party (1840 and 1844); born in Danville, Ky., 1792. Originally a slaveholder, and at one time agent for a colonization society, in 1834 he freed his slaves and established an abolition newspaper. Fear of violence compelled him to leave Danville, and subsequently Cincinnati whither he had moved. He came to New York, where he was Secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society. In 1842 he moved to Michigan, and a fall from his horse disabled him from further political activity. He died in 1857.

BIRTH-RATES: In nearly every civilized country, the numbers of births and deaths are matters of careful record. Unfortunately, however, this is not true of the United States as a whole. The U. S. census calls "registration areas" districts where there are adequate official returns; and the only states whose records were accepted as accurate by the census of 1900 were Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, in addition to certain counties and cities of New York and New Jersey. In Europe, however, registration has been in the main complete, beginning with England in 1838. The following tables, except where otherwise indicated, are taken from reports of the Registrar-General of England:

Birth-rate per 1,000 Inhabitants[1]

Country	1841–50	1851–60	1861–70	1871–80	1881–90	1891–1900	S. J.[2]
Austria	37.6	36.9	38.2	39.0	37.9	37.1	(1903) 35.0
Belgium	30.5	30.4	32.2	32.7	30.2	28.9	(1903) 27.5
Denmark	30.5	32.8	30.7	31.5	31.9	30.2	(1904) 29.2
England and Wales	32.6	34.2	35.4	35.5	23.5	30.0	(1904) 28.0
France	27.2	26.2	26.1	25.4	23.9	22.1	(1904) 20.9
Germany	36.1	35.3	37.2	39.1	36.8	36.1	(1904) 34.1
Norway	30.7	30.0	30.9	30.9	30.8	30.4	(1904) 27.9
Sweden	31.1	32.8	31.4	30.5	29.0	27.1	(1903) 25.7

[1] From *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, cl., 1903.
[2] *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*, 1906.

This table and the following indicate a slowly but steadily decreasing birth-rate. The United States had a birth-rate of 31.5 in the census year of 1880, tho all census birth-rates are admittedly too low. For 1890 it was 26.68. The birth-rate for 1900 was 27.2. Few of the states publish records of births. The birth-rate for Connecticut averaged 23.6 for 1850–60; 22.7, 1861–70; 24.6. 1871–80; 23.0, 1881–90; 24.1, 1891–1900, and 22.4 for 1901–2. In Rhode Island, owing probably to immigration, the birth-rate has somewhat

risen. In 1870 it was 24.0; in 1880, 22.9; 1890, 24.7; 1900, 25.8. In Massachusetts it has fallen. It was 28.08 in 1851; 29.28, in 1860; 26.25, in 1870; 24.80, 1880; 25.81, 1890; 26.16, 1900, and 24.58, 1902.

BIRTH-RATE PER 1,000 INHABITANTS

COUNTRY	1857–99	1900	S. J.[1]
Austria	38.0	....	(1903) 35.0
Belgium	30.1	28.9	(1903) 27.5
Denmark	31.3	29.8	(1904) 29.2
England and Wales	32.3	28.7	(1904) 28.0
France	23.7	21.4	(1904) 20.9
Germany	37.2	35.6	(1904) 34.1
Hungary	42.9	39.3	(1903) 36.6
Ireland	23.8	22.7	(1904) 23.6
Italy	36.6	32.9	(1903) 31.5
Norway	30.7	30.1	(1904) 27.9
Prussia	37.7	36.1	....
Scotland	32.2	29.6	(1904) 28.6
Spain	(1888-99) 35.6	34.4	(1902) 35.6
Sweden	28.7	26.9	(1903) 25.7
United Kingdom	31.1	28.2	....

[1] *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*, 1906.

Concerning the cause of the decreasing birth-rate, the position of MALTHUS is well known. Tho attacked by GODWIN it became universally accepted. Herbert SPENCER agreed with Malthus, but held that the very fact that population tends to increase beyond the means of subsistence is the cause of human progress. He argues that the progress of civilization, produced by the never-ceasing pressure of population on the means of subsistence, leads to a diminishing birth-rate. More modern discussions of the subject have been led by Dr. George Hansen in Germany; M. Levasseur, M. Leroy-Beaulieu, and M. Dumont in France; Dr. George Blundell Longstaff and Dr. J. Milner Fothergill in England; Dr. John S. Billings, Dr. Cyrus M. Edson, and others in the United States.

Levasseur[1] argues that inequalities of production are the cause of changes in the increase of population. M. Dumont[2] argues that, tho on the surface the decrease of population is an economic question, at bottom it is intellectual, political, and esthetic; that as the desire to rise in the industrial, intellectual, political, or esthetic world increases, the birth-rate diminishes. Dr. Hansen,[3] Dr. Longstaff,[4] and Dr. Fothergill,[5] show especially the evil influences of city life upon the population, both in weakening the vitality and in diminishing the birth-rate. Says J. L. Brownell (*Annals of the American Academy*, July, 1899):

> The generalizations tentatively reached by all these inquirers are that civilization in general checks the rate of increase of population, in spite of a diminishing death-rate; that city life is, on the whole, unfavorable to the natural increase of population, and that what the economists call the "raising of the standard of life" operates in the same way.

It has been assumed that the changes in the marriage-rate and the marriage age will account in a great measure for the decreasing birth-rate; but another explanation is more than hinted at in the following quotation from Dr. John S. Billings:[6]

> It is probable that the most important factor in the change is the deliberate and voluntary avoidance or prevention of child-bearing on the part of a steadily increasing number of married people, who not only prefer to have but few children, but who know how to obtain their wish.

M. Levasseur and M. Dumont hold the same opinion. Says the former:

Voluntary Prevention

"By prevision we understand the human will restraining or directing the reproductive instinct, with a view to bringing children into the world only at such times and in such numbers that the father can hope to support them and to educate them for a position equal to his own. Prevision is the characteristic of the man who reflects, and who, conscious of his responsibilities, does not leave his destiny to chance. This virtue is the palladium of human liberty. The philosopher and the economist who believe in that liberty ought, if they are logical, to recommend such prevision, recognizing that if it is useful in the great mass of actions, it is nowhere more opportune than in the grave question of the growth of the family and the education of the child. . . . It is enough to lay down as a general rule that reason should control instinct." M. Dumont says: "The real cause of the decrease of our birth-rate is the wish to have few or no children, and that wish is determined by a combination of intellectual, moral, and esthetic tendencies peculiar to our people."

Dr. Cyrus M. Edson[7] agrees with Dr. Billings that "the voluntary avoidance and prevention of child-bearing is steadily increasing," but thinks that the principal cause is the physical and nervous deterioration of the women of the United States; and this, he asserts, is largely due to the severe strain of modern life and education. In fact, any one who is at all familiar with the statistical and medical literature of the subject is aware that the voluntary prevention of conception is the explanation of the diminishing birth-rate that is generally accepted by physicians and statisticians.

Comparing the statistics of Europe for 1896 and the U. S. 1890, the countries with the highest birth-rates were Russia, Hungary, and Austria; and those with the lowest, France, Ireland, the U. S., and Sweden. Birth statistics are evidently affected by the extent to which prevention of births is practised in different countries, but generally speaking the more uncivilized the race, the higher the birth-rate. In India the birth-rate is said to be 48. In the U. S. in 1890, it was 26.35 for whites, 29.07 for colored, and 38.29 for whites with both parents foreign.

A large excess of the birth-rate over the death-rate, such as exists in England and in Germany, constitutes an undoubted element of national strength. In France the excess of births over

[1] Levasseur, *La Population Française*, iii., pp. 27, 218–20, 223.
[2] Dumont, *Dépopulation et Civilisation*, pp. 97, 356.
[3] Hansen, *Die Drei Bevölkerungstufen*.
[4] Longstaff, *Studies in Statistics*.
[5] Fothergill, *The Town Dweller*.

[6] Billings, *The Diminishing Birth-rate in the United States* (*The Forum*, June, 1893).
[7] Cyrus M. Edson, *American Life and Physical Deterioration* (*North American Review*, October, 1893).

deaths has been constantly diminishing, until in 1890 there was an excess of deaths over births. This condition is viewed with alarm by intelligent French writers, and is termed by M. Cheysson a "national peril." He states as among the causes of the low birth-rate of France, "the growth of large towns, debauchery, overcrowding in manufacturing centers, the French law of inheritance, and the 'moral restraint' of Malthus, practised not by the poorer class, who are prolific, but by the well-to-do classes, who are systematically sterile."

Birth-rates also undoubtedly vary with economic conditions. Von Meyr showed that births in Bavaria from 1835 to 1860 rose and fell diversely with the price of rye.

BIRTHS PER 1,000 WOMEN OF VARIOUS CLASSES, 15–50 YEARS OF AGE[1]

CLASSIFICATION.	Paris.	Berlin.	Vienna.	London.
Very poor quarters	108	157	200	147
Poor quarters	95	129	164	140
Comfortable quarters	72	114	155	107
Very comfortable quarters	65	96	153	107
Rich quarters	53	63	107	87
Very rich quarters	34	47	71	63
Average	80	102	153	109

Mrs. L. K. Commander, in her recent book, "The American Idea" (1907), has collected a large amount of testimony in regard to the situation in the U. S., and thus sums it up:

(1) The size of the American family has diminished.
(2) The decline is greatest among the rich and educated, but also exists to a marked extent among the middle class and the intelligent poor.
(3) Only the most ignorant and irresponsible make no effort to limit the number of their children.
(4) Not only has the large family disappeared, but it is no longer desired.
(5) The prevailing American ideal, among rich and poor, educated and uneducated, women and men, is two children.
(6) Childlessness is no longer considered a disgrace, or even a misfortune, but is frequently desired and voluntarily sought.
(7) Opposition to large families is so strong an American tendency that our immigrants are speedily influenced by it.
(8) The large family is not only individually, but socially, disproved, the parents of numerous children meeting public censure.

She says that of thirty-eight physicians in New York City replying to questions, thirty said "two children" was the ideal American family; six said "one child"; one said, "having a family is not an American ideal." President Eliot of Harvard University finds that of six classes more than twenty-five years out of college, the number of children surviving born to members of those classes averaged almost exactly two to a family; while twenty-eight per cent are unmarried. Professor Thorndike of Columbia University found that of the women college graduates of Vassar, Smith, and Wellesley, from 1880–84, 55 per cent were married (up to 1903), while of graduates from 1898 to 1899, only 5.5 per cent were married (up to 1903). He says that 45 per cent of all women college graduates marry, while of the general female population who reach the age of forty, 90 per cent marry (*Popular Science Monthly*, May, 1903).

The organ of the New York Church Federation (*Federation*) says that religious belief strongly affects the birth-rate. "The maximum (family in New York) is Hebrew; the minimum agnostic. The Roman Catholic average is higher than the Protestant; the positively Protestant than the indefinitely Protestant; the indefinitely Protestant than the definitely agnostic."

[1] Presented by Dr. J. Bertillon, International Statistical Institute, St. Petersburg, 1897.

REFERENCES: *Essay on the Principles of Population*, by R. T. Malthus, 1798; *Enquiry Concerning Population*, by W. Godwin, 1820; *La Population Française*, by Levasseur; *The Diminishing Birth-Rate in the United States*, by John S. Billings, in *The Forum*, June, 1893; articles by J. L. Brownell in the *Annals of the American Academy*, July, 1894, and in *Popular Science Monthly*, Sept., 1899; *The American Idea*, by L. K. Commander, 1907.

BISMARCK, OTTO EDUARD LEOPOLD, PRINCE VON: First chancellor of the German Empire; born at Schönhausen, Prussian Saxony, 1815; studied law at Göttingen, Berlin, and Greifswald; elected to the Prussian Landtag (1847), as an ultra-royalist. In 1851 he was chosen a member of the Germanic Diet at Frankfort and continued as such till 1859, acquiring fame as an opponent of revolution, and as an advocate of a German empire under the lead of Prussia. In 1859 he was sent as minister to Prussia, and in 1862 to Paris. The same year, however, he was recalled to take the Prussian portfolio of foreign affairs. He closed the chambers, and for four years governed without them. Bismarck used the Sleswick-Holstein controversy, the defeat of Austria by Prussia at Königgrätz (Sadowa), and above all the Franco-Prussian War, which he is believed by many largely to have caused, to build up a feeling of national unity in Germany, with Prussia in the lead. King William was crowned emperor over a united Germany at Versailles on Jan. 17, 1871, and Bismarck was made a prince and a chancellor of the empire. He compelled France to cede Alsace-Lorraine and to pay an indemnity of $1,000,000,000, and then sought to develop the empire by a foreign policy of alliances against France, by building up a strong army and navy, by a high protective tariff, and by developing state monopoly. He thus became opposed both by the Liberals and by the Ultramontanes. In 1872 he expelled the Jesuits and began the so-called "kulturkampf" or contest with Rome. Against the growing power of the Socialists, he enacted strict repressive laws, at the same time fostering the paternal socialism which has had such large development in Germany.

State Socialism

From 1879 at least Bismarck was considered almost the leading spirit of paternal State socialism. This, however, was not to adopt a new policy in Prussia, but simply to carry out, or, rather, revert to the traditional policy of the Hohenzollerns. (See GERMANY.) It was the proud boast of Frederick the Great that he was *le roi des gueux*. Of all the governments of the seventeenth century, the Prussian was the first to seek the welfare of the whole community. The Prussian *landrecht* recognizes the State as the protector of the poorer classes, and one of its duties to supply sustenance and work for those lacking means and opportunity of earning a livelihood. It was upon these clauses that Bismarck relied when, on May 7, 1884, he declared to the Reichstag his recognition of the laborer's right to work. His drastic law against socialistic meetings and writings dates from 1878. In that year two attempts on the life of the emperor enabled Bismarck to carry through a drastic bill of repression which was rigidly enforced until its failure to be renewed upon its expiration by limitation of time.

Bismarck's State socialism thus seems to have come from mixed motives—partly to take the ground from under the real Socialists, partly, perhaps, from religious motives, mainly to serve and aggrandize the house with which he was so long identified. The religious flavor is not lacking. As early as 1847 he spoke and voted in the United Diet for a State loan to a private railway enterprise, and from that time forward, whether as private deputy or as minister, he never failed, when opportunity occurred, to promote the close connection

of the State and the railways, always keeping in view the ultimate end of a thoroughly nationalized system of railway communication. This he finally accomplished. (See RAILROADS.) He also established State monopolies in brandy and tobacco. When it was objected in the Reichstag in 1882 that his monopoly projects savored of socialism, he did not deny the imputation, but welcomed it, observing: "Many measures which we have adopted to the great blessing of the country are socialistic, and the State will have to accustom itself to a little more socialism yet. We must meet our needs in the domain of socialism by reformatory measures if we would display the wisdom shown in Prussia by the Stein-Hardenberg legislation respecting the emancipation of the peasantry. That was socialism, to take land from one person and give it to another—a much stronger form of socialism than a monopoly. But I am glad that this socialism was adopted, for we have as a consequence secured a free and very well-to-do peasantry, and I hope that we shall in time do something of the sort for the laboring classes."

Bismarck's return to the principles of protectionism, which movement he commenced in 1877, he also made largely for reasons of State socialism. In 1890, due to a divergence of view with the young emperor, Bismarck resigned his chancellorship and retired to his estates, tho still retaining some influence in the empire and in all Europe. He died in 1898.

REFERENCE: *Bismarck and State Socialism*, by W. H. Dawson.

BLACK, JAMES: The first candidate of the Prohibition Party for President of the United States; born in Lewisburg, Pa., 1823. Removing with his parents to Lancaster, Pa., in 1836, he worked in a sawmill, until in 1841 he entered the Lewisburg Academy. In 1844 he began the study of law, and in 1846 was admitted to practise at the bar in Lancaster, where he resided all his life. In 1840 he joined the Washingtonians, the first temperance organization in his neighborhood. It was largely due to Mr. Black's personal efforts that the Maine law movement became popular in Lancaster County and resulted, in 1855, in the election of two of the five temperance legislative candidates. He was a Republican in politics until the formation, in 1869, of the National Prohibition Party. At the convention of that party in 1872 Mr. Black was nominated as its candidate for President of the United States, and received 5,608 votes. For the four years from 1876–80 he was Chairman of the National Committee of the Prohibition Party. He was one of the founders of the National Temperance Society and Publication House. Black was the author of: "Is there a Necessity for a Prohibition Party?" (1875); "Brief History of Prohibition" (1880); and "History of the Prohibition Party"(1885). He died in 1893.

BLACK DEATH, THE: The pestilence, or series of pestilences, known by this name took place in the middle of the fourteenth century, and was a partial, if not the chief cause, of vast economic changes in England. So far as can be ascertained, the disease first manifested itself in central China in 1333, and thence spread in a westward direction toward Europe, where its force was first felt in the southern countries.

It appeared first in Italy, then crossed western Europe, and arrived at the English ports of Bristol and Southampton in the summer of 1348. Whole districts were depopulated by its frightful ravages, and altho the old chroniclers give grossly exaggerated estimates of the number of deaths, it is probable that it carried off at least one third of the population. The scenes of horror and desolation which it caused beggar all attempts at description.

One immediate result of the plague was a great scarcity in the number of available laborers, because, while all classes had suffered heavily, the poorest had yielded most rapidly to the dire disease. This scarcity of labor meant, of course, higher wages for the laborer. In the case of agricultural workers, this rise amounted to about 50 per cent, while in the case of skilled artizans, such as carpenters and masons, the same effect was felt, often more markedly. The nobles and landlords objected, and, without waiting to call Parliament together, the king issued a proclamation ordering all men to abide by the rates which had been customary before the Black Death, and neither to demand nor pay higher wages. He also forbade laborers to leave the land to which they were attached, and assigned heavy penalties for so doing. Parliament met in 1349 and made haste to ratify this proclamation by reducing it to the form of a statute—the famous "Statute of Laborers"; but such legislative measures were hopeless against the demand for workers, and the very men who passed these laws were obliged to break them to prevent their land from remaining untilled. The peasants went freely into those districts where workers were most scarce, and found ready shelter and good wages. Complaints were constantly made to Parliament, and the "Statute of Laborers" was again and again enacted with added penalties, but to no purpose.

In spite of the great rise in the price of labor the price of the laborer's food did not rise in proportion. Food did not require much manual labor in its production, and hence the rate of wages was not much felt in its price. What did rise was the price of all articles which required much labor in their production. The landlords were obliged to let their estates to tenants who worked them on their own account, paying rent to the lord, instead of, as formerly, compelling villeins to work them for the master's profit. Thus serfdom practically came to an end. The gain was not all on one side, however, as the peasants began at this time to lose those rights in the "commons" and forests which until then they had enjoyed.

Another of the important effects of the Black Death was the spirit of independence which it helped to raise in the breasts of the peasants, who now began to feel their power. The new spirit led to the preaching of John BALL, the PEASANTS' REVOLT, and the Golden Age of "Merrie England." The revolt was put down, but the victory really lay with the vanquished; and from this time serfdom practically disappears from English history, and wages remain high till the robbery of the land by the landlords in the sixteenth century.

REFERENCES: For a study of the economic effects of the Black Death, see J. E. T. Rogers's *Work and Wages*, and for a contrary view, see *Wealth and Progress*, by George Gunton.

BLACK LIST: A list published or prepared by any body of men of the names of those whom they consider faulty in any way. The term is specifically used of official lists of insolvents and defaulters. In industrial discussions it is used of lists of employees who for one reason or another—perhaps because of having led in labor agitation—employers will not employ. It is used also of lists of firms which are believed to treat their employees unfairly, and which, therefore, the preparers of the black list believe should not be patronized by the friends of fair treat-

ment. (See BOYCOTTING; also WHITE LIST.) The blacklisting or asserted blacklisting by employers of their employees who have been active in the cause of labor has been a fruitful source of complaint on the part of labor organizations. Says John Mitchell:

> Labor leaders and men interested in the labor movement have always been a shining mark for the black list. Many a man has been hounded from position to position, driven as by an invisible wind from one part of the country to another, ceaselessly wandering, ceaselessly asking for positions, doomed inevitably, after the shortest term of service, to be dismissed upon some trumped-up charge. There is nothing so terrible as this weapon of associated employers. Many a man has been driven to change his name and even to alter his appearance in the vain hope of escaping from the omnipresent and omnipotent black list ("Organized Labor," p. 291).

The black-list evil is somewhat diminished, as legislation in England and in many states of the United States has forbidden blacklisting, at least in some of its worst forms, and as a growing sense of justice has to some extent defended the laborer and even the labor agitator; and, above all, as the practise of collective bargaining between organized labor and organized capital has replaced the personal bargain. Nevertheless, blacklisting still exists. It was testified in black-list cases at Chicago that fully half the men who went out in the great railroad strike of 1894 failed to get railway employment again. In the recent Colorado troubles, the black list was widely used. It is easy for employers to avoid the law and, by minute systematic inquiries as to former places of employment and reasons for disgrace, practise a very complete blacklisting. Some employers are even said, in letters of recommendation to discharged employees, to put secret marks showing that they are blacklisted; yet the case is difficult, because employers must of necessity know the references and character of those they employ, especially when the question is of places involving responsibility, or perhaps of safety to life and limb.

In the U. S. blacklisting is prohibited in Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington, and Wisconsin. In the case of common carriers engaged in interstate commerce, the federal law on the arbitration of labor disputes makes it a misdemeanor for an employer to attempt or conspire to prevent an employee from obtaining employment after quitting his service. But the laws have many exceptions and are difficult to enforce. Judge Rogers, in the U. S. Circuit Court, August, 1903, refused an injunction against blacklisting, and held that an employer may give to another employer lists of his discharged men with the reasons for their discharge, provided it be honestly done.

REFERENCES: *U. S. Industrial Commission Report; Getting a Living*, by George A. Bolen, chap. ix.; *Organized Labor*, by John Mitchell, chap. xxxiii.

BLACKWELL, ALICE STONE: Writer; woman suffragist; born in Orange, N. J., 1857; daughter of Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell. She graduated from Boston University in 1881, and since then has been on the staff of the *Woman's Journal* of Boston, Mass. She has been a prolific writer on woman's suffrage. *Address*: 3 Park Street, Boston, Mass.

BLACKWELL, ELIZABETH: First woman to receive a medical diploma; born in Bristol, England, 1821. Her father emigrated to New York, and from there to Cincinnati in 1838, where he died, leaving a widow and nine children. The father had left but little money, and Miss Blackwell therefore opened a boarding-school. She was only eighteen years of age, but her school succeeded. In 1844 Miss Blackwell, whose energetic spirit had long been restless under the limitations which society imposed upon women, determined to enter the medical profession. For three years she taught in another school, in order to obtain means for a medical course, and then applied for admittance into the Philadelphia medical schools. She was everywhere refused. After a course of private lessons under medical professors, she finally obtained admission to the University of Geneva, N. Y., where she remained for two years, graduating with the highest honors. Her propriety and discretion won for her the esteem of students and professors alike. After graduation she visited England and France, and studied for some time longer. In 1851 she returned to New York and began the practise of medicine. At first other physicians refused to consult with her; but she overcame all obstacles and secured a large practise. In 1854, with her sister, Dr. Emily BLACKWELL, she established the New York Infirmary for Women and Children. In 1869 she went to London, where she established the National Health Society, and aided in organizing the London School of Medicine for Women. In 1878 she settled in Hastings, England, working and writing on social purity, municipal reform, the health and education of women, and other social matters. *Address*: Rock House, Hastings, England.

BLACKWELL, EMILY: Physician; philanthropist; born in Bristol, England, 1826; sister to Elizabeth BLACKWELL; came to the United States in 1832. She commenced studying medicine in 1848, but was refused admission to the medical colleges, and only allowed to attend lectures for a period in two others, till finally she was admitted to the medical college in Cleveland, O. Graduating triumphantly, she studied in hospitals and attended clinics in Edinburgh, Paris, and London. She returned to New York in 1854, and in connection with Dr. M. E. Zakrzewska (a Polish lady), established a hospital which in 1865 was given college powers. A woman's college, it has been and still is a marked success. Dr. Blackwell was one of the vice-presidents of the Society for the Promotion of Social Purity, and is the author of many tracts upon this and similar subjects. (See SOCIAL PURITY.) *Address*: Montclair, N. J.

BLAKE, LILLIE DEVEREUX: Writer; lecturer; woman suffragist; born in Raleigh, N. C., 1835. Her father dying in 1837, his widow removed to New Haven, and Miss Devereux was educated there by private tutors. In 1855 she married Frank G. O. Umsted, a young lawyer, and resided in St. Louis and New York City, till she was left a widow with two children in 1859. She had already written stories, and published a successful novel, "Southwold." She now entered literature as a profession, residing in Stratford, Conn., New York City, and Washington. In 1866 she married Mr. Grenfill Blake, a young New York merchant, and made her home in that city.

In 1869 she became interested in the woman's-suffrage movement, and wrote and lectured continually. From 1879 to 1890 she was president of the New York State Woman's Suffrage Association. She has been active in the agitation for police matrons and for laws for the benefit of saleswomen, etc. She has written a volume of lectures entitled, "Woman's Place To-day." *Address*: 100 Lexington Ave., N. Y.

BLANC, JEAN JOSEPH LOUIS: Writer; communist; born in Madrid, 1811. In 1830 he went to Paris and became clerk in an attorney's office. Two years later he went to Arras to act as tutor. Returning to Paris, he founded, in 1839, the *Revue du Progrès Politique, Social et Littéraire*. In this he brought out his work "L'Organisation du Travail," which may be called a French forerunner of Karl Marx's "Das Kapital." In 1841 he published his "Histoire de dix Ans," which was an overwhelming indictment of Louis Philippe and his ministers, and in 1847 the first two volumes of his "Histoire de la Révolution Française" appeared. The revolution which broke out early in the next year compelled him to delay the completion of this work. His popularity among the Parisian workmen secured him a seat in the Provisional Government, where he brought forward the proposals for universal suffrage and the abolition of slavery. He was also appointed president of a government commission for laborers. In March a procession of 200,000 workmen, headed by Blanqui, offered him the dictatorship, which he refused. The Provisional Government established the Ateliers Nationaux which he had advocated, but they were started on such unsound principles that Louis Blanc opposed them and demanded their abolition. He even charged the government with plotting their failure. In June and again in August, 1848, he was accused in the Assembly of complicity in the Communist outbreak of May. Being condemned by a large majority he fled to England, where he stayed in exile for more than twenty years, finishing his "Histoire de la Révolution Française" and writing his "Histoire de la Révolution de 1848" and other works. In 1870 he returned to Paris and urged the citizens to prosecute the war to the uttermost. Till the time of his death he was elected deputy for Paris, always voting with the extreme Left. He died in 1882.

BLAND, HUBERT: Author; Socialist; born at Woolwich, England, 1856; educated for the army, but on the death of his father took to finance, and at the age of twenty-three was manager of a foreign bank in London. In 1886 he entered journalism chiefly as a critic in art and literature. He was one of the founders of the Fabian Society, has been its treasurer from the beginning, and is the only member who has been continuously on its executive committee. Mr. Bland is a regular contributor to *The London Chronicle* (daily and Sunday), and occasionally to *The National Observer* and *The Saturday Review*. In collaboration with Adeline Serjeant, he has written "A Modern Friendship." Mrs. Bland (E. Nesbit), the well-known novelist and poet, cooperates with her husband in much social reform work. *Address*: Well Hall, Eltham, Kent, England.

BLANQUI, JÉRÔME ADOLPHE: Professor of political economy; born 1798; brother of Louis Auguste Blanqui. From 1830 to his death he was the head of the École de Commerce of Paris, and in 1833 replaced J. B. Say as professor of political (and especially of industrial) economy at the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers. In 1838 he was elected a member of the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, and represented the department of the Gironde in the Chamber of Deputies. His teaching in political economy was liberal and progressive. By no means a Socialist, he yet favored many socialistic principles. The brilliancy and vigor of his language is another characteristic which has aided him much. The most important of his works are: "Résumé de l'Histoire du Commerce et de l'Industrie"; "Précis Élémentaire d'Économie Politique"; and "Histoire de l'Économie Politique en Europe, Depuis les Anciens jusqu'à nos Jours, Suivie d'une Bibliographie Raisonnée des Principaux Ouvrages d'Économie Politique." This last work has been translated into several languages. Tho not of the greatest merit, it has done important pioneer work. Blanqui died in 1854.

BLANQUI, LOUIS AUGUSTE: Communist; Socialist; born at Puget Théniers, 1805; came to Paris in 1824 and became a teacher and student of law and medicine. On the breaking out of an insurrection in 1827 he joined the cause of the people, thenceforth taking his part in every Paris insurrection. He edited *Le Journal de la Société des Amis du Peuple*, and for this was imprisoned. Implicated in various conspiracies, he was, in 1836, sentenced to two years' imprisonment, but was pardoned in 1837. In 1839 Blanqui organized another insurrection, which was quickly put down, and he was condemned to death, but the sentence was changed to imprisonment for life. Confined at Mont Saint Michel, and at Tours, he was freed by the February Revolution of 1848. By Feb. 25th he was in Paris organizing the Central Republican Committee. On May 15th he was captured and imprisoned for ten years at Belle Isle and in Corsica. Amnestied in 1859, he was, in 1861, accused of conspiracy and imprisoned four years. When the republic was proclaimed (September, 1870) he went to Paris and advocated the principles of the extreme Left, publishing his "La Patrie en Danger." After the Commune he was arrested by Thiers, and (1872) condemned to deportation; but on account of ill health was held in Quélern and Clairvaux, until he was pardoned by Grévy, June 9, 1879. He was elected deputy in Bordeaux in 1879, but was declared ineligible. A mystic, a revolutionist, an autocrat, Blanqui was no mean thinker, and a convinced communist. Author: "L'Éternité dans les Astres", "L'Armée Esclave et Opprimée"; "Critique Sociale," etc. He died in 1881.

BLATCHFORD, ROBERT P.: Author; Socialist; born at Maidstone, England, 1851; apprenticed to a trade in Halifax, 1864, serving seven years. In 1871 he joined the army and served till 1877. Obtaining work as timekeeper and clerk at 30 shillings a week, he married in 1880. He began writing soon after, contributing to *The Yorkshireman* and *Toby*. In 1885 he removed to London to join the staff of *Bell's Life*, and wrote for *The Sunday Chronicle* at its start in August, 1885, under the *nom de plume* of "Nunquam." He soon declared himself a Socialist, and in 1891, refusing to restrain his pen, he left *The Sunday*

Chronicle, and soon after issued the first number of *The Clarion*, in whose pages his history has since been written. In 1891 he was named as parliamentary candidate for East Bradford, but soon withdrew, having no taste for politics. He originated the "Fourth Clause," which practically laid the foundation of the Independent Labor Party. It reads, at present, substantially as follows: "That all members of the I. L. P. pledge themselves to abstain from voting for any candidate for election to any representative body who is in any way a nominee of the Liberal, Liberal Unionist, Irish Nationalist, or Conservative parties." His "Merrie England," a series of letters on socialism, which first appeared in *The Clarion*, is now sold complete for a penny, and has reached a sale of well over a million copies. *Address*: Clarion Office, 72 Fleet Street, E. C., London, England.

BLIND, KARL: Revolutionist; born at Mannheim, Germany, 1826. While a student in Heidelberg and Bonn, he began to organize revolutionary societies. In 1847 he underwent a short imprisonment for a tract, "German Hunger and German Princes." In the revolutions of 1848 he played a prominent part at Carlsruhe and Frankfort. He escaped to Alsace, but took part continually in revolutionary uprisings till he was compelled to flee both from Germany and France. He took up his residence in England, and wrote much on literary and political subjects. His views favored national as opposed to international socialism, and socialism as opposed to anarchism. He was a firm and strong supporter in 1870 of the movement for German unity.

BLIND ASYLUMS: See DEAF AND BLIND.

BLISS, WILLIAM DWIGHT PORTER: Born in Constantinople, Turkey, 1856; son of an American missionary; studied in Robert College, Constantinople; Phillips Academy; Amherst College; and Hartford Theological Seminary. He was settled over Congregational churches in Denver, Col., and at South Natick, Mass. In 1885 he became interested in socialism through seeing the workmen in factory villages and reading Henry George and the *Christian Union*. In 1886 he entered the Episcopal Church, and took a charge at Lee, Mass. Here he joined the Knights of Labor; was Master Workman of the Assembly at Lee, and in 1887 sent to Cincinnati as delegate from the Knights of Labor, being one of the secretaries of the Union Labor Convention. The same year he helped start, with Father Huntington, the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor (Cail). In 1888 he took charge of Grace Church, South Boston. He was nominated for Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts by the Labor Party, but declined. He was one of the founders of the first Nationalist club in Boston in 1889, and soon after, with other clergymen, organized the SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN SOCIALISTS. He started *The Dawn* and published it until 1896. In 1890 he established the Christian Socialist (Protestant Episcopal) Church of the Carpenter, which was kept up till 1896. Mr. Bliss also lectured or preached for the CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION, presenting the cause of Christian Socialism in almost every state of the Union, and lecturing also in Canada and England. He has had parishes at Alhambra, Cal., 1898–99, and at Amityville, L. I., N. Y., 1902–6. President of the National Social Reform Union (1899), Secretary of the New York Civic Council (1900). In 1906 he helped organize The Garden Cities Association of America and became its secretary. His views are those of Christian socialism. Author: "Handbook of Socialism" (1895), and numerous tracts and magazine articles on Christian socialism. Editor of "Social Science Series"; "Encyclopedia of Social Reform" (1898 and 1907); and with Dr. Josiah Strong, of "Social Progress." *Address*: 1 Madison ave., New York.

BLOCH, JEAN DE: Polish writer on peace; born at Radom, 1836, of Jewish parentage. He became government administrator of railways; was active in promoting various Polish industrial movements; and was the head of large lumber and sugar interests, but constantly engaged in philanthropic efforts for the poor. To the world he became known largely by his magazine articles in behalf of universal peace, and by his great work in seven volumes, published in St. Petersburg, 1887, and translated in abridged form into English, first under a fuller title, but in 1899 under the name "Is War Now Impossible?" He died in 1902.

BLOCK, MAURICE: Economist; statistician; born at Berlin, 1816; studied in Paris and in Germany. He was naturalized in France, and in 1843 entered the Bureau of Statistics, where he had charge of the Department of Labor. In 1862 he resigned in order to put to use the knowledge he had gained. He received several scholastic honors, was a Fellow of the Superior Council of Statistics, and was often intrusted with missions for scientific purposes. His "Le Progrès de la Science Economique depuis Adam Smith," Professor Seligman calls "a work which in some respects compares with the best production of recent times in any country." He is best known, however, by his "Traité Theorique et Pratique de Statistique" and his various statistical writings for the French Government, and in his valuable "Annuaires de l'économie Politique et de la Statistique."

BLOOMER, AMELIA: Temperance advocate; woman suffragist; born in Homer, N. Y., 1818; married (1840) D. C. Bloomer, of Seneca Falls, where she resided till 1855. At first she worked for temperance, later for woman's suffrage. In 1849, after the first Woman's Rights Convention, she commenced the publication of *The Lily*, the first paper ever owned, edited, and controlled by a woman in the interests of women. In 1852 she advocated the use by women of that style of dress which since then has been called by her name. She herself wore it for six years. Selling her paper in 1855 she went to reside in Council Bluffs, Iowa. In 1852 she had begun to lecture; this she kept up until prevented by continued ill health. She died in 1895.

BLUE RIBBON MOVEMENTS: A distinguishing feature of many of the movements for the reformation of drinking men has been the bit of ribbon, generally blue or red, worn by the reformed men and others interested. The red ribbon was adopted by Dr. Henry A. Reynolds, 1874, as the badge of the Bangor (Me.) Reform Club. Throughout the remarkable pledge-signing campaigns that followed in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Rhode Island,

Michigan, Illinois, and other states, Dr. Reynolds made the red ribbon the sign of membership in the clubs he started, and they came to be known as Red Ribbon Reform Clubs. The white ribbon was adopted by Dr. Reynolds in connection with the red, the former to be worn by women and by young men under eighteen. The blue ribbon was adopted by Francis Murphy.

The idea was borrowed in England. In 1878 a conference of temperance workers was held in London, and a total abstinence campaign was determined on. The blue ribbon was chosen, and the "Blue Ribbon Army" was adopted as the name of the organization. Pledge cards were issued and scattered throughout the British Empire, and have found their way into various countries of Europe and into Africa and the Sandwich Islands. More than 1,000,000 pledges have been officially issued in addition to the pledges issued by independent workers cooperating with the movement. A change in the name from "Blue Ribbon Army" to "Blue Ribbon Gospel Temperance Movement" has been made, and several branch organizations, such as the "Help-Myself Society" among men and the "Help-One-Another Society" among women, have grown out of the original movement.

BLUNTSCHLI, JOHANN KASPAR: Jurist; born in Switzerland, 1808; graduated at Bonn, 1829; was professor in the University of Zurich, a member of the Grand Council of the Local Government, and strongly opposed the civil war of 1847–48. In 1848 he became professor of German and international law at Munich, and in 1861 professor of political science at Heidelberg. In 1864, with Baumgarten and others, he founded the Protestant Union, and subsequently presided over several Protestant conventions, and over the General Synod at Baden in 1867. He was in favor of a union between South and North Germany, and was elected to the Customs Parliament. Bluntschli is the author of many valuable works on politics, laws, and the sciences; his best-known book in the United States being his "Theory of the State" (translated from the sixth German edition by R. Lodge).

BODELSCHWINGH, FRIEDRICH, VON: German pastor and head of Bethel, the very successful industrial colony for epileptics at Bielefeld, Westphalia, Germany; born near Tecklenburg, Westphalia, 1831; son of a Prussian cabinet minister; educated at Basel, Erlangen, and Berlin. Interested before his university studies in agriculture and mining, he became a pastor, officiating at the German community in Paris (1858–64), and later at Dellwig near Unna. In 1866, and again in 1870–71, he served as a division chaplain in the army. In 1872 he was asked to take charge of the BETHEL colony, to which he has since devoted his life, and which he has built up in many directions into a marvelous success. *Address*: Bethel, Bielefeld, Westphalia, Germany.

BÖHM, von BAWERK, EUGEN: Economist; born at Brünn, Moravia, 1851. He entered the Austrian Ministry of Finance in 1872, where he remained until 1880. In the meantime he had received the degree of LL.D. from Vienna, and had improved his two years' leave of absence in prosecuting his sociological studies at Heidelberg, Leipsic, and Jena, under Knies, Roscher, and Hildebrand. In 1880, immediately after his installation as privat-docent at Vienna, he was called to Innsbruck. In 1889 he accepted a councilor's seat in the Austrian Ministry of Finance. The best known of the important school of Austrian political economists, his main work is his "Kapital und Kapitalzins" (1884), a critical review of all theories of capital, translated into English by W. Smart (1890), under the title "Capital and Interest" (1889), giving his positive theory of capital, and also translated by Smart as "The Positive Theory of Capital" (1891).

BOILEAU (or BOYLEAU), ÉTIENNE: Born about 1200. He joined the Crusades under Louis IX. (St. Louis), was captured, and ransomed by that monarch at a high price. At one time provost of Orleans, he subsequently became (1258–1270) Provost of Paris. Boileau, a man of noble birth and incorruptible character, suppress venality, meted out justice, established the police of Paris, and hanged his godson for theft, and a friend for dishonesty. St. Louis, as a mark of confidence and approval, sometimes sat beside him at the Châtelet, where he administered justice. The great work of Boileau was his compilation, about 1268, of the "Livres des Métiers," a code of the regulations affecting the various industries of Paris. The exordium states the intention of the compiler to treat of (1) the trades of Paris, their ordinances and the breaches thereof, with the appropriate fines; (2) fees, tolls, taxes, and dues; (3) justice and jurisdictions in Paris and the neighborhood. The third part either was not written or has been lost. The registries so formed constitute a highly valuable record of the condition of industrial society at the time—its trade privileges, masters, apprentices, their number, conduct, terms of service, holidays, quality of work and of goods, prices, middlemen, fines, dues, etc. This compilation has been regarded as a landmark in the history of economics.

REFERENCE: Article in Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*.

BOISSEL, FRANÇOIS: Born at Joyeux, Vivarais, 1728. Educated by the Jesuits, he became in 1753 parliamentary attorney in Paris, but soon removed to St. Domingo. A contest with the government over his profession brought him back to Paris and kept him there twenty years. On the breaking out of the Revolution he took an extreme Jacobin position. He is best known for his "Catéchisme du genre Humaine" (1789), in which appear many of the germs of later French socialistic thought. His first writing was "Discours contre les Servitudes Publiques" (1786). He died in 1807.

BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS' UNION, THE: Organized under this name in 1889, and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The first great organization of the boot- and shoe-workers was the KNIGHTS OF ST. CRISPIN, formed 1867. The Lasters' Protective Union, formed 1879, did not join the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union until 1895. The shoe-workers were among the first to join the KNIGHTS OF LABOR, and in the flourishing period of that order (1886) about half its members in New England were shoemakers. The Boot and Shoe Workers' Union had at its start a strenuous conflict between the advocates of high and low duties, won by the latter, which made the union stronger numerically than finan-

cially. Its dues were only ten cents a week, with no benefits. In 1899, however, the union was reorganized on a high-due basis (twenty-five cents a week), and one third of all its moneys was to go to a sick and death benefit fund. In 1895 a union label was adopted which has had considerable success. (See UNION LABELS.) Its organ is *The Union Boot and Shoe Worker*, published monthly. Reported membership (1905), 32,000.

REFERENCE: *Report of the United States Industrial Commission*, vol. xvii. (1901), pp. 51–60.

BOOTH, BALLINGTON: With his wife founder and head of the Volunteers of America; born Brighouse, Yorkshire, England. Son of GEN. BOOTH, Commander of Salvation Army in Australia (1885–87), and with his wife in the United States (1887–96). In that year he separated from the Salvation Army on the ground that that organization was too autocratic and not sufficiently American, and with his wife, founded THE VOLUNTEERS OF AMERICA, which has developed into a very large and national movement. *Address*: 30 Cooper Square, New York.

BOOTH, MRS. MAUD BALLINGTON: Wife of Ballington Booth, and with him founder and head of the Volunteers of America; born Limpsfield Surrey, England. Entering the Salvation Army at the age of 17, she did a large work in Paris, Switzerland, Great Britain and Sweden. In 1886 she married Ballington Booth and became with him head of the Salvation Army in the U. S. (1887) till they (1896) left that organization and founded The Volunteers of America. In 1895 she began a work among prisoners which has developed The Volunteer Prison League with work in 25 prisons and embracing upward of 50,000 men, with homes for released convicts and a large ground work. Author among other books of *After Prison —What?* *Address*: 38 Cooper Square, New York.

BOOTH, CHARLES: Sociologist; born in Liverpool, England, 1840; educated at the Royal Institute School in his native city; has been partner in the firm of Alfred Booth & Co., since 1862, and is chairman of the Booth Steamship Company. The great work of Mr. Booth's life, however, has been the careful and scientific investigation into the conditions of the life and labor among the people of London, which he personally directed during a period of more than twelve years. The results of this investigation he has published in eighteen volumes, a mine of inestimable wealth to all who would know London and its peoples. Author: "Pauperism: A Picture"; "The Endowment of Old Age"; "The Condition of the Aged Poor"; "Old Age Pensions"; "Life and Labor of the People in London." *Address*: 24 Great Cumberland Place, W. London, England.

BOOTH, WILLIAM: Founder of the Salvation Army; born in Nottingham, England, 1829; became a minister of the Methodist New Connection in 1850. He resigned his connection with the Methodist Conference in 1861, and after living for some time in the East End of London, started, in 1865, the "Christian Mission," which was the foundation of his present organization. The movement, which was even then of a semimilitary character, did not make much impression until 1878, when he named it the SALVATION ARMY. Since that time it has grown uninterruptedly and phenomenally in all quarters of the globe. His skill as an organizer is shown by the strict military discipline which he is able to maintain throughout the whole of the organization. In 1890 he published a book called "Darkest England," which contained a scheme by which he proposed to grapple with the destitution that is eating the life out of England. This has led to the important Salvation Army Social Scheme. (See SALVATION ARMY.) *Address*: 101 Queen Victoria Street, E. C., London, England.

BOSTON: The establishment of Boston as a city, in the third decade of the last century, was a part of the process of social reorganization which was necessary after the Revolutionary War. The first citizens, with the sole exception of John Hancock, had turned Tory and left the town to its fate. After the war the yeoman farmers from the surrounding country moved in and restored the industrial and social institutions of the town. The second mayor, Josiah Quincy, adapted to the city form of administration the old communal functions of the town meetings, and devoted himself unremittingly to clearing away the rather serious sanitary and moral evils which had grown with the new growth of the town.

Boston was fortunate in having from the beginning among its citizens a keen sense of local social responsibility. This led early in the history of the city to the first steps toward that comprehensive and coordinated system of charity which has ever since been characteristic of the city. Joseph Tuckerman and Dorothea Dix are two of the foremost names associated with the development of charitable endeavor in the first half of the last century. The social unrest that was prevalent in Europe in the second quarter of the last century found expression in some rather broad forms of organization among workmen which were encouraged by men like William Ellery Channing and William Lloyd Garrison. On the more romantic side its influence was seen in the establishment of BROOK FARM. The spirit of social reform in Boston, after the success of the movement led by Wilberforce in England, led to the development of the determination to wipe out the national blot of negro slavery. For some thirty years, until after the Civil War, this cause much overshadowed all other philanthropic tendencies. But so far as the life of the city in general was concerned, this period was notable as the golden age of its civilization, during which it numbered among its citizens one of the most remarkable groups of statesmen, orators, literary men, eminent divines, and public-spirited business men that have ever appeared together in any city.

Sanitary Reforms

A very important expression of the social spirit in Boston has come about through a series of radical sanitary reforms; the first of which took place after the epidemic of cholera in the "fifties," the others having succeeded several later outbreaks of contagious or infectious diseases. This development reached its climax in the law which gives the Board of Health power not only to condemn but to destroy unsanitary tenements; a power which has been largely used. A correlative law of equal importance is that which has practically abolished the sweating system through requiring good sanitary conditions in and about all houses in which licenses for home work are granted.

The growth of philanthropic effort in Boston during the past generation has been affected very largely by the great immigration, first chiefly of Irish, and later chiefly of Jews. The effort to meet the new conditions caused by this incoming tide of population has taken several forms. Thirty years ago most of the relief-giving agencies of the city were effectively organized into the Associated Charities, which has ever since been the foremost agency in securing comprehensive discriminating care of families in distress. Mrs. Mary Hemenway instituted the system of cooking schools which were later taken up by the public-school authorities. She also purchased the historic Old South Meeting House, and provided for its use as a patriotic educational center. Mrs. Quincy Shaw instituted the experimental kindergartens, which, in turn, were later made part of the public-school curriculum. Robert Treat Paine founded the two great workingmen's resorts, the Wells' Memorial and the People's Institute. Since 1890 a large number of settlement houses and other similar centers for neighborhood improvement have sprung into existence. There is at present a noticeable tendency toward federation and joint action between these different local centers, so as to secure the maximum economy of force in the detailed work of the neighborhood betterment, and to bring to bear their whole united force upon some of the larger sanitary and moral problems affecting all the more crowded districts of the city.

Municipalism

The tendency toward progressive municipal action in Boston, which was started by the first Josiah Quincy, was strengthened by the second Josiah Quincy, who established the Public Library and the Municipal Water Supply. This was continued, too, in some striking ways by the third Josiah Quincy, who greatly developed the system of public baths, instituted municipal gymnasiums, created a municipal printing plant, and endeavored unsuccessfully to have the city do all its own general repairs. The difficulty about the Municipal Repair Department was that most of the employees were unfortunately appointed through political influence, and their lack of individual skill went with a general lack of effective discipline. The Municipal Printing Plant still continues. It is much criticized; tho after its first year a group of master printers certified that its business had been conducted satisfactorily. The most important step in the direction of municipal ownership which Boston has ever taken is that of completing the subway, first under Tremont Street, then under Washington Street. When the second part of the subway was proposed, the risk having been eliminated, the company made an extremely aggressive attempt to secure for itself from the legislature the privilege of completing and owning it. This effort was frustrated largely through the activity of a body of business men called the Public Franchise League. This league has been successful also in keeping the capitalization of the gas combination down to a proper figure. A new but very promising movement in Boston is that of the Massachusetts Civic League, which is a federation of agencies for local social betterment in city, town, and village throughout the state for the promotion of progressive social legislation.

The building up of the park system of metropolitan Boston has grown into a vast enterprise, and is just now (1907) nearing completion. This system includes two large marine parks, at Revere on the north and at Nantasket on the south. A series of parkway boulevards runs completely around the city and principal suburbs, ending in and connecting these two marine parks, and including in their course the great Blue Hill Reservation on the south, and the Middlesex Falls on the north. A series of small parks along the Charles River will end in a basin which is being created by the erection of a dam near the outlet of the river. Almost all the districts of the city are now provided with ample local playgrounds.

Labor

While certain phases of the organization of labor have, as has already been mentioned, been a part of the social movement in Boston for nearly a century, for all effective purposes such organization dates here, as for the country at large, since the Civil War. The leading spirit in such effort from that time until the present year has been George E. McNeill, who is particularly known as the champion of the eight-hour day. The Knights of Labor lost their influence in Boston nearly twenty years ago. Since that time trade-unionism proper has had a slow, steady, and, in the aggregate, comprehensive growth. Boston has probably had as few great strikes as any city in the country, but it may be doubted whether organized labor is stronger in any other city. On the whole its policy has been that of moderate diplomacy, always heading toward the large end in view by securing ample representation in all the various industrial occupations, and step by step gaining the proper wage and hour conditions for the individual members. This attitude on the part of organized labor has been to a considerable degree the indirect result of the salutary point of view which has been held by many employers and by the general public. While there have been occasional adverse decisions by the courts, on the whole there has been little of that unyielding attitude of the judiciary as to labor questions which has precipitated so much difficulty in some other parts of the country. For many years organized labor has been effective also in securing amelioration of labor conditions through state legislation. In general, the uninterrupted success which organized labor has had in all directions of its activity has removed the inducement to violent or even unduly aggressive expressions.

Partly for these same reasons socialism in any of its forms has never gained substantial footing in Boston. It has been represented from time to time by socialistic propaganda of a more or less abstract or sentimental type. At times movements of this sort have had important educational results; but at present socialism as an avowed cause seems to depend upon the more recent immigrants, and distinctly ebbs and flows with the downfall and rise of the labor market. Besides the discussions of social problems which take place in trade-union and other working-class gatherings, all such questions find a free platform in the Twentieth Century Club, which has now existed for fifteen years, and which has a membership of 600 men and women representing a great variety of interests, all of which, however, have some relation toward the bringing in of a "better public spirit, and a higher social order." The City Club just now being formed will provide a non-partizan meeting-place for men of all classes and nationalities who are interested in promoting the city's public welfare.

Boston has not shown distinct activity in developing systematic educational opportunities for the study of social questions, tho many educational institutions in the vicinity have within recent years greatly strengthened the course which they offer in such subjects. The School for Social Workers, founded by Harvard and Simmons Colleges, is now in its third year, and gives promise of being successful and useful. A significant fact in connection with the life of Boston as a center for social advance is that it is the seat of the state government, the only case in the United States where a large city is also the state capital. To this fact is partly due the progressive social legislation of Massachusetts, which is being added to in greater and greater degree as years go by. This advantage, however, is balanced by the fact that Boston, unlike all other large urban centers in the United States, has not extended its political boundaries so as to include among its electorate the enlightened and responsible suburban population. The fact that the city government has recently fallen into the complete control of those who contrive to gain political power in the downtown congested districts, places the municipality in a position where for the present not much further sound progressive action can be expected. The project of a metropolitan government for Boston and its suburbs is being urged from time to time, but strong local traditions and interests in most of the suburbs make it hardly possible to secure fair consideration for a scheme of administration which the facts of the situation so urgently demand.

Socialism

The following are some of the most important socialistic and charitable organizations in Boston:

Associated Charities. 43 Hawkins Street.
Central Labor Union. Office, 987 Washington Street.
City Club. 9 Beacon Street.
Denison House. 93 Tyler Street.
Massachusetts Civic League. 3 Joy Street.
People's Institute. 1171 Tremont Street.
School for Social Workers. 9 Hamilton Place.
Socialist Labor Party. 699 Washington Street.
South End House. 20 Union Park.
Twentieth Century Club. 3 Joy Street.
Wells' Memorial Institute. 987 Washington Street.
Women's Industrial and Educational Union. 264 Boylston Street.
Young Men's Christian Association. 458 Boylston Street.

ROBERT A. WOODS.

BOUCICAUT, JACQUES ARISTIDE: French philanthropist; born in Bellême, Orne, 1810; son of a hatter. Coming to Paris, first as an employee, in 1852, he became proprietor of a small shop which he gradually developed into what is now the great "Au Bon Marché." He built up his trade by thorough organization and by selling at fixt prices and very small profit. He gained the good-will too of his employees, by improving their condition, suppressing fines, inaugurating Sunday and holiday closing, gradual promotion, giving them an interest in their sales, and taking charge of their savings at better interest than could be gotten elsewhere. In 1876 he founded for them a Provident Fund, to enable them to put by for old age. Each employee who has been five years with the house is given a small share of the profits in proportion to his salary, and also 4 per cent each year on his savings. By 1903 there were 2,796 participators, with a capital of 3,902,598 francs, and 2,207,134 fr. had been distributed since the foundation of the fund. Mr. Boucicaut died in 1877, and his son two years later. His widow ably conducted and developed the work until her death in 1887. The company has continued the work along the same lines, and under the same name, "Au Bon Marché." In 1886 Madame Boucicaut also founded an Employees' Retiring Fund, endowed with 5,000,000 fr. All employees are entitled to a pension after twenty years' service, at the age of forty-five for women, and fifty for men. Before this age limit assistance is given to the incapacitated, and to widows and orphans. In 1892 a third Relief and Pension Fund was established, amounting (1903) to 635,220 fr. To-day the great store is known throughout the world, and employs some 3,000 persons.

BOUNTIES: In social science the term "bounty" is usually applied to a premium given by a government to promote some branch of production or industry which it desires to encourage or aid. It is, however, used also for payments of money to induce men to enlist in the army and navy. In Great Britain the giving of bounties of this latter kind has been common. In the United States it has been adopted to a less extent, but in the War of the Rebellion some recruits of the Union Army received as much as $500 or more. Some, however, enlisted, received the bounty, and soon after deserted, receiving the merited name of "bounty-jumpers."

The giving of bounties to encourage industry has been practised at times by almost all nations. England, which has now in the main rejected the bounty system, formerly gave bounties for many industries, notably to encourage the herring fisheries, the Irish linen trade, and the exportation of grain. After the founding of the Royal Academy (1769), a bounty was given on the exportation of engravings. For many years, however, under the influence of free-trade ideas, the English Government has given up the bounty system in the main, tho still granting subsidies to steamship companies. (See SUBSIDIES.) France, Germany, and all the greater continental powers have held on to the bounty system much longer, especially as regards bounties upon sugar. In the United States bounties have been given for tree-planting and sugar, with subsidies and land grants to railways and steamship companies. (See SUBSIDIES.) In 1890, for example, Congress voted a bounty of two cents per pound for fifteen years on the production of domestic sugar. This was, however, ended by the tariff of 1894, altho an appropriation of $5,238,289 was later voted to continue the operation of the bounty on sugar raised before June 30, 1895.

Almost all political economists have condemned bounties in general, altho many have approved of them under particular circumstances. Adam Smith vigorously and Ricardo still more sweepingly condemned bounties, on the ground mainly that they diverted capital perniciously; and their position has been generally followed by free-traders and been criticized by protectionists. Bounties, however, have sometimes been preferred to a protective tariff by free-traders, on the ground that their working is open and direct, not covert, like a tariff. They have been denounced, on the other hand, by some protectionists, as more artificial than a tariff. A tariff, it is argued, makes the foreign exporter pay; a bounty taxes the general citizen for the good of one class. (See FREE TRADE; PROTECTION; SUBSIDIES.)

BOURNEVILLE: A model industrial village, established about five miles from Birmingham, England, by Mr. George Cadbury, the noted cocoa manufacturer, philanthropist, and Friend. Bourneville was founded in 1879, when the works of Cadbury Brothers were moved to that site; but at that time they employed only about 300 hands, and practically most of the village was created in 1895. In 1900 Mr. Cadbury turned over 485 acres of land to the "Bourneville Village-Trust," as an absolute gift, the total value (including the village) being about £200,000, to be administered for the provision of improved dwellings with gardens and open spaces for the amelioration of the condition of the workers. Factories are not to occupy more than one fifteenth of the total area. There are now over 500 cottages with a population of about 2,500. Only about one half the population work in the Cadbury mills. At first land and cottages were sold, but after 150 cottages had been sold, it was decided only to lease, in order to be sure that all should be administered in the spirit of the foundation. The rents range from six shillings and sixpence a week to thirteen shillings, including a local rate of six shillings and fourpence in the pound. Ground rent is calculated at £20 an acre, with about eight houses to the acre. Rents are calculated to return about 4 per cent on the capital. The cottages are semidetached, or in blocks of four, and there is great variety of design with a general similarity of style. Most of the later buildings have one large or two small sitting-rooms, three or four bedrooms, and a kitchen with a bath sunk in the floor, larder, closets, and sometimes an attic. The fireplaces are attractive, with tiled hearths and artistic chimney-pieces.

Gas, water, and sewage are supplied by the city of Birmingham. The roads are forty-two feet wide, with trees. Dwellings may occupy only one fourth of a lot, and one tenth of the land (exclusive of roads) must be used for parks and open spaces. Grass-plots, flower-beds, and shrubs, with low hedges or fences, add to the attractiveness.

The more attractive public buildings are: Ruskin Hall, with lecture-hall, picture-gallery, and library; a bath-house; a boarding-house; a schoolhouse for 540 children; a kindergarten; and a Friends' meeting-house. Adjoining the factory are a twelve-acre recreation ground for girls, with gymnasium, swimming-bath, tennis-court, and cricket and hockey grounds, and a fourteen-acre lot similarly equipped for boys. Various clubs, lecture courses, flower shows, etc., develop the educational, recreative, and artistic life of the village. A cooperative "Bourneville Tenants' Company, Limited" enables workmen to build their own homes.

BOWERMAN, C. W.: English labor member of Parliament; born 1851; learned the printer's trade in London. He has been a member of the London Society of Compositors since 1873; was appointed its news secretary in 1889, and elected general secretary in 1892. He was a delegate to every trade-union congress except that held at Norwich, and in 1897 was elected to the parliamentary committee of the trade-unions, presiding over the annual congress held at Swansea in 1901. He has been on the London County Council for some years, and was elected alderman in 1901. Within the past year he has been appointed parliamentary secretary to his society. He was elected to Parliament in 1906 for Deptford. Endorsed by the Labor Representation Committee. *Address:* 4 Battledean Road, Highbury, N. London, England.

BOYCOTTING: A boycott is a combination against a landlord, tradesman, employer, or other person, whereby the persons enforcing the boycott cease social or business relations with the party boycotted, and seek to induce others to withhold having relations with him. It is used also of agreements not to use certain articles or the articles of a certain manufacturer, on the ground that they have been produced in ways or under conditions condemned by the parties dictating the boycott. The word is derived from the name of Captain Boycott who in 1880 was living at County Mayo, Ireland, as land agent to Lord Erne, an Irish nobleman. The population of the region for miles around resolved to have nothing to do with him, and as far as possible to prevent any one else from having anything to do with him. His life appeared to be in danger—he had to claim police protection—and to prevent civil war the authorities had to send a force of soldiers, and Captain Boycott's harvests were always brought in guarded by a little army. Boycotts, tho largely conducted by trade-unions, are by no means confined to them. Manufacturers boycott certain dealers; railroads boycott railroads; temperance people boycott certain persons; clergymen establish boycotts; almost everybody boycotts somebody at certain times. There is record of a boycott in England as early as 1221. Boycotting, if properly conducted by parties for their own advantage, are now generally believed to be legal, tho five states—Alabama, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, and Texas—have statutes applying expressly to boycotting. Acts usually committed by persons engaged in boycotting are prohibited in other states. Says Dr. Carroll D. Wright: "If A considers a dealer, B, as dishonest, he has a perfect right to say to his friends, 'I do not trade any more with B, and I advise you not to for such a reason.' That is a boycott; we all indulge in it; it is legitimate. But when A says to his friends, 'If you trade any more with B, we trade no more with you, and if that does not succeed, we destroy your business,' that is a crime: that is not a lawful method of prosecuting one's claims." The common law seems to be that workmen associated together in a union may combine to cease dealing with an employer who refuses to comply with the union's rules, since they constitute the party aggrieved and are directly to be benefited by inducing him to yield. Injunctions, however, have been granted against boycotts and "in no case decided by the higher American courts has a boycott by workmen been specifically held legal" ("U. S. Industrial Commission Report," xvii., p. cxix).

References: *U. S. Industrial Commission Report*, xvii; *Getting a Living*, by Geo. A. Bolen, chap. ix; *Organized Labor*, by John Mitchell, chap. xxxiii.

BOYS' CLUBS: See Clubs.

BRABAZON, REGINALD: Twelfth earl of Meath; Baron Chaworth; Baron of Ardee, Ireland; born in London, 1841. He was educated at Eton College and in Germany; and after passing the Civil Service examination he entered the Foreign Office in a clerical capacity (1863). In

1868 he exchanged into the diplomatic service, and passed several years at Frankfort-on-the-Main, Berlin, The Hague, and Paris. He is interested in the industrial conditions of the people, and has been connected with many of the agencies and societies at work for the betterment of those conditions. He was the first honorary secretary of the Hospital Saturday Fund (1874), and first chairman of the Young Men's Friendly Society (1879). In 1882 he founded the Metropolitan Public Garden Association, and was its first and is its present chairman (1907). He was the first president of the British College of Physical Education, and has been at different times an alderman of the London County Council. In his philanthropic activities he is prominently identified also with the Dublin Philanthropic Reform Association (first president), and with the Christian Union for Social Service (president). He is the author of "Social Arrows" and "Social Aims"; and the editor of "Some National and Board School Reforms," "Prosperity or Pauperism," etc. *Address*: 83 Lancaster Gate, W., London, England.

BRACE, CHARLES LORING: One of the founders of the Children's Aid Society; born at Litchfield, Conn., 1826; graduated from Yale in 1846; studied theology at the Yale Divinity School, 1847–48, and at Union Theological Seminary 1848–49. In 1850 he visited Switzerland, England, and Ireland, giving especial attention to schools, prisons, and reformatory institutions, and returned to the United States in 1852. Here he entered into active missionary labors in New York City, and was one of the founders of the Children's Aid Society, remaining its secretary and principal agent from a year after its foundation until his death. In 1854 he established the first newsboys' lodging-house in the city; in 1855 an Italian industrial school; and in 1856 a German industrial school. He devoted the remainder of his life to work among the children and youth of the poor of New York City. He died in the Tyrol, Switzerland, 1890. Among his works may be mentioned: "Hungary in 1851"; "Home Life in Germany"; "Short Sermons to Newsboys"; "The New West"; "The Dangerous Classes of New York, and Twenty Years' Work among Them"; "Free Trade as Promoting Peace and Good Will among Men"; "Gesta Christi, or, A History of Humane Progress under Christianity"; and "To the Unknown God."

BRADLAUGH, CHARLES: English agitator and writer; born 1833; son of a solicitor's clerk in the East End of London. When being prepared for confirmation at the church which he attended, he expressed doubts concerning some of the doctrines taught; and on receiving a severe rebuke for daring to doubt, he turned to the street lecturers, finally becoming a speaker himself. On account of his ideas he was compelled to leave his father's house, and endeavored to gain a living as coal agent. Not succeeding he enlisted in the Dragoon Guards (1850), serving for some time in Ireland. In 1853 he returned to London and became a clerk in a solicitor's office. From that time he was known as an antitheological lecturer, and wrote under the pseudonym of "Iconoclast." He also took an active and often a leading part in the radical movements of the time.

In 1860 Bradlaugh started his paper, *The National Reformer*, which in 1868 was prosecuted by the government. The prosecution was abortive, and led to a repeal of the law under which the proceedings had been taken. In 1872 he published "The Impeachment of the House of Brunswick," which is, perhaps, his best-known literary work. In 1873 he undertook two lecturing tours in the United States. In 1875 he, with Mrs. Annie Besant, was tried for having republished an old pamphlet, "The Fruits of Philosophy." The result of the trial was that the defendants, tho "exonerated from all corrupt motive," were sentenced to six months' imprisonment, and to pay a fine of £200. On appeal, the sentence was reversed. In 1868 and twice in 1874 he was an unsuccessful candidate for parliamentary honors; in 1880, however, he was elected as junior member for the borough of Northampton. Now commenced the struggle with the House of Commons, by which his name will be best known. Refusing to take the oath of allegiance, and desiring to affirm, his seat was declared vacant. Re-elected in 1881, he was expelled by force. Again elected in 1882, but still debarred from sitting, he resigned, in order to again appeal to his constituency in 1884; and tho again elected, it was not till after the general election of 1885 that he was allowed to take his seat. In 1887 he was instrumental in getting appointed the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls, and carried through Parliament an act amending and extending the truck laws. In 1888 he brought in an "Affirmation Bill," which was carried. In 1889 he was requested by the Indian National Congress to represent their national interests in the English Parliament. A consistent individualist, he combated at every step the growing tide of socialism. He died in 1891.

BRASSEY, THOMAS, BARON: English economist and writer on naval affairs; born in England, 1836; son of a railroad contractor. He was called to the bar in 1864, but never practised. In 1865 he was elected member of Parliament for Devonport, and remained in Parliament for a number of years. Naval matters engaged his chief attention, and he assisted in forming the naval artillery volunteers. He and his wife, in their yacht *Sunbeam*, have made many long voyages to all parts of the globe. In addition to numerous shorter writings on naval affairs and social questions, he has published "Work and Wages"; "British Seamen"; and "Lectures on the Labor Question." Lord Thomas has rendered assistance on various charitable commissions. *Address*: 24, Park Lane, W., London, England.

BRAY, CHARLES: Social reformer; born at Coventry, England, 1811. He became a manufacturer of ribbon, but was early interested in matters of reform on the lines of Robert Owen and Thomas Carlyle. He saw the opening of Harmony Hall in Queenwood Community (see Owen), but the failure of that experiment convinced him that such attempts were premature. He wrote "The Philosophy of Necessity" (1841), with an appendix by his sister-in-law, Mary Hennell, later published separately as "An Outline of the Various Social Systems and Communities which have been Founded on the Principles of Cooperation." He was also the author of several essays and addresses, notably "An Essay upon the Union of Agriculture and Manufactures, and upon the Organization of Industry," and of an autobiography. He died in 1884.

BRAY, J. F.: An English communist of the school of Owen of whom little is known save his book, written in 1839, "Labour's Wrongs and Labour's Remedy; or, The Age of Might and the Age of Right." This work, to-day almost forgotten, was one of the ablest of its day, and was noticed at some length in Marx's "Philosophy of Misery" (1847) and other writings of the times. Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy" says of it: "The book tries to prove that all those who perform equality of labor ought likewise to receive equality of reward." Imprest by the modern growth of joint-stock companies, Bray proposed a "joint-stock modification of society, admitting of individual property in productions in connection with a common property in productive powers." He also suggested a paper and pottery currency, whose foundation is labor.

BRENTANO, LUJO: Professor of national economy at the University of Munich; born at Aschaffenburg, Germany, 1844. He was one of the founders of the Association for Social Politics, or Socialists of the Chair, as they are called in Germany, altho belonging to the extreme right of this school. Outside of Germany he is best known by his "History of English Guilds," and his larger work on "English Trade-Unions," neither of which, however, is considered very complete or satisfactory. *Address*: Friedrichsstrasse 11, Munich, Germany.

BRETHREN OF SOCIAL LIFE: A fraternity founded by Groote and Radewin in 1376; sometimes called Brethren of the Common Lot, Brethren of the Common Life, or Brethren of Good Will. It profest to imitate the earliest Christian communities, and eventually merged into the sect of Moravians. It was composed of pious persons who sought to elevate their souls by spiritual exercises; and it was sanctioned by several popes and councils. Community of goods, industry, frugality, education of the young, and the use of the vernacular language in religious worship were some of their peculiar usages. They bound themselves by no monastic vow. In 1430 they had 130 societies, chiefly in Germany and the Netherlands. The original founders were opposed to all learning and science that was not moral and practical; but the brethren rendered valuable service to the cause of popular and free education, and have been called the pioneers of the Reformation. Thomas à Kempis belonged to one of these societies. Similar female societies were organized, each under a superior or *Martha*.

The Order of the Brethren of the Common Lot was divided into two classes, the lettered brethren, or clerks, and the illiterate; they lived in separate habitations, but maintained the closest fraternal union. The former devoted themselves to preaching, visiting the sick, circulating books and tracts, etc., and the education of youth, while the latter were employed in manual labor and the mechanical arts. They lived under the rule of St. Augustine, and were eminently useful in promoting the cause of religion and education.

The theory of this community was that unity should be sought rather in the inward spirit than in outward statutes. Vows were not binding for life. Property was surrendered, not on compulsion, but voluntarily. All the brother houses were kept in communication with each other, and the heads of houses met annually for consultation. Particulars of their rule, domestic arrangements, etc., may be found in Ullmann's "Reformers before the Reformation," ii., 89 *sq*. Luther and Melanchthon spoke with approval and sympathy of the brotherhood in their time. Its flourishing period extended from 1400 to 1500. Most of their houses were built between 1425 and 1451, and they had, in all, some thirty to fifty establishments. During the sixteenth century the Reformation broke them down, in common with other monkish establishments; or, rather, they crumbled to pieces as needless amid the new developments of the age. By the middle of the seventeenth century the brotherhood was ended.

BREWERY WORKERS. See United Brewery Workers.

BRIAND, M. ARISTIDE: French independent Socialist, appointed Oct. 23, 1906, in the cabinet of M. Clemenceau, as Minister of Public Instruction. He has had charge of the important agitation for the separation of Church and State in France.

BRICKLAYERS AND MASONS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA: Organized 1865; one of the largest American trade-unions, not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The organization is almost purely protective. Early in its history strikes were numerous, but latterly the union has been among the most successful in developing agreements with employers. In 1886, partly through the efforts of Mr. W. H. Sayward, Secretary of the Mason Builders' Association, a system of joint agreements as to collective bargaining and arbitration was developed, and the system was spread. In 1906 the union reported 90,000 members. Its organ is *The Bricklayer and Mason*.

Reference: *Report of the United States Industrial Commission*, vol. xvii. (1901), pp. 118, 374–75.

BRIGHT, JOHN: English statesman, born at Greenbank, Lancashire, 1811; son of Jacob Bright, a Quaker cotton-spinner. In his sixteenth year he entered his father's factory, but early became interested in temperance, parliamentary reform, and other questions of the day. The reform struggle of 1832 moved him deeply. In 1839, when the Anti-Corn Law League was formed, he and Cobden were the leading members of it, and commenced a free-trade agitation throughout the kingdom. Bright became M. P. for Durham in 1843. His eloquent and energetic advocacy of free trade produced at last the repeal of the corn laws. He was associated with Cobden in a movement for financial reform, and later with a movement to reform the system of electoral representation. He came to be with Cobden the head of the so-called "Manchester School," and vigorously opposed the ten-hour movement and almost all industrial legislation. Being a member of the Peace Society, as well as of the Society of Friends, he strenuously opposed the war with Russia in 1854. Some of the severest denunciations of war ever uttered are to be found in his speeches. In 1857 he was elected from Birmingham, and long represented that city. He strongly condemned the then existing game laws of Great Britain. In 1868 he accepted the presidency of the Board of Trade in Gladstone's administration, and worked for the disestablishment of the Irish Church and the Irish Land Act, aiming at peasant proprietorship. In 1870 he resigned from office on account of ill health, but took office again in 1873–74, and 1882 as chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. In 1886 he op-

posed the Home Rule bill introduced by Mr. Gladstone. In 1883 he became lord rector of the University of Glasgow. He died in his boyhood's home, March 27, 1889.

BRINKERHOFF, ROELIFF: Philanthropist; born at Owasco, N. Y., 1828; educated in the common schools and at Auburn and Homer academies; taught school for two years, and at the age of eighteen served as tutor in the home of General Jackson. He studied law with Judge Brinkerhoff at Mansfield, Ohio, and in 1852 began the practise of law. From 1855 to 1859 he was editor and proprietor of *The Mansfield Herald*. At the outbreak of the Civil War he entered the army, attained the rank of colonel, and for meritorious service was made brevet brigadier-general. After the war he resumed the practise of law until 1873, when he became cashier of the Mansfield Savings Bank, of which he is now president. Since 1878 he has been a member of the Ohio State Board of Charities, and is now its chairman. He was president of the national Conference of Charities and Corrections in 1880, and vice-president of the International Prison Congress at Paris in 1885. Officiating for many years as vice-president of the American National Prison Congress, he was made its president at the death of General R. B. Hayes. He is the author of "The Volunteer Quartermaster"; and "Recollections of a Lifetime." *Address*: Mansfield, Ohio.

BRISBANE, ALBERT: American Fourierite and social reformer; born in Batavia, N. Y., 1809, of wealthy parents of Scotch-English stock. He was liberally educated, and traveled extensively in Europe and in Asiatic Turkey. Becoming deeply imprest with the inhumanity and injustice of the present social system, he studied in Paris the views and philosophy of FOURIER, and then presented them to American readers in two books: "Social Destiny of Man" (1840), and "A Concise Exposition of the Doctrine of Association." These had an immediate effect on the members of BROOK FARM, and contributed largely to turn that colony into a Fourierite phalanx. Horace Greeley, William Henry Channing, Charles A. Dana, and others were also deeply influenced by him. Greeley opened the columns of the *Tribune* to Brisbane by allowing him to purchase for two years (1842–44) a column of the paper in which to advocate Fourierism. Later Brisbane published two volumes of "Sociological Series" (1876). He also invented several mechanical devices of importance. He died in Richmond, Va., 1890.

BRISBANE, ARTHUR: American editor; born at Buffalo, N. Y., 1863; son of Albert BRISBANE; educated in public schools and in France and Germany. He entered the field of journalism as a reporter on the *Sun*, and later became editor of the *Evening Sun*. From 1890 to 1897 he was on the editorial staff of the New York *World*, and since 1897 has been editor of the New York *Evening Journal*. Mr. Brisbane follows in the main his father's socialist views, but believes they should be worked out in opportunist and political methods. *Address*: Hempstead, Long Island, N. Y.

BRISSOT, JEAN PIERRE (surnamed **De WARVILLE**): French sociologist and revolutionist; born at Chartres, France, 1754. Educated for the law, he entered the office of a procurator at Paris, but early devoted himself to political science. His "Théorie des Lois Criminelles" and "Bibliothèque Philosophique de Législateur" brought him notoriety and the favor of Voltaire, D'Alembert, and others. These works were imbued with the philosophy of Rousseau, and contain the saying, afterward made famous by Proudhon, "La propriété, c'est le vol." A facile writer, he wrote for papers unworthy of him, but later went to London and started *Le Journal du Lycée de Londres* to unite all the savants of Europe. Returning to Paris, he was lodged in the Bastile on an unfounded charge. Released after a few months, he recommenced pamphleteering, and, having met some abolitionists in London, he organized in Paris a Société des Amis des Noirs. He visited the United States, but returned to play a leading part in the French Revolution. He edited the *Patriote Française* and in the National Assembly leagued himself with the Girondists, then often called the Brissotins. He bravely suffered death on the guillotine with the Girondists, Oct. 30, 1793.

BRITISH ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION, THE: Founded at a meeting held at University College, London, on Nov. 20, 1890, the Rt. Hon. G. J. Goschen, M. P., being in the chair. The object of the association is the advancement of economic knowledge by the issue of a journal and other printed publications, and by such other means as the association may from time to time agree to adopt. The journal represents all shades of economic opinion, and is the organ not of one school of economists, but of all schools. The annual subscription is one guinea. There is at present no entrance fee. Any member may at any time compound for his future yearly payments by paying at once the sum of ten guineas. The current numbers of the journal, issued in March, June, September, and December, and published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., are sent to members free of charge. The price is 5 shillings each copy, or 1 guinea (net) for the annual volume bound.

BRITISH EMPIRE, THE: The growth of the British Empire is in many ways the greatest social reform fact in the world. According to Hazell's "Annual":

The area of the British Empire was estimated at 8,329,000 sq. m. in 1837, and in 1861 it was about the same figure. Of the total, 9,115,000 sq. m. are under settled government, the self-governing colonies alone covering about 7,000,000 sq. m.

In 1837 the population of the British Empire was 168,000,000; in 1861 it was estimated at 175,000,000; in 1871 at 235,000,000; in 1881 over 254,000,000; in 1891 nearly 372,000,000; and in 1901 it had reached over 400,000,000.

In 1837 there were about 25,750,000 British in the United Kingdom and about 1,500,000 in the colonies, making a total of 27,250,000. In 1905 there were 43,220,000 British in Great Britain and 10,780,000 in the colonies, giving a total of 54,000,000.

The total revenues of the empire amounted to about £75,000,000 in 1837, the United Kingdom having a revenue of £50,000,000, and India and the colonies about £25,000,000. In 1903 the revenues of the empire amounted to £317,000,000.

Sir Robert Giffen, at the meeting of the British Association in Sept., 1903, put forward the following estimates as to the aggregate income and wealth of the people of the British Empire:

	Aggregate Income	Capital or Wealth
United Kingdom	£1,750,000,000	£15,000,000,000
Canada	270,000,000	1,350,000,000
Australasia	210,000,000	1,100,000,000
India	600,000,000	3,000,000,000
South Africa	100,000,000	600,000,000
Remainder of empire	200,000,000	1,200,000,000
Totals	£3,130,000,000	£22,250,000,000

THE BRITISH EMPIRE 1905 AND 1906[1]

Name and Date of Acquisition	Area, Square Miles	Population	Public Revenue £	Public Expenditure £	Imports £	Exports £	Public Debt £	Miles of Railway	Tonnage Entered and Cleared
Europe: The United Kingdom	121,115	43,219,788	143,370,404	141,956,497	551,038,628	371,015,321	796,736,491	22,433	105,619,344
England	50,939	32,344,230							
Wales	7,376	1,808,747							
Scotland	29,785	4,676,603							
Ireland	32,583	4,390,208							
Cyprus	3,584	237,022	215,360	140,284	386,661	387,541	314,000		653,316
Islands	421	360,907						8	14,954,337
Asia: Empire of India (Empire, 1877)	1,766,642	294,361,056	84,699,000	81,213,000	95,948,000	116,092,000	[2]	23,692	10,926,560
Native States	679,393	62,769,795						3,264	
Straits Settlements	1,542	595,782	1,018,644	1,067,091	31,229,021	24,479,536		15	16,901,204
The Federated Malay States	24,951	678,595	1,983,849	1,419,238	3,625,894	6,867,000	283,520	365	1,767,183
Wei-hai-wei (1898)	2,857	150,000	15,032	16,311					
Labuan I. (1847)	31	8,411	4,440	5,445	154,275	94,915			
North Borneo (1877)	31,000	200,000	75,954	52,215	305,884	317,099		105	319,082
Sarawak (1888)	41,000	500,000	94,370	90,193	392,645	617,229			95,181
Hongkong I., with Kowloon and Lema Islands (1841)	32	446,217	680,904	537,023			341,799		
Ceylon (1795)	25,333	3,740,562	1,961,554	1,780,988	6,820,000	6,726,700	5,391,209	392	10,316,738
Islands	2,336	451,045							
Australia: The Commonwealth of Australia	2,972,918	3,925,000	11,460,315	3,984,710	70,118,896	90,587,270	228,775,395	14,593	27,152,668
New South Wales (1788)	310,700	1,417,870	11,336,918	11,195,075	27,285,958	33,007,835	82,321,998	3,220	9,005,401
Victoria (1851)	87,884	1,205,513	7,509,000	6,982,000	17,859,171	19,707,068	52,141,000	3,401	6,857,854
South Australia (1836)	903,690	389,727	2,725,724	2,693,495	7,450,714	8,665,000	28,907,195	1,882	4,280,890
Queensland (1859)	668,497	523,266	4,249,385	3,607,863	6,052,164	11,153,383	39,069,227	3,363	1,798,455
Western Australia (1829)	975,920	254,309	3,698,703	3,745,224	6,672,480	10,271,511	16,244,208	2,107	3,335,895
Tasmania (1825)	26,215	174,233	866,630	857,846	2,554,454	3,007,460	9,307,456	620	1,874,173
New Guinea and Isles (1888)	90,540	350,000	39,107	38,041	62,367	62,891			50,890
New Zealand (1840)	104,471	851,063	7,282,870	6,635,902	13,290,694	14,748,348	59,912,000	2,441	2,215,229
Fiji Isles (1874)	7,435	121,074	138,166	124,948	489,095	554,707	186,515		336,208
Pacific Islands	800	30,000	21,000	21,000	99,000	65,000			196,000
Africa: Cape Colony (1815)	276,995	2,409,804	8,505,270	9,033,501	19,985,245	29,862,535	39,379,104	2,919	11,255,599
Basutoland (1868)	10,293	348,848	106,794	72,393	298,140	127,057			
Natal (1856)	29,434	1,108,754	4,160,145	4,071,439	11,078,650	9,400,771	16,019,143	718	3,984,614
Bechuanaland Protectorate	386,200	120,776	32,443	82,938					
Orange River Colony (1900)	48,326	385,045	786,049	780,535	3,251,098	2,263,925			
Transvaal (1900)	113,642	1,354,200	4,465,000	4,358,000	19,451,048	12,969,912			
Rhodesia	750,000	575,894	457,201	858,572	1,858,569	26,739		1,592	
British Central Africa (1889)	42,217	3,000,500	62,100	117,518	212,500	46,500			
East Africa Protectorate (1888)	200,000	2,500,000	163,000	403,360	752,315	236,191		584	1,508,000
Uganda Protectorate (1894)	86,000	4,000,000	51,474	186,881	123,198	52,848			
Somali Coast Protectorate (1885)	68,000	153,000	39,888	35,836	372,200	193,100			128,344
Zanzibar and Pemba (1888)	640 & 380	200,000			1,131,760	1,171,240			88,000
Nigeria, Northern	320,000	} 35,000,000	} 520,400	510,646					
Nigeria, Southern	48,000		579,475	582,348	1,792,468	1,718,717	} 2,252,975		896,834
Gold Coast Colony (1868)	120,000	1,500,000	683,365	681,001	2,082,544	980,942			
Lagos (1861)	26,700	1,500,000	401,331	409,397	864,147	1,146,323	1,261,000		
The Gambia (1664)	3,700	163,718	49,795	76,024	306,149	311,283	none		
Sierra Leone (1791)	34,000	1,100,000	275,479	270,493	700,827	418,631	589,447		
America: The Dominion of Canada (1763)	3,653,946	5,371,315	14,236,125	12,661,861	52,923,021	43,593,918	53,260,493	19,747	15,841,175
Newfoundland (1497) and Labrador	} 42,200	216,615	} 502,726	478,657	1,929,175	2,119,650	4,450,000	658	1,785,049
	120,000	4,000							
British Guiana (1814)	104,000	302,172	557,351	501,704	1,444,084	1,632,000	1,104,000	95	793,532
British Honduras (1786)	7,562	39,688	61,494	54,316	358,786	380,540	34,735		502,747
Islands	15,777	1,633,570	2,358,315	2,201,392	7,861,615	6,060,109	5,784,237		
Totals	11,876,745	400,543,713	317,000,000	306,593,791	970,653,545	833,140,745	1,474,067,147	95,910	235,930,873

[1] Some of the totals are for 1906 and therefore not the sum of the figures in the columns. Most of the details are for 1905 or very recent returns.
[2] £132,887,000 in England; £81,529,000 in India.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY: Founded 1839, its first president being Thomas Clarkson. The objects of the society are: "The universal extinction of slavery and the slave-trade; and the protection of the rights and interests of the enfranchised population in the British possessions, and of all persons captured as slaves." The society publishes a journal, *The Anti-Slavery Reporter*. Secretary, Travers Buxton, 51, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S. W., London, England.

BROADHURST, HENRY: English trade-unionist; M. P.; born near Littlemore, Oxfordshire, 1840; the son of a journeyman mason. He worked at his father's trade till 1872, when he was elected to the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade-Union Congress, becoming a most indefatigable worker, and serving as secretary of the committee from 1875–90. In 1880 he was returned to Parliament from Stoke-upon-Trent. In 1885 he was elected from the Boardsley division of Birmingham; in 1886 from Nottingham (West), and in 1894–1906 from Leicester. He was re-elected from Leicester Jan., 1906, but retired in March. He has been a member of two royal commissions, and in 1886 was appointed Under Secretary of State for Home Affairs. He is a Liberal in politics, and for a long period opposed the new trade-unionism, eight-hour legislation, etc. He has, however, changed his position on the eight-hour bill, and was in 1894 deemed one of the most progressive members of the Trade-Union Parliamentary Committee. Broadhurst is the author, together with Sir R. T. Reid, of a "Handy Book on Leasehold Enfranchisement," and has written also an autobiography. *Address*: 4, Elm Gardens, Brook Green, W. London, England.

BROCKWAY, ZEBULON REED: Prison reformer; born in Lyme, Conn., 1827. Became clerk of Connecticut State Prison, 1848; then deputy superintendent at Albany, 1851; and superintendent in Monroe County, N. Y., 1859; in Detroit, Mich., 1861; in Elmira State Reformatory, 1876–1900. It was mainly through his efforts that Elmira introduced the system of the Indeterminate Sentence, which has led to such general and successful reforms in prison systems. See *Elmira*. In 1900 he retired, but in 1905 was elected Mayor of Elmira, being nominated by both parties. *Address*: Elmira, N. Y.

BROOK FARM: A cooperative association formed in 1842 on a 200-acre farm nine miles from Boston, by a group of highly educated people. The association carried on farming and maintained an excellent boarding school, the pupils being members of the associated family. Owing to the character of the leaders and their friends, the life at Brook Farm took on many refined and charming aspects, which gave it great fascination for the general public, and which rendered the lives of the members exceedingly rich and interesting. Most of the distinguished men and women of the day were visitors at Brook Farm, and it became a center of intellectual and artistic life. All the members were stockholders and took more or less part in the manual labor of the farm. Meals were taken in common in a central hall. There were about 115 members.

The spirit of the place voiced the transcendental religious feeling current at that time, but there was no distinction made as to creed, and every one was free to worship as he chose. The members were, however, sustained in their efforts by an exalted belief in the possibility of social regeneration, and the founding of a heaven upon earth. Miss Peabody wrote in *The Dial*: "There are men and women who have dared to say to one another, 'Why not have our daily life organized on Christ's own idea? Why not begin to move the mountain of custom and convention?" Later she further described the group of people who had resolved to make this attempt: "In order to live a religious and moral life they feel that it is necessary to come out in some degree from the world, and to form themselves into a community of property, so far as to exclude competition and the ordinary rules of trade; while they reserve sufficient private property for all purposes of independence and isolation at will. They make agriculture the basis of their life, it being the most direct and simple in relation to nature. A true life, altho it aims beyond the highest star, is redolent of the healthy earth. The perfume of clover lingers about it. The lowing of cattle is the natural bass to the melody of human voices."

Bodily and mental labor were paid at the same rate at Brook Farm, it being believed that since intellectual labor involves higher pleasures than bodily labor, it therefore is to some extent its own reward; while bodily labor involves a greater sacrifice on the part of the individual. The hours redeemed from labor by cooperative work were to be used, not in acquiring wealth, but intellectual goods. Real wealth consists, so the Brook Farmers declared, in the "leisure to live in all the faculties of the soul."

The first years of the Brook Farm experiment have been called its transcendental period, and it was then that the idealism of the movement and its spiritual vitality seemed to be at their height. A change occurred when Fourierism, then making a stir in the reform world, was introduced and accepted at Brook Farm. A new element came in with the influx of more working-class people, and the building of mechanics' workshops and a large phalanstery. The change, though honestly undertaken, proved in the end fatal. The dream period of the earthly paradise was over, and the Brook Farmers awoke to the painful discovery that they were ill-adapted to carry on practical enterprises. A disastrous fire, unprotected by insurance, compassed the final ruin of the experiment, which had lasted about six years. Its leader throughout, as well as its founder, was George Ripley, accomplished scholar and devoted idealist, who had received encouragement and assistance from men like Dr. Channing, Rev. Theodore Parker, Dr. J. C. Warren, and many others. Ralph Waldo Emerson, Margaret Fuller, and Bronson Alcott were frequent visitors at Brook Farm; while Hawthorne lived there for a time. George William Curtis and Charles A. Dana were both members. The association maintained a periodical called *The Harbinger*.

REFERENCES: *Brook Farm*, by Lindsay Swift, New York, 1900; *Memoirs of Brook Farm*, by J. T. Codman, Boston, 1894. There is also an interesting account of the life at Brook Farm in the *Life of Isaac Hecker* (Father Hecker, founder of the Paulist Fathers), by Eliot. Hawthorne's *Diary* contains references to his experiences at Brook Farm, while his novel *Blithedale Romance* is to some extent founded upon his impressions of the place.

BROOKS, JOHN GRAHAM: American economist; born at Acworth, N. H., 1846; was graduated

from Harvard Divinity School, 1875; studied for three years at German universities. He became a lecturer on economic subjects, was for two years instructor at Harvard University, and later lectured for several years in the extension department of Chicago University. Mr. Brooks was appointed expert in the United States Department of Labor in Washington, and in 1893 made a report on workingmen's insurance in Germany. He is president of the National Consumers' League and of the American Social Science Association, and is the author of a book entitled "The Social Unrest." *Address*: 8 Francis Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.

BROTHERHOOD OF THE COOPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH: Organized 1895 with headquarters in Maine. Its avowed objects were: (1) To educate people in the principles of socialism. (2) To unite all Socialists in one fraternal association. (3) To establish cooperative colonies and industries, and, so far as possible, concentrate these colonies and industries in one state until said state is socialized. As a result the colony of "Equality" was organized in 1897 in Skagit County, Wash., with 620 acres. In 1898 this colony became autonomous, since when the Brotherhood of the Cooperative Commonwealth has had a nominal existence only. See EQUALITY.

BROTHERHOOD OF THE KINGDOM, THE: This organization, established in 1892, is the outgrowth, mainly in the Baptist denomination, of the earnest work of two men in New York City, but it now holds yearly undenominational conferences at Marlborough, N. Y., and performs considerable practical work through its members. Its aim is to work for the kingdom of God in the most inclusive sense. (See BAPTISTS IN RELATION TO SOCIAL REFORM.) The principles and methods of the brotherhood are thus stated:

(1) Every member shall by personal life exemplify obedience to the ethics of Jesus.
(2) Each member shall propagate the thoughts of Jesus to the limits of his or her ability, in private conversation, by correspondence, and through pulpit, platform, and press.
(3) Each member shall lay special stress on the social aims of Christianity, and shall endeavor to make Christ's teaching concerning wealth operative in the Church.
(4) On the other hand, the members shall take pains to keep in contact with the common people, and to infuse the religious spirit into the efforts for social amelioration.
(5) The members shall seek to strengthen the bond of brotherhood by frequent meetings for prayer and discussion, by correspondence, exchange of articles written, etc.
(6) Regular reports shall be made of the work done by members in such manner as the executive committee may appoint.
(7) The members shall seek to procure for one another opportunities for public propaganda.
(8) If necessary, they shall give their support to one another in the public defense of the truth, and shall jealously guard the freedom of discussion for any man who is impelled by love of the truth to utter his thoughts.

No sectarian or theological tests are required of members.

The brotherhood has an executive committee of five, with power to manage all ordinary business. The only officer is the secretary, who is also the treasurer. The annual dues are $2, and all funds remaining over and above the necessary expenses are employed in the publication and distribution of literature. Chairman of the Executive Committee, Rev. Leighton Williams, D.D., 312 West Fifty-fourth Street, New York City. Corresponding Secretary and treasurer, Rev. Charles L. Carhart, Dorset, Vt.

BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS, THE: One of the oldest trade-unions in the United States; not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. After earlier ineffectual efforts at organization, twelve engineers organized in 1863 a Brotherhood of the Footboard, which in 1864 took the name of the Grand International Union of Locomotive Engineers. William D. Robinson, who is called the father of the Brotherhood, was chosen chief grand engineer (1863). Mr. P. M. Arthur was chosen chief in 1874, and so continued till 1903, largely shaping the character of the Brotherhood, making it one of the strongest, but also one of the most conservative of American trade-unions. His policy was to conduct the Brotherhood on purely "business" principles, and strictly in its own interest, not aiding other unions in strikes, etc., unless it could be clearly proved that it would directly benefit the association. The brotherhood has had few strikes, and no other union has been more successful in obtaining agreements with employers. It has an Insurance Fund, begun 1867. It had (1905) 47,000 members. Its organ is the *Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Journal.*

REFERENCE: *Report of the United States Industrial Commission*, vol. xvii (1901), pp. 821–25.

BROTHERHOODS, RELIGIOUS: Societies organized for philanthropic purposes, most numerous in the Middle Ages. Some of them being established without the authorization of the Church, they fell under the charge of heresy, and in several cases assumed the nature of separate sects, such as the Beghards, Beguines, Apostolic Brethren, Flagellants, etc. The last-named society was subjected to severe persecution by the Church.

The old building corporations, from which sprang the Free Masons, belong under this head. Most of them were regarded with fear and suspicion by the Church, on account of their symbolism and secrecy. The brotherhoods that asked and received the sanction of the ecclesiastics were not secret, but devoted to the promotion of religion by stricter and more constant devotional exercises, or to the assisting of strangers, travelers, the unprotected, the destitute, the sick, and the opprest. The noblest work was often done by these organizations. They were most numerous in Italy, Rome alone containing 100. (See articles COMMUNISM; MONASTICISM.)

BROUSSE, PAUL: French Socialist; born at Montpellier; studied medicine in Paris, becoming doctor in 1867. From 1870 to 1871 he worked on the *Droits de l'Homme*, and in 1871 was condemned to three months' imprisonment. Escaping to Spain, he joined the anarchistic Spanish section of the International. From Spain he went to Switzerland, and meeting there BAKOUNIN, became a leader of the Jura Federation, organizer of the anarchist section in Italy, and editor of anarchist publications. In 1879 he suffered imprisonment in Switzerland, and after his release went to London. Here he met Marx and Engels, and, renouncing anarchism, adopted socialism. In 1880 he returned to France, and edited *Égalité* and *Prolétaire* in 1882, with Malon and his followers, separating from the Guidist Socialists, and forming the "Broussist" section, or so-called "Possiblists." In 1887 he was elected to the Paris Municipal Council, and has since been a foremost leader of one section of the French

Socialists, but ever ready to work with any party, a policy which has resulted in his now calling himself Republican Radical. His main writings are "Le Suffrage Universel et le Problème de la Souveraineté du Peuple" (1874) and "La Crise" (1879).

BROWN, JOHN: American abolitionist; born in Torrington, Conn., 1800. Originally intended for the Church, he was compelled to give up study for this purpose on account of inflammation in the eyes. He then took up the business of a tanner, which he carried on for twenty years. In 1840 he started business as a wool dealer in Ohio, and in 1849 removed to Essex County, N. Y., and began to reclaim a large tract of land which had been granted to him. In 1855, having an intense hatred of slavery, he went to Kansas in order to vote, and fight, if need be, against the establishment of slavery in that territory. He soon became renowned in the fierce border warfare carried on between Kansas and Missouri, and gained especial celebrity by his victory at Ossawatomie. A son of his was killed in one of these affrays, and this tended to deepen his hostility to the Southern Party. After the border agitation had been settled by a general vote, Brown traveled through the northern and northeastern states declaiming against slavery, and endeavoring to incite and organize an armed attack upon it. In October, 1859, at the head of seventeen white men and five negroes, he commenced hostilities by a night attack upon Harper's Ferry, overpowering the guard and capturing the arsenal. The next morning he made prisoners of forty or fifty of the chief inhabitants of the town; but instead of at once retreating to the mountains with arms and hostages, as his original design had been, he lingered on in the town till evening. By this time the townsmen had recovered from their astonishment, militiamen began to pour in, and after a short but desperate conflict Brown and his handful of followers were captured. Brown was tried at Charlestown for treason and murder, found guilty, and sentenced to death on the scaffold within forty-eight hours. He met his death calmly Dec. 2, 1859. It may safely be said that his execution hastened the downfall of slavery in America, and his name has become a household word among abolitionists. He was a man of stern and uncompromising moral principle, and singularly brave and honest. Whatever his rashness or fanaticism, there is no question that he offered himself as a sacrifice to the overthrow of a gigantic social and political wrong.

BRYAN, WILLIAM JENNINGS: American editor, lawyer, and politician; born at Salem, Ill., 1860; educated in public schools, Whipple Academy, Illinois College, Jacksonville (valedictorian), and Union College of Law, Chicago. He practised law at Jacksonville from 1883 to 1887, and afterward at Lincoln, Neb. From 1891 to 1895 he was a member of Congress, and from 1894 to 1896 edited the Omaha *World-Herald*. He wrote the "silver plank" of the Democratic platform and was nominated for the presidency by the Democratic Party in 1896. He made a phenomenal campaign, and received 176 electoral votes against McKinley's 271. In 1897–98 he lectured on bimetalism, and at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War he raised a regiment and became its colonel. In 1900 he was again nominated for the presidency by the Democrats, Populists, and "Silver Republicans," receiving 155 electoral votes against 292 cast for McKinley. "Imperialism" was declared by the platform to be the paramount issue. After the election Mr. Bryan established *The Commoner*, a political weekly, at Lincoln, Neb. In 1904 he supported Mr. Parker, the Democratic nominee for the presidency. From 1903 to 1906 he traveled around the world, and on his return to New York was accorded the greatest ovation ever given to a private American citizen. For his views, see Democratic Party. *Address:* Lincoln, Neb.

BUCHANAN, JOSEPH RAY: Labor editor of the New York *Evening Journal*; born at Hannibal, Mo., 1851; educated in the public schools. Having learned the trade of a printer, he went to Denver, Col., and engaged in the newspaper business. He became interested in labor and political reform in 1879, and took active part in the movements. For some time he published a labor paper in Denver under great difficulties. In 1887 he went to Chicago, and in the following year to New York. He became prominent in trade-unions, among the Knights of Labor, and in the Union Labor Party. In 1892 he helped to organize the People's Party at Omaha. He was twice a candidate for Congress from the sixth district of New Jersey. Since 1904 he has been a member of the editorial staff of the New York *Journal*.

Buchanan is a Socialist of the opportunist school. He believes in ultimate ownership and operation by the State of all industries of a public nature, and private ownership of those things which are for private use; but in accomplishing change would pursue line of least resistance. He has written "The Story of a Labor Agitator" and many short stories and economic treatises. He is a public speaker of wide experience. *Address:* Montclair, N. J.

BUCHEZ, PHILIPPE JOSEPH BENJAMIN: French communist: born at Matagne-la-Petite, 1796; became a doctor of medicine, 1825. He was one of the founders of the French Carbonari, and barely escaped condemnation to death for his part in the Belfort conspiracy. He then joined the Saint Simonian school, and worked on the *Producteur*. When this passed into the hands of Enfantin, he left it to found, with Roux Lavergne, a so-called neo-Catholic school, combining Catholic and revolutionary ideas; and from 1831–38, altho with some breaks, he brought out his *l'Européen*. A *résumé* of his ideas appears in his *l'Européen* for 1835, in which he declares that it is time to realize the social principles of Christianity. His idea was to reach communism through industrial cooperation, and in 1831 he founded a cooperative association of cabinet-makers, thus introducing cooperation in France, and to the spread of this movement he devoted the rest of his life. (See Cooperation.) In the revolution of 1848 he was a follower of Louis Blanc, and was in the chair as president of the National Assembly on the memorable May 15th. After the *coup d'état* of 1851 he returned to his studies and to private life. His main works are: "Essai d'un Traité complet de Philosophie" (1839–40), and "Histoire parlementaire de la Revolution Française" (1833–38 and 1845–47). He died in 1865.

BUFFALO: A city and port of entry in New York State with a population in 1905 of 376,618. Up to the last quarter of the nineteenth century the expression of a social conscience in Buffalo was sporadic. It then began to take form in certain definite movements traceable in the history of the present reform organizations of the city.

Out of the financial stress of 1873 came the Charity Organization Society, the first in America. It was inspired by Rev. S. Humphrey Gurteen, from England, then rector of St. Paul's Church, Buffalo, and it followed the lines of the London Society. Some of the strong men who founded it are still with it, and through them its scope and influence have steadily increased. The society is chiefly remarkable for its church district plan, whereby 122 churches, of all denominations, have accepted responsibility for the relief needed in certain defined neighborhoods. The advantages of this system are the volunteer visitors thus made available and the education and coordination of the usually ineffective church relief. The main disadvantage is the difficulty of insuring that a family placed in care of a church will have the benefit of adequate aid and constructive effort. This is met by careful supervision of the work of uncertain churches, families being removed from their care when necessary. Four of the largest churches have established social settlements in the districts for which they are responsible, thus coming in close touch with the individuals intrusted to them, and bringing to bear upon the neighborhood what social and educational influences are possible. In the last ten years, through the efforts of the Charity Organization Society in these ways, the city outdoor poor relief has been reduced from $118,000 to $32,000 per annum, and the number of families thus aided from 4,166 to 880. There being no other strong organizations for improving the conditions of the poor, this society has taken a leading part in attacking the social causes of poverty, in enacting and enforcing laws drawn with this end in view, and in establishing and maintaining such admirable institutions as the Fresh Air Mission and the Fitch Crêche. The following special committees, all of them active, indicate the scope of this broader work: Fitch Crêche, Tenement House, Tuberculosis, Penny Savings, Children, Defective Children, Mendicancy, Public Lodging House, Family Desertion, and Public Playgrounds.

History

Another of Buffalo's oldest and strongest organizations is the Civil Service Reform Association. Organized in 1881, it took an active part in a campaign for the national civil service law which was passed in January, 1883, and for the state law which was signed by Grover Cleveland in May, 1883. It is worth remarking that George William Curtis said of this campaign, "There is no force in the country more united, enthusiastic, and effective than the Buffalo contingent." Buffalo was one of the first three cities to adopt municipal civil service rules, in Jan., 1885. The progress made since then is found in the fact that in 1884 only 7 per cent of all city offices were filled by competitive examination; in 1889, 49 per cent; in 1894, 75 per cent; in 1900, 84 per cent; and in 1906, 87 per cent.

In 1894 a subcommittee of this association organized the Good Government Club, which had a useful existence of six years. Three years after this ceased to exist, there arose, as an entirely separate and new movement, the present Municipal League. This organization is energetic and fearless, and has attained a large measure of success. This is due, perhaps, to the fact that it not only publishes before election the records of candidates for office, but openly and actively works for the best men and the best measures.

The status of municipal ownership in Buffalo may be judged by the fact that the Municipal Ownership League has been lost to sight and hearing. The only experiment in this direction is the water-works, and there is small sentiment for anything further. Indeed there is lacking that very public consciousness which it is claimed municipal ownership develops. An example of this is the failure of the public to agree on a site for the much-needed union station, a perennial subject of public discussion. The various reform organizations of the city are able to inspire strong support, however, and though, as in most cities, this is from a limited number of social servants, yet the city as a whole has waked to united action, as at the time of the Pan-American Exposition; and it is through such organizations and special efforts that a public consciousness is developed. The city is divided by Main Street into the East and West sides, and it would take a strong body to fuse these, and other factions, as it would to free the city from the grasp of the railroads. The organization best fitted to fulfil this function is the Chamber of Commerce, and there are already indications that this competent body is waking to its opportunities and responsibility.

An important step for the future of progressive, united public opinion in Buffalo has been taken within the year in the organization of the Civic Conference. The following business and social reform associations are affiliated with this conference and meet monthly for the discussion of problems affecting the common welfare: Chamber of Commerce, Manufacturers' Club, Black Rock Manufacturers' Association, Society for Beautifying Buffalo, North Buffalo Business Men's Association, Builders' Exchange, West Side Business Men's Association, Municipal League, East Buffalo Business Men's Association, Buffalo Credit Men's Association, Retail Grocers' Association, Charity Organization Society, Referendum League, Mutual Progressive Association of Walden Avenue, North East Buffalo Business Men and Citizens' Association, South Buffalo Citizens' Association.

Three fourths of the population of Buffalo are foreigners, largely Germans, Italians, Poles. A splendid system of schools, a remarkable public library, good tenement laws, well enforced, progressive labor laws, also enforced, and a strong Board of Health have prevented conditions of life and work from reaching the unmanageable stage of larger cities. The death-rate (14.14 per thousand) is phenomenally low. There are but few large tenements, and the houses are detached and present throughout the city an appearance of comfort, thrift, and pleasantness unsurpassed by any city in this country. At the same time there are communities sprung up about some of the large industries—one, especially, just outside the city line—which present conditions that cry for betterment. The city has made a beginning, with two public-bath

Conditions

stations, six playgrounds, and various parks, to meet the growing population in the crowded quarters, but it is only a beginning. The system of parks, most of them out from the crowded districts, is extensive and beautiful, though not yet completed. It includes a zoological garden, a botanical garden, ponds for boating and skating, and a wading pool. In one park is situated the Albright Art Gallery, perhaps the most beautiful in the country, and near it the Historical Building. At both of these buildings frequent public lectures are offered, and are well attended, as are those of the Natural History Society.

The Buffalo Public Library deserves special mention, for hardly a library in the country has a circulation so wide in proportion to the population. Its elaborate system of school libraries is also remarkable.

Another institution common to all cities but beyond the ordinary here is the Young Men's Christian Association. The main building is one of the finest of its kind in the country, and is used in such a way as to make it a strong influence in the community.

Two young but active organizations for social reform are the Consumers' League and the City Federation of Women's Clubs, mentioned together because they are both composed for the most part of women. The former is especially effective in enforcing the child labor laws; and the latter has taken up the cause of children in the matter of school lunches and medical examination.

The Society for Beautifying Buffalo, now in its sixth year, has accomplished something, and is on the way to become a strong organization for making Buffalo a beautiful and healthful community. Its committees are on Sculpture and Monuments, Playgrounds, Home Cultivation of Flowers, Abatement of Smoke Nuisance, Forestry, Architecture, Removal of Overhead Wires, Billboards and Signs.

The labor-unions in Buffalo are not strong. There are 174 local unions with a membership of 29,590, a gain of 4.2 per cent over a year ago. There have been no distinguished leaders, and no great battles to enlist working men. They have had a steady growth, following rather than leading the general development of organized labor, but their influence in the city to-day is not profound. The strongest organizations are to be found in the building trades and railroads. *Progress*, the official organ, has a circulation of 40,000, and does much in the way of education concerning social-reform movements.

Socialism in Buffalo is a wavering light. There are the usual two parties, the Labor Socialists being the more active, but either going little beyond weekly discussion.

Buffalo is on the eve of an important political event in the shape of a new city charter. It was prepared in skeleton form by an eminently fit commission and has the backing of most intelligent citizens. It provides for the election by the people of but two of the administrative officials, the mayor and controller, all others to be appointed, and for the establishment of but one house in place of the present Board of Aldermen and Council. It is believed that this will center the attention of voters upon the vital points, and focus responsibility. It should do much to rid Buffalo of the inefficiency and petty graft that still persist in spite of the fact that the balance of power is held by the independent voters. Headquarters of some of the civic societies in Buffalo:

Central Labor Union, 37 East Huron Street.
Chamber of Commerce, Chamber of Commerce Building.
Charity Organization Society, 19 West Tupper Street.
City Federation of Women's Clubs, 485 Auburn Avenue.
Civic Conference, Chamber of Commerce.
Civil Service Reform Association, 19 West Tupper Street.
Consumers' League, 404 Seneca Street.
Corrupt Practices Society, Fred Gratwick, Ellicott Square.
Municipal League, Ellicott Square.
Neighborhood House, 79 Goodell Street.
Referendum League, Louis Stockton, Erie County Bank Building.
Society for Beautifying Buffalo, 37 Allen Street.
Social Labor Party, 19 West Mohawk.
Watson House, 282 Babcock Street.
Welcome Hall, 404 Seneca Street.
Westminster House, 424 Adams Street.
Women's Educational and Industrial Union, 86 Delaware Avenue.
Young Men's Christian Association, 45 West Mohawk Street.
Young Women's Christian Association, 19 West Mohawk Street.

JOHN R. HOWARD, JR.

BUILDING ASSOCIATIONS: Cooperative organizations, created for the purpose of encouraging wage-earners and others in the systematic saving of small sums by making periodic payments on stock; and of utilizing such accumulated sums in making advancements or loans to their members with a view to assisting them in buying or building homes. As commonly applied, the term "building association" includes building and loan associations, mutual loan associations, savings-fund and loan associations, cooperative banks, cooperative savings and building-loan associations, and homestead associations, all of which have the same general features. They derive their rights and powers from the statutes of the different states in which they are organized, and while their general purposes and aims are substantially the same, they differ widely in details of management and methods of operation.

Origin and Early History

The origin and early history of building associations is a matter of some doubt, altho it is known that they existed and flourished several hundred years before the Christian era. John Henry Gray, in his work on the "Laws, Manners, and Customs of the People of China," gives an interesting account of how these societies were first established by Pong Koong, a man of great wealth during the Hon dynasty. They were recognized institutions of that country as early as the year 200 B.C., having some of the prominent features of later building and loan associations, such as the payment of dues and interest at stated periods, competitive bidding for loans, repayment of loans in instalments, a system of fines for non-payment, and an equal division of profits. In England such societies existed as early as 1781 ("Johnson's Universal Cyclopædia"), and "building clubs" were known in Birmingham in 1795. The first association concerning which there is definite information is the Greenwich Union Building Association, established in 1809, and mentioned in "East's English Reports" (Pratt *vs.* Hutchinson, 15 East, p. 511). In Scotland, such associations were organized by the Earl of Selkirk in 1815. The first building association in the United States was The Oxford Provident Building Association of Philadelphia County, organized Jan. 3, 1831, at Frankfort, Pa., now within the corporate limits of Philadelphia. The constitution and by-laws provided for a payment of $5 for membership fee, and a monthly payment

of $3 per share. A loan of $500 per share was authorized to the stockholders offering in writing the highest premium. No member could hold more than five shares; and at the semiannual elections each member was entitled to one vote for each share of stock held. The association was to continue until every member had an opportunity of purchasing a dwelling-house, after which the assets were to be divided. A fine of twenty-five cents per share for failure to pay the monthly dues was provided, as well as a fine of twenty-five cents for appearing intoxicated at a meeting. The Oxford Provident matured in ten years, and a second association, bearing the same name, was organized Jan. 30, 1841; this matured in March, 1852, and was followed by a third association, likewise bearing the same name.

From Pennsylvania the cooperative movement spread with wonderful rapidity, until now there is scarcely a state in the Union in which building and loan associations are not operating. Associations were organized in other states as follows: Maryland, 1843; New Jersey, 1847; Illinois, 1849; New York, 1851; Massachusetts, 1852; Ohio, 1857; Georgia, 1866; Texas, 1867; Kansas, 1868; Minnesota and Arkansas, 1869; North Carolina and Iowa, 1870; Louisiana and Tennessee, 1873.

The fundamental principles underlying these associations may be stated as well given by Judge Seymour Dexter, in an address delivered before the United States League of Building and Loan Associations, at Put-in-Bay, 1902:

Fundamental Principles

First: The bed-rock foundation principle of the successful building and loan association movement in America is direct financial cooperation by men of comparatively limited financial resources in the matter of building and owning homes.

Second: The next important principle in the superstructure to be reared on this bed-rock foundation principle, is the payment by these men into a common fund, in regular periodic payments, the sum of which they have severally agreed to pay; to the end that the sum total of such periodic payments will amount to a sum sufficient to be used advantageously by some one contributing to the common fund, in building or buying a home, and for the use of which he pays interest into the common fund and gives a satisfactory security for the accumulated fund thus received, and in addition to the interest continues to pay his regular periodic payments, which are accumulating to pay back the sum he has received, and if continued long enough will equal and cancel such amount.

Third: That the necessary machinery may be set in motion to easily, economically, and safely put these principles into operation, the men proposing to contribute such regular periodic payments unite to form an association, under the laws of the state in which they reside, that they may have corporate powers, elect from their own number officers executive, as a president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer, and a board of directors, and of this board the executive officers are *ex-officio* members—these officers to be elected annually.

In the association the amount of each periodic payment which each is to make is represented by shares, and those contributing to the common treasury are known as shareholders.

Fourth: The fundamental principles of this association are:

The shareholders are localized; they reside chiefly in the village or city where the association is located.

All the meetings of its board of directors are open and may be attended by any shareholder.

Loans from the common fund are made only to its own shareholders, and if a person wishes to borrow who is not a shareholder, he must unite with the association and become a shareholder before he can become a borrower.

Every shareholder who can give satisfactory security is equally entitled to borrow the funds of the association.

The loaning of its funds is made at periodic times, fixt by the association, of which every shareholder has due notice, at an open meeting; and in the event two or more shareholders want to borrow the same money, the right of priority to a loan is settled by an open bidding for such right of priority, any sum bid above regular periodic interest inuring to the benefit of the common treasury, and through it to all shareholders alike.

A premium is not a fundamental principle in the building and loan association scheme, except to settle right of priority to a loan when two or more shareholders, having each satisfactory security to offer, want to borrow the same money at the same time.

A system of fines for default in payment of dues or interest at or before the periodic time fixt for such payment, such fine not being imposed for the purpose of revenue to the treasury, but as a penalty for tardiness, to stimulate shareholders to prompt payment and the formation of the habit of prompt payment of an obligation at or before the time it is due.

The Board of Directors, except the secretary and treasurer, rendering their services to the association without receiving pay for such services.

No agents paid a commission or other specific sum for securing new shareholders to join the association.

Mutuality in the mode of distributing profits, so that every dollar paid into the common treasury in the form of dues, interest, or other incidental income, shares equally.

That when a free shareholder withdraws his shares and receives his accumulations, he shall be obliged to leave a certain percentage of the profits credited to his shares, which reverts to the association, that percentage being large enough to insure against loss upon the loans in which his accumulations have been invested.

The building and loan association is practically a cooperative savings-bank. It differs from the ordinary savings-bank mainly in its methods of receiving deposits and lending money. Its chief advantage for the people over the ordinary savings institution is that its funds are used by the members themselves to advance their own interests, while the funds deposited by wage-earners in the old line savings-banks are largely borrowed by business men and corporations, and used to advance the interests of capital. Another point in favor of the building and loan association is in the fact that every member has a voice and vote in the management of it, and shares in the total profits. Every member is a stockholder, and therefore entitled to all the rights and subject also to all the liabilities of a stockholder.

Varieties

There are three forms of these associations: (1) The original, known as "terminating," now no longer in use; (2) the serial; and (3) the permanent. In the terminating association all members were supposed to commence their payments at the beginning of the association; but when stock was issued subsequently, the member was required to pay back dues equal to the payments made by members who started with the association, and usually in addition a bonus to make the new shares equal in value to those of his fellow members. There was no distribution of profits. The earnings were kept intact until the association was ready to close its business, when they were divided pro rata to all shareholders. All stock being of equal value, the life of the association was limited to the time required to mature the par value of the shares; when the non-borrower received the full value of his stock, the mortgage of the borrower was canceled, and the affairs of the association wound up.

The serial association was the first attempt to remedy the defects of the terminating society. Under this plan members join the association in series, which are issued at regular intervals of usually three or six months. Each series is practically a terminating association, except that the earnings, instead of being kept intact, are distributed at regular intervals before the opening of a new series, and the principles of copartnership applied in the distribution of profits. Each series of shares runs independently of the other and matures separately, the values of the shares in the same series being kept equal. New members are required to pay back dues only to the date of issue of the last series. This plan obviates the objection of a liquidation of the association every ten or twelve years. Each series is matured whenever the monthly or weekly dues, together with the distributed earnings, equal the face value of the shares. New series being regularly issued, the association itself becomes perpetual. When a person enters the membership of a serial association he pays a membership fee, and subscribes for one or more shares of stock on which he agrees to make a monthly or weekly payment of fifty cents or one dollar per share until maturity of the series or withdrawal before then. Should he fail to pay his monthly or weekly instalment or dues within the required time, he is called upon to pay a fine into the treasury of the association. Should he at any time transfer his shares of stock to another person, payment of a fee is required for making the transfer on the books of the association.

The permanent association differs from the serial association in that a person may become a member of it at any time without paying back dues. In a permanent association the profits are divided annually or semiannually among the members, and credited to their respective accounts. The shares of each member are dealt with separately in conducting the affairs of the association. A person may withdraw from

either a serial or a permanent association at any time with a share of the accumulated profits. In a serial association the percentage of profit that may be taken out by a withdrawing member is generally fixt by the rules of the association at a lower rate than is awarded the member who stays in the association until the series matures. This is done to insure the participation of the withdrawing member in any possible and unforeseen losses that may befall the association. In permanent associations the withdrawing member usually is entitled to receive the actual dividends declared to his shares, provision for the payment of any losses being made by setting aside a portion of the profits at each periodical distribution to a contingent fund from which all losses are paid. In some states both serial and permanent associations are required to set aside to such a fund a certain percentage of their profits before distribution, to insure the equal participation of all members in the losses of the association. Originally, in the permanent associations, all the stock issued was paid for in weekly or monthly instalments of dues. Later, what is now known as "paid-up stock" was also issued. The full face value of this stock is paid for at one time and the member receives thereon regular semiannual or annual dividends in cash. With these exceptions paid-up stock is practically the same as running stock, and shares the same rights and liabilities. It is not issued at all times, but only when the association can profitably loan the money; and it may be called in and paid off if the association has no use for the funds. The member has the right to withdraw it at any time, just as running stock. Paid-up stock is of great advantage to associations in that it furnishes and makes available for loaning purposes larger amounts of money than can be accumulated from instalment stock.

In a building and loan association a member subscribes for one or more shares of stock, on which he pays a certain weekly or monthly amount, denominated "dues," till the aggregate sum paid in, plus the dividends credited, amounts to the face value of the stock; when the member is entitled to receive from the association in cash the face value of the shares held. The difference between a stockholder in a building association and a stockholder in an ordinary corporation, is that in a corporation the stockholder usually pays the full value of the stock upon acquiring it; while in a building association the member, by small payments and dividend accretions, matures the face value of the shares. The funds of a building and loan association are made up of membership fees, dues payments, and moneys received from sale of stock, interest on loans, premiums for priority of loans, fines for non-payment of dues, and fees for transferring stock. The income of the association is augmented by low expenses, the officers (except the secretary, treasurer, and attorney) usually serving without pay.

General Methods and Characteristics

When a member desires to buy or build a home, he endeavors to borrow from the association as much as he may require for the purpose, by obtaining an advancement of the par value of his shares. He applies to the association when it has money to loan; and if he offers a higher premium for the use of the money than any other member, the loan is awarded him. On securing the right to the use of the money, he designates his proposed real estate security; and when the title has been approved by the association's attorney and the security found ample by the association's appraisers, being usually required to be one third more in value than the loan applied for, the money is advanced him, and he gives the association a mortgage on the property for the amount. He also assigns his stock to the association and agrees to keep up his required payments thereon. After securing the loan, the borrower also pays to the association, in addition to his regular dues, premium and interest on the loan. When the face value of the borrower's stock is equivalent to the amount of money loaned him, the association applies the stock to the payment of the mortgage, and the member has his canceled mortgage returned to him. The borrower is not, however, required to continue his loan until maturity. Should he desire to pay it off sooner, he can at any time have the value of his shares applied to the cancelation of the loan; and by paying in one sum the balance still due, he can have his mortgage canceled. In case of default in payments for a stipulated time, usually provided in the by-laws, the entire loan becomes due and payable, and the association then has the right to recover for balance due on the loan by foreclosure of the mortgaged premises.

The premium referred to is a payment over and above interest, intended as a bonus for the right of priority in securing a loan, the borrower agreeing to pay a stipulated sum as compensation for the present use of the money advanced him. The original form was known as the "gross premium plan," in which the premium bid was deducted from the loan, the borrower receiving the difference in cash, altho required to pay interest on the face value of the shares loaned until the full face value of the shares was matured. The "net plan," which was the next form, was a modification of the gross plan, the borrower being required to pay interest only on the net amount of money received as a loan, the premium being deducted in advance as under the gross plan. Under the "instalment plan," which became the most popular form, the borrower receives the full face value of his shares, and agrees to pay a certain number of equal monthly or weekly payments as premium, usually a certain number of cents per share, which payments are continued during the term of the loan. The premium is, however, coming in to disuse in the evolution of the building association scheme, mainly because interest rates have declined; and where interest rates are within the legal limit, loans are usually made at a straight interest rate without a premium, the right of precedence to a loan being determined by the board of directors, either according to the order in which the applications were filed, or according to the security offered.

Building and loan associations have long been recognized as exerting a most beneficial influence upon the community, so that the states, and even the national government, have accorded them exemptions from many forms of taxation. Thus, under the War Revenue Act, building associations which made loans only to their members were exempt from stamp taxes on all documents executed by them, except checks and drafts. In most states they are exempt from the usury laws. There are also exemptions from taxation on shares of stock, on mortgages, and on securities. These special favors and privileges are accorded these associations on the theory that they promote thrift, encourage home-owning, and thereby increase the amount of taxable property, so that the state can well afford to grant them these special rights.

The first reliable statistics concerning the building and loan associations of the United States are contained in the ninth annual report of the U. S. Commissioner of Labor, published in 1893. There were at that time 5,598 local and 240 national associations, a total of 5,838. The total assets of the locals were $473,157,454; of the nationals, $55,715,431; a total of $528,852,885. Of the 5,838 associations in the country, 5,796 reported the total shareholders and 4,269 reported

Statistics

the number of male and female shareholders. The total number of shareholders was 1,745,725, an average of 301.2 shareholders to each association. The number reported according to sex was 1,227,442, of whom 919,614 were males and 307,828 females; 5,776 associations reported 456,004 borrowers, an average of 78.9 borrowers to each association; 4,444 associations reported the number of homes acquired by their borrowing shareholders as being 314,775. In 4,422 associations reporting, 28,459 buildings other than homes have been secured. The total number of mortgages foreclosed was reported by 5,440 associations as 8,409, having a value of $12,217,126, the loss on such foreclosures being $449,599. The department also undertook to ascertain facts as to the kind of people who patronize building and loan associations, to learn if the original purpose of these associations, which is to enable persons of small means to secure homes for themselves and to save their earnings, had been preserved. It was impossible to learn the occupations of all the shareholders in all such associations; but it was learned that in 909 local associations, reporting 159,223 shareholders, 111,383, or 69.96 per cent, were practically working people. In 12 national associations, reporting 15,547 shareholders, 8,403, or 54.06 per cent, belonged to the working class. The department therefore concludes that "these figures show conclusively that the building and loan associations of the country are being used by the classes for which they were originally established."

In November, 1904, the Department of Commerce and Labor issued a bulletin (No. 55) on "Building and Loan Associations of the United States," in which is considered very fully the origin and growth of these associations, their fundamental principles, plans of issuing shares and making loans, treatment of distribution of profits, withdrawal plans, etc. The report says:

> Some estimate of the great financial importance of these institutions may be gained by an inspection of the following table, which shows the assets of building and loan associations for each year from 1893 to 1903, inclusive. The figures in this table have been compiled from the reports of the various states exercising supervision over these associations, and have been estimated from the remainder of the country. These assets consist chiefly of loans secured by real estate owned by members of the associations, altho a certain proportion consists of loans on other collateral, cash on hand, real estate, and property owned by the associations, etc.
>
> Reference to the total of this table shows that in the year 1893 the assets of these institutions had reached the enormous figure of $528,852,885. As was observed in the report which covered the year 1893—
>
> A business represented by this great sum, conducted quietly with little or no advertising, and without the experienced banker in charge, shows that the common people, in their own ways, are quite competent to take care of their savings, especially when it is known that but thirty-five of the associations now in existence (1893) showed a net loss at the end of their last fiscal year and that this loss amounted to only $23,332.20.
>
> In 1894 the assets had increased by 74 millions of dollars to a total of nearly 603 millions; in 1895 they had increased by 22 millions to nearly 625 millions; in 1896 an increase of 27 millions brought the total up to nearly 652 millions; while in 1897 the year in which the greatest assets are shown, an increase of 13 millions of dollars brought the total up to nearly 665 millions. During the following four years, 1898 to 1901, the assets of these institutions had decreased by 59 millions of dollars, a relatively small amount, bringing the total down to approximately 606 millions, but in 1902 an increase of nearly 4 millions is shown—the assets for this year being $609,599,096, or over 80 millions more than the assets shown for 1893, the first year of the decade, by the report of the Department of Labor. In 1903 there was a considerable decrease in the total assets, due to the failure of a large company in New York and to the fact that several large building and loan associations in Ohio were organized into trust companies.
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> Considering the figures shown for 1903 for the various States, it is seen that Pennsylvania ranks first with 1,196 associations, having assets of nearly 118 millions of dollars.

ASSETS OF BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS, 1893 TO 1903

STATE	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903
California	$18,093,591	$20,820,082	$21,500,520	$21,470,310	$21,791,929	$20,771,227	$20,285,454	$18,935,884	$17,881,576	$18,199,867	$19,863,852
Connecticut	477,345	790,605	1,931,663	2,707,926	3,243,935	3,627,828	3,774,526	4,157,804	4,245,648	4,145,197	3,851,539
Illinois	75,771,559	81,796,350	82,639,258	80,105,574	73,399,193	63,451,758	54,104,602	47,896,148	43,684,299	40,303,852	39,432,282
Indiana	26,623,795	30,090,920	34,347,023	38,095,148	37,024,488	34,888,815	31,435,288	29,037,826	29,292,668	30,018,407	30,035,098
Iowa	7,365,002	9,500,000	11,000,000	11,877,312	11,506,982	11,539,393	10,189,034	8,208,405	6,910,866	5,656,469	*5,056,469
Maine	1,375,227	2,193,956	2,469,884	2,691,446	2,912,904	3,009,999	2,975,716	2,862,179	2,805,381	2,854,627	2,932,206
Massachusetts	13,653,330	18,384,671	20,552,067	22,906,692	24,597,843	25,793,354	26,744,647	27,721,748	28,074,208	30,391,666	32,919,739
Michigan	7,399,865	9,500,000	10,000,000	11,584,316	11,192,783	10,840,610	10,118,471	10,118,876	9,386,764	9,906,074	10,746,299
Minnesota	15,739,680	15,837,910	14,891,796	11,747,055	10,363,952	6,300,532	5,616,152	4,469,004	2,063,839	2,409,275	1,548,983
Missouri	35,841,560	33,404,596	28,000,000	26,352,955	22,497,709	18,255,186	13,835,817	11,448,395	9,394,373	8,228,266	7,771,791
Nebraska	3,073,563	3,888,001	3,934,778	3,771,834	3,554,788	3,428,728	3,333,782	3,697,356	4,334,745	4,738,294	5,343,429
New Hampshire	1,447,489	1,445,411	1,066,921	1,853,070	1,903,038	1,939,788	1,955,567	1,857,560	1,874,219	1,805,117	1,753,556
New Jersey	31,714,681	39,341,081	38,882,110	43,379,195	46,014,092	48,789,328	46,100,000	51,125,050	52,891,594	52,870,672	54,767,687
New York	33,008,552	45,023,735	50,168,683	54,490,218	61,584,719	64,746,636	66,034,789	59,653,737	56,726,941	53,952,387	43,699,666
North Dakota	257,833	218,386	297,379	313,150	379,320	392,992	304,130	393,263	438,684	463,544	570,941
Ohio	67,626,374	86,047,104	92,121,651	96,906,524	99,770,161	101,089,277	102,499,700	105,502,112	105,374,307	110,951,257	101,221,442
Pennsylvania	81,870,964	90,700,000	99,519,918	107,008,101	111,714,871	112,665,767	112,120,437	110,493,510	110,817,281	113,886,020	117,861,779
Tennessee	12,897,365	13,150,000	13,425,765	14,880,752	7,464,891	6,406,925	5,241,551	3,778,571	3,419,319	3,186,577	3,066,696
Wisconsin	3,197,142	3,350,000	3,495,076	3,500,000	3,568,440	3,382,923	3,490,470	3,580,125	3,402,630	3,595,934	3,819,709
Other States	91,417,968	96,871,020	93,804,626	95,903,063	109,247,483	107,912,314	108,119,304	108,581,076	111,347,509	112,015,594	112,687,688
Total	$528,852,885	$602,553,834	$624,700,318	$651,544,641	$664,993,531	$649,423,380	$628,239,337	$614,119,175	$605,966,842	$609,599,096	$599,550,855

* Figures for 1903 not being available, those for 1902 are used as being approximately correct.

The following table has been compiled from the annual reports of the various state departments having supervision of building and loan associations, and gives their present status. The figures for "Other States" are estimated:

State	1904			1905		
	No. of Assns.	Membership	Assets	No. of Assns.	Membership	Assets
California	141	59,848	$21,306,042	142	55,055	$22,586,871
Connecticut	16	4,033	3,712,383	13	3,016	1,446,535
Illinois	502	80,375	40,975,601	505	83,425	42,897,266
Indiana	377	110,496	29,988,987	357	106,779	31,073,129
Iowa	60	16,500	4,700,000	60	16,550	4,746,627
Kansas	43	22,585	5,803,300	47	25,547	6,475,166
Louisiana	45	20,830	7,423,968	46	22,030	8,126,254
Maine	35	8,539	3,097,237	35	8,694	3,192,473
Massachusetts	129	88,692	35,614,047	130	95,287	38,725,081
Michigan	53	31,096	11,410,575	53	32,016	12,121,325
Minnesota	21	5,044	2,364,604	21	5,044	* 2,364,604
Missouri	127	18,464	7,782,018	125	17,700	7,580,608
Nebraska	60	23,499	6,217,350	60	28,999	7,269,297
New Hampshire	15	5,160	1,728,275	16	5,280	1,799,363
New Jersey	373	127,989	56,892,122	386	128,984	59,369,216
New York	290	105,492	41,883,842	272	108,519	42,527,841
North Dakota	5	1,070	696,337	7	1,450	801,052
Ohio	699	320,215	102,578,670	674	299,904	109,741,189
Pennsylvania	1,223	319,459	123,448,958	1,257	329,852	128,053,425
Tennessee	17	4,590	2,978,213	18	4,423	2,796,342
Wisconsin	55	10,861	4,021,485	54	11,800	4,191,603
Other States	1,045	295,085	104,171,400	1,048	296,257	108,879,780
Total	5,331	1,679,922	618,795,414	5,326	1,686,611	$646,765,047

* Figures for 1905 not being available, those for 1904 are used as being approximately correct.

The principal periodical in the United States devoted exclusively to building and loan association interests is *The American Building Association News*, published monthly in Chicago and Cincinnati. This is the official organ of the United States League of Local Building and Loan Associations, and of a large number of the state leagues. Its files are a valuable source of information regarding building associations.

The United States League of Local Building and Loan Associations, composed of representatives of the several state leagues of building associations, was organized in Chicago, Ill., April 15, 1892, and meets annually in different parts of the United States. Judge Seymour Dexter, of Elmira, N. Y., was its founder and first president. It has for its motto: "The American Home: the Safeguard of American Liberties." Its proceedings are printed yearly, and form a valuable contribution to the literature on the subject.

Building associations exist also in Europe in considerable numbers, tho not to such an extent as in the United States. For information in regard to them, see Cooperative Banks.

H. F. Cellarius.

References: Among publications treating of building and loan associations, those deserving special mention are: *Treatise on Cooperative Savings and Loan Associations*, by Seymour Dexter, New York, 1889; *A Treatise on Building Associations*, by Charles N. Thompson, Chicago, 1892; *How to Manage Building Associations*, by Edmund Wrigley, Philadelphia, 1880; *The Working Man's Way to Wealth*, ib.; *Building and Loan Associations* in *Bulletin* (No. 55) *of the Bureau of Labor* (Department of Commerce and Labor), Nov., 1904; *Proceedings of the United States League of Local Building and Loan Associations* (published annually since 1893).

BUILDING TRADES, UNIONS IN THE: These are among the larger and more important labor-unions, which in recent years have had especial attention drawn to them, because of a considerable number of large and unusually complicated lockouts, strikes, prosecutions of walking delegates, and other labor difficulties that have developed in various cities, and especially in Chicago and New York.

There seem to be two reasons why the building trades have had more labor difficulties than in most lines of industry. The first is the large number of distinct trades and crafts, often engaged at the same time on the same building, each with its separate local and national organization, any one of which is able, by calling out its men, to embarrass the contractor and seriously delay if not render impossible the work of the other crafts engaged upon the building. The second reason is that since in the United States, unlike methods in England and Europe, the various processes of building are usually sublet to subcontractors by the general contractor who does perhaps the masonry, the subcontractor, doing often only a few days' work on a building, can if he will violate a trade agreement with a union and yet finish his job before the union can hold a meeting and call a strike, with the result that the various building trade-unions have been compelled to lodge more authority with their agents as to strikes than is the case in most trades. The result of these two facts, the number of distinct trades involved in one place at one time, and each with a walking delegate entrusted with unusual power, has developed situations of extreme complexity and confusion, alike to employers and employees. This situation has led to more factional and jurisdictional fights between crafts, and even between rival organizations in the same craft, than in most trades. Sometimes contractors have had to endure vexatious delays while rival unions have fought as to which should do a certain job. The United Board of Building Trades in New York has had generally some 70 local unions represented in it. The Building Trades Council of Chicago represents 32 trades with some

30,000 members, while the distinct Building Material Trades Council of Chicago has some 43 unions with 33,000 members. These boards and councils, composed of the walking delegates of these unions, meeting originally simply to consult unofficially and to aid one another in getting the best conditions for their unions from various contractors, have almost invariably developed great power. The building trades represent to a large extent skilled laborers quickened and not seldom demoralized by city commercial life. A contractor wanting a large number of skilled men, but perhaps only for a few days, must get his men through collective bargaining. He cannot take time generally to engage a man here and a man there. Hence the power of the walking delegate, who has his men in hand, a power probably generally used by the walking delegate for the good of the men—hence largely high wages in the building trades—but also a power admitting of great evils. Walking delegates have learned to sell their power usually for the benefit of their unions but sometimes for their own pockets. Contractors have been willing to pay large sums —many believe that the first offers came from contractors—to call off strikes. Contractors have even been willing to pay to have strikes called upon rival contractors or to have paid emissaries in the ranks of the walking delegates. (See Walking Delegates.) "Graft" has undoubtedly largely been used both by walking delegates and contractors.

The first Board of Delegates in the building trades in New York dates from 1884, but had little power. By 1890, however, it had become strong, till in 1894 it divided into two hostile boards which in 1902 merged in the United Board of Building Trades of New York, and it was hoped both by employers and employees that this would end the confusion of the building situation. Corruption, however, soon developed. One firm was said to have paid $2,000 to have a strike called off.

Sam Parks (see Walking Delegates), business agent of the structural iron workers, developed his phenomenal power and began his corrupt career. The George A. Fuller Company was accused of having brought him from Chicago and of backing him financially to secure immunity for their enterprises, which, honestly or dishonestly, they certainly had. Charges and counter charges were made.

The year 1903 saw protracted and almost continual strikes in the building trades. Finally, through the efforts of the New York Civic Federation, a Board of Governors of the employers and representatives of eighteen unions held a conference and a General Arbitration Board was organized composed of two arbitrators elected by each employers' association and two elected by each union. Only members of unions party to the agreement are to be employed, and the employees are to enforce this clause on all contractors. Employers cannot order a lockout nor the unions a strike before the matter in dispute is brought before the General Arbitration Board and settled.

In Chicago there were conditions at least as complicated, a strike much more violent, a connection with disreputable politics, and corruption probably much more open and general, ending in a victory for the employees, tho the better elements in the unions have combined with the contractors to form a new Chicago Building Trades League, largely on the same lines as the New York agreement.

For main unions in the building trades, see under their respective names.

J. R. Commons.

Reference: *Trade Unionism and Labor Problems*, ed. by John R. Commons (1905), chapters iii. and iv.

BUONARROTI, PHILIPPO: Communist; born in Pisa in 1761. On account of his revolutionary ideas he was early compelled to flee to Corsica, and published there his "Friend of Italian Liberty." In 1792 he came to Paris, and was naturalized. For complicity with the conspiracy of Babeuf he was condemned to deportation. After much suffering he escaped to Geneva, and later to Brussels, where he wrote his "History of Babeuf's Conspiracy" (1828). In 1830 he returned to France, and secretly worked for communism, exerting much influence upon Blanqui and other leaders. He died in 1837.

BUREAU OF ECONOMIC RESEARCH: Established in New York, 1899, by Geo. H. Shibley; removed in 1900 to Washington, D. C. It has conducted investigations into railroad consolidations in Massachusetts and into trusts, wholesale prices, freight rates, and certain gas plants. Since 1901 Mr. Shibley has devoted the efforts of the Bureau mainly to direct legislation, having established also a People's Sovereignty League, of which he is president. *Address*: 11 Bliss Building, Washington, D. C.

BURGESS, JOSEPH: English Labor leader; born at Failsworth, Lancashire, England, 1853. At the age of eight he worked part time in a cotton mill; at eleven, he worked full time. In 1884 he became a journalist in the interests of labor, editing *The Oldham Operative*. From 1885 to 1889 he was on the editorial staff of *The Cotton Factory Times*, from 1899 to 1891 he was manager of *The Yorkshire Factory Times*, and from 1891 to 1894 editor of *The Workman's Times*, London. In 1892 he published proposals for the founding of an independent labor party. This party was founded in 1893, and Mr. Burgess was elected a member of the first national administrative council. He was the party's candidate for Parliament at a by-election in Leicester, 1894, and at the general election in 1895, and has served as organizer for the Independent Labor Party both at Leeds and in Glasgow. Elected in 1902 to Glasgow Town Council, he contested, in 1906, the Camlachie Division of Glasgow. Mr. Burgess has fought all his elections as a Socialist, against Liberal and Tory candidates. He is the author of several stories evidencing his interest in labor. *Address*: Factory Times Office, Huddersfield, England.

BURIAL SOCIETIES: Friendly societies found mainly in England, constituted in the usual manner, but with the express object of supplying a fund for paying the funeral expenses of the members on their death. (See Friendly Societies.) It became customary to enter the names not only of adults, but of children, in such societies. The proceedings of the criminal courts have shown that, in some instances, children on whose lives such an insurance was effected have been killed or allowed to die of neglect, and the alarm created by such instances was enhanced by the discovery

that children were frequently insured in more than one society. Legislation in England was enacted to remedy this. In the United States burial societies have had little development, their place having been filled by provisions embodied in the various friendly societies, secret orders, or trade organizations.

BÜRKLI, KARL: Swiss Socialist, born in Zurich, 1823. He became a tanner, and was converted to socialism (1845) by the writings of Fourier. Bürkli founded the first *Konsumverein* in German Switzerland, and in 1851 was elected to the Cantonal Council because of his socialist program, and advocacy, for the first time in Switzerland, of direct legislation. Since then he has played an important part in Swiss politics as a firm Socialist. In his seventieth year he opened the Zurich International Congress. He has been a voluminous writer from 1851–91.

BURNS, JOHN: Political labor leader, born at Battersea, London, 1858; son of an engineer. He began to earn his own living at the age of ten, working in a candle factory, his first wages being three shillings a week. Later he was apprenticed to a local engineering firm. Burns early became an enthusiastic trade-unionist, and in 1877 was arrested for persistently speaking on Clapham Common. On being released (in 1879) he joined the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, and prominently advocated shorter hours. In 1880–1881 he was engaged as an engineer in West Africa. In 1883 he became a Socialist, and joined the Social Democratic Federation, becoming its leading working-class member, but also an omnivorous reader and student. In 1885 he stood as Socialist candidate for Nottingham, and received 598 votes. For two years he led the "unemployed" agitation in London. In 1886 he was arrested with Hyndman and others for speaking in Hyde Park, and on acquittal his speech ("The Man with the Red Flag") was printed and widely sold. On Nov. 13, 1887 ("Bloody Sunday"), he was imprisoned six weeks for breaking through the police lines, and speaking in Trafalgar Square. In 1889 he was elected to the London County Council from Battersea. The same year he showed marvelous skill in managing the Dock Strike, and in organizing the unorganized; and he became the foremost leader of the "new unionism." Coming to believe in the "progressivist" policy of advancing socialism through any party, he left the Social Democratic Federation, and has been criticized by its leaders ever since, at times even being considered by them a traitor to their cause. At the general election in 1892 he was easily elected M. P. for Battersea, and in 1893, receiving the highest number of votes at the Trade Union Congress, became chairman of the Parliamentary Committee.

On the London County Council Burns's work has been continuously good and increasingly onerous, and he has had a large share in its onward march. The attitude of its Works Committee, with fair wages, hours, and conditions of labor, and its system of direct employment without contractors, is largely due to him. In Parliament his work has been none the less solid: witness the adoption of the eight-hour day in government workshops, and his interest in all reforms. Burns has been steadily reelected from Battersea, including the election of 1906. He is an independent trade-unionist and Socialist, and altho increasingly denounced by the extremists in the labor movement, who do not believe in his opportunist methods, he has gained the admiration and confidence of all parties wherever he has served: on boards of arbitration between employers and employees, in Parliament, and in positions of trust. He is a total abstainer and strenuous for justice to all. In December, 1905, he was asked by the Liberal prime minister, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, to enter the Cabinet as president of the Local Government Board, the first English workingman to be a Cabinet officer. He has a salary of £2,000, and has charge, among other things, of the great movement and fund authorized by Parliament for the unemployed. *Address:* 37 Lavender Gardens, Battersea, London, S. W., England.

BURROWS, HERBERT: English Socialist, born in Suffolk, England, 1845. The son of a Methodist local preacher, he studied at a private school and entered the civil service. He was one of the original founders of the Social Democratic Federation, of which he is still a member, and to the cause of which he has devoted himself so energetically as on occasions to deliver seven addresses a day. He was one of the organizers of the dock laborers, and has represented the federation in several Socialist congresses. In 1895 he was treasurer for the Match Girls' Union, and a very active friend of its cause. He is interested in theosophy, as well as socialism, and secretary of the Match Makers' Union. *Address:* 99, Sotheby Road, Highbury, London, N., England.

BURT, THOMAS: Member of Parliament; born in Northumberland, 1837; the son of a miner. Following his father's profession, he became secretary of the Northumberland Miners' Union in 1865. In 1874 he was elected to Parliament from Morpeth, with Alexander Macdonald, the first "labor member" to sit in Parliament. He has represented Morpeth ever since. Burt is president of the Miners' National Union (since 1882); was British representative at the Labor Conference in Berlin, 1890; president at the Trades Union Congress in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1891; and has been active on various commissions, etc. In politics he is a Liberal. *Address:* 20, Burdon Terrace, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England.

BUTLER, BENJAMIN F.: American lawyer; politician; born at Deerfield, N. H., 1818; was graduated at Waterville College, Maine; studied law at Lowell, Mass., and was admitted to the bar in 1841. He soon became distinguished as a criminal lawyer and Democratic politician. In 1853 he was elected to the Legislature, and in 1859 to the State Senate. A brigadier-general of militia, at the outbreak of the Civil War he marched at once to the South with the Eighth Massachusetts Brigade. In February, 1862, he commanded the military forces sent from Boston to the mouth of the Mississippi, and for seven months held military command of New Orleans. His administration here has been violently denounced, and brought down upon him the intense hatred of the Southern people, because, altho he maintained order and enforced sanitary regulations, he compelled the rich secessionists to relieve the wants of those whom their rebellion had impoverished. Relieved of his command he was moved to Virginia and North Carolina, and cooperated with General Grant in his movement upon

Petersburg. In 1866 he was chosen member of Congress from Boston, and two years later was one of the managers in the impeachment of President Johnson. Butler had been a Republican; but as soon as the Greenback and Labor movement began he fell in with it, and in 1878 he was the candidate of this movement for governor of Massachusetts. He received 109,435 votes as against 134,725 for the Republican candidate. In 1879 he was again defeated; but in 1882 was successful as the Democratic nominee. Two years afterward he was the presidential candidate of the Greenback-Labor and Antimonopoly parties, receiving about 133,000 popular and no electoral votes.

Altho very wealthy, General Butler kept near to the heart of the "common people," and few men of his time had as large a following among the working men, especially in Massachusetts. He died in 1893.

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CABET, ÉTIENNE: French communist; born at Dijon, France, 1788. The son of poor parents, he received little education, but worked his way up till he became a teacher in the *Lycée*. Later he studied both law and medicine. In 1815 he became founder and director of the "Fédération Bourguignonne" for the defense of the national territory, and became connected with the Carbonari, his father before him having been a fiery patriot. About 1820 he went to Paris, and the Revolution of 1830 found him in the first line of its adherents. Up to 1839 he followed the varying fortunes of a Parisian extreme republican, writing various histories of the French revolutions and defending the most extreme acts of the "Mountain." Being tried for this and condemned, he fled to England. Here he read Moore's "Utopia," and devoted henceforth his life to the cause of communism. In 1840 he published his "Voyage en Icarie," an attractive communistic romance. In this he proposed, first, a transitional period of fifty years, and then a complete communism. In the transitional period taxation was to be more and more levied upon the wealthy. Wages favorable to the poor were to be fixt by law. Five hundred million francs were to be spent in providing work and dwellings for the poor. The army was to be disbanded as rapidly as possible, and employed on public works. Under Cabet's full communism all over 65 were to be retired on an allowance. All others able to work were to be set to compulsory work—men from 18 to 65, women from 17 to 50. Everything was to be done to make the work attractive. The family was to be maintained intact, save that at the age of five years children were to be educated in communism by the State. There was to be one official journal; none others were to be allowed. The city of Icaria is described with minute detail.

Great interest was created by the thoughts voiced in Cabet's work, and it was decided to establish an Icaria in America. Cabet bought 1,000,000 acres of land in Texas, and sent, in 1848, sixty-nine trusted followers to prepare the way. Arriving in New Orleans in March, they heard of the revolution in Paris, and debated whether or not to return. They decided to go on; but their ranks were soon decimated by fever, and they returned to New Orleans, where they met Cabet. There was a stormy interview and Cabet was much denounced; but in March, 1849, Cabet, with 280 followers, went to Nauvoo, Ill., where they hoped for a better climate than in Texas. Meanwhile, Cabet had been condemned in Paris to imprisonment on a trumped-up charge of fraud. He returned to Paris, and had the sentence reversed. Returning to Nauvoo, he found the community prospering, having, in 1855, 500 members. There was, however, continual dissension, and Cabet, with 200 followers, left for St. Louis, where he died (1856). The colony, however, survived, and only finally disbanded in the year 1895. (See Icaria.) Cabet, it should be added, gave a somewhat religious cast to his thought, writing a book, "Le Vrai Christianisme suivant Jésus Christ," and indeed several other books arguing that Christianity is communism.

References: *Icaria*, by Albert Shaw; *French and German Socialism*, by R. T. Ely, and other histories of socialism. (See Communism.)

CADBURY, GEORGE: English manufacturer and philanthropist; born at Edgbaston, Birmingham, 1839; educated under the auspices of the Society of Friends, to which his family belonged. One of the most successful and prosperous cocoa manufacturers in the kingdom, his relations with his employees would seem to be almost ideal. He is chairman of the firm of Cadbury Brothers, Limited, and also of the *Daily News* Publishing Co. His great title to fame rests upon his splendid achievement in the founding of Bourneville, which is known all over the world as "the model village." *Address*: Manor House, Northfield, Worcester, England. (See Bourneville.)

CAIRNES, JOHN ELLIOT: Political economist; born at Castle Bellingham, County Louth, Ireland, 1823; graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, and called to the bar in 1857, but never seems to have practised. In 1856 he competed successfully for the Whately professorship of political economy in Dublin, and held it for five years, the full period during which it was tenable. During this period he published several essays and lectures, especially one on "The Slave Power," defending the cause of the North in the American Civil War, and winning by it a high reputation for economic thought and analysis. In 1865, he was appointed professor of political economy at University College, London; and when, in 1872, ill health compelled him to resign, he was made professor emeritus. Of the Ricardo-Mill school, Cairnes ranks perhaps second to Mill himself. He maintained sharply that political economy has to do only with what is, not with what ought to be; and his whole treatment was conservative and of the old, orthodox, and *a priori* school, having little to do with the induction of the historical school. While of the school of Mill, he criticized him very sharply on many points, so that the "Dictionary of Political Economy" declares the effect of Cairnes's last and greatest book to have been mainly destructive in shaking faith in the

finality of Mill's conclusions. Cairnes's literary skill and his logical ingenuity are perhaps his most marked characteristics. He was the author of: "Political Essays"; "Leading Principles of Political Economy Newly Expounded"; and "The Slave Power." He died in 1875.

CALVIN, JOHN: French Protestant theologian; born at Noyon, Picardy, France, 1509. His influence on social reform, whether for good or for ill, was far from slight. Prof. John Fiske says of him ("The Beginnings of New England," p. 58): "It is not easy to speak of Calvin with enthusiasm, as it comes natural to speak of the genial, whole-souled, many-sided mirth- and song-loving Luther. Nevertheless, it would be hard to overestimate the debt which mankind owes to Calvin. The spiritual father of Coligny, of William the Silent, and of Cromwell must occupy a foremost rank among the champions of modern democracy. Perhaps not one of the medieval popes was more despotic in temper than Calvin; but it is not the less true that the promulgation of his theology was one of the longest steps that mankind has taken toward personal freedom. Calvinism left the individual man alone in the presence of his God. . . . In the presence of the awful responsibility of life all distinctions of rank and fortune vanished; prince and pauper were alike the helpless creatures of Jehovah, and suppliants for His grace."

It is easy to see from this in what direction Calvin's contribution to human thought and life must lie. By crushing the individual under the sovereign decrees of God, he frees him from all lesser bondage. Calvin's sociology becomes intensely individualistic. He defends private property as morally necessary, as tests of justice and integrity. The communism of the New Testament he tries to prove was not communism. He is the first theologian to defend interest. The State and the Church he regarded as wholly independent, yet alike in Church and State the one supreme ruler is God. Luxury he condemned as sin. He considered it the duty of the Church to provide for the poor, and to this end he revived the temporal duty of the diaconate. He died in 1564.

CAMPANELLA, TOMMASO: Italian monk; born 1568; entered the Dominican Order when quite a boy, but devoted much of his time to the study of philosophy. In 1599 there arose a conspiracy in Calabria against the Spanish rule. Campanella, as an Italian patriot, was charged with conspiracy and heresy, and imprisoned in a dungeon in Naples for nearly twenty-seven years, being repeatedly tortured to make him confess his heresy, but with no avail. During his confinement he wrote several works, one of which was his "Civitas Solis" (published 1623). When released he retired to Rome, and afterward to Paris, where, enjoying the friendship of Richelieu and a pension from the king, he ended his days in peace. The "City of the Sun" is a dialogue between a Knight Templar and a sea captain. The captain tells of a wonderful city he had visited, and describes minutely all that he saw, especially the methods of education and the laws by which the city is governed. It much resembles Plato's "Republic." Work is common to all, but the hours are to be only four, and slavery is repudiated. There is to be community of wives and of goods. Money is not received, even from foreigners. A translation of the "City of the Sun" may be found in Morley's Universal Library. Campanella died in 1639.

CAMPBELL, HELEN STUART: American author; born at Lockport, N. Y., 1839; educated in public schools. Her interest in social problems was first aroused in 1877. She became convinced that the improper preparation of the food of the poor was at least partly responsible for the craving for intoxicating drinks, and in 1878 she went South, organizing the first cooking-schools there, and publishing a book on housekeeping and cookery. Through the reading of her book, "Miss Herndon's Income," published in 1885, the editor of the *New York Tribune* was moved to engage Mrs. Campbell to make a thorough investigation into the conditions of the working women and children of New York City. After a year's work the result was published in "Prisoners of Poverty." She then went abroad to investigate the same conditions in London, Paris, and several Italian cities, resulting in her "Prisoners of Poverty Abroad." Later she received the prize offered by the American Economic Association for the best treatise on "Women Wage Earners." She was one of the organizers and first officers of the Consumers' League of New York, and was associated also with the first clubs established for working girls. Mrs. Campbell is interested in all social questions: the child-labor problem, arts and crafts movements, etc. In addition to the works already mentioned, she is the author of "Household Economics" and many other books. *Address:* 170 West Seventy-sixth Street, New York City.

CANADA: The largest of the British possessions, having an area of 3,653,946 square miles. It includes the provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba and the Northwest, British Columbia, and Prince Edward Island. Newfoundland is not in the Dominion and to Newfoundland belongs a part of Labrador. The population of the Dominion in 1901 was 5,371,315. Of these, 1,649,371, mainly in Quebec, speak French; 108,112 are Indians. Ontario has a population of 2,182,947 (capital, Toronto, 262,149). Quebec 1,648,898 (capital, Quebec, 68,840. Montreal 267,730), Nova Scotia 459,574 (capital Halifax, 40,832). New Brunswick, 331,120 (capital, Fredericton, 7,000. St. John 40,711). Manitoba, 360,590. British Columbia, 250,000. Prince Edward Island, 103,259; Alberta has 183,000; Saskatchewan, 300,000; Keewatin, 9,800; Yukon, 27,219; Mackenzie, 5,216; Ungava, 5,113. Vital statistics are not collected.

Statistics

A so-called "American invasion of Canada" began in 1898–99. In 1902, out of 67,379 immigrants into Canada 26,388 came from the United States. In 1903 there were 49,473 out of 128,364; in 1904 it was 45,229 out of 130,331, and in 1905 it was 43,652 out of 146,246. It is estimated that they brought with them five to ten million dollars. One hundred and twenty-two U. S. factories have branches in Canada.

Education is advanced. There were in 1905 20,225 schools, 1,114,878 pupils, and expenditures of $12,407,876. There are 18 degree-granting bodies, with 30 colleges. All schools are under government and almost wholly supported

by government grants and local taxation. Education is compulsory, but the law is not very thoroughly enforced. In Ontario, Quebec, and the Northwest territories there are separate schools for Roman Catholics.

There are 1,249 papers (117 dailies).

The most important industries of Canada are agriculture, forestry, fisheries, mining. Out of 63,422,338 acres of occupied land, 30,166,033 are improved. Wheat and oats are the main crops. The forest area is estimated at 1,248,798 square miles. The total value of the fisheries (1904) was $23,500,000. The total value of mineral produce (1905) was $68,574,707; gold, $14,486,833; coal, $17,658,615.

In 1901 the income from manufactures was $569,817,720, or $106.08 per head. Manufactures are carried on extensively and increasingly, employing over 400,000 persons.

Income (1906), $80,139,360. Expenditures, $67,240,641. Public debt, $377,678,580. Canada has a protective tariff with a preferential, adopted 1897, in favor of the United Kingdom and colonies, and more than half her revenue is derived from duties.

Exports (1906), $256,586,630. Imports, $294,267,616. The leading exports and their values in millions of dollars were (1906): wood and manufactures, 34; cheese, 24; gold-bearing quartz, 12; wheat, 33; bacon, 11; cattle, 11; wheat flour, 6. The leading imports were iron, steel, and manufactures of, 41; coal and coke, 21; wool, manufactures of, 15; cotton, manufactures of, 8; sugar, molasses, 9. The imports (1905) from the U. S. were, in millions of dollars, 166: from Great Britain, 73; Germany, 6; France, 7. The exports to Great Britain were 113; the U. S., 77.

Of the railways "Hazell's Annual" (1907) says: "There were in 1905 65 railway lines working in the Dominion of Canada, with a total mileage of 20,601. The government own about 1,519 miles of railway, and a magnificent system of canals. In 1905 there were 767 miles of electric railways. The principal railway systems are those of the Canadian Pacific, with 8,298 miles; Grand Trunk of Canada, 3,570 miles; Intercolonial, 1,449 miles; Canadian Northern, 1,880 miles. The Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, which was approved by Parliament in 1904, and is being built with government aid, will extend across the Dominion from Moncton, New Brunswick, on the east coast, to a terminus on Kaien Island, at the mouth of the Skeena River, on the Pacific coast. Its total length will be 3,500 miles. The contract between the government and the Grand Trunk Pacific Company is that the company shall construct in eight years the western division of the line, from Winnipeg to the Pacific, the government guaranteeing the principal and interest of three fourths of the bond issue necessary for construction, and paying a cash subsidy for the mountain section, which will eventually amount to between £1,600,000 and £2,000,000. The company guarantees the remaining one fourth of the bond issue, and becomes proprietor of this section. As to the eastern division, from Winnipeg to Moncton, the government will construct it and when complete it is to be leased to the company (who are to have free use of the line for the first seven years) for fifty years, when it reverts to the government, tho the company are then to retain the terminals and such branch lines as they may select. The company will work both sections when they are completed."

In 1905 the receipts of the Canadian railways were $106,467,199, and their working expenses $79,977,574. Their paid-up capital was $1,248,666,414. They carried 25,288,723 passengers and 50,893,957 tons of freight.

Telegraph lines (1905), 37,808, of which 6,590 were government lines. Post-offices, 10,879.

Canada has a network of canals and river and lake navigation making 2,700 miles. In 1905 30,811 vessels passed through the Canadian canals carrying 233,545 passengers and 9,371,744 tons of freight.

Constitution and Government

The crown is represented by a governor-general with a privy council chosen by himself. Each province has a lieutenant-governor appointed by the governor-general in council and a separate Parliament. The Federal Parliament has a Senate nominated for life (from Ontario 24 members, Quebec 24, Nova Scotia 10, New Brunswick, 10, Manitoba 4, British Columbia 3, Prince Edward Island 4, Alberta 4, Saskatchewan 4), and a House of Commons, elected every five years on a low suffrage (from Ontario 86, Quebec 65, Nova Scotia 18, New Brunswick 13, British Columbia 7, Prince Edward Island 4, Manitoba 10, Saskatchewan 5, Alberta 5, Yukon 1). Bills passed by Parliament must receive the assent of the governor-general, and may be disallowed by the king within two years. The governor-general is Earl Grey; premier, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. From 1867 to 1896 the Conservatives were in power except for five years. In 1896, largely on the Manitoba schools question, the Liberals, under the lead of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, won 118 seats to the Conservatives' 86, and the Independents' 8. This lead was increased in 1900. In 1904 Sir Laurier's government won a majority of 52 in a house of 214. The chief issue was the railroad question, the Conservatives favoring steps toward state ownership.

The Canadian militia is under the command of a major-general of the British army. Its peace training strength is 46,000. There is no active marine militia.

Postal savings-banks, under charge of the government, were established in 1868. In 1905 they had 165,518 depositors and $45,368,320 on deposit. The growth of the general banking business shows the prosperity of the Dominion.

	1868	1898	1905
Discounts.....	$52,209,050	$223,806,320	$603,685,367
Deposits.....	33,653,594	236,161,062	567,846,789

Social Reform

Social reform in Canada is not largely advanced, perhaps because the need has not seemed pressing. Land has been easy to get and employment has been good. The wages are not high. Free grants of 160 acres in Manitoba are readily secured.

Nor have such reform movements as have developed had marked characteristics. For the most part they have been connected with the

reform movements of the U. S. Most American trade-unions have branches in Canada as in the U. S., and the statistics of the American Federation of Labor include many Canadian unions. Nevertheless an Annual Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has held twenty-two meetings, and the organization of labor has recently made considerable progress. The recent English labor political successes have had influence in Canada.

As the result of a general Trades Congress held in Victoria, B.C., 1906, an Independent Labor Party has been formed. It is to work after the model of the English party. Although socialistic, it is not called upon to accept the Socialist program at the present juncture. The Socialist delegates mainly voted with the majority on this matter. There is, however, a small Socialist party with some successes in British Columbia. The Socialist vote in 1903 was 8,025. Canada, however, is in the main individualistic. Municipalism and cooperation are little developed, tho the Dominion Government has made some experiments in the direction of State socialism. It has established agricultural experiment stations at various points. Cooperative creameries, under State supervision, are now found all through the Northwest. When a shipping ring threatened to monopolize the cattle trade, the government slipped in and ran cattle steamers of its own.

Nevertheless trusts have much power. The Hudson Bay Company, with stores in almost every town and city, largely controls retail trade. Cooperation, apart from the dairies, consists only in a few bakeries, stores, and credit societies. At Marysville, near Fredericton, New Brunswick, Mr. Alexander Gibson has developed a sort of "Canadian Pullman" for the employees of his saw and cotton mills.

Charity organizations exist in most cities.

Strictly speaking, Canada has no poor law, and no "poor rates," but the relief institutions, though mainly private, are largely supported by municipalities. In the cities large numbers receive outdoor relief, usually with some work test. There are in the Dominion 75 hospitals, 18 asylums for the insane, with many other institutions of various kind, for relief or prevention.

References: *Statistical Year Book of Canada*, by George Johnson, F.S.S., Government statistician, Ottawa; *Statistical Abstract for the Several Colonial and other Possessions of the United Kingdom*, annual, London; *Self-Government in Canada and How It Was Won*, F. Bradshaw, London, 1903; *Canada in the Twentieth Century*, A. G. Bradley, London, 1903; *Canada and the Empire*, E. S. Montagu and B. Herbert, London, 1904; Sir *Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Party*, J. S. Willison, 2 vols., London, 1903; *How Canada is Governed*, J. G. Bourinot, Copp, 1902; *Canada and the Canadian Question*, Goldwin Smith, Macmillan, 1891.

CANALS: Artificial waterways for the purposes of navigation or irrigation. (See Irrigation.) Navigable canals may be divided into those used for inland navigation and those used for shortening sea voyages. With a long and honorable history canals have for the last fifty years been overshadowed in importance by the railway, but are now experiencing a deserved and needed revival.

Canals are of importance, because, first, they can carry certain freight cheaper and better than railroads; secondly, by carrying goods where speed of transport is of small moment, they free the railroads to do more rapid work; thirdly, for certain lines of commerce they can compete with railroads in rates, and so lower railroad rates.

It is evident, therefore, that the railroads should be allowed no longer, through a mistaken policy, to ruin canals, or buy them and control them. Many therefore, not Socialists, hold that government should care for, own and operate canals on some large, comprehensive system. Every argument for the nationalization of railroads applies to canals with added force. (See Railroads.)

History

The oldest large canals known were the royal canal of Babylon, at least 3500 B.C., and some in Egypt, probably 7000 B.C. Important canals were later built at Alexandria and Rome. The Grand Canal of China, 650 miles long, was constructed in the thirteenth century. Canals, were, however, of small use till the invention of locks in Italy in the fourteenth century, after which several important canals were constructed, particularly in Italy and France. Peter the Great began in 1700 the immense system of canals in Russia which connect St. Petersburg and the Caspian Sea and afford continuous navigation, 1,434 miles. The modern era of canal construction dates, however, from the success of the Duke of Bridgewater's Canal, from Worsley to Manchester, commenced in 1759, and lengthened to Liverpool in 1772. A canal mania at this time broke out. Dividends in some of the canal companies amounted to 100 per cent. In Ireland the Grand Canal was built in 1765. Louis I. of Bavaria in 1846 completed a project of Charlemagne in connecting the Main and the Danube by a canal 108 miles long. The Danish Canal, connecting the North Sea and the Baltic, was finished in 1785. The great Gotha Canal in Sweden was completed in 1832. The first canal in America was built at South Hadley, Mass., in 1793. In 1817 the Erie Canal in the United States was commenced, and finished amid great enthusiasm in 1825. The original cost was $5,700,000. In 1852–53, altho the tolls had been reduced to about one third the original amount, the revenue was over $3,000,000 per year.

From 1825–70 interest in canals was wholly eclipsed by that in railroads. In 1870, however, interest in them revived.

In October, 1884, an International Inland Navigation Congress was held in Bremen, and has met nearly every year since. The great Manchester Ship Canal, which enables the largest steamers for India or America to load at Manchester, was commenced in 1885, and opened January 1, 1894, costing $75,000,000. It is mainly controlled by the city, which has a majority of the directors. The North Sea Baltic Canal was commenced in 1887, and finished in July, 1895.

The Erie Canal is by far the most important long canal of the world, tho not the longest, it being, with feeders, 352 miles long. It was long paralyzed by the adverse interests and influences of the New York Central Railroad, but in 1883 all tolls were removed and an active agitation commenced to make it an effective competitor of the railroads. In 1896 a referendum was taken of the state to spend $9,000,000 to deepen it to 9 feet. This was carried, but the amount was insufficient, and in 1903 a referendum was carried authorizing the expenditure of enough to make it a great barge canal, navigable by vessels of 1,000 tons. It has been estimated that this will cost $101,000,000, or $41,000,000 more than the cost to date.

Other great canal systems in the U. S. are the Chesapeake and Ohio, opened in 1850, and 184 miles long, and the Illinois and Michigan, connecting the Great Lakes with the Mississippi. It was opened in 1898, and is 96 miles long. It has been vastly improved by the Chicago Drainage Canal, begun in 1892 and completed 1900. It has also been mooted to make it a great ship canal, allowing ocean steamers to ascend to Chicago from New Orleans. The Morris Canal, 101 miles long (1830), connects the Hudson and the Delaware. The Delaware and Raritan, 43 miles long (1831–34), connects those rivers, and, therefore, New York and Philadelphia. Canada has im-

portant canals besides the Welland Canal. The following table shows

THE GREAT SHIP CANALS OF THE WORLD

CANAL	Completed	Length miles	No. of Locks	Cost[1]
Suez	1869	90.	None	$100,000,000
Cronstadt and St. Petersburg	1890	16.	None	10,000,000
Corinth	1893	4.	None	5,000,000
Manchester	1894	35.50	5	75,000,000
Kaiser Wilhelm	1895	61.	.....	40,000,000
Elbe and Trave	1900	41.	.....	25,200,000
Welland	1833	27.	26	6,000,000
Sault Ste. Marie (American)	1855	1.6	1	6,033,533
Sault Ste. Marie (Canadian)	1895	1.125	1	3,770,621

[1] Cost of construction to state.

The Suez Canal is usually considered the most important completed canal, tho more vessels pass the Sault Ste. Marie canals. It is much the longest and without locks. In 1900 there passed through it 3,441 vessels with 13,509,237 tonnage. The net profits in 1899 were 54,153,500 francs.

For the Panama Canal, see PANAMA.

CANTILLON, RICHARD: A writer of Irish race, living in Paris in the first half of the eighteenth century, of whose life little is known, but whose little book, "Essai sur la Nature du Commerce en Général," the earliest edition of which was published in Paris in 1755, seems to have exerted a very profound influence upon the economic thought of his century. For what is known of his life, see article "Cantillon" in Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy." Cantillon's opinions were those of the mercantilist school, modified by the ideas of the Physiocrats, and all stated with unusual scientific precision and method. For a very favorable estimate of his work, see the article by Jevons upon "Richard Cantillon and the Nationality of Political Economy," in the *Contemporary Review*, 1881. (See POLITICAL ECONOMY.)

CAPE COLONY: See SOUTH AFRICA.

CAPITAL may be briefly defined as "that part of wealth which is devoted to obtaining further wealth" (Alfred Marshall, "Economics of Industry," p. 5). Says J. S. Mill ("Political Economy," i., iv., sec. 1): "What capital does for production is to afford the shelter, protection, tools, and materials which the work requires, and to feed and otherwise maintain the laborers during the process. Whatever things are destined for this use, destined to supply productive labor with these various prerequisites, are capital."

Definitions

Knies defines capital as "wealth set aside for the satisfaction, directly or indirectly, of future needs. This satisfaction may be obtained by the individual by lending his wealth at 'usury'—usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of anything that is lent upon usury—or by reserving means for future production, as in the case of the husbandman and his corn or cattle, or by laying up for himself a treasure which will be a delight for many days." President Francis A. Walker ("Political Economy," sec. 73) defines capital as "that part of wealth, excluding unimproved land and natural agents, which is devoted to the production of wealth." E. v. Böhm-Bawerk defines capital as "the complex of goods that originate in a previous process of production, and are destined, not for immediate consumption, but to serve as means of acquiring further goods. Objects of immediate consumption, then, and land (as not produced) stand outside our conception of capital."

There are three questions which are still in dispute in connection with the concept of capital: (1) *Is all capital the result of labor, and ought we to exclude the forces and free gifts of nature?* This question is important when attention is directed from the consideration of the function of capital to that of the function of the capitalist, or owner of capital. The ownership of land and gifts of nature that have merely been appropriated must be defended by somewhat different considerations than the ownership of wealth that has been deliberately produced and saved. For this reason it is probably best with the above authors not to include under the term capital any of the so-called free gifts of nature. Of course it is not always easy to draw the line, as in the case of made land, between the free gifts of nature and the work of man, and yet, altho in some cases the line may be invisible, and therefore hard to place, there is a line and an important line, and usually it can be at least approximated. (2) *Does the distinction between capital and non-capital depend on the intention of the capitalist, or, in other words, the owner of the potential capital?* Thus Professor Marshall, in the "Economics of Industry," argues that a doctor's carriage, when used on professional visits, would be capital, but when used for pleasure merely would not be capital. To this it may be answered that the distinction lies not so much in the intent as in the *use* that actually is made; tho of course usually what is intended for production of wealth is used for that purpose, so that the same article may sometimes be used as capital and sometimes not. The final question is, (3) *Does capital include what are called immaterial, as distinct from material qualities?* This question is somewhat similar to the first. In a general sense immaterial qualities are certainly often, and perhaps usually, the truest capital. Thus we say a man's capital is his health, skill, strength; but in political economy it is more usual and probably wiser not to speak of immaterial capital, because it is different from material capital, and obeys different laws. Capital, therefore, is generally used in political economy in the restricted sense of *material wealth, not the free gift of nature, used for the production of more wealth.*

Different Kinds of Capital

We now come to consider some different kinds of capital, and first the common distinction made between Circulating and Fixed Capital. In the words of Mill: "Capital which fulfils the whole of its office, in the production in which it is engaged, by a single use is called *Circulating Capital.* "Capital which exists in any durable shape, and the return to which is spread over a period of corresponding duration, is called *Fixed Capital.*"[1] Another convenient distinction is made by Professor Marshall ("Economics of Industry," p. 19) into *Remuneratory Capital* and *Auxiliary Capital.* He says:

"*Remuneratory Capital* or *Wage Capital* consists of the food, clothes, shelter, etc., which support labor.

"*Auxiliary Capital* is that which aids labor. It consists of tools, machines, factories, and other buildings that are used for trade purposes, railways, canals, roads, ships, etc.; also raw materials."

Passing now to the theory of capital, we are met at once by the utmost diversity of opinion, and have therefore to consider the history of theories of capital.

[1] "Political Economy," Book I., chap. vi.

The word capital (connected with the Latin *caput*, or head) was originally a mere adjective in the phrase "capital stock," and so used as late as Adam Smith. But it soon came to be used elliptically for the whole phrase, and the single word capital is used in the modern sense at least as early as 1635, in Dafforne's "Merchant's Mirrour." This gives us some clue to the history of the treatment of capital by economists. It has been mainly connected with interest, the phrase "capital stock" being contrasted with the interest accruing from it. In a primitive society there is little capital. Weapons and implements for the hunt and for fishing constitute the total equipment. Later, in the pastoral stage, flocks and herds represent the chief forms of capital, while developing agriculture calls for somewhat more complicated tools and implements. Only after the invention of machinery, however, does capital emerge as an independent factor in production. It is because of the capitalistic system which they ushered in that the inventions which were made in England during the latter half of the eighteenth century may without exaggeration be said to have caused an "industrial revolution." Since Watt perfected the steam-engine in 1776, machine methods of production and the factory system have displaced hand methods and the domestic system in nearly every department of manufacturing industry. With every step in this development the importance of capital has increased until to-day in the Western world the man who is without capital and who is unable to command it is forced almost of necessity to become the hired employee of the man who has capital. The wage system is thus the natural supplement to privately owned capital and is rightly included in the conception of the capitalistic system of production.

History of Theories of Capital

The best history yet written of the various theories of capital is undoubtedly Böhm-Bawerk's "Capital and Interest: A Critical History of Economical Theory," a translation from the German "Kapital und Kapitalzins." This book has been largely used in the following account. The problem of capital Böhm-Bawerk states substantially as follows:

He who owns capital can generally obtain from it a permanent net income called interest. This has notable characteristics. It owes its existence to no personal activity of the capitalist. It flows into him even where he has not moved a finger. It seems in a peculiar sense to spring from capital, or, to use a very old metaphor, to be begotten of it. It may be obtained from any capital, from goods that are barren, as well as those that are fruitful; from perishable goods, as from durable; from goods that can be replaced, and from goods that cannot be replaced; from money, as from commodities. Finally, it flows into the capitalist without ever exhausting the capital from which it comes, and therefore without any necessary limit. It presents the remarkable picture of a lifeless thing producing an everlasting and inexhaustible supply of goods. Whence and why this endless flow of wealth? This is the theoretical problem of capital and interest. This is different, says Böhm-Bawerk, from the social and political problem. The theoretical problem asks why there *is* interest on capital; the social and political problem asks whether there *should* be. Yet it is doubtful if we can keep the two questions apart. "Whether there should be" certainly depends upon "why there is," and "why there is" is not unaffected by "whether there should be." Yet they are two questions, and for the sake of clear thought we should try to keep them separate, and to answer the first question first. Yet, historically, in political economy, the second question received the first treatment. Ancient political economy evidenced a deep disapproval of interest, as witnessed in the prohibition of interest between Jews in the Mosaic code and in many passages from classic literature. (See USURY.) The reason is not far to seek. Credit had little place in production. Machinery was simple. Almost all loans were for immediate consumption, and, as a rule, to people in distress. The creditor was usually rich, the debtor poor, and the former, therefore, in the light of a man squeezing something from the poor man. Yet was there little study of the question. Plato, Aristotle, the two Catos, Cicero, Seneca, Plautus —all condemn interest, and yet assign little reason for so doing. Aristotle's argument was: Money is by nature incapable of bearing fruit. The lender's gain, therefore, must come from a defrauding of the borrower. The strong condemnation of interest by the Mosaic law and the early Christian Church is well known. Yet there was usually but little reason given, and some of the reasons that were given are far more rhetorical than logical. Gradually Greek and then Roman legislation came to allow interest, and so the practise spread. The Middle Ages, however, witnessed a revival of the condemnation of interest. The Church strenuously condemned it (see CANON LAW), first categorically, and then, as the desire for interest and the seeming need of interest increased, with more show of argument and attempt at reason. Gonzalez Tellez falls back on Aristotle's argument. Thomas Aquinas (*q. v.*) does the same in a different form. He argues that he who loans money passes over money and all that comes from it, and therefore has no right to the interest that springs from it. Interest again he considers as the hypocritical and underhand price asked for a good common to all—time. Time is simply a pretext used by usurers to get more than they give. But time is a common good, given to all equally by God. This was the general position of the canonists, tho steadily and quietly exceptions and excuses were introduced permitting interest under this pretext or that.

The Problem of Capital

Ancient Theories

Medieval Theories

The Protestant reformers usually approved of interest, altho with more or less reserve; at least this is so with Zwingli, Luther (in his later days), Melanchthon, and Calvin. The last named, however, is the only one who gives careful reason for his approval. His argument is that interest is legitimate, because, tho money itself be barren, money is used as a house is used, for gain of convenience or rent, and therefore that the lender of the money is entitled to interest as his share of the gain. Molinæus, taking somewhat the same ground, opposed the canon prohibition of interest. Besold and Grotius followed hesitatingly in the same line till Salmasius (about 1640) poured out a flood of writing defending interest, and was followed by Bacon, North, Locke, Steuart, Hume, Galiani, Vasco, Beccaria, Mirabeau, and Bentham.

Protestant Views

But this already brings us to modern times, when capital and interest, having become matters of such vast moment, have elicited far more careful and scientific study. Turgot comes first. He defends interest on the ground that capital is always the equivalent of rent-bearing land, and therefore should receive interest as land brings forth fruit. This theory Böhm-Bawerk calls the "Fructification" theory, and condemns because, in his opinion, it explains nothing. Adam Smith has no definite position, but throws out various hints about the origin of interest, some of which are contradictory. Adam Smith's neutral position could not be long held. The question of labor and capital became the burning question of the nineteenth century. Five answers have been developed through the century, and more or less side by side; so that we shall do best not to attempt to follow chronological order, but to see the separate schools as markedly and distinctly as possible.

The Fructification Theory

First, Böhm-Bawerk puts what he calls the "colorless" answer, which, like Adam Smith's, is a confused answer, altho made by Ricardo, Torrens, McCulloch, and several continental writers. Ricardo, for example, tho he sharply and at length gives his conception of the law that governs *the rate* of return to capital, scarcely gives any *reason* for the return, save that, if capitalists did not receive any interest, they would not invest.

Ricardo

We come, next, to what Böhm-Bawerk calls the "*Productive*" theory, that capital actually produces wealth, and that therefore the capitalist who gets his interest simply gets what his capital produces. This theory is subdivided into four theories: (1) That capital serves toward the production of goods; (2) that it serves toward the production of more goods than could be produced without it; (3) that it serves toward the production of more value than could be produced without it; (4) that it serves toward the producing of more value than it has in itself. The first two of these theories Böhm-Bawerk calls the "Naive Productive" theories; the third he calls the "Indirect Productive" theory, and from the last theory spring such important theories that he considers them by themselves as "Use" theories.

The Productive Theory

Among the "Naive Productive" theories we have those of J. B. Say, who first broached this theory in 1803, brilliantly but not clearly, and more recently of Roscher, Leroy-Beaulieu, Scioloja, and others. Böhm-Bawerk's answer to this theory is simply that it has not been proved that capital in itself produces goods. Capital undoubtedly, as Roscher argues, enables labor to produce *more* goods; but the amount of return to capital has by no means been proved to be equal to the amount of value of the increased amount of goods it enables labor to produce.

The "Indirect Productive" theory, that capital produces more *value*, was first taught by Lord Lauderdale in 1804, and then by his greater follower, tho not disciple, Malthus. Malthus carefully defines profit as "the difference between the value of the advances necessary to produce a commodity, and the value of the commodity when produced" ("Principles of Political Economy," 2d ed., p. 262); but he does not equally carefully show why there should be this difference of value, tho he does in general point to capital as the producer of more value. Henry Carey and Peshine Smith in America and the painstaking Thünen and Strassburger in Germany Böhm-Bawerk assigns to this school.

We come now to the "Use" theories, which, tho an offshoot of the "Productive" theories, quickly grew into an independent life of their own. This theory is that capital, apart from its substance value, has a use value, and that the capitalist who draws interest is thus rewarded for sacrificing the use of capital during the period of production. J. B. Say first suggested this, together with his "Naive Productive" theory, Hermann worked it out, and Menger gave it its best form. It is largely a German theory, Nebenius,

Use Theories

Marlo, Bernhardi, Mangoldt, Schäffle, Kneis, besides Hermann and Menger, all following it in one form or another. Böhm-Bawerk, however, rightly maintains that there is no independent "use" of capital aside from capital, and that therefore this non-existent "use" cannot be the cause of interest; but even if it does exist, as apart from the substance of capital, it simply adds to the problem by raising two problems in place of one. What is this independent use of capital?

Next in order is the famous "Abstinence" theory, made prominent in the lectures of N. W. Senior at Oxford University, and later in his "Outlines of the Science of Political Economy" (1836). Adam Smith and Ricardo declared labor to be the source of value. Senior amended this by saying that value is due to scarcity (utility being assumed), and that labor *and abstinence* account for scarcity. Hints of this had appeared before in Ricardo and in Adam Smith's opposition of "future profit" to "present enjoyment," but Senior first worked it into a careful and logical system. According to this, capital is the result of labor, but of labor applied not to immediate results, but to far-off results; and, therefore, since its owner has sacrificed immediate results to distant ones, he is indemnified by interest. He is able to secure this indemnification because the exchange value of goods depends, according to Senior, partly on the usefulness of the goods, partly on the limitation of their supply; and the limitation depends upon the number of those willing to abstain from immediate consumption of wealth to devote it to capital. The "maximum of price" is the sacrifice with which the buyer could himself produce or procure the goods; and the "minimum of price" is the cost of production. Under competition these approximate. But the cost of production consists of the sum of labor and abstinence requisite for the production of the goods. If abstinence is always requisite for production, it can always command its money return.

Abstinence Theory

The trouble with this theory is that it makes too sweeping a generalization from an idea containing an element of truth. Like the other theories it mistakes a part of the truth for the whole explanation. The theory is now generally discarded (see ABSTINENCE, REWARD OF), yet it has had many followers, and some of them most distinguished, such as J. S. Mill, Jevons, Cairnes, Roscher, Schüz, Max Wirth, Rossi, Molinari, and Garnier. Bastiat accepted the doctrine under a developed form. Bastiat's great social law is "service for service." He argues that he who provides capital not only sacrifices present enjoyment, but does positive service by allowing the laborer to have now what otherwise he could only obtain later by great sacrifice of his own tools. But this only confuses. He who sacrifices in order to prevent sacrifice certainly does so, but this is only one sacrifice, and cannot receive return for two.

We pass then to the next group, which Böhm-Bawerk calls "Labor" theories, because under various forms they try to prove that interest is payment to the capitalist for labor performed. The main advocates of this are James Mill, McCulloch, Courcelle-Seneuil, Rodbertus, Schäffle. Under one form or another they all argue that capital is stored-up labor, and that interest and profit are simply the price paid for stored-up labor. But how, then, does it happen that the capitalist eventually gets back all his capital; that is, all his stored-up labor, and yet gets interest too? Courcelle-Seneuil argues that interest is payment for the labor of storing up capital. This is artificial. Its falsity may be seen in the fact that interest has no connection with this, being often greatest where this so-called labor is least, and vice versa.

We come then to what may be called the Socialist, or the "Exploitation" theory. According to this, all goods that have value are the product of human labor, and indeed, economically considered, are exclusively the product of human labor. The laborers, however, do not retain the whole product of their labor, because capitalists, taking advantage of their command over the indispensable means of production, as secured to them by the institution of private property, secure to themselves a part of the laborer's product. The means of doing so are supplied by the wage contract, in which the laborers are compelled by hunger to sell their labor-power to the capitalist for a part of what they, the laborers, produce. Interest is thus a portion of the product of other people's labor, obtained by exploiting the necessitous condition of the laborer.

Exploitation Theory

The way had been prepared for this by Adam Smith and Ricardo, in teaching that labor is the source of value; tho Ricardo abandoned this doctrine before his death. Hodgskin in England and Sismondi in France were the first to really state the theory, and they only in a mild and general way; but it was soon taken up with strength and in earnest by Proudhon in France and Rodbertus in Germany, and then by the great Socialist leaders, Lasalle and Marx. Of the Socialists, Rodbertus and Marx have worked out the theory most carefully. Rodbertus is considered by most political economists the most careful, altho Marx has worked out the theory the most brilliantly and the most popularly. Rodbertus accepts almost as axiomatic the premise that labor, economically speaking, is the source of all value. Rent he defines as "all income obtained without personal exertion, solely in virtue of possession" ("Soziale Frage," p. 146). It includes two kinds of rent—land rent and profit on capital. Rent owes its existence to two facts: economically, that, with machinery and division of labor, laborers can produce more than they require to support life; and legally, that private property in land and capital enables their owners to employ laborers who, not having land and capital, and needing them for production, are unable to work except in service for these capitalists, and are driven by hunger often to give to the capitalists all they produce except what is barely necessary to support life. The form which this compulsion originally took was slavery, the origin of which was contemporaneous with that of agriculture and landed property. To-day contract has taken the place of slavery; but since capitalists own substantially all the land and capital, they have the laborer as equally at a disadvantage as under slavery, and can take from him under contract as much as before under slavery. Thus, says Rodbertus, "The contract is only formally and not actually free, and hunger makes a good substitute for the whip. What was formerly called food is now called wage" ("Soziale Frage," p. 33).

Thus all rent is an exploitation, or, as he says in effect, a robbery of the product of other people's labor ("Soziale Frage," p. 150). The amount of rent increases with the productivity of labor; for under the system of free competition the laborer can receive little more than his maintenance, no matter how much he produces. The division between rent of land and rent of capital Rodbertus believes depends upon how much labor value is represented in land and in capital, since labor is the measure and source of all value, even rent being the product of labor, tho conditioned by the possession of wealth. Nevertheless, except in a posthumous tract on "Capital," Rodbertus does not favor the abolition of private property in either land or capital. He ascribes to it an educating power, a "kind of patriarchal power that could only be replaced after a completely altered system of national instruction, for which at present we have not got even the conditions" ("Erklärung," p. 303).

Marx's theory is the same, tho worked out in a different way. The utility of a thing, he argues, is its *value in use*. But this value is not something in the air. It is limited by the properties of the commodity, and has no existence apart from that commodity. The commodity itself is the use value. Now use values exchange. They are measured. To be measured they must have some characteristic in common. What is this? It is not in their *qualities*; their qualities are very different. Things that exchange must have the same *quantity* of exchange value. What is the thing that they have the same quantity of? If we discard their qualities as use value, they have only one common property left, that of being products of labor. This must be the measure of their exchange value. So the value of all goods is measured by the quantity of labor contained in them or in labor time. But labor is of different value in different individuals; therefore, we must take the "socially necessary labor time"—i. e., the labor time required to produce a use value under the conditions of production that are socially normal at the time, and with the socially necessary degree of skill and intensity of labor. Now the problem of capital and of interest and profit is this: One man sells the commodity which he possesses for money, in order to buy with the money another commodity which he requires. This course of circulation may be exprest by the formula: Commodity, money, commodity. But there is another course of circulation. Men buy commodities in order to sell, or—money, commodity, money. But in this circuit, men buy commodities in order to sell at an advance. The real circuit is M., C., M′. (M′ representing the sum advanced plus an increment). This is the characteristic circuit of capitalistic industry. It applies seemingly only to the merchant's capital, but it is true of all industrial capital. The manufacturer, every one in commerce, even the farmer, buys something—invests, that is—in order to sell what he buys, or what springs from what he buys, at an advance. Whence the advance? This is the problem. He buys material at its market value; he sells the material at the market value; how is he enabled to sell at a higher price than he buys? Whence this surplus value? This is the problem of Marx's book—his famous "Capital." The surplus value cannot originate in anything outside the circuit, for nothing pours economic value into his hands. It cannot originate in the circuit itself, for he cannot continually buy commodities under their value, nor continually sell above their value. Whence his profits? He can only sell for more than he buys by adding labor to it. Labor is thus the only source of *surplus value*. But if he put labor into it, either his own or hired, he pays for that. How does the capitalist sell for more than he puts in? He must buy material and labor at their value, sell the result at its value, and yet draw out more than he puts in. How? Marx answers this by saying that there is one use value which possesses the peculiar property of being the source of exchange value; this is labor or labor-power. It, labor-power, is offered for sale on the market on the double condition that the laborer is personally free—for otherwise he would be a slave, not a seller of labor-power; and that, secondly, he is deprived of all means of independently using his labor-power, otherwise he would work for himself. The present condition of society furnishes these conditions. The capitalist makes use of this. The value of the commodity labor-power, like that of all other commodities, is regulated by the labor time necessary for its reproduction;

Karl Marx

in this case, by the labor time necessary to produce the maintenance of the laborer. The capitalist gets the laborer to work for him. He gives him his labor-time value—that is, maintenance, the value necessary to maintain and reproduce him. But the laborer gives the capitalist more labor time than this. If in six hours the laborer produces enough to maintain him, and works ten hours, in the four hours he produces for the capitalist this "surplus value." Surplus value, therefore, according to Marx, results from the capitalist getting the laborer to work a part of the day for him without paying for it. In the laborer's day, thus, we have "necessary labor time" and "surplus labor time," the source of "surplus labor value." Capital is not thus a command over labor, but a command over *unpaid* labor. All surplus value, in whatever form it be disguised, as profit, interest, rent, or any other, is only the material shape of unpaid labor. Bitterly, upon this foundation, does Marx trace the history and expedients of capital to lengthen the time and intensity of the working-day in order to get more surplus value.

The answer to this theory, which will be seen to be, in another form, the same as Rodbertus's, may be very varied. It is perhaps sufficient, however, to say that it has not been proved that labor is the source of value. Exchange is not based simply upon labor-time value. Use value does affect exchange. A good natural voice, uncultivated by any labor, has exchange value. Unimproved natural commodities have exchange value. Scarcity affects exchange value. The whole theory that labor is the source of value is untenable. Rodbertus does not attempt to prove it. Marx appeals not to facts, but to the above dialectics, which can be shown to be faulty. Marx says use values in exchange are disregarded. This is not the case; but if it were, his conclusion does not follow that their being the product of labor is the only characteristic left which can be the basis of exchange. Many other elements enter in—scarcity, demand, appropriation of them, etc. Marx's analysis contains truth, but by no means the whole truth, and its fundamental proposition is not true.

The last theory of capital and interest that merits consideration is that of Böhm-Bawerk himself as expounded in his second volume, "The Positive Theory of Capital." According to this view, the key to the interest problem is found in the time element involved in capitalistic production. Men normally undervalue future goods in comparing them with present goods. Thus as future goods ripen into present goods their value is enhanced in accordance with a psychological law. Interest is simply this addition to the value of goods that results from advancing them nearer the period when they are to satisfy wants. As men normally discount future goods so they are always willing to pay a premium in future goods for command over present goods. The current rate of interest is thus determined by the comparative valuations which men collectively place upon present and future goods. When the rate on safe investments is 4 per cent, for example, this means that in the estimation of the marginal men who take part in capitalistic production $100 in hand, with the immediate command over want-satisfying goods which it gives, is equivalent to $104 a year hence. This theory is explained and defended with great dialectical skill, but it cannot be said to have commanded the assent of many economists as an adequate solution of the interest problem.

The fact seems to be that no one theory is complete; that almost every theory yet advanced has had its element of truth and made its contribution to science. It is *man* who pays, and *man* who asks interest for capital. Men are not simple "economic men." The reasons that move the will to demand and pay interest are not simple, but numerous, intricate, and varying at different times. In the Fructuation theory, the Productivity theory, the Use theory, the Abstinence theory, the Exploitation theory, the Time theory, there is truth, but the whole truth lies only in the correct synthesis of all theories. It should be added, however, that whatever be the theory as to the origin of capital and interest, neither the believers nor the disbelievers in interest question the fact of the contribution, and the necessary contribution, that capital makes to production. Socialists, no less than the most conservative economists, admit the necessity of capital to production. Socialists simply assert that work (personal effort of head or hand) should be required from every member of society (save from the young, aged, or infirm), and that there should be no class of society whose economic function is simply to furnish capital and live on the interest. They declare that all *capital* should be owned and furnished by the community, and that all individuals should furnish work and receive therefor, their rightful share in the product. (See SOCIALISM.) Those Socialists who do not hold with Adam Smith and Marx that labor is the only source of value, do not hold either that capital comes wholly from unpaid labor; they perceive that capital may come from the personal labor of one's ancestors, or from personal saving, or by speculation or investment—in a hundred ways, some of them moral, some immoral; but they hold that the unity of society is the key to the freedom of the individual, and that that freedom demands that, however gained, capital be held and operated collectively for the equitable good of all, each man and woman being in some way a worker for the general good. This holding of capital is, in their opinion, a step not based on any theory, but called for by the conditions of human life, in the process of evolution, developing a higher organism out of lower organisms. Those Socialists who look to divine sanctions for their acts argue that capital should be held in common and each work for the good of all, as in a family property is held in common and each works for each. Interest on capital they say is "natural," because capital performs a natural function, and can therefore obtain a portion of the product, as conditional to its being forthcoming; and when capital is monopolized by a portion of the community, it can, subject to competition between capitalists, dictate its own terms, because he who has it not is dependent upon him who has. What such Socialists assert is that, tho interest is natural, it is socially indefensible, since God has made all men one, and given to all the duty of labor; that therefore for one portion of society to furnish the capital and be able to live without labor, while another portion of society can scarcely live by the hardest toil, is a plain violation of the law of God. Such are the various theories as to capital that have prevailed at various times and are held to-day by various schools of thought.

The Socialist Contention

The Christian Socialist View

Turning to the laws that govern the growth of capital, we present two representative treatments of the subject, and first, one by Professor and Mrs. Marshall. In chap. vi. of their "Economics of Industry," they say:

"The growth of capital depends upon the *power* and the *will* to save.

"The power of saving depends on the amount of wealth out of which saving can be made. Some countries, which have a large population and produce a great amount of wealth, have very little power of saving. The whole continent of Asia, for instance, has less power of saving than England has. The total produce indeed of its industry is larger than that of England; but the number of people among whom this is divided is so great that they are compelled to consume almost the whole of it in supporting life.

"As Mill says, 'the fund from which saving can be made is the surplus of the produce of labor after supplying the necessaries of life to all concerned in the production (including those employed in replacing the materials and keeping the fixed capital in repair); more than this surplus cannot be saved under any circumstances; as much as this, though it never is saved, always might be. This surplus is the fund from which the enjoyments as distinguished from the necessaries of the producers are provided, it is the fund from which all are subsisted who are not themselves engaged in production; and from which all additions are made to capital. It is the real net produce of the country.'

"Since the requisites of production are land, labor, and capital, the conditions on which the total produce of industry depends may therefore be classed as, first, fertility of the soil, richness of mines, abundance of watercourses, and an invigorating climate; secondly, the number and the average efficiency of the working population; this efficiency depending on moral as well as mental and physical qualities; thirdly, the abundance of the means which the industry of the past has accumulated and saved to help the industry of the present; that is, the abundance of roads and railroads, of canals and docks, of factories and warehouses, of engines and machines, of raw material, of food and of clothing; in short, the already accumulated capital of the nation. . . .

"Next as to the will to save.

"The strength of the desire of accumulation depends on moral and social conditions which vary widely in different times and countries.

"(*a*) The intellect. The inclination to save arises from the hope of obtaining some future advantage, and this future advantage, if it is to afford motive for action, must be realized. . . .

"(*b*) Affection for others is one of the chief motives if not the chief motive for the accumulation of capital. . . .

"(*c*) The hope of rising in the world. . . .

"(*d*) The opportunity to gain great social advantages by the possession of wealth. . . .

"(*e*) Political and commercial security. . . ."

The Growth of Capital, Orthodox View

Lastly, Mr. and Mrs. Marshall inquire how far the accumulation of capital depends upon the rate of profits, and the rate of interest which the owner of capital can obtain by lending it to others, and they answer:

"A high rate of interest no doubt affords a liberal reward of abstinence, and stimulates the saving of all who are ambitious of earning social position by their wealth.

"But the history of the past and the observation of the present show that it is a man's temperament, much more than the rate of interest to be got for his savings, which determines whether he makes provision for his old age and for his family or not. Most of those who make such a provision would do so equally whether the rate of interest were low or high. And when a man has once determined to provide a certain annual

income, he will find that he has to save more if the rate of interest is low than if it is high.

"Again, a high rate of interest is a great inducement to retire early from business, and live on the interest of what has already been accumulated. Sir Josiah Child indeed said two centuries ago, 'We see that generally all merchants in countries in which the rate of interest is high, when they have gotten great wealth, leave trading' and lend out their money at interest, 'the gain thereof being so easy, certain, and great; whereas in other countries, where interest is at a lower rate, they continue merchants from generation to generation, and enrich themselves and the State.' It is more true now than it was then, that many men retire from business when they are yet almost in the prime of life, and when their knowledge of men and things might enable them to conduct their business more efficiently than ever. Thus a fall in the rate of interest would in some ways promote the production and the accumulation of wealth.

"But it would diminish the *power* of saving from a given amount of capital, because the larger the income a man derives from his business, the larger are the means he has of saving."

Such is an admirable example of the treatment of the subject from the standpoint of the most progressive orthodox economics. As an example of the treatment of the subject from the socialist standpoint, we give a quotation from the lecture on "The Industrial Basis of Socialism," by William Clarke, and included in the "Fabian Essays." Says Mr. Clarke:

Growth of Capital, Socialist View

"The capitalist was originally an *entrepreneur*, a manager who worked hard at his business, and who received what economists have called the 'wages of superintendence.' So long as the capitalist occupied that position he might be restrained and controlled in various ways, but he could not be got rid of. His 'wages of superintendence' were certainly often exorbitant, but he performed real functions; and society, as yet unprepared to take those functions upon itself, could not afford to discharge him. Yet, like the king, he had to be restrained by the legislation already referred to, for his power involved much suffering to his fellows. But now the capitalist is fast becoming absolutely useless. Finding it easier and more rational to combine with others of his class in a large undertaking, he has now abdicated his position of overseer, has put in a salaried manager to perform his work for him, and has become a mere rent or interest receiver. The rent or interest he receives is paid for the use of a monopoly which not he, but a whole multitude of people, created by their joint efforts.

"It was inevitable that this differentiation of manager and capitalist should arise. It is part of the process of capitalist evolution due to machine industry. As competition led to waste in production, so it led to the cutting of profits among capitalists. To prevent this, the massing of capital was necessary, by which the large capitalist could undersell his small rivals by offering, at prices below anything they could afford to sell at, goods produced by machinery and distributed by a plexus of agencies initially too costly for any individual competitor to purchase or set on foot. Now for such massive capitals, the contributions of several capitalists are needed; and hence has arisen the joint-stock company or *Campagnie Anonyme*. Through this new capitalist agency a person in England can hold stock in an enterprise at the Antipodes, which he has never visited and never intends to visit, and which, therefore, he cannot 'superintend' in any way. He and the other shareholders put in a manager, with injunctions to be economical. The manager's business is to earn for his employers the largest dividends possible; if he does not do so, he is dismissed. The old personal relation between the workers and the employer is gone; instead thereof remains merely the cash nexus. To secure high dividends, the manager will lower wages. If that is resisted there will probably be either a strike or lockout. Cheap labor will be, perhaps, imported by the manager; and if the work-people resist by intimidation or organized boycotting, the forces of the State (which they help to maintain) will be used against them. In the majority of cases they must submit. Such is a not unfair picture of the relation of capitalist to workman to-day, the former having become an idle dividend-receiver. The dictum of orthodox political economy, uttered by so competent an authority as the late Professor Cairnes, runs:

"'It is important, on moral no less than on economic grounds, to insist upon this, that no public benefit of any kind arises from the existence of an idle rich class. The wealth accumulated by their ancestors and others on their behalf, where it is employed as capital, no doubt helps to sustain industry; but what they consume in luxury and idleness is not capital, and helps to sustain nothing but their own unprofitable lives. By all means they must have their rents and interest, as it is written in the bond; but let them take their proper place as drones in the hive, gorging at a feast to which they have contributed nothing.' . . .

"That joint-stock capitalism is extending rapidly every one knows. In the United States, according to Mr. Bryce, the wealth of joint-stock corporations is estimated at one fourth of the total value of all property. In England every kind of business, from breweries, banks, and cotton-mills down to automatic sweetmeat machines, is falling into the hands of the joint-stock capitalist, and must continue to do so. Twenty years ago who would have supposed that a brewery like that of Guinness, or such a banking firm as Glyn, Mills & Co., would become a joint-stock company? Yet we know it is so to-day. Capitalism is becoming impersonal and cosmopolitan. And the combinations controlling production become larger and fewer. Barings are getting hold of the South African diamond fields. A few companies control the whole anthracite coal produce of Pennsylvania. Each one of us is quite 'free' to 'compete' with these gigantic combinations, as the principality of Monaco is 'free' to go to war with France should the latter threaten her interests. The mere forms of freedom remain, but monopoly renders them nugatory. The modern State, having parted with the raw material of the globe, cannot secure freedom of competition to its citizens; and yet it was on the basis of free competition that capitalism rose. Thus we see that capitalism has canceled its original principle—is itself negating its own existence."

Prof. John B. Clark, in his "Distribution of Wealth" and other works, has ably treated the part played by capital in production.

Concerning statistics as to the large part played by capital in the modern world, see WEALTH; TRUSTS; MACHINERY; FINANCE. Exact statistics in regard to the value of the capital of different countries as distinguished from their wealth in general are not available, and even statistics of wealth must be accepted with a good deal of caution. The figures which follow are the most trustworthy that are available for the United Kingdom and the U. S.

According to the elaborate calculations of Sir Robert Giffen, the total wealth of the United Kingdom increased from £4,000,000,000 in 1845 to £6,000,000,000 in 1865; £8,500,000,000 in 1875, and £10,000,000,000 in 1885. Compared with the population this indicates an increase in average per capita wealth during the whole period of forty years from £143 to £270. How much of this wealth was capital in the restricted sense of our definition it is impossible to say with exactness. Thus, of the estimated wealth in 1885 of £10,000,000,000 some £1,700,000,000 is credited to land and £1,900,000,000 to houses, but there is no way of determining what part of the value of land was a gift of nature and what part the result of investments of capital in improvements, or what proportion of the houses served as workshops and thus contributed to the further production of wealth. The amount of income derived by inhabitants of the United Kingdom from land and capital, that is, from investments of all kinds, may be estimated from the annual income tax returns. Thus for the year 1902, the income from the ownership of lands and houses was returned at £238,000,000, the income from government securities at £44,000,000, and from business enterprises, except farming, at £488,000,000. Estimating that at least one third of the latter income was in the form of interest and dividends to investors having no active part in the businesses concerned and allowing for false returns, it appears probable that the total income from investments was not less than £500,000,000, or about £12 per capita.

The total wealth of the U. S. for the years 1900 and 1904, as estimated by the Census Bureau, was $88,517,000,000 in the former year, and $107,104,000,000 in the latter. Comparing the total estimated wealth in 1900 with the population as determined by the census in that year gives $1,150 as the average per capita wealth. The principal items in the total for 1904 were as follows: Real property and improvements, $62,000,000,000; live stock, $4,074,000,000; farm implements and machinery, $845,000,000; manufacturing machinery, tools, and implements, $3,298,000,000; gold and silver coin and bullion, $1,999,000,000; railroads and their equipment, $11,245,000,000; street railways, shipping, waterworks, etc., $4,841,000,000; all other, $18,462,000,000. From the form in which these estimates are given it is impossible even to make an intelligent guess as to what part of them represents capital in the narrow sense. There are no statistics for the U. S. comparable with the income tax returns for the United Kingdom.

For a discussion of whether the profits or capital are falling, see PROFITS, WEALTH.

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The Positive Theory of Capital, by the same author and with the same translator. For the Exploitation theory, *Capital: A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production*, by Karl Marx (translated by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, in two volumes; for the development of capital, *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, by John A. Hobson (London, 1894); for an analysis of the part capital plays in production, *The Distribution of Wealth*, by John B. Clark (New York, 1899).

CAREY, HENRY CHARLES: American economist, born in Philadelphia, Pa., 1793; the son of Matthew Carey, an Irish refugee and publisher who had written on economic themes. The son succeeded the father, but retired with a competency in 1835, and devoted his life to economics. Thirteen octavo volumes and 3,000 pages of tracts, besides newspaper articles, perhaps twice as voluminous, attest his industry, while the fact that many of his writings have been translated into seven different languages speaks for his ability and originality of thought. Says Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy":

> Carey began his scientific career at a juncture when the English school appeared to have exhausted its deductions from assumed premises, and to shrink from adjusting its conclusions to the conditions of actual life. His treatment of social science was original, and led him to a series of supposed discoveries, the order of which he has stated in the introduction to his most important work, "The Principles of Social Science." His point of departure was a theory of value which he defined as the "measure of the resistance to be overcome in obtaining things required for use, or the measure of nature's power over man"—in simpler terms, the cost of reproduction. This theory Carey applied to every case of value—to commodities, services, and land, and in some passages seemingly to man himself. Reasoning that every gift of nature is gratuitous, he found a universal tendency to a decline of value as the arts advance, and to a decrease in the value of accumulated capital, as compared with the results of present labor, with a resulting harmony of interests between capitalist and laborer. This theory Carey enunciated in his "Principles of Political Economy," published in 1837–40, and its appearance in slightly modified terms in Bastiat's "Harmonies Economiques," in 1850, led to a sharp discussion between the two authors in the *Journal des Economistes* for 1851.

Ten years later, in his "Past, Present, and Future," Carey expounded his notorious land theory, which was the exact reverse of the Ricardian; but tho argued by Carey with great vigor and at great length, and eliciting much interest because of its novelty, it has been accepted by scarcely any other careful economist. It laid down the principle that men first till the poorer and more easily worked lands, and then descend upon richer lands as capital increases, so that with the advance of civilization the rate of returns from land rises instead of falls. He deduced from this a rejection of the Malthusian doctrine, since rising returns from land could support more and more men.

Carey's cardinal principle, however, is found in the second chapter of his "Social Science," where he states, "the great law of molecular gravitation as the indispensable condition of the being known as man." This law of being he declares to be the same in matter, man, and communities. As, in the solar world, attraction and motion are in the ratio of mass and proximity, so in the social world, association, individuality, responsibility, development, and progress are proportionate to each other. This theory, not of analogy, but of absolute identity of law, Carey maintained with great vigor in the "Unity of Law," published in his seventy-ninth year. This theory led Carey first to adopt and advocate those theories of free trade for which he is perhaps the best known in the United States; tho afterward, from the same principles, to retreat from this position. The central point of his social philosophy being association, as the primary condition of progress, in the commerce of exchange of commodities and of ideas between countries, Carey thought he saw the opportunity for closer association, economic efficiency, and general efficiency, and hence argued strongly and determinedly for free trade, giving a strong impulse to the arguments now becoming common in this country. It was only later that he abandoned this belief, from a conviction that in the present state of the world the coordinating power of the government must be used in order to preserve economic harmony and to arrive at ultimate freedom. So great was his ability and so distinctive his views, that his school of thought is sometimes called theAmerican School of Political Economy.

Carey's main works are: "Essay on the Rate of Wages" (1835); "Harmony of Nature" (privately printed, 1836); "Principles of Political Economy" (3 vols., 1837, 1838, 1840); "The Past, the Present, and the Future" (1848); "Harmony of Interests, Agricultural, Manufacturing, and Commercial" (1850); "Slave Trade, Domestic and Foreign" (1853); "Principles of Social Science" (3 vols., 1858–59); "Manual of Social Science" (edited by Miss McKean, 1864); "The Unity of Law, as Exhibited in the Relations of Physical, Social, Mental, and Moral Science" (1872). He died in 1879.

CARLYLE, THOMAS: Scottish writer; born at Ecclefechan, Dumfries County, Scotland, 1795. In the present article he is considered simply from the standpoint of social reform; yet this element forms no small portion of his life, and his contribution to social reform gave no slight impulse in the advance of the century. From the standpoint of the social movement, the nineteenth century must be divided into two nearly equal, yet very diverse, parts. The first fifty years were, socially considered, negative, destructive, characterized by the freeing of the individual. Its outcomes were democracy, free trade, competition, individualism. The last fifty years of the century were, socially considered, positive, constructive (or at least seeking construction), characterized by the collective thought supplanting individualism and developing in its place the social organism. Its outcomes were unity, cooperation, monopoly, centralization, socialism. Carlyle belongs to the first half of the century, yet with no little trace of transition to the second. Living till 1881, his genius was matured, and his greatest works were written before 1850. He was an individualist, and his writings are full of undevcloped socialism. In more than his denunciation of wrong he was a John the Baptist, the last of the old prophets, and a forerunner of the new. Mazzini's magnificent essay on Carlyle pronounces a just criticism. He says:

> Mr. Carlyle comprehends only the *individual*; the true sense of the unity of the human race escapes him. He sympathizes with all men, but it is with the separate life of each, and not with their collective life. . . .
>
> The nationality of Italy, in his eyes, is the glory of having produced Dante and Christopher Columbus; the nationality of Germany, that of having given birth to Luther, to Goethe, and to others. The shadows thrown by these gigantic men appear to eclipse from his view every trace of the national thought, of which these men were only the interpreters or prophets, and of the people, who alone are its depository. All generalization is so repugnant to Mr. Carlyle that he strikes at the root of the error, as he deems it, by declaring that the history of the world is fundamentally nothing more than the biography of great men ("Lectures"). This is to plead, distinctly enough, against the idea which rules the movement of the times. . . .

In the name of the democratic spirit of the age, I protest against such views. History is not the biography of great men; the history of mankind is the history of the progressive religion of mankind, and of the translation by symbols or external actions of that religion. . . .

The great men of the earth are but the marking stones on the road to humanity; they are the priests of its religion. What priest is equal in the balance to the whole religion of which he is a minister? There is yet something greater, more divinely mysterious, than all the great men, and that is the earth which bears them, the human race which includes them, the thought of God which stirs within them, and which the whole human race collectively can alone accomplish. Disown not, then, the common mother, for the sake of certain of her children, however privileged they may be; for at the same time that you disown her you will lose the true comprehension of these rare men whom you admire. Genius is like the flower which draws one half of its life from the moisture that circulates in the earth, and inhales the other half from the atmosphere. The inspiration of genius belongs one half to heaven, the other to the crowd of common mortals from whose life it springs.

Yet we doubt if this does full justice to the work that Carlyle accomplished. It was Carlyle's great mission to discover and to proclaim to this generation the world's need of God. And this he did as no other man in all this century, not even excepting the great Italian himself. "The beginning and the end of what is the matter with us," writes Mazzini, "is that we have forgotten God." This is also the beginning and the end of Carlyle's teaching. He saw through all the shams of his day. He was the great unmasker. He showed the pettiness and the selfishness and the nothingness of the Manchester economy. He blew the clouds away that hid God from the world. Above all, Carlyle saw God *in man*. "Thou, too, art man," he said, "the breath of God is in thee; thou art here below to develop thy being under all its aspects; thy body is a temple; thy immortal soul is the priest, which ought to do sacrifice and ministry for all."

Carlyle's social writings were not his first. They belong to his best period. "Signs of the Times" was first published in the *Edinburgh Review*, and written perhaps at the very time he was writing "Sartor Resartus." "Chartism" (1839), and "Past and Present" (1843) appeared soon after "The French Revolution" (1837). These are his main writings on social themes. He died in 1881.

CARNEGIE, ANDREW: American manufacturer and philanthropist; born at Dunfermline, Scotland, 1835. His father, a weaver in humble circumstances, but ambitious to rise, and an ardent republican, came with his family to the United States in 1845, and settled in Pittsburg. Two years afterward Andrew began his career by tending a small stationary engine, later becoming a telegraph messenger and operator, and being one of the first to read telegraphic signals by sound. He became clerk to the superintendent of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and manager of the telegraph lines. In this position he began making small investments, and so gained the nucleus of his wealth. Promoted to be superintendent of the Pittsburg division of the Pennsylvania Railroad, he was one of a syndicate who purchased property on Oil Creek, which cost $40,000, and in one year yielded over $1,000,000 in cash dividends. He was subsequently associated with others in establishing a rolling-mill, from which has grown the most extensive and complete system of iron and steel industries ever controlled by any individual. He was the first in any large way to introduce the Bessemer process (1868). Mr. Carnegie was the principal owner of the Homestead and Edgar Thomson Steel Works and of other large concerns. In 1899 these interests were consolidated in the Carnegie Steel Company, and two years later Mr. Carnegie sold out to the United States Steel Corporation and retired from business.

Besides directing his great industries, Mr. Carnegie was for a long time the owner of eighteen English newspapers which he controlled in the interests of Radicalism. He has devoted large sums of money to benevolent and educational purposes. In 1879 he erected commodious swimming-baths for the use of the people of Dunfermline, Scotland, and in the following year gave $40,000 for the establishment of a free library, which has since received other large donations. In 1884 he gave $50,000 to Bellevue Hospital Medical College to found a historical laboratory, now called the Carnegie Laboratory. Since then he has endowed libraries to many towns and cities in the United States and Great Britain. His total benefactions have been put at $75,000,000, including $10,000,000 to the Carnegie Institution, Pittsburg; $10,000,000 to the Carnegie Institution, Washington (for advance research work); $10,000,000 to Scottish universities; $10,000,000 for a collegiate professors' pension fund; and $5,200,000 for branch libraries in New York City. His total library donations aggregate more than $40,000,000 for some 1,500 public libraries. In addition to numerous contributions to periodicals, on the labor question and similar topics, Mr. Carnegie is the author of: "An American Four-in-Hand in Britain" (1883); "Round the World" (1884); "Triumphant Democracy" (1886); "The Gospel of Wealth" (1900); "Empire of Business" (1902). *Address*: 2 East Ninety-first Street, New York City.

CARPENTER, EDWARD: English writer; born at Brighton, England, 1844; graduated at Cambridge in 1868, and took orders in 1869. He was for a time curate to the Rev. F. D. MAURICE, at St. Edward's, Cambridge, where he also held a fellowship. About 1871, he changed his religious views, and, resigning his fellowship and curacy, was for seven years a university extension lecturer on science, music, etc. In 1877 he visited the United States, seeing Walt Whitman among others. In 1881 he took to a simple yet artistic farm life, somewhat after the idea of THOREAU, near Sheffield, and began writing "Toward Democracy," issued in 1883, when he first definitely joined the Socialist movement. In 1886 he commenced making sandals, in which he now carries on quite a trade. His farm is at Holmsfield, Sheffield. As an example of Mr. Carpenter's thought and style we quote the following passage from his "Civilization: Its Cause and Cure" (pp. 39, 40):

To-day it is unfortunately perfectly true that man is the only animal who, instead of adorning and beautifying, makes nature hideous by his presence. This was the great glory of the Greeks, that they accepted and perfected nature; as the Parthenon sprang out of the limestone terraces of the Acropolis, carrying the natural lines of the rock by gradations scarce perceptible into the finished and human beauty of frieze and pediment. And some day we shall again understand this which, in the very sunrise of true art, the Greeks so well understood. Possibly some day we shall again build our houses or dwelling-places so simple and elemental in character that they will fit in the nooks of the hills or along the banks of the streams or by the edges of the woods without disturbing the harmony of the landscape or the songs of the birds. No need for private accumulations. Gladly will each man, and more gladly still each woman, take his or her treasures, except what are immediately or necessarily in use, to the

common center, where their value will be increased a hundred and a thousandfold by the greater number of those who can enjoy them, and where far more perfectly and with far less toil they can be tended than if scattered abroad in private hands. At one stroke half the labor and all the anxiety of domestic caretaking will be annihilated. The private dwelling-places, no longer costly and labyrinthine in proportion to the value and number of the treasures they contain, will need no longer to have doors and windows jealously closed against fellow-man or mother nature. The sun and air will have access to them, the indwellers will have unfettered egress. Neither man nor woman will be tied in slavery to the lodge which they inhabit; and in becoming once more a part of nature, the human habitation will at length cease to be what it is now for, at least, half the human race—a prison.

Among Carpenter's works may be mentioned "Toward Democracy"; "England's Ideal"; "Chants of Labor"; "Civilization: Its Cause and Cure"; Love's Coming of Age." *Address*: Holmsfield, Sheffield, England.

CARPENTERS AND JOINERS, AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF: An important English trade-union with branches in the United States. Organized in England in 1860. It reported in 1905 62,212 members in 883 branches in Great Britain and 8,551 members abroad, of which 4,800 were in the U. S. In 1904 the total income of the society was £181,449, and it had funds of £156,627 at the beginning of the year. Its working expenses were £32,301, with £189,249 spent in benefits, of which £90,814 were unemployed, traveling and emigration benefits.

CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA, BROTHERHOOD OF: One of the most important of American trade-unions, organized at Chicago, 1881. Prior to this there had been attempts at a national union, the first as early as 1854, but none had succeeded. This organization, however, met with large success. As early as 1886 the general secretary writes:

In twenty-one cities our local unions have gained twenty-five cents per day advance in wages, making in all fifty-three cities where our local unions have made gains the past year, either in more wages or in reducing hours, while only in nine cities have our local unions failed to secure their demands, and in these cities they demanded the eight-hour system last May. A résumé shows that 2,486 of our members are working eight hours per day, 5,824 are on nine hours per day, and 1,118 are having shorter hours on Saturdays. This makes a total gain to these members of 65,894 hours per week, adding to the gains on the Pacific coast, which amount to 6,540 hours per week, makes a sum total of 72,434 hours per week gained to our members through organization.

It was because of their complete organization and success that to the carpenters was given the honor of leading off in the great strikes of the American Federation of Labor on May 1, 1890.

The movement was successful in 137 cities and benefited 46,197 men. In other cities it failed, or only partially succeeded. By 1894 the Brotherhood had 824 lodges and 65,000 members. By 1903 the union had 109,000 members, and in 1905, 143,200. It paid out in that year $189,045 in death benefits. In some cities it has had some contests with the rival, tho much smaller Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, a society originating in England. The secretary is F. Duffy, P. O. box 520, Indianapolis, Ind.

CARR, EDWARD ELLIS: American editor; Christian Socialist; born near Hidalgo, Ill., 1866; entered ministry of Methodist Church in 1887; officiated successively as missionary in Utah, and as evangelist and pastor in Illinois. In 1898, for theological reasons, he honorably withdrew from the Methodist Church; and in the following year he became pastor of the People's Church, Kalamazoo, Mich. He joined the Socialist Party in 1900, and is now its state committeeman and national organizer. Carr lectures on socialism and popular themes; besides which he is manager of two summer Chautauqua Assemblies. He is a careful student and an able speaker, and stands uncompromisingly for the union of religion and socialism. In 1906 he was influential in starting the CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST FELLOWSHIP. *Address*: 5406 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill.

CARTER, JOHN: Secretary of The (English) Christian Social Union; born in Toronto, Canada, 1861; educated at Upper Canada College, Trinity University, Toronto, and at Exeter College, Oxford (M.A., 1887). After serving for two years as curate in East London, he returned to Oxford, to Pusey House, under its first principal, the Rev. Charles Gore, now Bishop of Birmingham. He was one of the founders of the Christian Social Union, and has been closely identified with its work since its inception in 1889. Besides being general secretary of the main body, he has acted also as honorary secretary of the Oxford University branch. Since its foundation in 1891, he has been editor of the quarterly *Economic Review*. He has been also for several years a member of the Oxford Town Council, as one of the representatives elected by the university. He is in favor of municipal and State socialism, but is most of all concerned to bring the Christian conscience to bear upon modern social problems without being necessarily committed to any particular economic system or political party. *Address*: Pusey House, Oxford, England.

CASSON, HERBERT N.: Magazine editor; born at Ontario, Canada, 1869; educated in Victoria College, Coburg; came to Boston in 1891, and became prominent through his advocacy of public employment of the unemployed. In 1893 he founded at Lynn, Mass., the first labor church in America. Later he joined the Socialist colony at Ruskin, Tenn. In 1898 he was on the editorial staffs of *The New York World* and *The Journal*, and is now (1907) one of the editors of *Munsey's Magazine*. He is an Opportunist Socialist, and is strongly opposed to the Marxian political party. Altho in favor of public ownership of public necessities, he thinks that this should be brought about gradually as the people become competent for such responsibilities. He is the author of: "Organized Self-Help," a history of American trade-unions; "Crime of Credulity"; and "The Romance of Steel and Iron." *Address*: Care of Frank A. Munsey & Co., Flatiron Building, New York City.

CASTRATION: Members of the medical profession frequently recommend castration as a punishment for certain offenses, and as a method of treatment for "sexual perverts." Boies's recent work on "Prisoners and Paupers" culminates in this recommendation. While advances in modern surgery make this a comparatively safe and painless operation, it is doubtful if it will be permitted by modern communities.

Prof. A. G. Warner thinks it may ultimately be very widely used in the treatment of the diseased and criminal classes. He says ("American Charities," p. 133):

"It is likely to be introduced first as a curative treatment in the cases of the insane and the

feeble-minded. Dr. Kerlin, in addressing the Association of Medical Officers of Institutions for the Feeble-Minded, said: 'While considering the help that advanced surgery is to give us, I will refer to a conviction that I have that lifelong salutary results to many of our boys and girls would be realized if before adolescence the procreative organs were removed. My experience extends to only a single case to confirm this conviction; but when I consider the great benefit that this young woman has received, the entire arrest of an epileptic tendency, as well as the removal of inordinate desires which made her an offense to the community; when I see the tranquil, well-ordered life she is leading, her usefulness and industry in the circle in which she moves, and know that surgery has been her salvation from vice and degradation, I am deeply thankful to the benevolent lady whose loyalty to science and comprehensive charity made this operation possible.' "

CATHOLIC TOTAL ABSTINENCE UNION OF AMERICA (1872): A confederation of all the Catholic temperance societies in the country that are approved by the pastors of their respective churches. It embraces 89,400 members, enrolled in 1,042 societies. Its objects are to secure to its members the privilege of being received into societies connected with the union in any part of America; to encourage and aid communities and pastors in establishing new societies, and to spread, by means of Catholic total abstinence publications, correct views regarding total abstinence principles. President, Rt. Rev. J. F. R. Canevin, Bishop of Pittsburg, and General Secretary, J. W. Logue, 1313 Stephen Girard Building, Philadelphia, Pa.

CENTRAL PUBLIC HOUSE TRUST ASSOCIATION: This association was formed in 1901 "for the purposes of promoting temperance by the elimination of private profit from the retail sale of liquor and of securing to the public the monopoly value of licenses."

Its objects are:

(1) To secure the establishment in every county or in other sufficient area of a local trust company or association for the purpose of undertaking the disinterested management of the liquor trade.

(2) To promote the interests of such trust companies wherever formed; to watch on their behalf the administration of the licensing laws; and to secure such amendments as may facilitate the development of the trust system.

(3) To collect information of all experiments whether in this country or abroad in the disinterested management of the liquor trade.

The origin of the movement dates from 1877 when the Rev. Osbert Mordaunt on his appointment to the parish of Hampton Lucy in Warwickshire found himself sole trustee of the village inn. He determined to manage it on the Gothenburg system, the main principles being: (*a*) that the liquor sold should be *pure*; (*b*) that the person who sells the beer should have no interest in the profits.

This experiment was followed by others, and in 1896 the Bishop of Chester and the late Colonel Craufurd formed the People's Refreshment House Association to manage public houses on reformed lines.

The success of this association's work led Lord Grey to form in 1901 the Central Public House Trust Association.

There are now 32 Public House Trust Companies in England and Wales, 5 in Scotland, and 1 in Ireland, managing 210 public houses, a number which is constantly increasing.

The principle underlying the temperance reform at which these trust companies are aiming is the elimination of the element of personal profit from the sale of alcoholic liquors. Accordingly, the dividend payable on the capital subscribed is limited to five per cent per annum, and thus the shareholders have only a nominal monetary interest in the trade. All surplus profits are handed to a council to be applied to objects of public benefit other than those properly chargeable to the rates, the provision of counter-attractions to public houses being especially kept in view.

The houses under trust management are conducted as refreshment houses rather than as mere drinking bars; food, as well as non-intoxicating drinks, including tea, coffee, and cocoa, are as readily served to customers as beer or spirits; and the food and drink supplied are of the best quality obtainable. The managers are paid a fixed salary. They have no interest whatever in the profits arising from the sale of intoxicants, and are, in consequence, under no inducement to push this part of the trade. On the other hand, they are encouraged to promote the sale of food and non-intoxicants.

Further, the elimination of the element of private profit in the sale of alcoholics places the interest of a manager on the side of law and order, and removes the antagonism which at present exists between the interest of the retailer of drink and the public welfare.

The assertion of Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell, never yet disputed, that the net profits realized during the year 1899 by the public houses and beer shops of the United Kingdom amounted to the huge figure of £19,400,000, shows how great a loss the nation has sustained from a licensing system which has allowed the high profits resulting from monopoly rights to be diverted from the pockets of the community to whom they belong to those of privileged individuals.

It has been recently ascertained that between seventy and eighty per cent of the public houses are now in the hands of the big brewery companies; that is to say, these companies have either bought the houses outright or have by other means obtained a financial hold on the establishment, so that the house is "tied" to the brewery. The first object of this "tie," and its first consequence, is the condition that all liquors shall be bought from the brewery.

The following are extracts from the instructions drawn up by the People's Refreshment House Association for the use of their managers and adopted by the various Public House Trust Companies.

The manager placed in charge of a public house belonging to the association must bear in mind that he has been appointed by the Council to conduct the management on certain fixed principles.

These principles are:

(1) That the general arrangement and management of the house shall be on the lines of a house of refreshment instead of a mere drinking bar.

(2) That food and a good variety of non-intoxicant drinks shall be as easily accessible to customers as beer and spirits.

(3) That the licensing laws enacted by Parliament for the regulation of public houses, and the promotion of temperance, shall be most strictly carried out in every particular.

(4) That the holder of a license is in a sense a servant of the public, and that he must study the comfort, well-being, and health of his customers; that his house must therefore be scrupulously clean, and that the rooms most used by the public must be comfortably arranged, well warmed in winter, and well ventilated.

The tariff of prices is to be placed conspicuously in the bar, taproom, and parlor, and the prices thereon advertised must not be departed from.

Intoxicants are not to be exposed with a view to attract customers, but every means is to be taken on the other hand to expose food and non-alcoholic drinks, so as to encourage their consumption.

In addition to the registered companies with a total subscribed capital of over £300,000, committees have been appointed in those parts of the United Kingdom which are not yet provided with trust companies for the purpose of promoting their formation.

Further, the promises of landowners to hand over to the trust companies of their respective counties the licensed houses on their estates, on the expiration of current leases, warrant the anticipation that the number of licensed houses that will come under trust management from this source alone will in the near future more than double the number of those already secured.

In various parts of Great Britain, in Ontario, Manitoba, South Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania, Mauritius, Natal, and the Transvaal, active agencies are at work forming a public opinion in favor of applying trust principles to the management of monopoly houses.

From individual reports all pointing one way, we give the following:

"The Waterman's Arms," Bankside, Southwark (the first "Trust" house in London), was opened for business, after rebuilding, on Jan. 14, 1904. Situated in a working-class district, it now does a busy trade in cheap breakfasts, dinners, and teas. At the bar in the workmen's dining hall about eight gallons of tea and coffee are sold by 10 A.M. each day. There is a saloon dining-room on the first floor, in which luncheons and teas are provided at a moderate price. The takings for food and temperance drinks are frequently larger than the sales at the bar, though under the previous tenant practically nothing was sold but beer and spirits.

It is to be noted that the takings for alcoholics in 1903 were about £420 less than in 1902 at the houses managed throughout the two years, and that the years 1902 and 1901 had already shown a decrease of nearly £500 as compared with 1900. On the other hand, every facility is given for the supply of tea, coffee, etc., and there has been a steady demand for bowls of cheap soup at several of our country inns.

The secretary of the association is Hugh A. Paget, 15, Dean's Yard, London, S. W.

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CENTRALIZATION is used in social science for the tendency to administer, by the sovereign or the central government, matters which might be placed under local management. The legitimate application is to a state of change from local to central management. Europe to-day is profoundly moved by the tendency, and has been ever since the existing European states began to grow out of the chaos of the fall of the Roman empire. That empire itself was, however, the greatest instance of centralization which the world has yet seen. In it the numerous municipalities and other local organizations originally existing in Italy, and communicated to the colonies, were entirely centralized. In England we can trace centralization from the time when there were about a dozen kings in Britain, and perhaps as many in Ireland, till the United Kingdom came under the rule of one monarch. In other countries—as, for instance, in France, notwithstanding her desperate struggles for freedom—the process long tended to a pure irresponsible despotism, but now has issued in a centralized republicanism. The British Constitution turns the process to use instead of mischief. While administrative authority has been centralizing in the crown, the controlling power of Parliament has been increasing more rapidly, so that the vesting of a function in the crown means the putting it under the control of Parliament, and especially of the House of Commons. There is nothing done in any of the offices under the government for which a secretary of state, or some other member of the ministry, may not at any time be called to account. The creation of the county councils is a recent step in this direction in a somewhat different line.

In the United States the problem of centralization or decentralization has, under different names (see STATE RIGHTS), played a very important part. It may be said to be the distinguishing point between the two great political parties which, under different names, have from the beginning divided this country.

In the United States

In the first continental congresses, the fundamental problem was how much power to give each state, and when the Constitution was proposed, this was still the burning question. Led by Hamilton, the men who believed in a somewhat strong central government gradually took the name of Federalists, gaining their ideas mainly from England; while, largely under the lead of Jefferson, those who believed in giving much power to the states and little to the central government took the name of Republicans or Democratic-Republicans, and are the direct ancestors of the present Democratic Party. Washington, though in reality of neither party, was by force of circumstances a Federalist, and during his presidency (1789–97), with that of Adams (1797–1801), this party was in power, giving us the necessary unifying elements of our Constitution, especially as regards financial measures. Then, owing to Federalist errors, the Republican-Democratic Party came into power with Jefferson (1801–1809), Madison (1809–17), and Monroe (1817–25). During this long period of "Jefferson democracy," the decentralizing state-rights influence was in power. The doctrine that that was the best government which governed least applied to the states, but especially to the central government. The Jeffersonian party was strong with the masses and the agricultural interests. Jefferson did away with much of the ceremonialism of Washington. The Federalists were strong with the commercial and manufacturing interests and the Puritanism of New England, which, in spite of worship of the local "town-meeting" self-government, revolted at the atheism of the French Revolution, and connected it with the Democratic-Republican Party. In general the Federalists stood for a loose construction of the Constitution, since this gave them opportunity to expand the central powers, altho they were ready to resist Congress when it stood in their way (there was even talk of a secession of the trading states from the union), while the Jeffersonians generally favored strict construction, since that would limit the powers of government; yet they were willing even to violate the Constitution, if that were necessary, to effect the purchase of Louisiana. Hamilton, however, died in 1803, and the Federalists had no leader.

In 1825, however, there came a change. Sectional quarrels under Monroe led to the election of John Quincy Adams (1825–29), who was, on the whole, a Federalist, tho he had toyed with the Republican-Democrats; and under the personal influence of Clay and Jackson, two great parties were again developed—the one, under the name of Democrats, maintaining the traditions of the old Democratic-Republican Party, and electing its candidate, Andrew Jackson (1829–37); the other, under the name, first, of National Republican and then Whig, maintaining the principles of the Federalists. The question of centralization was at this time carried out in another direction, in Jackson's vehement attack upon the National Bank of North America, which had been chartered by Congress. (See BANKS AND BANKING.) Resting mainly upon the Southern and agricultural vote, the Democrats were inclined to free trade, while the Whigs, with their manufacturing interests, favored protection. Meanwhile, another great question, which, while it had existed from the beginning, only now became so serious, was modified by the same

contest between centralizing and decentralizing tendencies. The South, mainly Jeffersonian, or Democratic, believed in state rights and slavery. The North, more Federalist, or Whig, gradually came to oppose slavery. Nevertheless, the Southern Democrats feared to break with Northern Democrats, and the Northern Whigs feared to alienate the South, and, therefore, temporized. The result was a complication of issues, the springing up of new parties—Abolitionists, Free Soilers, etc.—and the election of Van Buren (1837–41), Democrat; W. H. Harrison, who died shortly after his inauguration (1841), Whig, leaving John Tyler President (1841–45), who was only nominally a Whig, and really a Democrat; James K. Polk (1845–49), Democrat; Zachary Taylor (1849), Whig, who also died soon after inauguration, leaving Fillmore President (1850–53), Whig; Pierce (1853–57), Democrat; Buchanan (1857–61), Democrat.

State Rights

The War of the Rebellion was fought not directly to abolish slavery, but to preserve the union by conquering the states which had pushed the decentralizing state-rights doctrine to the extreme of secession. The Whig Party had now given place to a new party, the Republican, made up of Whigs, Free Soilers, and others, which yet on questions of centralization, protection, etc., carried out Whig principles. The election of Lincoln (1861–65), Republican; the victory of the North; Lincoln's assassination, Andrew Johnson, Vice-President, becoming President (1865–69), Republican, are well known.

Since the war the state-rights question has been less prominent, it having been largely settled by the war; but the centralizing or decentralizing question has still remained. The tendency, however, tho much criticized, is strongly toward centralization. The federal government almost inevitably steadily extends its control and its legislation over whole domains formerly left too exclusively to state action, e. g., interstate commerce, proposals for federal control of banking, insurance, etc., propositions for federal divorce laws, etc.

The present growing problems of social reform are also affected by the same tendencies, some advocating a highly centralized government; others (even most Socialists and nationalists) advocating a decentralized government, with great emphasis on local self-government, as developed in the old Saxon folk-mote and the New England town-meeting, giving us municipalism as even more important than the national element of nationalism, which includes all governmental action, state and municipal. Many Socialists, and notably William Morris in England, favor a government so decentralized as to be little more than a confederation of communes.

This brief résumé will indicate how far this question has entered into our national history and how far it may yet affect our national politics and procedure.

CHALMERS, THOMAS: Scottish clergyman; political economist; born at Anstruther, Fife County, 1780. He was early destined for the Church, and at the age of eleven was enrolled as a student in the University of St. Andrews. In 1803 he was ordained as minister of Kilmany, a small parish near St. Andrews. He taught classes at St. Andrews, and gained great popularity and fame throughout all Scotland. In 1815, after a battle over his evangelical views, which were then much opposed, he became minister of the great Tron parish, in Glasgow, and in 1819 of the parish of St. John's. In 1828 he accepted the chair of theology in Edinburgh. Here he finished, in three volumes, his "Christian and Civic Economy in Large Towns," and his "Political Economy," besides many theological and philosophical works. Here, too, he had more leisure for general church activities, and he was placed at the head of the Church Extension Committee. After the withdrawal from the General Assembly (1842), Dr. Chalmers was the first moderator of the Free Church of Scotland.

In visiting his first Glasgow parish, which contained a population of about 11,000 souls, Chalmers speedily discovered that nearly a third of them had relinquished all connection with any Christian church, and that their children were growing up in ignorance and vice. The appalling magnitude of the evil, and the certainty of its speedy and frightful growth, at once arrested and engrossed him. To devise and execute the means of checking and subduing it became thenceforth one of the ruling passions of his life. Attributing the evil to the absence of those parochial influences, educational and ministerial, which wrought so effectually for good in the smaller rural parishes, but which had not been brought to bear upon the overgrown parishes of great cities, from all spiritual oversight of which the members of the Establishment had retired in despair, his grand panacea was to revivify, remodel, and extend the old parochial economy of Scotland. Taking his own parish as a specimen, and gaging by it the spiritual necessities of the city, he did not hesitate to publish it as his conviction that not less than twenty new churches and parishes should immediately be erected in Glasgow. All, however, that he could persuade the town council to attempt was to erect a single additional one, to which a parish containing no fewer than 10,000 souls was attached.

Social Experiments

In 1819 he became minister of the parish of St. John's. This parish contained 2,000 families, chiefly weavers, factory operatives, and laborers. More than 800 families had no connection with any church; and nearly all the children were uneducated. He at once established two large school-houses, in which 700 children were taught at very low fees. For those too poor to afford even a small school fee he opened forty or fifty Sabbath-schools. In a short time these Sabbath-schools contained 1,000 children. Dr. Chalmers then divided his parish into twenty-five districts, and placed over each an elder, to watch over the spiritual interests of the people, and a deacon, to care for their temporal interests. He retained control and direction of all, not only overseeing the work of others, but making 1,000 visits among the families annually, and holding evening meetings. It was his special desire to test the old Scotch method of caring for the poor—by voluntary contributions taken at the church door and administered by the kirk session. He was strongly against the English system of compulsory assessment; and obtained permission of the Glasgow magistrates to try the Scotch plan with St. John's. His experiment was a complete success. When he took the parish its poor cost the city about $7,000 a year; but after four years of his management this sum was reduced to less than $1,400 a year. This was done by his thorough organization of the parish, his rejection of the idle, drunken, and vicious, his personal visits among the poor and kindly sympathy with them, and his stimulation of the needy to self-respect and industry.

Chalmers's "Political Economy" seeks to secure the economic elevation of society by moral means. He defined political economy as the "diffusion of sufficiency and comfort." He believed that without a Christian education to give self-control, progress would be impossible. He felt the need of a more radical cure than philanthropy and a more sympathetic one than legislation. He favored home trade rather than foreign trade. His economic idol was agriculture, as giving both occupation and maintenance. He died in 1847.

CHARITIES, STATE BOARDS OF: State Boards of Charities, under one name or another, but with the same general purposes, exist in a number of the states. They are branches of their respective state governments, usually created by legislative enactment, altho in some states provided for in state constitutions, because it has been found desirable, in the interest of good administration, to exercise independent supervision over charitable and kindred institutions. As a rule, these boards are composed of philanthropic citizens, appointed by the governor, and in some cases confirmed by the legislature, who are independent of partizan influences and render practically unpaid service to the state.

Generally speaking, the chief functions of these boards are to visit and inspect charitable and reformatory institutions in order to secure the correction of evils and abuses in their administration and to encourage the adoption of progressive methods in their management. Such boards have, usually, but limited powers of administration or control, in so far as the actual management of the institutions within their jurisdiction is concerned. Their powers and duties are, however, continually being added to as the growth and complexity of charitable work in their respective states makes this appear to be necessary. For this reason the duties of the several boards

differ materially in some of the details of work, while in the main they are the same.

The influence they exert, while almost entirely a moral one, is shown by experience to be both efficient and useful. This will readily be apparent to those who study the conditions at the almshouses and other public institutions of charity both previous to and since the establishment of State Boards of Charities. At the same time, it is also true that other social forces have cooperated to secure the great improvements that have been made during recent years in the administration of this general class of institutions.

The first State Board of Charities was established in Massachusetts in 1865, and is still in existence. Other like boards are to be found in New York, 1867; Ohio, 1867; Pennsylvania, 1869; Illinois, 1869; North Carolina, 1869; Michigan, 1871; Connecticut, 1873; Nebraska, 1877; Indiana, 1889; South Dakota, 1890; Colorado, 1891; New Hampshire, 1895; Tennessee, 1895; Missouri, 1897; District of Columbia, 1900; California, 1903; and in Wyoming and Montana.

State Boards of Control are found in some of the states, but these boards are primarily administrative in their character, and take the place of the individual boards of trustees of the state institutions, rather than that of the boards of charities.

Such State Boards of Control are to be found in Kansas, 1868; Rhode Island, 1869; Arizona, 1894; Iowa, 1898; Minnesota, 1901; Washington, 1901. Fuller information with relation to the composition and work of these two classes of state boards may be found in the published proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections.

It is the custom of the State Boards of Charities and of the State Boards of Control to issue annual or biennial reports according to the legislative custom in their respective states, and to publish from time to time other useful documents with relation to their work. These reports and documents are usually to be found in the public and other principal libraries, and copies may be obtained upon application sent to the offices of the boards at their respective state capitals, where complaints calling for investigation and other communications should also be sent.

ROBERT W. HEBBERD,
Commissioner of Public Charities of the City of New York.

CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETIES, or ASSOCIATED CHARITIES, are in their present form a distinctly modern movement. In 1819 the Rev. Dr. Chalmers (*q. v.*), in his parish at St. John's, Glasgow, comprising 10,000 souls, in the poorest part of the city, became convinced that miscellaneous almsgiving did more harm than good; and, with the consent of the civic authorities, he undertook to stop all such bestowal of alms, and instead to institute a system of friendly visiting among the needy by a corps of workers, who were only to give relief in case of extreme necessity, but to do all they could to enable the poor to help themselves. The result was considered very favorable; the amount of pauper relief was very much diminished, and yet there was less suffering than before. After Dr. Chalmers, however, left the parish, in 1823, the experiment dragged on for fourteen years and then came to an end. Meanwhile similar experiments on a smaller scale were made elsewhere. From 1828–1844 district visiting societies were formed in several London societies, while societies for repressing mendacity in begging were much older. In 1868 Edward Denison (*q. v.*), a son of the Bishop of Salisbury, went to live in the East End of London to study for himself at first hand the problems of the poor. He became convinced of the same principles at which Dr. Chalmers had arrived. He wrote:

"I am beginning seriously to believe that all bodily aid to the poor is a mistake; whereas by giving alms you keep them permanently crooked. Build schoolhouses, pay teachers, give prizes, frame workmen's clubs, help them to help themselves, lend them your brains, but give them no money, except what you sink in such undertakings."

As a result, in 1869 a society was formed to act upon these principles, organized by Denison and some friends spurred on by his words and the experience of Octavia Hill (*q. v.*) in her work with her poor tenants. The society was called the London Society for Organizing Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicity, soon popularly abbreviated into the Charity Organization Society. The movement rapidly grew, and aimed at bringing all the vast charitable relief of London, whether legal, corporate, or individual, into one administration. It has not done this, but has become a vast and thoroughly oganized system, with a network throughout England.

In England

In England and Wales there are at present nearly 100 charity organization societies (under different names), nine in Scotland, and two in Ireland. There are also seven in Canada, six in Australia, three in India, and nine in other British colonies.

The (London) Charity Organization Society has headquarters at Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S. W., with district committees in each of the forty Poor Law Unions. It declares its object to be "to give a definite aim to and to direct into most effective channels the large amount of benevolent force at work in England and particularly in London." The central committee does not relieve directly, but aims at propagating sound views on the subject of charity by publication and discussion, promoting cooperation, suggesting new institutions on good principles, collecting information relating to individuals and of general import, and preventing misapplication. Its principles may be summed up as follows: (1) That all relief should aim at making the recipient independent of relief. (2) That no relief should be given without thorough inquiry and investigation. (3) That existing institutions should be utilized as far as possible. (4) That all relief should be adequate to secure the object with which it is given.

According to the Annual Charities Registry for 1906 the total income of the various charitable agencies reported that year in London was £8,720,986.

The United States

The history of charity organization in the United States has closely followed that of England. In the fifties there had been organized in almost all the large cities relief societies, usually called Societies for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor. They were often conducted in theory upon principles of modern charity, but in practise, says Mr. Kellogg, "they sank into the sea of common almsgiving, appealing to their patrons for support on the ground that the money given to them would enable them to enlarge the number of their beneficiaries or increase the amount of their gifts, and attracting the needy to their doors with the hope of loaves and fishes. . . . From every quarter testimony arises that the system was without adequate safeguards of investigation, tests of destitution or means of hindering duplication of relief from several sources simultaneously, or of making the relief adequate to the necessity."

It was under such conditions that the movement toward charity organization commenced.

Beginnings

Altho the movement traces its origin to the London Society there were several independent centers in which it appeared nearly simultaneously in this country. In 1874 Rev. Charles G. Ames led in the formation, upon London models, of an association in Germantown, a suburban ward of Philadelphia, which employed household visitors to investigate applicants for aid, availed itself of the soup-houses, fuel societies, churches, and especially of the

outdoor municipal relief in procuring the requisite assistance, and supplemented it as need indicated from its own resources.

In the same year a Bureau of Charities was formed in New York City, of which Mr. Henry E. Pellew was chief promoter and secretary, that proposed to register persons receiving outdoor relief, either from the city, benevolent societies, or individuals; but the scheme was frustrated the next year by the refusal of the largest relief-giving society in the city to cooperate. This plan met with better success in Boston. In the autumn of 1875 the Cooperative Society of Visitors among the Poor was formed in Boston, whose theater of operation was in the North End. The plan was a modification of the Elberfeld system as proposed by Octavia Hill for London. No visitor was to have more than four "cases" on hand, and lists were obtained from a physician of that congested and poor district. The society held weekly conferences of visitors and representatives of other charities.

Buffalo has the honor of being the first city in the United States to produce a complete Charity Organization Society of the London type. The Rev. S. H. Gurteen, an English clergyman, who had been active in the London Society, proposed in 1877 the creation of a clearing office to which the charitable agencies of the city should send daily reports. On Dec. 11, 1877, the Charity Organization Society was set afoot at a public meeting.

Various Cities

In the spring of 1876 a Registration Committee was formed by private citizens of Boston, and work was begun in the autumn, carried on until the spring of 1878, and then abandoned in view of the larger enterprise then under discussion. The large relief societies knew the worth of registration, but doubted the value of "friendly visiting." They were willing to support the new movement, provided "the visitors had no power of relief." This condition was fortunately acceded to, and on Feb. 26, 1878, a provisional commission was formed by delegates from many charities, which carried on the work until December 8th, when the present constitution of the Associated Charities of Boston was adopted and went into effect.

New Haven was next in line, May 23, 1878.

Philadelphia brought forward its type in 1878. A large committee was appointed to draw up a plan, and on June 13, 1878, a constitution was adopted and a provisional organization set on foot. This instrument was dominated by the idea of reproducing in each of the thirty wards of the city a complete association like that existing in Germantown.

Cincinnati was in the field, Nov. 18, 1879.

Brooklyn was another center where the movement arose spontaneously. In 1877 a commission of citizens undertook the investigation of outdoor relief, which in that year comprized 46,350 beneficiaries and involved an expenditure of $141,207. This resulted in restricting municipal out-relief to coal in 1878, and in its total abolition the next year. In 1879 Mr. Seth Low, who had been providentially and unpremeditatedly present at the inauguration of the Buffalo society and deeply imprest thereby, enlisted Mr. Alfred T. White, and they, with others who had been instrumental in abolishing the outdoor relief of the city, together with the volunteer visitors of the out-poor, organized the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, which does not give relief, but maintains wood-yards, laundries, workrooms, and a woman's lodging-house.

New York demands especial notice here. The difficulties encountered in securing influential cooperation in 1874 for a time paralyzed further effort, altho the necessity for some organization was long discussed by persons interested in charitable enterprises. In 1881 the matter was taken up by the State Board of Charities, and through its initiative the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York was founded in January, 1882, and incorporated on May 10th following. It followed the Boston plan in respect to the important features of giving no relief and of creating district associations maintained from a common treasury and under central control.

The movement found an expression of its unity in the National Conference of Charities and Corrections when, in 1879, Mr. Seth Low presented a description of the work in Brooklyn and a committee was appointed upon charity organization.

National Conference

There are at present some 300 associations, representing charity organizations in the world. Two hundred of these are in the U. S. and Canada. They are not organically connected, and perhaps the best way briefly to study them is to give a concrete statement of the objects of one of them, the Charity Organization of the City of New York. It is a society:

(1) For organizing and coordinating charitable work.

(2) For receiving applications for aid, carefully sifting and testing them, and obtaining from the proper sources prompt and adequate relief of such as are in need.

(3) For encouraging the establishment of new agencies where they are required; for giving expert confidential advice to the benevolent in their benefactions, and for giving accurate information in regard to charitable institutions, almoners, or agents that appeal for contributions.

(4) For helping the poor through wise counsel based upon experience, through personal service of volunteer visitors, and through all such means as will make them at the earliest possible moment self-supporting and self-respecting members of the community.

In addition to the Central Offices and Application Bureau in the United Charities Building, and the ten district offices in various parts of the city, the society conducts ten main departments, as follows:

(1) Investigation Bureau, United Charities Building. Investigations are made for private persons, hospitals, dispensaries and other institutions. For this purpose and to ascertain whether new families that make application are in need of aid, the society maintains a special corps of investigating agents in connection with the Registration Bureau.

(2) Registration Bureau, United Charities Building. A confidential record of all investigations made by the society, and of the action taken on behalf of families under its care. Information is given through the Central Office or by mail to those who have a legitimate charitable interest in the families concerned.

(3) Wood-yard, 516 West Twenty-eighth Street. To provide work for residents with families for a cash remuneration, and to test their willingness to work. Homeless men may earn meals and lodgings.

(4) Laundry, 516 West Twenty-eighth Street. To provide temporary employment for women with families. Expert laundresses are supplied through the employment registry of the laundry.

(5) The Penny Provident Fund, United Charities Building. For the encouragement of small savings through the stamp system.

(6) Publications. *Charities*, a weekly periodical of local and general philanthropy and of social activities; a means of communication among workers and of information to the public. Annual subscription, $2. "The Charities Directory," cloth, $1, published annually. It gives reliable information concerning the various charitable and beneficent institutions of New York City, carefully classified and fully indexed. "Handbook on the Prevention of Tuberculosis," 388 pp.; cloth, $1; paper, fifty cents. "The Directory of Institutions and Societies Dealing with Tuberculosis in the United States and Canada," 270 pp.; cloth, $1.

(7) Library, United Charities Building. A public reference library of applied sociology. All who are interested in charitable subjects are made welcome.

(8) Tenement House Committee, United Charities Building. To improve the condition of tenement-houses by securing proper legislation, by securing the enforcement of the existing laws, and by encouraging the building of model tenements.

(9) The Committee on the Prevention of Tuberculosis. By research into the social aspects of tuberculosis, by the publication of information concerning the curability and the communicable character of the diseases through lectures, leaflets, and otherwise; by the promotion of movements for the erection of sanatoria; by obtaining special relief for those whose chances of recovery will thus be increased and in other ways to aid in the movement for the prevention of the disease.

(10) The School of Philanthropy. To fit men and women for social service either as professional or as volunteer workers. Full information contained in the "Handbook of the School," which will be sent on application.

(11) The Department for the Improvement of Social Conditions. A complete list of the 200 charity organization societies in the U. S. and Canada is published each year in the annual report of the New York Charity Organization Society.

In Germany there are 29; France, 19; Austria, 9; Italy, 9; Belgium, 6; Russia, 5; Holland, 5; Switzerland, 4; Sweden and Norway, 3; Spain, 2; Denmark, 1; Greece, 1; Turkey, 1. (See also ELBERFELD SYSTEM.)

REFERENCES: *Supervision and Education in Charity*, by Jeffrey R. Brackett, 1903; *The Practice of Charity*, by Edward T. Devine, 1901; *Principles of Relief*, by the same, 1904; *Modern Methods of Charity*, by C. R. Henderson, 1904; *History of Charity Organizations in the U. S.*, by Charles D. Kellog, 1893; *History of State Boards of Charity*, by W. P. Letchworth, in Report New York State Board of Charity, 1892; *Charity Organization*, by C. S. Loch, 1890; *Methods of Social Advance*, by the same, 1904; *American Charities*, by A. G. Warner, 1894.

Revised by EDWARD T. DEVINE, Secretary of the New York Charity Organization Society.

CHARTISM: A movement in England for political and social reform, beginning about 1837 and extending over about seventeen years till 1854. The word is a shortened form of "Charterism," and rose from the "Charter" which was demanded by the advocates of reform at that time. [A copy of this may be found in Gammage's "History of the Chartist Movement," Appendix B, p. 411. It bears this title: "The

People's Charter. Being a bill to provide for the just representation of the people of Great Britain and Ireland in the Commons House of Parliament. Revised at a conference of the people, held at Birmingham, December, 1842."] The origin of this charter was both political and social, and illustrates how social and political causes were at the bottom of the Chartist movement.

The reform movement of 1832 had proved unsatisfactory to the working classes of England in that it had not done for them what they had been led to expect. It was indeed essentially a middle-class movement, and not a working-class movement at all. It accomplished this, that it established the representative principle as beyond question that of the English Constitution. It is but a step from this to manhood suffrage, but the Liberal Party was not yet ready to take this step. Only the radical members were ready for it in the House of Commons. At the same time the wretched condition in which the mass of the working people of England found themselves—such a condition as Charles Kingsley has described in "Yeast" and in "Alton Locke"—made the working classes ready for any scheme which would hold out to them any hope of relief. This led to the formation about this time in London of the Working Men's Association. Naturally enough this association and the radical element in the House of Commons came together. A committee was appointed, consisting partly of members of Parliament and partly of members of the association, which committee molded their views into a bill, afterward adopted at a public meeting. This bill was called "The People's Charter." Its principal demands were these, which may be called the six points of Chartism: (1) Universal manhood suffrage; (2) Annual Parliaments; (3) vote by ballot; (4) no property qualification; (5) payment of members; and (6) equal voting districts.

Six Points

With the members of Parliament who took part in thus inaugurating the movement it would seem largely to have been a matter of politics rather than of deep conviction. Perhaps they were scared at the specter which they raised. But it is certain that in a short time they ceased almost to a man to give it their support. Daniel O'Connell, for example, who is said to have handed the charter to Lovett with these words, "There, Lovett, is your charter; agitate for it and never be content with anything less," soon after did all he could to oppose it, and continued to the day of his death a bitter opponent of the Chartist movement.

But with the workingmen the case was very different. With them it was a question of paramount importance—a cause to which they devoted themselves with unbounded enthusiasm, if not always with discretion. Missionaries went out from the metropolitan association into all the great cities of England to form similar associations and to agitate for the charter. Some of these were men of exceptional ability. Perhaps the ablest as a writer and a man of business was William Lovett, the secretary of the association, a native of Cornwall, who had come in utter poverty to London and picked up the trade of a joiner. Another was Henry Vincent, a man gifted with singular powers as an orator. He is described as being extremely graceful in person, with a fine mellow, flexible voice, a most winning expression except in moments of passion, of great fluency of speech and rare power of imitation. He was regarded by his admirers as the young Demosthenes of English democracy. But the man who came to be regarded as perhaps most representative of the movement was Fergus O'Connor, an Irishman, who had first come into prominence in the Irish elections of 1831. Gaining the ear of the operatives in the manufacturing district he launched a paper called *The Northern Star*, which more than any other became the organ of the movement. O'Connor was its proprietor, but the Rev. William Hill its editor, which shows that some at least of the clergy were drawn in. Nor was *The Northern Star* the only paper devoted to the propaganda of the Charter, for the Workingmen's Association already had its journal in *The London Despatch*, while *The Northern Liberator* in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, *The True Scotsman* in Edinburgh, *The Birmingham Journal* in Birmingham, *The Operative*, *The Charter*, and *The Champion*, each presented some special aspect of the common cause.

During the summer and fall of 1838 the movement made rapid progress. Meetings were held in the great cities, where the number of people gathered would seem almost incredible, and where the enthusiasm was unbounded. At Glasgow there was a mighty demonstration on May 28th, when "it was computed that not fewer than 200,000 of the stalwart sons of labor displayed their toil-worn faces in this gigantic gathering. . . . "The very heavens rang with the lively strains of music and the shouts of the enthusiastic multitude. There were forty bands of music, and more than 200 flags and banners waved gracefully in the breeze." On June 27th a monster meeting was held on the Town Moor at Newcastle, where it was estimated that 80,000 people were assembled. Birmingham followed with a still larger meeting, and Manchester, not to be outdone, answered on Sept. 27th with a gathering which the reporter of *The Morning Advertiser* estimated at not less than 300,000. At these gatherings speeches were made on the wrongs of the working classes, and the good that would come from securing the charter. The speeches were always fervid, not seldom inflammatory, sometimes passing the bounds of right and reason. Delegates were also chosen to attend a convention to be held the following winter (Feb., 1839).

Growth

At this convention the weaknesses inherent in a movement of this sort began to show themselves. The convention was divided into two parties, one of which favored only peaceful methods, the other an ultimate appeal to force. The authorities could not pass by such language as was often used by agitators of the latter class, particularly when the great meetings, which had been held in the daytime, began to give place to torchlight processions at night, when it was plain that liberty of speech might easily pass over into license of action. Collisions between the authorities and the Chartist leaders or speakers became of frequent occurrence. At Birmingham Dr. Taylor, Lovett, and Collins were arrested, when the mob retaliated by setting fire to the property of some obnoxious individuals. Meanwhile the petition for the charter, signed by 1,280,000 persons, had been presented, on Jan. 14th, to the House of Commons, and turned down by the overwhelm-

Weaknesses of the Movement

ing vote of 237 to 48. This summary rejection of their demands, together with the frequent arrests of their members and the harsh treatment which they received, still further embittered the Chartists. At Newport, on Nov. 4, 1839, occurred what has been called "The Welsh Insurrection." A large body of the working people of the district (their number is variously estimated from 1,000 to 20,000), marched into Newport. Just what they had in mind seems uncertain, but it was probably a movement to release Vincent and other prominent Chartists who, it was reported, were being treated harshly in prison. Falling in with a company of the Forty-fifth Regiment, some shots were fired by the Chartists, and returned by the soldiers with deadly effect, ten of the Chartists being killed and fifty wounded. The leaders were arrested and tried for high treason, and three of them—Frost, Williams, and Jones—were sentenced to death, but their sentences were afterward commuted and they were transported. In other parts of England similar severe repressive measures were resorted to, while the movement was even more effectually checked by the divisions among its leaders. This appears from the fact that the second petition for the Charter, on its presentation to the House of Commons, had but 33,000 signatures.

The agitation for the Charter continued, however, till 1848, when it received its death-blow. The French revolution of that year for a time infused new hope and courage into the Chartists. Why could not that be done in England which had been done in France? It was determined to make an new appeal for the Charter to the House of Commons, and to back it up with such a display of members that it would be sure to receive the consideration it deserved. But, warned by what had taken place in France, the authorities determined to run no risk. The Duke of Wellington was put in charge of seeing that due precautions were taken. With his accustomed energy and wisdom the troops at his command were so disposed that they should not irritate the sympathizers with the movement, but would be ready at strategic points for immediate action. More than 200,000 special constables were sworn in, men of all ranks and conditions vying with one another in seeking the office. The marching in procession to the House of Commons, which had originally been planned, was forbidden, tho the Chartists were allowed to hold their meeting, so that the monster petition was presented on April 10, 1848, with little or no noise or tumult. The petition was so huge that it was carried in three cabs. It was presented by Fergus O'Connor, who claimed that it was signed by 5,700,000 people; but on being counted the actual number of signatures was found to be only 1,975,496. A considerable portion of these were palpable frauds, as among them were such names as Victoria Rex, the Duke of Wellington, and Sir Robert Peel; and multitudes of fictitious names were signed, such as Pugnose, Longnose, Flatnose, Punch, Snooks, Fubbs, etc. A petition thus discredited received but scant attention; and tho the Chartist movement struggled on for six or seven years longer, it had passed from the domain of practical consideration.

The Final Struggle

It is difficult to estimate the value and importance of the Chartist movement. Judged by what was immediately accomplished it would seem to have been a great failure, starting in an imposing manner and resulting in next to nothing. But it would be but a superficial judgment which would thus estimate the movement. The fact is that a large part of what the charter claimed has since been brought about. How much of what advance toward democracy England has made in the last twenty-five years is due to the Chartist movement it is impossible to say; but the reading of history would lead us to believe that the fruitage of the close of the nineteenth century, Liberalism, was in no inconsiderable measure due to the seeds planted at that time.

REFERENCES: *History of the Chartist Movement*, by Gammage; *Risings of the Luddites*, by Peil; *Autobiography of Thomas Cooper; Alton Locke*, by Kingsley; *History of Our Own Times*, by McCarthy, chs. v., xviii., *Condition of the Working Classes in* 1844, by Engel; *Historical Basis of Socialism in England*, by Hyndman; *Letters*, by Charles Kingsley, ch. vii.; *Life* of Frederick Denison Maurice.

PHILO W. SPRAGUE.

CHASE, JOHN CALVIN: State secretary of Socialist Party of New York; born in Gilmonton, N. H., 1870. At the age of eight years he began work in a woolen mill, and at thirteen took up the trade of a shoemaker. He became a member of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union in 1888, and was elected delegate to the National Convention in Boston. In 1890 he removed to Haverhill, Mass., where he worked as a shoemaker, and became an active trade-unionist and Socialist. He was elected Mayor of Haverhill in 1898, and reelected in 1899, being the first Socialist mayor elected in the United States. For two years he traveled as national organizer and lecturer for the Socialist Party of America. Mr. Chase believes that the working class should organize as a political party for the purpose of taking control of the government, so that through and by such control they may abolish private ownership of the means of life, and establish a system of collective ownership and operation. *Address*: 66 East Fourth Street, New York City.

CHAUTAUQUA INSTITUTION: In August, 1874, Lewis Miller, of Akron, O., and Bishop John H. Vincent organized the first Chautauqua Institution. Its name was derived from Chautauqua Lake, in New York State, on the shore of which the meeting was held. It began as a summer school for the better training of Bible teachers, and endeavored to lay most emphasis on the "week-day forces" in religious culture. Its two founders desired to give Sunday-school teachers a continued, progressive, and thorough study of biblical literature and pedagogical principles. The first meeting was a success; and by a gradual and natural growth the plan has been broadened to include instruction in almost all branches of knowledge; the session has been extended from two weeks to two months (July and August); and a town has been built up which presents an interesting study to the educator and sociologist in its municipal government and its ideals of life. All the essential features of the institution were adopted by 1878, tho various important changes and additions have promoted its consistent development from year to year. It is at present incorporated as Chautauqua Institution under the laws of the State of New York. Its management is entrusted to a board of twenty-four trustees, elected either by the owners of property at Chautauqua, or in case a quorum of such electors cannot be secured, by the board itself. The institution is not a stock company, nor are the

trustees interested in the land beyond the ownership of lots for private use. By the provisions of the charter, all surplus funds must be used for the improvement and extension of the institution's work. The president and chancellor never received compensation for their services. Those officers upon whom falls the management of details are paid ordinary salaries.

Chautauqua has become a city where municipal functions are extended to include free public instruction and entertainment. This expense is defrayed by a system of taxation which falls upon all within the town, however brief the term of citizenship. The tariff is: one day, 40 cents; one week, $1.75; two weeks, $2.80; four weeks, $4; season, $6. Citizenship includes the privilege of attending all exercises of the general program, and access to the museum, the reading-room, the models, etc.

The educational activities of Chautauqua Institution include the work done in connection with the Summer Assembly and the all-year-round instruction offered by the Chautauqua Library and Scientific Circle, and described hereafter.

The summer work of the assembly falls under two general heads: the Summer Schools and the General Program. The Summer Schools are thirteen in number, and in 1905 enrolled a total of over 2,300 students who were registered in nearly 5,000 courses. These schools may be described as including six academic departments and seven professional departments. Under the first head fall English language and literature, modern languages, classical languages, mathematics and science, psychology and pedagogy, and religious teaching. Under the second are included library training, domestic science, music, arts and crafts, expression, physical education, and practical arts.

The Faculty of the Summer Schools is in a measure as permanent as that of any college, the majority of the ninety members returning from year to year. A census of the last faculty shows representatives from Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Cornell, Michigan, and Chicago universities; from Amherst, Haverford, Bowdoin, and Rockford colleges; from Buffalo, New York, and West Chester (Pa.) normal schools; and from a large number of other educational institutions.

The second division of the summer work—the General Program—offers a regular and systematic series of religious and secular lectures, entertainments, and concerts, extending over sixty days. Under the head of lectures those which are most genuinely educational in their nature are a large number of lecture series on subjects of literary, historical, scientific, and pedagogic interest. In addition to these series many single addresses by persons of note are interspersed throughout the program. While the series are most often presented by educators, the single addresses are more frequently from men of affairs. During the history of the institution, three presidents of the United States, twelve or fifteen governors, thirty or more college presidents, and a long list of United States congressmen, distinguished jurists, and leaders in the world of commerce and civics have addressed Chautauqua audiences.

The musical features of the General Program have assumed significant proportions as the institution has developed. At present a chorus which at the height of the season numbers 500 or more, in conjunction with a regular orchestra of twenty pieces and with different groups of well-known vocal soloists, present during the season not only a large number of miscellaneous concerts, but at least three well-known opera scores, three great oratorios, and three or four of the best-known masses. Thus an opportunity is provided for people who ordinarily hear little of the best music; and the musical feature of the summer becomes distinctly educational. It is estimated that, through all of these means, over 50,000 people are reached each summer at Chautauqua itself.

One of the most important departments of the institution is the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle. This was started in 1878, and offers aid to self-educating people, either as individuals or in groups known as "local circles." The essential features of the plan are:

1. *A definite four years' course* of history, literature, science, etc.
2. *Specified volumes* approved by the counselors.
3. *Allotment of time.* Reading apportioned by week and month.
4. *A monthly magazine* with additional readings, notes, and general literature.
5. *A membership book*, with suggestions, review outlines, etc.
6. *Time required*, forty minutes to an hour a day for nine months.
7. *Certificates* granted to all who complete the four years' course.
8. *Advanced courses*, for continued reading in special lines.
9. *Pedagogic course* for secular teaching.
10. *Young People's Reading Course* to stimulate the reading of good literature by the young.

Further details may be obtained from Chautauqua Institution, Chautauqua, N. Y.

CHERBULIEZ, ANTOINE ELYSÉE: Swiss professor; born in Geneva, 1797. He was in the Cantonal Legislature from 1831 to 1846, and till 1848 in the Great Council. From 1848 to 1851 he was in Paris, and then professor at Zurich, where he died in 1869. His main work is, "Précis de la Science Économique et de ses Principales Applications."

CHEVALIER, MICHEL: French engineer, editor, economist; born at Limoges, 1806. Commencing as a mining engineer, he gave this up in 1829 to join SAINT-SIMONISM and became editor-in-chief of the *Globe*. In 1832 he was condemned to a year's imprisonment, as the responsible agent of the *Globe*, for articles branded as being outrages on morality. His intentions were worthy, and his habits of life more strict than appearances led the world to suppose; hence the government itself, which at this time discovered M. Chevalier's abilities, remitted half the penalty, and entrusted to him the mission of studying the railways of the United States. He devoted himself henceforward to writing on engineering and economic subjects, and gradually but very materially changed his economic views. In 1841 he succeeded Rossi in the chair of political economy at the College of France.

In the Revolution of 1848 he opposed the socialism of the Commission du Gouvernement pour les Travailleurs. He wrote at that time in the *Journal des Débats* a series of letters called "Lettres sur l'Organisation du Travail," which were collected under this title. This and the "Lettres sur l'Amérique du Nord" may be considered his most characteristic and remarkable works.

Chevalier believed liberty to be more in peril under parliamentary government than under a personal government. He was called to the council of state February, 1852. In the same

year he published the "Examen du Système Commercial connu sous le nom de Système Protecteur," a work in which the advantage of commercial liberty was shown. He induced Napoleon III. to sign the famous commercial treaty with England of Jan. 23, 1860.

In 1859 Michel Chevalier published a new volume with the significant title, "De la Baisse probable de l'Or," in favor of the demonetization of gold. He resumed his duties as professor in 1866 and carried them on till 1878. He died in 1879.

CHEYSSON, EMILE: French engineer and economist; born at Nîmes (Gard) in 1836; became civil engineer in 1859, director of the machinery supply at the Paris exhibition 1867. From 1871 to 1874 he was general manager of the famous "Creuzot" mines and foundries. After this he left practical affairs to devote his time to studies and teaching. He has since been professor of engineering at the National School of Engineers and professor of statistics at the Free School for Political Sciences, and also inspector-general of bridges and highways. He has made a study of the labor question, and believes its solution lies in the forming of workmen's unions, which will act as savings-banks and in case of accident, loss of work, etc., as insurance companies. He does not believe in the German system of compulsory workmen's pensions. He has given especial attention to working men's dwellings and antialcoholism. He has written numerous reports and works bearing on statistics.

CHICAGO: In warring on the one hand against the greed of wealth and on the other hand against the lawlessness of labor, Chicago is developing a real democracy in government which its people believe bodes well for the future. This city of 2,000,000 inhabitants is truly cosmopolitan. The number of its citizens of foreign birth or parentage is large. It is a railroad and industrial center of great importance.

Like other American cities, Chicago has suffered from attempts to rule it from the state capital. More vigorously than most other cities has Chicago fought for the right of home rule in municipal affairs. The most acute phase of this struggle was in connection with the street-railway question, which for ten years has been the chief issue in municipal politics. In 1897 Mr. Charles T. Yerkes, the traction magnate, sought to have the legislature of Illinois give to him outright renewals of franchises which he desired in the city of Chicago. Mr. Yerkes was not only ultimately beaten at the state capital, but the public opposition which his policy aroused made it impossible for him to secure the desired franchise renewals from the city of Chicago, and in 1899 he sold out his interests and went to London. In 1903 the legislature passed a law, commonly known as the Mueller Law, conferring upon Chicago the right to own and operate street-railways. The Speaker of the House, by trying to kill this bill under the gavel, provoked a riot in the House, and was literally driven from the chair by infuriated members. He was not allowed to return until he agreed to grant a roll-call on the Mueller Bill. The demand for the Mueller Law came not only from advocates of municipal ownership, but from all the citizens of Chicago, who believed the city should have from the legislature the power to work out the problem in the way that seemed best to its people. In 1905 Mr. E. F. Dunne was elected mayor on the issue of immediate municipal ownership of street-railways. The practical difficulties in the way of immediate municipalization were too great to be overcome, and at the time this article is written it is probable that the question will be settled by the passage of an ordinance authorizing the companies to rehabilitate and operate the street-car system under an agreement to sell to the city at any time on six months' notice. An important instrumentality of the people in making their will effective has been the Public Opinion Law, under which, on petition of twenty-five per cent of the voters, any question of public policy may be submitted to the electorate. Under this law several referendum votes were taken upon various phases of the street-car question, all of which showed a surprisingly strong sentiment in favor of municipal ownership.

Railway Question

A struggle somewhat similar in nature, tho not so prolonged, was made to secure from the Illinois Legislature an act authorizing the City Council to regulate the price of gas and electric light. Under authority of this law the council, at the beginning of 1906, reduced the price of gas from $1 to eighty-five cents per 1,000 cubic feet. In the summer of 1906 the electric-light companies made material reduction in the price of light. The city of Chicago has the largest municipal electric-lighting plant in the country, but it provides light for public use only.

Chicago's water-plant has been owned and operated by the city since 1853. The water is taken from Lake Michigan. As the sewers also entered the lake the water-supply was contaminated. To purify the water-supply, and also to lay the foundation for a great ship canal connecting Lake Michigan with the Mississippi River and the Gulf of Mexico, the Sanitary District Canal was planned. A canal capable of accommodating large draft vessels has been constructed, connecting the Chicago River near its mouth with the Illinois River near Joliet. The current in the Chicago River is reversed, and water from Lake Michigan now flows through the Chicago River, the Sanitary District Canal, the Illinois River, and the Mississippi River into the Gulf of Mexico. The cost of the project has been about $48,000,000. The demand is now made that the Federal Government take the Sanitary District Canal as a basis, and build a ship canal connecting Lake Michigan with the Gulf of Mexico. Altho Chicago has only a very small debt, it has no additional borrowing power because of the limitations of the state constitution. As a means of evading this limitation, to make possible the raising of funds by bond issues for the construction of the canal, a new municipality was created, known as the Sanitary District of Chicago, having nearly the same territorial limits as the city.

Water-Plant

The present constitution of Illinois, adopted in 1870, is essentially a constitution of restrictions. It was framed by a convention made up for the most part of high-minded gentlemen, known as reformers in their day, whose main idea seemed to be to tie the hands of government and to prevent things being done. The proper development of Chicago has been greatly hampered by the restrictions imposed by this instrument. For one thing, the convention gave the justice court system of Chicago a status in the constitution, and

provided a complicated and indirect method of selecting justices—the main purpose of which was to remove control as far as possible from the people—which has been productive of very bad results. The justice courts of Chicago—the poor man's courts—have long been a travesty upon justice. In 1904 the constitution was amended so as to authorize the legislature to make special charter laws for the city of Chicago, on condition that no such law should become operative until approved by the people of the city. The first law adopted under this constitutional amendment was one abolishing the justice courts and establishing a municipal court system in their place. The new system went into operation in December, 1906. A semiofficial charter convention, created by resolution of the city council, has been framing a comprehensive new charter for the city of Chicago, which the legislature of 1907 will be asked to enact and submit to the people of Chicago for their approval or rejection. This charter is primarily a grant of broad home-rule powers, under which it is expected the city of Chicago will be able to work out its own problems without further interference in local matters from the state capital.

A feature of the constitution of 1870 which has not worked as its framers intended is the minority representation plan of electing members of the lower House of the General Assembly. Each legislative district sends three members to the House, and the constitution provides that a voter may cast one ballot for each of three candidates or cumulate his votes in any manner he sees fit. He may, if he so desires, cast three ballots for one candidate. The effect of this system in practical operation has been to limit the choice of electors on election day, and to make a nomination equivalent to an election, for the reason that the party organizations nominate only the number of candidates they expect to elect. In a district normally republican, for example, the Republican Party nominates two candidates for member of the legislature, and the Democrats only one. The result is that all three party nominees are practically certain to be elected, except in rare instances where an independent or a minor party candidate develops unusual strength. The working of this provision has been very disappointing, except to the professional organization politicians, and there is a strong demand for its abolition.

In 1906 the saloon license fee was raised from $500 to $1,000. Almost immediately thereafter an ordinance was passed limiting the number of saloons to one for every 500 of population. Chicago now has about 7,300 saloons, which is about one to every 300 of population. This means that no more saloon licenses can be issued for a number of years to come.

A few years ago the City Homes Association made a report on housing conditions, which was an important factor in bringing about a revision of the building code.

Chicago was one of the first cities in the country to adopt a thorough going civil-service law. The act in operation was passed by the legislature in 1895, and approved by the people on a referendum by a vote of about two to one. The civil-service principle is well supported by popular sentiment.

Among the bodies classed as reform organizations, the Municipal Voters' League has perhaps attracted most attention. The league was formed in 1896 to improve the personnel of the City Council, of whose sixty-eight members at that time not more than ten were believed to be honest. A great transformation has been wrought. The Chicago City Council to-day is looked upon as one of the best bodies of its kind in the country. For the past five years the council has been organized on non-partizan lines. More than five sevenths of the present members were elected with the indorsement of the Municipal Voters' League. The league does not make nominations, but it investigates and issues to the voters reports and recommendations upon the various candidates for aldermen. In January, 1906, a conference was held in Chicago, at the call of the Municipal Voters' League, of the so-called militant civic organizations of the United States. Sixteen cities were represented. The conference by unanimous vote adopted the following recommendations:

Municipal Voters' League

First.—That cities should be granted the largest possible measure of home rule, subject only to such general statutory safeguards and restrictions as may be necessary to protect the general interests of the state as distinguished from the local interests of the municipality.

Second.—That the party column on the ballot should be abolished; that the names of candidates for a single office should be printed on the ballot under the designation of that office, and that it should be made impossible to vote a straight party ticket by a single mark or cross.

Third.—That municipal nominations and elections should be completely separated from state and national nominations and elections and should occur at different times, and that nominations for all municipal offices be made by petition or by an efficient method of direct primaries.

Fourth.—That the number of elective municipal officers should be reduced as far as practicable, always preserving the right to elect members of the municipal legislative body or city council.

Fifth.—That the merit principle should be applied to all departments of city administration under practical and efficient civil-service laws.

Within the past few years there have been created in the south division of Chicago fourteen new parks that are notable for their equipment. The parks themselves are of varying areas, but all contain buildings constructed on substantially similar plans. Each building contains a gymnasium for men and another for women. Bathing facilities are abundant, and in some cases outdoor swimming pools are provided. Each building has a large assembly hall and several smaller rooms for club and social purposes. The aim is to make the building a neighborhood center. The use of the rooms may be had without cost for meetings or social purposes. Each building has a reading-room, and the park management conducts in each a restaurant in which refreshments are served at moderate prices. About most of the buildings are wading pools, sand piles, and other special accommodations for children. Some outdoor gymnastic apparatus is provided, as well as playground facilities. The office of the South Park Commission which has installed these new parks is at Fifty-seventh Street and Cottage Grove Avenue.

Chicago has a large number of social settlements, the best known being the following: *Hull House*—Miss Jane Addams, founder and head; *Chicago Commons*—Prof. Graham Taylor, founder and head; *University of Chicago Settlement*—Miss Mary McDowell, head.

Addresses of institutions, societies, and social settlements in Chicago:

Municipal Voters' League, 228 South Clark Street.
Legislative Voters' League, 92 La Salle Street.
Chicago Bureau of Charities, 79 Dearborn Street.

Civic Federation, 184 La Salle Street.
Citizens' Association, 92 La Salle Street.
City Club of Chicago, 228 South Clark Street.
Chicago Federation of Labor, 277 La Salle Street.
City Homes Association, 1001 Monadnock Block.
Socialist Headquarters, 163 East Randolph Street.
Hull House, 335 South Halstead Street.
Chicago Commons, 180 Grand Avenue.
University of Chicago Settlement, 4630 Gross Avenue.

GEORGE C. SIKES.

CHICAGO ANARCHISTS, THE: The arrest, trial, and execution of the so-called "Chicago anarchists" mark an epoch in the development of the labor movement in America. The facts of the case, gathered out of the somewhat contradictory statements made by those who believe that the anarchists were rightly and those who believe that they were wrongly condemned seem to be as follows:

The year 1886 was one of wide-spread social industrial agitation in the United States. In 1884 the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the U. S. and Canada had issued a manifesto calling on all trades to unite in the demand for an eight-hour day, and setting a day for a general strike to gain that end. May 1, 1886, was the day appointed when the new system should be inaugurated.

History

In Chicago the excitement ran the highest. Here was a little group of men more or less loosely banded together, and popularly called anarchists. As a matter of fact, they were of various economic views. They gathered around a section of the American International, which had become an anarchistic organization, and must not be confused with the old European Socialist International. They had two principal organs: the *Alarm*, with Parsons as its editor; the English organ, and the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, the German organ, with Spies and Schwab as its principal writers, and Fischer as foreman. Fielden and Engel were also prominent in the group. Not agreed in their economic views, they were agreed in denouncing the present system as the parent of cruel wrongs, and in being willing to go to extremes in agitating against this system.

They felt that the labor movement was dying of inertia. They felt that the working people were being utterly ground down, and submitting too easily. They thought that, without really committing violence, if they threatened violence and "talked" murder and dynamite, they could frighten the capitalists into either valuable concessions, or such a policy of restriction as would make the people rise. They therefore began in the *Alarm* to write incendiary articles; and in order to frighten the capitalists, they reported the working people as preparing to rise in vengeance. Some of them, at least, believed that by "talking violence" they would "really prevent violence." They argued that "if it did cost a little bloodshed now," it would "save bloodshed in the end." Some of them were themselves the gentlest of men.

The eight-hour movement gave the anarchists opportunity for agitation. An eight-hour association was formed in Chicago. Open-air meetings were continually held. Bitterest language was used. On their side, the employers drew closer together against the movement. Some firms, however granted some reduction of hours. At McCormick's reaper works there was a prolonged struggle, commencing in February and continuing many months. Twelve hundred men were thrown out of work. On May 1, 40,000 men and women struck in Chicago for the eight-hour day. The Central Labor Union of Chicago held a mass-meeting attended by 25,000 people. Spies, Parsons, Fielden, and Schwab spoke. On May 2d a great meeting of the locked-out men from McCormick's was held to protest against the Pinkertons he employed.

Parsons and Schwab spoke at the meeting. Among the strikers were the lumber-shovers, most of them Poles, Bohemians, and Germans. May 3d, the Lumber-Shovers' Union called a meeting to discuss the terms of proposals to be submitted to their employers.

The Strike

The meeting was held near McCormick's. Spies, being known as a good speaker, was invited to attend. When he appeared, a protest was heard against letting a Socialist speak. But Spies began, and was soon listened to in quiet. At four o'clock the bell of McCormick's began to ring, and the "scabs" were seen leaving. Some of the bystanders at the meeting then made a move toward the factory, while Spies went on quietly with his speech for another fifteen minutes. The crowd outside the factory began throwing stones. The police were telephoned for, and arrived in large numbers. They were received with stones, and replied with their revolvers. A few shots were returned by the crowd, and the police opened a general fire upon all in sight—men, women, and children, who fled in terror, leaving four dead and many wounded. Burning with indignation, Spies rushed back to the *Arbeiter Zeitung* office and wrote a manifesto, the so-called "Revenge Circular." This was distributed at the different workmen's meeting-places.

Among the many meetings that took place the same night was one of the Socialist association, the Lehr und Wehr Verein. Gottfried Waller, who turned informer afterward, was elected chairman. Engel and Fischer were present. The events of the afternoon at McCormick's were discussed. It was resolved to call a meeting the following night in the Haymarket to protest against the police assaults. Fischer informed Spies, at the *Arbeiter Zeitung* office, of the proposed meeting and asked him to speak; he consented. Shortly afterward he saw, for the first time, the circular calling the meeting, which contained the words, "Working men, arm yourselves, and appear in full force." Immediately on reading the circular Spies said that this must be struck out, or he would not speak or attend the meeting. Fischer at once agreed, and had the line taken out. The circular with that line omitted was printed, and about 20,000 copies distributed.

Parsons had been away from Chicago to Cincinnati, from Sunday, May 2d, and returned Tuesday morning. His wife asked him to help her in organization of the sewing girls of Chicago, and Parsons, knowing nothing of the Haymarket meeting, called a meeting of the American group at the *Arbeiter Zeitung* office. In the evening Spies went to the Haymarket, but seeing no English speakers, went away, with a few friends, to find Parsons; but soon returned, without having found him, and opened the meeting.

Meantime, a few members of the American group had assembled at the *Arbeiter Zeitung* building. There were Fielden, Schwab, and at about 8.30 o'clock Parsons arrived, in company with Mrs. Parsons, his two children, and Mrs. Holmes. Schwab soon left to address a meeting at Deering. Schwab stayed at Deering until 10.30 o'clock. The discussion on the girls' movement was soon over, when somebody arrived from the Haymarket, stating that English speakers were wanted. Parsons, with his company, Fielden, and most of those present, at once went there. On their arrival Spies ceased speaking, and Parsons got up and spoke about one hour. The meeting was a quiet one, and at the close of Parsons's speech, the Mayor of Chicago, who attended the meeting for the purpose of dispersing it, if need should arise, left the meeting, and went over to the police station, and told Captain Bonfield that he had better issue orders to his reserves at the other stations to go home. Parsons was followed by Fielden. When he had been speaking some ten minutes the weather clouded, and the wind blowing cold, Parsons suggested that they adjourn to Zepf's Hall; Fielden said he would be through in a few minutes. Many, among them Parsons, with his family, crossed to Zepf's Hall, where they found Fischer. Fielden went on speaking, when suddenly about 180 police turned out of the station, marching with a quick step, in fighting formation, and with arms in readiness, to the Haymarket, where only a few hundred persons remained. The captain of the first row of the police had just ordered the meeting to disperse, and his men, without waiting a reply, were advancing to the attack, when a small bomb was thrown by some one, alighted between the first and second companies of the police, and exploded with a loud report. About sixty of the police were thrown to the ground, and one, named Matthias J. Degan, was killed. Instantly firing began; people fled in all directions, followed by the police, who fired at random as they followed.

The Riot

The Haymarket speakers, except Parsons, who had left Chicago, were arrested; those who had taken a prominent part in labor meetings, and were known as labor organizers, were hunted and imprisoned. The *Arbeiter Zeitung* was suppressed, and all its printers and editors put in jail. When the friends of the arrested men tried to restart it, it had to pass under the censorship of the chief of police. The meetings of workmen were prohibited or broken up. The most exciting tales about infernal conspiracies against the life and property of the citizens were circulated. The daily papers called for the hanging of the leading anarchists, as if they had been already proved guilty.

After the Haymarket meeting, May 4, 1886, some 300 leading American capitalists met secretly to plan the destruction of anarchy. They formed themselves into The Citizens' Association, and subscribed $100,000 in a few hours.

On May 17th the grand jury came together. "The body is a strong one," says a telegram from Chicago to a New York daily, "and it is safe to aver that anarchy and murder will not receive much quarter at the hands of the men composing it. It is certain that Spies, Parsons, Schwab, and the other inciters to outrage will be indicted." Indicted they were. The indictment contained sixty-nine counts, charging the defendants, Spies, Schwab, Fielden, Parsons, Fischer, Engel, Lingg, Neebe, Schnaubelt, and Seliger with the murder of M. J. Degan. Schnaubelt and Parsons were not in the hands of the police, but when the trial came on Parsons presented himself at the bar of the court. Seliger had turned informer. On June 21st the impaneling of the jury before Judge Joseph E. Gary began. About 1,000 were examined. Of this number only five or six belonged to the labor class, and they were all challenged and refused by the state. The remainder were all employers of labor, or men de-

The Trial

pendent upon that class, as clerks or the like. Most declared they had a prejudice against anarchists, socialists, and communists as a class. This, however, Judge Gary ruled, was no cause to exclude them from the jury. On the motion for a new trial, an affidavit was produced wherein it was sworn that the special bailiff, Henry Ryce, had said to well-known men in Chicago that he was managing this case, and well knew what he was about; that those fellows would hang as certain as death, and that he was only summoning such men as jurors as would not be acceptable to the defendants.

The most important witnesses for the state were Waller, Schrader, and Seliger, all formerly comrades of the defendants, now turned informers. The theory for the prosecution was that the defendants were, with others, actively engaged in a conspiracy to overturn the existing authorities, and advocated bloodshed and violence in order to gain their ends, and that the meeting on May 4th in the Haymarket was only one step in their program. The evidence brought forward to support such a theory was, however, extremely contradictory, and much of it broke down completely on the first examination. It was never proved who threw the bomb, and, as some of the men indicted were not at the Haymarket meeting, and had nothing to do with it, the prosecution was forced to proceed on the theory that the men indicted were guilty of murder because they had at various times in the past uttered and printed incendiary and seditious language, practically advising the killing of policemen, of Pinkerton men, and others.

The Prosecution

Said Judge Gary:

"If the fact be that a large number of men concurred with each other in preparing to use force for the destruction of human life, upon occasions which were not yet foreseen, but upon some principles which they substantially agreed upon, as, for example, taking the words of this witness, if a large number of men agreed together to kill the police if they were found in conflict with the strikers—I believe that is the phrase—leaving it to the agents of violence to determine whether the time and occasion had come for the use of violence; then, if the time and occasion do come when the violence is used, are not all parties who agreed beforehand in preparing the means of death, and agreed in the use of them upon time and occasion, equally liable?"

The prisoners argued that, as some unknown persons threw the bomb, it was impossible to know beyond a reasonable doubt that he had been led to do it by any public speech of theirs or any editorial they had published. They also claimed that to punish them because of the effect of any public speech they had delivered or any newspaper article they had written or published would be a violation of the law that forbids any abridgment of speech or press in the U. S. The prisoners had counsel, but also defended themselves in speeches rather of defiance than defense.

The Verdict

After a prolonged trial the jury brought in the verdict:

"We, the jury, find the defendants August Spies, Michael Schwab, Samuel Fielden, Albert R. Parsons, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, and Louis Lingg guilty of murder in manner and form as charged in the indictment, and fix the penalty at death. We find the defendant Oscar W. Neebe guilty of murder in manner and form as charged in the indictment, and fix the penalty at imprisonment in the penitentiary for fifteen years."

The case was carried to the Supreme Court, and was there affirmed in the fall of 1887. November 10th Lingg committed suicide by exploding a bomb in his mouth. The sentence of Fielden and Schwab was commuted to imprisonment for life, and Parsons, Fischer, Engel, and Spies were hanged Nov. 11, 1887. They suffered calmly and without flinching. Parsons's last words were, "Let the voice of the people be heard."

The hanging excited great agitation over the world. The major part of the daily press and of the capitalist community welcomed it as a necessary stamping out of anarchy in this country. On the other hand, many thoughtful men, including judges, lawyers, clergymen, and others, while expressing dissent from all sympathy with anarchists, declared their belief that the trial had not been a fair one. By the world of labor the anarchists were lauded as martyrs to the cause of labor and of liberty, and their trial and hanging denounced as an outrage upon justice and upon freedom. Mrs. Parsons went through the land lecturing to crowded audiences. Anarchism was made almost popular among many classes. Anarchists and the more radical Socialists and labor reformers of all schools of thought, who will unite on no other occasion, have met on both sides of the Atlantic to commemorate the hanging of "the Chicago martyrs."

In June, 1893, the recently elected Democratic Governor of Illinois, John P. Altgeld, having thoroughly examined the evidence, pardoned Neebe, Fielden, and Schwab, on the ground that they had not been fairly tried.

We give a synopsis of Governor Altgeld's published argument for believing the trial not to have been a fair one, and then a synopsis of Judge Gary's statement upon the other side.

Says Governor Altgeld in substance:

Gov. Altgeld's Statement

The record of the trial shows that the jury in this case was not drawn in the manner that juries usually are drawn; that is, instead of having a number of names drawn out of a box that contained many hundred names, as the law contemplates shall be done in order to insure a fair jury and give neither side the advantage, the trial judge appointed one, Henry L. Ryce, as a special bailiff to go out and summon such men as he, Ryce, might select to act as jurors. While this practise has been sustained in cases in which it did not appear that either side had been prejudiced thereby, it is always a dangerous practise, for it gives the bailiff absolute power to select a jury that will be favorable to one side or the other.

While no collusion is proved between the judge and state's attorney, it is clearly shown that after the verdict, and while a motion for a new trial was pending, a charge was filed in court that Ryce had packed the jury and that the attorney for the state got Mr. Favor to refuse to make an affidavit bearing on this point, which the defendants could use, and then the court refused to take any notice of it unless the affidavit was obtained, altho it was informed that Mr. Favor would not make an affidavit, but stood ready to come into court and make a full statement if the court desired him to do so.

These facts alone would call for executive interference, especially as Mr. Favor's affidavit was not before the Supreme Court at the time it considered the case.

The second point urged seems to me to be equally conclusive. In the case of the People vs. Couglin, known as the Cronin case, recently decided, the Supreme Court, in a remarkably able and comprehensive review of the law on this subject, says among other things:

"The holding of this and other courts is substantially uniform, that where it is once clearly shown that there exists in the mind of the juror at the time he is called to the jury box a fixt and positive opinion as to the merits of the case, or as to the guilt or innocence of the defendant he is called to try, his statement that, notwithstanding such opinion, he can render a fair and impartial verdict according to the law and evidence, has little, if any, tendency to establish his impartiality."

Applying the law as here laid down in the Cronin case to the answers of the jurors above given in the present case, it is very apparent that most of the jurors were incompetent, because they were not impartial, for nearly all of them candidly stated that they were prejudiced against the defendants, and believed them guilty before hearing the evidence; and the mere fact that the judge succeeded by a singularly suggestive examination in getting them to state that they believed they could try the case fairly on the evidence did not make them competent. . . .

No matter what the defendants were charged with, they were entitled to a fair trial, and no greater danger could possibly threaten our institutions than to have the courts of justice run wild or give way to popular clamor; and when the trial judge in this case ruled that a relative of one of the men who was killed was a competent juror, and this after the man had candidly stated that he was deeply prejudiced and that his relationship caused him to feel more strongly than he otherwise might, and when in scores of instances he ruled that men who candidly declared that they believed the defendants to be guilty; that this was a deep conviction and would influence their verdict, and that it would require strong evidence to convince them that the defendants were innocent, when in all these instances the trial judge ruled that these men were competent jurors simply because they had, under his adroit manipulation, been led to say that they *believed* they could try the case fairly on the evidence, then the proceedings lost all semblance of a fair trial.

Does the Proof show Guilt?

The state has never discovered who it was that threw the bomb which killed the policeman, and the evidence does not show any connection whatever between the defendants and the man who did throw it. The trial judge in overruling the motion for a new hearing, and again, recently, in a magazine article, used this language:

"The conviction has not gone on the ground that they did have actually any personal participation in the particular act which caused the death of Degan, but the conviction proceeds upon the ground that they had generally by speech and print advised large classes of the people, not particular individuals, but large classes, to commit murder, and had left

the commission, the time and place and when to the individual will and whim, or caprice, or whatever it may be, of each individual man who listened to their advice, and that in consequence of that advice, in pursuance of that advice and influenced by that advice, somebody not known did throw the bomb that caused Degan's death. Now, if this is not a correct principle of the law, then the defendants of course are entitled to a new trial. This case is without precedent; there is no example in the law books of a case of this sort."

The judge certainly told the truth when he stated that this case was without a precedent, and that no example could be found in the law books to sustain the law as above laid down. For, in all the centuries during which government has been maintained among men and crime has been punished, no judge in a civilized country has ever laid down such a rule before. The petitioners claim that it was laid down in this case simply because the prosecution, not having discovered the real criminal, would otherwise not have been able to convict anybody; that this course was then taken to appease the fury of the public, and that the judgment was allowed to stand for the same reason. I will not discuss this. But taking the law as above laid down, it was necessary under it to prove, and that beyond a reasonable doubt, that the person committing the violent deed had at least heard or read the advice given to masses, for until he either heard or read it he did not receive it, and if he did not receive it, he did not commit the violent act in pursuance of that advice, and it is here that the case for the state fails; with all his apparent eagerness to force conviction in court, and his efforts in defending his course since the trial, the judge, speaking on this point in his magazine article, makes this statement: "It is probably true that Rudolph Schnaubelt threw the bomb," which statement is a mere surmise and is all that is known about it, and is certainly not sufficient to convict eight men on. In fact, until the state proves from whose hands the bomb came, it is impossible to show any connection between the man who threw it and these defendants. . . .

Again it is shown that various attempts were made to bring to justice the men who wore the uniform of the law while violating it, but all to no avail; that the laboring people found the prisons always open to receive them, but the courts of justice were practically closed to them; that the prosecution officers vied with each other in hunting them down, but were deaf to their appeals; that in the spring of 1886 there were more labor disturbances in the city, and particularly at the McCormick factory; that under the leadership of Captain Bonfield the brutalities of the previous years were even exceeded.

Was it Personal Revenge?

While some men may tamely submit to being clubbed and seeing their brothers shot down, there are some who will resent it, and will nurture a spirit of hatred and seek revenge for themselves, and the occurrences that preceded the Haymarket tragedy indicate that the bomb was thrown by some one who, instead of acting on the advice of anybody, was simply seeking personal revenge for having been clubbed, and that Captain Bonfield is the man who is really responsible for the death of the police officers.

It is also shown that the character of the Haymarket meeting sustains this view. The evidence shows there were only 800 to 1,000 people present, and that it was a peaceable and orderly meeting; that the mayor of the city was present, and saw nothing out of the way, and that he remained until the crowd began to disperse, the meeting being practically over, and the crowd engaged in dispersing when he left; that had the police remained away for twenty minutes more there would have been nobody left there, but that as soon as Bonfield learned that the mayor had left, he could not resist the temptation to have some more people clubbed, and went up with a detachment of police to disperse the meeting, and that on the appearance of the police the bomb was thrown by some unknown person, and several innocent and faithful officers, who were simply obeying an uncalled-for order of their superior, were killed. All of these facts tend to show the improbability of the theory of the prosecution that the bomb was thrown as the result of a conspiracy on the part of the defendants to commit murder. If the theory of the prosecution were correct, there would have been many bombs thrown; and the fact that only one was thrown shows that it was an act of personal revenge.

It is further shown here that much of the evidence given at the trial was a pure fabrication. In addition to the evidence in the record of some witnesses who swore that they had been paid small sums of money, etc., several documents are here referred to.

First, an interview with Captain Ebersold, published in the Chicago *Daily News*, May, 10, 1889.

The Chief of Police's Statement

Ebersold was chief of the police of Chicago at the time of the Haymarket trouble, and for a long time before and thereafter, so that he was in a position to know what was going on, and his utterances upon this point are therefore important. Among other things he says: "It was my policy to quiet matters down as soon as possible after May 4th. The general unsettled state of things was an injury to Chicago. On the other hand, Captain Schaack wanted to keep things stirring. He wanted bombs to be found here, there, all around, everywhere. I thought people would lie down and sleep better if they were not afraid that their homes would be blown to pieces any minute. But this man Schaack, this little boy who must have glory or his heart would be broken, wanted none of that policy. Now, here is something the public does not know. After we got the anarchist societies broken up, Schaack wanted to send out men to again organize new societies right away. You see what this would do. He wanted to keep the thing boiling, keep himself prominent before the public. Well, I sat down on that, I didn't believe in such work, and of course Schaack didn't like it.

"After I heard all that I began to think there was perhaps not so much to all this anarchist business as they claimed, and I believe I was right. Schaack thinks he knew all about those anarchists. Why, I knew more at that time than he knows to-day about them. I was following them closely. As soon as Schaack began to get some notoriety, however, he was spoiled."

This is a most important statement. When a chief of police, who has been watching the anarchists closely, says that he was convinced that there was not so much in all this anarchist business as was claimed, and that a police captain wanted to send out men to have other conspiracies formed in order to get the credit of discovering them and keeping the public excited, it throws a flood of light on the whole situation, and destroys the force of much of the testimony introduced at the trial.

Prejudice or Subserviency of Judge

It is further charged with much bitterness by those who speak for the prisoners that the record of the case shows that the judge conducted the trial with malicious ferocity; that every ruling throughout the long trial on any contested point was in favor of the state; and, further, that page after page of the record contains insinuating remarks of the judge, made in the hearing of the jury, and with the evident intent of bringing the jury to his way of thinking; that these speeches, coming from the court, were much more damaging than any speeches from the state's attorney could possibly have been; that the state's attorney often took his cue from the judge's remarks; that the judge's magazine article, recently published, altho written nearly six years after the trial, is yet full of venom; that, pretending to simply review the case, he had to drag into his article a letter written by an excited woman to a newspaper after the trial was over, and which therefore had nothing whatever to do with the case, and that, not content with this, he in the same article makes an insinuating attack on one of the lawyers for the defense, not for anything done at the trial, but because more than a year after the trial, when some of the defendants had been hung, he ventured to express a few kind, if erroneous, sentiments over the graves of his dead clients, whom he at least believed to be innocent. It is urged that such ferocity or subserviency is without a parallel in all history; that even Jeffreys in England contented himself with hanging his victims, and did not stoop to berate them after they were dead.

These charges are of a personal character, and while they seem to be sustained by the record of the trial and the papers before me, and tend to show that the trial was not fair, I do not care to discuss this feature of the case any further, because it is not necessary. I am convinced that it is clearly my duty to act in this case for the reasons already given, and I, therefore, grant an absolute pardon to Samuel Fielden, Oscar Neebe, and Michael Schwab, on this 26th day of June, 1893.

JOHN P. ALTGELD,
Governor of Illinois.

In *The Century Magazine* for April, 1893, Judge Gary gives, in a 30-page article, a defense of the verdict.

Judge Gary's statement in substance is this:

Mr. Gary reviews the events and scenes of the trial in detail, stating his motives to be a justification of the verdict and an effort to prove that the anarchists did not represent the laboring classes, but simply made a show of friendship to the latter in order to bring them into their own ranks. He asserts that the seven men sentenced to death were beyond all cavil guilty of murder, and that it would have been a great misfortune if society had not maintained its right to defend itself. The most noted legal authorities are adduced to show that the men who argued on every occasion for anarchy and destruction, in their press and through their orators, and who "incited, advised, encouraged the throwing of the bomb that killed the policemen," were clearly within the condemnation of the law. To further support this, facsimile and other long extracts are given from the more rabid anarchistic press, and pictures appear of the bombs and apparatus of the desperate men.

Mr. Gary shows carefully and fairly the evidence which led to the conviction of the ringleaders, and takes the ground that they were sentenced not because they were anarchists, but because they were parties to murder.

On page 835 the judge says: "The conviction proceeded upon the ground that they had generally, by speech and print, advised large classes to commit murder; and had left the com-

mission, the time and place, and when to the individual will and whim or caprice, or whatever it may be, of each individual man who listened to their advice; and in consequence of that advice, in pursuance of that advice, and influenced by that advice, somebody, not known, did throw the bomb that caused Degan's death."

On pages 830 and 831 the judge says: "It is probably true that Rudolph Schnaubelt threw the bomb. He was twice arrested; but, having shaved off a full beard immediately after that fatal night, was discharged. After the second arrest he disappeared and has gone to parts unknown. But whether Schnaubelt or some other person threw the bomb is not an important question."

The case is the more remarkable because it was not claimed that either of the prisoners threw the bomb or gave any person any secret advice to throw it. The case proceeded on the ground that the prisoners gave all their advice from public platforms and in the columns of newspapers. On page 830 the judge says: "Secrecy is not essential to a conspiracy."

On page 812 the judge says: "They incited, advised, encouraged the throwing of the bomb that killed the policeman not by addressing the bomb-thrower specially, and telling him to throw a bomb at that or any special time or occasion, but by general addresses to readers and hearers."

On the same page he also says: "The sincerity of the anarchists in their belief of the benefits to accrue from anarchy (if they were sincere) is not to be considered when the question is whether they were murderers."

On page 812 the judge says that "every reader (of the anarchist papers), following the advice to arm himself, would —must—understand that he must exercise his own discretion in using his weapons."

He concludes: "For nearly seven years the clamor, uncontradicted, has gone round the world that the anarchists were heroes and martyrs, victims of prejudice and fear. Not a dozen persons alive were prepared by familiarity with the details of their crime and trial, and present knowledge of the materials from which those details could be shown, to present a succinct account of them to the public. It so happened that my position was such that from me that account would probably attract as much attention as it would from any other source. Right-minded, thoughtful people, who recognize the necessity to civilization of the existence and enforcement of laws for the protection of human life, and who yet may have had misgivings as to the fate of the anarchists, will, I trust, read what I have written, and dismiss those misgivings, convinced that in law and in morals the anarchists were rightly punished, not for opinions, but for horrible deeds."

The main sources of evidence for the facts are, of course, the official records of the court. A history of the trial has been written by Dyer D. Lum, and the speeches of the anarchists in court have been printed many times in pamphlet form. For a brief notice of the condemned, see the first edition of this encyclopedia.

CHILD, LYDIA MARIA (*née* **FRANCIS**): American champion of antislavery; writer; born in Medford, Mass., 1802. Attended the common schools, and studied with her brother, Rev. Convers Francis, D.D. Until her marriage, in 1828, she taught in Medford and Watertown, Mass; and in 1826 she began the publication of the *Juvenile Miscellany*, the first monthly periodical for children issued in the United States.

In 1831 both Mr. and Mrs. Child became deeply interested in the subject of slavery. Mrs. Child's "Appeal for that Class of Americans called African" (Boston, 1833) was the first antislavery work published in America in book form, and was followed by several smaller works on the same subject. Mrs. Child had to endure social ostracism, but from this time was a steady champion of antislavery. On the establishment of the *National Antislavery Standard*, in New York City, in 1840, she became its editor and conducted it till 1843, when her husband took the place of editor-in-chief, and she acted as his assistant till May, 1844. In 1859, she wrote a letter of sympathy to John Brown, then a prisoner at Harper's Ferry, offering her services as a nurse, and enclosing the letter in one to Governor Wise. Brown replied, declining her offer, but asking her to aid his family, which she did. She also received a letter of courteous rebuke from Governor Wise, and a singular epistle from the wife of Senator Mason, author of the Fugitive Slave Law, threatening her with future damnation. She replied to both in her best vein, and the whole series of letters was published in pamphlet form (Boston, 1860), and had a circulation of 300,000. She also wrote two small tracts on the "Fugitive Slave Law" and "Emancipation in the British West Indies." During her latter years she contributed freely to aid the national soldiers in the Civil War, and afterward to help the freedmen. She died in 1880.

Mrs. Child's works are voluminous and treat of a great variety of subjects. Besides those already mentioned are the following: "The Rebels, or Boston before the Revolution"; "The American Frugal Housewife" (1829); "The Family Nurse," or companion of "The Frugal Housewife"; "The Mother's Book" and "The Girl's Own Book" (1831); "History of Woman" (1835); "Biographies of Good Wives" (1833); "The Oasis" (1834); "The Anti-Slavery Catechism" (1836); "Authentic Narratives of American Slavery" (1838); "The Evils of Slavery and the Cure of Slavery" (1836); "Philothea: A Grecian Romance" (1845); "Letters from New York" (2 vols., 1843–44); "Fact and Fiction" (1846); "Flowers for Children" (1852); "Isaac T. Hopper: a True Life" (1853); "The Progress of Religious Ideas through Successive Ages" (3 vols., 1855); "Autumnal Leaves: Sketches in Prose and Rhyme" (1857); "Looking toward Sunset" (1864); "The Freedman's Book" (1865); and "The Romance of the Republic" (1867).

CHILD HELPING: Classification is the first condition of rational study and treatment of this social task. Normal children in normal homes are not here considered; their education is entrusted to the general forces which make for progress. The exceptional child becomes the subject of special philanthropic attention. The primary classification is made on the basis of physical and psychic condition: (1) The normal in body and mind; (2) the defective in sight or hearing; (3) the lame, deformed, feeble, and slow who are educable; (4) the abnormal, feeble-minded, idiotic, imbecile, epileptic, and insane who are educable only within narrow limits, and who all require close supervision; (5) the vicious, depraved, and delinquent. Subclasses are formed by consideration of age, stage of development, sex, and domestic situation.

Observation under friendly detention is the first stage of social dealing with neglected or delinquent children; it is like the physician's diagnosis which precedes prescription of medicine or hygienic direction. The attempt to make a census of all defective and abnormal children has not been successful; the ordinary census canvassers are not competent to make the diagnosis. A more satisfactory result has been secured by the study of pupils in schools, and making a record of the defective and abnormal, as in Switzerland. Institutions and temporary homes for the care of foundlings, abandoned and abused children, orphans and half-orphans frequently have quarters for quarantine and observation. Thus, the École Théophile Roussel at Montesson, near Paris, and the Asile d'Observation in the shelter of the Assistance Publique in Paris (rue Denfert-Rochereau) furnish examples. Uniform records and reports to central authority are desirable. Our juvenile courts and certain societies for preventing cruelty have medical inspection and useful records of history and condition. On the basis of classification made through observation, certain principles of treatment have been applied as the result of experience and discussion.

Social care begins with prevention. The measures taken indicate the existing evils and dangers, and show also the guiding ideas of practical men.

Associations and governments have begun to ameliorate the conditions of existence; to improve the external and internal sanitary condition of the house; to enact and administer truancy laws to keep children in school, and factory laws to keep them out of unsuitable industries and save them from premature industrial exploitation; to provide baths and medical care, ice, and pure milk; to wage war on tuberculosis and other communicable and preventable diseases; to improve and extend educational agencies and adapt them to the industrial needs of working people; to provide insurance so that families may not be impoverished or pauperized in time of sickness, accident, or death. More direct methods are such as dispensaries for training mothers in the care of infants, as those of Dr. Budin in Paris; the provision of Pasteurized and sterilized milk, gratuitously or at low cost; and charitable supply of food and clothing for school pupils whose parents are too poor to supply their wants. Judicial intervention has, in recent years, been vastly extended and improved, as in the educational measures for neglected children in Germany since 1900, the councils of tutelage in Norway and Holland, the Children's Courts in the United States, and similar activity of judges in France and Austria. This judicial intervention becomes the center of the philanthropic activities of associations, probation officers, institutions, and industrial schools. Defective parental influence is improved, and when it becomes incurably vicious it is removed. One statement of the principle is this: "If it can be done without sacrificing the interests of the child, he should remain with his own parents, who should be stimulated and helped to meet their parental obligations, as far as possible. Every reasonable effort should be made to repair breaches and defects in the home before breaking up the family relation." (N. C. C., 1906, Report of Committee on Child Saving.)

The mother who refuses natural nourishment and physical care greatly increases the probability of her infant's death. The unmarried mother should be offered help to care for her offspring; and the father, when possible, should be sought out and required to carry his share of the burden of support. If the infant has been separated from the mother by reason of her death or flight, the best chance of life is the breast milk of some other mother; and next to that, at a long distance, the prepared milk or artificial foods recommended by physicians. Infants should not be kept together in large numbers, for they infect each other with disease; but they should be scattered in selected homes which are kept under supervision. When the first months of infancy are safely passed, the homeless child is to be cared for on the principles stated in the following paragraphs:

Half-orphans, children of parents in hospitals and asylums, and of others temporarily unable to support them, may properly be boarded out in families or kept for some weeks in institutions, the parents paying for the cost as far as they are able. Permanently dependent children, as orphans, children taken by legal process from cruel or immoral parents should not be retained in institutions longer than is necessary to observe them, prepare them physically and otherwise for family life, and find them suitable family homes. Temporary homes should be prevented by state law and inspection from becoming asylums. The natural place for a normal child is in a good family. The foster home must be selected, examined, and supervised for a time by trained agents of a responsible society approved by state authority. Inquiry by letters is entirely inadequate protection. Supervision should not be discontinued except upon authority of a court of record. The cost of board and education may be met by a charitable society, or by families taking such children for care or adopting them outright. All acts of charitable associations should be under judicial and state control.

The special methods of education suitable for deaf, blind, crippled, and deformed children are considered in pedagogic science. Social responsibility centers in modes of placing and support. Generally the states provide boarding-schools for the instruction of the blind and deaf, and these are supported partly or entirely at public cost. In large cities experiments are being made with special rooms and teachers for defective children. Crippled children require orthopedic treatment and special hospital care.

When observation has shown that a child is so imperfectly developed mentally as to be incapable of training for competitive life and self-control, the only course open is segregation in special schools which gradually become asylums for life. Such persons never become fit for marriage and parenthood, and by segregation in colonies, which may be made in great part self-supporting, society is protected against the propagation of the unfit. Epileptic children, when the disease is marked and seated, require treatment and life-long asylum in their own colonies, apart from the insane and the feeble-minded. The modes of treatment in such colonies are subjects of surgical, medical, and pedagogic science.

Neglected and dependent children are exposed to moral peril, and are tempted to satisfy wants by means harmful to society. The judicial intervention already mentioned represents the modern tendency in all civilized countries to place young persons under responsible discipline before evil habits have become fixt and have issued in depravity and crime. Only when family, school, probation officers, and church have failed, is there recourse to the institution. Reformatory education begins with ungraded rooms under special teachers and methods; proceeds to parental schools where temporary discipline seeks to restore the delinquent to the ordinary schools; and then follow, for more difficult cases, the industrial or reform school with its farm and trades, and later still the reformatory and the prison. Incarceration must be the last resort. In all institutions outdoor life, with rural occupations, seems the most hopeful environment. (See REFORMATORY.)

Most of the agencies of child-helping have sprung into existence through the initiative of individuals, and only slowly has general organization been effected. In each city and county there is need of local cooperation in order to prevent duplication and waste of means and effort, to avoid neglect of need, and to sustain general interest. Public institutions should be visited and encouraged. The center for local cooperation may be the associated charities, a society for protecting children, a juvenile court association, a board of guardians, or a committee created by all the agencies which are seeking to help children in the community.

By central organization is here meant that of the state. Each commonwealth ought to have a

board of charities and correction which can supervise all agencies and activities in this field and propose laws and regulations for the furtherance of sound methods and the prevention of abuses. An important aid to this central organization is the State Convention of Charity and Correction which is held annually in some states.

The chief educational organization is the National Conference of Charities and Correction, whose proceedings, as printed, are a mine of information on all phases of this subject. The National Children's Home Society is a federation of state societies, twenty-eight in number, which holds two meetings annually, and strives, through its executive committee and superintendents, to extend the organization in territory not yet properly organized, and to improve the character of the work already attempted. The oldest of these societies, and the mother of all, has recently (1906) joined the federation. This is the New York Children's Aid Society, founded by the distinguished philanthropist, Mr. Charles Loring Brace. The National Child Labor Committee, organized in 1904, has for its object the education of the public in relation to the extent and effects of injurious employment of children, and the promotion of legislative and administrative methods of diminishing the evils connected with industrial exploitation of young persons.

C. R. Henderson.

References: *Care of Destitute, Neglected, and Delinquent Children*, by Homer Folks, 1902; *Juvenile Offenders*, by W. D. Morrison, 1897; *American Charities*, by A. G. Warner; *Introduction to the Study of Dependents, Defectives, and Delinquents* (with bibliography), by C. R. Henderson, 1901; *Principles of Relief*, by E. T. Devine.

CHILD LABOR (see also Child Saving, Child Labor in England, National Child Labor Committee): United States.

Bulletin 69, Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census (Washington, D. C., Jan., 1907), gives the following table of the extent of Child Labor in the United States in 1900:

TABLE I

Children Ten to Fifteen Years of Age Reported at the Twelfth Census as Having a Gainful Occupation

United States (area of enumeration). 1,752,187

Continental United States	1,750,178	Hawaii	998
Alaska	1,002	Military and naval service abroad	9

A classification by year of age is also given for the following reason: "In the age period ten to fifteen occurs the transition from childhood to adolescence, and normally each year included in that period marks important changes in the child's growth and development; hence in any question relating to the education and welfare of the child, a difference of only one year is significant" (p. 7).

TABLE II

Breadwinners Ten to Fifteen Years of Age in Continental United States, 1900

Age	Number	Per cent
10 years	142,105	8.1
11 years	158,778	9.1
12 years	221,313	12.6
13 years	268,427	15.3
14 years	406,701	23.2
15 years	552,854	31.6
Total	1,750,178	100.0

The proportion these children bear to all children of the given ages is shown in the following table:

TABLE III

Children Ten to Fifteen Years Classified by Sex and Year of Age, with Percentage of Breadwinners of each Sex, for Continental United States, 1900

Age	Breadwinners		
	Total	Number	Per cent
	Both sexes		
Total	9,613,252	1,750,178	18.2
10 years	1,740,628	142,105	8.2
11 years	1,583,131	158,778	10.0
12 years	1,637,509	221,313	13.5
13 years	1,550,402	268,427	17.3
14 years	1,568,564	406,701	25.9
15 years	1,533,018	552,854	36.1
	Males		
Total	4,852,427	1,264,411	26.1
10 years	882,052	105,580	12.0
11 years	798,193	119,628	15.0
12 years	828,008	163,649	19.8
13 years	781,448	196,830	25.2
14 years	793,340	289,655	36.5
15 years	769,386	389,069	50.6
	Females		
Total	4,760,825	485,767	10.2
10 years	858,576	36,525	4.3
11 years	784,938	39,150	5.0
12 years	809,501	57,664	7.1
13 years	768,954	71,597	9.3
14 years	775,224	117,046	15.1
15 years	763,632	163,785	21.4

The opinion is so prevalent in America that child labor in agricultural pursuits is never injurious that the above table should at the outset be divided to distinguish those engaged in agriculture from those engaged in all other occupations. This is done in the following table:

TABLE IV

Breadwinners Ten to Fifteen Years of Age in Continental United States, 1900

Age	Total		In Agricultural Pursuits		In all other Occupations	
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution
Total	1,750,178	100.0	1,061,971	100.0	688,207	100.0
10 years	142,105	8.1	121,422	11.4	20,683	3.0
11 years	155,778	9.1	131,807	12.4	26,971	3.9
12 years	221,313	12.6	171,643	16.2	49,670	7.2
13 years	268,427	15.3	179,393	16.9	89,034	12.9
14 years	406,701	23.2	215,678	20.3	191,023	27.8
15 years	552,854	31.6	242,028	22.8	310,826	45.2

There are no official returns of child labor in the U. S. subsequent to 1900—excepting Census Bulletins of Manufactures (1905) and reports of labor commissioners and factory inspectors in several individual states. It is to be regretted that students of this subject in America are compelled to refer, for comprehensive statistics, to

figures compiled seven years ago, the "children" reported in those returns being now from seventeen to twenty-two years of age.

Some approximate view of the present extent of child labor in the U. S. can be had, however, by a study of the increase in the number of wage-earning children in recent years. The following table compiled from the Twelfth Census (1900) by the National Child Labor Committee shows the number of children ten to fifteen years of age in the five chief groups of occupations, the increase in the twenty years, 1880 to 1900, and the present number estimated on that basis of increase:

manufacture is reported in the manufacture of paper and printing, liquors and beverages, food and kindred products, and in shipbuilding. The principal increase is shown in textiles, leather and its finished products, tobacco, and in miscellaneous industries.

When it is considered that these census figures must be gathered from available data and that the laws in many states are so defective as to defeat the true purpose of enumeration, while other states are devoid of any agency for gathering official information, the reports of the Census Department are less convincing than is desirable.

TABLE V

Some United States Census Statistics of Child Labor

	1880	1900	Increase per cent	1906 estimated
Population of continental United States	50,155,783	75,568,686	50.6	83,189,756
Total number of children 10 to 15 (inclusive) years of age	6,649,483	9,613,252	44.5	10,502,380
Number of children 10 to 15 (inclusive) years of age engaged in gainful occupations	1,118,356	1,750,178	56.5	1,939,524
Boys	825,187	1,264,411	53.2	.....
Girls	293,169	485,767	65.7	.....
Per cent which children 10 to 15 (inclusive) years of age at work constitute of all children 10 to 15 inclusive	16.8	18.2	.....	.....
Total number of children 10 to 15 (inclusive) years of age engaged in trade and transportation	38,657	122,362	216.5	147,352
Boys	35,609	100,174	181.3	.....
Girls	3,048	22,188	627.9	.....
Total number of children 10 to 15 (inclusive) years of age engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits	133,007	283,869	113.4	329,127
Boys	86,171	170,653	98.0	.....
Girls	46,836	113,216	141.7	.....

	Children 10 to 13 (inclusive)	Children 14 to 15 (inclusive)
All gainful occupations	790,623	959,555
Agricultural	604,265	457,706
Trade and transportation	21,875	100,487
Mechanical and manufacturing pursuits	62,532	221,337
Domestic and personal service	101,513	177,518
Professional service	438	2,507

The Director of the Census, in the "Letter of Transmittal' (Jan. 25, 1907) accompanying Census Bulletin No. 69 on "Child Labor in the U. S.," says, "With the growth of population there has probably been a considerable increase since 1900 in the number of children who are working for wages, except possibly in those communities where new laws imposing greater restrictions upon the employment of young children have been enacted and are being efficiently enforced, but it is unlikely that, aside from the increase in numbers, a census taken at the present time would show conditions differing materially from those existing at the date of the twelfth census."

A series of Census Bulletins on Manufactures (1905) shows a total decrease in the number of children ten to fifteen years of age engaged in manufacturing pursuits, of nine tenths of 1 per cent in the five years 1900–5, twenty-five states and territories showing a decrease and twenty-six showing an increase. The largest percentage of decrease in the employment of children in

Real Number Probably Larger

The belief is general among those familiar with child-employing industries that the number of children employed in some states and in particular industries considerably exceeds the number reported either in the census returns or in the inspection reports of these states. This belief is based upon the known tendency of manufacturers to underestimate the number of children employed, the tendency of parents to overstate the ages of their working children, and upon the school census reports in a large number of industrial communities.

The Census Bulletins (1905) report 32,826 children employed in the manufacturing establishments of the four cotton-manufacturing states, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama and Georgia. These figures are based on information furnished by the manufacturers in those states. The *Blue Book* (1905), also compiled from information given by the manufacturers, shows, according to Dr. A. J. McKelway, assistant secretary of the

National Child Labor Committee, a number far in excess of the census returns. He says:

How many children, of what ages, are now employed in Southern cotton-mills, nobody knows. The manufacturing organs that are inclined to boom the industry, as to capital invested, the sum of wages paid and the number of factories and spindles and looms, are apparently trying to convince the public that this vast industry is run with an insignificant body of human workers. The census statistics just issued for 1904 are far below, in the statistics of employees, the statements made by the same manufacturers to the textile publications. And yet the percentage of children under sixteen reported by the manufacturers is enough almost to rouse a people to arms in their defense.

The *Blue Book*, a recognized authority on cotton-mill statistics, whose publishers send out every year to the cotton manufacturers blanks to be filled out by them, stating the number of operatives employed, reports in actual numbers, or by fair computation for the few mills that do not report the number of operatives, the total of 208,940 operatives for 1906. Taking the Georgia percentage of children under sixteen to the whole number of employees as conservative for the whole South, we would have 70,412 children under sixteen in the Southern mills, and other disinterested persons have testified that these children are of all the ages from sixteen to six. I quote again the statement made by Mr. R. M. Miller, Jr., of Charlotte, N. C., formerly president of the Southern Cotton Spinners' Association, later president of the American Cotton Manufacturers' Association, considered an expert in cotton-mill matters, that 75 per cent of the spinners of the North Carolina mills were fourteen years and under, while his predecessor in office, Mr. George B. Hiss, of Charlotte, told me that the usual calculation was that only 30 per cent of the operatives were adults.

Another example of the defectiveness of official returns is the Anthracite report of the Department of Mines, Pennsylvania (1905). This report shows that there were 760 boys of whose ages the deputy inspectors were in doubt, though the chief of the department says "the boys of doubtful age number a little over 9 per cent of the total number employed, . . . it is very probable, however, that many of the 760 classed as doubtful by the inspectors are over fourteen." Yet the chief admits the impossibility of securing reliable data in the following words:

The difficult thing is to get at the correct ages of these boys, as at least 75 per cent of them were born in foreign countries. Besides this, the department has neither the time nor the money to spend in prosecuting the parents or guardians of these children. If the next legislature could be induced to appropriate about $50,000 for this purpose, the department could enter proceedings to get at the true facts in the matter. . . .

The law is emphatic in its requirement of properly attested certificates for children applying for employment, but unfortunately, under the present system no protection is afforded in cases where the age is falsely represented. The inspectors may frequently have doubts as to the eligibility of the boys who are given employment, but as the certificates have been accepted by the mine foremen, they are without authority to take action in the matter.

From towns and boroughs representing not more than one sixth of the anthracite field, the National Child Labor Committee (1906) compiled returns from school superintendents familiar with the family life and childhood of these communities, showing not less than 2,460 boys under fourteen years of age working in the mines and breakers of these towns and boroughs. While the conclusion would be unwarranted that the total number of boys under fourteen years of age employed in the anthracite field is six times the 2,460 reported (14,760), it is evident that the 760 reported by the department of mine inspection is based on inadequate knowledge. This defect, as explained by the writer (*Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Jan., 1907, p. 43), arises from the difficulties surrounding the work of the factory inspector on account of the very defective law of Pennsylvania governing child labor in the mines:

The mine inspectors have been hampered in their work by the fact that nearly all the boys have sworn certificates to their legal age for employment; by the fact that the records at the mines show all boys to be of proper age; by the fact that the visiting inspector is usually known to the boys, who are thus on their guard against any compromising confession; and also by the extent of the field to be covered. The department reports an average of forty-five mines for every deputy inspector, which, as every one familiar with the industry knows, would require superhuman speed and strength of every one of these fifteen representatives of the state. In his report for 1903, the chief criticizes the law requiring every mine to be inspected at least every two months in these words: "This requirement defeats the very purpose of the act and reduces the inspector to a mere walking machine with time only to note the most trivial matters."

A complete statistical report of child labor in the U. S. would include also a large number of children under ten years of age who are at work but who are not included in the census returns. There would also be included the large number of children employed in sweat-shops ("home industries"!), street trades and a multitude of unclassified and informal occupations who are not reported as gainfully employed, but are reported either as at home, or in school, or are omitted altogether.

The variety of commercial pursuits into which the labor of children enters is partly indicated by the list of 315 gainful occupations reported by census enumerators.

The New York State Bulletin of the Commissioner of Labor for March, 1907, contains returns from an investigation of tenement-house labor in certain streets in New York City. In seven streets visited there were found 193 children engaged in gainful labor—the manufacture of clothing, artificial flowers, etc. These children ranged in age from five to fourteen years, the report showing the following numbers for each year of age:

Five years of age, 4; six years of age, 8; seven years of age, 20; eight years of age, 17; nine years of age, 25; ten years of age, 27; eleven years of age, 25; twelve years of age, 37; thirteen years of age, 30.

Many of these children were reported as working only occasionally, while others were employed regularly for the entire day and some until nine or ten o'clock at night.

Legislative. No two states in the union have identical laws. Statutes differ as to minimum age limit for employment, hours of labor, educational requirements, methods of age certification, scope of regulation, etc. It is therefore impossible to present in detail the specific laws that govern child labor in the various states, especially since the statutes in several instances are complicated and extensive.

The principal features of the various laws are noted in the following table, from which many special features (hours of closing stores and factories, catalogue of industries affected by the law, description of kinds of educational tests or proofs of age required, and equipment and effectiveness of factory inspection departments) are necessarily omitted. A few important exceptions are noted supplementary to the table.[1] The age limit given does not in every state apply to all its industries, but applies in industries coming chiefly under the jurisdiction of the inspectors. The more important educational requirements appear in the column "Compulsory Education."

[1] For a detailed analysis of state laws (to Jan. 1, 1907), see "Consumers' League Handbook," 1907, by Josephine C. Goldmark, National Consumers' League, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York City.

State	Age limit in factories, stores, etc.	Age limit in factories	Exemptions		Hours		Night-work prohibited	Compulsory education	Proof of age	Officials for enforcement	Special
			For poverty, dependent parents, etc.	Certain industries and periods	Per day	Per week					
Alabama	12		Age limit 10 for orphans and for poverty.			48 night-, 66 day-work	Under 13 in factories.		Affidavit		Age limit 14 in mines.
Alaska											
Arizona					8 in mines			to 14, 12 weeks each year			
Arkansas		12			10	60	Under 14 in factories.	to 14, 16 weeks each year	Affidavit		Age limit 14 in mines; if illiterate 16.
California	14		Age limit 12 for poverty.	No age limit for all agricultural, horticultural, and viticultural work in vacation.	9	54	Under 16 in factories, stores, offices, laundries.	to 14, entire school year	Documentary	Special state officials	
Colorado		14[2]			8			to 14, entire school year		School officials	
Connecticut	14[1]				10	60		to 14, entire school year	Documentary	School officials	
Delaware		14	Children of widows.	All places of employment except factories.	9	54			Affidavit	Special state officials	
District of Columbia								to 14, entire school year			
Florida	See Special										Under 16 may not be employed more than 60 days without consent of legal guardian.
Georgia		12	Age limit 10 for orphans and for poverty.				Under 14 in factories after Jan. 1, 1908.		Affidavit		
Hawaii								to 15			
Idaho	14[1]			12 in vacation	9	54	Under 14	to 14, 12 weeks each year	Affidavit		
Illinois	14[1]				8	48	Under 16 in all gainful occupations.	to 14, 110 days each year	Documentary	Special state officials	Age limit 16 in mines and dangerous occupations.
Indiana	14				10	60	Girls in factories	to 14, entire school year	Affidavit	Special state officials	
Indian Territory											
Iowa	14						Minors under 16	to 14, 16 weeks each year		Special state officials	
Kansas		14						to 15, entire school year (some exemptions).	Affidavit	Special state officials	Age limit includes factories, mines, and packing-houses
Kentucky	14		Exemptions for poverty.	Handling fruits and vegetables in season and delivery and preparation of tobacco.	10	60	Under 16 in factories and mines.	to 14, 5 months each year	Affidavit	Special state officials	

CHILD LABOR LAWS. BY STATES—*Continued*

State	Age limit in factories, stores, etc.	Age limit in factories	Exemptions		Hours		Night-work prohibited	Compulsory education	Proof of age	Officials for enforcement	Special
			For poverty, dependent parents, etc.	Certain industries and periods	Per day	Per week					
Louisiana	See Special			12 years	10	60				Special state officials	Age limit in factories: boys 12, girls 14.
Maine		14		In vacation or on certificate of 16 weeks' schooling and in canneries.	10	60		to 15, entire school year	Documentary	Special state officials	
Maryland	12			Farm labor	10			to 12, entire school year	Documentary	Special state officials	
Massachusetts	14				10	58	See [3]	to 14, entire school year	Documentary	Special state officials	
Michigan	14				10	60	Under 16 in factories	to 15, entire school year (some exemptions).	Affidavit	Special state officials	
Minnesota	14 [2]		Under 14 and illiterates under 16 for poverty.		10	60	Under 16 in all gainful occupations.	to 14, entire school year	Documentary	Special state officials	
Mississippi	See Special										Same as Florida for boys under 21 and girls under 18.
Missouri	14 [2]				9	54	Under 14	to 14, ½ of school year	Documentary	Special state officials	
Montana	14 [2]				8 in mines			to 14, 16 weeks each year	Documentary	School officials	Age limit 16 in mines.
Nebraska	14 [1]			Age limit 10 in vacation.	8	48	Under 16 in all prohibited occupations	*Rural.* to 15, ⅔ of school year (some exemptions). *Urban.* to 16 entire school year.	Documentary	Special state officials	
Nevada								to 14, 12 weeks each year			
New Hampshire	14 [1]				10	60		to 14, entire school year	Affidavit	School officials	
New Jersey	14				10	55		to 14, entire school year	Documentary	Special state officials	
New Mexico								to 14, 12 weeks each year			
New York	14 [1]			Over 12 in mercantile establishments, in vacation, in cities of third class.	8	48	See [4]	to 14, Oct.-June each year	Documentary	Special state officials	
North Carolina		13		Apprenticed labor.	11	66	Under 14 in factories after Jan. 1, 1908.	4 months in year preceding employment.	Affidavit	Special state officials	
North Dakota	14 [2]		Under 14 for poverty.		10			to 14, entire school year		School officials	
Ohio	14 [1]				10	55	Girls under 18, boys under 16, in all gainful occupations.	to 14, 36 weeks each year	Documentary	Special state officials	
Oklahoma											
Oregon	14 [1]			Age limit 12 in any suitable work in vacation of more than 2 weeks.	10	60	Under 16 in all gainful occupations.	to 14, entire school year	Documentary	Special state officials	

CHILD LABOR LAWS. BY STATES—*Concluded*

State	Age limit in factories, stores, etc.	Age limit in factories	Exemptions		Hours		Night-work prohibited	Compulsory education	Proof of age	Officials for enforcement	Special
			For poverty, dependent parents, etc.	Certain industries and periods	Per day	Per week					
Pennsylvania	14	.....	.....	All domestic and farm labor.	12	60	See [5]	to 13, entire school year	Affidavit	Special state officials	Age limit 16 inside anthracite mines; age limit 12 inside bituminous mines.
Rhode Island	14	.....	.....	All agricultural pursuits.	10	58	Under 16 in factories and stores.	to 13, entire school year	Documentary	Special state officials	.....
South Carolina	.....	12	Under 12 for poverty.	.....	.....	.....	Under 12 in factories.	.....	Affidavit	.....	.....
South Dakota	14 [2]	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	to 14, 12 weeks each year	.....	School officials	.....
Tennessee	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	62	.....	.....	Affidavit	Special state officials	.....
Texas	.....	If literate 12, if illiterate 14	Illiterates under 14 for poverty.	.....	.....	.....	Under 14 in factories.	.....	.....	.....	Age limit of 16 applies only to mines and distilleries.
Utah	See Special	.....	.....	.....	8 in mines	.....	.....	to 14, 20 weeks each year	.....	.....	Age limit 14; applies only to mines.
Vermont	16 [1]	.....	.....	Age limit 12 out of school hours and in vacation.	.....	.....	Under 16 in most industries.	to 16, 28 weeks each year	.....	School officials	.....
Virginia	.....	12	.....	.....	10	.....	Under 14 in factories or mines	.....	.....	Special state officials	.....
Washington	14 [1]	.....	Age limit 12 for poverty.	.....	10 for girls.	.....	Under 16 in bakeries.	to 15, entire school year.	Documentary	Special state officials	.....
West Virginia	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	to 14, 20 weeks each year	Affidavits only for employment in mines.	Special state officials	Age limit 14 in factories and stores in school term.
Wisconsin	14 [1]	.....	Over 12 in vacation for poverty.	.....	10	60	Under 16 in all gainful occupations.	to 14, 8 months each year	Documentary	Special state officials	.....
Wyoming	See Special	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	to 16, if unemployed	.....	.....	Age limit 14; applies only to mines.

[1] Also all employments during school hours.
[2] In all employments during school hours, unless school requirements have been complied with.
[3] Night-work prohibited:
From 7 P.M. to 6 A.M. children under 14 in all gainful occupations and under 16 in textile mills.
After 8 P.M. to 6 A.M. children under 14 in all street trades.
From 10 P.M. to 6 A.M. minors in manufactures.
[4] Night-work prohibited:
From 5 P.M. to 8 A.M. children under 16 in factories.
From 7 P.M. to 7 A.M. children under 16 in mercantile establishments in New York City and Buffalo.
From 10 P.M. to 7 A.M. children under 16 in mercantile establishments except in New York City and Buffalo.
After 10 P.M. for newsboys under 14 in cities of first and second class.
[5] Under 16 in all gainful occupations (except boys over 14 in certain industries, who may work not more than 9 hours at night).

The record year in child labor legislation was 1905, when twenty-two states and one territory enacted laws regulating the employment of children. This unusual harvest of legislative improvement may be looked upon as the fruit of many years of activity on the part of labor-unions, women's clubs, the National Consumers' League, the experience of states already having effective laws and efficient factory inspectors, and especially the organization of public sentiment against the practise of child employment since the formation of the National Child Labor Committee in April, 1904.

Promoted by these same forces, together with an awakened interest among the churches, improved child labor laws were passed in six states in 1906, Georgia and Iowa having for the first time placed on the statute books a law against child labor. The National Child Labor Committee cooperated in all of this work through distribution of literature, correspondence, and general support. In Iowa it was instrumental in bringing together into a state committee the various elements that had, unorganized, struggled for years without success. In Maryland, Georgia, and Kentucky representatives of the committee appeared before the legislative assemblies in active support of the bills, and the work of the Southern office, opened in Atlanta early in 1906, was concentrated on the situation in Georgia, which presented the most difficult legislative battle that has yet been fought for the protection of childhood in this country.

Since Jan. 1, 1907, important amendments have improved the child labor laws in Alabama, Florida, Maine, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, and Idaho.

In addition to these state activities interest in this subject has been expressed in a growing demand for national regulation of child labor. A bill was introduced in Congress in Jan., 1907, authorizing the federal government (under the provisions of the Interstate Commerce law) to exclude from interstate transportation goods offered for shipment from mines or factories employing children under fourteen years of age. The discussions of this measure on the floor of the Senate and by the press throughout the country have developed the encouraging fact that all well-informed people admit the existence of the evil and grant the urgency of some thorough method of regulation—the division of opinion turning only upon the question whether it would be expedient, and if so, whether the national government has the power to legislate in a matter heretofore regarded as wholly within the limits of state jurisdiction.

Legislation

In a country composed of a number of almost independent commonwealths the disparity in state laws is a source of great confusion. Not only does such inequality render enforcement of law difficult, but the states with regulation well advanced lay burdens upon merchants and manufacturers as against their competitors across the state line which they consider unfair. The glass manufacturer of eastern Ohio protests against the enforcement of the law against employment of boys under sixteen at night, when he knows that just across the river his competitor, whose expenses for fuel, material, and shipping are identical with his own, can employ boys in Pennsylvania at night at fourteen years and in West Virginia during vacation at twelve. The enforcement of the law is felt to be an injustice and the violation of a well-recognized economic principle.

In view of the halting action that may be expected in many states where the need of reform is greatest, many believe that some national action is necessary if the present generation is to be safeguarded. Despite the strong predisposition of the National Child Labor Committee to favor state regulation of the conditions of industry, it appears to have become the prevailing sentiment of its members that the national government should at least take steps to secure the entire elimination of children under fourteen years from the field of gainful occupation, leaving the individual states to take such further action as seems justified. This would establish a standard below which the nation cannot safely permit any of its parts to fall.

In some respects the most important measure dealing with the employment of children is the law enacted by Congress in February, 1907, authorizing an investigation of the conditions of working women and children. This law is a direct result of the persistent activity of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the Woman's Trade Union League, the National Consumers' League, the National Child Labor Committee, and other organizations interested in the protection of children. An appropriation of $150,000 was devoted to this investigation and the Commissioner of Labor is authorized to add to his regular staff of investigators a sufficient force to make this special study. The value of such an investigation can hardly be overestimated. Heretofore, in default of reliable and complete statistics either from the census bureau or the departments of labor and factory inspection in the various states, it has been necessary for private organizations like the National Child Labor Committee to secure through their own agents the statistical data necessary for arousing public interest in the evils against which they are organized. The objection to this private investigation is obvious. No matter how thorough the agents of a private organization may be, their reports are always open to the charge of being unofficial or "irresponsible." These committees recognize the responsibility of private organizations in arousing public interest, promoting improved legislation, and aiding in law enforcement. But they believe the duty of discovering to what extent the citizens of our country are subjected to unfavorable or injurious conditions is distinctly a duty of the federal government and the various commonwealths. They have therefore been active in urging this government investigation which will lay an authoritative foundation for the work they are organized to conduct.

A Federal Investigation

This report will have a special value in that the investigation is not limited to a statistical study, but is designed to cover the whole field of research into the conditions surrounding wage-earning women and children. It is this larger social phase of the investigation which distinguishes it from a mere census report and which led the director of the census to declare so emphatically that such an investigation lies entirely outside the appropriate exercise of the powers of the census bureau.

The labor organizations have for many years protested against the employment of young chil-

dren in gainful occupations, and may be regarded as the first, in point of time, among the forces arrayed against this system. The General Federation of Women's Clubs has been so active in promoting better conditions that at present nearly all enterprising local clubs have a special committee on child labor, and these committees keep the club members informed of the work of the National Consumers' League and the National Child Labor Committee. Leading educators, social settlement workers, business men and many manufacturers and other employers of labor are joined together for the purpose of securing better conditions for working children, all these classes of citizens being represented in the *personnel* of the National Child Labor Committee, while latterly the churches throughout the country are awakening to the existence of this menace to the intellectual and moral interests of society.

Agencies Opposed to Child Labor

The National Consumers' League, and its local branches, seeks the improvement of industrial conditions through the means of a systematic boycott on producers and purveyors of goods manufactured in unsanitary factories or sweat-shops, or where child labor is employed, or offered for sale in places ignoring certain well-defined rules for the treatment of employees. The earlier activities of the league were mainly devoted to the improvement of conditions in the manufacture and sale of white underwear for women, but more recently a vigorous campaign has been entered against the manufacture and sale of impure foods. While this has been the avowed purpose of the league, perhaps its greatest service has been in the positive efforts aiming to secure higher standards of legislation regulating the employment of children and women, and to the Consumers' League should be accorded the honor of having first undertaken, in a systematic manner, the adequate legal protection of working children in America.

National Consumers' League

Since the National Child Labor Committee may be regarded as the direct outgrowth of the conviction, promoted by many interested agencies, that a problem of such dimensions requires treatment by the coordinated efforts of an organization of national scope, the National Child Labor Committee, formed in 1904, has become the most important organization working on this question. For its work, see NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

National Child Labor Committee

In the course of the investigations conducted under the direction of this committee we have made the following observations of the relation of child labor to social welfare, and these have, in part, determined the policy of the committee in its activities:

I. *Children in Agricultural Pursuits Need Protection.*

It has been customary heretofore to exclude children in agricultural pursuits from the discussion of the child labor problem, on the ground that work on the farm is always beneficial. The open fields and pure air and educational opportunities have been set in bright contrast to the environment of the overworked child in the factories and tenements of our large cities. There is a contrast, but not strong enough to justify the neglect of the child in agriculture. The investigations of this committee, while as yet incomplete, are sufficient to indicate the poverty and ignorance of children in many country communities. This is not chiefly in those sections of the country where families live in a degree of isolation, tho even here are many whose lives are devoted to hard manual labor during years that should be given to education and play. But action taken to regulate child labor in agriculture should be directed especially toward those phases of the industry in which people work in large groups. In the fruit and vegetable gardens and canning farms of Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and other Eastern states, as well as in sections along the Pacific slope, there are conditions which demand careful regulation.

Children whose ages range from nine to twelve years have been found working eleven or twelve hours a day during the rush of the canning season, the hours often reaching sixty or seventy a week. The chief objection to this form of employment is not so much in the labor itself, as in the housing and sanitary conditions. A description of living conditions reported by one of the investigators is fairly typical of what have been found in several sections of the country.

"As you enter the door of one of these shanties you see a long line of straw divided into bunks. These straw bunks are the beds of the workers. The bunks are divided by small boards not more than eight inches high, just high enough to prevent one family rolling over on another. Each bunk represents a family—man, wife, and children. There is no privacy, and the influence on the young boys and girls is wretchedly degrading. These bunks are probably seven feet long by five broad, and in each one there are from four to six people. From the ceiling or on ropes stretched across the room hang the clothes of the men and women, unclean and nasty looking; on the other side of the room are the trunks and traveling paraphernalia of the residents. Some of these shanties are reasonably decent, but even in these a whole family sleeps in a small room. Usually the shanties are far enough from the canning-house to escape the odor, but in two cases I found the drainage from the canning-house so close to the shanty that the rotten tomatoes and stagnant juice and seeds, turned into a moldy and festering mass, raised an odor that was absolutely repulsive."

No industry in which evil conditions may reach such an extreme should be left unregulated, especially when utilizing so large a majority of all working children. The investigation of this form of child labor has not yet been extensive enough to warrant an appeal for uniform legislation. Even the total prohibition of child labor in these large groups would not wholly mitigate the evil. The parents come for the season accompanied by their children, and the improvement of sanitary and housing conditions would be the greatest safeguard to childhood, while any law establishing a minimum age for employment should be accompanied by adequate provision for the care and education of the children excluded from labor.

From other parts of the country where there is truck-gardening and fruit-picking are such reports of the possibility of serious immorality among children working in groups, although returning to their homes at night, that strength is added to the conclusion that agricultural pur-

suits should not be left unregulated. It has been necessary thus far, however, for the committee to devote its principal attention to those forms of child labor confessedly more serious in their effects—employment in factories, mines, workshops, mercantile establishments, street trades, and transportation.

II. *The Demand for Child Labor appears to be Industrial rather than Economic.*

As soon as childhood shows its capacity for any specific form of labor, industry at once seizes it and posits an economic necessity for so doing. This takes the form of a demand from both the employer and the parent. It is urged in the cigar factories of Pittsburg, the coal-breakers of Pennsylvania, the glass factories of West Virginia and Maryland and the cotton-mills of the South, that neither cigars, glassware, cotton goods nor coal can be produced for the market without the employment of child labor. The need of the child is also made the defense of his toil. It is urged that without such employment the child will suffer want because of the poverty of the parents who depend on his labor.

Our research leads us to deny the validity of both arguments. No form of legitimate manufacture depends on child labor—tho often finding it an economy and a convenience. Cotton is produced as successfully in Massachusetts without the labor of young children as in Maine or Rhode Island with their labor partially limited, or in the South where child labor is almost without restriction. The glass industry is demonstrating that child labor is incidental rather than essential, and many large factories are being equipped with mechanical devices which will almost entirely supplant the children. The same is true in the coal fields where the widest disparity in conditions prevails, some collieries depending largely on men and automatic slate-pickers for the work performed in others by small boys. We have repeatedly observed that when laws are enacted so restricting child labor as to render it more expensive or inconvenient than machinery the latter is adopted without serious inconvenience. We are proving, even by the halting legislative steps taken in our states, what was apparent in England before 1850—that regulated industries, far from suffering in comparison with others, have continually improved their machinery and methods and developed higher standards of comfort and industrial achievement than have their exempted and unregulated rivals.

As to the economic prosperity of the homes of cheap labor, we observe that the influx of poverty drawn by forms of industry which bring quick returns without the investment of capital or skill peoples the regions promoting such industries with an ever-increasing number of hungry mouths, to the despair of philanthropic agencies. Instead of being benefited by such industries the average toiler grows poorer every year while his family falls ever farther below the standard of decent living. Great industries, like the glass, iron, steel, and railroad industries, often bring in their train the small merchant and pedler, the cheap garment worker and stogie roller who live in abject poverty and work in cramped tenements of unventilated filth. Poverty is never decreased by being congested, and the orphan and the poor widow are never permanently relieved by industries that bid for cheap labor.

To meet the immediate needs of such families as depend for support on children obviously unfit for hard labor, a system of relief has been established in several large cities by which private agencies undertake to pay to the family in the form of a scholarship a weekly sum approximating the amount the child could earn, on condition that the child is kept in school. This has the effect of relieving a number of worthy cases where the welfare of the child would otherwise have been menaced, and also of demonstrating how small a percentage of working children are really essential breadwinners of the families they represent.

III. *The Physical Effects of Child Labor Demand an Exhaustive Investigation.*

The brief industrial history of this country and the meager official data available prevent a comprehensive conclusion as to the physical effects of premature labor. While dogmatic assertions as to physical deterioration should not be based on insufficient data, there is a strong presumption that the same effects will follow the heavy and unregulated toil of children in America which were long ago demonstrated to be the fruit of child labor in England and other older countries.

Pictures and physical descriptions of factory children filed in the office of the National Child Labor Committee, showing the effects of a single year, or two years, of work are sufficiently striking to justify the demand for a thorough physical examination of all children entering industry, and at regular intervals thereafter—the results to be systematically compared with the results of an examination of children not gainfully employed. This should be undertaken by every state maintaining child-employing industries, and if necessary by the national government. Massachusetts has already adopted a system of examination for all children whether entering school or labor.

Among the specific indications of the physical effects of premature labor may be mentioned the following observations on child labor by Dr. Albert H. Freiberg, Cincinnati, Ohio:

> Laymen usually underestimate the physiological importance of the play hours of children between the ages of ten and sixteen years. Work during this period of life in factory and workshop has the effect of causing excessive fatigue in certain groups of muscles. This fatigue results in muscular degeneration and the assumption of certain faulty attitudes which are at first habitual but later assume the place of the normal, leaving the child more or less permanently deformed and to some extent incapacitated.
>
> These deformities are to be regarded on the one hand, however, not simply as disfiguring but as interfering with wage-earning capacity later on, or as menaces to health and the normal tenure of life.
>
> The work of boys is for the most part done in the standing position. This work usually constitutes an apprenticeship for work to be done in the same position as journeymen adults. A very frequent result of such premature and excessive toil in boys is the breaking down of the feet which results in what is popularly known as "flat foot." Under these circumstances, it is seen quite frequently in its severest forms, and thus often results in permanently forbidding the continuance of the trade learned as a boy.
>
> The girl, on the other hand, does her work in the factory in a sitting position, as a rule. The effect is frequently the development of what is known as "rotary lateral curvature of the spine." This results in disabling the expansive power of the chest, crowds the heart and lungs abnormally and even affects the capacity and shape of the pelvis. For this reason it is well known that severe cases of lateral curvature result in bringing the tenure of life far below the average by its effect upon the heart and lungs. The deformity of the pelvis has long been known as being productive of serious harm in the maternal function.
>
> While these deformities are not confined to one sex or the other, and while they do not occur in the greater number of toiling children, they are known to be particularly frequent among them. The baneful effects of these deformities are

greatly intensified by unfortunate home environment and improper nourishment. Finally, it is not to be overlooked that they are not the only, or even the most common evidences of physical deterioration to be observed among working children.

This testimony is amply corroborated by professional judgment in all countries having child-employing industries. The English medical authorities on the subject are familiar to the American student.

In France careful attention has been given to specific effects of child employment and Dr. Grancher, member of the Academy of Medicine, declares that a ten-hour day of labor for a child of thirteen or fourteen years is a physiological error. Dr. Letule, of the Paris Hospital, says:

> Children ought not to work in a closed-in space. The child needs his portion of play. . . . To make use of the growing strength of the child, to transform his gestures into remunerative work, gestures which are indispensable to his physical development, is to wither the species in its future hopes, is to condemn to tuberculosis thousands of poor beings who ought to become robust workmen.

Dr. Sevestre, member of the Academy of Medicine and Inspector-General of the Sanitary Service, says:

> It appears possible to me that if the hygienists and doctors who give special attention to the physical development of children had been consulted the legal duration of work for children in workshops or in establishments more or less healthful would have been diminished.

In 1846, in the British Parliament, Lord Macaulay delivered this condemnation of premature and excessive child labor:

> Rely on it that intense labor, beginning too early in life, continued too long every day, stunting the growth of the mind, leaving no time for healthful exercise, no time for intellectual culture, must impair all those high qualities which have made our country great. Your overworked boys will become a feeble and ignoble race of men, the parents of a more feeble progeny; nor will it be long before the deterioration of the laborer will injuriously affect those very interests to which his physical and moral energies have been sacrificed.

Yet one will find among American employers of labor, and American legislators, the same defense of the virtue of overwork for young children that has been advanced since the earliest days of factory legislation in England, Germany, and France.

Such state reports as give the number and ages of children in various forms of labor show a remarkable similarity in the percentage of accidents to children under sixteen as compared with accidents to adults. Whether in glass factories, textile, steel or iron mills, mines or quarries, the ratio of about two and one half to one prevails. The report of the Department of Mines in Pennsylvania, 1905, shows 16,774 slate-pickers employed in that year, 8,124, or 48 per cent, of whom were under sixteen. Yet of the slate-pickers killed by accident 75 per cent were under sixteen, the ratio of risk being three to one. The report also demonstrates that the steady increase in the number of accidents in and about the mines (the percentage to the number employed being greater in 1905 than in any year since 1880) is due either to the youth or the ignorance of the workers.

IV. *Child Labor Diminishes Family Income.*

The direct effect of child labor upon the family income follows the recognized tendency of the cheaper article to drive the better from the market. A comparison of wages in industries that utilize child labor with industries demanding only adult labor shows that the total income of the family in the former—as in the silk and cotton factories, cheap cigar and tobacco factories, and the unskilled departments of the glass and coal-mining industries—is not equal to the income of the family in the trades—iron and steel, bridge building, railroad and lumber industries—where only adult members of the family are employed.

When the natural breadwinner is no longer able to maintain his family as an economic unit but must impose upon each member the burden of semiindependent industrial existence, we are brought to a sociological problem of far-reaching import. The institution we call the family cannot survive the crumbling of its economic foundation.

A comprehensive tabulation of the birth-rate as related to family income and to the income of the head of the family is greatly to be desired. But such a tabulation is impracticable until our commonwealths are better equipped with records of vital statistics. And men who work in the social laboratory—especially teachers and physicians—bring to us startling evidence of the reluctance of intelligent and virtuous people to bear children, when they observe skilled employments steadily being divided into unskilled branches which bid for child labor, while the ignorant, the vicious, and the physically unfit continue to propagate their own kind.

It has been abundantly demonstrated by investigations recently conducted that the finding of the Committee of the House of Lords in England in 1889 has its counterpart in this country to-day—that the worst conditions, the longest hours, and the lowest wages existed in the domestic workshops which we have been so concerned to leave free from any government regulation.

V. Child Labor Tends to Industrial Deterioration.

The effects of child labor are seen in the cheapening of industrial products, due to unskilled labor on the one hand, and on the other to the unfitting of the adult for the proper consumption of goods, because of his defective mental and physical training. The Massachusetts Committee on Industrial and Technical Education, 1906, shows that those who too early in life enter industries that bid for cheap child labor are doomed to spend their future years in such labor at wages that will never afford adequate support. It is shown, for example, that while the cotton-mills offer about $4 a week to children beginning as against about $2.50 in the leather industries, and thus win the larger number of children, the wages do not increase in the same proportion. In the cotton-mills the weekly wages advance to about $6 or $6.50 and there rest, while in the shoe factories the advance proceeds from $2.50 to $11 or $12 a week, with a higher percentage of special opportunities for advancement. No other state has made so careful a research into this problem, but there is abundant evidence to the same effect from other countries. If the child laborer progresses in years but not in earning capacity his poverty precludes his participation in the fruits of industry. He becomes a poor purchaser, fails to consume his share of the goods offered for sale, and thus promotes that commercial congestion from which the markets of the world so frequently suffer.

The condemnation of the unregulated domestic

and street trades is even more emphatic. All the witnesses who gave evidence recently before the Inter-Departmental Committee of the British Government "concurred in the view that 'once a street trader always a street trader' and that the streets manufacture the casual worker, the unemployed, and the loafer." (Nettie Adler, 1906, "Juvenile Wage Earners and their Work," p. 7).

VI. Child Labor not a Problem of Foreign Labor.

A special study of the relation of our foreign populations to child labor has been made for the purpose of testing the validity of the claim often advanced that this system, even granting its evil, affects only the foreigners. This claim is well founded only in those localities in which recent arrivals from foreign countries constitute the lower and more helpless element in the community. There their ignorance and traditional subjection to industrial injustices make their children the easy prey of the unscrupulous or the misguided employer. Boroughs in the coal regions of Pennsylvania are found in which not more than 3 per cent or 5 per cent of the school pupils enrolled ever reach the high school, and of these few if any are of the foreign-born children who abound in these communities. But the exploitation of young children is no respecter of race distinctions and, where legal safeguards are wanting, the coal-mine and the glass factory and the silk- and cotton-mill take the children of the community, whether Lithuanian, Pole, Portuguese, French Canadian, or native Cavalier or Puritan stock. But were this evil limited to foreign-born races, they so soon become an integral part of our national life that an injury to them is an injury to all.

VII. A Working Plan.

We must recognize the possibility of misjudging the character of the phenomena that have thus far imprest us. Certain phases of child-labor research must be carried on systematically for some years before more than tentative results should be announced.

Meanwhile we are convinced that the results of the investigations thus far conducted, when interpreted by the experience of older industrial communities, justify as a working hypothesis a program of opposition to child labor along the following general lines:

(1) The regulation of all branches of industry in which children are employed. The experience of older industrial communities proves that in the absence of regulation there will be some trades in which at least some workers will be driven to exist under conditions so exhausting and demoralizing as to be injurious to the community. This excessive burden will fall most heavily upon the laborers least able to protest against injustice—namely, the children.

(2) The elimination of the child under fourteen years of age as an industrial factor.

(3) The restriction of employment for children between fourteen and sixteen years of age, excluding the physically or mentally defective and the illiterates; forbidding the employment of others at night, for more than eight hours a day, or in any employment dangerous to life, limb, health or morals.

The requisites of a good child-labor law are best set forth by Mrs. Florence Kelley, General Secretary of The National Consumers' League (in "Some Ethical Gains Through Legislation," The Macmillan Company, New York, 1905, pp. 93 *seq.*) as follows:—.

What Constitutes Effective Child-Labor Laws

Effective legislation dealing with child labor involves many differing elements, including the child, the parent, the employer, the officials charged with the duty of enforcing the statutes, and finally the community which enacts laws, provides schools for the children when they are prohibited from working, supports and authorizes officers for the enforcement of the laws, prescribes penalties for their violation, assists dependent families in which the children are below the legal age for work. In the long run, the effectiveness of the law depends upon the conscience of the community as a whole far more than upon the parent and the employer acting together.

With the foregoing reservations and qualifications duly emphasized, the following summaries are believed to outline the substance of the effective legislation which it seems reasonable to try to secure in the present and the immediate future. They deal only with provisions for the child as a child, taking for granted the provisions for fire-escapes, safeguards for machines, toilet facilities and all those things which the child shares with the adult worker.

An effective child-labor law rests primarily upon certain definite prohibitions, among which are the following:

Labor Is Prohibited: (1) for all children under the age of fourteen years; (2) for all children under sixteen years of age who do not measure sixty inches and weigh eighty pounds;[1] (3) for all children under sixteen years of age who cannot read fluently and write legibly simple sentences in the English language; (4) for all children under the age of sixteen years, between the hours of 7 P.M. and 7 A.M., or longer than eight hours in any twenty-four hours, or longer than forty-eight hours in any week; (5) for all children under the age of sixteen years in occupations dangerous to life, limb, health or morals.

The Child.—Effective legislation requires that before going to work the child satisfy a competent officer appointed for the purpose, that it (1) is fourteen years of age, and (2) is in good health, and (3) measures at least sixty inches and weighs eighty pounds, and (4) is able to read fluently and write legibly simple sentences in the English language, and (5) has attended school a full school year during the twelve months next preceding going to work.

The Parent.—Effective child-labor legislation requires that the parent (1) keep the child in school to the age of fourteen years and longer if the child has not completed its required school work, and (2) take oath as to the exact age of the child before letting it begin to work, and (3) substantiate the oath by producing a transcript of the official record of the birth of the child, or the record of its baptism, or some other religious record of the time of the birth of the child, and must (4) produce the record of the child's school attendance, signed by the principal of the school which the child last attended.

The Employer.—Effective child-labor legislation requires that the employer before letting the child begin to work: (1) obtain and place on file ready for official inspection papers showing (*a*) the place and date of birth of the child substantiated by (*b*) the oath of the parent corroborated by (*c*) a transcript of the official register of births, or by a transcript of the record of baptism, or other religious record of the birth of the child, and by (*d*) the school record signed by the principal of the school which the child last attended, and by (*e*) the statement of the officer of the Board of Education or the Board of Health designated for the purpose, that he has approved the papers and examined the child; (2) after permitting the child to begin to work, the employer is required to produce the foregoing papers on demand of the school-attendance officer, the health officer, and the factory inspectors; (3) in case the child cease to work, the employer must restore to the child the papers enumerated above; (4) during the time that the child is at work, the employer must provide suitable seats, and permit their use so far as the nature of the work allows; and must (5) post and keep posted in a conspicuous place, the hours for beginning work in the morning, and for stopping work in the middle of the day; the hours for resuming work and for stopping at the close of the day; and all work done at any time not specified in such posted notice constitutes a violation of the law. The total number of hours must not exceed eight in any one day or forty-eight in one week.

The Officials.—Effective legislation for the protection of children requires that the officials entrusted with the duty of enforcing it (1) give their whole time, not less than eight hours of every working-day, to the performance of their duties, making night inspections whenever this may be necessary to insure that children are not working during the

[1] This measure is not now specified in any statute, tho it is implied in the statute of New York, enacted in 1903.

prohibited hours; and (2) treat all employers alike, irrespective of political considerations, of race, religion or power in a community; (3) prosecute all violations of the law; (4) keep records complete and intelligible enough to facilitate the enactment of legislation suitable to the changing conditions of industry.

The School.—The best child-labor law is a compulsory education law covering forty weeks of the year and requiring the consecutive attendance of all the children to the age of fourteen years, and until sixteen years, unless they have meanwhile completed a specified portion of the curriculum, as eight years in Colorado or five years in New York. It is never certain that children are not at work, if they are out of school. In order to keep the children, however, it is not enough to compel attendance—the schools must be modified and adapted to the needs of the recent immigrants in the North and of the poor whites in the South, affording instruction which appeals to the parents as worth having, in lieu of the wages which the children are forbidden to earn, and appeals to the children as interesting and attractive. No system of child-labor legislation can be regarded as effective which does not face and deal with these facts.

The vacation school and camp promise reenforcement of the child-labor laws; which are now seriously weakened by the fact that the long vacation leaves idle upon the streets children whom employers covet by reason of the low price of their labor, while parents, greedy for the children's earnings and anxious lest the children suffer from the life of the streets, eagerly seek work for them. Nothing could be worse for the physique of the school child than being compelled to work during the summer; and the development of the vacation school and vacation camp alone seems to promise a satisfactory solution of the problem of the vacation of the city child of the working class.

The Community.—Effective child-labor legislation places upon the community many duties, among which are: (1) maintaining officials—men and women—school-attendance officers, health officers, and factory inspectors, all of whom need (*a*) salary and traveling expenses, (*b*) access at all reasonable times to the places where children are employed, (*c*) power to prosecute all violations of the statutes affecting working children, (*d*) tenure of office so effectively assured that they need not fear removal from office in consequence of prosecuting powerful offenders; (2) maintaining schools in which to educate the children who are prohibited from working; (3) maintaining vital statistics, especially birth records, such that the real age of native children may be readily ascertained; (4) maintaining provision for the adequate relief of dependent families in which the children are not yet of legal age for beginning work.

More important, however, than the enactment of the foregoing provisions is the maintenance in the community of a persistent, lively interest in the enforcement of the child-labor statutes. Without such interest, judges do not enforce penalties against offending parents and employers; inspectors become discouraged and demoralized; or faithful officers are removed because they have no organized backing, while some group of powerful industries clamors that the law is injuring its interest. Well-meaning employers grow careless, infractions become the rule, and working men form the habit of thinking that laws inimical to their interest are enforced, while those framed in their interest are broken with impunity.

Upon parents there presses incessant poverty, urging them to seek opportunities for wage-earning, even for the youngest children; and upon the employers presses incessant competition, urging them to reduce the pay-roll by all means, fair and foul. No law enforces itself; and no officials can enforce a law which depends upon them alone. It is only when they are consciously the agents of the will of the people that they can make the law really protect the children effectively.

Austria

Statistical.—The statistical returns of the factory inspectors show only the number of persons employed in the establishments visited by them. For the years 1902 and 1903 the data are as follows:

Number of Young Persons and Adults in Austria Employed in Establishments Visited by the Factory Inspectors, 1902 and 1903

[Source: "Soziale Rundschau" 1904 (Bd. II), p. 412.]

	Number		Per cent	
	1902	1903	1902	1903
Adults	728,408	744,264	94.2	94.2
Young persons	44,948	45,619	5.8	5.8

Legislative.—The labor of children in factories and workshops is regulated by the laws of June 4, 1884, and March 8, 1885. (An establishment employing more than twenty persons or equipped with machinery is considered a factory, while other industrial establishments are designated workshops.)

Age.—The age limit for employment in workshops is twelve years, provided that under fourteen years the work shall be such as is not injurious to physical development and does not prevent school attendance. Children under fourteen years are not to be employed in factories, and those from fourteen to sixteen only in the lighter forms of factory labor. The age limit for employment in mining enterprises is fifteen years, provided that by special permit children over twelve years of age may be employed in the "lighter work" when such employment does not interfere with school attendance. The form of labor permitted to males under sixteen and females under eighteen is limited, by executive officers, to such as does not retard physical development.

Hours of Labor.—For children under fourteen employed in workshops, not to exceed eight hours a day. The hours of labor for other persons may not exceed eleven. There must be a recess of not less than one hour and a half a day. Night work is prohibited from 8 P.M. to 5 A.M. for males under sixteen and for all females. The law of January 16, 1895, forbids (with certain specific exceptions) all industrial labor on Sunday.

Certificates.—Employers must keep lists of all employees subject to the provisions of the child-labor laws, and all children must comply with the regulations regarding school attendance and health qualifications, as a condition for employment.

Exemptions.—The Minister of Commerce may grant temporary or permanent exemptions from the provisions of the law, or may place added restrictions on industries or occupations regarded as dangerous for children.

Belgium

Statistical.—

Number of Women and Children in Belgium Employed in Industrial Establishments Visited by the Factory Inspectors, 1897 to 1900

[Source: "Rapports annuels de l'inspection du travail," Office du Travail, Bruxelles, 1897–1900.]

Year	Number of protected persons under 21 years of age				Females over 21 years of age	Total number of workers of all ages and both sexes	Per cent of total number of workers protected
	Children 12 to 16 years		Females 16 to 21 years	Total			
	Boys	Girls					
1897	15,392	9,452	17,229	42,073	19,365	210,767	19.96
1898	16,939	10,761	18,993	46,693	19,380	235,867	19.80
1899	19,810	11,761	21,978	53,549	23,276	252,965	21.17
1900	19,031	13,560	23,429	56,020	25,269	273,363	20.49

Legislative.—The labor of children is regulated by the law of Dec. 13, 1889, supplemented and modified by a number of royal decrees. The law and decrees affect mines, quarries, factories, and industrial establishments using mechanical motive power, and transportation by land or water.

Age.—Labor in any of these establishments is forbidden under twelve years of age, while females under twenty-one are forbidden to labor underground.

Hours of Labor.—Limited to twelve per day for males under sixteen and females under twenty-one (except where special regulations have been issued by royal decree). The regulation of hours of labor is based upon an analysis of the kinds of labor performed, varying from eleven and one-half to ten per day in different specified industries, with rest periods fixed by law (e. g., in the mining industry males under sixteen working underground may not work more than ten hours and a half, including descent, rest period, and ascent. The rest period must not be less than one eighth of the total time spent underground).

Night and Sunday Labor.—Prohibited 9 P.M. to 5 A.M., males under sixteen and females under twenty-one (except in certain specified industries). One day rest in seven is enjoined, though not necessarily Sunday.

Certificates.—Required of males under sixteen and females under twenty-one, showing age, educational and other qualifications. Furnished free by local authorities. Employers must keep files of all protected employees.

Exemptions.—Exceptions or additions to the provisions of the law may be made by royal decree.

France

Statistical.—The following table presents the results of a special enumeration made in 1900 of persons subject to the law of March 30, 1900:

Number of Children and Other Persons in France Employed in Establishments Subject to the Law of March 30, 1900, in the Year 1900

[Source: "Bulletin de l'Office du Travail," 1901, p. 856.]

Age and Sex	Number of workers	Per cent
Children under 18:		
Male	238,498	8.5
Female	220,027	7.8
Females over 18	623,565	22.3
Total women and children	1,082,090	38.6
Males over 18	1,719,916	61.4
Total	2,802,006	100.0

The Minister of Commerce and Industry in France made a report in 1903 upon the industries employing children under eighteen years of age, and the number employed, as follows:

Industries	Male	Female
Food preparation	9,146	8,291
Chemical	3,316	2,381
Rubber, paper, pasteboard	4,817	7,131
Books and printing	12,802	5,026
Textile	43,847	80,192
Cloth and clothing	6,805	100,776
Straw, feathers, hair	845	2,196
Leather and hides	11,548	5,501
Wood	39,117	4,943
Metallurgical	8,099	106
Ordinary metals	58,609	6,569
Fine metals	2,331	1,367
Cutting precious stones	128	156
Cutting and polishing stones	1,538	223
Stove construction	17,539	49
Crockery, glass, etc.	21,715	5,766
	233,238	230,636

This makes a total of 463,874. In the same industries there were employed 627,051 women and 1,676,607 men.

Legislative.—The laws of November 2, 1892, amended March 30, 1900, regulating the labor of children applies to factories, workshops, mines, and quarries. Agriculture, mercantile establishments, and workshops in which only members of the family are employed, are exempt. In forty-seven distinct occupations the labor of women and children is forbidden, while ten others permit women but forbid children under eighteen. In ninety-four other kinds of establishments the employment of children is strictly regulated.

Age.—Limit, thirteen years for children who have completed the common-school course. No female of any age may be employed underground.

Hours of Labor.—Limited to ten per day for males under eighteen and females of all ages. In mines for boys thirteen to eighteen the shift must not exceed eight hours.

Night and Sunday Labor.—Labor prohibited 9 P.M. to 5 A.M., or for more than six days per week, males under eighteen and all females.

Certificates.—Required of all children under eighteen, showing age, educational qualifications, and physical ability to perform the work desired. Children under sixteen may be required to undergo special physical examination before employment in certain industries. Employers must keep file of all employees subject to the child-labor laws.

Exceptions.—Certain specified exceptions may be made by executive officials. A ministerial decision in 1895, modified by various decisions, to July 4, 1902, makes the following exemptions to the prohibition of night and extra work:

1. In mills where "fire burns continually" male children may be employed ten hours out of the twenty-four, on condition that they have two hours' rest.

2. In certain industries, such as butter, dairies, ready-made clothing, fruit and fish preserveries and toy manufactories, the inspectors may, during the busy seasons in these trades, permit overtime work until eleven o'clock at night, providing the total day's work does not exceed twelve hours, and may temporarily abrogate the provisions requiring periods of rest and one day's rest per week; but in no case are such special privileges to extend over sixty days in any one year.

Serious Defects.—The more important defects in the otherwise excellent child-labor laws of France are: (1) the entirely inadequate force of factory inspectors (there are 110 inspectors to cover the field of more than 159,060 establishments employing more than 3,000,000 people) and the imposition of penalties for violation of law so slight as to often invite the risk of detection; (2) the failure to properly guard the employment of apprentices, or of children who are boarded with their employers; (3) the failure to properly regulate employment in tenement-house sweat-shops.

The regulation of apprenticeship is under an antiquated law of Feb. 22, 1851. The law provides against certain abuses of overwork, etc., and requires that ignorant apprentices shall be given an opportunity (not over two hours a day) to study. But the apprenticeship system is dying as in other countries, there being but 180 trades in France in which apprentices are received, supervision of apprentices by justices of the peace is a dead letter, and parents have been

found generally indifferent to the violation of contract governing their apprenticed children. It is also possible, without infraction of law, for children to be sent to board with an employer, without being protected even by the apprenticeship contract. As a boarder he becomes a member of the family and thus devoid of protection. In this way many children work without learning a trade and are developed into cheap, inefficient workmen. Francis H. McLean, of the International Committee of the Consumers' League, says (*Charities*, April 22, 1905, New York):

"It is estimated that there are about 50,000 children so employed in the capital city alone. The Consumers' League of Paris has undertaken an investigation into the condition of children employed by pastry cooks. Their ages generally run from thirteen to sixteen years. The Superior Council of Labor, the labor-unions, and the Consumers' League have joined in an agitation to so amend the present laws that all the children so exploited shall work only under apprenticeship contracts strictly regulated, and furthermore, that the factory inspectors shall have jurisdiction over them.

"There is reason to believe that the legislation which will come in the years just ahead will even up French child-labor regulation, and make it in many more details as progressive as it is now in the points enumerated above. There are strong and influential bodies, the great Association for the Legal Protection of Workmen and the active Consumers' League of Paris among others, who are leading the fight. And most significant of all, the intelligent labor-unions of France are vitally and deeply interested in the suggested reforms. In all probability the first step in advance will be to still further curtail the power of a parent to act against the best interests of his child and therefore against the best interests of the State itself. In a country which is so strongly committed to the idea of the superior importance of the common weal over the welfare of any single individual or group in the nation, there can scarcely be any doubt of the early evolution of a model child-labor law."

Germany

Statistical.—In 1898 the German ministry of the interior made a special investigation of the employment of children under fourteen years of age in establishments other than factories, but not including agricultural establishments. The investigation was not a census, as several districts were not canvassed, and the methods followed were not entirely uniform throughout the empire, but the figures show approximately the extent of such child labor and its distribution in the several branches of industry.

The total number of children under fourteen years of age engaged in industrial establishments other than factories in 1898 was found to be 532,283. Making allowance for the territory omitted, the report estimates that this number formed 6.53 per cent of the children of school age.

The branch of industry and the number and per cent of children employed in each in 1898 are shown in the first of the following tables, while the second shows the number of children employed in factories for the years indicated:

Number and Per Cent of Children in Germany Under 14 Years of Age Engaged in Industrial (i. e., Nonagricultural) Establishments Other than Factories in 1898

[Source: "Vierteljahrshefte zur Stat. d. Deutschen Reichs," 1900, pp. iii, 101]

	Number				Per cent			
	Boys	Girls	Sex not reported	Total	Boys	Girls	Sex not reported	Total
Industry	72,428	59,318	175,077	306,823	37.82	55.09	75.11	57.64
Commerce	7,507	4,540	5,576	17,623	3.92	4.22	2.39	3.31
Transportation	2,014	163	514	2,691	1.05	.15	.22	.51
Hotels and restaurants	12,757	2,168	6,695	21,620	6.66	2.01	2.87	4.06
Delivery of merchandise, etc	67,188	36,966	31,676	135,830	35.09	34.33	13.59	25.52
Ordinary errand work	23,321	2,134	10,454	35,909	12.18	1.98	4.48	6.75
Miscellaneous	6,281	2,387	3,119	11,787	3.28	2.22	1.34	2.21
Total	191,496	107,676	233,111	532,283	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Number of Children and of Females in Germany Under 21 Years of Age Employed in Factories, 1898 to 1903

[Source: "Vierteljahrshefte zur Stat. d. Deutschen Reichs," 1900–3]

Year	Number of Children Employed							Females 16–21 years of age
	Children under 14 years of age		Children 14 to 16 years of age		Total male	Total female	Total both sexes	
	Male	Female	Male	Female				
1898	4,301	2,771	184,502	91,884	188,803	94,655	283,458	288,553
1899	4,497	2,911	196,481	98,664	200,978	101,575	302,553	297,387
1900	5,952	3,395	231,807	103,040	237,759	106,435	344,194	311,193
1901	5,948	3,580	240,938	100,545	246,886	104,125	351,011	310,397
1902	4,678	3,399	215,074	101,229	219,752	104,628	324,380	314,624
1903	5,391	3,528	221,744	106,175	227,135	109,703	336,838	328,535

Legislative.—Laws regulating employment of children over thirteen years of age are in the industrial code, amended June 30, 1900, and the ordinance of the federal council, July 13, 1900. The labor of children under thirteen is restricted by the law of March 30, 1903, and of child labor in the coal-mines of Prussia, Baden, and Alsace-Lorraine by the ordinance of the federal council, March 24, 1903. To these general regulations individual states of the empire may add further restrictions. The laws of the empire apply to mines, factories, workshops, commercial establishments, and all industries connected with transportation. Other establishments may be included at the discretion of the federal council. The laws do not apply to workshops in which only members of the family labor under the direction of the parent.

Age.—Employment in mines, factories, building operations, and workshops designated as unsuited to the employment of children, is forbidden children under thirteen, or children over thirteen who have not completed the common-school course. The employment of children under thirteen or those who have not completed the common-school course is regulated according as the child is, or is not, a member of the employer's family.

Children not related to the employer may not be employed under thirteen in any of the above establishments or in theatrical performances. Those over twelve may be employed in certain workshops, in commerce or transportation, and in hotels and restaurants. Children related to the employer may be employed at ten years in industries permitted to the non-related children under thirteen, though the hours are carefully regulated. Such children may not be employed in industries forbidden other children under thirteen. In certain classes of workshops children under ten years may be employed under strict regulations. Related children may be employed under thirteen in the delivery of milk, newspapers, etc., though this may be at any time restricted by local officials.

No female may be employed underground.

Hours of Labor.—All children under thirteen are compelled to attend school regularly, and may not be employed after 8 P.M. or before 8 A.M. Work may not begin before the school session, nor earlier than an hour after the close of the session. Hours of labor may not exceed three per day, except in regular vacation when they may extend to four hours. Children under fourteen may not work in factories more than six hours per day, and children between fourteen and sixteen not more than ten hours. Specific restrictions also regulate the rest periods and higher age limits for employment in certain industries, also special hours for closing on days preceding Sundays and holidays. In the coal-mines of Prussia, Baden, and Alsace-Lorraine children fourteen years old may work eight hours per day, one hour of which must be a period of rest, while the eight-hour shifts must be separated by at least fifteen hours (thirteen hours before Sundays and holidays).

Night and Sunday Labor.—Prohibited 8.30 P.M. to 5.30 A.M., males under sixteen, females of any age. Females may not work after 5.30 P.M. on days preceding Sunday and holidays. Children under fourteen may not work between 8 P.M. and 8 A.M.

Certificates required of all minors seeking employment, supplied free by local police officials. Employers of children must first file a statement of location of establishment, number of women and children desired, character of work to be done, hours of labor, rest periods, etc. The employer must keep posted in his establishment a list of employees subject to the child-labor laws, showing hours of labor and rest periods. Before employment in mines (Prussia, Baden, Alsace-Lorraine) children under fourteen must be specially examined and obtain a certificate from an authorized physician, that physical development and health will not suffer by such employment.

Exemptions.—The federal council may make certain exceptions to special restrictions contained in the law, but only for a limited period, and may also forbid absolutely the employment of women or children under sixteen in occupations they consider dangerous to health or morals.

These imperial laws are regarded merely as a minimum standard of protection for children, and it is expressly provided that nothing shall prevent the separate states from enacting more stringent laws.

Great Britain

For Child Labor and Legislation in Great Britain see separate article on the subject.

Italy

Statistical.—The following table shows the number and age of the children employed in the establishments visited by the factory inspectors in the years 1897 to 1900. It should be stated that the factory inspectors are few in number and the number of factories visited in one year is not large. The statistics show the extent of the employment of children under the law of 1886, now superseded by the law of 1902:

Number of Children in Italy Employed in Factories Visited by Factory Inspectors in 1897 to 1900

[Source: Relazione sull' applicazione della legge 11 febbraio 1886, sul lavoro dei fanciulli, etc.]

Year	Number of children employed	Per cent		
		9–10 years of age	10–12 years of age	12–15 years of age
1897.....	15,592	1.30	18.07	80.63
1898.....	11,641	.96	7.70	91.34
1899.....	1,086	.18	12.34	87.48
1900.....	6,291	1.34	13.86	84.80

Legislative.—The labor of children is regulated by the law of June 19, 1902, and the administrative decree of Jan. 29, 1903. It affects factories, workshops, mines, quarries, work of construction (including buildings and roads). The government may also, on advice of the superior council of hygiene and the council of industry and commerce, entirely forbid, or place under special restrictions, labor of children in industries considered dangerous or unsanitary.

Age.—Labor is forbidden in the above industries under twelve, except that no child under fourteen (unless mechanical traction is used) and no female may work underground. By special decree children under fifteen may be forbidden employment in any establishment or occupation considered dangerous or unsanitary.

Hours of Labor.—Limited to eleven per day

for children twelve to fifteen years old, and not more than twelve for any female. The length and frequency of rest periods is also established by law. The minister of agriculture, industry, and commerce may, with the advice of the provincial council of hygiene, extend the hours of labor for children to twelve per day for a limited period and for specific cause.

Night and Sunday Labor.—Night-work forbidden (8 P.M. to 6 A.M. in winter, 9 P.M. to 5 A.M. in summer) males under fifteen and females of any age. Special regulations may be issued regarding night-work in specific localities. Children under fifteen and females of all ages must have one entire day of rest each week (not necessarily Sunday).

Certificates.—Required of males under fifteen and all minor females subject to the provisions of this law, showing that applicant has proper age, health, and educational qualifications. Certificates furnished free. Lists of protected employees must be kept and annual reports made by employers.

Switzerland

Statistical.—

Number of Children in Switzerland Employed in Factories in 1901

[Source: "Statistisches Jahrbuch der Schweiz," 1902, p. 99.]

Industries	Children 14 to 18 Years of Age			Persons of all Ages		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Textile .	4,552	12,122	16,674	33,192	64,001	97,193
Other industries	12,117	6,481	18,598	117,011	28,330	145,341
Total .	16,669	18,603	35,272	150,203	92,331	242,534

Legislative.—Child labor is regulated by the federal law on factories of March 23, 1877, supplemented by cantonal laws and administrative decrees by the federal council. The law applies to factories, defined (decree 1891) as industrial establishments (1) employing more than ten persons; (2) using mechanical motive power and employing more than five persons, or employing minors under eighteen, or offering danger to life or health of employees; (3) certain other establishments. The decree of 1897 specifically forbids employment of children under sixteen in certain employments, e. g., attending steam boilers, motors, dynamos, cranes, drawbridges, circular or band saws, and similar machinery; also work with explosives, harmful chemicals, or processes producing much dust.

Age.—Employment in factories forbidden all children under fourteen.

Hours of Labor.—Limited to eleven per day for all persons employed in factories. For children under sixteen the eleven hours must also include such time for school and religious instruction as required by local authorities. On days preceding Sunday and holidays hours of labor are limited to ten.

Night and Sunday Labor.—Night-work forbidden (8 P.M. to 6 A.M. in winter, and 8 P.M. to 5 A.M. in summer) males under eighteen and all females. Sunday work also forbidden. Under special conditions the federal council may authorize the employment of boys fourteen to eighteen years, for work in which a continuous process is necessary.

Certificates.—No requirement for employment certificates is contained in the general law, but cantonal governments establish regulations, and all employers are required by law to keep lists of all persons employed.

Exceptions.—May be granted by the federal council in certain cases, and establishments may be designated in which the employment of children is prohibited.

References: *History of Factory Legislation*, by V. L. Hutchins and A. Harrison, London, 1903; *Bulletins of the United States Bureau of Labor*, Washington, D. C., No. 28, May, 1900, *Foreign Labor Laws*, by W. F. Willoughby; No. 26, Jan., 1900, *Employment of Women and Children in Belgium*, by W. F. Willoughby; No. 30, Sept., 1900, *Foreign Labor Laws*, by W. F. Willoughby; No. 62, Jan., 1906, *Text of Child Labor Laws in the U. S. in Force Dec. 31, 1905*; *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (Philadelphia): vol. xx., July, 1902, *Social Legislation and Social Activity*; vol. xxv., No. 23, May, 1905, *Child Labor*; vol. xxvii., No. 2, March, 1906, *Child Labor, A Menace to Industry, Education and Good Citizenship*; vol. xxix., No. 1, Jan., 1907, *Child Labor and the Republic*; *Laws Relating to Factories and Workshops*, by Evans Austin, London, 1901; *Labor Problems*, by Adams and Sumner, New York, 1905 (contains several good chapters dealing with child labor); *The Lancashire Cotton Industry*, by Sidney J. Chapman, Manchester, 1904 (reviews a great deal of the early agitation for legislation to restrict child labor in the English cotton-mills); *Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on the Employment of School Children in Great Britain*, London, 1901 and 1902 (an important report, unfortunately out of print); *Modern Factory System*, by Whately Cook Taylor, London, 1891; *Life of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury*, by Edwin Hodder; *The Social Unrest*, by John Graham Brooks, New York, 1903; *Some Ethical Gains Through Legislation*, by Florence Kelley, New York, 1905; *Effects of the Factory System*, by Allen Clarke, London, 1899; *The Law Relating to Factories and Workshops*, by Abraham and Davies, London, 5th ed., 1905; *The Case for the Factory Acts*, edited by Mrs. Sydney Webb, 1901; *The Present South*, by Edgar Gardner Murphy, New York, 1904; *Publications of the American Economic Association*, vol v., No. 2, 1890, containing two prize essays on child labor by Clare de Graffenreid and W. F. Willoughby; *Charities* and *Charities and the Commons*, 1903–6 inclusive; *Report of the Thirteenth National Conference of Charities and Correction, Atlanta*, Columbus, Ohio, 1903; *Poverty*, by Robert Hunter, New York, 1904; *Report of Commission on Industrial and Technical Education* (Massachusetts Senate document No. 349), Boston, April, 1906; *Handbook on Child Labor Legislation*, published annually by National Consumers' League to 1906 inclusive, edition for 1907 published as a supplement to the January (1907) issue of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science; U. S. Census Bulletin No. 69, Child Labor in the U. S.*, Jan., 1907.

Owen R. Lovejoy

CHILD LABOR AND LEGISLATION IN GREAT BRITAIN: The employment of children in Great Britain is regulated by a series of enactments which may be roughly classified under three heads:

(1) Factory and Workshop Legislation (1802–1901).

(2) Education Acts and By-laws (1870–1900).

(3) Employment of Children Act and By-laws (1903).

These measures deal with three classes of children and young persons:

(*a*) Young persons from fourteen to eighteen years, employed full time and exempt from school attendance.

(*b*) Children from twelve to fourteen years, who have reached a certain standard of education or have made a certain number of attendances during five years of school life, and who are consequently permitted to work either full or half time.

(*c*) Children under fourteen, at school during the whole session, whose employment out of school hours is regulated by the Employment of Children Act.

The earliest Factory Act was passed in 1802, and applied almost entirely to apprentices employed in cotton and woolen mills. It was framed to deal with a specific evil, and at that time there was no intention of a general regulation of industrial work. The apprentices were pauper children, sent from the London workhouses by the parish guardians, who paid a small premium to the manufacturers as an inducement to relieve them of the burden of caring for these unfortunate young people. The employers were glad to obtain cheap labor on such terms, for the discovery of the application of power to the spinning and weaving looms had given an immense impetus to the manufacture of textiles. The children were treated as slaves, were frequently worked to death, and, it was said, even murdered, that fresh children and new premiums might be obtained.

The Act of 1802 limited the hours of work to twelve per day; that of 1819 prohibited the employment of children under nine years in factories, and restricted the hours of employment of children between nine and sixteen years to twelve per day. There were, however, no means of enforcing the law, and the evidence given before the Royal Commission of 1833 showed that children were being worked fourteen, fifteen, and even sixteen hours daily. Four factory inspectors were, however, appointed in that year. The Act of 1834, which followed as a result of the Royal Commission, instituted the distinction between children under thirteen and young persons between thirteen and eighteen years. It limited the hours of work for children between nine and thirteen years to nine, prescribed two hours' schooling daily, and enforced a weekly maximum of seventy-eight hours. The legal day, however, was from 5.30 A.M. to 8.30 P.M., and children were often detained the entire fifteen hours in the factory, on the plea that they were sent out for three hours' recreation. Moreover, the schools established could only be described as an impudent evasion of the law. Factory hands, disabled or past work, who could neither read nor write, were not infrequently appointed "schoolmasters."

Early Legislation

The Act of 1842 prohibited the employment of girls and women in coal mines, a step necessitated by the terrible revelations of the Royal Commission of 1841. In the factories a new principle was introduced—that of the *Half Time System.* Factory children were to work either ten hours on alternate days of the week, and were to attend school on the other days, or were to complete six and a half hours' factory and three hours' school attendance daily. The employer was required to obtain from the schoolmaster a certificate of the child's attendance.

The regulations hitherto promulgated only applied to children employed in mills. The Children's Employment Commission of 1863 showed, however, that large numbers of boys and girls, too young to be employed in factories, were set to work at home or in small workshops at lace dressing, fustian cutting, and other occupations, for fourteen or fifteen hours a day. The Factories Extension Act and the Workshop Act of 1867 regulated certain industries, not hitherto dealt with by law, and placed under control workshops defined as "any room or place in which any handicraft is carried on by any child, young person, or woman and to which the employer has access."

The value and utility of the Factory Act of 1878, which consolidated all previous regulations and removed ambiguities in the existing law, were greatly enhanced by reason of the compulsory system of national education which had come into existence during the years 1870–76. A ten hours' day for women, young persons, and children was imposed in textile, and a ten and a half hours' day in non-textile factories. The working day had to be placed within a defined period of twelve hours, beginning at 6, 7, or 8 A.M. Half-time employment by children under ten was prohibited. The Act of 1891 raised the age to eleven, and charged the local sanitary authorities with the duty of regulating the hygiene of workshops.

The Factory and Workshops Act of 1901 touches the high-water mark of British protective legislation in regulated industries. It consolidates all previous legislation on the subject. No child or young person under sixteen may be employed in a factory without a certificate of fitness from the certifying surgeon of the district. Such certificate may also be required for those employed in certain workshop trades; and the number of these was increased on Aug. 31st 1906 so as to include certainly the most important trades in the country. No girl or woman may be employed at any night work whatever. The regulations as to the employment of boys over fourteen or over sixteen are very stringent. In paper-mills and furnaces they may not be on night duty more than seven times in two weeks, and then only in shifts of eight hours, a shift of employment alternating between two rest shifts. No young person under sixteen may be employed in silvering mirrors and in white-lead making, nor may any girl work at brick or tile finishing or salt making. No child, altho exempt from school attendance, may be employed in match dipping or metal grinding. The maximum limit of humidity in the atmosphere of cotton factories is carefully regulated. No child or young person is allowed to clean any machinery when in motion. By the Mines Regulation Act of 1887, no lad under thirteen years may be employed under ground.

Recent Legislation

The Education and Employment Acts of 1876 and 1880 gave power to local authorities to make by-laws permitting children between eleven and thirteen years to be exempted from school attendance if they had reached a certain standard of educational efficiency. The Act of 1899 made these regulations more stringent. It prohibited half-time employment for children under twelve years, and then only permitted it if 300 attendances had been made in not more than two schools during the previous five years. The attainment of a standard fixt by a by-law sanctioned by the Board of Education also secured half-time exemption. For employment in agriculture the age is eleven, but no standard of education lower than the fourth grade for half-time, or the fifth grade for full-time exemption is permitted. The Act of 1900 raised the age for exemption by by-law from thirteen to fourteen years, increased the fine for contravention of the Act from five to twenty shillings, and prohibited full-time exemption under fourteen years, unless 350 attendances had been made in the previous five years.

Out of a total number of 6,870,832 children on the registers of schools in England and Wales in the year 1904–5, 80,368 were partial-exemption scholars. This number showed an increase of 1,492 against the number of half-timers at work in 1903–4. During recent years all the more progressive cities have gradually prohibited half-time employment, and have raised the educational requirements for full exemption to the highest or seventh standard. London and the surrounding suburbs, Liverpool, Bristol, Southampton, Portsmouth, Norwich, and a large number of smaller municipalities, have led the way. The manufacturing counties, Lancashire and Yorkshire, are unfortunately responsible for more than half the partial-exemption scholars in England.

School Children

In spite of stringent factory and educational legislation, extending over a period of more than a century, there has grown up, side by side with school attendance, a system of employment out of school hours, a system which has interfered sadly with efficient education. The case of children engaged in theatrical entertainments has been dealt with under the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act of 1889, which prohibited the performance of children under seven, and required licenses for child actors under eleven and for young persons under sixteen employed as acrobats. The Act also proscribed street selling by

girls under sixteen and boys under fourteen between 9 P.M., and 6 A.M., but this provision was inoperative, the measure being so worded as to render it a matter of extreme difficulty to secure the conviction of a parent or guardian. But in addition to the children thus employed, there were known to be many thousands of children engaged in errand running, in shop and domestic work of various kinds, and in home industries, who, in addition to 27½ hours in school, were spending from forty to fifty, or even sixty, hours weekly in unremitting toil for very small wages. Accordingly, in 1899, a small society was formed, called the Committee on Wage-Earning Children, which had for its object the reform of legislation for the protection of children of school age. As a result of a deputation to the Minister of Education, Sir John Gorst, a parliamentary inquiry was instituted, which showed that over 144,000 children were engaged out of school hours in work of various kinds, while attending school full time. Further investigation was considered desirable; and in 1901 an Interdepartmental Committee was appointed consisting of representatives of the Board of Education, the Home Office, and the Board of Trade. The Commission sat for nearly six months, and took evidence from representatives of public and private organizations interested in the welfare of children, from employers, school managers and teachers, and social workers. The Committee found that the number of children returned by the parliamentary inquiry as employed was well below the number actually at work, and estimated that at least 200,000 were attending school full time, and were at the same time engaged in various occupations. The recommendations of the Commissioners were embodied in the Employment of Children Act, 1903, of which the most important provisions are as follows:

Act of 1903

(1) No child may work before six in the morning or after nine at night.
(2) The carrying of heavy weights, and employment in occupations likely to prove injurious to health are prohibited.
(3) The age for the prohibition of the employment of children in theatrical performances is raised from seven to ten years.
(4) Local authorities (the councils of county boroughs, municipalities of over 10,000 inhabitants, urban districts with over 20,000 inhabitants, elsewhere the county council) are empowered to make by-laws, regulating all occupations of children. Separate regulations for street trading may be enacted.

The measure came into operation on Jan. 1, 1904, and by-laws have already been framed and sanctioned by the Home Office in the case of about sixty large towns. About forty-seven other municipalities have regulations under consideration. The by-laws made by the London County Council may be quoted as a model. Doubtless other cities will base their regulations upon those of the metropolis. The most important clauses are:

(1) No child under eleven years may be employed.
(2) Children engaged in industrial work at home may only be employed between 5 and 8 P.M.
(3) No child may be employed for more than three and a half hours per day, or for more than twenty hours per week.
(4) A child may not be employed in a laundry, or in connection with the sale or delivery of intoxicating liquors, except where such liquors are sold in sealed vessels.
(5) A child under twelve years may not be employed as a lather boy in any barber's or hairdresser's shop.
(6) A girl under sixteen may not be employed in street trading except in the company of a parent or guardian.
(7) A child liable to attend school full time may not engage in street trading before 7 A.M., between 8 A.M. and 5 P.M., or after 8 P.M., except when in company of a parent or guardian. Between April 1st and Sept. 30th, the hour may be extended to 9 P.M.
(8) A boy engaged in street trading must wear a badge on the upper part of his right arm in such manner as to be conspicuous.

These regulations will be administered by inspectors appointed by the council for the purpose, by school attendance officers, and, in the case of street traders, by the police, if necessary. Children employed in shops will be under the supervision of the inspectors under the Shop Hours' Act. This measure, passed in 1892, limits the hours of employment of young persons exempt from school attendance and engaged as shop assistants to seventy-four weekly, including meal hours.

REFERENCES: *The Report and Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee on Factory Children's Labor*, 1831; *The Curse of the Factory System*, by Fielden, 1836; *Royal Commission on Factory and Workshops Acts*, 1876; *Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Employment of Children*, 1901; *Minutes of Evidence*, 1902; *Elementary Schools, Parliamentary Return of Children Working for Wages*, 1899; *Report of the Public Control Offices of the London County Council, Employment of Children Out of School Hours*, 1900; *The Case for the Factory Acts*, edited by Mrs. Sidney Webb, (Grant Richards), 1901.

NETTIE ADLER.

CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY (of New York City), THE: A Society organized in Feb., 1853, by the late Charles L. Brace (*q. v.*), who with a few other gentlemen had already been working for the vagrant boys of New York City. The society was incorporated in 1854 "for the education of the poor, by gathering children who attend no school into its industrial schools, caring and providing for children in lodging-houses, and procuring for them homes in the rural districts and in the West."

The fundamental idea upon which the society was founded, and which has been its governing motive ever since, was that of self-help—of teaching children how to help themselves. Its twenty-one industrial schools have trained and given aid and encouragement to over 100,000 children of the very poor. In the boys' and girls' lodging-houses about 200,000 homeless and vagrant boys and girls have found shelter, instruction, and the kindly advice and admonition of experienced superintendents.

Since the founding of the Children's Aid Society in 1853, it has rescued and placed in family homes 23,528 orphans or abandoned children, provided situations at wages in the country for 25,527 older boys and girls, restored 5,857 runaway children to parents. Of those placed in family homes in the West the vast majority have become farmers or farmers' wives. Of the others we know of the following noteworthy careers:

Governor of a state	1
Governor of a territory	1
Members of Congress	2
Sheriffs	2
District attorneys	2
City attorney	1
Members of state legislatures	4
County commissioners	3
Judges	2
Bankers	27
Merchants	22
Business clerks	460
Lawyers	34
Physicians	17
Postmasters	8
Railroad officials	3
Railroad men	30
Real estate agents	10
Journalists	15
Teachers	82
High-school principals	4
Superintendent of school	1
Civil engineer	1
Clergymen	21

As supplementary to its work the society maintains: The East Side Mission, whose work is to distribute flowers daily during the summer months among the sick and poor; free reading-rooms for young men; the Health Home at West Coney Island, comprizing cottages and dormitories where mothers with sick children are given an outing; the Sick Children's Mission, at 287 East Broadway, with a staff of fourteen physicians and four nurses, who visit the sick poor at their homes and supply free medical attendance, medicine, and food for sick children, of whom 1,500 are treated yearly; a summer home at Bath Beach, L. I., where over 4,000 tenement-house children are given a week's outing at the seaside each year; six lodging-houses, five for boys and one for girls, in which, during 1905, 242,780 meals and 136,788 lodgings supplied to 4,826 different boys and girls; twenty-one industrial schools with kindergartens, and twelve night-schools, in which 15,369 children were taught and partly fed and clothed. One of the industrial schools is located in each of the lodging-houses for boys. Special features of the girls' lodging-house, now called the Elizabeth Home for Girls, are its dress-making department, sewing-machine and type-writing schools, and laundry. The instruction in all branches is free. An adjunct to the society is a 125-acre farm located at Kensico, Westchester County, N. Y., for the primary and brief education of the large street boys in agriculture, preparatory to their being provided with places in the country.

At the Health Home in 1900 over 8,000 mothers and children were received and given the benefit of pure sea air, together with skilled medical care and nourishing food; 27,000 of these were there a week, and instances where a longer stay was advisable the time was prolonged until a permanent cure was effected. Parties of little ones were also taken there each week from the nurseries.

All the different branches of the society's work are dependent upon the contributions of the public.

The central office of the society is at the United Charities Building, Fourth Avenue and Twenty-second Street, C. L. Brace, secretary.

CHILDREN'S FRESH AIR FUND. See FRESH AIR WORK.

CHINA AND SOCIAL REFORM: The Chinese Empire comprizes China proper, East Turkestan, Jungaria, Manchuria, Mongolia, and Tibet.

I.—Statistics

AREA AND POPULATION

	Area, Square Miles	Population
China Proper	1,532,420	407,337,305
Manchuria	364,000	13,000,000
Mongolia	1,200,000	2,000,000
Tibet	700,000	2,000,000
Chinese Turkestan	580,000	2,000,000
Total	4,376,400	426,337,300

Commerce

The trade with the principal countries besides bullion, is in Haikwan taels (the Haikwan tael equals 68 cents): Exports (1903): To Japan and Formosa, 30,000,000 taels; Great Britain, 10,000,000; Hongkong, 89,000,000 (of Hongkong's exports, £582,764 went to Great Britain); United States, 19,000,000; Russia, 12,000,000; other European countries, 34,000,000. Imports: From Japan and Formosa, 80,000,000; Great Britain, 60,000,000; Hongkong, 225,000,000; (of Hongkong's imports, £2,719,614 came from Great Britain); United States, 45,000,000; India, 35,000,000; Russia, 15,000,000; other European countries, 56,000,000. The chief exports are: Silk, raw and manufactured, 74,000,000 Haikwan taels; tea, 26,000,000; raw cotton, 13,000,000; beans, 10,000,000. The chief imports are: Cotton goods, 128,000,000; opium, 43,000,000; oil and kerosene, 15,000,000; sugar, 15,000,000; metals, 15,000,000.

China is essentially agricultural. The land is all held by families on the payment of an annual tax. Holdings are generally small; methods of implements, primitive; irrigation, very common. Horticulture is a favorite pursuit, and there are fruit-trees in great variety. Opium is now grown all over the empire. Sugar and rice are grown in the south; wheat, barley, and other cereals in the north; tea in the west and south. Silk is equally important. Cotton mills are being developed, especially at Shanghai. There were, in 1900, fourteen cotton mills, with 460,000 spindles. Near Hankow are iron-works turning out 300 steel rails a day. All the eighteen provinces produce coal, and China is among the main coal countries of the world. Iron ores also abound.

Revenues and expenditures are estimated at about $75,000,000 annually; the public debt at $616,025,000. With the exception of a railroad loan this debt is based on customs.

The emperor is the sole high priest, and Confucianism the state religion, tho Buddhism and Taoism are considered also indigenous and adopted. There is no hierarchy maintained at public expense, nor any Confucian priesthood. With the exception of the universal ancestry worship and the worship of Heaven (at Peking), there is little outward Confucian ceremonial. Buddhism and Taoism have a gorgeous ritual. Many people profess and practise all three. The mass of the people are Buddhist. Mohammedans number 30,000,000; Roman Catholics, 1,000,000; Protestants, 150,000.

For education, railways, post-office system, etc., see section on Social Reform, below.

II.—Government

The present Emperor of China succeeded to the throne in 1875 under the title of Kuang-hsü. The supreme dictation of the empire is in the privy or Grand Council (*Chün Chi Ch'u*); the administration is under the cabinet (*Nei-ko*) of four members, two of Manchu and two of Chinese origin, with two assistants from the Han-lin or Grand College, who see that nothing is done contrary to the civil and religious laws of the empire. Under this cabinet are eight boards. There are also, independent of the government and theoretically above the administration, forty or fifty censors, who can present any remonstrance to the emperor. A new foreign office was created in 1901, with Prince Ching as president. Each of the eighteen provinces (China proper) is ruled by a governor, responsible to the emperor. Grand Secretary of the Cabinet, Prince Ching.

III.—Social Reform

There is perhaps no country in the world where social reform is more inseparably connected with

political conditions than in China. The great uncertainty on the part of the Chinese people as to the sincerity and the continuity of purpose on the part of the government has made the progress of reforms of all kinds much slower and less steady than would otherwise have been the case. The suddenly manifested hostility of a single high official has sometimes exerted upon an advance movement the effect of an August frost upon a flower bed.

Educational Reform

By an imperial decree of Sept. 13, 1901, the government ordered the establishment of modern universities, colleges, and schools in each provincial capital and in the subordinate cities. These were to be based upon a scheme drawn up by Dr. Watson M. Hayes, a Presbyterian missionary of Shangtung, whom Yuan Shih K'ai, then governor of that province, had invited to the capital for that purpose. The plan was adopted as a model for the empire. Unfortunately the beginning was made at the top, the provincial colleges being opened before there were any intermediate or primary schools to supply pupils. This strange inversion of the natural order—resembling a pyramid standing on its apex—rendered the execution of the project a matter of extreme difficulty, the students who wished to enter the colleges having little or no preparation, and there being no place at which it could be obtained. Most of the provincial capitals have now colleges of this sort, some of them with elaborate buildings partly furnished in foreign style, with a tower and a town clock; yet with a very elementary course of instruction. The Shansi University differs from all the rest in having for its use the sum of 50,000 taels (ounces) of silver each year for ten years, a sum which would have been used as a missionary indemnity but for the efforts of Dr. Timothy Richard, Secretary of the Christian Literature Society, who was invited by the Chinese Government to consult with the leading officials of Shansi. The Western Department of the new university was placed in his care in 1902, for a period of ten years, and under the care of the late Dr. Moir Duncan it has done excellent work. The province of Chili, to the government of which Yuan Shih K'ai was promoted from Shantung, under his vigorous lead has made exceptional progress, and a brief sketch of what is there undertaken will give an idea of what is aimed at for the empire, altho the work is elsewhere much less advanced than in that province.

It should be said that for these excellent results Yuan is largely indebted to the untiring efforts of Dr. Chas. D. Tenney, who began educational work in Tientsin long before the government took any interest in it.

According to a memorial of Yuan there are in his jurisdiction the Pei Yang University at Tientsin; a high college at Pao Ting Fu; the Pei Yang Medical College; an industrial high school; an agricultural high school, and 21 agricultural and industrial primary schools. There are 89 normal high schools, normal schools, and other training-schools; 27 middle schools, 182 advanced schools; and 4,162 primary schools; a Woman's Normal College, and 40 girls' schools. There are 18 schools for Yamun runners; a strangers' school, a tracing and mathematical school, and a telegraph college. The number of students shown in the records is 86,653, besides those in the half-day and night-schools. The total number of scholars, including military and police students, amounts to 100,000. Each of the 124 districts of the province has about 20 primary schools, with about 30 boys each, who are taught upon a more rational plan than in the old schools. Each district has also one low- and one high-grade elementary school, with an average attendance of 50 boys, who not only study Chinese, but who are started in history, geography, arithmetic, and simple science. In each of the 16 prefectural cities there is a middle school where the study of English is begun, with more advanced courses of science and mathematics. Much attention is given to developing national and military sentiment. Physical training is an important part of the curriculum. In the lower schools there is simple drill; in the higher colleges the students wear uniform, are given manual exercises with the rifle, and are put through military evolutions. The text-books impress upon students the duty of developing the power of China, the danger of military weakness, and the importance of self-sacrifice for national interests, illustrating these teachings by pointing to the rapid development of Prussia and Japan. The instruction is all free, and in the higher schools the students are boarded and even clothed at public expense, thus opening the new education to the poorest families. This is the scheme, but at present much of the teaching is very inadequate, and there is a great lack of teachers. In every province are found Japanese teachers who can adapt themselves to the Chinese much better than can Occidentals, and who can be secured for much smaller salaries. When the general plan here outlined shall have been adopted all over China, as must eventually be the case, we shall have an entirely new empire. An important feature is the surprising development of schools for women and girls, which, absolutely unheard of a few years ago, are now very common, and rapidly increasing in number and importance. The girl students are becoming imbued with patriotic sentiments, and will be a feature of the greatest interest in the new China.

Foot-binding and Opium

For more than two generations missionary influence has been exerted against the ancient Chinese custom of binding the feet of girls, but during the past five years this reform has made more progress than during the previous half century. Great societies have been organized by the Chinese themselves to promote the cause; essays and poems have been composed, and proclamations put out in its favor by many of the highest officials in China. An imperial edict was issued, which, while not absolutely forbidding foot-binding, strenuously exhorted against it. It is known that some persons holding high positions are memorializing the government to take more stringent measures than heretofore in the direction of this reform. The progress already made is certainly most encouraging. Memorials against the practise of keeping eunuchs in the imperial palace have been sent in, but the abolition of this ancient custom is exceptionally difficult. A serious effort is being made by the Chinese Government to put an end to the vice of opium-smoking, by forbidding its use by officials and in schools and colleges, by restricting its use also by confirmed smokers, and by limiting the time during which even they may remain exempt, and perhaps also by forbidding the cultivation of the poppy. The assigned reason for this reform is that the court is ardently deter-

mined to make China powerful. It is to be hoped that in the end China may succeed, as Japan has done, in strangling this gigantic evil, which has long been more fatal than war, famine, and pestilence combined. Such a result would be one of the most remarkable transformations in history.

Periodicals

The number of Chinese periodicals is rapidly increasing. Many of them are published at the ports, virtually under foreign protection, and a large percentage are either controlled or strongly influenced by Japanese. In some of the provincial capitals there are journals published at intervals of several days, which will gradually develop into dailies. A woman's journal has appeared in Peking, issued every day, which has been a great stimulus to the women of that city, intellectually and perhaps morally. The Chinese woman editor has interested herself in giving and in attending lectures on current events, sanitation, and the like. Many Chinese papers have paid very little attention to the news of the day, which would be unintelligible to most readers, but print local gossip, tales of the supernatural, vicious stories, and blackmail. As a whole, however, Chinese journalism is said to be improving, exhibiting very little hostility to Christianity as such, while the Bible and literature intended for instruction are treated with respect.

New Literature

In connection with educational and other reforms, mention should be made of the new literature with which China is literally inundated, issued by an increasing number of firms, especially in Shanghai. A careful analysis of the character of some of these books, by a competent foreign scholar in Shanghai (Mr. John Darroch), is of general interest. There were, he found, 60 volumes on the science of education, and 20 volumes of text-books on such topics as geography, physics, etc. There were 90 histories, varying in price from five cents (silver) to $2.50. Of these 7 are so-called universal histories, 11 of Europe, 12 of Japan, 7 of China, 5 of Russia, 4 of England, 2 each of France and the United States, 3 of Egypt, 4 of the nineteenth century, and 1 each of Rome, Italy, Greece, and Turkey. There were 40 books on geography, 60 on government, 40 on law, 30 on political economy, 70 on mathematics, 50 on literature, 30 novels, 50 on language, 70 on health, 60 on science, 70 on drawing, 120 on the art of war, 30 on agriculture, 20 on astronomy, 40 on mechanics, 30 books of travel, and 20 on mensuration: in all more than 1,100 works. As a rule they are excellently gotten up, very unlike the old style of Chinese books. They are plentifully besprinkled with English words, showing that the Chinese language was felt not to be sufficiently flexible.

A Chinese scholar has invented what he calls a "Mandarin alphabet" of 50 more or less artificial characters, and 12 finals, by the aid of which it is claimed that within a few weeks the most untutored can learn to read fluently. This has been tried on a considerable scale both by Chinese and by foreigners, and appears to be a success. The use of the Mandarin alphabet is rapidly extending in China, as a result of a higher national vitality, increased communication by railways, and (it is said) by making its study compulsory. While the numerous dialects of China cannot be superseded, the wider currency of the Mandarin form—already current in some of its variations in 14 out of the 18 provinces—is a distinct advance.

Post and Telegraph

The Chinese postal system is not yet ten years old, but during the last half of that period it has been greatly improved and extended, until it now connects almost all the cities of the empire. During the year 1905 the number of offices was increased by 307, making a total of 1,626. By the end of 1906 it is expected that the number will have risen to 2,000, as on the average a new office is added every day. The number of articles handled increased in 1905 from 66,500,000 to 76,000,000, and the parcels from 771,000 to over 1,000,000, while the money-order transactions grew from 500,000 taels to 820,000. The effect of this postal reform is profound and far-reaching, socially, educationally, and politically.

All China is now covered with a network of telegraph wires, which has largely increased the power of the central government over the remote and semiindependent viceroys, or governor-generals. A telephone system has been introduced into Peking, connecting the different boards and the palace. Other cities also have telephone service and electric lighting has become not uncommon.

Industrial Reform

In many of the chief cities there have been established industrial institutes, in which different arts and crafts are taught to workmen of the most unpromising character, some of them children, others beggars picked up from the street, a class for which there has hitherto been no ray of hope. These establishments are found in Peking and in the capitals of many of the larger provinces, in cities like Suchow, Hangchau, Chi Nan Fu, and Ch'eng Tu Fu. Similar enterprises for the helpless poor—men and women—have been opened in unoccupied granaries, temples, etc., under the charge of a kind of Bureau of Charities (itself an unheard-of thing), the machinery, teachers, etc., being frequently imported from Japan. The abundant patronage of these places shows that they have met a deep need. Another branch of the same general plan is the instruction of prisoners in common jails. This reform is now well rooted, and is a wonderful contrast to the previous indifference and neglect. Prisoners, well-dressed, well-fed, well-guarded, are made to weave rugs, run sewing-machines for leather work, make boots and shoes, stamp Chinese writing paper, do carpenter and iron work, and many other things. In an institution of this kind in Tientsin there is a lecture hall, where the prisoners are required to attend at fixt times and listen to exhortation and instruction. Large sums have been invested in these enterprises, which will yield abundant return.

Industrial exhibits have been opened for the display of the results of these and other manual training-schools. By degrees this grows into a standing exhibition of whatever may be most noteworthy in the output of a place. Such a one has been open at Tientsin for more than two years, having separate days for men and for women, with an average of 2,000 visitors a day. As an immediate and striking result of these movements similar exhibitions have been ordered in every large city, with a view to holding first a national exposition, and after a few years an international one. No better method could be devised to bring the empire to industrial self-consciousness. Manufactures of many kinds are

beginning to appear here and there, generally under the patronage of the new Board of Commerce, which is invariably careful to require, under pain of forfeiture of the whole, that no stock shall be sold to a foreigner.

Cotton-mills have been established in Shanghai for many years, with tens of thousands of employees, but many of them have not been financially successful. Similar mills are now springing up elsewhere in cotton-producing districts. In many places improved wooden looms are being introduced from Japan. Experts from Hangchau are now teaching the natives of Shantung how to spin and weave the silk of that province, hitherto used only for the comparatively coarse product known as pongee, into the most beautiful fabrics, rivaling those of Central China. Cotton is frequently woven into various forms of toweling on Japanese patterns. Soap-works, candle factories, glass-works, knitting companies, and the like are found in different parts of the empire. But these enterprises often come to nothing for lack of capital, experience, and mutual confidence. In three different provinces it has been proposed to open potteries and kilns on western principles. A company has been organized to use steam trawlers of English make, with nets of English pattern. One official applied for American machinery for digging artesian wells; another asked an American consul for catalogs of machinery adapted to the manufacture of tape braid, and of plain and embroidered ribbons. Still a third purchased machines for making cigarets, to keep the great profits of the trade in Chinese hands. From a factory in Shanghai there is a considerable sale of pianos to Chinese. Thousands of bicycles are annually bought by Chinese, and a year or two ago they were introduced into a remote city of Hunan by a student returned from Japan.

An imperial decree ordered the introduction into the larger cities of a uniformed and paid police force, and the practise of street cleaning. Something has been done in this direction even in the interior, while in centers like Peking and Tientsin the system is now well established. In many places, however, for lack of intelligent supervision, it has come to nothing, or has been used as a means of extortion. Great numbers of students have been sent to Japan to study police methods, but the time allowed for this is almost invariably too brief.

Agricultural colleges and schools have been set up in many provinces, the instructors being often Japanese, but with results of varying value. In some there is no experimental farm, and others, through superstitious belief in geomantic influences, are badly located. In all cases much depends upon the temper of the governor of the province, and much also upon the local magistrate, who is often indifferent or hostile. Considerable attention has been paid to arboriculture. A few years ago, during the governorship of Chou Fu in Shantung, it was estimated that 2,400,000 trees had been planted in the neighborhood of cities, waterways, and roads. The example of the Germans at Ts'ing Tao has been followed, and many hillsides heretofore barren are now covered with pines. Mulberry-trees have been imported from the Chekiang province to improve the feeding of silk-worms.

Agricultural Reform

The Board of Commerce in Peking has been the means of the organization of Chambers of Commerce, as in Canton, where seventy-two guilds have combined in order to push trade, by studying modern commercial methods. It intends to open a bank to issue notes, and to start a paper to expound its objects and aims. An exhibit of foreign manufactures is also planned, to serve as an object-lesson to native workers. The avowed intention is to drive foreign trade out of the empire.

By the latest treaty between Great Britain and China (signed in 1902) China voluntarily agreed to revise her mining regulations in such a way as to promote the interests of Chinese subjects, and yet offer no impediment to foreign capital. Expert foreigners who are interested in these matters have for some years complained that the government is acting in direct contravention of this treaty, and that it has drawn up regulations intended to keep foreign capital out of China altogether, in accordance with a growing resolution not to have the empire exploited by outsiders. In some cases mines of considerable productiveness have been closed for lack of native engineers to work them.

Mining

In the last American treaty (1893) China agreed to reform her currency, and with this in view invited Professor Jencks of Cornell University to visit China, and to give his advice, which was done. One of China's foremost statesmen, Chang Chih Tung, in a memorial to the throne, recommended that Professor Jenck's judicious recommendations be *not* adopted. There is no unity in the monetary output of the empire, each province having its own coinage, frequently not current elsewhere. Each governor-general or governor has been industriously working one of the scores of different mints existing in China, issuing copper pieces ostensibly worth ten cash, but in reality representing an amount of metal only equivalent to from three to six of the ordinary cash. The immense apparent profits of this transaction were both illusory and transient. The people were very reluctant to accept the new coins, and only did so on the understanding that they were receivable for taxes. When this was later refused the new pieces were at a discount. At the time of maximum production it was estimated that the output for the empire was more than 16,400,000,000 pieces a year. Much of the ordinary cash has been withdrawn to be melted over, many of the mints are now closed, prices in general have risen, officials have been enriched, and the people plundered—all in the name of "Western monetary reform."

Coinage

The navigation of the inland waters of China by steam vessels has within the past few years been greatly extended, with obvious advantages and equally patent evils. The inspection of boilers is infrequent and at times perfunctory, the dangers and accidents from overcrowding serious and constant, the injury done to the banks in time of high water by the wash of steamers so great as to lead to frequent riots, and, especially on the West River of the Canton province, the number of boatmen thrown out of employment is given as an excuse for the great increase of river piracy, involving the loss of more than one foreign life, and the murder of great numbers of Chinese. The Chinese Government has adopted the plan of opening inland "ports" at various places along the line of railways and in Manchuria, in order the better to resist the aggressions of any single

power by enlisting the interest of all the rest. Each new "port" is an additional inlet for new ideas, and while the result may not be an unmixed good, the change is an important step in advance.

The era of railway building on the part of the Chinese themselves seems to have come, or is soon to arrive. We may now reckon ten railways in China as in working order, but the number increases so rapidly that statistics soon become obsolete. The following lines are in operation (the length in English miles is in some cases approximate only):

Railways

(1) Peking to Tientsin (83¾ m.); Tientsin to Tangku (27 m.); Tangku to Shanhai-Kuan (146¾ m.); thence to Newchwang (268 m.); total length, 555 m.
(2) Peking to Tungchow (14 m.).
(3) Peking to Hankow (760 m.); branch-line from Sin Si Ho to Chu Ku Tien (9 m.).
(4) Ts'ing-Tao to Chi Nan Fu Shantung (German), 240 m.
(5) Shanghai to Wusung (10½ m.). An extension is now in operation to Suchow.
(6) P'inghsiang to Siling (borders of Kiang-su-Hunan; 56½ m.).
(7) Canton to Samshui.
(8) Taokou to Ch'inghua Chen (Honan) "Peking Syndicate" railway bought by the Chinese Government (89¼ m.).
(9) Manchurian line. Port Arthur to Harbin (about 400 m.), controlled by Japanese to Kuan Ch'eng-tzu.
(10) Hsinment'un to Mukden.
The status of the Manchurian railways is not yet definitely settled.

The following lines are in course of construction:

(1) Canton to Hankow.
(2) Peking to Kalgau (120 m.; completed to Neu K'on).
(3) Cheng Ting fu to T'ai Yuan fu, Shansi (160 m.; about half completed. It is narrow gage).
(4) Shanghai to Nanking; extension of No. 5 above; to be about 180 m. long.
(5) Swatow to Ch'ao Chou fu (Japanese). This short line is practically completed.
(6) P'ing Yang fu (Shansi) to Tse Chou fu.
(7) K'ai Feng fu to Honan fu (140 m.). This is to be a branch of the Peking-Hankow line.
(8) Yunnan to Tongking (French).

In addition to these, fifteen or twenty other lines have been projected, and permission to build secured. With the exception of a Portuguese-Chinese railway from Macao to Samshui, these seem likely to be built, if at all, by Chinese alone. Nearly all foreigners are agreed that this is next to impossible under present conditions, especially the lack of unity, engineers, and funds. The effect of the railway development of China is already very marked, but its social, economic, and political effects will be much greater every year.

For some years a commission, of which Wu Ting Fang is the leading member, has been engaged on a revision of the Chinese legal code. The barbarous punishment of slicing to death has been abolished, the use of torture forbidden, and heavy fines are to take the place of the bamboo. No general confidence is felt, however, that these latter innovations will for a long time to come be generally adopted, the obvious motive being to make it appear that China is advancing after the manner of Japan as a preparation for demanding the abolition of extra-territoriality. A striking reversal of old custom is the permission for Chinese and Manchus to intermarry; and for Manchus to engage in trade, etc., as the Chinese do. The ancient discrimination between civil and military officials is now disappearing, as it is felt that to make China strong, the military and naval professions must be respected and respectable. This topic would of itself require an essay. The best Chinese troops, especially those under the command of Yuan Shih K'ai are now well-armed, well-drilled, well-uniformed, and well-housed. In the autumn of 1905 a great military review with maneuvers was executed on the plains of Chili to which foreign military attachés and correspondents were invited, and were duly imprest by the evidences of a revolutionary change in Chinese military effectiveness. During the succeeding year similar exercises took place in northern Honan. It is the plan to unify the hitherto distinct provincial forces into one great Chinese army, and to raise the number of troops to at least half a million. At present the Chinese forces are by no means what they may be expected to become a few years hence when their training and their *esprit de corps* will doubtless render them formidable to any enemy.

Legal Code

The always strong national feeling of the Chinese is being supplemented by what appear to be the germs of patriotism. This is at present accompanied by an intense antiforeign wave, the effect in part of the victory of the Japanese over Russia. Imperial birthdays are now celebrated with processions of school-children, sometimes addrest by scholars or officials. The number of Chinese students in Japan has increased so rapidly that in the autumn of 1906 they were estimated at 14,000. Many of them become dissatisfied with Confucianism and drift into Epicureanism. China's student class is one of her most serious problems.

Patriotism

The two imperial commissions, dispatched in 1905 by China to the West to study forms of government, furnish one of the most significant signs of progress yet seen in China. An unexplained attempt to destroy one of these parties by a dynamite bomb at the Peking railway station was a sinister prelude, and an ill-omened introduction into the East of Occidental methods. Upon their return the commissioners recommended that the proposed changes be adopted by China. Although no date has been fixt, there have been hilarious rejoicings in many of China's cities, with the obvious design of rendering a change of policy more difficult. As a preparation for this step, general, and even compulsory education is recommended by leading officials. It is interesting to observe the freedom with which the most far-reaching administrative changes are now proposed, both in memorials to the throne and by the press. Fifty-three students educated abroad have recently been examined in Peking, eleven of whom were rejected. Nine gained the doctor's decree (Chin Shih), five the master's (Chü-jen) in the first grade, and eighteen in the second degree, while ten failed. The candidates were allowed to write an essay on the value of compulsory education in English as an alternative to an essay in Chinese on a passage from the classics. This is a patronage of the New Learning of a practical sort, and means much for the future. China's greatest need at the present time is a large number of men, not merely of ability, but of incorruptible integrity. Some such there are, but incomparably fewer than are needed. If, with all other social progress, China is able to develop such men in numbers at all commensurate with her needs, she will ere long take her place among the great nations of the earth.

ARTHUR H. SMITH.

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CHINESE IN THE UNITED STATES: There is hardly any other country in the world in which the question of immigration even approximately reaches the importance it has in social matters in the United States. Immigration may be divided in various ways; yet two great divisions will always remain, the *desirable* and the *undesirable*. To the latter belong people morally, mentally, or physically unfit for a country's citizenship. Such disqualifications may be inherited or acquired. They may even be based only on the fact that the people concerned do not appeal to the point of view of the country they desire to enter. To accurately determine the line where it will be justifiable to impose discriminating legislation against a whole nation is therefore a matter calling for grave consideration. Yet, for various reasons, the question of excluding the Chinese from the United States has long been a widely, and often hotly, debated proposition.

Statistics

The Chinese, generally, have never evinced any great inclination to leave their native shores, probably because they feel alien in almost every land except their own. Up to the "fifties" of the nineteenth century very few Chinese came to the United States; but in 1854 the numbers arriving annually began to jump, and altho never assuming very large proportions, it became clear that discouragement rather than encouragement ought to be the watchword. Prior to 1854 the largest Chinese immigration recorded for one year was 42. In 1855 it was more than 13,000. During the following decades it fluctuated, reaching the maximum in 1882 with 39,579. The exact figures from 1869 to 1903 are as follows:

Chinese Immigration into the United States, 1869–1903

Year	Males	Females	Total
1869....	11,900	974	12,874
1870....	14,624	1,116	15,740
1871....	6,786	349	7,135
1872....	7,605	183	7,788
1873....	19,403	889	20,292
1874....	13,533	243	13,776
1875....	16,055	382	16,437
1876....	22,521	260	22,781
1877....	10,518	76	10,594
1878....	8,641	351	8,992
1879....	9,264	340	9,604
1880....	5,732	70	5,802
1881....	11,815	75	11,890
1882....	39,463	116	39,579
1883....	7,987	44	8,031
1884....	241	38	279
1885....	12	10	22
1886....	25	15	40
1887....	8	2	10
1888....	21	5	26
1889....	90	28	118
1890....	1,401	315	1,716
1891....	2,608	228	2,836
1892....	2,501	227	2,728
1893....	2,660	168	2,828
1894....	3,805	213	4,018
1895....	913	61	974
1896....	1,382	59	1,441
1897....	3,334	29	3,363
1898....	2,061	10	2,071
1899....	.....	.....	1,660
1900....	1,235	12	1,247
1901....	2,417	42	2,459
1902....	1,596	53	1,649
1903....	2,167	42	2,209

The sudden drop of the figures from thousands to tens was caused by a law passed in 1882, suspending Chinese coolie immigration for a period of ten years. This law, however, did not satisfy the Pacific coast states. The question of Chinese immigration has always been most acute in California, and it was this state which first demanded still stricter legislation, so that not only the Chinese should be prevented from entering, but that even those already arrived might be excluded. Such a law was finally passed in 1894. The following figures give a comprehensive survey of the disproportional quota of Chinese in California as compared with the country at large, and they show, furthermore, the fact that the city of San Francisco carries its full share of the burden:

Number of Chinese in United States, 1850–1900

Year	United States	California	San Francisco
1850..	758	660	.....
1860..	35,565	34,935	.....
1870..	63,042	48,826	11,729
1880..	104,468	73,548	21,213
1890..	106,688	71,066	24,613
1900..	81,534	40,262	10,762

These figures show conclusively that California's interest in the matter was paramount; and, indeed, most of the facts calling for restrictive legislation have been furnished by that state. The following paragraphs will set forth the various reasons that have been urged for and against Chinese immigration:

Against Immigration of Chinese

The "Report of the Industrial Commission" (xv., 747 sqq.) advances a great many seemingly valid reasons for excluding the Chinese. It says in condensed language:

> The Asiatic competition has spread enormously in the Pacific coast states. The Chinese colony in San Francisco is a veritable beehive, the units of which, having solved the problem of cheap living, are more than a match for the American laborer. Coolie labor has in many instances displaced white labor on the Pacific coast, and factories and workshops in San Francisco employ thousands of Chinese. They work in boot and shoe factories, in clothing shops, in broom-making, etc., etc. In 1901 there were 1,200 Chinese cigar-makers in San Francisco, and the scale of wages paid to these was from 33 to 50 per cent below that paid to white labor. The latter have almost been driven from the field, and San Francisco, instead of supporting 2,000–3,000 white cigar-makers, has now less than 200 union men who have remained to struggle against hopeless conditions.

In 1901 there were 2,579 Chinese employed in various industries in San Francisco, as will appear from the following table, which also shows the wages paid:

Industry	No. of Workmen	Hours	Wages per Day
Boots and shoes.....	251	11–12	$1
Shirts.....	195	11–12	1
Men's clothing.....	335	11–12	1
Overalls.....	430	11–12	1
Ladies' underwear.....	168	11–12	1
Cigars.....	1,200	10–14	1

Railway lines in California and other Pacific coast states employ a number of Chinese, especially in the construction branches of the service. The pay is $1.75 for ten hours' work. In 1901 there were 3,934 Chinese employed in Californian mines at $1–$1.50 a day as against $2–$3.50 paid to white laborers. In addition there were 3,000-4,000 Chinese employed at placer mining for Chinese companies in California.

The agricultural industries of the Pacific coast states, according to the Industrial Commission, have felt still more acutely the baneful effects of cheap coolie competition. The report says: "The Chinese show great enterprise and thrift, and devote themselves to the industries in which they have become proprietors: truck-farming, etc. As a result they demand and receive fair wages, and enforcement of the exclusion act will gradually remove this rival from the field."

As to the relation of Chinese immigration to crime the following table furnishes interesting data:

RELATION OF ASIATIC IMMIGRATION TO CRIME

(*Year Ending June* 1, 1899)

CITY	POP.	ARRESTS FOR DRUNKENNESS	FOR BURGLARY AND LARCENY	FOR VAGRANCY
San Francisco.....	350,000	12,183	1,290	2,836
Cleveland.....	380,000	7,685	1,020	142
Cincinnati.....	296,000	2,124	853	504

The Industrial Commission, in commenting on this showing, says: "The appalling number of arrests for vagrancy in San Francisco can be accounted for upon no other theory than that the white toilers of the coast have gone down in hopeless defeat in the unequal struggle with their Asiatic competitors."

Highbinderism

One of the strongest arguments against Chinese immigration is their so-called "tongs"—secret societies for committing crimes of various kinds: blackmail, gambling, prostitution. These "tongs" flourish especially in San Francisco, and it is said that out of 25,000 Chinese in that city more than 1,000 belong to the criminal class. They import women and sell them, impose fines, levy blackmail, and kill those who do not submit gracefully. They employ "hatchet men" whose duty it is to murder all those who invoke the displeasure of the "tong." Their power is absolute, because few have the courage to expose their nefarious practises. As a rule they do not molest white people, fearing an uprising against themselves.

Perhaps the most important reason urged both for and against Chinese immigration is that they furnish cheap labor. Those who are on the negative side of the question say that cheap labor is desirable, that it stimulates activities which would otherwise be latent, that it makes it possible to utilize natural resources that it would not pay to draw upon if labor were costlier. The affirmative side, however, aver that "cheapness" in labor is the same as "cheapness" in goods—it doesn't pay. Cheap labor affects the distribution, not the accumulation, of wealth. Cheap labor, by making it possible for a man to do with a small amount of capital what would otherwise require a great deal more, furnishes to industry what may be called the equivalent of usury in the money-lending business.

The opposite view of the matter may be representatively stated in the following quotation from an article in *The Outlook* of April 23, 1904:

For Immigration

No one has yet denied the thriftiness, industry, and loyalty to employer of the Chinese laborers and servants who have come to the United States. Nobody denies that on the whole they have been law-abiding dwellers in a strange land. Nobody denies that the horticultural beauty and agricultural prosperity of the State of California are largely due to the initial work of Chinese laborers who performed tasks with patience, skill, and good humor, that no other men could be found to perform. By our very laws they are forbidden to become citizens of the country. They cannot be naturalized. They are treated with aversion and with contumely. Why should they not segregate and live by themselves? Why should they eagerly adopt American habits of life?

The same article also says that the dangers of Chinese immigration are very much overrated. To quote further:

The census of 1880, up to which time no special restriction existed, showed only 105,465 [inaccurate!] in the United States. . . . If the vicious, the diseased, the incompetent, the paupers, and the contract laborers among the Chinese are excluded, as they are under our general immigration laws, it would probably be time enough to deal with the *hordes* of incoming Chinamen when those *hordes* appeared.

Legislation

The Burlingame treaty of 1868 had provided for free emigration and immigration, but the modified treaty permitted the limitation or suspension by the United States Government of the coming or residence in the United States of Chinese laborers, but the absolute prohibition of such immigration was forbidden. After excited discussion Congress passed in 1882 a bill suspending for twenty years the coming into the United States of Chinese laborers. The bill was vetoed by President Arthur, but a modified act fixing the limit of suspension at ten years became a law. The Chinese who had already become residents of the country were not disturbed, and those who wished to make visits to China with the intention of returning hither were furnished with passports. The suspension of immigration related only to laborers, a term which has been construed to include skilled workmen.

Nevertheless, this law was not considered sufficient by the Pacific coast, and in 1894 a law was passed, not only forbidding Chinese immigration, but excluding those now here except under certain conditions.

A convention between the United States and China, begun in 1880, was concluded at Washington on March 17, 1894; Walter Q. Gresham, U. S. Secretary of State, and Yang Yu, Chinese minister to the U. S., being the plenipotentiaries. The law adopted was ratified on Dec. 8, 1894, and contained the following provisions:

(1) The coming of Chinese laborers to the United States is prohibited for ten years.
(2) The return to the U. S. of Chinese laborers is permitted only if they have wives, children, property worth $1,000, or debts of like amount.
(3) Officials, teachers, students, merchants, travelers for curiosity, etc., are permitted to enter. . . .
(4) Protection and rights to be granted Chinese residents in the U. S. as "most favored citizens." (U. S. Statutes, xxviii., p. 1213.)

On April 27, 1904, the law mentioned in the foregoing being nearly expired, Congress enacted that "all laws in force on the 29th day of April, 1902, regulating, suspending, or prohibiting the coming of Chinese persons or persons of Chinese descent into the United States . . . are hereby reenacted, extended, and continued without modification, limitation, or condition."

Panama

With regard to the question of the necessity of employing Chinese labor on the Panama Canal, a great deal has been said both for and against. The whole matter may be dismissed from here with the words of President Roosevelt, sent to Congress on Dec. 17, 1906, after his return from the canal zone. Says the President:

It certainly ought to be unnecessary to point out that the American workingman in the United States has no concern whatever in the question as to whether the rough work on the isthmus which is performed by aliens in any event, is done by aliens from one country with a black skin or by aliens from another country with a yellow skin. Our business is to dig

the canal as efficiently and as quickly as possible; provided always that nothing is done that is inhumane to any laborer, and nothing that interferes with the wages of or lowers the standard of living of our own workmen. Having in view this principle, I have arranged to try several thousand Chinese laborers. This is desirable, both because we must try to find out what laborers are most efficient, and, furthermore, because we should not leave ourselves at the mercy of any one type of foreign labor.

To conclude, it may not be out of place to give quotations from two articles in *The Forum* of March, 1902 (pp. 53–67). Says Truxtum Beale, in an article entitled "Why the Chinese should be Excluded":

To adapt the Chinaman to our institutions we should be obliged to begin by eradicating his religion, superstition, traditions, ideals, and customs—all of which have been so welded to his mind after four thousand years of inheritance as to have become a part of himself.

Robert Hutcheson takes the other side, endeavoring to show "Why the Chinese should be Admitted":

The Yellow Peril is a specter of the imagination, created of "such stuff as dreams are made of." Under the literal terms of the Treaty of 1868 millions [of Chinamen] might have come to our shores, but they did not. Attracted by the gold fields in California a few thousand came over, and nobody thought anything of it. In 1851 there were about 70,000 Chinese on the Pacific coast. Chinese emigration was always limited to a few districts in the province of Canton.

The objection that the Chinese work more cheaply than other foreigners or Americans in the same lines of industry is not sustained by the evidence. Like all other laborers they seek the highest wages going, and they soon learn what these are. . . . That they live more cheaply and save more money than our laborers is true, but this is a virtue that deserves imitation rather than condemnation.

FRANK F. H. CRAMER.

REFERENCES: *The Forum*, March, 1902, pp. 53–67; *United States Statutes at Large; The Outlook*, April 23, 1904, p. 963; *Some Reasons for Chinese Exclusion*, by The American Federation of Labor, Washington, 1902; *The Chinese and the Chinese Question*, by J. A. Whitney; *Emigration and Immigration*, by R. Mayo Smith; *International Review*, iii., 383.

CHINESE LABOR IN SOUTH AFRICA: On Feb. 8, 1904, was carried in the Transvaal Legislative Council an ordinance for the introduction of indentured labor into that country "from outside Africa south of 12 degrees north of the equator." Among the provisions of this ordinance were sections to the following effect:

By Section 9 (*b*).—The Chinese laborer is to be bound to serve the master who imports him, or such master to whom the first shall lawfully "assign" his rights.

By Section 14.—The Chinese cannot trade, or hold any license whatever, or lease land, or have any economic rights.

By Sections 18, 19.—The laborer is to be bound to reside on his master's premises, and must not leave them without special permit, signed by a person authorized by his importer.

By Section 20 (2).—If found off the premises without such permit he may be arrested by any policeman without warrant.

Section 31 (10).—"Any person who shall harbor or conceal any laborer who has deserted from the service of his importer, or who has committed any breach of this ordinance, or who shall aid and abet any laborer to desert as aforesaid, shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £50, and in default of payment imprisonment not exceeding three months."

This ordinance, in order to become law, required the royal consent. The debate on it in the House of Commons lasted two days, and on a division the government won by 281–230. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman gave notice of a vote of censure upon the government on this question, and the vote was lost (299–242).

The ordinance received the royal consent on March 11th, and the further convention with the Chinese Government, by which Great Britain is entitled to obtain Chinese laborers to work in any British possession, was signed on May 12th.

The first batch of Chinese were despatched from Hongkong on May 25th, 1904. Wages were to be 1*s.* a day. In Nov., 1906, the total number of Chinese employed in the Rand mines was over 53,134; and arrangements were then in progress for the shipment of additional coolies from China.

During these months a sufficient number of facts have come to light to enable a general judgment to be passed upon the results of the experiment.

In the first place, from a purely financial point of view, the experiment has not come up to the predictions of its promoters. Indentured labor has many drawbacks even from the employer's point of view; and the cost of bringing out the Chinese and repatriating them at the end of the contract is a heavy item to be set against the profits of their labor. In his book, "Transvaal Problems," Mr. Lionel Phillips, the well-known Rand mine-owner and financier, makes the following candid statement:

The cost of feeding Kafirs and Chinese, taking an average of nine mines from which returns have been obtained, is respectively 3.527*d.* and 6.851*d.* per shift, and shows that the tastes of the latter involve an increased charge for their keep. Adding to this other expenses, like compound and hospital charges, and the cost of importing and repatriating them even spread over the period of their contract time, we may take the monthly (a month is taken as twenty-six shifts) cost of a Chinaman, as far as can be ascertained at present, at, roughly, 12*s.* 9*d.* more than a Kafir, excluding wages.

It must not, however, be concluded from the fact that the mine-owners have given no overt sign of discontinuing the Chinese experiment that it is profitable to the shareholders. It was on political grounds that the mine-owners objected to white labor, and moreover they line their own pockets more rapidly by the fluctuations of the share market than they do by the profits of the mines. Even if the experiment be a financial failure they will be guided by other than the true financial interests of the mines in determining their course with regard to it.

In one respect, however, the coming of the Chinese has undoubtedly benefited the mine-owners. By creating a glut in the labor market, it has cheapened Kafir labor. Thus a correspondent of the *Financial Times* of Aug. 21, 1905, writes:

The employment of the Chinese on a large scale has, however, caused a vast economic upheaval affecting unskilled labor throughout the whole of South Africa. It has diminished the anxiety of the Labor Association to recruit Kafirs, and the native is no longer in a position to turn up his nose at the offers of work made to him by employers throughout the country. The rate of wages is declining; and in proportion to its fall, the Kafir's spells of work will become longer and the intervals of leisure correspondingly shorter.

Great indignation has been felt by all radicals and many Liberals and Conservatives over the introduction of Chinese labor into the Transvaal. Flogging and gross cruelty is shown to have been common. Many of the Chinese have deserted and been a menace to the community. The treatment of the question by the new Liberal administration has been perfidious.

At the same time, the whole question will have to be settled in the last resort by the forces on the spot. The principal event in the Transvaal has been the formation of the National Party, which, composed mainly of Englishmen, sets itself in definite opposition to the financial group who call themselves "Progressives." The new party, one of whose leaders is Mr. F. H. P. Creswell, has declared itself emphatically against the introduction of the Chinese, and for the repatriation of those at present in the country on

the expiration of their terms and at the expense of the mine-owners.

Pending the introduction of self-government no further importation is to take place after Nov. 30, 1906. At the elections in 1907 Mr. Cresswell was defeated, but the National Party (Hït Volk) won pledged to abolish Chinese labor.

CHRIST AND SOCIAL REFORM: The relation of Christianity to social reform and of the Church to social reform is considered elsewhere. In this article only the personal relation of Jesus Christ to the problems of social existence will be discust. With His relation to the individual, and with theological conceptions of Christ, this cyclopedia is not concerned, save in so far as these conceptions bear directly upon social reform. But to a large number of minds this is very distinctly the case.

I. We may speedily state the opinion of those to whom Christ was but an ordinary human being, tho the noblest, the best, the most inspired, nay, even in this sense, the most divine of men. Christ is conceived by those who hold this view in two main ways: (*a*) as a great idealist and religious teacher, quickening the world by lofty maxims, altruistic ideals, spiritual insight, and, above all, by a pure, self-sacrificing life. He is as Sakya-Mouni, as Confucius, as Socrates, as St. Francis, as many another, tho greater than any other. His relation to social reform, according to this conception is, therefore, to raise ideals of brotherhood, of self-sacrifice, of the supremacy of character over circumstances, of the scorn of material comfort. W. M. Salter says in his "Ethical Religion," pp. 188, 189:

A Religious Reformer

> It cannot be claimed that we stand in any such relation to Socrates or the Hindu prince or Confucius as to Jesus. Socrates has not been without influence upon us, but it cannot be soberly called a tithe of that which Jesus has had. Would that men read the "Apology" oftener; they would find meat and drink in it, a tonic and an inspiration for their lives! But there is need for no such wish in relation to the Gospels. Jesus is an ideal of goodness, all too indistinct often, but hovering in the thought of well-nigh every one of us. It is true that there is much uncertainty relating not only to His life, but to His teaching; yet as there need be no doubt as to the main tenor and events of His life, so there need be none as to the commanding features of His teaching. They make too largely consistent a whole, and bespeak a mind of too much freshness and originality and power, to allow us to think of them as coming in an indefinite way from an age otherwise so traditional, so barren, and so prosaic.

The ethical features which Mr. Salter finds in Christ are: (1) His opposition to the traditional morality of His day; (2) His giving to the moral law a more distinct inward application, teaching that thoughts and words have a moral significance, like that of actions; (3) His removing of all barriers of love to our fellow-men; (4) His teaching that the "kingdom of God" is to come from above, and not in the natural course of things—i.e., "not from the onworking of man's natural self-regarding impulses." The limitations in Christ's ethical teachings, Mr. Salter finds, *at least as far as the ethical requirements of our own day are concerned*, to be (1) His failure to emphasize "the intellectual virtues," straightforwardness, etc.; (2) His lack of concern with the State. Says Mr. Salter: "Jesus was not concerned with the State, indicating neither ideal nor practical courses for it to follow." He was ever looking for a kingdom to come, which, says Mr. Salter, has proved one "of humanity's blighted hopes"; (3) Mr. Salter finds in Christ's teaching little guidance for industry; and (4) no clear presentation of an ideal to be the end of human existence.

But (*b*) there is another conception of Christ held by those who deny the deity of Christ, very different from and at almost every point opposed to the conception we have just noticed. This is the conception that prevails largely among working men outside of the Church, and especially among materialistic Socialists. To such minds Christ was preeminently a social reformer. He is the first Socialist. They term Him the good "Sansculotte," to use Camille Desmoulin's phrase of the French Revolution. "The First Representative of the People" were the words written beneath the pictures of Christ that were posted in the halls of the French communists of 1848. "The Carpenter of Nazareth" is the name dearest to many working men. According to this conception, Christ was a Jewish labor leader, a religious trade-unionist, who taught of a kingdom of brotherly love, where inequalities and oppression were to vanish; where the poor, the weak, the unfortunate were to overthrow the kingdoms of wealth and of injustice. For opposing the rich and preaching communism He was crucified by the chief priests exactly as the pastors of the churches of wealth to-day oppose socialism and would hang all revolutionists. Christ, argues Austin Bierbower, in his "Socialism of Christ," sought to establish a kingdom in the interest of the "outs." He proposed to reverse existing conditions—to "lay the ax unto the root of the tree," "to put down the mighty from their seat," "to scatter the proud in the imagination of their hearts," "to send the rich empty away," "to fill the hungry with good things," "to exalt them of low degree." Christ's miracles, says Bierbower, "were all done in the interest of the poor." "The common people heard Him gladly." His command was to give up "houses and lands for the kingdom of God's sake." He said to the rich young man, "Sell all that thou hast, and distribute to the poor." The leading clergy Christ called hypocrites and whited sepulchers. Christ's method, says Bierbower, was one of revolutionary force. He was an insurrectionist, who could be confused with Barabbas. He came "not to bring peace, but a sword." He prophesied a reign of terror. Jerusalem was to be destroyed. Not one stone was to be left upon another. Pilate accused Christ of stirring up the people. This insurrection was to establish a communism. In Christ's teaching all men were to be equal. "Call no man master." There was to be no more clean and unclean. Men were to live in simplicity, to "take no thought for the morrow"; not to have two coats. Many working men think that Christ was an Essene, or at least the founder of a communistic sect like the Essenes, of which the Orient was then full. According to Osborn Ward's "The Ancient Lowly," Palestine was in the time of Christ full of trade-unions or secret gilds of slaves and despised artizans, and to these organized laborers Jesus Christ appealed, entering into their life and carrying their principles of fraternity and equality through the world.

A Social Reformer

Working men are not surprized that Christ was crucified. "The cross and hemlock cup have ever been the reformer's reward." Such is the materialist reformer's conception of Jesus Christ.

II. We now come to the views of those who

hold that Christ was more than man—God manifest in the flesh. Here again we find two divergencies. According to the one view (*a*) Christ's message was only to the individual and at most to the Church, the body of the redeemed who have been made one with Him.

The Individualist View

The holders of this view do not deny that Christ's teachings affect society, and are to be applied in the State; but they hold that the State and society are to be influenced only through the individual. "Make," they say, "perfect men and women, and then you will have a perfect society." Some do not even hold that society as a whole ever will be perfected on this earth, at least not in this present dispensation. The kingdom of God, they reason, is to be composed of the redeemed, of the elect out of the world. The kingdoms of this earth are, they teach, not to be conformed to the law of God, but to be destroyed and replaced by the kingdom of heaven. It is "a mistake," said the Bishop of Peterborough, at the diocesan conference at Leicester, England, October, 1889, "to attempt to turn Christ's kingdom into one of this world." The *Regnum Hominis*, he argues, can never be the *Civitas Dei*; the State does not and cannot exist on Christian principles. Did not Christ Himself say, "My kingdom is not of this world"? Were not Christ and all His disciples continually speaking of and looking forward to the end of the world, its destruction, and the coming of the new heavens and the new earth? Christian Socialists, says this school of thought, forget the doctrine of the second Advent, the personal coming of Christ, when this earth shall be destroyed and only the redeemed be saved. However, not all who hold that Christ's message is only to the individual argue from it that Christ's life is not to be applied to present social organizations. They hold that the Christ life will and inevitably must transform, nay, even revolutionize, human society. They assert strongly that Christ is the savior of society: but they hold that the salvation of society is to come only through the new life in the individual, by creating better men and women to compose the State. Such thinkers deny that Christ was a Socialist in any sense implying that He has a message for the State apart from the individual. Says Dr. Lyman Abbott, in his "Evolution of Christianity": "It has been said that Jesus Christ was the first Socialist. This is certainly an incorrect, if not an absolutely erroneous statement. It would be more nearly correct to say that He was the first individualist. The Socialist assumes that the prolific cause of misery in the world is bad social organization. Christ assumed that the prolific cause of misery in the world was individual wrongdoing." Those who hold this view argue that Christ came to save the world by saving individuals. Individuals, indeed, may cooperate in all kinds of reform and charitable societies; they may and should enter into politics; but the redeeming power is ever in the individual heart, and the Church's prime message, like Christ's, is to the individual. A few, like Tolstoï, carry this view to such lengths that they may be called, as occasionally they call themselves, Christian anarchists. They would do away with organization. To obey the State is to take an oath of loyalty, and Christ said, "Swear not." Society can only be saved by personal sacrifice. Self-sacrifice is the one word. Renounce life and you gain life. (For a full statement of this view of Christ, see Tolstoï.)

The First Individualist

But lastly, we come (*b*) to the view of Christ held by Christian Socialists. (See also Christian Socialism.) We are here concerned simply with the view of Christ held by this school.

The Christian Socialist View

According to this conception, Christ is the King and Head of all humanity, and therefore with jurisdiction over all life, secular as well as spiritual, political and social quite as truly as individual. Christian Socialists do not deny, but assert the necessity of personal conversion and the new birth. Christ does not force any man to serve Him. A forced righteousness is not righteousness. Christ draws, but does not compel any man to follow Him. Hence all moral action from men in a sense commences with the individual, and in this sense Christian Socialists are individualists; but they deny that Christ came *only* to the individual; they deny either that Christ came only to save individuals out of a lost world, or even to save the world through the working alone of a new life in individual hearts. They do not admit that Christ taught that "individual wrongdoing is the prolific cause of misery in the world." They hold that man is born in society, and in a sinful society, which fact is the cause of deep evil. Throughout the Bible they find a teaching of racial sin. The child suffers for the father's sin, and the mother in the child's wrongdoing. They find a socialism in sin as well as a socialism in Christ. Men are not alone; men are molded by inheritance and by environment. Now, Christ, as the King of all the world, came to change this. He came to save rebellious individual men, but also to establish a new environment. He came to found a kingdom. He prayed for its coming. He taught that God's will should be done on earth even as in heaven. Those who argue that Christ's message is only to the individual, that He took no notice of the State and that He cared little for organization, forget, say Christian Socialists, Christ's whole relation to the Old Testament and the world. The old Testament is two thirds of the Bible. Christ only came after a long preparation of the Jews in social righteousness. He came, he declared, to fulfil the Old Testament laws. He Himself fulfilled and bade His disciples to fulfil every minute detail of the ritual law. Christ indeed denounced and reproved the rulers of the Jewish Church, but it was not because they fulfilled the law, but because they did not fulfil the law, because they made it of no effect through their traditions. Jesus Christ was the great conformist. He was circumcised; He was baptized; He was made a Son of the Law; He kept Feast and Fast; He obeyed all the law; He bade His disciples obey even the very priests He denounced. As to the assertion that Christ did not recognize the State, men forget what the Hebrew Church was. It was a State almost as truly as a Church. It was a Church State. Christ paid little heed to the Roman heathen State, tho He obeyed even its laws; but He magnified the ideal of the old covenant, the Divine State, the heavenly kingdom. He was ever speaking of it. Of it are most of His parables. He came to fulfil its laws. It is true that Christ idealized, spiritualized the materialistic conception of the laws held by the Jews. He came to fulfil them through love, not through legalism. But he did not come to abrogate the laws. Law must fulfil

law, not destroy law. Spirituality is not to make men disregard matter. Never did any one ever honor the material body as did Christ. Almost all His works were works of healing to the body. They were almost all secular Socialist works. He who thus magnified the body, law, organization, cannot be said—so Christian Socialists argue—to have come simply to save people out of a wicked world into heaven, or even to save a world on earth simply through the individual. If society, organization, the nation, count for nothing, why the thousands of years of the old covenant before Christ came? The law is the schoolmaster to lead to Christ, and Christ is the great Teacher to help us fulfil the law. Christian Socialists agree with the material Socialists that Christ was a social reformer—*the* social reformer; that He did come to establish a reign of equality, brotherhood, communism, here upon earth. They believe Christ's Church to be the world's first International; the call the Magnificat "the hymn of the universal revolution." Christian Socialists disagree with the materialist Socialists that He appealed to force or *depended* simply on organization. He came to bring a sword in the same sense only that the knowledge of the law brings forth sin. Christ has made a man's enemies those of his own household; He has turned the world upside down. He is the great revolutionist. But His appeal is not to force. He did not come to draw the sword any more than the law bids men to sin. He was led as a lamb to the slaughter. He conquers by self-sacrifice. His method is the cross. His kingdom is not of this world, but it is to include this world. "The kingdoms of this world are to become the kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ." Christ's whole teaching, according to some, may be summed up in the words: "Father, Child, Brother."

Not a Lawbreaker

References: For the different views of Christ in relation to social reform, see *Ethical Religion*, by W. M. Salter, Boston, 1889; *The Socialism of Christ*, by Austin Bierbower, Chicago, 1890; *The Larger Christ*, by G. D. Herron, New York, 1891; *Lessons from the Cross*, by Stewart D. Headlam, London; *Christian Socialism, What and Why*, by P. W. Sprague, New York, 1891; *The Incarnation and Common Life*, by B. F. Westcott, London, 1893; *The Evolution of Christianity*, by Lyman Abbott, Boston, 1892; *The Social Teaching of Jesus*, by Shailer Mathews, 1897; *Jesus Christ and the Social Question*, by Francis G. Peabody, 1901.

CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH, THE: Organized in 1896, in Muscogee County, Ga., by forty people, mostly from the Northern States. A college professor, a civil engineer, an editor, and the pastor of an institutional church were the leaders in the movement. They determined to open their doors freely to all who would come, confident that a hearty welcome to their brotherhood and to all the privileges of their association would soon put a new purpose and spirit of life even into the tramp and the loafer. They wanted no narrow or limited brotherhood. They bought an old plantation, at a price far beyond its value, on which they were able to make but a one-fourth payment. They had not sufficient means to lay in a three months' supply of food, and many months elapsed before they could hope to get returns from their planting. Yet they invited and received families from all parts of the country, most of whom came absolutely empty-handed and very few of whom added much to the financial strength of the colony. As the editor of *The Social Gospel*, the organ of the community, expressed it, "The colonists were kept sensibly dependent on heaven-sent supplies."

The first year all engaged in manual labor—farming, gardening, grubbing, building, fencing, preparing fuel, logging, milling, carpentering, orchard and nursery work, etc.

The society was not incorporated until Nov. 14, 1899. Its constitution adopted under its charter reads, in part, as follows: "Article 2. Object: The Christian Commonwealth is a society whose purpose is to obey the teachings of Jesus Christ in all matters of life and labor and in the use of property. The society is incorporated to establish a community of people on a cooperative basis, with the purpose of demonstrating to the world the practicability and desirability of Christian cooperation as the best method of earning a livelihood, of developing nobility of character, and promoting all the ends of a true Christian civilization."

Writing in Sept., 1899, the editor of *The Social Gospel* says: "The Christian Commonwealth lives and grows and is increasing in spiritual power and material equipment. Loaded down with the poor and with almost nothing in hand, by most self-denying economy and the hard labor of its people, the Commonwealth has made slow but steady economic growth." Yet one year later the whole property was in the hands of a receiver and the colony disbanded. The creditors, however, were paid, we are informed, in full, which indicates that the colonists must have made something more than a living, and that lack of business management or want of harmony must have been a factor in the breaking up. The spirit of brotherhood did not share the fate of the colony so far as the prime movers were concerned. Two of the leaders published for a while *The Social Gospel*, at South Jamesport, N. Y., and others *Social Ideals* at Elgin, Ill., tho these publications did not endure.

CHRISTIAN COMMUNISM: This is communism on the basis of the Christian religion, and has had illustration in all ages. These are, however, best considered separately. For the communism of the primitive Church, see Church and Social Reform. For the communism of the Church in medieval times, see Brotherhoods, Religious. For more modern times, see Anabaptists, Amana, Christian Commonwealth, Harmonists, Hopedale, Oneida Community, Shakers, Zoar. It is scarcely too much to say that religious communism has seldom *financially* failed, but that all the various attempts at Christian communism have failed because of being committed to celibacy, or some narrow religious tenet. The number willing to embrace its tenets has fallen off or become *nil*. See also Communism.

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM: A term used in a larger and in a narrower sense. In its larger or looser sense, it may be defined simply as the application of Christianity to social problems. Used in its narrower and more accurate sense, it is socialism, but socialism in the name and spirit and on the principles of Jesus Christ. In the larger sense almost any Christian may call himself a Christian Socialist and the term comes often to mean little more than a vague interest and too often to become only a catchword, in the endeavor of the Church to enlist the interest of persons engaged in working out social prob-

lems. Much Roman Catholic and, in the United States especially, considerable Protestant so-called Christian Socialism is of this vague type. It is not really socialism at all and is not seldom actually opposed to socialism. In England, however, and on the Continent and in the U. S., when used by societies of Christian Socialists, or members of those societies, the term does indicate usually a very large acceptance and not seldom a complete acceptance of at least the fundamental principles and often the whole program of ordinary socialism. This is more especially true of more recent Christian Socialist movements, and is the result in part of a more accurate use of words in the course of the evolution of social thought, and in part of an increasing radicalism on the part of not a few of the younger clergymen in all branches of the Christian Church. To understand, therefore, the use of the word by particular writers or schools of thought it is necessary to know their definition of the word, or at least their modes of thought and expression. The term was first employed by the little group of men who gathered around Maurice (whom they considered their master), Ludlow, and Kingsley in England in 1848. It was used by them to express their conviction that socialism was really but a historical development or manifestation of Christianity. If in practise they understood by socialism little more than the principle and practise of cooperation as opposed to economic competition, it must be remembered that socialism itself had not developed into that more precise economic thought which is understood by the word to-day. The first Christian Socialists were accurately and truly Socialists of their day and generation, only holding that socialism to be practical must be founded on the Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood in Jesus Christ. They spoke of socialism as "the nineteenth-century livery of Christianity," and Maurice wrote in a tract in 1850, when the term Christian Socialist was first decided upon, "that is the only title which will define our object and will commit us at once to the conflict we must engage in sooner or later with the unsocial Christians and the unchristian Socialists."

Beginnings

The year 1848 was a dark one for English working men. Bad harvests, heavy taxes, the potato famine had brought to a head all their sufferings and wrongs. Ireland was on the verge of rebellion. There were riots in more than one English town. On April 10th there was an immense mass-meeting at Kennington Common. London was thrown into intense excitement and fear. Two hundred thousand special constables were sworn in.

Meanwhile, two clergymen of the Church of England, F. D. Maurice and Charles Kingsley, with a young lawyer, J. M. Ludlow, had been growing more and more interested in social questions. Charles Kingsley now rushed down from his parish at Eversley, and meeting Ludlow at Maurice's house, it was decided to publish placards and spread them broadcast, sympathizing with the workmen, but urging restraint from violence, and the necessity of virtue and religion to make men fit for liberty. Charles Kingsley wrote all that night, and the next morning appeared on thousands of posters his address to the workmen of England, signed "A Working Parson." A pouring rain and the energy of O'Connor prevented any outbreak.

It was now decided by the above three to publish a penny weekly, entitled *Politics for the People*. In these, in addition to Maurice, Kingsley, and Ludlow, we find articles by Archdeacon Hare, Professor Conington, Sir Arthur Helps, Archbishop Whately, Dr. Guy, French, Stanley, Osborn, and others—a rare galaxy of brilliant minds. Kingsley wrote in it the well-known articles signed "Parson Lot" (see KINGSLEY). The first number appeared May 6, 1848. The paper, however, was discontinued after seventeen numbers for lack of support, altho it attained a circulation of 2,000.

The little knot of writers, however, now including Thomas Hughes, held meetings all winter, meeting with many of the Chartist leaders, and starting night-schools. It was at one of these conferences that Kingsley made his celebrated speech beginning, "I am a Church of England parson and a Chartist," in which he acknowledged the grievous wrongs of the workmen, but dissuaded them from violence.

A Mr. Mayhew at this time contributed to the London papers a series of articles on the sweating system, which called out Charles Kingsley's burning and indignant tract on "Cheap Clothes and Nasty." But Maurice from first to last remained its directing spirit. Ragged schools were begun under their auspices, and "sanitary leagues" when the cholera began to rage. Colonization was projected. "Let us devise a Socialist home-colonization as soon as you please; provided only we give it a ground to stand upon, the sooner, the better," said Mr. Maurice, in a letter to Mr. Ludlow.

A cooperative institution, which was a practical embodiment of their ideas, was started, being an association of tailors in Castle Street, nearly opposite to the place where now stands the Cooperative Institution. This was in 1849. In 1850 a society for promoting working men's associations was formed, with Maurice for its president, and became the nucleus or center of the cooperative movement. The fundamental principle of this society was "the practical application of Christianity to the purposes of trade and industry."

"Christian Socialism" First Used

In December, 1849, a dinner was held at Ludlow's and a plan for cooperative stores was discussed, and for the first time the term *Christian Socialism* was agreed upon. The name was favored by Maurice largely under the influence of Ludlow, who had been in Paris and seen there the *associations ouvriers*, and who had written to Maurice from there that "socialism must be Christianized or it would shake Christianity to its foundation, precisely because it appealed to the higher and not to the lower instincts of man." The Christian Socialists, now working under this name, started a periodical and also a cooperative store under the leadership of Walter Cooper, the ex-Chartist.

Their periodical, *The Christian Socialist*, was edited by Ludlow, but contributed to by all the members. The following, by Ludlow, clearly expresses its ideas:

"A new idea has gone abroad into the world: that socialism, the latest born of the forces now at work in modern society, and Christianity, the eldest born of those forces, are in their nature not hostile, but akin to each other; or rather, that the one is but the development, the outgrowth, the manifestation of the other. . . . That Christianity, on the other hand, in this nineteenth century of ours, becomes in its turn chilly and helpless when stripped of its social influences; or, in other words, when divorced from socialism. . . . That if the Gospel speaks true, and 'ye cannot serve God and Mammon,' it is wholly incompatible with a political economy which proclaims self-interest to be the very pivot of social action; . . . but that it is compatible with those theories or systems which have for a common object to bind up into fellowship, and not to divide by selfishness and rivalry; to substitute fair prices and living wages for a false cheapness, and starvation, its child; and which have adopted for their watchwords *Association* and *Exchange* instead of *Competition* and *Profit*."

The Christian Socialist was, nevertheless, less long-lived than *Politics for the People*. The movement, however, did not end. Kingsley published his "Alton Locke." It brought down on the Christian Socialists a shower of abuse. Says Professor Seligman of it:

Opposition

"Tracts full of raving and disreputable rant; mouthpieces of class selfishness, popular prejudice and ignorant passion; ravings of blasphemy, rapine and nonsense; miserable delusions; mischievous provocations clothed in oily phrases of peace and charity; a clique of wayward-minded men, who, from a morbid craving for notoriety or a crazy straining after paradox, have taken up the unhallowed task of preaching the doctrines of Jacobinism and the Jacquerie"—this and much more of the like was said of them in all the reviews and journals. Advertisements were refused by the daily papers; booksellers did not dare to keep copies of their publications. *The Christian Socialist* was prohibited by the French Government from circulating in the realm. A committee of King's College was appointed to investigate Maurice's activity in these dangerous schemes, and he narrowly escaped losing at once his professorial position. Kingsley was invited to deliver a sermon in a London church, and at the close his opinions were openly branded as untrue and dangerous by the officiating rector.

Eventually Maurice was removed from his chair at King's College, and very affecting is the address of condolence presented to him by those workmen who had through him come to believe in the divine mission of Christianity in saving society. But opposition and obloquy, so far from discouraging the Christian Socialists, only acted as a spur to further exertion. "I am a revolutionist," says Kingsley in one of his letters. His "Bible Radicalism" meant to go to the root of the matter, and to recover the true and original basis of Christian fellowship. At the same time they all felt that if their work was to prosper they must put their hand to the plow and give a practical demonstration of their theory. Mr. E. Vansittart Neale provided the funds for the first attempts in cooperative production and the establishment

of the central cooperative agency. Many of the aristocracy and clergy wished to encourage the promoters. Orders came flowing in, and the success attained induced the promoters to open an "East-End Needle-women's Workshop," and an association of shoemakers. In course of time a number of productive associations were formed in London and the provinces, principally in the north. Out of this came an agitation for needed legislation and the "Magna Charta of Cooperation," the Industrial and Provident Partnerships Bill of 1852.

The early Christian Socialists, too, worked much for popular education. This led to the establishment of the Working Men's College, which was opened in 1854. Henceforth the Christian Socialism of England of this period is lost in the cooperative movement developing in the north of England. The London stores either failed or were swallowed by the larger movement. But the Christian Socialist thought lived.

Principles of the Early Christian Socialists

Says Professor Seligman: "These Christian Socialists were reformers in the fullest sense of the word. The kingdom of Christ was to them no empty formula; they were thoroughly imbued with the belief that this kingdom, created through revelation, actually existed and was destined in time to subjugate all wickedness and misery. Society, according to them, is not to be made anew by arrangements, but is to be regenerated by 'finding the law and ground of its order and harmony, the only secret of its existence, in God.'" The Bible they considered the poor man's book, the voice of God against tyrants and humbugs. "Justice from God to those whom men oppress, glory from God to those whom men despise," was to them the thought running through the Bible.

Men of such a stamp viewed with a sovereign disdain the social doctrines of the Manchester school. They wrote: "Of all narrow, conceited, hypocritical, anarchic, and atheistic schemes of the universe, the Cobden and Bright one is exactly the worst." Said Kingsley:

"I expect nothing from a public press which panders to popular Mammonism by scraps of politico-economic cant, and justifies the ignorant miser to himself by retailing Benthamite phrases which sound like scientific laws, while they are really nothing but the assertion of barren truisms. I expect nothing from the advocates of *laissez faire*—the pedants whose glory is in the shame of society, who arrogantly talk of economics as of a science so completely perfected, so universal and all-important that common humanity and morality, reason and religion must be pooh-poohed down, if they seem to interfere with its infallible conclusions, and yet revile, as absurd and utopian, the slightest attempt to apply those conclusions to any practical purpose. . . ."

"Competition," said Maurice, "is put forth as the law of the universe. That is a lie. The time is come to declare that it is a lie, by word and deed. I see no way but by associating for work instead of for strikes." Kingsley maintained that not self-interest, but self-sacrifice, was the only law upon which human society could be grounded with any hope of success. "That self-interest is a law of human nature, I know well. That it ought to be the root-law of human society, I deny, unless society is to sink down again into a Roman empire and a cage of wild beasts." The enthusiasm of the promoters was unbounded. Thomas Hughes thought they had found the solution of the labor problem and that "we had nothing to do but just to announce it and found an association or two, in order to convert all England and usher in the millennium at once, so plain did the whole thing seem." The majority of the promoters were equally sanguine.

The Christian Socialists were mistaken. Not thus are millenniums ushered in. Says William Clarke in the "Fabian Essays":

"*The Christian Socialist*, which was the organ of Maurice and Kingsley, betrayed great simplicity as to the real nature of the economic problem. It neglected Owen's principle of 'community in land,' and supposed that by working together and selling articles of good quality at a fair price poverty could be eliminated, while yet every worker in the community was paying his tribute of economic rent to the owners of the instruments of production."

After this wave of Christian Socialism in England, we have a long gap. Socialism of all kinds seemed dead in England.

Later English Christian Socialism

But early in the eighties the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam founded the *Guild of St. Matthew*. A High Church organization, it has become the leader of a remarkable movement among the younger Catholic wing of the Church of England toward radical socialism. It believes the secular to be spiritual, and finds secular principles involved in the highest Church teachings. Mr. Headlam long edited the *Church Reformer*, the organ of the gild, and an outspoken mouthpiece of Christian Socialism. Its radical nature can be seen in its reference to the Queen's Jubilee celebration as that "blasphemous" adulation going on at Westminster Abbey; and by the ultra-socialistic literature advertised and commended in its columns.

Of more recent date and not so radical in its socialism, and yet doing a very wide and important work in the Church of England, is the Christian Social Union, founded in Oxford in 1889, under the lead of the Bishop of Durham and Canon Scott Holland. (See CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION.) While it does not declare explicitly for Christian Socialism, its principles and teachings so largely tend this way that it is commonly spoken of in England as a Christian Socialist movement. It is significant, therefore, that the union embraces so many of the leading members of the Church of England, is the publisher of the able *Economic Review*, and includes men of such power and spirituality as Bishop Gore, Bishop Stubbs, and others, including its secretary, the Rev. John Carter. Quite recently an out-and-out *Christian Socialist Society* has been formed in connection with the Church of England. Outside of the Church of England, too, there is much Christian socialism. A society of Christian Socialists organized early in the eighties, not confined to the Church of England, and which from 1883 to 1891 published an organ, *The Christian Socialist*, did not endure, but its work was taken up by *The Christian Socialist League*, with the Rev. Dr. John Clifford, a leading Congregational clergyman, as president, and J. Bruce Wallace, Percy Alden, E. D. Girdlestone, John H. Belcher, Professor Shuttleworth and the Wesleyans, Revs. Hugh Price Hughes and Mark Guy Pearse are outspoken Christian Socialists; while the Rev. John Glasse, of the Church of Old Greyfriars, became a pioneer of socialism in Scotland.

This league, too, disappeared, but has given place to various movements and leagues for social service, and the London Free Church Social Union. (See FREE CHURCHES AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

Apart from all regular church organizations, yet standing for a very vital Christian socialism, are the labor churches (*q. v.*) begun in England by John Trevor (*q. v.*) in 1891, which represent a radical movement politically in connection with the Independent Labor Party, yet insisting on a religious character of the labor movement. They have now largely disappeared yet played their part.

GERMANY

Christian socialism in Germany dates in its present form from the period of the Lassalle agitation, yet had its precursors in the philosophy of Fichte and Hegel and the communistic preaching of Albrecht the Prophet and of Weitling (*q. v.*). We consider its Roman Catholic and Protestant developments separately.

The Roman Catholics come first. Early in the nineteenth century Franz Xavier von Baader (*q. v.*), moved by the sorrows of the working class, recommended a "theocracy," a monarchy guided by Divine politics, as opposed to a democracy of revolution, a State held together by Christian love, equally free from slavish despotism and lawless individualism.

A greater German Roman Catholic Christian Socialist was Wilhelm von Ketteler (*q. v.*), the late Bishop of Mayence. Von Ketteler was in very many ways like Kingsley. He said of himself: "I have lived with and among the people, and know them in their sorrows and complaints. There are few of the tears and none of the sufferings among the people committed to my charge which have escaped my notice." He especially endeared himself to his people by his bravery and devotion during an epidemic of typhus fever in 1847. He was elected to represent his district in the Germanic Confederation at Frankfort. As early as 1848 he preached a course of sermons on the social subject in the cathedral at Mayence to audiences of many thousands. He largely endorsed the socialistic program of the day, invoking State protection against the encroachments of irresponsible capitalists; but he held that to endure, society must be founded on the rock of St. Peter. He pointed out the impotence of legislation to equalize property. Christianity alone, he taught, could put cooperative associations on a sound basis. "May God in His goodness," he cried, "bring all good Catholics to adopt this idea of cooperative associations of production upon the basis of Christianity." Yet little directly resulted. In 1864, however, Ketteler published a treatise, "The Labor Question and Christianity," and in 1868 organization was reached in the Christian Social Working Man's Associations. An organ of the movement was started, *Die Christliche Sociale Blaetter*. In 1870 the Catholic Journeymen's Clubs, which had been started in 1847 by Father Kolping, a pious artizan, joined the Christian Socialist movement. These clubs numbered, in 1872, 70,000 persons, mainly in Bavaria and Westphalia. They were strictly under the control of the Church, and therefore were more or less opposed by the Social Democrats. Yet the movement grew. In 1878 it numbered 12,000 in Westphalia alone. It took many forms—benefit associations, savings and credit associations, associations for diffusing literature, working girls' associations, etc. At the meeting in 1871 Canon Moufang presented the points which became the program of the movement: (1) Legislative protection of the rights of labor; (2) pecuniary state subvention in aid of cooperative associations; (3) reduction of the burdens of taxation and military service; (4) restriction of the

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power of capital, and the removal of evils arising from usury and overspeculation.

Gradually, however, two wings developed, one tending to "self-help" and beneficent associations apart from the State, the other calling for State action and much of the Socialist program. The movement in one form or another has gone on, having to-day a large number of associations, mainly cooperative, and particularly among the peasants in Roman Catholic sections of the empire, but always distinctly under the control of the Church.

There are Catholic associations of masters and apprentices, of factory laborers, miners, and vintners; there are "Patriotic Bavarian" and Westphalian unions of peasant proprietors and a number of other societies of men and women in every direction, exercising a powerful influence under strict clerical supervision, the result of which is that in purely Catholic regions, for any efforts of social reform to be successful, it is essential in the first instance to secure the Catholic ecclesiastics as auxiliaries in any such undertaking.

This, too, has given the Roman Catholic Church in Germany large political power.

The Roman Catholic population of the empire is only 20,000,000 to 35,000,000 Protestants, and yet in the Reichstag, the Roman Catholic party, the so-called Center, has more delegates than any other party in the empire. It won in the last election 100 seats. Indeed the Protestant imperial government has usually had to depend for its majority on a coalition between the Roman Catholic Center with the Liberals or Conservatives. In that situation Rome is in power in the legislature and among the people. At a congress of German Catholics in Strasburg in Aug., 1905, Count Oppersdorf said, "Let every Catholic in Germany be a friend to every one in need." The Roman Catholic German Union for Works of Charity is a strong organization with 3,087 members and a very active life. There is also a strong Catholic propaganda and organization in Germany against the use of alcohol. Another organization is the Union of Catholic Women's Societies which publishes an attractive organ, *The Christian Woman*. Besides these and other societies, avowedly Catholic, German Catholics enter into every humane movement of every kind where they can exert influence. For example, at the International Congress for the Protection of Labor held in Zurich, 1897, a very strong Catholic delegation was present, including many priests. The congress received the papal approbation and one of its three presidents was the Swiss Catholic leader Decurtins. So also with the International Congress for Labor Legislation held in Berlin, 1890, and in Brussels in 1897.

Present Strength

This German Catholic movement is deeply founded and ably led. It does not drift with the times. There are in Germany at least a dozen Roman Catholic theological magazines and these give much space to developing from the principles of Catholic theology their scientific application to social reforms.

Protestant Christian Socialism in Germany has been a wholly separate movement. As early as 1838 Victor Aimé Huber (*q. v.*), who may be called the founder of German Christian socialism, at the request of Friedrich Wilhelm IV. of Prussia commenced in Berlin a paper, the *Janus*, advocating religious cooperation. He gave his life to this work and sowed much seed, but with little direct result.

Protestant Christian Socialism

About 1878, however, commences the chief movement of Protestant Christian Socialism in Germany, begun by Pastor Todt and brilliantly championed by Stöcker, the court chaplain. From the first it allied itself to the paternal State socialism, which has become the policy of the Prussian monarchs.

Kaufmann, in his *Christian Socialism*, says, however, of this movement that its name Christian Socialism "is somewhat misleading, since those to whom it is applied, and who cheerfully accept the appellation, are so far from being Socialists, in the ordinary sense of the word, that the name 'Defenders of Society on Church and State Principles' would convey a more correct idea of their aims and purposes to English readers. Properly speaking, they are conservative would-be saviors of society, who see no other means of escape from the present social dilemma but in a firm alliance between crown and altar for the purpose of regenerating society."

Two fundamental principles were laid down in the program, one indicating the duties of the State, the other those of the Church:

(1) That thorough reforms have become necessary in order to inspire the enfranchised masses with confidence toward the government.

(2) That the solution of the social question is impossible without the cooperation of the moral and religious factors and the Church's recognition of the just demands of the fourth estate (the working men).

But Stöcker, the leader of the movement, gave it a strong political bias. Two associations were formed, a Central Union for Social Reform on a religious, constitutional, monarchical basis, and the Christian Social Working Men's Party. The Union for Social Reform was to be composed of well-to-do and educated men, such as ministers of the Church, professors, manufacturers, and landowners, who would join in seeking for means of conciliating the anarchic classes through reforms inspired by the spirit of Christianity. The Christian Social Working Men's Party was to rally and aid working men.

The movement met great opposition. All the progressive papers protested against it as *mucker-socialismus*, or sham socialism. The liberal press also opposed it. "We prefer," said one paper, "Socialists in blouse to Socialists in surplice."

The higher dignitaries of the Evangelical Church held aloof from the movement, or were hostile to it; but the common clergy were stirred. More than 700 ministers sent in their adhesion to the Central Union for Social Reform. Dr. Stöcker displayed great energy. He attended public meetings at Berlin, where he confronted the most fanatical opposition of the Socialist Democrats, and sometimes, by sheer force of eloquence, he won cheers from the hostile crowd. He was attacked with extraordinary violence by Herr Most, who organized what he called a *Massenaustritt aus der Kirche*, or formal renunciation of the Church.

The Central Union for Social Reform also obtained the adhesion of several well-known economists, such as Prof. Adolf Wagner, of Berlin University; Dr. Schaeffle, former Minister of Finance in Austria, and author of "Socialismus und Capitalismus"; Herr Adolf Samter, banker at Konigsberg; and Professor von Scheel.

Pastor Todt was the chief author of the movement. In his "Radical German Socialism and Christian Society," he condemns the economics of liberalism as unchristian, and seeks to show that the ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity are scriptural, as are also the Socialist demands for the abolition of private property and of the wage system, the laborer to have the full produce of his labor, and labor to be associated. Herr Todt places the following epigraph at the head of his work: "Whoever would understand the social question and contribute to its solution must have on his right hand the works on political economy, and on his left the literature of scientific socialism, and must keep the New Testament open before him."

The movement, however, was hurt by its politics. Depending in part on imperial support, this finally failed it. Dr. Stöcker, with unquestioned motives, but with doubtful wisdom, early became a leader in the anti-Semitic movement, and by so doing attached to himself a certain political following not always of a desirable character, and, at the same time, prejudiced against him many who had been attracted by his Christian Socialism. The movement, therefore, so far as it was Christian Socialist, broke away from his lead, and for the most part became a movement for all kinds of church and social philanthropic societies and efforts. It has in this line developed a large and useful activity, but so connected with the "Inner Mission" (*q. v.*) that we consider it best under that head. Only a few of the younger men adhered to any large extent to the radical Christian Socialism of England and America.

Dr. Göhre (*q. v.*) developed a radical wing, largely helped by the revelations in his book, "Three Months in a Factory," but he has gone over to straight socialism. Dr. Naumann, formerly of Frankfort and now of Berlin, with his paper *Die Hilfe* has stood for a more evangelical socialism. There exist in Germany a large number of so called Christian Trade Unions, both Catholic and Protestant, but they are best considered under Trade Unions. See also Germany.

France

France may be said, in a very real sense, to be the birthplace of Christian Socialism. As long ago as 1790 Claude Fauchet (*q. v.*), once a court preacher, and then a leader in the Revolution, advocated a radical Christian communism, and founded a Christian communist paper —the first Socialist paper of the world, *Bouche de Fer* ("The Iron World"). He founded Christian Socialist clubs, and exerted no little influence. The *bon mot* of Camille Desmoulins, calling Christ *le bon sansculotte*, is well known. Saint Simon (*q. v.*) himself has been sometimes called the first Christian Socialist. His first idea was to induce the Pope to found a new Christian social order, and when he failed in this, he undertook himself to found what he called a New Christianity. Several of the Saint Simonians, notably Buchez (*q. v.*), believed that they could, and endeavored strenuously to establish a new social Christianity. Far more truly may Lamennais (*q. v.*) be considered a leading French Christian Socialist. His journal, *L'Avenir*, begun in 1830 with its motto, "God and liberty, the Pope and the people," and after his break with the papacy, his *Les Paroles d'un Croyant* ("The Words of a Believer," 1839), are among the noblest and most

burning Christian Socialist utterances ever made. Cabet, the brilliant author of the utopian *Icaria*, must also be mentioned here, with his book, "Le Vrai Christianisme suivant Jesus Christ" (1846), striving to show that Christianity is communism. Yet in spite of these and other brilliant utterances there has been no organized Christian Socialist movement in France until recent times.

Says Kaufmann, in his "Christian Socialism," p. 169: "De Maistre, Lamennais, Lacordaire, on the one hand, Bonald, Le Play, and le Comte de Mun, on the other, represent in the order we have placed them, tho not in chronological sequence, the ascending and descending scale from and to the ultramontane standpoint of Christian Socialism."

The great movement of Le Play (*q. v.*) can, in itself, however, scarcely be called a Christian Socialist movement, altho it has led to some extent to a movement sometimes using this name. Le Play himself, altho a devout Roman Catholic, aimed to make his movement purely educational. The founder of the real Roman Catholic Socialist movement in France is the Comte de Mun (*q. v.*). He, with the Comte de la Tour-du-Pin Chambly, founded, soon after the Franco-Prussian War, the *Œuvre des Cercles Catholiques d'Ouvriers*, an association organized for the purpose of bringing together working men on a Church basis, and standing on the social principles of the encyclical and syllabus of 1864. Its professed object was "the counter-revolution, made in the name of the syllabus, and the great work of reestablishing a Christian order in the world of labor." The followers of this school hold the Protestant Reformation to be the parent of all France's moral and social ills. They see in the Reformation a revolution against God, the worship of the sovereignty of the man in place of the sovereignty of God. They class Luther, Calvin, Voltaire, Rousseau, Danton, Robespierre, side by side. Against the Reformation, with its asserted ecclesiastical, political, social, and moral results, they declare war. In place of Protestantism and economic individualism they would establish cooperative association with State aid, under the patronage of the Church of Rome. With the Social Democrats they have nothing to do. When the Pope, however, condemned socialism under that name, tho indorsing many of its principles, they denied there could be a Christian socialism. The movement is more ecclesiastical and political than really Christian Socialist. It is an effort to hold the working classes for Rome. The direction of the unions is placed in the hands of local committees in close connection with a central committee in Paris. It is an attempt, moreover, to bring together the higher and lower classes of society by means of Christian sympathy, and so to effect social union.

Catholic Christian Socialism

In 1887 there were 400 *cercles* and 130 cooperative associations.

Their leader, the Comte de Mun, an active politician and fluent speaker, tho sometimes defeated, has frequently been elected to the Chamber of Deputies.

This movement, however, is not the only Roman Catholic social movement in France. In 1890 Bishop Frippel founded *La Société Catholique d'économie politique*, representing the Le Play movement, but in direct conjunction with the Church.

French Roman Catholic political Christian Socialism, however, has not been a success. Compromised by their persecutions of Dreyfus, accused of plotting against the French Republic, the French voter has voted against these Ultramontanists. Therefore the movement is now taking a more practical turn.

Marc Sangnier, a brilliant young student at the Collège Stanislas in Paris, developed a burning interest in social reform, and finally, in the year 1899, an institution known as the *Sillon*, in many senses the Young Men's Christian Association of Catholic France, and, like this, with many branches or clubs of an undenominational character.

These clubs are open to all. Their organization varies. In towns they may take the form of literary and musical societies, daily classes for shorthand, English, or drawing, debating clubs, and the like. In the country they meet less frequently, and generally occupy themselves with lectures on agricultural or industrial topics. In every case the *Instituts* endeavor to meet the social wants of the district. Altho they are not exclusively Catholic, every occasion is taken to bring before those who attend them the truths of Catholicism and its social sympathies. Besides these *Instituts Populaires* the *Sillon* has founded a number of cooperative societies in various parts of France, and an *Office Social*.

An equally important association for social purposes in the French Church, tho perhaps more theoretical than practical, is the *Action Populaire* which undertakes to exhibit the condition of certain sections of the laboring classes, to teach the people that they must organize themselves, and to show them how to do so.

These two associations show which way the Catholic Church in France is moving. They are not political; they oppose socialism, but are social efforts to hold the people for the Church.

Protestant Christian Socialism in France is still more recent.

In 1887 Pastor L. Gouth of Aubenas (Ardèche) took the initiative in the establishment of a Protestant Association for the Practical Study of Social Questions. And on Oct. 18 and 19, 1888, the association held its first general assembly at Nimes (Gard). The aim of the association, as the result of its studies, was to labor to repair the evils from which we suffer, by pointing out to Christians their social duties, by suggesting to them the initiative in works of brotherhood and relief, and by acting upon public opinion and the established powers to bring about necessary reforms.

Protestant Christian Socialism

Many general assemblies were held—at Nimes, Lyons, Montbeliard (Doubs), Marseilles, Havre, and Paris, and much thought aroused. Professor Gide, Pastor Fallot, and Charles Secrétan were active in it. The association early developed 600 members. Several of the members have established in their churches, or rather in their communes, institutions answering to its aims, a bureau of information and employment, a *maison de travail*, a mutual aid society; elsewhere a society for the aid of young apprentices of both sexes, lodging-houses, and the like institutions. The *Review of Practical Christianity* became the official organ of the association.

Belgium

Belgium has distinguished herself in the literature of Christian Socialism. Colins, born in Belgium, should be mentioned here, tho he wrote mainly in Paris, and developed a philosophy in most respects anything but Christian, since he believed, strange to say, in immortality, but not in God. As an ardent land nationalizer, however, and with a religious spirit, altho a bizarre theology, he sowed seeds which have sprung up in Belgian Christian Socialism. Huet (*q. v.*) was an out-and-out Christian Socialist. His "Le Regne Social du Christianisme," published about 1850, is one of the earliest and best statements of Christian Socialism in any language. Professor de la Laveleye was his pupil, and says of this book that it has not received the attention it deserves, being too full of Christianity for most Socialists and too full of socialism for most Christians. A Roman Catholic of the school of Pascal and Bossuet, he protested to the last against ultramontanism, and for a liberal Catholicism and a spiritual secularity. Professor de Laveleye, his most distinguished scholar, belongs to the same school. Professor of political economy at Liège, he became as well known for his Christian Socialism as for his economic and sociological writings. A Catholic, of the extreme liberal type, his position on Christian Socialism may be summed up in the passage from the introduction to his "Contemporary Socialism," where he says: "Every Christian who understands and earnestly accepts the teachings of his Master is at heart a Socialist; and every Socialist, whatever may be his hatred against all religion, bears within himself an unconscious Christianity." Prof. C. Perin, of the Roman Catholic University of Louvain, belongs to the ultramontane school. His treatise on "Wealth in Christian Society" was published in 1861. Later he published a work on the "Laws of Christian Society," which was prefaced by a pontifical breve, dated 1875. In 1879 he published a work on "Christian Socialism," to which was added an address he delivered at the opening of the Congress of the Directors of the Roman Catholic Workman's Associations, at Chartres, Aug. 9, 1878. Perin founds social order on divine authority, but rusts largely to the moral rather than the dogmatic influence of the Church. Industry, he believes, should be organized, both paternally and fraternally, under employers, and yet with a Christian fraternal spirit. (For further details, see Colins; Huet; Laveleye; Perin.) With all these and other Christian Socialist writers in Belgium, one is not surprised to find much fruit. Indeed, in no other country of the world has a whole national church been so penetrated with Christian Socialism, as the Roman Catholic Church. Hence, many think, its deep hold on the people.

As early as 1854, a Jesuit, R. P. Van Caloen, organized in a Brussels basement a few working men into an association of St. Francis Xavier. Its object was to evangelize working men by working men, but it early developed social activities, including economic branches, cooperative societies, institutions for saving, trade-unions of various trades. To-day it has 354 societies, some 70,000 adult and 10,000 juvenile members, besides thousands of women, connected with it only to pray for its success.

Catholic Movement

In 1867 was founded the Belgian Catholic Federation (for working men). In 1869 it published an organ, *The Christian Economist*, and later a popular journal, *The Worker*. In 1882 the first named was changed to the *Catholic Economist*. In 1888 was organized the Belgian Federation of Catholic Working Men's Societies, which in 1891 became *The Democratic League* (under the guide of the Church), and has held twenty-nine congresses in various parts of the kingdom. Its aim is declared by its constitution to be the moral and material improvement of the working classes and the pacification of labor and of capital. Societies may be affiliated with it composed either of employers or employees, but all must accept its aim, and recognize the indispensability of religion to the social order. The league has 300 societies with about 90,000 members. It is this league that largely gives Catholicism its political power in Belgium.

These societies are largely under the lead of the parish priests. The movement agitates for legal reforms, such as laws limiting child labor, woman's work, providing for working men's insurance, a Sunday rest, etc. It has established working men's hotels, schools, orphanages, savings-banks, mutual purchasing societies. Particularly has the movement organized cooperative agricultural societies, as one of its writers says, "for the salvation of agriculture, the first of all industries."

The movement has been an educated and instructed movement. It was Roman Catholic Louvain that first inaugurated a course in social studies in Belgium in 1885. By 1891 this had grown into a school of political and social sciences. To-day this school has thirteen professors, with some forty students. It has a course of two years and a half, grants diplomas, has already published twenty-five volumes and nineteen doctrinal theses. This is for the leaders of the movement who make social studies their specialty, but at every theological seminary in Belgium departments exist for the social and political instruction of the priests.

A Jesuit writer, A. Vermeersch, has published (1904) the most complete work on Belgian social legislation and activities.

Other European Countries

In other European countries Christian Socialism has had less development. In the Netherlands both Protestants and Roman Catholics have gone largely into politics and have created Church parties which separately or by combination have till recently largely ruled the country, but they have been in the main ultra-conservative. Recently, however, the growth of radicalism has compelled action on social lines.

A Catholic Social Union (Katholicke Sociale Actie), covering the whole country, has been formed, its central office in Leyden. This society will take the initiative in social action, and will be a bureau of information.

The Calvinists are following suit in a society in connection with the "Patrémonium," a working man's society.

In Scandinavia one recalls the late Bishop of Zeeland with his book, "Socialism and Christianity as a Fragment of Christian Ethics." There has, however, been little or no organization on Christian Socialist lines, except the efforts of a few pastors and others for temperance and other particular reforms.

In Austria, Christian Socialism was first advocated by a Protestant, Rudolph Meyer, but was taken up by Roman Catholics, Prince von Leichtenstein, Counts Blome and Knefsteen, and above all Baron von Vogelsang, and has grown into a large movement. It has, however, been principally a political movement to increase the political power of the Church, by organizing working men as in Germany into societies under the guide of the Church. It has also had much to do with anti-Semitism.

In Switzerland there have been various local Protestant Christian Social societies and a few leaders of economic thought, but the movement has developed little more than some charitable efforts on the part of the respectable upper middle class. Swiss Roman Catholic Christian socialism has been more radical, and some of the priests have been very active cooperators in the labor movement.

In Italy there has been nothing that can be called Roman Catholic Christian Socialism, except for a few utterances like Rafaele Mariano's "Christian Catholicism and Culture," and Professor Nitti's notable "Catholic Socialism." Some of the evangelical pastors write and preach on Christian Socialist lines.

The United States

Christian Socialism in America made a more recent appearance. This is due undoubtedly mainly to economic conditions, in part to the American idea of the divorce of Church and State, which has meant too often the divorce of secular and religious life. There have long been those, however, in America who have individually looked this way. Many of the participants in the Brook Farm and the early Fourier experiments acted on motives largely those of Christian Socialism. As early as 1849 Henry James, Sr., in a lecture delivered in Boston, argued the identity of Christianity and socialism. In 1872 a Christian Labor Union was organized in Boston under the lead of George E. McNeill, Edward H. Rogers, Hon. T. Wharton Collins (of New Orleans), the Rev. Jesse H. Jones, Henry T. Delano, and others. The Rev. Jesse H. Jones from 1874–75 published a paper in Boston called the *Equity*, really a paper of Christian Socialism. The writings of Dr. R. Heber Newton, of Drs. Lyman Abbott and Washington Gladden, of Prof. R. T. Ely, are well known. Yet there were no Christian Socialists, so called, in America till organization was effected in Boston, April 15, 1889, largely under the lead of the Rev. W. D. P. Bliss. It was called the Society of Christian Socialists, and adopted the following principles:

Society of Christian Socialists

To exalt the principle that all rights and powers are gifts of God, not for the receiver's use only, but for the benefit of all; to magnify the oneness of the human family, and to lift mankind to the highest plane of privilege, we band ourselves together under the name of Christian Socialists.

I. We hold that God is the source and guide of all human progress, and we believe that all social, political, and industrial relations should be based on the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, in the spirit and according to the teachings of Jesus Christ.

II. We hold that the present commercial and industrial system is not thus based, but rests rather on economic individualism, the results of which are:

(1) That the natural resources of the earth and the mechanical inventions of man are made to accrue disproportionately to the advantage of the few instead of the many. (2) That production is without general plan, and commercial and industrial crises are thereby precipitated. (3) That the control of business is rapidly concentrating in the hands of a dangerous plutocracy, and the destinies of the masses of wage-earners are becoming increasingly dependent on the will and resources of a narrowing number of wage-payers. (4) That thus large occasion is given for the moral evils of mammonism, recklessness, overcrowding, intemperance, prostitution, crime.

III. We hold that united Christianity must protest against a system so based and productive of such results, and must demand a reconstructed social order, which, adopting some method of production and distribution that starts from organized society as a body and seeks to benefit society equitably in every one of its members, shall be based on the Christian principle that "We are members one of another."

IV. While recognizing the present dangerous tendency of business toward combinations and trusts, we yet believe that the economic circumstances which call them into being will necessarily result in the development of such a social order, which, with the equally necessary development of individual character, will be at once true socialism and true Christianity.

V. Our objects, therefore, as Christian Socialists, are:

(1) To show that the aim of socialism is embraced in the aim of Christianity. (2) To awaken members of Christian churches to the fact that the teachings of Jesus Christ lead directly to some specific form or forms of socialism; that, therefore, the Church has a definite duty upon this matter, and must, in simple obedience to Christ, apply itself to the realization of the social principles of Christianity.

VI. We invite all who can subscribe to this declaration to active cooperation with us, and we urge the formation of similar fellowships in other places throughout the land.

This society included members of all churches. Its president was a Baptist, the Rev. O. P. Gifford, and among its officers Rev. P. W. Sprague (Episcopalian) and Mrs. Mary A. Livermore (Universalist). Branch societies were also started in many cities. The society also established, in 1889, a monthly organ, *The Dawn*, for some years published in Boston by Mr. Bliss. The society, however, no longer exists. Mr. Bliss established an Episcopal mission, the Church of the Carpenter, in Boston. This movement as an organized movement has disappeared, but the seed has been widely sowed. *The Dawn* in 1893 published a list of some 700 clergymen more or less actually engaged in Christian social reform. To-day there are many more.

In the Episcopal Church the *Christian Social Union*, established in 1891, under the lead of such men as Bishop Huntington, Dr. Holland, of St. Louis, Prof. R. T. Ely, Mr. Bliss and others, attained considerable following, and still exists, tho the organization as an organization has not grown. The more radical and locally more active *Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor* ("C. A. I. L."), organized in New York in 1887, has had more permanent success. The undenominational *Brotherhood of the Kingdom*, established in 1893, by Dr. Leighton Williams and others largely of the Baptist churches, has done, and still does, a quiet but good work. In his Christian Socialist days, Dr.

George Herron, by his brilliant books and burning words, stirred up much thought and some organization, particularly in his own denomination, Congregational; but this, so far as organization goes, was largely undone by Dr. Herron's later break with organized Christianity. Dr. Josiah Strong, tho never calling himself a Christian Socialist, has done very much for Christian social thought through the country. The same may be said of Dr. Gladden and several other prominent religious leaders. In 1906 a national Christian Socialist League, definitely committed to socialism, was organized in Louisville, Ky. But for all these different societies and forces, see articles under the respective names. The following is perhaps a correct representation of the principles and actual methods usually advocated by avowed and radical Christian Socialists:

Christian Socialism is the application to society of the way of Christ. Christ has a social way, and only in this way are there healing and wholeness for the nations. Christian Socialists do not deny the necessity of individual Christianity. Christian Socialism is no salvation by the wholesale, by machinery, by power of environment; it is no new gospel. It is, rather, the carrying out of the old full gospel, which is to all people. It holds that Christian Socialism follows from and is involved in personal obedience to Christ. It is Christian. Its starting-point is the Incarnation.

But this being so, it quickly adds, that while Christian Socialism follows from personal obedience to Christ, *it is not enough to-day to say that all that is needed is for the individual to follow Christ.* This, *while true*, begs the question. *We need to be told what it means to follow Christ.* Those sentimental Christians who say that all that is necessary is for individuals to obey Christ are in danger of saying, "Lord, Lord," without showing what the Lord would have us do. Christian Socialism tries to voice the social law that it has learned from Christ.

Christian Socialist Principles

First, it declares that all men are the children of God. It follows that men are not *merely* individuals; they are born united. The world *is* one. Society makes the individual, more than the individual makes society. Society begins in God. The first social necessity is to recognize this. We are to develop the social unity we derive from God. *Second*, the *law* for the social life is revealed in part in the Old Testament. The Mosaic revelation founded a theocracy on earth. God was the Universal Father; every man of the theocracy a brother. Property in land was not absolute; the land was conceived as belonging to God. No individual could own it in fee simple. He could only use it. In its use he was inalienably protected. It came to him through the family as an inalienable inheritance. If, through poverty or misfortune, he temporarily parted with it, it returned to him in the year of jubilee. No landless, homeless class could, therefore, be *permanently* developed among the Hebrews. (See JUDAISM.)

The law went farther. It cared especially for the poor, the oppress, the children, the fatherless, the widow. Usury (or interest: all scholars agree that the two words originally meant the same thing) was forbidden between members of the theocracy. The law provided for every one's independence. It not only provided land for the worker, but defended him in the ownership of clothes, tools, etc. (capital), which could not *permanently* be taken from him. If taken as a pledge, they must be returned before night. No permanent mortgage indebtedness was, therefore, possible on either land or capital; that is, the law was truly socialistic in providing in the name of organized society for both land and capital for every family. And this was *not*, be it remembered, a law of mere individual righteousness. *In order to reap its benefits, the family had to belong to the theocracy.* The Jew could take interest from a foreigner; the foreigner could be enslaved, even killed. The law was essentially national and institutional.

Third, this law is to be fulfilled *in Jesus Christ.* The Hebrew law did not work; no law can work; *man must work the law*; hence the Christ, conversion, the sacraments, the means of grace. Jesus Christ came to enable us to fulfil the law. What the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, that Jesus Christ came to fulfil. Individualism forgets law; institutionalism forgets grace. A true Christian Socialism fulfils the social law through grace. The Old Testament gives the world its social track; Jesus Christ gives the locomotive power. To preach as Tolstoy and most Protestants do, the latter without social organization, is to try and run a locomotive without a track. Protestanism has run the world into a quagmire. Jesus Christ is the locomotive power drawing the world along the social track.

Fourth, a social law must be fulfilled *socially.* Protestantism has here made a grievous mistake. But to make a mistake here is to misconceive the whole Incarnation. In Christ, God became man *on earth.* He took all humanity into Himself. Christ was not only a man, but MAN; man in all that is in man or possible to man; man in art, in science, in letters, in politics, in society, in commerce, in industry. In the Incarnation God entered into all life. God's laws are practical. What is impractical is not divine. Individualism has been found impractical. Men have tried to carry out the Golden Rule on individual lines, and they have failed. We do not say they have wholly failed. No earnest effort, even tho mistaken, wholly fails. But, generally speaking, they have failed. Large numbers of business men say to-day that the Golden Rule cannot be applied to business. They are right on the present system of business, because the system is wrong. You 'cannot serve God and Mammon." Pathetic, noble but impractical are the desperate efforts of Christian men and women to do good and be Christ-like in modern business. It is a hopeless task. God's way demands a social basis.

Fifth, Christian Socialism would fulfil the social law by striving to build up a socialism based on Christ.

It would aid the eight-hour movement. It would reduce the hours of labor in factory and in shop, that men may have longer hours of labor in the home, the library, and the church. Christian Socialism would favor *direct legislation*, through the initiative, the referendum, and proportional representation, purging our politics of corruption, breaking down the machine, and teaching the people self-government. It would emancipate woman as well as man. It does not believe in a democracy of half the people. It would develop a true municipalism, as is being done in Birmingham, Glasgow, London, Berlin, and other cities. Glasgow, by spending $7,000,000 in tearing down and rebuilding the worst tenements, and by municipally clearing courts and passages; by providing municipal baths, wash-houses, etc., has reduced her death-rate from 54 to 29 per 1,000. This Christian Socialism considers practical Christianity. It would have the city employ the unemployed, in ways not to compete with present labor. Says Turgot, whom Matthew Arnold calls "the wisest statesman France ever had": "God when he made man with wants and rendered labor an indispensable resource, made the right of work the property of every individual; and this property is the first, the most sacred, and the most imprescriptible of all kinds of property." It would have cities obtain the funds for doing this by conducting gas works, surface railroads, etc., for a profit for the city, instead of having them owned by rich capitalists favored by city franchises.

Measures Favored

Christian Socialists would have the nations own and manage railroads, the telegraph, expressage, etc. In every way it would replace competition by fraternal combination, and it would press toward reform in all these ways. It is not one reform. It is many reforms on *one principle.* Perhaps most important of all is land reform. Christian Socialism would revert to the Bible principle, that God is the owner of all the earth, and men only entitled to its use. It would, therefore, favor the reclaiming of the land for the use of all the people, by taxing land values on a graduated scale, and increasingly every few years, till finally the whole value of the natural resources of the earth be taken for the people, and not for the favored few. Christian Socialism would not go out of the world to save the world. It would be in it, tho not of it. Gradually it would influence cities and states and nations.

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CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION, THE (AMERICAN): Organization founded in New York, April 3, 1891, on the basis of the English Christian Social Union. Its first president was the Rt. Rev. F. D. Huntington, Bishop of Central New York; its first secretary, Prof. R. T. Ely; and its traveling secretary and lecturer, the Rev. W. D. P. Bliss. For its principles, see CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION (ENGLISH). It has found considerable response among clergymen and others, and has issued numerous tracts. Its president is Dr. Clinton R. Woodruff; its secretary, the Rev. A. J. Arkin, 3113 Richmond Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION, THE (ENGLISH): An organization of the Church of England, founded in 1889 for the study and advocacy of Christian social principles.

The first regularly constituted branch was organized at Oxford, Nov. 16, 1889. The London branch began in 1890. The Oxford branch has been mainly engaged in the systematic study of economic facts; the London branch has been more active in holding public meetings, organizing courses of sermons, and issuing addresses on definite political, social, and industrial problems.

The principles of the union declare it to consist of Churchmen who have the following objects at heart:

(1) To claim for the Christian law the ultimate authority to rule social practise.
(2) To study in common how to apply the moral truths and principles of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the present time.
(3) To present Christ in practical life as the living Master and King, the enemy of wrong and selfishness, the power of righteousness and love.
Members are expected to pray for the well-being of the union at Holy Communion, more particularly on or about the following days: The Feast of the Epiphany, the Feast of the Ascension; the Feast of St. Michael and all Angels.

The president of the union is the Bishop of Worcester, who has succeeded the late Bishop of Durham, Dr. Westcott, who was the first president. The largest branches are at Oxford and in London; there are also branches at Cambridge Leicester, Leeds, Liverpool, Birmingham, Manchester, and some thirty other centers. Canon Scott Holland, Professor Sanday, Professor Stanton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Liverpool, the Bishop of Durham, the Bishop of Rochester, the Bishop of London, and the Bishop of Chester are prominent members. The Rev. John Carter, of Pusey House, is the honorary secretary. Canon Scott Holland is chairman of the executive committee of the London branch, and the Rev. Percy Dearmer (102 Adelaide Road, London, N. W.), is secretary. The union has upward of 5,000 members in sixty branches, and is very influential in Church of England thought and activities. It has affiliated societies in Australia, New Zealand, and the United States. It has two organs: *The Economic Review*, published at Oxford; and *The Commonwealth*, published in London (3 Paternoster Buildings, E. C.).

The spirit of the union may be seen in the following quotations from a tract, "The Ground of Our Appeal," by Canon Scott Holland:

(1) We start from the conviction which has been for so long stamped on every heart that feels or brain that thinks that the time is come to vote urgency for the social question. We believe that political problems are rapidly giving place to the industrial problem, which is proving itself more and more to be the question of the hour. . . .
(2) We are of those who are convinced that the ultimate solution of this social question is bound to be discovered in the person and life of Christ. He is "the Man"; and He must be the solution of all human problems. That is our primal creed. . . .

It is true that this relationship of His to the social life of men is less obvious and direct than His relationship to their sorrows or their sins as the Redeemer. For the victory which gained Him this living lordship over all that man is was won by Him not in the social, or economic, or political, but in the *spiritual* sphere. He redeemed men's souls from sin. That was His primary task; . . . but its significance is bound to tell on every level of existence down to which the influence of the victorious spirit reaches. The whole of human nature is to be brought within the sway of the "New Man." And human nature is corporate; "man is a social animal." The natural bonds which hold together men into societies and races must, of necessity, receive the new inflowing force which comes to them out of the supremacy of Him, who gathers all men unto Himself.

(3) But this application of the redemptive force of Christ to actual society can be no very simple matter. The problems raised by human society are manifold, intricate, and immense; and however firm our conviction may be that Christ is Himself their one and only solution, yet the solution of a difficult problem must, of necessity, be itself difficult; and if the perplexities have been themselves a matter of long and gradual growth, then their undoing, also, will be slow and gradual.

These are the questions; and they can only be answered by those who have got long past the merely sentimental assertion that Christ is all in all, and have set themselves to the solid task of discovering what that solemn truth really and precisely means, and have worked it down into the concrete facts, and have surveyed and estimated the full need of the circumstances, and striven to make clear to themselves what is the first step, and what the second, and the third, if that great royalty of Christ is, in very deed, ever to be made good here on earth, amid men as they are, and after a history such as they have hitherto had.

We cannot all of us undertake such a study as this involves; we have not the leisure or the brains. But that is just why we should all take some direct measures for keeping in touch with those who have the faculties and the opportunities that we lack. Some servants of the Church there *must* be who will give themselves seriously to the training that such a task involves. . . . They will arrive at the discussion possest by two deep convictions: First, that the present situation is intolerable; and, secondly, that its solution must be found in the unfaltering assertion of *moral* as supreme over *mechanical* laws. . . . It is to collect together such men as this, it is to foster and to enlarge such a spirit, that the Christian Social Union exists.

CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST FELLOWSHIP, THE: Organized in Louisville, Ky., June 18, 1906. Objects: To permeate churches, denominations, and other religious institutions with the social message of Jesus; to show that socialism is the necessary economic expression of the Christian life; to end the class struggle by establishing industrial democracy, and to hasten the reign of justice and brotherhood upon earth." Membership is open to all who agree to the objects of the fellowship. Organ, *The Christian Socialist*. Secretary, E. J. Ward, 5406 Drexel Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISTS, THE SOCIETY OF: A society organized in Boston, U. S. A., in 1889, but tho not disbanded, not now in active existence. (See CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.)

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM: This article is concerned neither with the teachings of Christ, nor with the activities of the Church, but solely with the effect of Christianity on social problems, and with the principles of a Christian sociology. The subject is considered under two heads: (1) History, and (2) Christian Sociology.

I.—History

The first effect of Christianity upon society was to introduce a new spirit of brotherhood, of equality, and of humanity to the suffering and the lowly (see CHRISTIAN COMMUNISM). Outside of Judea, at least, it seems probable that up to the third century Christianity spread largely among the vast slave and despised population of the empire, perhaps mainly among the trade *sodalities* or *colleges* or brotherhoods with which Mr. C. Osborn Ward shows the empire to have been honeycombed (see GILDS). Spreading mainly among these, the enslaved

rather than the masters, it is evident that Christianity could not at once overthrow slavery; but it did what it could to elevate the position of the slave. It bade him submit, in the spirit of Christian love, to his master, and yet it treated him as an equal and a brother. It inculcated a spirit and *practise* of brotherly love. "How those Christians love one another!" is the suggestive exclamation concerning life in the primitive Church. For a beautiful tho imaginative picture of the life of the early Church, see Koun's "Arius the Libyan."

Coming to more authoritative and established facts, we can see the evidence of the social effect of Christianity by comparing legislation before and after its influence began.

The Family

Rome, like all early civilizations, gave almost unlimited power to the father. He could and often did chastise or even slay an adult son. He could take his property, assign him a wife, divorce him when married, transfer him to another family by adoption. See *Val. Max.*, v., 8; *Liv.*, vii., 7; *Plut.* (*P. Gr. et Rom.*). Over the daughter he had still further power. Under the Christian emperors, whatever their personal character, this was abridged. Constantine punished a parricide, and Justinian went much further. The father could now only inherit from a son to a less degree than the son's minor children. Under Justinian the son had full control over all his acquisitions. He could not be killed, exposed, bought, sold, or imprisoned, save by decree of the courts. Under old Rome, inheritance was not by blood, but by *power*. Relationship was limited to descendants by males, tho a daughter inherited equally with a son. But neither an "emancipated" son nor a married daughter who had "left the family" inherited. They were *cognates*, not *agnates*. Under the Christian emperors this distinction disappears. Under the old Roman law the woman was almost wholly under the tutelage of her male relations. A court of her relatives could try her. Her husband had power of life and death over her, and power over her property. To the three ancient forms of Roman marriage, the *confarreatio*, or religious, the *coemptio*, or civil, and the *usus*, or without ceremony, there was gradually added "free marriage" in the interest of the woman, which was recognized by law, but did not make the wife of the husband's "family," leaving her her own property, her own gods, and her old family relation.

Marriage

Under the Christian emperors this was changed. "Tutelage of women must be done away with," says Justinian in his "Institutes." The absolute power of the husband ceased. If unjustly divorced, she received full paternal power (*C. Theol.*, v., 4, 5).

Under Rome, divorce had become frequent to the utmost. Juvenal declares that "no crime or deed of lust was wanting to the age" ("*Sat.*" vi., 223). Modesty was held to be a presumption of ugliness (*Plut. Vet. P. Aem*). In the year 19 A.D. the Roman senate had to pass a law that no woman of a certain rank could make her person venal. (*Tac. Ann.*, 2, 83). In 330–331 A.D., however, a wife might be divorced from her husband only when he was a murderer, a magician, or a violator of tombs. The husband could be divorced when the wife was an adulteress or given to evil practises. If the wife's innocence was proved, she had right again to all the property of her husband, and even the *dos* of the second wife. A married man was prohibited (340 A.D.) from having a concubine, and finally adultery was punished by death. Justinian's code, however, extended the causes of divorce. Jerome confesses that "some were the laws of the Cæsars, and some of Christ." A stoical jurist, Paul, writes in the third century: "Women in every kind of affairs and obligations, whether in behalf of men or women, are prohibited from having any concern" (*Paul Sent.*, ii., xii.). Justinian says that nothing in human affairs is so much to be venerated as marriage. "We enact then that all persons, so far as they can, shall preserve chastity, which alone is able to present the souls of men with confidence before God" (*Nov.*, iii., 1, 14).

Slavery

In ancient Rome and Greece, unnatural vices became the rule even among the learned (confer Lucian, Apuleius, Arbiter, Athenæus, Plato's *Symposium*). The plain words of St. Paul are well known. The Theodosian code, which codified the legislation of Constantine, ordered the most intense punishments to be inflicted on those guilty of such crimes. He says: "Taught by the Holy Scriptures, we know what a just punishment God inflicted on the inhabitants of Sodom" (*Cod. Theod.*, ix., tit. 7)

Slavery was probably never worse than just before the advent of Christianity. Stoicism mildly denounced, but did not alleviate it. Cato approved of selling a sick slave (*De remot.*, II.). Six hundred slaves were put to death because one had slain their master, and Cassius defended the act, which the law requited (*Tac. Ann.*, xii., *lib.* 42). Similar inhumanities are well known. Slaves were fed to fish and put to death for amusement. Under Christianity the Lord's day became a day appropriate to emancipation (*Cod. Theod.*, l. 2). The setting free of slaves became common. In 312 A.D. the poisoning or branding of a slave was declared by law to be homicide. In 314 liberty was a right which could not be taken away. By 316 emancipation in the church before witnesses was emancipation before the law. Later a few words from a priest could emancipate. Under Justinian those who served in the army or entered a monastery, with the consent of their masters, became free. Slavery was supprest by penalty. If, at the death of the master, the heir was directed to free one slave, all became free. The marriage of the master with the bondwoman freed and legitimatized all the children, and even without marriage, if the woman held the position of a wife, she became free with her children. The violation of a slave woman was made an equal offense with crime committed upon a free woman, and punishable by death. The movable property of slaves became their own, and with it they often purchased their liberty. The code declared its purpose "to have the republic frequented by freemen rather than liberated slaves." These were but the principal enactments. Under Leo (717) all slaves on imperial domains were allowed to do with their property as they chose. If property reverted to the State (867), the slaves became free. In the ninth century St. Theodore of Studium (Constantinople) commanded "Thou shalt possess no slave, neither for domestic service nor for the labor of the fields, for man is made in the image of God" (Wallon's "Hist. de l'Esclavage," v. iii., p. 484). Slavery had disappeared in Europe when the Reformation came.

Humanity

The gladiatorial games of Rome are well known. The Stoics objected to them, but it did no good. Cæsar had 320 pairs of gladiators at once in the arena. Trajan surpassed all in forcing 10,000 prisoners and gladiators to contend for life in a carnage lasting 123 days. Constantine, in the very year before he accepted Christianity, exposed a vast number of prisoners to wild beasts in the amphitheater. The early Christians protested against all this. In 325 A.D. Constantine passed the law, "Bloody spectacles in our present state of civil tranquillity and domestic peace do not please us, wherefore we order that all gladiators be prohibited from carrying on their profession" (*Cod. Theod.*, lxv. tit. 12, l. 1). Their final abolition by the leaping into the arena of the monk Telemachus (404) is well known.

Under old Rome public spectacles were licentious as well as bloody. Nude women were made to bathe before the spectators. The actresses were prostitutes and the plays obscene. The Christians denounced these, as they did the gladiatorial shows. By 343 no Christian woman, bond or free, could be forced to serve as a prostitute on the stage. Exhibitions were forbidden on Sundays and saints' days. By 439 a law of Theodosius forbade the profession of the *leno*, or procurer. Under Justinian no woman could be retained by force on the stage. Under Theodosius it was forbidden to sell or train women for social entertainments. A slave mutilated became free. Often when examined a slave would answer, "I am not a slave; I am a Christian; Christ has freed me."

Under ancient Rome, the exposure and frightful mutilation of children, and especially of female children, were frequent. Even Seneca approved of exposing weak infants. Exposed children were often taken to be prostitutes. The Christian fathers were full of denunciation of the custom. Constantine (315) forbade the practise, and had his revenue and treasure used to rescue any who were exposed. The Council of Nice ordered the foundation of hospitals in the principal towns. Houses of mercy for children were founded by Justinian. A marble vessel was provided for exposed children at the door of each church, and nurses were employed for them.

Marriage

Under Constantine began the first prison reform, and with the Christians, the first active condemnation of war and the adoption of arbitration. Many of the Christians refused to fight or to go to law. Tertullian called Christians "priests of peace." The first hospital is said to have been built in Rome at the end of the first century. Pulcheria, sister of Theodosius the Younger, built and endowed several at Constantinople.

The Middle Ages

It is often claimed that the elevation of woman under the Christian emperors could not have been due to Christianity, because the same elevation was found in unchristian Germanic tribes. But the same elevation was not found. The woman occupied a higher position than under ancient Rome, but not so high as under Christian Rome, and when Christianity conquered these tribes her position was very much bettered. It is true, according to Tacitus, that woman among these tribes was the companion of her husband, and often the honored prophetess; a high ideal was maintained of female purity; and the debauchery of Rome was unknown; nevertheless the wife was under the absolute authority of her husband, and could be bought, beaten, or killed. The wife was usually bought, being rated at so many pieces of silver. The offender was required by law simply to pay the husband for the adultery of his wife, and to furnish a new wife (*Leg. Æthel.*, 32).

Christianity immediately strove to increase the sanctity of marriage. The law of Ethelred is striking: "And we direct very earnestly that every Christian man carefully avoid unlawful concubinage and rightly observe Christian law; and let it never be that a Christian man marry within the fourth degree, nor have more wives than one as long as she may live, whoever will rightly observe God's law and secure his soul from the burnings of hell" (*Lex. Æthel.*, v. II., vi., II.). The Pepin and Charlemagne capitularies

are equally strong on the indissolubility of the marriage tie, save for the cause of fornication. The Church strove likewise to root out the old venal character of marriage. The Council of Treves (1227) forbade the relations of the bride from taking money under any pretense for giving the woman in marriage. The ring is now well-nigh the only relic of the ancient *wed* or pledge that the man would fulfil his part of the money contract. France was the first to abolish tutelage.

A greater effect of Christianity on the Germanic tribes was in the mitigation and finally the suppression of personal feuds. In barbaric society individual injury was revenged on the person of the enemy, and the injured, being a member of a family or association, was protected by the association, and his wrongs regarded as wrongs done to the family. Hence arose feuds (*faida*). In the Teutonic tribes an elaborate system of fines, or amends, was arranged. Christianity agitated the subject. King Alfred, in the introduction of his laws, speaks of the ordaining of *bot*, or money fines, to repress feuds by the legislative assemblies of England as a special effort of the Christian faith. All Sundays and religious days became sacred from feuds. In the seventh and eighth centuries a confessor at shrove-tide would refuse absolution to a man at feud who would not make peace. From a Russian code of 988 A.D., we learn that "King Wladimir lived in the fear of God, and murders waxed greatly. Then spake the bishops to Wladimir: 'Murders wax greatly. Why dost thou not punish?' He answered: 'I feared injustice.' But they replied: 'Thou hast been set by God for the punishment of the wicked and for grace to the good. It becometh thee to punish the murderers, but only after much searching out.' Then Wladimir rejected *wergild* (fine), and punished the murderers."

From feuds arose private wars. A nobleman once declared war against the city of Frankfort because a lady residing there had promised a dance with his cousin, and had danced with another. The city was obliged to satisfy his wounded honor. The Margrave of Brandenburg boasted that he had burned 170 villages. A Church council held near Soissons in 909 A.D., declared "that the monasteries were burned or destroyed, the fields reduced to solitude, so that we can truly say that the sword has pierced to the very soul." Wherever feudalism went there was private war. Consequently the clergy preached "the Peace of God." In France, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, there seems to have been a sort of peace "revival," almost "a crusade of peace." Whoever broke the "Peace of God" lost his property, and was driven from among men. The peace lasted from Thursday evening to Monday morning, and included Christian feasts and other festivals. Many religious fraternities to reconcile enemies were formed in the Middle Ages. A meeting of clergy at Charons (989 A.D.) anathematized all who should plunder the poor and the clergy. The Council of Poitiers, 1004 A.D., worked for the same end. By the Council of Limoges (1031) all disputes were to be brought before the bishop and his chapter. The popes made public proclamations of peace. Almost all the councils reaffirmed this peace. In the thirteenth century Brotherhoods of the Agnus Dei worked for peace. In the same century Friar John of Vicenza traversed large portions of Italy, preaching the "Peace of God." In the fourteenth century a great religious movement for peace stirred the minds of different nations. Pilgrims with white bands around their necks (*I Bianchi*) marched through various lands preaching the duty of a Christian peace. In Germany the Church and the free cities combined, and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries largely introduced courts of arbitration under the bishop in place of feuds.

"The Peace of God"

The capitularies of Charlemagne are replete with evidence showing the effect of Christianity in the way of social reform. One of them reads: "Let peace and good intelligence rule among bishops, abbots, counts, judges, and men of all conditions, for without peace, nothing pleases the Lord." "If ye love one another, all will know ye are Christ's disciples." "Widows and orphans and minors are to be protected as under the peculiar care of God." "The true charity, which loveth God and our neighbor," is to be cultivated. The people are exhorted to peace, because "they have one Father in heaven," and because the blest book has taught them that "blessed are the peacemakers." The powerful are cautioned against the oppression of the poor, and all are exhorted to be imitators of Him who would save the souls of men. All Christians are most solemnly warned to give their utmost diligence lest they be forever separated from the kingdom of God by their strifes and contentions and falsehood and wicked vices. The laity were ordered to learn the Apostles' Creed. The stranger and far-comer were especially protected "under the injunctions in the Bible, and because such may be journeying in the service of their common Master."

Similarly indicative of the influence of Christianity are old English laws. King Alfred (about 870 A.D.) introduces his code with the ten commandments and other laws taken from the Bible. Of his laws, the king says: "These are the dooms that the Almighty God Himself spake to Moses and bade him to hold, and when the Lord's only begotten Son—that is, Christ the Healer—on middle earth came, He said that He came not these dooms to break nor to gainsay, but with all good to do and with all mildheartedness and lowly-mindedness to teach them" (Hughes's translation). "That ye will that other men do not to you, do ye not that to other men. From this one doom, a man may think that he should doom every one rightly; he need keep no other doom-book." The Saxon and early Norman laws are strict as to Sunday work. If a bondsman work on Sunday by his lord's order, the lord must pay a fine of 30*s*.; if without this order, he must be flogged. If a freeman work without his lord's order, he must forfeit his freedom or pay 60*s*. A priest pays double. In King Ethelred's dooms the Christian impulse is very strong (978 A.D.). "This, then, first, that we all love and worship one God and zealously hold one Christianity; . . . that every man be regarded as entitled to right, and that peace and friendship be carefully observed within the land before God and before the world." King Canute's laws (1017 A.D.) are similar: "Let every Christian man do as is needful for him; let him keep his Christianity," etc.

English Laws

Christianity in the Middle Ages did much for education. The Council of Vaison (529 A.D.) says: "It hath seemed good to us that priests with parishes should receive into their houses, according to a sound custom in Italy, young readers to whom they give spiritual nourishment, teaching them to study, to attach themselves to holy books, and to know the law of God." The Synod of Orleans (799) says: "Let the priests in villages and towns hold schools, in order that all the children entrusted to them can receive the first notion of letters. Let them take no money for their lessons" (*Theod.*, cap. 20). In 859 another council declared: "Let one raise everywhere public schools, that the Church of God may everywhere gather the double fruit of religion" (*Conc. Ling.*, cap. 10). The Council of Trent commands that the children of the poor have at least one master to teach poor scholars grammar gratuitously" (*Conc. Trid. occ.*). Charlemagne had already said: "Let one open schools to teach children to read; let, in every monastery, in every bishopric, some one teach psalms, writing, arithmetic, grammar, and employ correct copies of holy books; for often men seeking to pray to God, pray badly on account of the unfaithfulness of copyists" (*Cap. Ecc.*, 61–66).

All these exhortations, and there were many more, had the effect of multiplying schools. The contribution of the monasteries to education is well known. An immense quantity of manuscripts was copied. Thomas à Kempis said of this copying: "Do not trouble yourself at the fatigue of your work, for God, who is the source of every good and just labor, will give the reward, according to your efforts, in eternity. When you shall be no more, those who will read the books copied by you with elegance will pray for you; and as he who gives a glass of cold water does not lose his reward, so he who gives forth the living water of wisdom will receive more surely his recompense in heaven." All classes studied in these monastic schools, so that rich and poor were brought together on the field of learning. Nor were the popes altogether wanting to the intellectual movement.

Equally was the Church effective in behalf of liberty. Mediæval serfdom sprang from the chaos of the times. Freed slaves, finding that they could not protect themselves, preferred to join some master as land slaves. The small farmer found himself better guarded from robbers by becoming the serf of some powerful nobleman. Wealthy patrons at Rome rewarded their faithful clients by bestowing on them parcels of land in the provinces, where they were attached as *coloni* to the soil. Again, the government settled bodies of prisoners or immigrants on large districts of public land, and made them serfs to the soil. These *coloni* were considered as free born, but attached to the estate. They could not marry, nor teach their children without the consent of their lord, tho they could become priests. They had a little cottage, a little land, pasturage, and fuel, and, according to Rogers, rent free. (See SERFS.) The estate could not be sold without them, nor they sold from the estate. They paid no taxes.

Serfdom

The laws of Constantine forbade the separation of near relatives among slaves of the soil. Slavery, however, still existed. Up to the twelfth century there was an absolute power of the master over the life of the slave. For these and for the serfs the Church did much; thirty-seven Church councils are reported to have passed acts favorable to slaves. In 305 A.D. any master ill treating his slave was condemned; in 517 the murderer of a slave was excommunicated; in 549 the right of asylum in a Christian church was offered to the runaway, and slaves freed by the Church were protected; in 585 the ornaments and property of the Church were permitted to be sold for ransoming slaves; in 566 Christians were forbidden to reduce freemen to slavery; in 922 no Christian was permitted to enslave a fellow Christian; in 656 any slave compelled to work on Sundays became free by the fact, or if he were held over the font for baptism. The decree of the Council of Chalons (650 A.D.), with forty-four bishops in session, ordered that no Christian slaves should be sold outside the kingdom of Clovis, with the words: "The highest piety and religion demand that Christians should be removed entirely from the bonds of servitude." One form of manumission was, "For fear of Almighty God and for the cure of my soul I liberate thee, and may the angel of our Lord Jesus Christ deem me worthy of a place among His saints." Another form was, "I, in the name of God, thinking of the love of God, or eternal retribution, . . . do free this slave from the bonds of servi-

tude." In the eleventh century the Emperor Conrad speaks of the sale of human beings as a thing nefarious and detestable to God and man (*Pertz.*, xi., 38). In the fourteenth century the Count of Valois, brother of Philip the Beautiful, freed the serfs of his *comté* with the words: "As the human creature who has been formed in the image of our Lord ought to be free by natural right, . . . let these men and women be free. . . ." In 1256 the city of Bologna freed all its serfs, paying an indemnity to their masters, closing the decree with these remarkable words: "The city of Bologna, which has always combated for liberty, remembering the past, and its eyes fixt on the future, in honor of our Savior Jesus Christ, hath ransomed all the serfs on its territory, and decreeth that it would not suffer there a man not free" (*Istoria di Bologna, Girarhacci*, quoted by Laurent Sugenheim and von Raümer, vol. iii., p. 168). In Germany, the "Sachsenspiegel," or Mirror, the code of the thirteenth century, is full of the traces of the influence of Christianity against slavery. The Lord is said to have "put rich and poor equally under His love." Slavery is declared to have its origin "from unjust captivity," and, quoting the Bible, the law affirms that man belongs to God alone, and "whoever holds him as slave, sins against the power of the Almighty."

Slavery

One of the first Christian kings of Norway, Knut the Holy, at the end of the eleventh century publicly proclaimed that slavery should be abolished. By 1214 it had almost ceased, and by the fourteenth century there are no traces of it. In Sweden, King Magnus Eriksen, 1335, made a similar proclamation. In England, as upon the Continent, slavery arose from many causes—birth, captivity, punishment, poverty. Thousands of Britons, in the first century after the Norman conquest, sold themselves into thraldom. Children were sold by their parents. Bristol was the great slave market, and there might be seen long trains of British youths and maidens —the latter often received for the sake of selling their offspring—all to be sold either to Ireland or to foreign countries. One authority says that from Ethelwolf to William I., for 230 years, a great part of the English peasantry became reduced to slavery. By the Doomsday Book (1068–71 A.D.), the number of male slaves in Sussex was 9,200, which would make the whole number about 50,000, while the freemen were only about 38,000. In the whole of England there seems to have been 25,000 slaves, 89,000 serfs, and 110,000 villeins. There is proof that slaves were branded and yoked as cattle.

Christianity strove against this evil. Bishop Wulfstan, of Worcester, about 1086, came yearly to Bristol and spent several months preaching against the slave trade. Edward the Confessor, 974 A.D., said of Christian brotherhood: "We have all one heavenly Father and one spiritual mother, which is called Ecclesia —that is, God's church—and therefore are we brothers." St. Aidan, of Northumbria, ransomed slaves. Bishop Wilfred, having received an estate with 250 Christian slaves, emancipated them. Laws were enacted in behalf of the slaves, but always on a Christian basis. Some of these we have seen. A female slave led into sin by her master, by that act became free. The Seven Years' Jubilee, taken from the Jewish system, did much to destroy slavery in England. Under William I. the law forbade the slave trade. A council in London (1102), called by Anselm, forbade absolutely the nefarious business of selling human beings like brute beasts. The chivalry of the Middle Ages owes much to Christianity. The initiation of the knight was essentially religious; his ideals were largely so. His first oath was often "to fortify and defend the Christian religion to the uttermost of my power." Similarly the crusades and much of the life of the first period of the military orders like the Knights Templars were largely influenced and formed by Christianity, and were undoubtedly for good. The effect of the monastic life upon equality is noticed under the article COMMUNISM. Christianity and the Church did far more for civil liberty than is usually recognized. It should not be forgotten that Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, was the main instrumentality in forcing from King John the priceless Magna Charta. For the part played by John Ball and Wycliffe, "poor priests," see JOHN BALL. The social influences of Savonarola in Italy, who can estimate? The democracy of the Church certainly influenced the political movement.

Slavery in England

THE PERIOD OF THE REFORMATION

The first social effect of the Protestant Reformation, with its emphasis upon the right of private judgment, salvation by personal faith, the worth of the individual soul, was the outbreak of a struggle for social freedom. In this struggle Germany took the lead. (See PEASANTS' REVOLT.) Many associations among the peasants were formed. One is spoken of on the Upper Rhine, which had a banner with a picture of Christ crucified, before whom knelt a serf with the legend, "Nothing but God's justice." The Swabian peasants, in the insurrection of 1525, said: "It hath been the custom till now to hold us for serfs, which is a pity, seeing that Christ hath bought us and redeemed us with His blood;" and, "It is found in the Holy Writ that we are free, and we . . . desire to be free. . . . We would have God as our Lord, and know our brother in our neighbor." The fourth article claims on religious grounds the use of wild game and wood from the forests. In conclusion, say the peasants, "If any of these articles are opposed to Holy Writ, and this can be proven to us, we will give them up. The peace of Christ be with us all." The peasants on the Neckar claimed under the emperor an absolute equality for all men. "All worldly lords are to be reformed, so that the poor cannot be burdened by them beyond the rules of Christian freedom; the same law is to be for the highest and lowest." "All cities and parishes are to be reformed in divine and natural rights, after the principles of Christian freedom." (See also ANABAPTISTS; CHRISTIAN COMMUNISM, etc.) Such was the first social result of the Reformation. But it did not endure. The leaders of Protestantism soon became too much engaged in the discussion of doctrines to lay great stress upon social rights. Protestantism became "other worldliness." It is not to be denied that the preaching of the right of private judgment and the value of the individual had far-spreading social and political influence. John Fiske says of Calvin: "The spiritual father of Coligny, of William the Silent, and of Cromwell, must occupy a foremost rank among the champions of modern democracy." Liberty owes indeed a great debt to Protestantism, however much Protestants hung and burned and tortured those who did not believe with them according to the spirit of the times. Plymouth Rock is a truer outcome of Protestantism than the persecution of the Salem witches. In the words of Cromwell, "They that trusted God for the liberty of conscience could venture life for the liberty of country." Protestantism against Romanism meant to Protestants, very largely, liberty against absolutism. Nevertheless, Protestantism soon turned against the common people. Luther was against the German peasants. Others than Milton found that "new presbyter was but old priest writ large." Protestantism had stood for political liberty, but not for social reform. What Christianity did for social reform up to the Reformation was accomplished largely through the Church. Since then it has been mainly through individuals, in spite of the Church. The Reformation produced in the Church of Rome, it is true, somewhat of a counter reformation, yet the effect upon her, as upon the Protestant mind, was mainly doctrinal, and the Church, both Protestant and Roman, largely forgot to apply its Christianity. The opening of the new world, and especially of the gold mines of the New World produced a revival of greed and of mammon worship, and led to the horrors of a modern slave traffic, that has endured 400 years. The first considerable cargo of slaves seems to have been bought in 1444, under Prince Henry of Portugal, by a Portuguese captain from the coast of Guinea. Charles V. granted in 517 a monopoly to Governor de Bresa to import 4,000 negroes during eight years into the Spanish colonies, but in 1542 the monopoly covered 23,000 slaves. In 1700 a Spanish treaty with a Portuguese company of Guinea stipulated to furnish 10,000 *tons* of negroes. The treaty of Utrecht (1713) gave Great Britain a monopoly in the slave trade for thirty years, from 1713–43, and during this period the British Government agreed to import 144,000 negroes of both sexes into Spanish America at 33⅓ piasters per head. The British slave trade began under Queen Elizabeth. Certain statutes of William declared that "the trade was highly beneficial and advantageous to the kingdom, and to the plantations and colonies thereunto belonging." Between 1752 and 1762, it is estimated that 71,115 slaves were imported into Jamaica alone. During two centuries the Spanish Government concluded more than ten treaties "in the name of the most Holy Trinity," which authorized the sale of more than 500,000 human beings. The first ship which sailed from England in 1562, under Sir John Hawkins, to buy slaves in Africa and sell them in the West Indies, bore the name of *Jesus*. In 1807 Lord Eldon said in Parliament: "It [the slave trade] has been sanctioned by Parliament, wherein sat jurisconsults the most wise, theologians the most enlightened, statesmen the most eminent." Bancroft estimates that for one century previous to 1776, 3,250,000 negroes were torn from Africa by Great Britain alone, of whom 250,000 perished in the Atlantic from the horrors of the "middle passage," where they were chained between decks so low that they could not stand up, the living often chained to the dead. Helps estimates that from 1519–1807, between five and six millions of negroes were carried as slaves from Africa to America by various European powers. The American colonies protested against it, Oglethorpe, the great founder of Georgia, declaring that they prohibited it in that colony "because it is against the Gospel, as well as against the fundamental law of England." Within two years, however, the inhabitants petitioned for slaves. Protestantism and Romanism have thus the terrible stain to bear of the approval of slavery. Yet it should not be forgotten that it was mainly Christian thought that finally broke up the slave traffic and slavery itself. The Society of Friends or Quakers, both in England and America, was the first modern body of Christians to denounce and oppose slavery. As early as 1675 the devoted missionary, John Eliot, in Massachusetts, spoke against slavery, and in 1701 a petition against slavery was presented to the representatives of Boston. Among the Friends who opposed it in the eighteenth century should be mentioned Benezet and John Woolman. The

In Germany

Slavery

The Antislavery Movement

great divines Wesley and Whitefield preached against it. Dr. Hopkins, a Congregational clergyman of Rhode Island, distinguished himself by his efforts against it, till in 1774 Rhode Island gave up the traffic, and in 1784 abolished slavery. The Society of Friends was, however, the only religious body which as a whole forbade the holding of slaves. The early abolition societies all took religious ground. "Nearly all," says Wilson, the historian of the slave power (vol. i., p. 230), "who engaged in the formation of antislavery societies were members of Christian churches." In Great Britain the opposition to slavery came equally from Christian men, notably Baxter, Bishop Warburton, Paley, Wesley, Bishop Porteus, Whitefield, and others. The first petition to Parliament against the slave trade (in 1776) was based on the religious ground "that the slave trade is contrary to the laws of God and the rights of man." The slave trade was abolished in the British Empire, 1806–7. The United States had included their judgment on the slave trade in the Constitution, but adjourned the final abolition till 1807. In England anti-slavery sentiment rose till in 1833 England abolished slavery, paying £20,000,000 to the planters as indemnity. In the United States early Church conferences denounced slavery. The Presbyterian Synod in 1787 "recommended to all their people to use the most prudent measures, consistent with the interests and state of civil society in the countries where they live, to procure eventually the final abolition of slavery in America." In 1818 it pronounced slavery "utterly inconsistent with the law of God . . . and totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of Christ." Congregationalists and Unitarians went even further. The Methodist Episcopal Church in 1780 plainly condemned the system of human bondage. In 1800 the annual conference was directed to prepare an address favoring gradual emancipation. But the words were finally removed, and this was added, "Let all our preachers, from time to time, as occasion serves, admonish and exhort all slaves to render due respect and obedience to the commands and interests of their respective masters."

But the conflict was as irrepressible in the Methodist Church as it afterward proved to be in the nation. At the General Conference of 1844, which was held in the city of New York, the contention took an extremely angry form. It centered upon the personal relations of one of the bishops of the Church (Andrew), who had come into the possession of slaves by a marriage which was contracted after he entered the episcopate. It was his wish and intention to resign, but he was overruled by the Southern delegates. They finally called a convention of delegates from the Southern conferences, which met at Louisville, Ky., in 1845. This body took formal action, separating itself from the Northern churches. Many discerning minds regarded this action as prophetic of the same results in the organic life of the nation.

The Irrepressible Conflict

But it was true nevertheless that from 1830 to 1850 the churches as a whole were subservient to the slave power. Dr. Albert Barnes said, "There is no power out of the Church that could sustain slavery an hour if it were not sustained in it." Judge Birney called "the American churches the bulwarks of American slavery." Yet there were individual churches and not a few clergymen that battled for abolition. The clergyman Lovejoy was killed for advocating abolition. Garrison and Phillips were strong in Christian sentiment. At one meeting in Illinois more than thirty clergymen attended and opposed the introduction of slavery into that state. During the struggle in 1823, which prevented Illinois from becoming a slave state, the clergymen were almost as one man against slavery. But whatever the position of the churches, it is not too much to say that Christianity put down slavery.

For the other social effects of modern Christianity, see CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM; but Christianity, if not the Church, has had at least its part to play in the gradual emancipation of woman, in the condemnation of war, the favoring of arbitration, in the care of the wounded in war, the condemnation of dueling, in prison reform, in the creation of hospitals and charities of every kind, and in temperance reform.

II.—Christian Sociology

The first note of Christianity in relation to society is that it is world-wide and international. It knows "neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ all and in all." It taught Peter to call no man common or unclean, "that God is no respecter of persons, but that in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him" (Acts x. 34). It led Paul, once a Pharisee of the Pharisees, to write to the Ephesians, "Now, therefore, ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God" (Eph. ii. 19). It taught the Christian Church the unity of the faith—"One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all and through all, and in you all" (Eph. iv. 5, 6). One Lord Jesus Christ, "of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named" (Eph. iii. 15). Hence Christians of every age, however they have explained it, have believed in "the holy Catholic Church," "the communion (literally the communism, κοινωνία) of the saints," the unity of believers, the kingdom of God. Thus Christianity, at least till the Protestant Reformation, in Catholic countries, and even under Protestant denominationalism, in a deeper-lying unity, has ever stood for the unity of man in Christ. Says Bishop Barry:

World-wide

"The Catholic [not Roman] Church is a universal society, which knows no distinction of age and physical circumstance, no distinction of peoples, nations, and languages. It is no castle in the air, no mere promise of a future heaven. It is a living reality now, obviously the one, ever-growing international society; already realizing by its Bible read and its Christian worship offered in some 200 languages, the sign of Pentecost, and always advancing toward its future heritage of the world of humanity. This great unity . . . underlies all special, local, temporary characteristics; its communion is a communion of saints; its one universal tie is the indwelling of the Spirit of God; . . . its means and pledges of unity are the sacraments of communion with Him" ("Lectures on Christianity and Socialism," p. 13). Canon Fremantle's "Bampton Lectures" (1883) bring out still more plainly the unity of the Church "as a moral and social power, present, universal, capable of transforming the whole life of mankind, and destined to accomplish this purpose." The Church he calls "the social state in which the spirit of Christ reigns, embracing the general life and society of men, and identifying itself with these as much as possible, as having for its object to imbue all human relations with the spirit of Christ's self-renouncing love, and thus to change the world into a kingdom of God."

This makes the field of Christianity the world, and identifies with the coming of God's kingdom *any* advance in unity and in love. Says Canon Fremantle: "All goodness is essentially one, and therefore essentially Christian." The coming of love in all human relations is thus the coming of God's kingdom. Canon Fremantle therefore calls the Jewish Church a training in national righteousness. The early Christian Church he considers the beginnings of the universal society. The imperial and medieval Church a united Christendom attempted. The medieval theory of Christendom he thus states: "Christendom forms one great whole, in which there are two chief functionaries, the Pope and the Emperor, each in a different way its head. Each power is instituted by God. The one is to rule over man bodily, the other over his spiritual interests. Both spring from the old Roman Empire, which, having become Christian, was at once empire and Church. The two powers must support each other, both mutually necessary. The emperor sanctions the pope's election, the pope crowns the emperor; the emperor protects the pope and the clergy and the spiritual courts, and these in return support the authority of the emperor over his subjects. This theory," says Canon Fremantle, "tho it did not wholly correspond to the facts, had much in it, considered as an ideal, which was sound." It explains much of the crusades, is the key to Dante's "De Monarchia," gives rise to both a Frederick Barbarossa and a Hildebrand. It gave to the world an Alfred the Great, a St. Louis, a Savonarola. The Reformation was largely a reaction toward individualism, but still it was full of efforts toward a Christianized society; and in England especially toward a Christian nationalism.

Its Field all Life

Christianity to-day is drawing together the lines of Chris-

tendom. Canon Fremantle sees its unity and universality in (1) public worship, not as a separate cult, but as seeking to raise the tone of the general life; (2) the family, the social unit; (3) knowledge, the education of all; (4) art, which must be national and popular, to gladden, not individuals, but mankind; (5) society, which must acknowledge its stewardship; (6) trade, which must learn cooperation; (7) the nation, the constitutional and organic form of the Christian spirit; (8) the universal Church or universal State, to be attained through arbitration, international law, international congresses, and federation. Into all these channels the spirit of Christianity is more and more being poured. This is Christianity leading to international socialism.

But, more definitely, what does Christianity teach as to social reform?

First, that humanity is to come into a unity of brotherly love, *not* by building up some new scheme of universal brotherhood, but by the recognition that mankind *is* to-day a unit in the common Fatherhood of God, and may through Christ enter into united life. It denies that society can be "made anew by arrangements"; it believes that it is to be regenerated "by finding the law and ground of its order and harmony the only secret of its existence in God" (Maurice). This is the first social message of Christianity—"Return to God." Carlyle saw the need when he wrote, "The beginning and the end of what is the matter with us in these days is that we have forgotten God." Mazzini saw it when he wrote to the working men of the world, "The source of your duties is in God," and contended that agitation conducted in the name of the rights of man had brought in up to the present day simply an increase of selfishness and individual competition. When we accept God, we have the basis and possibility of union. "There can be no brotherhood without a common father," wrote Maurice. "From that time began Jesus Christ to preach and to say, Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." To return to God is the first step in Christian sociology.

The Brotherhood of Man

Second, Christianity declares that to do this Christ is *the Way*. "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life; no man cometh unto the Father, but by me." This is the second sociologic position of Christianity, that Christ is the elder brother, the Way, the leader into brotherhood. This, as we have already seen, Christ came to be —the fulfiller of the law. He is the King made manifest, the King in man, the King on earth, the head of the body. The way to realize human brotherhood and unity is not alone to discuss Christ's divinity, but to accept His mastership, to become His follower, to join His kingdom. This is to be a Christian. Men realize this in personal salvation; but it is equally to be realized in social salvation. For Christians, He is "the Man," and He must be the solution of all human problems. That is the primal creed. Not only is He, as the "Man of Sorrows," the Brother and Comforter of all who are weary and heavy-laden; not only are the poor His peculiar charge and treasure, but more than that: He is Himself, in His risen and ascended royalty, the sum of all human endeavor, the interpretation of all human history, the goal of all human growth, the bond of all human brotherhood.

Christ the Way

Third, it is a *spiritual* way. "Ye must be born again" is true of society as well as of individuals: the third point in Christian sociology. A nation's life must be from the spiritual to the material, from the inner to the outer, till all be spiritual. Not by law material but by law spiritual does God's kingdom come. This does not mean that we are only to build up God's kingdom by spiritualizing individuals alone. It was not Christ's method (see article Christ and Social Reform). We must spiritualize all life—the body, the city, the State, the nation. This is the distinctive function of the Church. The national Church should be the *soul* of the nation, into which and through which God's *Spirit* may come to the nation.

A Spiritual Way

Fourth, if Christian sociology consists in society's obeying, through spiritual life, the social law of Christ, we must know that law. It is simple.

"Then one of them, which was a lawyer, asked Him a question, tempting Him, and saying,

"Master, which is the great commandment in the law?

"Jesus said unto him, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind.

"This is the first and great commandment.

"And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.

"On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets" (Matt. xxii. 34–40).

The Social Law

Says Professor Ely: "This is a most remarkable, and at the same time a most daring summary of the whole duty of man. A human teacher would never have ventured to reduce all God's commandments to two simple statements; nor would such a teacher have presumed to exalt man's obligation to love and serve his fellows to an equal plane with his obligations to love his Creator. All false systems of religion exalt the love of God above the love due our fellow men, and tell us that we may serve God by injuring our fellows. How many millions of human beings have thought that they did God service by human sacrifice!

"The second commandment, which is like the first, means that in every act and thought and purpose, in our laws and in their administration, in all public as well as private affairs, we —if indeed we profess to be Christians—should seek to confer true benefits upon our fellow men. It means that the man who professes to love God and who attempts to deceive others in regard to the real value of railway stock, or, for that matter, any other property, that he may coax their money into his pockets, is a hypocrite and a liar. It means that the man who oppresses the hireling in his wages is no Christian, but a pagan, whatever may be his declarations to the contrary notwithstanding. What does God say of such an one? He says: 'I will be a swift witness against those that oppress the hireling in his wages.' What does His second commandment mean for those rich men who keep back the hire of their laborers? It means that they 'must' weep and howl 'for the miseries that shall come upon them.' And what does this message mean for monopolists who use their superior advantages of wealth or intellect or bodily strength or other resources, to crowd out and grind down their fellows according to the methods of modern commercial competition? The prophet Isaiah shall tell us: 'Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth.'

"It is needless to enlarge upon this. It must be seen that the arrangements of this world are not in accord with the commandment given to love our neighbors as ourselves."

Fifth, the interpretation of this is the *Cross*. The Cross cannot be removed from Christian sociology. There can be no obeying Christ without sacrifice. *Via crucis, via lucis*. "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me." This is the fifth point in Christian sociology. It is the only way to fulfil love. *Love* is the *leaving* of self, the *living* in others. Love and life and sacrifice are one. It is thus indeed that we most truly gain. But if we love and deny ourselves *for the sake of gain*, we do not love. "Whosoever shall seek to save his life shall lose it." Christian sociology is finding one's true individuality in losing it in the life of all. Therefore, luxurious

The Cross

bishops and priests and ministers cannot teach Christian sociology, for their lives give the lie to their words. We must become poor, if we would make the many rich.

Sixth, we come to more detailed questions. They can only be answered by those who have long passed the merely sentimental assertion that Christ is all in all, and have set themselves to the solid task of discovering what that solemn truth really and precisely means, and have worked it down into the concrete facts, and have surveyed and estimated the full need of the circumstances and striven to make clear to themselves what is the first step, and what the second, and the third, if that great royalty of Christ is, in very deed, ever to be made good here on earth, amid men as they are, and after a history such as they have hitherto had.

(*a*) Christianity must demand in some form the opening of all the earth, including all natural advantages, to all God's children equally. *How* may be a question of political and economic method (see LAND), but in some form it must be accomplished. Equity, brotherhood, and the declaration of Christ demand it. That private *property* in land was forbidden, and every Jew entitled to the *use* of land by the Jewish theocracy, is indisputable; that Christ came to fulfil the law and the prophets can no more be denied. That we must follow their *method* is not certain, but that in some way Christianity must bring to the world what Judaism required of the Jew can be denied by no Christian.

(*b*) Christianity demands that love and not competition be the law of trade. The golden rule must be made the rule for gold. "Competition," said Maurice, "is put forth as the law of the universe. This is a lie. The time is come to declare it is a lie by word and deed." This means that *in some form* Christianity implies SOCIALISM. Said Laveleye: "Every Christian who understands and earnestly accepts the teachings of his Master is at heart a Socialist; and any Christian who opposes what is commonly known as Christian Socialism misunderstands Christ, or Socialism, or both." The inference is not, of course, that Christianity must be committed to State Socialism, but society to be Christian must in all ways conform to the law of cooperation.

(*c*) Christianity demands that every man able to work should work. Not otherwise can he follow the Carpenter of Nazareth. "If any man would not work, neither should he eat" is the injunction of well-nigh the oldest Christian epistle.

The Law of Labor

(*d*) It follows from this and from the whole spirit of Christianity that we are not to live upon the work of others by usury. (For the detail of this argument, see USURY.)

(*e*) Christianity demands the enthronement of the family, in the abiding unity in love of one man and one woman. "And I say unto you, whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery; and whoso marrieth her which is put away, doth commit adultery." These words of Christ, with all they imply, are fundamental to Christian sociology (see FAMILY).

(*f*) Lastly, Christian sociology demands that the Christian go into the details of all political, social, and industrial life of every kind, and bring them into subjection to Christ. Only so shall we be His disciples. "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom, but he that doeth the will of my Father, which is in heaven."

Christ's spoken ordinances do not go into all these details. Christianity is not a system of ordinances. But it is a life, and into these details the Christian life must go. (For different views, see CHRIST AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

REFERENCES: Among the best books are *Gesta Christi*, by C. L. Brace; *Arius the Libyan*, by N. C. Koun; *The World as the Subject of Redemption*, by Canon Fremantle; *Social Aspects of Christianity*, by R. T. Ely; *Social Morality*, by F. D. Maurice; *Christian Socialism*, by P. W. Sprague; *My Religion*, and *What to Do*, by Tolstoy; *Social Aspects of Christianity*, by Bishop Westcott; *Social and Present Day Questions*, by Canon Farrar; *The Christian Society*, by G. D. Herron; *Christian Sociology*, by J. H. W. Stuckenberg; *Lessons from the Cross*, and *Laws of Eternal Life*, by S. D. Headlam. (See also CHRIST AND SOCIAL REFORM; CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

CHURCH ARMY: This is a mission of the Church of England, originated in the year 1882, for the benefit of the working classes. It is governed by a committee within the Church, some of the bishops being members thereof. The membership approaches almost a thousand, consisting of workers of both sexes. It extends throughout the kingdom, having also branches in the United States and in other English-speaking lands. The mission is divided into two departments, one of which, the evangelical, chooses suitable persons and trains them, free of expense to themselves, to become teachers and speakers in Christian doctrine and mission nurses. The other department, the social branch, seeks to help the downfallen, the outcast, the homeless, by labor and by every other means possible. The Army possesses nearly 120 houses for the lodging of the working people in London, as well as in the provinces. There are test farms at Essex, Hempstead, Newdigate, and Surrey. They also assist in the matter of emigration. There are also homes for boys and for girls; for first offenders and for persons addicted to intoxication. There is also an Aid Society for convicts. The Society for the Houseless Poor, which was established in 1819, is now under the charge of the Army. Over 400,000 men, women, and boys were cared for by the mission in the year 1905, some 60 per cent having turned out well. *Chief Secretary*, Prebendary Carlile. *Address*: 55 Bryanston Street, London, W., England.

CHURCH ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF LABOR, THE: This society, commonly known as "C. A. I. L.," was founded in 1887, in New York City, by communicants of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The Rt. Rev. F. D. Huntington, Bishop of central New York, was elected president. It was felt that the Church should take active measures to show her sympathy with the laboring classes in their struggle for justice, and C. A. I. L grew out of a desire to carry this sympathy into effect. Its principles are as follows:

The Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, believing that the clergy and laity of the Church should become personally interested in the social questions now being agitated, should inform themselves of the nature of the issues presented, and should be prepared to act as the necessities of the day may demand, sets forth the following principles and methods of work for its members:

(1) It is of the essence of the teachings of Jesus Christ that God is the Father of all men, and that all men are brothers.

(2) God is the sole possessor of the earth and its fulness; man is but the steward of God's bounties.

(3) Labor being the exercise of body, mind, and spirit in the broadening and elevating of human life, it is the duty of every man to labor diligently.

(4) Labor, as thus defined, should be the standard of social worth.
(5) When the divinely intended opportunity to labor is given to all men, one great cause of the present widespread suffering and destitution will be removed.

More than sixty bishops of the Church are honorary vice-presidents. Communicants of the Church are eligible for membership, and others willing to work with the society may become associate members. The society has an official Organ, *Hammer and Pen*, the only Church labor paper in the United States. The association has standing committees on promotion of peace, organized labor, investigation of strikes, sweatshops, and tenement houses, looking to the reform of abuses. In connection with the ACTORS' CHURCH ALLIANCE it also takes an active interest in looking after the relations between the Church and the Stage. The association was one of the pioneer societies to introduce arbitration of industrial disputes in the United States; and it has been particularly active against the evils of the sweat-shop system, notably in New York City. President, Rt. Rev. Henry C. Potter, D.D.; secretary and organizer, Miss Harriette A. Keyser, Church Mission House, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM: The influence of Christianity on social reform has been discussed in its alphabetical place. It seems necessary, however, to consider the relations of the Church to social reform in an article by itself; first, because very many make a sharp distinction between Christianity and the Church, and, secondly, because all are agreed upon the immense power wielded by the Church, be it for evil or for good, in the advancement or retardation of social reform. The subject is considered under the following heads: (1) The apostolic Church; (2) The primitive Church after Apostolic days; (3) the medieval Church; (4) from the Reformation to the present time; (5) the modern Church; (6) what the Church could do.

I.—The Apostolic Church

The Church is here considered as commencing with the apostles and their followers in the upper chamber at Jerusalem. (For the beginnings of the Church in the Hebrew theocracy, and the relations of that theocracy to social reform, see JUDAISM; for the teachings of Christ in regard to society, see CHRIST AND SOCIAL REFORM.) That the Church, as organized in Jerusalem, had vital relation to social life needs no reiteration. (See COMMUNISM.) The indisputable record is that the members had "all things in common," and that to each was given "according as any man had need." It may, however, be necessary to point out that this was not an accident or mere passing incident in the history of the apostolic Church, born of the enthusiasm of its first love, but rather the necessary and logical result of the very character and nature of the Church. The first Christians of Jerusalem were drawn from among the Jews or from among the proselytes to the Jewish faith, the "strangers within the gates." They were therefore familiar with the social teachings and requirements of the Jewish law and the Jewish scriptures. Any one who knows what these were—their care for the afflicted, the opprest, the fatherless and the widow, their minute directions as to the organization of social life, their provisions for securing land *in perpetuo* to every individual for *use*, while in ownership it was held as belonging to God, their prohibition of usury and oppression in every form, and, *above all*, the recognition of all this as binding because it was *the law of God*, to be taught, upheld, and enforced by the institutes and officers of the national religion—any one, we say, who at all realizes this cannot wonder that the first act of the first Christian Church was to apply its pentecostal love to the conduct and the ordering of property and of the social life. Jesus Christ had enforced this spirit. He had taught both by word and deed that He had come as a King, with authority over all life, social as well as spiritual. He had fed the hungry, healed the sick, raised the dead. He had entered Jerusalem as a King. He had in every word taught of the kingdom of heaven as the great summation of His life and as near at hand, on earth as truly as in heaven. (See CHRIST AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

The Church of the Upper Chamber

Yet it must be also noted that this so-called communism of the Church of Jerusalem was not one of law and of requirement. Love was the fulfilling of the law. The incident of Ananias and Sapphira (Acts v. 1–11) shows that there was no *requirement* to renounce private property in land or houses. Until the disciples had given property to the Church, their property remained their own. It was only out of their *love* that "as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them and brought the prices of the things that were sold and laid them down at the apostles' feet, and distribution was made unto every man, according as he had need."

Nor are we to think of it as peculiar to the Church at Jerusalem. While it is true that we do not know so much of the communism of any other Church, and while but little has come down to us in any way of the life of other Christian churches of the first century, the indications nevertheless are strongly against the communism of the Jerusalem Church being exceptional. All that we know points to its *not* being exceptional. In the Book of the Acts and in the Epistles there are abundant references to the life of love as carried on in these other churches. We have Dorcas, or Tabitha, at Joppa (Acts ix. 36) "full of good works." Paul writes to the Corinthians (2 Cor. ix. 7) about giving to the poor. He praises the Christians of Macedonia (2 Cor. viii. 2) for giving almost beyond their power. He orders the churches both at Galatia and Corinth (1 Cor. xvi. 2) to lay by a store for charity "on the first day of the week," as each person was prospered. St. James declares that "pure religion and undefiled before our God and Father is this: to visit the fatherless and widows in affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world." We read of the churches at Troas (Acts xx. 6) and at Corinth holding *agapæ* or love-feasts, where they came together to break bread. Jude 12 indicates that this was a common custom in all the churches. 1 Tim. v. 10 indicates the duty of the widow (or deaconess) to wash the saints' feet, entertain strangers, bring up children, relieve the afflicted. Hospitality is continually urged. The slave is to be treated as "a brother beloved" (Philemon 16). If it be said that the fact that St. Paul took up a collection for the poor saints at Jerusalem is indicative of a peculiar condition in that Church, and

Primitive Christianity

that their communism and giving up of private property had brought them into special poverty, it may be said, on the other hand, that the Church at Jerusalem was under notorious and excessive persecution, as during the first century the churches throughout the rest of the Roman Empire were not. It appears (cf. Heinrici, "The Christian Church of Corinth" and the "Religious Communities of the Greeks" in the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1876, iv.; Uhlhorn's "Christian Charity in the Ancient Church," and the whole of C. Osborn Ward's "The Ancient Lowly"), that as soon as the Church emerges into recognized form, its legal position in the Roman Empire was as a *collegium*, very much resembling the *collegia tenuiorum*, or sodalities of the poor, organized to collect contributions for the poor or for special ends, such as burial, etc. For a full account of these, see GILDS; but we must here note the similarity between these and the early churches in their social life.

Tertullian uses the same words, *steps* and *arca*, for the contribution and contribution chest of the Church as were technically employed in the *collegia* for their collections. These *collegia* had their presiding officers, or *magistri*, their meeting places, more or less humble, according to their wealth. They had regular meeting times and dues for various purposes, mainly of benefit, but sometimes for carousals. They had banquets or meals together. Some of them had considerable wealth, lands, houses, etc., being donated to them by wealthy members or patrons. On appointed days there were *sportula*, or distributions of bread, wine, or money among the members. Members were called brothers and sisters, and their presiding officers fathers and mothers (for there were women among them as truly as men). It is evident how close these were in resemblance to the social organization of the Church at Jerusalem, with its contributions, its officers, its gifts of houses and land, its common meals, its organized distribution "in the daily ministration" to the widows and those in need. Now if these *collegia*, so exactly in this respect like the Church in Jerusalem, existed through all the empire, as seems proven, and that legally all the churches were regarded as *collegia*, and used the very technical terms of the *collegia*, does it not indicate almost beyond a doubt that the picture given in the acts of the Church at Jerusalem is a picture of every Church in the apostolic days? The Church, even in apostolic days, was by no means immaculate; it was *being* saved, not wholly sanctified; but its very essence and its inmost spirit was a life of brotherhood and of practical love upon this earth.

II.—The Primitive Church after Apostolic Days

We come here into fuller light, and may treat the subject in detail, dividing it into parts, considering, first, the spirit of *equality* and of *brotherhood* that prevailed in the primitive Church.

The Roman Empire was full of poverty and distress. Slavery was universal. Uhlhorn estimates that at Rome under Augustus there were 580,000 proletarians needing support to 90,000 senators, knights, soldiers, and traders not needing support, and this does not include the slaves, who constituted the mass of the population. (See CITIES.) At Athens at one time, according to some historians, there were 400,000 slaves to 31,000 citizens; according to others 200,000 to 100,000. In Italy, according to Blair, there were under Claudius nearly 30,000,000 slaves to 7,000,000 freemen; and tho these figures may be too high, the slave population was, according to all, in an immense majority. This, of course, meant widespread suffering beneath a corrupt aristocracy of enormous wealth.

Spirit of Equality

The working class lived, and little more. Mommsen reckons the Roman bushel of wheat at 1 denarius, and this was the usual day's wage. Meat was proportionally dear. Diocletian fixt the price of beef and mutton at about thirty cents the kilogram, and a fowl at the same price. A modest dwelling in the upper stories of one of the large lodging-houses at Rome came to about $80 a year. On the other hand, the wealth of the few was enormous. The augur, Cnæus Lentulus, and Narcissus, Nero's freedman, were said to own $22,000,000. *Latifundia* were growing. Cæcilius, a freedman of Augustus, left in his will, Pliny tells us, 4,116 slaves. It is true that this does not indicate either such wealth on the part of the rich, or such poverty on the part of the laborer as we have to-day; but the worst of the slave condition under the Roman Empire was the lack of civil or moral standing: the slave could be sold, killed, violated, thrown to the fish at pleasure with impunity. Such was the society in which the Christian Church took root. In CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM we have traced the influence of Christianity upon the laws and organized society, and have shown how it gradually overthrew slavery. Here we are simply concerned with what the *Church* did directly as a church. The Church spread at first, it is evident, mainly among the slaves and the oppress. Hence it was powerless directly to affect the legislation of proud emperors and senators, but it did welcome the slave to its fold as an equal and it did practise brotherhood among men. It taught that, being descended from one Father, all men were equal. "We are all born alike, both emperors and beggars," said an early Christian writer (*Brevarium in Psalt.*, in opp. Hieron., vol. ii., p. 233). "Thou sayest that thy father is consul and thy mother holy and good," says Chrysostom; "What does it matter to me? Show me thy own life, for it is only by that I can be able to judge of thy nobility" (Or. *in terræ motum et Lazarum*, § 6, vol. i., p. 782). Man is "the great work of God" (Ambrose, *Sermo* 10, in Ps. cxviii.). "The world is a vast republic, a great family of God's children," writes Tertullian (*Apol.* xxxviii.). The *whole* of Christianity the early Church found in charity rather than in hope or faith (*Zeno Veron*, Book I., tract 2, p. 111). Chrysostom put it above fasts or solitary penances. Love, gentleness, almsgiving, are greater, according to him, than celibacy (*Hom.* I., in Matt., § 7). "Love on earth must be without thought of earthly profit or heavenly recompense" (Orig., *Contra Cels.*, I., 67, vol. i., p. 382). Gregory Nazianzen says: "Rich and poor, strong and weak, servant and freeman, have one only Head, from whom everything comes, Christ Jesus. What the members of the body are for each other, each among us is for his brothers, and all for each" (Greg. Naz., *Or.* 16, vol. i., p. 243). Of this unity the *agapæ*, or love-feasts, were symbols. "Here they brought the poor and the needy" (*Constit. Apost.*, II., 28, p. 243). The Church Augustine calls "a spiritual republic in the midst of a pagan society" (*De opere Monach*, chap. xv., vol. vi., p. 363).

Spirit of Brotherhood

At first the Christian Church did not favor monasticism. Their communism was not like that of the Essenes. "Christians," says one, "are not distinguished from other nations either by language, dress, or habits. They do not shut themselves up in particular towns, but live where they were born, in the midst of Greeks or barbarians. They are different from pagans in conduct, and their life is altogether distinct" (*Ep. ad. Diogn.*, chap. iii., p. 237). They honored the magistrates and prayed for them, and for the emperor, who was their earthly head, as Jesus Christ was head in the kingdom of God (Polyc. *Ep.*, chap. xii., p. 191; Just., M., l. c.; Athenag., *Leg.*, chap. xxxvii., p. 313). The Christians obeyed all laws save those which compromised their faith, such as giving divine honors to the emperors, bowing before idols, swearing by their genii. Here they were inflexible. The aged Polycarp, summoned by the proconsul to swear by the genius of Cæsar, refused to do so, but was willing to obey in all else. Ambrose reckons it among the duties of an ecclesiastic to take an interest in the oppress and suffering. "Your office will shine gloriously," he writes, "if the oppression of widows and orphans attempted by the powerful should be hindered by the servants of the Church; if you show that the commandment of the Lord is more to you than the favor of the rich" (*De Offic.*, II., 22). Athanasius excommunicated the viceroy of Lydia, notorious for his cruelty and excesses, and Basil declared that the Church agreed with him (*Bas. Ep.*, 16). Synesius of Ptolemais excluded from the Church the Prefect Andronicus for the same reason (*Synesii Epp.*, 57, 58, 72). When the inhabitants of Antioch were trembling before the wrath of the emperor, because they had overthrown his statues, Bishop Flavian went to Constantinople to intercede, while Chrysostom preached his famous "statue sermons," and when prosecutions began, a monk, seizing the bridles of the horses drawing the carriage in which the judges were riding, cried: "Tell the emperor you are not only an emperor, but a man, and those you reign over are your fellowmen. Human nature was made in the image of God; do not then so mercilessly and cruelly destroy the image of God." The story of Ambrose himself expelling Theodosius the Great from both Church and sacrament till he did public penance, for having allowed his soldiers a massacre at Thessalonica, is well known. The Church became the sanctuary of the oppress. When a debtor, sued for 17 solidi (about $150), fled to the Church, Augustine paid the debt. He who violated the right of sanctuary was excommunicated.

Relation to the State

Next to the spirit of the equality and brotherhood and protection to the oppress, we notice what the primitive Church did for the *family* and for *woman*. Under Rome woman was either the slave, the toy, or the property of man. The Church recognized her equality.

"I do not know anything more unjust," said Augustine of the Roman laws which kept women in an inferior position (*De Civit. Dei.*, iii., chap. xxi., vol. vii., p. 63); and all the Fathers

teach the equality of man and woman (Clem. Alex., *Pædag.*, I., 4, vol. i., p. 103; Greg. Naz., *Or.* 31, vol. i., p. 502; Greg. Nys., *Or.* 1, in *Verba Fac. Hom.*, vol. i., p. 151). Marriage was regarded in its spiritual aspect as for eternity an association of souls rather than of bodies (Athenag., *Leg.*, chap. xxxiii., p. 311). It was a type of the union of Christ with His Church (Chrysost., *Hom.*, 12 in col., § 5, vol. xi., p. 419). Some of the Fathers, such as Ambrose and Augustine, began to exalt celibacy and virginity above marriage, but in the beginning it was not so; and was never so with all the Fathers. With Chrysostom a true man and wife joined in sacred union show a holier life than the inhabitants of many a monastery (*Hom., I., in Rom.* xvi. 3, vol. iii., p. 175). In marriage, the woman, according to the Fathers, was wedded to the husband as the Church to its Head. Chrysostom says: "Woman can neither carry arms nor vote in the assemblies nor manage the commune, but she can weave thread, give better advice than her husband about domestic matters, rule and keep order in her household, superintend the servants, and bring up the children. Each sex has its special vocation. God has not given all to one. He has wisely divided it" (Chrysost., *Quales Ducendæ sint Uxores*, vol. iii., p. 127). "Nothing," he says further, "can better mold man than a pious and wise woman" (Chrysost. l. c.; *Sermo*, 4, *in Gen.*, § 1, vol. iv., p. 659). Mixed marriages between pagans and Christians were frowned upon. Second marriages were discouraged. Tertullian said that "he who marries again commits a decent kind of adultery" (Athenag., *Leg.*, 33, p. 311). Montanists absolutely forbade second marriages, but after the time of Augustine it was a heresy to condemn second marriages. Adultery was the only admitted cause of divorce, and then separation was usually recommended. Purity was required of both sexes equally. "The laws of the Cæsars are different from the laws of Christ," says Jerome. "With us, on the contrary, what is not permitted for women is also forbidden for men" (*Ep.* 77, Ann. 399, vol. i., p. 459). Nevertheless, condemning strictly their vice, the Church welcomed the Magdalenes, and many of them became noble martyrs. Pelagia, a celebrated courtezan of Antioch, was converted and retired to a convent, where she spent the rest of her life in humble piety. Afra died for her Savior in Augsburg, together with three servants who, having followed her in vice, followed also in conversion. Similarly high was the position of the Church in regard to *children*. At a time when abortion and exposure were frequent, the Fathers declared that to cause a child to perish by abortion is to destroy the work of God. God is the father of all life, however incomplete it be. Those guilty of it were excluded from the Church for ten years (*Const. Apost.*, vii., 3, p. 366). Exposure was still more condemned. The Church welcomed the children. "If old sinners," says Cyprian, "are received in the Christian community, with how much greater reason shall the new-born child be received, who has not yet committed sin?" (*Ep.* 59, p. 99). This was true even of natural children. They were still under God's paternal care, and to be welcomed by the Church (Methodius, *Conviv.* x. *Virginum, Or.* 2, in *Combelis*). According to Chrysostom, what has upset the whole world is that man has not cared more for his own children (*Hom. de Viduis*, vol. iii., p. 317). Chrysostom and Jerome especially urge upon mothers to rightly influence the children. Thus we have in the early Church Monica, the mother of Augustine; Nonna, the mother of Gregory of Nazianzus; Anthusa, the mother of Chrysostom. The first schools that may be called primary were kept in the fourth century by Christian priests (Palladius, *Vita Chrys.*; in *Opp.*, vol. xiii., p. 77). Basil during his rule made their keeping an especial duty (*Regula Fusius. Tract., interrog.*, 15 *et* 23, vol. ii., p. 355).

The Church and Woman

The next thing to be considered is the relation of the primitive Church to *the laboring classes*. These, according to all classic antiquity, were despised. Artizans, according to Aristotle, were not worthy of the name of citizens (*O.*, chap. ii., 1). Almost all manual and most mental work was done by slaves. By Christians work was honored. They neither felt themselves to be miserable nor disgraced because they had to work with their hands (*Ep. ad. Zenam et Serenum*, chap. xvii., in *Opp. Just. Mart.*, p. 416). They remembered Christ the carpenter and Paul the tent-maker. The "Apostolic Constitutions" forbid a man to mix with the idle crowd, and advise him to engage in useful work, having his soul turned toward God (Book I., chap. iv.). The necessity of teaching youthful arts to children was dwelt upon (*Constit. Apost.*, Book IV., chap. xi., p. 301). They taught that if a man did not work, "neither should he eat."

The Church and the Working Classes

The relation of the Church to *slavery* has been much discust. The primitive Church, while not immediately seeking to overthrow slavery, undermined it. Before the Reformation slavery had *wholly* disappeared from Christian lands, and *long before that* it had *almost* disappeared. The Church, started among the poor, and, despised by the powerful, had not the power to abolish the institution in any legal way. But while the Church long allowed slavery, it did much to alleviate it, and welcomed the slave as an equal; only in later years did the Church ever practise slavery.

"No one is a slave by nature," say Clement of Alexandria and Basil (Clem. Alex., *Pædag.*, III., chap. xii., vol. i., p. 207; Basil, *De Spir.*, s., I., chap. xxi., vol. iii., p. 42). Chrysostom says that God, who created the two first beings free and equal, never created slaves to serve them (*Hom. 22 in Eph.*, § 2, vol. xi., p. 167). Some of the Fathers held that slavery was punishment, but they held so of all work, and yet that work was honorable. "I call noble and lord," says Chrysostom, "the slave who is covered with chains, if it accords with his life; I call him low and ignoble who in the midst of dignities retains an enslaved soul" (Or. in *Terræ Motum et Laz.*, § 7, vol. i., p. 782). In the Church slavery was only an accidental external condition which did not affect the moral worth. Again and again the Church taught that Christianity was *service*. Christians called themselves, like St. Paul, servants or bond-servants (δουλοι) of Christ. Ignatius wrote of the slaves: "Let them continue to serve without murmuring, and God will give them a better than earthly liberty" (*Ad. Polyc.*, chap. iv., p. 41). Slaves were recommended to bear servitude in the passing world of exile, where none is free, and beyond which the Christian expects deliverance and glory (August., *De Agone Christiana*, chap. vii., vol. vi., p. 181). In 451, the Council of Chalcedon forbade the convents to receive slaves without the consent of their masters, "in order that the name of God be not dishonored" (Canon IV.). Many slaves bore noble testimony to their master Christ, such as Potamiæna, Eutyches, Victorinus, Maro, Nereus, Vitalis, and others. But while bidding the slave be patient, the Church spoke plainly to the master. Said Chrysostom: "Do not imagine that an injury to a slave will be regarded as indifferent, because it is only to a slave. The laws of the world see a difference between the two races; but the laws of the commonwealth of God ignore it" (Chrysost. *Hom. 22, in Eph.*, § 2, vol. xi., p. 167).

We observe the difference between the recognition of slavery by the primitive Church and its recognition too frequently by the Church in modern times. The primitive Church recognized it as a *human* institution, to which they were to submit. The modern Church too often tried to prove slavery a *divine* institution. Masters were told by the primitive Church to love their slaves as sons and as equals (*Constit. Apost.*, Book IV., chap. xii., p. 302). The Church refused to receive the gifts of the master who ill treated his slaves (*Constit. Apost.*, Book IV., chap. vi., p. 197). In the early Church there were households where master and servants formed one family.

When Thecla was cited to appear before the tribunal fifty of her slaves, urged by gratitude, appeared in her favor (*Acta ss.*, January, vol i., p. 601). Paula, a descendant of Paulus, Æmilius, Leo, and Fabiola are spoken of as the servants rather than the mistresses of their women. But the Fathers went farther than to counsel gentleness. They urged masters to free their slaves. Gregory Nazianzen and Chrysostom are prominent in such exhortations, and many masters did the same. The earliest instance that has come down to us is that of Hermes, Prefect of Rome under Trajan, who embraced Christianity with his wife, children, and 1,250 slaves, whom he freed on the day of their baptism, Easter Day, with ample assistance to enable them to gain a livelihood. He himself afterward suffered martyrdom with Bishop Alexander, who had been the means of his conversion. Another prefect of Rome, Chromatius, under Diocletian, freed his 1,400 slaves, saying that those who had God for their father ought not to be the servants of man. Melania, with the consent of her husband, Pinius, freed 8,000 slaves; Ovonius, a French martyr, 5,000.

The Church especially did her utmost to end the horrors of the *gladiatorial* combats and the

degradation of the *theatrical* exhibitions. The Church refused baptism to gladiators unless they gave up their profession. Lactantius said: "Instead of buying and feeding wild beasts, ransom prisoners and feed the poor; instead of bringing together men to kill each other, go and bury the innocent dead" (*Div. Instit.*, Book VI., chap. xii., vol. i., p. 470). From the theaters, at this time grossly immoral, Christians were warned to absent themselves. Those who, in spite of warnings, still attended, were declared unworthy of Christian communion.

Gladiatorial Combats

Christians were urged to find their exhibitions in nature. "What theater," says one writer, "constructed by the hand of man can equal these wonders of creation" (*Tract. de Spect.*, in *Opp. Cypr.*, p. 312)! Actors who became Christians and had no other means of earning a livelihood, such as Euchratius, were provided for by the Church through the efforts of Cyprian.

We come now to consider the relation of the primitive Church to the *poor*, and its property relations in general. This may be said to be a more or less faithful carrying out of the voluntary communal life of Jerusalem. There seems to be no evidence that there was anywhere established by the primitive Church a mechanical communism. Voluntary communism seems to have been the ideal to which they always tended, tho sometimes very vaguely and remotely. The emphasis was on love. "It is not the census," said Ambrose, "but the qualities of the soul, that show the rich man" (*Ep.*, chap. lxiii., § 89, vol. ii., p. 1044). Barnabas, in warmly commending charity, argues that "we ought not to consider anything as belonging to ourselves alone, but to share everything with our neighbor; for if there is communion in spiritual and everlasting things, with how much greater right ought it to exist in these material things" (chap. xix., p. 52). Ambrose of Milan wrote, "Nature created everything for common use. If, then, there are men who are excluded from the enjoyment of the products of the earth, it is contrary to nature. The unequal division of this wealth is the result of egoism and violence. Nature is the mother of common right, usurpation is the mother of private right" (*De Off. Ministr.*, Book I., chap. xxviii., § 132, vol. ii., p. 35).

The early Church opposed riches as hindering salvation, but Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, and others teach that riches are not to be condemned in themselves. "Neither is every poor man a saint, . . . nor is every rich man condemned," wrote one (Asterius, *De Divite et Lazaro*, p. 13). "The hand of the Christian," said the same writer, Asterius, "ought only to be held out to give alms, never to seize what does not belong to him" (*Hom. de Œconomo, Iniquio*, p. 23). The giving of charity the primitive Church exalted. "It is better to do the works of charity than to ornament churches, or to enrich them with precious vases" (Hieron., *Ep.* 130, vol. i., p. 991). The priests were to lead in this, especially the bishops. The "Apostolic Constitutions" lay down their duties in these words: "To orphans take the place of a father; to widows give the protection that they would have from their husbands; help young people who desire to marry with your counsels; find work for the artizans; have pity on the infirm; receive strangers beneath your roof; give food and drink to those who are hungry and thirsty and clothes to the naked; visit the sick and help the prisoners" (Book IV., 2, p. 295). Charity was to cause sacrifice. We read of the early Christians fasting that they might give to the poor (*Constit. Apost.*, V. xx., p. 331). Deaconesses were appointed to aid poor women. Under Bishop Cornelius, toward the close of the third century, the Church of Rome supported more than 1,500 poor people. The Church of Antioch, in the time of Chrysostom, maintained more than 3,000. The Church of Rome, under Bishop Sotir, in the second half of the second century, and 100 years later, under Bishop Stephen, sent money collected in distant provinces, sometimes to help famished populations, sometimes to lighten the burdens of the persecuted. Prelates sold the vases and ornaments of their churches to aid the poor. This was done by Cyril, by Acacius, Bishop of Amida, who sold 420 vases and sent back to freedom 7,000 imprisoned Persians, and by Deogratias, of Carthage. Augustine and Ambrose did it to ransom captives. Paulinus, of Nola and Hilary of Arles sold their large estates for the poor. Martin of Tours sacrificed his sacerdotal robes. The Bishop of Escupère, of Toulouse, went hungry and used only basket and glass for the bread and wine of the Eucharist, in order to help the poor. When the martyr Lawrence was asked by the pagan governor for the treasures of the Church, he showed him the poor. Peter, the tax-gatherer, in the time of Justinian, on being converted expiated his harshness by selling himself to a slave merchant for the benefit of the poor. Clement of Rome writes to the Church in Corinth: "We have among us many who have given themselves to servitude in order that others might be free." It is told of Bishop Eleusis of Cyzicus, that he took the pagan temples and made them into hospitals for the old and widowed. The first orphan houses are of this period, and were cared for by priests. Special collections were made for prisoners. The poor denied themselves a day's food to give to these. The funds of the Church were used to ransom brothers sentenced to public works or the arena. The Church was the asylum. Even Alaric, on taking Rome, is reported to have spared those who took refuge in the churches. The innocent went to the bishops for redress. In the midst of universal anarchy, the bishops raised their voices in behalf of outraged humanity. It was one of their special duties to save defenseless men from the hands of powerful oppressors, and to intercede with the emperors and magistrates in their behalf; to undertake long journeys and brave all wrath, provided the cause of those in whom they were interested was just. Most frequently we find bishops giving assistance to country people, who suffered from the rapacity of the fiscal agents, the avarice of the usurers, the oppression of great proprietors. For the sick, the primitive Church did much, even for the lepers. Basil advises that lepers be not deserted, but be loved the more for the miseries of their desolation. During the plague of Carthage, about 250 A.D., and during that of Alexandria, the Christians showed great bravery and love. The earliest hospitals are due to the Church, the first being established in the beginning of the fourth century. From the latter half of this century they multiplied greatly. The most important of these was founded by Basil in Cæsarea. It rose, says Gregory Nazianzen, like a new town, providing lodgings for travelers, rooms for invalids, workshops for the poor, provision for lepers. It bore the name of Basilias. Chrysostom founded several hospitals. By the time of Theodosius most of the large towns had hospitals. The hermit Thalassius founded one for the blind.

Ransoming Captives

The early Church was especially remarkable for its sacrifices in behalf of its *enemies*. Tertullian could truly say that "if all men loved their friends, the Christians alone knew how to love their enemies" (*Ad. Scap.*, i., p. 69). The Fathers, too, with their profound respect for human life, unanimously condemned capital punishment. The Council of Elvira (A.D. 305) excludes the magistrates whose duties as decemvirs caused them to judge cases involving capital punishment from joining in worship during the year. The emphasis the early Church put upon *hospitality* is well known, as is also its universal opposition to *war*.

It is well to notice the organization of the Church for practical charities. At first there was little or none.

"We give to all and communicate to every one who is in need," says Justin (*Apolog.*, i., 14). The shepherd of Hermas says: "Give simply to all, without asking doubtfully to whom thou givest, but give to all" (*Pastor Hermæ. Mand.*, II.). Clement of Alexandria warns against trying to judge who is deserving and who undeserving (*Quis divis salvus.*, chap. xiii.). Concerning the giving up of property, Hermas says to Christians: "You are dwelling here in a foreign city. Would any one dwelling in a foreign city provide himself with fields and expensive accommodations?" (*Similet*, I.) The Church was in the world, but not of it. "We are no Brahmans nor Indian gymnosophists; no wild men of the woods and separatists from life. We are mindful of the gratitude which we owe to the Lord our God, and do not despise the enjoyment of His works," wrote Tertullian (*Apolog.*, 42). But the Fathers everywhere counseled simplicity of life. "On the road to heaven," says Clement, "the best provision is frugality, moderation is the shoe, and beneficence the staff." (*Pædagog.*, III., 7). Clement pities the insatiable who collect their dainties from all parts of the world, with whom "the basting ladles and the kitchen form the central point of existence" (*Pædagog.*, I., 1). In an old catalog of the apostles,

Charities

Peter, Andrew, and the sons of Zebedee are fishermen; Philip an ass driver; Bartholomew, a vegetable gardener; James, the son of Alphæus, a mason. Later, when the Church became corrupt, men like Chrysostom vehemently attacked the luxury of the day. Said Chrysostom of the luxuriously dressed woman: "Of how many poor, O woman, dost thou bear upon thine arms the spoils!" Yet, even when the Church was at her simplest, there were some organizations for charity. Deacons, deaconesses, and widows, who were considered officers in the Church, had special charge of the charities, but always under the direct guidance of the bishops. Alms were collected and distributed largely at the *agapæ*, which were first suppers in common for all Church members, later suppers for the poor, and finally occasions of drunkenness and excesses. Montanism tried to react from these excesses and any compromise with the world by strict discipline and by limiting church-membership to the select few, but this was to make the Church separatist and sectarian and sacrifice her power as a Church for the world. It taught the Church to distinguish between the "religious" and the "secular," sending the "religious" into monasticism and asceticism, and the "secular" into worldliness.

As a result of this alliance with the State, the Church, still more developing her worldliness, gradually came to palliate, allow, and endorse, and even own slaves (so that even so pure a spirit as Gregory the Great makes no apology for having a fugitive slave brought back "by any means" from Otranto, tho he was also torn from wife and children, to serve as a baker in Rome). Thus the Church gradually became full of all such worldliness as called forth the burning protests of Chrysostom. On the other hand, we have the development of MONASTICISM, for the social results of which see the article on that subject. Still through all the earlier centuries the Church was not only the friend but the leader of social reform. If she did not abolish slavery or advocate all the social reforms that are suggested to-day, it was because they were not proposed. She was at least on the side of the most radical reform there was, or, rather, the mother and the life of all reform. On the whole, well could Tertullian point to the life and love of the Church, which to the jealous hatred of its enemies was a reproach. "See how they love one another," mocked these enemies; "as if they were ready to die, the one for the other." "Yes," says Tertullian, "we love one another; we are brothers, for we have a common Father, and the same Spirit has led us from darkness to light. We are also your brothers, because, altho you are our persecutors, you are men like us. We support one another; we have everything in common except our wives; each one freely brings his offering to relieve the poor, the sick, orphans, widows, travelers, and prisoners. We are not incapable of the business of life, for do we not live with you, sharing your habits and necessities? We do not retire into forests; we do not flee from life; we use everything with thanksgiving; we sail with you; we mix with you in the forum, in camp, in commerce; we refrain only from your spectacles, sacrifices, disorders, and crimes" (*Apologeticus*, about 198 A.D.).

III.—The Medieval Church

In this section we shall not enter so much into details, because these are given in other articles: that on the CANON LAW, which belongs almost exclusively to the medieval Church, and the general article on CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM, Christian influence, in the Middle Ages at least, being admittedly almost identical with *Church* influence. Yet a few general characterizations may here be made, and one or two points elucidated.

We notice, first, that the medieval Church was the great leveler; the clerical order was the one profession in which it was possible for a man of the humblest birth to attain to the highest position. This was less by virtue of enactment than in consequence of the facts (*a*) that the Church remained free from the distinctions of classes that grew up in the civil state, and (*b*) that churchmen, as the rule of celibacy became universal in Latin Christendom, could be raised to any rank without founding a family of nobles. Many a peasant heard of the learned Grostête, son of a serf, the most distinguished scholar of thirteenth-century Oxford, the Oxford which existed long before a college was founded—the friend of the reforming friars, the enemy of the Roman court, the advocate of England for the English; and was eager, out of his scanty means, to buy the license that his son might go to the schools and take orders. The possibility of rising was, it is true, not confined to churchmen; but that which was the exception among the laity was common among the clergy. Nor was it till centuries later that it became the accepted doctrine that an ordained person was *ipso facto* a free man; and if in the fifth century it could be conceived that a man might be a clergyman and yet a slave, this idea early gave way before another, which presumed that if a slave were ordained with the knowledge of his lord, and without any objection raised by him, he was a free man, tho not formally manumitted. For the effect of the medieval Church upon slavery, see CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM. It must not be forgotten that before the time of the Reformation slavery, and, in some countries like England, even serfdom, had disappeared from Christendom. The medieval Church had put it down.

We notice next as characteristic of the medieval Church its monasteries, nunneries, and Church brotherhoods of various kinds, not only as centers of Christian equality, but as asylums for the oppress and as centers of brotherhood life and work. Says Thorold Rogers upon this point:

Monasteries

"The relief of destitution was the fundamental religious duty of medieval Christianity, I might have said of Christianity itself. In ancient polities it might be the duty of the State to relieve distress; it was always its prudence, if it cared for security. To get abundant supplies of food for the poorer citizens in one way or the other was the constant anxiety of democratic Athens and of imperial Rome. But from the very first Christianity transferred this duty from the State to the individual, and to the voluntary corporation. The early Church undoubtedly preached patience, but it much more emphatically inculcated the duty of almsgiving. The contribution of the tithe was enforced in order that a third part, at least, of the proceeds should go to the relief of the deserving poor. In the fifteenth century nothing moves the righteous wrath of Gascoigne more than the teaching of Pecock to the effect that ecclesiastical revenues enjoyed by churchmen can be disposed of according to the discretion of the recipient as freely as the proceeds of private property. After heresy, simony, and sorcery, the heaviest charge which could be leveled against a churchman was that of avarice, and a covetous priest who hoarded his revenues was lucky if the charge of avarice was not coupled with those graver vices to which I have referred. We may be certain, too, that the duty which was so generally imposed on them by public opinion—the force of which is not yet extinct—was inculcated by them on others. In times of plenty, too, food was often given with wages. A wealthy monastery or college would find a place at its servants' table for the artizans which it employed without much grudging, and the poor at the gate would not be sent away empty-handed. Where mendicancy was no disgrace, almsgiving was like to be considered the most necessary and the most ordinary of the virtues.

"It has been often said and often denied that the monasteries supplied the want which the poor law, two generations after the dissolution of these bodies, enforced. That the monasteries were renowned for their almsgiving is certain. The duty of aiding the needy was universal. Themselves the creatures of charity, they could not deny to others that on which they subsisted. But some orders were under special

duties. The Hospitalers were bound to relieve casual destitution. Hence when Waynflete procured the surrender of the house of the Oxford Hospitalers, he bound his college to the duties which the surrendered house had performed, duties which, it is almost superfluous to say, were speedily evaded. So again the preaching and begging friars were the nurses of the sick, especially those who labored under infectious diseases. There were houses where doles of bread and beer were given to all wayfarers, houses where the sick were tended, clothed, and fed, particularly the lepers. There were nunneries, where the nuns were nurses and midwives; and even now the ruins of these houses contain living record of the ancient practises of their inmates in the rare medicinal herbs which are still found within their precincts. In the universal destruction of these establishments, the hardest instruments of Henry's purposes interceded for the retention of some among the most meritorious, useful, and unblemished of them. It is possible that these institutions created the mendicancy which they relieved, but it cannot be doubted that they assisted much which needed their help ('Work and Wages,' p. 416).

"What an enormous part in the polity of the Middle Ages was played by these monasteries is well known. The estates of the monasteries are said over and over again to have comprised a third of the knights' fees in England. Most of these religious houses were founded before the close of the thirteenth century, many of them in the early ages of the Saxon polity. Only a few were founded in later times. Besides these monastic estates, the bishops and the chapters held large possessions.

"Many of the English towns grew up round monasteries. The piety of the converted Saxons led them to spend lavishly in the foundation of these institutions, and the principal part of the documents which have been preserved from a period antecedent to the Conquest refer to these early monasteries. Thus the town of Oxford grew up under the shadow of the great monasteries of St. Frideswide and Osney. Such was the origin of Abingdon, of Reading, of St. Albans, of Coventry, of Durham."

That these centers of religious life were centers also of humble brotherly work is well known. Says Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy":

"The lands held by a religious house, at least those in its immediate vicinity, were, as a rule, cultivated by the brotherhood itself, and the personal interest thus devoted to the work produced better results than the enforced labor of bondmen. The evidence of the Domesday survey goes to show that the Church lands were in a higher state of cultivation than other property. The monks also employed themselves in clearing forests, draining marshes, and making roads and bridges (cf. Lingard, i., 267 *seq.*; Cunningham, 'Growth of English Industry and Commerce in the Early and Middle Ages,' pp. 64, *seq.* 1890); and the Cistercian order, through the activity which it displayed in sheep farming, promoted in a singular degree the production of the staple commodity of England. Through the immense extent of their property, variously estimated in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries from a quarter to a half of the total landed property of England (Wycliffe, *de Eccl.*, xv., p. 338; cf. Pearson, 'History of England,' ii., 497, 1867), the churches and religious houses came to take an important share in the industrial development of the country; and it is acknowledged that the clergy were mild landlords (see Stubbs, 'Constitutional History,' iii., 562). The attacks of the Lollards upon the landed property of the Church were inspired rather by *a priori* objections to the system itself than by any actual abuses to which it led; and the consideration which Bishop Pecock, writing in the middle of the fifteenth century, alleged on the opposite side are probably in the main just. 'The treuthe is,' he says, 'that the tenementis and alle the possessiouns with her purtenauncis, which the clergie (religiose or not religiose) holden and hauen, is better meintened and susteyned and reparid and kept fro falling into nouzt and into wildirness, than if tho same tenementis and possessiouns with her purtenauncis weren in the hondis of grete lordis, or of knyztis, or of squyeris. . . . The tenauntis, occupying tho tenementis and possessiouns with purtenauncis vndir the clergie, ben esilier tretid, lasse disesid, and not greeued bi extorcioun, as thei schoulden be, if thei helden the same tenementis and possessiouns of temporal lordis or of knyztis and squyers.' Among other points in favor of those who held of the Church, Pecock notices that their tenure was less liable to be disturbed than that of those who held under lay lords ('Repressor of Overmuch Blaming of the Clergy,' vol. ii., p. 370 *seq.*, ed. Babington, 1860). It has been noticed by critics least friendly to the medieval Church that it was such causes—the known advantage to the tenant—that did much to reconcile public opinion to the enormous estates held by the Church (Pearson, 'History of England,' vol. ii., p. 502; Rogers, vol. i., p. 160). That at the close of the Middle Ages the state of things was somewhat altered, and the abuses which had arisen with respect to the management of Church property called forth well-founded complaints (cf. 'Dyaloge betwene a Gentillman and a Husbandman,' 1530, ed. Arber, 1871, p. 134 *seq.*; 'Ballads from Manuscripts,' ed. Furnivall, 1869, vol. i.), need not be denied."

But it was not only manual work that was performed by the monks and clergy. Says Rogers:

"The clergy, in the widest sense of the term, contained nearly the whole of what we should call the professional classes. The architects, the physicians, the lawyers, the scribes, the teachers, of the Middle Ages, were almost always clergymen, and when employed in these callings were rewarded for their services with benefices. We know but few of the men who designed the great cathedrals, churches, and castles of the Middle Ages—those buildings which are the wonder of our age for their vastness, their exquisite proportions, and their equally exquisite detail. But when we do know, as it were by accident, who the builder was, he is almost always a clergyman. It seems as tho skill in architecture and intimate acquaintance with all which was necessary not only for the design of the structure, but for good workmanship and endurance, were so common an accomplishment, that no one was at the pains to proclaim his own reputation or to record the reputation of another. It is known that we owe the design of Rochester Castle and the Tower to one ecclesiastic. It is recorded that William of Wykeham was Edward III.'s architect at Windsor, as well as his own at Winchester and Oxford, and of various handsome churches which were built during his long episcopate. It is probable that Waynflete designed the beautiful buildings at Magdalen College; and it is alleged that Wolsey, in his youth, planned the matchless tower, which has charmed every spectator for nearly four centuries. But no one knows who designed and carried out a thousand of those poems in stone which were the glory of the Middle Ages, and have been made the subjects of servile and stupid imitations in our own.

The Clergy of the Middle Ages

"The monks were the men of letters in the Middle Ages, the historians, the jurists, the philosophers, the physicians, the students of nature. It is owing to their labors that we know anything of our annals, of the events by which the political history of England is interpreted. They were often frivolous, frequently credulous, but they collected the facts to the best of their ability. It is true that the material which they put into shape is far less in quantity than those voluminous archives are which are preserved in our national collection. But these, tho of great collateral value, would have but little constructive importance in the absence of the chronicles which the monks compiled. This is abundantly illustrated by the history of the fifteenth century and part of the sixteenth. . . .

"I am convinced that schools were attached to every monastery, and that the extraordinary number of foundation schools established just after the Reformation of 1547 was not a new zeal for a new learning, but the fresh and very inadequate supply of that which had been so suddenly and disastrously extinguished. ('Work and Wages,' p. 162.)

"And it must be remembered that they were not monks of the lower ranks who did manual and literary work, but ecclesiastics of the highest rank. We find such men as Hilary of Arles, one of the leading prelates in the French Church, working in the field. Becket, the Archbishop of Canterbury, when he visited a monastery in harvest did not hesitate to labor in the fields. St. Dunstan is reported to have been an excellent blacksmith."

For what the medieval Church did to put down feuds, to bring in "the peace of God," etc., see CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM. We notice here the influence of the Church upon the State. The political influence of the medieval Church was enormously great. Undoubtedly much of it was due to ambition for temporal power, especially with the Roman see and wherever her spirit went; but equally undoubtedly, apart from all question of ambition, the medieval Church often used her enormous power, and especially did many of her leading prelates use their commanding influence, to protect the rights of the common people against the aggression both of the barons and of the king. We can cite only a few examples, but they are strewn on every page of medieval history. In England, Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, was the leader and the prime mover in wresting from King Richard the Magna Charta, which has now become the birthright of every Englishman and American. In France, the life of Bernard of Clairvaux is filled with records of masterly and effectual resistance against the

wrongs and violence of the barons. In Italy, the political influence of Savonarola, the Dominican monk, can hardly be overestimated, and these are shining illustrations of what was done in a humbler way and on a lesser scale by thousands of brave medieval churchmen. The influence of Wycliffe's poor priests, and above all of John BALL, must not be forgotten. Says Thorold Rogers:

The Poor Priests

> The poor priests alone could traverse the country by right, and, without suspicion, advise their followers. They were precisely the persons who could organize resistance among the serfs, could win and keep their confidence, and could be trusted with their subscriptions, their plans, and their communications. Wycliffe's poor priests had honeycombed the minds of the upland folk with what may be called religious socialism. By Wycliffe's labors the Bible men had been introduced to the new world of the Old Testament, to the history of the human race, to the primeval garden and the young world, where the first parents of all mankind lived by simple toil, and were the ancestors of the proud noble and knight, as well as of the down-trodden serf and despised burgher. They read of the brave times when there was no king in Israel, when every man did that which was right in his own eyes, and sat under his own vine and his own fig-tree, none daring to make him afraid. They read how God, through His prophet, had warned Israel of the evils which would come to them when a king should rule over them, and how speedily this was verified in the conduct of the young Rehoboam, with his depraved and foolish counselors, of how woe had been predicted to the people over whom a child should rule. The God of Israel had bade His people be husbandmen, and not mounted knights and men-at-arms. But, most of all, the preacher would dwell on his own prototype, on the man of God, the wise prophet who denounced kings and princes and high priests, and, by God's commission, made them like a potter's vessel in the day of His wrath, or on those bold judges who were zealous even to slaying. For with this book, so old, yet so new, the peasant preacher—we are told that many learned to read when they were old that they might tell the Bible story—could stir up the souls of these clowns with the true narrative of another people, and would be sure that his way to their hearts and their confidence would be, as it always has been with the leaders of a religious revival, by entirely sympathizing with their wrongs, their sufferings, and their hopes. And when they told them that the lords had determined to drag them back to their old serfdom, the preacher could discourse to them of the natural equality of man, of the fact that all; kings, lords, and priests, live by the fruits of the earth and the labor of the husbandman, and that it would be better for them to die with arms in their hands than to be thrust back, without an effort on their part, into the shameful slavery from which they had been delivered. And as their eyes kindled, and they grasped their staves, he could tell them to keep their ears open for the news of their deliverance, that on the password being given, they were at once to hie to the appointed place, where a great work could be done for God's people by His appointed servant ("Work and Wages," p. 254). It is true that the correctness of this view has been questioned, but that it is largely true is perhaps fixt. Green says that in the preaching of John Ball, "the mad priest of Kent," England "first listened to the knell of feudalism and the declaration of the rights of man." For an account of somewhat similar movements on the Continent, see BRETHREN OF THE COMMON LIFE; COMMUNISM; MIDDLE AGES, etc. But already in noticing these movements that were reformatory of the Church, as well as of society, we are in the dark days when Rome, led by her earthly ambition and desire for temporal power, had forgotten the life of the spirit; and, first, the papacy itself had grown utterly and scandalously corrupt, and was completely dominated by worldly policy, and then gradually the poison spread from the head to feet and members, till the whole medieval Church, save for reforming movements like those led by Wycliffe, Huss, and Savonarola, became dead in trespasses and sins—the higher clergy profligate mammon servers, the lower clergy profligate servers of the senses; the monasteries (tho not always even then) too commonly centers of vice, the nunneries homes of license for the monks. But on this we need not dwell, tho it must be remembered in obtaining a true picture of the effect of the medieval Church upon social reform; yet there is little danger in Protestant lands of its being forgotten. We are more apt to forget that the poison of corruption came from the worldliness of Rome, and that for long centuries, even after Rome was herself corrupt, the Catholic Church (in England especially, never wholly subject to Rome) was the great purifying, liberating, civilizing, Christianizing factor of medieval life. For the close relation between many of the medieval trade gilds and the Church, see GILDS. Almost all gilds had their patron saint and their church, where they went for solemn worship, and whose clergy took an active interest in their life, religion and business being continually interblended in medieval life.

IV.—From the Reformation to the Present Time

With the Reformation, or at least soon after, when the principles of the Reformation had become well established in reformed countries, we have a great change in the history of the Church and social reform. That Protestantism, by reaching the *individual*, has along certain lines done much for social reform, no thoughtful man can deny. But the Protestant Churches as a whole accomplished but little. Rome, too, since the Reformation has, until recently, done even less. The Reformation, in its appeal to personal faith, to the right of private judgment, to the letter of the Scriptures, had largely the effect, *both on Roman and Protestant churches*, of exalting belief, creeds, dogma, and discussion above life. It divided Protestantism into so many sects, each discussing and battling to sustain its own peculiar belief and separate church machinery, as to cause the reform of the social life to be until recently almost forgotten. This, too, has been intensified by two other elements in Protestant faith. First, its exaltation of what it calls "the spiritual life," largely meaning by this a life that finds its chief interest in the life hereafter, leading to what has been well called "*other worldliness*"; and secondly, the tendency to *individualism*. This combination of tendencies in Protestant thought has at times almost wholly divorced Church life from the life of this world; and it is therefore no wonder that in the history of the Church and social reform we have after the Reformation nearly a blank. There are, however, exceptions to be noted. First, the early Protestants—for example, the Anabaptists of Germany—referring directly to the New Testament, learned there of its communism, and not a few attempts were made to reproduce it. It has led to a long series of Protestant attempts at communism (see COMMUNISM), some of them very successful—for example, the SHAKERS. But, in the first place, these attempts were made by sects, and therefore were so limited by narrow and peculiar doctrinal requirements as to very materially reduce their influence; while secondly, they were based on the belief that Christians must go out from the world and be *separate*, rather than on the Catholic doctrine that the whole world is God's, and the duty of Christians is to remain *in* the world, tho not of it, and to bring it wholly into subjection to its King. The second exception to the divorce between the Protestant churches and the social life was in the attempt of many of the first Protestant leaders, such as Calvin, Cromwell, and the Pilgrim Fathers in America, to set up a theocracy on earth, with their particular church organization as the interpreter of the Divine will. These efforts have passed into history, and are now as much marked by their complete failure and their renunciation by all Protestant sects as they were once marked by intense faith in their efficacy. The attempts belong to the first years of Protestantism, when its principles were held in the glow of enthusiasm, fanned by persecution and martyrdom. Protestantism, as soon as it reached its logical outcome, conceived this world for the most part to be "a dreary wilderness," from which the individual is saved by the efficacy of his personal faith in the atoning blood of Christ; Christianity to be the salvation of the individual soul, and the Church to

Social Uprisings of the Reformation

The Puritan Theocracy

be but the coming together of the individuals who are being saved. While later Protestant thought in Unitarianism and even in orthodox circles has given up much of this soteriology, still the divorce of the Church from practical social matters has until recently remained. The individualism of Protestantism is admitted by friend and declared by foe. As applied to economics, it has its good and its bad effect. Undoubtedly it has produced a period through which both the world and the Church had to pass. Economics and religious individualism are largely identical. Says Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy":

Guizot, Seebohm, K. Marx, and É. de Laveleye declare alike that the "history of capital and the supremacy of private interest," i. e., commerce in its modern aspect, commenced contemporaneously with the period of the Reformation, accompanied, as that movement was, by many discoveries and inventions, and the recovered sense of personal freedom and responsibility. In "Protestantism and Catholicism in their Bearing upon the Liberty and Prosperity of Nations," by Emile de Laveleye (1875), the progress of economic enterprise is attributed to the superior education and enlightenment fostered by Protestantism. De Tocqueville ascribes to the Puritan discipline of the first settlers the same result in the commercial expansion of the United States. From Luther to Protestant divines of the present day the moral force of the dignity of labor and the duty of cheerful exertion in the subduing the earth by economic effort have been held up to admiration, and have given an impulse to the economic life of Protestant countries. The "Wealth of Nations," which appeared in 1775–76, marks a revolution of thought as truly as in the world of industry. "The machine is somewhat in the nature of Protestantism," says Dean Uhlhorn in his brochure on "Katholicismus und Protestantismus gegenüber der socialen Frage" (1887). Private property is encouraged by Protestantism. Luther, in his "Sermon on Usury" (1579), speaks of three grades "of dealing well and worthily with temporal goods." The highest is to allow ourselves to be despoiled of it without offering opposition; the lowest is to take neither profit nor interest, tho he sees objections to this ideal being realized. While Erasmus complained of the "rage of ownership," Protestantism endeavored to make a compromise, maintaining the ideal in theory and encouraging what Fr. A. Lange calls a "moderate egoism" or "ethical materialism," in practise (see "Geschichte des Materialismus," i., 254, 294. Cf. J. E. Thorold Rogers on "The Economic Interpretation of History," 1888, p. 83). Liberation of industry follows logically from that of liberty of thought, developing the five points of industrial independence—freedom of labor, free trade in land, free movement of capital, freedom of industrial enterprise, and a free market regulated by demand and supply; it further implies the removal of all governmental and trade restrictions—in a word, *laissez-faire*. Individualism in religion and industry go together.

Protestantism Individualistic

It is not therefore strange that slavery, suppressed in Europe by the medieval Church, reappeared in the slave trade after the Reformation, practised by both Protestant and Roman peoples. It is not strange that all the evils which are laid at the door of individualism and competition should be largely condoned, sometimes defended, and at least allowed and not seldom practised by individualistic and competing churches. Individual Protestants like Wilberforce and Howard and Chalmers and Shaftesbury and Garrison (for at least in Garrison's early reform days he was a believer in the Church), and Gough and a long list of noble Protestants may have done much for social reform, and no one can challenge the effect upon the daily moral life of Protestantism among the Scotch Covenanters, the English and American Puritans, or the more ordinary life of many a parish in Scotland or town in New England (such as Northampton, Mass., under Edwards, when nearly the entire population were in church every Sabbath, and 600 out of a population of 1,100 were members of the Church); yet the point is only too well sustained that the Protestant churches as organizations have had little to do with social reforms.

V.—The Modern Church

With the modern Church we reach a new era. The Church of to-day can by no means be fairly accused of doing nothing for humanity. Those who accuse it, as many do in unsparing terms, of being separated from the masses and not battling for social reform, mean that it does not battle for certain ideas of reform. For charity and in certain lines of reform the Church, in all its history, never accomplished more than to-day. If charity (in the modern sense) be the fulfilling of the law, no one acquainted with the facts can condemn the Church. And this should not be forgotten even by those who do not believe that such charity is the fulfilling of the law. Those who would put justice before charity must themselves be just enough to give the Church credit for what she is doing. The real state of the case seems to be not that the Church is inactive, for she is immensely active, but that she is not active along the lines most needed in the opinion of most progressive thinkers. We shall therefore point out here the lines upon which the modern Church is active, and in the next section point out the position she might take.

Activity of the Church

We cannot here enter into details concerning separate churches and church organizations. For these, see BAPTIST, CHURCH OF ENGLAND, CONGREGATIONALIST, METHODIST, PRESBYTERIAN, PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL, ROMAN CATHOLIC, UNITARIAN, and UNIVERSALIST CHURCHES in their relation to social reform. We consider here only those activities which hold more or less true of all churches.

The first of these is the marked activity of the churches in sustaining our great charitable institutions. Especially in our larger cities, like New York, our great hospitals, for example, are almost solely due to the churches. Many of our best educational institutions, too, are the direct offspring of our churches. (See CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETIES; HOSPITALS; EDUCATION, etc.) The immense activity of the Church in these respects can hardly be realized, save by a detailed study, and if one adds to this the enormous benefactions given, the sums contributed, and the charities and institutions founded by individual members of the Church, and largely as the result of the constant, quiet teaching and inculcation of Christian pulpits, the influence of the Church for the social uplift of humanity can scarcely be exaggerated.

Secondly, in spite of severe criticism from those who believe that our churches, or at least church-members, are guilty in supporting political parties wedded to the saloon interest, it cannot be denied that in other ways at least our churches are exerting a vast influence for *temperance* (see TEMPERANCE; PROHIBITION; WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION; CHURCH TEMPERANCE SOCIETY, etc.)

Thirdly, the churches are exerting a growing social influence through the development of numerous so-called "institutional churches," where charities and classes and clubs and benefit societies of the most various kinds are developed and maintained, and largely on the lines of social reform. These will be noticed in more detail in the articles on the several churches. We here refer only to such churches and institutions as the East Side House of St. Bartholomew's Church, New York City; the work at St. George's, in the same city; at Berkeley Temple, Boston; the People's Palace, Jersey City; the Temple College, connected with Grace Church, Philadelphia; the Church of the Paulist Fathers, in New York City; in London, the Oxford House, Mansfield House, Newman House, and numberless others in all the important cities and towns of Europe and America. For Germany and France, see article CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.

Fourthly, many general movements for social reform, like the social work of the Salvation Army, the immensely important educational work of the Chautauqua movement, of the University Extension, the battle for Social Purity, the Social Settlement Idea—these and a hundred others are, first, the indirect result of Church teaching and, secondly, very largely supported by Church people, and not seldom directly in connection with the Church.

Fifthly, the main influence of the modern Church on social reform we have yet to notice in its deep, vital influence through the development of individual character. That the *whole* present influence of the Church upon character is good many may doubt; that the total effect of its influence is good a few radicals may question; but that the Church helps to develop purity, kindness, filial and marital love, general honesty, patriotism, temperance, the sacredness of life, the supremacy of duty, and that these are immensely important social forces, no man can deny. It is frequently said that the main work of the Church is not to teach social reform, but to prepare and move individuals to develop social reform. Into this private fundamental work, however, we cannot largely enter; yet must it never be forgotten by those who would ask what the Church is doing.

Often those who condemn the Church know her only as she was twenty or more years ago, and know not that a wholly new life and spirit have entered into her to-day. And yet no fair reviewer of the question can deny that along certain lines the Church is far from being or doing what she should. Almost all social thinkers are now agreed that the social evils of the day arise in large part from social wrongs, in monopolies of land, of money, of machinery, of railroads, and of capital of other kinds. They are also all agreed that whatever be their especial economic views, in some way society has a large part to play in righting these wrongs, and that such reforms are therefore at present needed as much as the personal charities and activities of the Church. Now it is in this large field that the Church does so little. Many earnest churchmen claim that this is a field which the Church should not enter. But this is exactly the difficulty urged by social reformers. They claim that the Church has no adequate conception of what she could and should do. If Jesus Christ be the King of all life (see CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM), surely the Church, as working for Him, should demand that all life obey Christ, and surely the political, social, and industrial spheres are a part of human life. It is more than hinted that while the churches do much for charity (often, however, in their wealth giving of that which costs them little), they fear to take up these fundamental social questions because they have become identified with and dependent upon wealthy donors interested in sustaining these private and class monopolies. City clergymen, with their (often) large salaries and luxurious homes, are especially scorned, hated, and denounced by working men, who claim that these men are not true followers of the Nazarene Carpenter. "We denounce and leave the Church," say these labor leaders, "not because it is Christian, but precisely because it is *not* Christian." In these lines it is easy to see how, in spite of their growing activities, the churches are still denounced as false to their pretended creed and duty. Nevertheless even on this line there is a great change. The article on CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM and the respective articles on the various Christian Churches contain evidence of this. Clergymen of all denominations are coming to see that Christ really meant His kingdom to come on earth, and all kingdoms of this earth, including the kingdoms of politics, trade, industry, etc., to become a portion of His kingdom. It is significant that a new policy is proposed for foreign and home missions, whereby the Church should organize its converts into Christian, industrial, and social communities, as indeed Moravian missionaries have long done. Certainly a new life is in the Church, altho when one realizes the social need and the power that is in the Christ the Church professes to serve, the little done seems lost in the undone vast. (See also CHURCH AND THE WORKING MEN.)

Failure of the Church

VI.—What the Church Could Do

In an address upon "The Needs of the City," before the Evangelical Alliance, convened in Boston, Dec. 4, 1889, Professor Ely, in words still true, spoke of the need in the Church:

(1) Of a profound revival of religion, not in any narrow or technical sense, but in the broadest, largest, fullest sense, a great religious awakening which shall shake things going down into the depths of men's lives and modifying their character. The city needs religion, and without religion the salvation of the city is impossible.

(2) The first need restated from a different point of view, a renaissance of nationalism or municipalism. Said Professor Ely:

A Proposed Program

"Societies have failed and will fail. They cannot, acting simply as societies, do the work. Their resources are inadequate, the territory they can cover is too small, and their power is insufficient. The Evangelical Alliance simply as such can never do the work. The Evangelical Alliance, like other societies, must put itself behind municipal government and recognize the reform and elevation of municipal government as one of the chief features of its work. It must strive to establish among us true cities of God. There is plenty of room for the individual and for individual activity. Not all the work can be done by government, altho without government very little can be accomplished. But in addition to strictly private work, there is room for any amount of individual work in stimulating official work and in cooperation with official work.

"We must recognize this, and the sooner we recognize it the better. . . . The most successful work, says Barnett, after his long striving, is done by the Education Act, the Poor Law, and other socialistic legislation. That that is the most successful work is also illustrated by the life and career of the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, who carried through Parliament legislation which has benefited millions of Englishmen. If simply by touching a person you could confer a distinct benefit on the person touched, it would take you twenty years to benefit as many people as have been benefited by legislation chiefly due to this great philanthropist."

The Church could work for:

(3) Education of all kinds.
(4) Good amusements, gymnasiums, parks, etc.
(5) Public baths, washhouses, etc.
(6) Improvement of artizans' dwellings.
(7) Organized medical relief.
(8) Temperance.

National churches might do still more. It was proposed at the World's Congress on the Church and the Labor Movement that among the first things for the Church to do was in conventions and conferences, and finally national councils, to create true ideals of social and industrial life, teaching men of our day what conscience demands in the daily life, even as the canon law of the Middle Ages exprest then the sense of the Church on such questions of the daily life as taking of interest, etc. The Church, to do this, needs not to lay down laws, but it should lift up practical ideals.

Again, the Church in pulpit, church paper, conference, and convention, should protest against great social wrongs and oppressive monopolies and tyrannies, and agitate for such far-reaching reforms as the lessening of the hours of labor, the progressive taxation of great incomes, the nationalization of land and of monopolized capital, the employment of the unemployed. Says a leading Christian Socialist in England, Rev. S. D. Headlam: "Lastly, I come to what is the main plank in the platform of the Christian Socialist, the chief political reform at which he aims, being bound by his creed to go to the very heart of the matter; to be content with no tinkering. It is summed up in the resolution which was moved by the English Land Restoration League in Trafalgar Square; after which the authorities, being conservative authorities, wisely settled that no more should be said there for the present. It ran as follows: 'That the main cause of poverty, both in the agricultural districts and in the great centers of population, is the fact that the land, which ought to be the common property of all, is now monopolized by a few; and that therefore those who want to cut away at the root of poverty must work to restore to the people the whole of the value which they give to the land, to get for the people complete control over the land, and to that end see to it that those who use land pay

for the use of it to its rightful owners, the people.'" Perhaps, first, above all else the Church should see to it that her own life is rightly fashioned; that she organize her needy converts in home and foreign fields into true self-supporting Christian communities; that she see to it that her own churches be built and her church papers and prayer-books be printed by united labor working during just hours at righteous wages. A Church that did this, led by clergy, living from the Christ life in humility and self-sacrifice and lifting up her voice for the opprest against every oppressor, would be indeed a Church following her Master in social reform.

REFERENCES: For the relation of the early Church to social reform, see *Gesta Christi*, by C. L. Brace; *The Social Result of Early Christianity*, by Karl Schmidt; *Arius the Libyan*, by N. C. Koun; Church histories, etc. For the medieval Church, see, in addition to the above-mentioned works, *The World the Subject of Redemption*, by Canon Fremantle. For the modern Church, see *Social Aspects of Christianity*, by R. T. Ely; *Socialism from Genesis to Revelation*, by F. W. Sprague; *English Social Movements*, by R. A. Wood; *Practicable Socialism*, by Rev. and Mrs. S. A. Barnet; *The Christian Society*, by G. D. Herron; *Applied Christianity*, by Washington Gladden; *Faith and Social Service*, by George Hodges; *Religious Movements for Social Betterment*, by Josiah Strong. See also CHRIST AND SOCIAL REFORM; CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM; INSTITUTIONAL CHURCHES, etc.

CHURCH AND THE REFORM WORKERS, THE: The writer in 1905 conducted an investigation into the church affiliation of the men and women engaged in social reform work in the United States. Returns were received from over 1,000 persons. Four hundred and one were workers in associated charities, 339 in settlements, 272 were connected with various national social reform organizations. All portions of the country were represented. Four hundred and seventeen were men, 495 were women, the excess of women being in the associated charities and settlements.

Out of 878 social reform workers reporting upon the point, 753 were returned as communicants in some church. Even if the 134 who did not report on this point be all counted as non-communicants, it still makes 753 out of 1,012, or 74 per cent.

The method was by sending blanks to the secretaries of associated charities, to the head workers in settlements, and the presidents or secretaries of national reform organizations. Blanks were sent to all whose addresses could be secured. Each person to whom a blank was sent was requested to fill it out for individuals known personally to him or her as social reform workers. They were asked not to report the names of the individuals, so as to avoid seeming to pry into personalities. It was thought, too, that in this way more returns could be obtained. As a guaranty, however, of good faith, each one sending in a report was asked to sign his or her name to the statement that the returns did represent the facts as to workers in social reform personally known to the sender of the facts. To obviate reduplication, each was asked to report for individuals so intimately connected with the society or organization in question as not to be likely to be reported by any one else. One thousand and twelve such returns were made.

The Church membership of workers in the associated charities rises to 92 per cent; with the settlements it is 88 per cent; among other reform organizations it falls to 71 per cent.

What does this finding mean? It may be said at once that it does not mean that there is therefore no basis for criticism of the Church. Blanks were not sent to any institutional church, nor to any distinctively church organizations. It was taken for granted that workers in such societies would be affiliated with the Church. If anything, the presence of such a large proportion of church people in societies distinctly extra-ecclesia would indicate that the Church herself was not doing such work, at least not sufficiently to furnish an adequate outlet for earnestness and effort.

Complaint is raised in many quarters of the decreasing number of candidates for the sacred ministry; may it not be that in the large number of church men and women found in these social efforts there is one cause for this scarcity?

It is also clearly evidenced by the returns that religion and Christianity and the creed are not dying. It is a time of change, but the changes are modal and not of faith. Still, to-day, the majority of the men and women who are striving to make the world better—at least in the U. S.—are members of the Christian Church and believers in the Christian faith. Rather do we see to-day Christianity blossoming into a new life and the creed putting forth new credentials in the eyes of a practical world.

This becomes even more manifest as we note the denominational preferences of the social reform workers. The churches that do social reform work are, naturally, the churches social reformers choose.

If we take the proportion of communicants in each religious communion to the total number of communicants in the United States, and compare this with the number of communicants the same communions furnish to social reform, we shall find that the Roman Catholic Church should produce 33 per cent of the reform communicants, and does produce 5 per cent; the Methodist Church (of all kinds) should produce 20 per cent, and does produce 14 per cent; the Baptist Church should produce 17 per cent, and does produce 6 per cent; the Presbyterian Church (North and South) should produce 5 per cent, and does produce 16 per cent; the Congregational Church should produce 2 per cent, and does produce 16 per cent; the Protestant Episcopal Church should produce also 2 per cent, and does produce 21 per cent; Unitarians and Universalists together should produce 0.4 per cent, and do produce 6 per cent. Other churches should produce some 18 per cent, and do produce 10 per cent. Other returns were as to church attendance. The average social reform worker, according to these returns, attends church 3.7 times per month, tho 37 nominal church members and 120 non-church members do not attend church at all.

Another set of returns shows the dominant early religious influences of the reform workers. Of the 980 reporting on this point, only 22 report no dominant early religious influence; 108 report the influence simply as Protestant, without naming any denomination; 872 report a denominational early influence. Comparing this with their present religious affiliations, we get some indication of the denominational changes that are taking place among this class of workers. The Baptist and Presbyterian churches have neither gained nor lost. The Roman Catholic Church, the Methodist, Unitarian, and Universalist, and the "scattered" churches seem to have lost. The Roman Catholic Church, with originally 7 per cent, has now 5 per cent of those reporting the points; the Methodist Church, with originally 15 per cent, has now 14 per cent. The Unitarian and Universalist churches, with originally 7 per cent, have now 6 per cent; while the "scattered" churches, with originally 16 per cent, have now 10 per cent. The Protestant Episcopal Church and the Congregational Church have gained. The latter originally had 15 per

cent, and now has 16 per cent; the Protestant Episcopal Church, having originally also 15 per cent, now has 21 per cent of those reporting.

So go the denominational changes, indicating, with what has gone before, that to-day it is not, on the whole, the churches most characterized by revivalistic methods, not the churches working on old personal lines, be these Roman Catholic or liberal, that are reaching the earnest social workers. Personal religion means to-day the devotion of the person to the common effort.

W. D. P. Bliss.

CHURCH AND THE WORKINGMAN, THE: Labor troubles come as the result of an advancing civilization. Social unrest is sometimes an indication of social progress. There are no labor troubles in "Darkest Africa." Curiously enough, Christianity will have a good deal to do with introducing them.

The ancient philosophers declared that "a purchased laborer is better than a hired one," "a workshop is incompatible with nobility." And in accordance with these principles they erected great prison-like structures in which they hid away the laborer, compelling half the world to live in slavery. Then came Jesus Christ. Standards changed. Jesus discovered the individual. He showed the world how highly God values a human soul. Men have caught His spirit, with the result that in every Christian land the standing of the laborer has been elevated.

It was in Christianity that the labor movement had its rise. Its success is due to the fact that Christianity blazed the way. It was because Christianity and the labor movement had so much in common, that, as C. Osborne Ward points out in "Ancient Lowly," it was among the members of the labor gilds of the apostolic days that the Gospel had its freest course. In those days practically every workingman belonged to the gild composed of the men and women of his craft. It is not unlikely that some of the apostles themselves were identified with these organizations. This may have been especially true of Paul, who still worked at his trade as a tent-maker, usually seeking out those who were of the same craft, when visiting a strange city. As he was dependent upon his trade for a living, and as he constantly traveled from place to place, it seems reasonable to suppose that Paul identified himself with an organization which would give him greater opportunities for gaining his support. If, in connection with this benefit, there might come an opportunity for doing a larger service among a great class of toilers, it may be that Paul again "became all things to all men, that by all means he might win some," following out the principle of his approach to men. This we know without dispute—it was among the gilds of the larger cities which Paul visited that he established the churches whose names are given in the inspired record. And these very gilds of working people became centers for the proclamation of the Gospel.

Changing Conditions

Since those days, the relation of the workingman toward the Church has undergone a great change. Labor organizations and mass-meetings of working men have, from time to time, passed resolutions denouncing the Church and the ministry because of their apparent indifference to the interests of working people. Vast numbers of working men have undoubtedly been alienated from the Church, and it has often been true that the Church was to blame for this alienation. If it is insisted that it is the fault of the workingman that he does not go to church, it should be remembered that the Church was established for faulty people. Therefore the greater the fault of the workingman, the greater becomes the responsibility of the Church in this connection.

The Church is slowly awaking to the fact that the labor movement is the most significant movement of modern times. It should be understood that when one speaks of the labor movement one does not refer exclusively to the labor-union. There are forces organized and unorganized which are comprized in this term. It includes the 25,000,000 Socialists of the world, nearly 7,000,000 of whom have cast their ballots for Socialist candidates; it includes the 8,000,000 trade-unionists from every land, 3,000,000 of whom are in the United States and Canada; it embraces the uprising among the Russian peasantry, 20,000 of whom (in 1906) suffered martyrs' deaths because of their belief in the ideal which somebody has given them; it includes the movement among the British working men, who practically control the English Parliament; it includes the movements among the masses in Germany, in Italy, in France, in Belgium, in Australia—to say nothing about the social unrest that exists in the U. S. In view of all this, it does not require a very wise man to say that this is the era of the common man, and when the hour strikes that shall proclaim the victory of the common people, this is the question which will confront us as a church: Will they be inspired by a high religious ideal given them by the Church, or will they go on to better and nobler things, indifferent to the Church, because of the consciousness that they have won all in spite of the Church? For win they will; no human power can prevent it, and no divine power will.

This, then, is the great labor movement that confronts the Church to-day. There is so much religion in this movement that some day it will be a question as to whether the Church will capture the labor movement or whether the labor movement will capture the Church. We hear a great deal about the Church saving the masses, but some day the masses are going to help save the Church.

Three very interesting facts give the Church a decided advantage in the matter of capturing the labor movement.

First. Workingmen almost universally honor Jesus Christ as their friend and leader, and most of them believe in His divinity.

Second. The great mass of working people are naturally religious, altho that religion may not always be exprest in the most orthodox manner.

Third. The labor question is fundamentally a moral and a religious problem. It will never be settled on any other basis. In the end there will be not one answer to the social question, but many; but they will all agree in this: all of them will be religious.

If the Church is to permanently attract working men, the workingman must find in the approach of the Church an absolute sincerity. It must make the people the end of its endeavors. They must find in the Church a greater democ-

racy. It behooves the Church to study the new movement among the masses and to direct it with unselfishness and with a devotion to the right, which shall win the millions who are incarnated in the "common people." The Church must preach a clearer social message. Working men are not particularly concerned about social theories, but sometimes their social conditions are so real and so vital a part of their lives, that it is almost impossible to reach them through an evangelistic campaign. Furthermore, the workingman must find in the Church more of the prophetic spirit.

Practically every church has exprest its interest in this problem, but some of the leading denominations have spoken with no uncertain sound. At the session of the Federation of Churches held in New York City in 1905, representatives of practically every Protestant denomination in the U. S., who spoke for nearly 20,000,000 church members, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

Whereas, In the divine order of things there can be no discord between labor and the accumulated results of labor known as capital:

Resolved, That private capital in every instance ought to be administered as a sacred trust for the common weal—this not merely in the distribution of surplus wealth, but also in all the active productive uses of capital, the law of God requiring not only beneficence instead of corrupting extravagance, but also instead of greedy production productive activities conducted on lines most considerate of the ultimate well-being of the whole community and the immediate welfare of the immediate workers.

Among other resolutions adopted by the Congregational Church at its national meeting with reference to labor, was the following:

Recognizing that the need and the right to work are fundamental in human society and that much remains to be done to establish just relationships in the industrial order, we urge our churches to take a deeper interest in the labor question, and to get a more intelligent understanding of the aims of organized labor.

The National Council of the Congregational Church also has a representative Industrial Committee which is to study such questions as child labor, organized labor, immigration, industrial organizations, and socialism. State associations also have similar committees under whose auspices frequent conferences have been held in various parts of the U. S.

The Protestant Episcopal Church, at its national conference, had this to say:

In the face of a prejudice and a hostility for which there are serious reasons, we are convinced that the organization of labor is essential to the well-being of the working people. Its purpose is to maintain such a standard of wages, hours, and conditions as shall afford every man an opportunity to grow in mind and in heart. Without organization the standard cannot be maintained in the midst of our present commercial conditions.

This denomination also has a Labor Committee composed of prominent clergymen and laymen. For many years there has been in this church an organization known as the Church Association for Improving the Condition of Labor, commonly known as the C. A. I. L. While not in organic relationship with the Church, it has among its officers many of its bishops, and the work of the organization has received the hearty indorsement of the General Convention. Among the committees are those on Tenement-House Reform, Labor Organization, Sweating System, and the Church and Stage. The official organ of the association is *Hammer and Pen*, published in New York City.

The Presbyterian Church has established a Department of Church and Labor, which is in official relationship with that church. Its General Assembly of 1905 adopted this resolution:

Appreciating the increasing importance of the industrial problem and realizing that the labor question is fundamentally a moral and a religious question, and that it will never be settled upon any other basis, we recommend that the Presbyterian Home Mission committees appoint subcommittees for the purpose of making a systematic study of the entire problem in their respective localities. These committees shall cooperate with the Department of Church and Labor, thus establishing, in connection with the organized Presbyterianism of every city in America, a board of experts, who may be able to inform the churches with respect to the aims of organized labor, and to inform the working men concerning the mission of the Church.

The department serves as a clearing-house for the study of up-to-date methods of city mission work. It is attempting to reduce to a science work among working men. In this matter it has the cooperation of committees in practically every city of importance in the U. S. An article dealing with some phase of the labor question from the Christian view-point is regularly sent to the 300 labor papers in the U. S. and Canada, through which the department speaks weekly to 10,000,000 working people. Noonday shop meeting campaigns are conducted under its auspices in the industrial centers, the ministers of the city doing the preaching. Each year on Labor Sunday—the Sunday before Labor Day—every minister in the church is requested to preach on some phase of the labor question. So that both the Church and labor may see each other with clearer vision, the plan of the exchange of fraternal delegates between local ministers' associations and central labor-unions has been advocated by this department. Several of the leading denominations have entered most heartily into this work. The fraternal delegate goes unpledged to secrecy. He does not have the privilege of voting, but he has the right of the floor on all occasions. In some instances the labor-unions have created the office of chaplain for the ministers, and the regular meetings are opened with prayer.

Fraternal Delegates

Working together, the Ministers' Association and the Central Labor Union may bring about many municipal reforms. Indeed, united, there are few things in this direction which they may not accomplish in the cause of good citizenship, independent of partizan politics. Especially in those matters which involve moral issues—such as the saloon, gambling, the social evil, Sunday work, child labor, sanitary conditions in tenement-houses and factories, and everything else that influences the moral life of the community—may these organizations cooperate. If the opportunities for service which the ministerial fraternal delegate to the Central Labor Union has presented to him are rightly appreciated and properly employed, there are few positions that offer greater possibilities in bringing men of all classes the message which will bring about a truer spirit of Christian brotherhood. In operation in about 100 cities, the plan is spreading from city to city, until it is hoped that it will become effective in the 600 cities of our country that support central labor unions and ministers' associations. As a practical result of this plan, there is a more cordial relationship between working men and the Church; first, because the minister has a broader conception of what the labor movement stands for; and, sec-

ond, because the labor leader has come to know something of the mission of the Church. The plan has the hearty indorsement of the American Federation of Labor. At its Pittsburg meeting, held in 1905, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor recommends that all affiliated state and central bodies exchange fraternal delegates with the various state and city ministerial associations, wherever practicable, thus insuring a better understanding on the part of the Church and clergy of the aims and objects of the labor-union movement of America.

To further indicate its attitude toward the Church, another resolution was adopted which very strongly commended the Church for its renewed interest in the study of the problems which concern the toilers.

Altogether the outlook with relation to the Church and labor is most encouraging. The question of the workingman and the Church is no longer a problem. It is an opportunity. It is simply another challenge to the Church.

CHARLES STELZLE.

There is, however, another side, not contrary to the foregoing, but to be taken in connection with it.

In 1906 Dr. Josiah Strong wrote in *Social Progress*, of which he is editor:

The most striking fact revealed by the study of these eight denominational year-books is the large and increasing number of barren churches; that is, those which do not report a single addition on confession of faith. The number of barren Congregational churches last year was 2,390, against 2,306 the year before, and 1,632 in 1895. The number of barren Presbyterian churches was 2,270, against 2,024 the previous year, and 1,699 in 1895. The minutes of the Methodist Episcopal conferences do not give statistics for separate churches, but for *charges*, and there are often several churches in one charge. The number of Methodist charges which reported no additions on confession last year was 2,276, against 2,046 the year before, and 1,134 ten years earlier. Both the absolute number and the percentage of barren churches is increasing, having risen in the Congregational denomination from 30.5 per cent in 1895 to 41.0 per cent in 1905.

The increase of barren churches in recent years is the more significant in view of the evangelistic efforts of the last year or two. . . .

From 1800 to 1850 there was a flowing tide of individualistic religion, which swept over an increasing proportion of the population; but from the middle of the century on, the tide ran more slowly, and by 1900 it was practically stationary. We must not, therefore, be surprised to learn that the tide has now turned, and the statistics of the past year show that *it has already begun to ebb*. The estimated annual increase of our population is 2.18 per cent, while the increase of the entire church membership of the United States during 1905 was only 1.69 per cent—the lowest rate on record.

That this falling off in church life is particularly true among the working classes is seen in many facts, among others in what Dr. Strong reports in his *New Era*:

United States

He says that in Brooklyn (the city of churches) the rector of an important Episcopal church said: "On the list of my church members there is not a single workingman." A Reformed Church clergyman: "That is also my case." A minister of a large Congregational church said: "We have one artizan on our list." A leading Presbyterian clergyman added: "Of working men, strictly so called, I have not a single one in my congregation." The total number of the members of these churches was about 2,200, and of these professed believers gathered into church fellowship only one was a workingman.

Says a pamphlet (American):

Much has been said about "reaching the masses" . . . but I am compelled to say the Church *does not want to reach the masses*. The Church wants the classes. . . . The poor are passed by because they are poor, and the rich and well-to-do are sought because they are rich and well-to-do.

Says Richard Heath in "The Captive City of God" (London, 1905):

It is not Mariolatry or Bibliolatry we have to fear—what has desolated the Church and is desolating the Church is the worship of Property.

It was stated, in 1891, at the Congregation International Council, that almost all of the hundred richest men in the U. S. were members or adherents of Protestant churches, and out of the 200 men who possest $20,000,000, or more, 95 per cent were members of Evangelical churches. In the Protestant Episcopal Church, the dioceses of New York, Long Island, Massachusetts, western Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Pittsburg, out of a possible twenty-five lay delegates to the General Convention choose at present thirteen millionaires. The fact that the Church is the church of the wealthy, keeps it from being the church of the people.

This last winter at a Young Men's Christian Association theater service on Sunday afternoon in Brooklyn, the city of churches, an audience of 500 men was asked to show by raising the hand how many had been to church that morning, Twenty-five responded, of which twenty-three were Roman Catholics.

In Great Britain it is perhaps worse. Says Charles Booth (quoted in Haw's "Christianity and the Working Classes":

The general conclusion is that the great masses of the people remain apart from all forms of religious communion.

Mr. Percy Alden, M.P. (long warden of Mansfield Settlement), is quoted as saying:

Great Britain

An intimate acquaintance with many thousands of working men has taught me that, even where there is no hostility whatever to religion, there is a sort of subconscious and unrecognized feeling of antagonism to the Church as an institution or corporate body and to the parson as a paid teacher of religion.

Says the Rev. Arthur Jephson, vicar of St. John's, Walworth:

Why should working people go to church? What have they got to learn there? The Church is largely to blame for the alienation of the working classes. The Church is almost always the friend of the landlord and employer. The Church has allied itself with land and capital, and generally with the master against his workmen. Its clergymen have dined with the rich and preached at the poor, instead of doing the exact opposite.

An editorial in the *Labor Leader* says:

In these later days the Church has fallen into almost obscurity as a power in the moral and civic life of the nation. Its form remains, its habiliments are still gorgeous, but it walks behind not in front of the State, and its gestures and speech are almost unheeded in the great march of the nation."

A Fabian writer shows by an analysis of the votes in the House of Lords that the bishops and archbishops of England have voted "No" on almost every progressive and advance bill.

For the following statistics (as well as for some of our quotations as to the position on the Continent) we are indebted to Richard Heath's "The Captive City of God" (London, 1905).

The religious census taken by the *Daily News* in London, 1902–3, compared with the census taken in 1851 by Sir Horace Man, shows that the population has doubled, but that the total church attendance has fallen from 37.38 per cent in 1851 to 22.44 per cent in 1902. The attendance on the Anglican churches fell from 17.73 per cent to 7.44 per cent. The census also shows that few things are less hopeful as far as the working classes are concerned than the modern mission in

London. In the boroughs of Shoreditch, Bethnal Green, Poplar, Stepney, Hackney, Finsbury, Bermondsey, and Southwark, with a population of 1,352,903 persons, the attendance on Sunday services of the Free Church Missions, including those of the Evangelical Mission churches, the City Mission, and the Salvation Army, was (without deducting those who attended twice) somewhat more than 40,000, or about 3.3 per cent of the population, and of these, 22,000, or more than 53 per cent, were children. For Scotland the elaborate statistics published in 1893, by Dr. Robert Howie, show that while the population of Scotland increased 39.3 per cent in forty years, the attendance at its Presbyterian churches had decreased 22.4 per cent.

Scotland

In Germany conditions are the same. Dr. Stöcker, of Berlin, is quoted by Richard Heath as saying:

Nowhere has so great a part of the population broken with the Church. Protestantism is sick, sick unto death. Individual expressions of Christian life are on the increase, but the organized Church is steadily losing influence and respect. . . . In the north and northeast the friends of Christianity are among the aristocracy and among the peasants, while the middle classes, the educated industrial commercial people, as well as the artizans and little tradesmen, are, with few exceptions, opposed to the Church; the working men of the towns, belonging, as they often do, to the Social Democratic Party, being necessarily hostile.

Germany

Pastor Erich Forster, of Frankfort-on-Main, editor of *Chronik der Christlichen Welt*, says:

It is undeniable that the alienation from the Evangelical Church and its worship goes on increasing. In Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and the north of Brandenburg, that is, in the most purely Protestant part of Germany, the Church is dead. Worst of all is the condition in the great cities.

Says Paul Göhre in his "Three Months in a German Workshop":

Among the working classes only one quality of religion remains, and that is respect and reverence for Jesus Christ. . . . There is no escaping the conclusion that the materialistic influence of social democracy has nowhere so fundamentally destroyed the received ideas and impressions of the workingman as in the sphere of religion. The old forms and images in which the beliefs of Christendom have hitherto been handed down are, for the bulk of our wage-earners under the capitalistic system of production, forever broken. And with the form, the spirit, which alone is the essence and the work of the form, is for many also gone. A world without God is growing up under our eyes; a world whose horizon is continually growing wider, and whose icy chill and desolation is creeping over many souls who still waver and struggle and despair who in their inmost depths reject the barren teachings of a materialistic philosophy.

Forsaken by their Church, without help, without enlightenment, without support or guidance, surrounded by an atmosphere of socialistic thought from which there is no escape, they are all dying a lingering and often a torturing spiritual death.

OTHER COUNTRIES

Of France, Pastor Elie Gournell says:

Why are people aleniated from the Church? Because its action is neither just enough nor promotive of solidarity. In the sixteenth century we were the vanguard of science, moral action, and faith; to-day we lag behind in the rear-guard.

In Switzerland, Prof. Gaston Frommel says:

The churches are not true churches, only audiences.

Of Holland, Dr. A. Kuyper is represented by Richard Heath (from whose book several of our quotations are taken) as saying in substance:

Orthodoxy in Holland is faced by a destructive criticism subversive of the very sources of Christian faith, by a remodeling of moral ideas, and above all by a social movement, which means nothing less than a total overthrow of the social edifice.

Of the Roman Catholic Church we have few reliable statistics, but of its weakening hold upon the masses in Europe there can be no question. Witness the startling political reverses for the Church in France, Italy, Spain, and Austria. Its very efforts at a so-called Christian Socialism (see ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH; also CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM) are but efforts to stay the work of the Social Democratic Party, which has taken millions of men from the Church. In Germany the Roman Catholic vote (1907) was 1,375,000. The Social Democratic vote 3,000,000. If in the U. S. the Church of Rome seems sometimes to be gaining, it is only due to the immense Roman Catholic immigration. But the increase of the Church of Rome is less than the Roman Catholic immigration, so that here, too, the Church of Rome is steadily losing ground.

Roman Catholicism

EDITOR.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND: The relation of the Church of England to social reform is best seen under CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION; GUILD OF ST. MATTHEW; CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM (section England); CHURCH SOCIALIST SOCIETY, also CHURCH ARMY and CHURCH OF ENGLAND TEMPERANCE SOCIETY. For statements of the failure of the Church of England to reach the masses, see CHURCH AND WORKINGMEN (§ 2). To what extent, however, radical thought has entered the Church of England, especially in London, may be seen in the fact that at a meeting of the London Conference in 1906, a resolution indorsing the general principles of socialism was carried by a vote of 58 to 13.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND TEMPERANCE SOCIETY: Organized 1862, and reformed on the basis of the dual pledge 1873. One of its sections, including the junior department, is composed of those who take a total abstinence pledge. The other section includes non-abstainers, who take a pledge of moderation and cooperate with the abstainers in work for temperance. There is also a woman's union connected with the society. *Address*: 4, The Sanctuary, Westminster, London, S. W., England.

CHURCH SOCIALIST LEAGUE, THE: English organization, founded June 13, 1906. *Principles*: (1) The Church has a mission to the whole of human life, social and individual, material and spiritual; (2) the Church can best fulfil its social mission by acting in its corporate capacity; (3) to this end the members of the league accept the principles of socialism. *Object*: To secure the corporate action of the Church on these principles. *Methods*: (1) To cultivate by the regular use of prayer and sacraments the life of brotherhood; (2) members undertake to help each other in fulfilling the object of the league by speaking and lecturing and in other ways; (3) members shall cooperate as far as possible to secure the consideration of social questions at their various ruridecanal and diocesan conferences, and the election of Socialists on these and other representative bodies; (4) members shall work for the disestablishment of the patron, and the substitution of the Church in each parish in conjunction with the Church in the diocese in the patron's place; (5) to secure the due representation of the wage-earning classes upon all the official representative bodies of the Church.

A leaflet of the league says:

The league requires its members to be convinced Socialists, in the historical and economic meaning of the word. It is thus a society within the Church, composed exclusively of Socialists.

It accepts the principles that the Church has a mission to the whole of human life, social and individual, material and spiritual; that the Church can best fulfil this mission by acting in its corporate capacity. . . . Whilst the Church has some claim to be the Church of the people, it is notorious that the wage-earners of this country have little or no place in the councils of the Church. The constitution of any diocesan conference or of the Houses of Laymen is the revelation of the Church's preference for rank, position, and wealth. This is as wrong as it is disastrous to the life and influence of the Church. The league will aim at securing the more adequate representation of the wage-earners on these various Church bodies.

Honorary Secretary, Rev. J. H. Hastings, Halton, Lancaster, England.

CHURCH TEMPERANCE SOCIETY (THE): An American society founded in 1881 on the following basis: "Recognizing *temperance* as the law of the Gospel, and *total abstinence* as a rule of conduct essential in some cases and highly desirable in many others, and fully and freely according to every man the right to decide, in the exercise of his Christian liberty, whether or not he will adopt said rule, this society lays down as the *basis* on which it rests and from which its work shall be conducted, a *union and corporation on equal terms* for the promotion of Temperance, between those who use temperately, and those who abstain entirely, from intoxicating drinks as beverages."

Objects: (1) The promotion of temperance; (2) the reformation of the intemperate; (3) the removal of the causes of intemperance.

Lines of Action: (1) Prevention, embodied in the semimilitary orders of Young Crusaders of from eight to sixteen years of age; Knights of Temperance from sixteen to twenty-one years; and Veteran Knights over twenty-one years of age. (2) Counteraction, through the establishment of saloons without liquor. The society has established the *Squirrel Inn* at 131 Bowery, New York, with free reading-room, a library of 1,000 volumes, monthly lectures, and coffee at one cent per cup. It has six lunch wagons, open day and night, from which 355,712 ten-cent meals were sold in 1906. During the summer months the society maintains free ice-water fountains at a cost of about $2,000. It has also a firemen's van, which attends all large fires in the city, supplying the firemen with sandwiches and coffee. (3) Restrictive legislation. Twenty-five years ago the saloon license in New York City was $120, and the trade was controlled by the board of twelve aldermen, of whom nine were interested in the liquor business. The high license is now $1,200, and the number of saloons has been reduced to 6,930. (4) Rescue. The society's offices are always open for the consideration of personal cases of intemperance; and for counseling those who have fallen its victims and needing a home where they will be medically treated and cared for.

The governing board consists of forty members. Chairman, Rt. Rev. Bishop Courtney, D.D.; treasurer, Mr. Irving Grinnell; general secretary, Mr. Robert Graham. Office, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

CIGAR-MAKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION, THE: An American union with highly developed methods of governmental administration and an elaborate system of sick, death, and out-of-work benefits. Moreover, its structure and functions, which exemplify those of the English unions, modified to suit American conditions, have frequently served as models for newer national organizations. The piano and organ workers, for example, have borrowed almost bodily a constitution from the cigar-makers. In 1902 the plumbers adopted their financial system; and various characteristic features have been copied by other American unions.

The cigar-makers were not among the first trades in this country to form local societies. Until recent years it required very little capital for a journeyman cigar-maker to open a shop of his own. The members of the craft, therefore, occupied an independent position, and were able to command good wages without forming unions. A few attempts to organize the trade were, however, made at a comparatively early date. Thus, in 1835, at the time of the agitation among the mechanics of Philadelphia to inaugurate a ten-hour working day, a committee of cigar-makers in that city held a meeting, and adopted resolutions to the effect that the cigar-makers of the city "organize in order to regulate the prices of work, so as to earn a sufficiency on the principle of ten hours." The females engaged in cigar-making were also urged to strike with the journeymen of the trade, and "thereby make it a mutual interest with both parties to sustain each other in their rights." A local society of the trade is said to have been formed at Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1843. On May 5, 1851, a cigar-makers' union was organized in Baltimore, Md., then one of the leading centers of the cigar trade. Between 1852 and 1853 about sixty cigar-makers employed in the shop of a manufacturer named Mark Sharkey, in New York City, organized a union. But the English and German members of the society did not harmonize. Suspicion and ill-feeling were engendered, and in about six months the union ceased to exist. Another attempt was made, in 1859, to form a local in New York City. But like its predecessor it went to pieces in a few months on account of internal dissensions.

The Internal Revenue Law, adopted at the time of the Civil War, and particularly the law of 1868, which required every journeyman who desired to manufacture cigars or who worked in his own home to furnish bonds to the amount of $600 on real estate, hastened greatly the unionization of the trade. Most journeymen were unable to pay this bond. They thus permanently became wage-earners, and formed unions to bargain more effectively with their employers. The introduction of the mold, about 1870, the team system of manufacture, and other labor-saving devices have successively lowered the skill required of the cigar-maker, and have made increasingly necessary the organization of the trade.

Revenue Law

A national federation of all local unions was formed in 1864, for the purpose of preventing competition for work between journeymen cigar-makers in different cities, and to regulate nationally the conditions of apprenticeship. Almost immediately, also, provision was made for the support by the national union of locals on strike. A few years later, with the admission of certain Canadian societies, the name Cigar-makers' International Union was adopted. The international organization has maintained a continuous existence until the present day. During the depression of 1873–77 many of the subordinate unions went to pieces; and from 5,800 in 1869 the membership sunk to about 1,000 in 1877. After the depression, however, the union reorganized on a much sounder basis; and most of the features

which characterize the society to-day were adopted at that time. Moreover, the membership has since then maintained a steady growth, and has reached about 45,000 at the present time. Of recent years the cigar-makers have been engaged in a severe contest with the tobacco trust, which has consistently opposed the union from the beginning, and has undoubtedly weakened the power of the locals in many places.

The Cigar-makers' International Union was one of the first American organizations to adopt the various beneficiary features of the English unions. In 1867 an abortive attempt was made to introduce the system of advancing loans to members who wished to travel in search of work. The administration of the loan system was, however, so dishonest that, in 1873, this feature was replaced by the so-called "endowment plan" or death benefit; but under the stress of industrial depression the endowment plan was abandoned. In 1879 the loan system was permanently reestablished, and in 1880 the sick and death benefits were introduced, the Cigar-makers' International Union being the first American organization to pay a sick benefit. This union is also one of the few American confederations that have adopted the out-of-work benefit, which was inaugurated in 1890.

The cost per member for the out-of-work benefit has varied according to the state of the trade, having reached its highest point during the four years of industrial depression from 1894–97. The cost per member for the sick and death benefits has steadily increased. This has been partly due to the fact that the amount of benefit paid in each case has gradually been made larger; partly it is the result of the higher sick and death rate, due, in turn, to the steady increase in the average age of the members—a condition found in all organizations with a slowly growing or stationary membership.

The members who pay fifteen cents as dues receive strike benefits and not more than $50 death benefit. The twenty-cent retiring card holders receive sick and death benefits.

On the side of government and administration, the cigar-makers have, almost from the beginning, employed the system of popular initiative and referendum, and, since 1896, have not held a general representative convention. Amendments to the constitution are proposed by the local unions, and adopted or rejected by a majority vote of the members. The officers of the union have also been elected by popular vote since 1893. The cigar-makers have adopted the English financial system of nationalization and equalization of funds. All funds are made the property of the International Union. They are kept, however, not at central headquarters, but in the treasury of each local union. The local societies are allowed a certain percentage of the total amount in the treasury. The remainder must be expended for activities guaranteed by the International Union. When the amount in any local treasury becomes exhausted, the president of the International Union equalizes the funds, so that there shall be in every local treasury a certain amount for each member.

The union label, the well-known device now used to mark goods made by union labor, had its origin among the cigar-makers. It was utilized by the San Francisco local in its fight against Chinese coolie labor. A little later, a similar label was employed by the local at St. Louis. A label for all subordinate societies was adopted by the International Union in 1880. The fact that working men prefer cigars which bear the union label, is an important source of the union's strength in bargaining with employers.

T. Wesley Glocker.

References: *The Structure of the Cigar-makers' Union*, by T. W. Glocker (contained in the *Studies in American Trade-Unionism*, ed. by Prof. Jacob H. Hollander and Dr George E. Barnett); *The Benefit System of the Cigar-makers' Union*, by Helen L. Sumner (contained in *Trade-Unionism and Labor Problems*, ed. by Prof. John R. Commons); *The Labor Movement, the Problem of To-day*, ed. by George E. McNeill, appendix, pp. 585–595; *Report of the Industrial Commission*, vol. xvii., pp. 280–290.

CINCINNATI: While heralded abroad as "the worst governed city," it is the distinction of Cincinnati to have quite early in its career taken two steps that placed it far in advance of any other city in the world, and which to-day give it a unique position in the family of American municipalities. Behind many others in the extent of its municipal activities, and not even now the theater or the forum for the discussion of municipal ownership and operation, it has in a manner all its own gone perhaps to bolder extremes in this direction than any other American city.

Cincinnati is the only city in America that owns a steam railroad, a road that runs over territory in three states from Cincinnati in Ohio to Chattanooga in Tennessee. Cincinnati is also the only American city that owns and operates a university, altho other cities have colleges and seminaries. Cincinnati, too, was the first American city to establish on a country site a municipal hospital exclusively for consumptives, and it owns and operates this hospital to-day. However, having taken these vast steps, the city would seem to have spent its energy and met its desires in this direction, for its municipal activities, compared with those of other cities, seem to be exhausted as far as innovations are concerned. The fact that Cincinnati built a steam railroad and established a municipal university and a hospital, and yet has since practically halted in the extension of its municipal activities, presents perhaps as strange a contrast of temperaments in a people as history affords. Cincinnati is conservative in the accepted sense and as a normal condition; yet the fact remains that when aroused it has shown a daring and radical spirit not to be found elsewhere. On one notable occasion, when lashed into fury by what they considered repeated miscarriages of justice and a general condition of public debauchery, the people became a "many-headed mob," which placed the torch to its temple of the blind goddess; and in the morning its court-house was a smoldering ruin.

Public Ownership

The story of the Cincinnati Southern Railroad is filled with interest, and not without flashes of romance. Cincinnati, the home of Mrs. Stowe when she wrote "Uncle Tom's Cabin," had long been a hotbed of abolition sentiment; and at the conclusion of the Civil War the feeling of the South was bitter against the city. Louisville, Ky., had the Louisville and Nashville Railroad to the south, and was diligent in nursing the trade to that section. It was seen that if Cincinnati was to maintain its commercial and manufacturing position it must regain and develop its Southern relations. As early as 1865 James Dalton, a Cincinnati man, had introduced legislation in the General Assembly for a railroad to

the south, but the people were not then ripe for the venture. However, the matter was taken up by E. A. Ferguson, a Cincinnati lawyer, and in May, 1869, the legislation was passed. This law provided that whenever the city council should declare the necessity for a railroad, and the people on a referendum should approve, the Superior Court should appoint five trustees, and a bond issue of $10,000,000, secured by mortgage and a tax for interest and sinking-fund, should be authorized. This was all done, and the debate as to what should be the southern terminus of the road was eventually decided in favor of Chattanooga. A charter from Tennessee was obtained without much trouble in 1870, but there was considerable delay and difficulty in getting a charter from Kentucky. This too, however, was secured in 1870, and then an act was passed by Congress to allow of a bridge across the Ohio River. New loans of $6,000,000 and $2,000,000 respectively were authorized as the work progressed and the cost found to increase. These several acts were accompanied by the most strenuous debates, and frequently the people were worked up to a great state of excitement. As usual there were charges and countercharges regarding the intelligence and purity of actions and objects of persons. The scheme for a city to build a railroad, and that, too, through three sovereign states, was so novel and unheard-of that naturally it met with the opposition of "constitutional" lawyers, and lawsuits were abundant. But Ferguson and his associates persisted, and in 1880 the road was completed, an event celebrated with a great banquet, bonfires, and ringing of bells. The road was leased, and in 1896 an effort to sell it was defeated on a referendum to the people, altho the most powerful interests were for its sale. In 1901 the people decided on a renewal of the lease, the terms being an annual rental of about $1,116,000, for sixty years. There are also other provisions of a rather technical nature in the lease. If the experience of Cincinnati with the Southern Railroad has not been an unbroken chain of benefits—if there have been disappointments—yet the fact is now undisputed that the worth and wisdom of the venture have been more than demonstrated. It furnishes an object-lesson of what has to be endured as well as of what is to be enjoyed, of the forces that have to be opposed and of the friends to be gained.

As with the Southern Railroad, there are none now who would sell the Cincinnati University, a great institution housed in a series of magnificent buildings, and in which are 1,500 students in the various schools and departments. It has a revenue of about $115,000 from taxation, and about $32,000 from endowments, rents, and fees.

So well satisfied is the city with its hospital for consumptives, that not only is there no whisper of getting rid of it, but plans are now being carried out for its enlargement and improvement. This hospital was started in July, 1897.

These three things accomplished, Cincinnati did little in the way of marked advancement, altho millions have been well spent on the streets, and a new water-works is now practically completed. It was not until about four years ago that the people manifested any marked desire for a larger municipal activity. They could not forever fail to catch the contagion for betterments, and the "new spirit" first manifested itself for improvements in the schools.

Public Schools

As a consequence, the public schools have undergone and are undergoing a transformation in their physical equipment, along with academic improvements that make them the peer of any in the country. The fight was long and bitter. Every influence that could be utilized to prevent this improvement was summoned. The industrious and saving Germans were especially beguiled for a while by "scare talk" about a high tax-rate, and those who pointed to other cities were accused of "knocking the town" and of lacking local patriotism. But the fight was won, and having been won the people wonder that it should ever have been necessary to make it.

The result of the school battle, for such it truly was, has encouraged the people to demand some more evidence of what is sneeringly called "altruism" in the municipal government itself. This demand has in Cincinnati, perhaps more largely than in other cities, taken its most effective form by the alertness of numerous "Improvement Associations," "Welfare Societies," "Taxpayers' Associations," and such bodies as the Business Men's Club and the Associated Organizations, and the central organizations of the Labor Unions. Robert Peel fought the repeal of the Corn Laws for years; but it was Peel, the minister, that had them repealed. So too, in Cincinnati, many of the steps in advance have been made by the politicians who were inert when the people were quiet, but who, under the lash of no uncertain public demand, went forward. There are those who, while unwilling to admit that the so-called reform movement that placed the present city administration in power under the emblem of the Democratic Party did a wise thing, yet say that it was perhaps just as well that the people asserted their power and showed what they could do if they had a mind. If it should be the fate of the political-reform movement to fail totally in gaining the confidence of the people, it appears certain that there will be no lessening of the people's vigilance. What form this will take is of course a matter of conjecture, but the signs now seem to point to the initiative and referendum, with its correlated principles of the imperative mandate and the power of recall. Agitation for direct legislation has recently taken an organized and intelligent course, and its friends feel confident that it will in a few years be written into the law of the state.

Cincinnati organizations that are influential in municipal affairs are:

City Club, United Bank Building.
Vine Street Congregational Church, Vine Street, near Eighth Street.
Associated Organizations, 1250 Harrison Avenue.
Business Men's Club, Vine and Fourth Streets.
University Settlement, Liberty and Plum Streets.
Citizens' Municipal Party, 9 Blymyer Building.
Associated Charities, 304 Broadway.
Commons Club, 621 Walnut Street.
Central Labor Council, 1313 Vine Street.
Chamber of Commerce, Vine and Fourth Streets.
Taxpayers' Association, 2518 Moormann Avenue.
Socialist Party, 304 West Ninth Street.
Hamilton County Referendum League, 34 East Sixth Street.

ALFRED H. HENDERSON.

CITIES: In this article are considered the development of cities, their administration, and matters pertaining to civic reforms. For other civic topics, see OVERCROWDING; CORRUPTION; EDUCATION; EXPENDITURES; LIGHTING; HOUSING; LUXURY; MAYOR; MUNICIPALISM; POLICE; PROSTITUTION; SLUMS; STREET-RAILWAYS; SWEATSHOPS; TENEMENTS; WATER-WORKS.

A city may be defined in general as a large or important town; more accurately, it is an incorporated municipality, usually governed by a mayor, aldermen, and common council. The number of inhabitants required to constitute a city in the United States is usually 10,000, but in some western states it is as low as 3,000. In Great Britain a city is usually a corporate town which is or has been the seat of a bishop.

I.—The History of the City

The origin of cities loses itself in the unknown past. Discoverers, as at Troy, have often found the ruins of one city buried many feet below the ruins of another, these in turn many feet below the present soil. It is doubtful, however, if these early cities from the standpoint of social science had any true civic life. They seem to have been gigantic conglomerations of walled-in populations, ruled by some despot or family of lords or priests, who sometimes, indeed, gave to the city a rude splendor and developed monumental art, yet without allowing the citizens any corporate life of their own. The inhabitants were the slaves of some king or the devotees of some god. It is in Greece that we come to the first actual city in the sense of the corporate unity of citizens. Greek social polity turned upon the conception of the city begun undoubtedly as a colony from some patriarchal clan, but early developing organized democratic life. (See ATHENS.) Many of the cities, however, were long *oligarchies*, and often, even after democratic life had been gained, some family or families would gain the power and establish an oligarchy. Sometimes an individual would gain the power and establish a tyranny, which was, however, personal, rarely inherited. The city was usually supreme, and not a part of any State. It dominated the country around, made treaties, waged war, etc. It was sacred in the eyes of the citizen, his church as well as his home. The city entered into, ruled, and conducted all kinds of activities. It built temples, markets, theaters, gymnasia. It conducted worship, games, instruction. It sent out colonies and ruled commerce. It worked mines, fields, and factories. It supported its free citizens rather than was supported by them. (See ATHENS.) Citizenship was limited, but the assemblage of the citizens was supreme. Often, however, officers were nominally elected who were virtually irresponsible. Next to the citizens came a class of "aliens," subject natives or foreigners, having special rights on payment of special taxes. At the bottom of the whole structure were the slaves. Even a democracy of free men was simply a democracy of slave-owners. Thus at Athens there were at one time at least 140,000 slaves, 10,000 resident aliens, and 21,000 male citizens. (See SLAVERY.) Two gigantic evils resulted: First, danger of servile revolts, which not infrequently broke out with terrible results (see GILDS), and were put down only by relentless cruelty; secondly, class antagonisms were roused between other classes of citizens. (See ROME.) Civil war became the order of the day. The State was either paralyzed by internal conflict or demoralized by corruption. Slavery ate out the life of ancient cities. In the Roman civilization the city gradually lost its sovereignty and became a part of the empire, furnishing the transition to the medieval city.

The Classic City

In the early Middle Ages the city lost power before the military chieftain and the robber castle. FEUDALISM magnified the country over the city. Where feudalism was weak, as in South France or in Italy, or where natural conditions were favorable, as along the Adriatic coast, the Rhine, and the northern coast of Europe, free cities were developed soonest. In the north the struggle of the cities for independence was fiercer, and their development slower, but stronger. They grew by work, by art, by commerce, not by war. All through the eleventh and twelfth centuries they developed rapidly. The Italian republics, the cities of the Hanseatic League, the Flemish and English cities, tho often dominated by a fierce and quarrelsome nobility, tended, on the whole, to develop the rule of the trader rather than that of the noble or chieftain. They became first the creator and then the creature of the gilds. Gradually, as the national life developed itself, the city became but a part of the nation, ready to gain commercial rights and privileges and representation in Parliament, for contributions to the royal treasury. Where the royal power was greatest the cities lost their power first, as in France and England and Spain; later, in Germany and Italy. Free thought, however, developed in the cities, and the Reformation and the Renaissance were largely matters of the city. The medieval city was a democracy more truly than the classic city, but not at all so pervasive. It ruled commerce and trade; it sharply watched the market and attempted to fix prices and to decide industrial disputes, but it did not conduct activities, as did the Greek city. The medieval city was ruled by the individual citizens more than it ruled them. Yet the city played a much larger part in industrial and social life than ordinarily to-day. Mr. Albert Shaw ("Municipal Government in Great Britain," p. 21) gives the following sketch of a medieval town:

Middle Ages

"The rise of town life, which dignified mercantile pursuits and handicrafts, had opposed the system of leagued and equal freemen, of burgesses of incorporated citizenship, to the feudal military system of lordship and vassalage. And this was a great preparatory step toward modern institutions and conditions. We know that there was a certain dignity and form about municipal life that appears well in the retrospect. We have surviving, here and there, a fine old medieval town hall, or gild hall, with its banqueting chamber and its council room. There was much stateliness in the office of mayor; and the old maces of mayoral authority survive to this day. Then there was impressiveness in the liveries that the freemen of the gilds disported on formal occasions. As for municipal conveniences, those were times when life was simple, and 'modern improvements' not so much as dreamed about. The streets were narrow, with the houses built close upon them. The paving was of the rudest character. There was simple surface drainage, and no garbage removal or cleansing system. Water was supplied from a few town fountains or public wells. Street-lighting had not been invented, and early hours were prescribed. Most towns had a skirting of common lands, where the cows were pastured, and where, in many cases, fuel was procured. The houses were, in large part, built of wood; and in spite of vigilant 'watch and ward' and compulsory hearth precautions, destructive fires were not infrequent. The death-rate, of course, was high. There was infection in the wells, and no means of checking the spread and fatality of the frequent 'plagues' that swept the towns. But the science of public sanitation being undiscovered, these things were accepted piously as inscrutable visitations of God."

II.—The Modern City

The modern city is somewhat of a return to the Roman city. It is the creature of the State. The industrial and political revolutions of the last century shattered the ancient rights and privileges of the medieval boroughs and gilds. The city was left with little sovereign power. Nevertheless the growth of the factory system, and, above all, the development of railroads and centers of commerce, have crowded people more and more into cities. Cities have grown in size, but not in corporate power. Hence they have become unwieldy, shapeless, confused, with often little true civic life. The modern divorce, too, between Church and State has at least temporarily hurt the city in a portion of its life. It has given the city responsibilities which it has not always been willing to accept. The poor and needy have been left to seek from confused private charities what formerly they received from the Church as part of the organized city life. The tendency of the well-to-do to leave the city and live in the suburbs; the crowding of the poor in quarters where rent is low, and the grouping of the wealthy in sections where rent is high; the development of parks and other improvements in the latter quarters and their absence among the poor—all these factors have added to the difficulty. The problems of modern city life have thus grown out of the sudden development of cities, without a corresponding development of organic municipal life.

The modern city in England, France, and the United States, markedly, and to a less extent in Germany, is the creature of the State. It can only do what it is chartered to do by the State. It has in some cases almost lost self-government. It fixes its own rates, but often has its taxes collected for it by national officials; it is in many cases responsible for its own peace and order, but has no control over an armed force, and has to ask for help if it requires it. On the other hand, it exercises many local functions which in the Middle Ages were left to the Church or to compulsory or voluntary private effort.

Poor relief, education, sanitation, police, the supplying of light and water, are usually in the

hands of the city, while the conduct of justice, of national defense, of postal communication, and commercial regulation are in the hands of the State.

In the United States

Considering first American cities, we find a general similarity coupled with considerable variety in the details of their charters and constitutions. They are all the creations of the State. The first city in the United States to receive a charter was New York (1686), and the next Philadelphia (1701). In New England the township system prevailed, and Boston was not incorporated till 1820. Each city received a special charter; and, following English models, the charter was given to the mayor, council, and officials, rather than to the citizens. The council was the governing body. Powers were very limited, being confined to few spheres of activity. The city was the instrument of the State; and in colonial days the mayor was appointed by the governor, even down to 1822, in which year mayors were elected in Boston and St. Louis, other cities gradually following suit. Even police powers were limited by inadequate taxation to finance the city. The result was that little attention was paid to city government or its administration. The supply of water and other public necessities was in private hands.

Early States

Nevertheless, cities grew rapidly. The ownership of city franchises became of immense value. They were to be obtained from state legislatures or city councils. The state legislatures were composed of city and country representatives. A representative of some rural district, who perhaps had little business interests at home, could in the legislature cast a vote worth millions of dollars to some corporation. The almost inevitable result was the purchase of votes by the corporations, and their active participation in rural politics to secure representatives favorable to their interests. It has frequently happened that the chairman and the majority of the cities' committees in state legislatures have been rural delegates. Then again, city councils, tho nominally with limited powers and occupying positions not held in esteem (since originally city governments were little thought of), have really been in a position to sell or give away franchises, or to enact provisions of enormous commercial value. This was another incentive to corruption. Both in state legislatures and city councils honest members could make little money, whereas dishonest members could rapidly accumulate a fortune. It was therefore a paying proposition for corrupt rings and dishonest cliques to organize the city politically, and elect their creatures to office. Hence Tammany and the rings which have disgraced every American city. By the same rule, it did not pay honest men to be elected, since, if elected, they had no certain tenure of office, and usually found themselves in a hopeless minority, which could only be a helpless witness to corrupt methods. As a result, generally speaking, the worst citizens have been members of and active in city government; while the best citizens, until recently, have kept out of city politics. By the same system corrupt corporations and dishonest directors who would buy franchises and legislative enactments were favored, while honest corporations and directors were made almost an impossibility. The perfectly natural and all but inevitable result of this has been a corruption of city government unequaled in any other civilized country. Said Mr. James Bryce ("American Commonwealth," vol. i., p. 608):

Corruption

> "There is no denying that the government of cities is the one conspicuous failure of the United States. The deficiencies of the national Government tell but little for evil on the welfare of the people. The faults of the state governments are insignificant compared with the extravagance, corruption, and mismanagement which mark the administrations of most of the great cities. For these evils are not confined to one or two cities. The commonest mistake of Europeans who talk about America is to assume that the political vices of New York are found everywhere. The next most common is to suppose that they are found nowhere else. In New York they have revealed themselves on the largest scale. They are 'gross as a mountain, open, palpable.' But there is not a city with a population exceeding 200,000 where the poison germs have not sprung into a vigorous life; and in some of the smaller ones, down to 70,000, it needs no microscope to note the results of their growth."

Andrew D. White on Corruption

Said Mr. Andrew D. White (*The Forum*, December, 1890):

> Without the slightest exaggeration we may assert that, with very few exceptions, the city governments of the United States are the worst in Christendom—the most expensive, the most inefficient, and the most corrupt. The city halls of these larger towns are the acknowledged centers of the vilest corruption. They are absolutely demoralizing, not merely to those who live under their sway, but to the country at large. Such cities, like the decaying spots on ripe fruit, tend to corrupt the whole body politic. As a rule, the men who sit in the councils of our larger cities dispensing comfort or discomfort, justice or injustice, beauty or deformity, health or disease, to this and to future generations, are men who in no other country would think of aspiring to such positions. Some of them, indeed, would think themselves lucky in keeping outside the prisons. . . . Few have gained their positions by fitness or by public service; many have gained them by scoundrelism; some by crime. . . . It has been my lot also to have much to do with two interior American cities of less size—one of about 100,000 inhabitants, the other of about 12,000. In the former of these I saw a franchise, for which $1,000,000 could easily have been obtained, given away by the common council. I saw a body of the most honored men in the state go before that council to plead for ordinary justice and decency. I saw the chief judge of the highest court of the state, one of his associate judges, a circuit judge of the United States, an honored member of Congress, two bishops, the president and professors of a university, and a great body of respected citizens urge this common council not to allow a railway corporation to block up the entrance to the ward in which the petitioners lived, and to occupy the main streets of the city. They asked that, if it were allowed to do so, it might be required, in the interest of human life, either to raise its tracks above the streets or to protect the citizens by watchmen and gateways, and to pay a fair sum for the privilege of cutting through the heart of a populous city. All was utterly in vain. I saw that common council, by an almost unanimous vote, pass a bill giving away to this great corporation all this franchise for nothing, so far as the public knew, and without even a requirement to protect the crossings of the most important streets; and I soon afterward stood by the mutilated body of one of the noblest of women, beheaded at one of these unprotected street crossings while on an errand of mercy. So, too, in the smaller of these two interior cities, while the sewerage and the streets were in such bad condition as to demand the immediate attention of the common council, I saw the consideration of these interests neglected for months, and the main attention of the council given to a struggle over the appointment of a cemetery-keeper at a salary of $10 a week."

This, however, by no means exhausts all the causes of municipal corruption. Another cause of misgovernment is the uncertainty of responsibility, especially in its executive branches. Various departments, which should work in closest harmony, owe their appointment to as many different authorities; and often not only do not cooperate, but actually pursue cross purposes. Said Mr. Francis Bellamy:

> "At one time Philadelphia was found to be possest by four boards with power to tear up the streets at will, but none

whose duty it was to see that they were properly relaid. Or here is an example of a composite officialdom which may happen any day: a 'citizens' ticket' mayor, a Republican street commissioner, both elected by the people; other appointments filled by men acceptable to a Democratic board of aldermen; a police commission named by the governor, together with the state legislature interfering on occasion. With such a mixture it is not easy to fix responsibility for maladministration. Non-partizan commissions of four members, two from each party, is another favorite and specious arrangement by which the people are prevented from calling either party to account. This non-partizan contrivance is also an open door for the most unblushing division of spoils in the department between the 'workers' of both parties . . . The people of Boston, for instance, do not know [the charter has been now changed.—Ed.] where to lay the blame for many municipal disorders. Mayor and street commissioner, school board, and the two chambers are elected by the people. Treasurer, auditor, superintendent of the streets, and 104 other officials are appointed by the mayor and aldermen together. There are forty distinct executive departments which depend on mayor and aldermen. The police department is controlled by the governor and his council. The state also appoints a fire marshal to investigate fires, while the city-appointed firemen put them out. The various departments are headed by commissions of three or five men, and by another ingenious contrivance these men are appointed by the mayor singly, only one each year; so that the mayor can never control any commission of three until his second year, nor any commission of five until his third year, if he lasts so long. But these are not all the obstacles the people meet in finding out who is accountable. If seven of the twelve aldermen are not in sympathy with the mayor, they can, by dictations or bargains, put such a restriction on his appointments that he finds himself without control of the executive departments of which he is the nominal head. It is, indeed, as an English journal said, 'the craftiest combination of schemes to defeat the will of democracy ever devised in the world.'"

The efforts at reform began with an increased trust of the people. Popular election of mayors was begun in Boston and St. Louis in 1822, and in Detroit and New York in 1834. The council too was modeled after the state legislature and frequently made bicameral, the mayor having a veto power. But these changes produced little result, because they did not in the slightest degree touch the fundamental evils.

Various Theories

The next idea was, because of the corruption of city councils, to minimize their powers, and to create boards appointed by the governor, the legislature, or the mayor—rarely chosen by election. This system probably began with the New York charter of 1849. By 1860 almost all important municipal functions in the chief cities were in the power of such boards, which had little accountability to the people or to the council. They were sometimes self-perpetuating, and their members could be removed only for cause. The result was disorganization and a very divided responsibility. About 1880 the theory came into vogue that to ensure responsibility increased powers should be given to the mayor. He should have large powers of appointment and removal, so that he could be held responsible. This idea was incorporated in the charter of Brooklyn in 1882, and rapidly embodied in the charters of many other cities (New York in 1895). This change was accompanied by the creation of many single commissionerships in place of boards. But the system has not produced large results, and has by no means been copied in all cities. To-day there can hardly be said to be any American municipal system. City charters created by different legislatures vary in every possible way. The tendency has developed to enact laws, not for specific cities, but for grades of cities according to size. But this has had little effect on the larger cities. In California, Missouri, Washington, Minnesota, and Colorado cities have been given the right to frame their own charters; but this right is practically nominal, since the state constitutions largely determine what powers can be adopted.

The American city has only authority in powers enumerated by the Constitution or by legislative enactment. Nor has it any taxing power beyond what the legislature gives it.

In most city charters this financial limitation has also been largely increased by provisions strictly fixing the city's debt limit. These limitations were placed in the effort to restrain the vast and useless expenditures of corrupt and inefficient councils; but they now work to prevent activities for improvements absolutely needed, even when these improvements may in the long run be made very remunerative to the city. It is this provision of most American city charters which often blocks the development of municipal ownership and operation that prevails in Europe. The city having no power to develop such activities, it is left for private corporations to do so; and this naturally tends to stimulate the latter in endeavors to control and debauch legislatures, councils, and city and state politics. Parties need the support of corporations, and their machines therefore become dependent upon these. With little proper civic life, city politics become ensnared with national politics. The effort to prevent this has led to the holding of city elections on separate days from state elections. About 1880 it began to be held that if city politics could be divorced from national politics, great good would result. This was largely emphasized by the New York Commission of 1876, appointed to investigate municipal government. Since then it has been accomplished to a considerable extent, but has been productive of little good. The state still has virtually all the legislative and governmental powers, while the city has only administrative powers; and monster corporations still control legislatures and councils. Preying upon and using ignorant and corrupt masses of voters, these corporations, through rings and cliques, rule our cities.

Reforms

The New York City charter of 1897 marked the beginning of a tendency to increase the power and responsibility of the city council; and the revised charter of 1901 actually removed many of the checks placed upon the council's actions. Mr. Dorman B. Eaton argued that a council could be non-partizan, a mayor never. Other reforms have been agitated. Quite recently Iowa, California, Nebraska, and South Dakota have granted to local legislative authorities the right to refer questions to the people of the localities. (See Direct Legislation.) In order to take the nominating power from the machine leaders, Minnesota (1900–1902) adopted a system of direct nominations, and other states are following suit. The latest idea is the so-called Galveston idea. See Galveston.

Above all a spirit of reform has entered into civic life. Men of character and position (such as Mr. Seth Low, Mr. Roosevelt, and others), have entered into city politics, and have taken office. National conferences for good city government became important in 1894. A National Municipal League was founded, and also a League of American Municipalities. Local citizens' unions and municipal leagues have been formed in all the principal cities. (See under the head of the several cities.) Reformers have appeared, who are willing to unearth and expose corruption at any cost. The results have not as yet justified

the hopes of these reformers. Undoubtedly something has been accomplished; but too often the uprisings of indignant citizens have been but temporary, and at the next election the reformers have been defeated by the experienced work of corrupt machines. Many are coming to believe that there can be no permanent reform until the system has been changed whereby gigantic corporations owning or desiring franchises of enormous value are given such inducements to corrupt legislatures and councils. Public-ownership parties are therefore being formed in many cities; and in Chicago and New York these parties have already polled formidable votes. (See CHICAGO; NEW YORK; PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.)

GREAT BRITAIN

The city in Great Britain, because of the early development of a central government, as compared, for example, with Germany and Italy, never attained in medieval times the same independence as some of the German and Italian cities; but, on the other hand, it has never been so completely subordinated to the State as many continental cities, because the administrative system of the English Government has never been largely centralized. The administration of justice and the preservation of peace were administered by the city, tho regarded as functions of the state government. The cities, however, had little or no political life of their own, and were constantly used, first by the crown, then by the nobility and gentry, and later by national political parties to control Parliament. The cities, or boroughs as they were usually called, were incorporated through a grant of the crown to each locality of an especial charter. These charters were given, not to the people living in the district, but only to the municipal officers, or perhaps including a very narrow border of freemen. The corporation usually consisted of mayor, aldermen, and councilors. The charters were distinctly oligarchic, and the sphere of action was very limited. Not the council, but special parliamentary trusts or commissions conducted such functions as the paving, lighting, and even the watching of streets. The administrative degradation of the city was complete.

Beginnings of Reform

Modern municipal reform in Great Britain begins with the Scotch Municipal Government Act of 1833, and in England with the Municipal Reform Bill of 1835. These bills were consequent upon the great Reform Bill of 1832 reconstructing the parliamentary boroughs. They admitted to burgess rights all property owners and all occupiers of rented property valued at £10 per annum. These remained substantially in force till the Act of 1882 consolidated all acts bearing on the subject into one municipal code. By the Local Government Act of 1888, cities having over 50,000 inhabitants became distinct counties for administrative purposes. Under these bills and some special bills enlarging their functions England's towns exist to-day. It has been said that the whole substance of British municipal government is condensed in the following clause:

"The municipal corporation of a borough shall be capable of acting by the council of the borough, and the council shall exercise all powers vested in the corporation by this act or otherwise. All that the burgesses have to do is to elect the councilors, and they do the rest."

No attempt is made by law to secure amenability of the council to the popular will, except through public opinion. The position of the councilor is made one of power and of honor, and the result has been that the council is usually composed of the best citizens, instead, as is too often the case in America, of the worst. The council divides itself into committees, and each of these has control of some civic department. The people control the council, the council the committees, the committees the departments. Members of the council serve without pay; and are therefore not prompted to seek election by motives of pecuniary gain. For this reason, if for no other, they are usually men of position and of character. For councilors on the various committees and for heads of departments it secures the best citizens, thus obtaining an honest and efficient administration. Also the officers of the departments are appointed by the council, and with no legal requirements as to length of time of office or of qualifications. Thus the councils can choose the best, and good men can be retained. Hence continuity of effective administration. The entire administrative force is out of politics, national and local. The most important office is that of clerk of the corporation, often a life position.

Any burgess is eligible to the council. In addition, property and rate-paying qualifications admit to eligibility suburbans who live beyond, but within 15 miles from, the limits, yet have their business interests in the town. The councilors are elected for three years, and one third of them retire annually. The aldermen (or those councilors who rank next to the mayor, and who are also police judges), and mayor are an integral part of the council, the law stating specifically that "the council shall consist of the mayor, aldermen, and councilors." Aldermen are elected by the council, and hold their office six years. They are one third as many as the councilors. Half the aldermen retire every three years. The mayor is elected by the council from among the aldermen or councilors or persons qualified to be such.

The English franchise is very complicated and very different in different portions of the United Kingdom. The franchise is often different for parliamentary, town-council, school-board, and parochial-board elections. It turns on the household rather than the individual. Mr. Shaw says ("Municipal Government in Great Britain"):

The Suffrage

"The English municipal electorate excludes in practise nearly all the unmarried men, all floating laborers and lodging-house sleepers, and nearly all the serving class. Furthermore, in judging of the political effects of the extension of the franchise to the humblest householders, it must be borne in mind that the exploitation of the votes of the ignorant, vicious, and indifferent in English cities by demagogs or party agents is so extremely difficult that it does not count for anything at all in election results. The extraordinarily severe laws against bribery, direct and indirect, apply to municipal elections, and it is next to impossible to get a British voter to the polls who does not contemplate the contest with some glimmering of interest and intelligence. In Scotch towns the slums do not vote, because they evade the rate collector and are not registered. In English towns, altho registered by canvassers, they do not care about voting, and are a neglected field so far as political missionary work goes. The organized working men vote, of course; and they seem to vote with more intelligent and distinct purpose than any other class in the community. Of the women rate-payers nothing is to be said except that their voting is variable, sometimes being high in proportion to their numbers, and sometimes low, depending upon their interest in particular candidates or special issues. Their disposition to espouse party causes seems very marked, but it is not to be relied upon as unthinking or as oblivious of the qualities of candidates. Obviously, the franchise needs simplification, altho for municipal purposes it is difficult to see what desirable end would be gained by changing the principle from that of a household franchise to a personal one."

Such is a general view of British civic administration. The recent growth of the cities has, however, developed new needs, and new problems; but these, on account of their importance, are

best treated under special heads. (See Local Government; Municipalism; Municipal Trading; School Question in Great Britain.)

Germany

Municipal structure in Germany varies somewhat in different states and in different cities, yet has everywhere certain similar characteristics. In Prussia it is based on the Stein and Hardenburg reforms of the early part of the century. The Prussian franchise, both in the municipalities and in the kingdom, is based upon a division of the population according to the taxes paid. The wealthiest class, which pays one third of the taxes, has one third of the suffrage. The middle class, which pays a second third of the taxes, has another third of the power; while the remaining third is left to the whole remainder of the population. In the constitution of the empire, however, and in many German cities, outside of Prussia, the franchise is based on manhood suffrage as demanded by the revolutionists of 1848. In all cases, however, the city council (*Gemeindwalt*) has the municipal power. Its members are usually elected for six years, one third going out of office every two years. The executive power is exercised by the burgomaster or mayor and a body of department chiefs, called magistrates. These are elected by the council, and have practically a life tenure. They are selected for expert knowledge and ability. A city will sometimes advertise for an experienced mayor. The magistrates are either highly salaried men or men of position who serve without salary. They form a council called the *Magistratsrath*. With this constitution in all German cities, the council, through the burgomaster and magistrates, conducts the city government as a father would a household. The city can do anything that it is not forbidden to do—the reverse of the American theory. It is supposed to do all that is necessary to the best interests of the community. The cities as a rule furnish their own water supply, gas, and electric lighting. They strictly rule the running of the horse-cars, etc. They build and maintain baths, lavatories, abattoirs, markets, savings-banks, pawn-shops, etc. They care minutely and effectively for sewerage, street-paving, cleaning, and lighting. German cities provide systematically, too, for the relief of the poor. The cities are subdivided into districts, with a visitor for each. Workpeople must be insured by the municipalities or the state; compulsory education is provided at low rates; manual training and gymnastic drill is a part of the education. German cities are thus households, carefully watched, regulated, kept clean and healthful. Taxation is generally not high, no small portion of the municipal revenue coming from municipal activities or franchises, carefully sold at rates very favorable to the city corporation. (See also Berlin.)

Organization

The following from Dr. Wilms Erster, Mayor of Posen, gives a favorable idea of German civic administration:

> In Germany to-day everything is planned by the municipalities with a view to general harmony. Factory, business, and housing districts are conformed to special needs. The height of the houses in proportion to the width of the street, and the utilization of building sites are restricted to admit light and air. Ordinances govern the height of rooms, the number of windows per room, substantial construction, etc. The pavement of the streets is suited to the character of the surrounding neighborhood. Careful attention is given to the future erection of public buildings, play-grounds, and recreation centers. Artistic effect is always sought. Municipal building here takes the initiative and influences private enterprise. When property is bought for building purposes, the plans showing the front of the building to be erected must be submitted to the authorities for approval. The disfigurement of street fronts by bill-boards is regulated.
>
> Sewage pipes receive street drainage as well as house sewage. Some cities separate the drainage from the sewage system. Pipes conduct the sewage outside of the city limits and utilize or dispose of it in various ways. Berlin and Breslau carry it through fields, where it is used for fertilizing and manuring. In other cities the pipes empty into rivers after their contents have been clarified. This process is costly and difficult, forcing the towns to acquire large areas to fertilize them with this waste.
>
> The larger cities have, almost without exception, hygienic institutes where all questions relating to the public health of the city are studied. The interest of the authorities in the promotion of public health has led to a considerable decrease in mortality during the last decade. In the seventies the death rate was 35 to 40 per 1,000; to-day the average has decreased to 20 per 1,000. In cases of contagious diseases prompt notice to the Board of Health is compulsory. All premises are disinfected by the Board of Health, and the poorer classes are not charged for fumigation. In some cities, as for instance, Posen, disinfection is free for all classes.
>
> The inspection of foods, such as milk, butter, and meat, is in charge of the Board of Health.
>
> Public swimming and shower baths are provided.
>
> Consumptives are cared for in homes for consumptives, and persons suffering with incipient consumption are sent to forest colonies. Those unable to pay for treatment are placed in these institutions at the expense of the city or State. Asylums are provided for the feeble-minded. Any one who, on account of illness or incapacity, cannot support himself, receives relief from the Poor Department, in case the sickness, old-age, invalidity and accident insurance does not provide for his maintenance or the support received is insufficient.
>
> The departments of education of the various communities and cities provide public, elementary, and high schools. Special schools and institutes give courses in the building-trade and machine-shop training. Cities engaged in special industries, such as textile, ceramic, woodwork, etc., have special schools. There are further arts and craft schools for women. When the public-school education of the child is completed, the continuation school must be attended, etc. In the upper grades the girls are taught cooking.
>
> For the laboring classes, people's restaurants and coffee-houses are opened, which, at the same time, serve as substitutes for the saloons.
>
> For instruction and information in legal matters, many cities maintain bureaus and consulting stations.
>
> Even the very smallest city runs its own slaughter-house. Every slaughter-house has a special department for the microscopic examination of pork.
>
> Nearly all cities own their own water-works. Gas-plants are in most cases owned by the city. These add largely to the city's income. The water-supply is not regarded by the city as a business enterprise, inasmuch as a higher rate would interfere with its free consumption. The cost to German cities for maintaining water-works is greater than in American cities; therefore the rates charged are somewhat higher, and the average consumption consequently less. Electric-lighting plants are only partly municipalized. The tendency in this respect is, however, in favor of municipalization. Cities are urged to erect plants where as yet no electric-lighting plants exist; even to erect such plants in competition with private enterprises. Competitive plants may be successfully started where private plants are operated, by withdrawing from the corporation the privilege of using the streets for conducting electricity, either above or below ground.
>
> Street railways are only partially municipalized. In many cities these are operated by private corporations. These corporations then receive franchises from the cities to lay tracks, and in return for this privilege they, in the first place, maintain part of the street in proper condition, and, secondly, pay the city annually either a certain stipulated sum or a fixt percentage of the earnings. Many cities reserve the right to determine the fares to be charged. Almost every city has its own municipal theater, and most of the large cities have their own concert halls, conductor, and orchestra. Everywhere, in large cities and small towns, the authorities have expert economists working out the social, industrial, and economic problems confronting the cities in every phase of human progress.

France

The French municipality is intimately connected with the old communes or townships, which in the early history of France won a high degree of local autonomy, and played no small part in the national history. (See France and Social Reform.) These ancient communes,

however, had gradually lost all autonomy, and become but administrative parts of the absolutism of the Louis. The Revolution instantly liberated them, but under Napoleon, as First Consul (1800), they again became but units of his highly centralized system—a system, however, with some attempt at justice and freedom. Changing with the changes of France, the communes at present, under the third republic, have considerable local power, yet are by no means free from the control of the central government. The Act of 1884, which is virtually the act under which they exist to-day, increases the local powers of the communes materially, yet leaving very much to be desired by the radicals and Socialists, who in France, more than in most countries, center their ideals around the autonomy of the old communes. According to the present system, some of these communes are municipalities, some of them rural townships. According to the present law, they are governed by a mayor, with his executive assistants, and a council. The council elects the mayor, and the council is elected by manhood suffrage in the communes. The councilors hold office for four years, and all retire together. The council holds four regular sessions a year, lasting from fifteen days to six weeks, tho the mayor may call extra sessions. The council appoints consultative committees, but the mayor has all executive power with his assistants. He has the appointing power, subject to the approval of the prefect of the department, the representative of the central government. The council has large authority in the levying of taxes, voting of public works, etc., but usually subject to the approval of the department authorities.

Paris has in many ways less local autonomy than any other city in France. In the Revolution she gained her old communal freedom, and has at every revolution, but it was taken away by the various imperial governments, and has only been partially granted by the republic. Paris is still largely governed by the prefect of the department of the Seine, and his colleague, the prefect of the police. The city is divided into twenty arrondissements, and in each there is a central building called the *mairie*, the bureau of an officer called the *maire*. There is, however, a municipal council with considerable power, and the tendency is to develop municipal self-control.

Statistics

One of the prominent facts in the nineteenth century was the drift of population in all countries into the cities. The following tables are compiled, except for their latest figures, from Weber's "Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century":

Growth of Cities (Population in Thousands)

City	1800	1850	1890	1900
London	958	2,362	4,211	4,536
New York	62	660	2,740	4,014
Paris	546	1,053	2,448	2,714
Berlin	173	378	1,578	2,033
Tokio	...	...	...	1,818
Vienna	232	431	1,341	1,674
Chicago	...	30	1,099	1,698
Philadelphia	81	408	1,047	1,293
St. Petersburg	270	490	1,003	1,373
Constantinople	300ô	400ô	873	1,125
Moscow	300ô	360ô	822	1,092
Bombay	150ô	560ô	821	1,125
Rio de Janeiro	125ô	170ô	800ô	872
Calcutta	800ô	400ô	741	776
Hamburg[1]	120ô	205	711	750
Manchester[2]	90	388	703	543
Buenos Ayres	70ô	120ô	677	1,000
Glasgow	77	329	658	735
Liverpool	82	376	518	684

[1] Including Altona. [2] Including Salford.

Some Comparative Statistics[1]

City	Population	Area acres	Density per acre.	Death-rate	Annual expenditure	Per capita cost	Debt
London	4,654,437	75,575	61	16.6	$82,000,000	17.62	$378,278,250
New York	4,014,000	197,760	20	18.2	156,000,000	38.94	459,000,000
Paris	2,714,000	19,259	142	17.2	65,000,000	24.09	400,000,000
Berlin	2,033,000	15,676	130	16.9	45,000,000	22.1	87,000,000
Vienna	1,674,000	43,980	38	18.3	32,932,614	19.07	.....
Chicago	2,050,000	121,920	17	16.2	64,104,166	31.27	20,200,000
Philadelphia	1,500,596	82,880	18	21.2	46,874,326	31.25	61,137,000
St. Petersburg	1,487,000	71,679 (with suburbs)	20	23.7	9,250,000	6.22	.....
Hamburg	872,000	94,693	9	17.9	25,280,000	29.0	.....
Manchester	631,185	19,893	31	21.3	.....	.....	.....
Glasgow	798,778	12,796	63	21.2	.....	.....	.....
Liverpool	710,337	17,792	40	22.6	.....	.....	11,126,950

[1] The items are not all for the same year, tho all for recent years and the financial items, like Annual Expenditure and Debt, are not all estimated on the same basis, yet do in a general way present a real comparison.

The foregoing table of comparative statistics has, however, very little value, unless rightly interpreted, and may very easily completely mislead. The relative population and acreage of cities mislead unless one knows to what extent populous suburbs are included in the city area. New York vastly increased her population in 1898 by including Brooklyn and other boroughs, and becoming "Greater New York." Density per acre may be still more misleading, because of variations in different sections of a city. New York appears in this table with a low density per acre, but this is only because large areas as yet little occupied are included in the city limits. As a matter of fact certain sections of Manhattan Island, where is found a large portion of New York's population, has a greater density than any city in the world. Death-rates may also mislead, tho to a less extent. An average general death-rate may conceal a very high death-rate among the poorer classes, balanced by an unusually low death-rate among the more prosperous classes. Similarly with comparative financial statements. Annual expenditures and municipal debts have very different real values, depending upon what they represent. A city making large expenditures

and carrying a large debt may be in a very much better financial condition than a city with a small expenditure and debt, because the former represents revenue-bringing investments, while the latter do not. Some city governments are expensive at any price; others cheap at any ordinary cost. This distinction generally speaking is against American cities as compared with European, because American cities have few revenue-bringing properties, while European cities often have many.

POPULATION IN CITIES OF 100,000 OR OVER

COUNTRY	1800 [1] Total population in such cities	Per cent of population of country	1850 [1] Total	Per cent	1900 [1] Total	Per cent
United States	.....	0	1,393,338	6.0	14,208,347	18.6
Canada	.....	0	0	0	397,870	7.4
Great Britain and Ireland	1,032,745	9.7 [2]	4,791,886	22.5 [2]	13,193,487	30.5
France	767,386	2.8	1,656,900	4.6	4,876,869	12.2
Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria	186,380	1.8 [2]	617,000	3.1 [3]	9,108,814 [6]	16.1 [6]
Holland and Belgium	217,622	11.5 [4]	518,587	7.3 [4]	2,337,714	19.4
Spain	167,607	1.4	683,921	4.4	1,606,699	8.7
Portugal	350,000	9.5	275,286	7.2	447,417	8.9
Italy	800,000	4.4	1,425,000	6.0	3,318,939	10.0
Austria	282,000	2.6	484,942	2.8	2,452,351	9.3
Hungary	.....	0	156,506	1.3	505,763	2.6
Greece	.....	0	0	0	111,485	4.5
Norway, Sweden, and Denmark	100,975	0 [5]	123,123	0 [5]	878,069	8.8
Russia	595,000	1.4	1,123,698	1.6	5,723,918	5.3
	4,448,000		13,249,987		58,567,788	

[1] Approximate date. [2] England and Wales. [3] Prussia. [4] Holland. [5] Sweden. [6] Germany.

POPULATION IN CITIES OF 20,000 OR OVER

COUNTRY	1800 [1] Total population, etc.	Per cent	1850 [1] Total	Per cent	1900 [1] Total	Per cent
United States	201,416	3.8	2,271,680	9.8	20,795,716	25.2
Canada	0	0	175,287	7.4	689,448	11.9
Great Britain and Ireland	2,283,868	16.9 [2]	7,640,912	35.0 [2]	21,000,000	48.3
France	1,840,386	6.7	3,811,500	10.6	8,668,036	22.2
Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria	845,500	6.0 [2]	2,784,000	7.8 [3]	14,300,000 [6]	25.4
Holland and Belgium	721,342	24.5 [4]	1,382,703	21.7 [4]	3,587,525	28.9
Spain	1,112,877	9.7	1,489,688	9.6	3,600,000	19.3
Portugal	380,000	10.3	415,286	10.7	470,606	8.7
Italy	1,000,000	0	2,500,000	0	5,000,000	15.1
Austria	449,000	3.5	720,548	4.2	4,044,000	14.1
Hungary	228,000	2.3	526,602	4.5	1,709,698	8.5
Greece	31,125	0	0	0	212,762	8.8
Norway, Sweden, and Denmark	173,627	3.0 [5]	297,795	3.4 [5]	1,233,326	12.2
Russia	1,088,000	2.4	2,530,954	3.5	10,792,247	8.4
	10,355,141		26,546,955		96,103,364	

[1] Approximate date. [2] England and Wales. [3] Prussia. [4] Holland. [5] Sweden. [6] Germany.

STATISTICS OF CITIES IN GREAT BRITAIN

From the Municipal Year Book, 1906

CITY	Population	Acres	Ratable value	Rates	Debt
				s. d.	
London	4,536,541 [1]	75,520 [1]	£40,657,819	7. 1½ [2]	£75,655,660 [3]
Birmingham	522,204	12,039	2,885,345	....	.....
Bradford	285,589	22,843	1,538,870	8.4	.....
Bristol	358,515	17,004	1,769,584	....	6,551,161
Cardiff	164,333	8,408	1,096,696	....	3,302,210
Hull	258,127	9,202	1,160,820	7. 10½	2,623,061
Leeds	456,787	21,572	2,075,905	....	10,726,384
Leicester	211,579	8,586	1,088,457	7.4	4,749,742
Liverpool	710,337	17,792	4,114,876	7.8½	2,225,390
Manchester	631,185	19,893	4,083,119	8.0½	.....
Newcastle	264,511	8,453	1,614,097	5.8	2,971,662
Norwich	111,733	7,582	436,126	9.10	803,559
Nottingham	251,677	10,935	1,196,074	7.6	5,471,462
Plymouth	116,000	2,533	1,061,696	7.7½	1,995,521
Portsmouth	201,975	5,861	933,790	6.4	.....
Salford	231,514	5,202	1,023,499	7.10	3,559,298
Sheffield	440,414	23,622	1,689,994	....	8,550,458
Southampton	114,897	5,817	561,771	8.7	1,131,122
Sunderland	146,077	3,739	700,935	6.11	1,307,218

[1] Administrative county of London. [2] Average rate in the London county parishes, 1904–5.
[3] Total stock and loan debt of London county council from which most of the local authorities secure loans, 1905.

STATISTICS OF CITIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

Compiled (except as stated) from Bulletin 50 (1906) of the U. S. Department of Commerce and Labor

CITY OR MUNICIPALITY	Date of latest incorporation	POPULATION Estimated as of June 1— 1904	POPULATION Estimated as of June 1— 1907[8]	Acres	Payments (1904)	Assessed property[8] in millions $ 1907	Realty[8] in millions $ 1907	Tax-rate[8] 1907	Payments for protection of life and property	Health and sanitation	Charities and corrections	Education	Municipal industries	Receipts from liquor licenses and taxes	Debt less sinking-fund assets
Grand total...	....	21,557,248	.....	2,052,831.4	$1,023,590,388	.. ..	.....	....	$78,445,056	$28,232,188	$19,116,208	$91,027,456	$41,842,821	$28,837,420	$1,228,216,933
Group I[1]	....	11,748,082	.....	771,489.4	696,508,679	.....	.....	....	51,860,100	19,531,788	13,301,955	54,972,764	27,631,565	17,630,215	805,086,563
Group II[2]	....	4,045,169	.....	433,050.9	157,780,070	.....	.....	....	12,381,018	3,914,290	3,000,886	15,841,096	5,937,203	5,293,481	190,582,733
Group III[3]	....	3,211,614	.....	427,023.7	98,197,237	.....	.....	....	8,296,678	3,040,875	1,814,447	11,548,344	4,606,984	3,351,472	136,051,049
Group IV[4]	....	2,552,383	.....	421,267.4	71,104,402	.....	.....	....	5,907,260	1,745,235	998,920	8,665,252	3,667,069	2,562,252	96,496,588
New York, N. Y..	1901	[7]3,888,180	4,152,860	209,218.1	398,786,011	6,305	5,738	....	21,834,596	8,470,250	6,699,543	24,874,455	12,487,896	5,914,807	440,334,904
Chicago, Ill.....	1837	1,932,315	2,050,000	114,932.3	64,104,166	413	303	7.00	5,982,705	1,761,932	354.242	7,528,937	2,327,425	3,814,005	63,194,193
Philadelphia, Pa...	1854	1,392,389	1,500,596	81,828.0	46,874,326	1,250	248	1.50	5,441,142	2,158,706	1,419,705	5,006,244	4,167,097	1,835,000	64,827,789
St. Louis, Mo.....	1876	624,626	750,000	39,276.3	23,870,979	499	409	2.19	2,982,162	1,339,928	752,598	2,117,245	1,285,456	1,307,295	21,380,977
Boston, Mass.....	1854	[7]588,482	607,340	24,613.0	46,958,920	1,289	1,044	1.59	3,501,919	1,834,542	1,774,188	3,958,421	3,103,861	1,093,137	63,658,388
Baltimore, Md....	1898	538,765	560,000	19,290.2	16,278,998	595	306	2.16	1,686,783	585,567	484,386	1,548,431	930,607	431,524	23,605,106
Cleveland, Ohio...	1836	425,632	525,000	22,180.4	15,262,789	215	155	3.19	1,230,025	355,972	292,210	1,842,645	606,975	526,120	20,424,587
Buffalo, N. Y.....	1832	[7]372,033	400,000	26,884.0	16,235,961	268	247	2.52	1,607,790	370,351	132,592	1,466,896	646,865	615,241	18,209,713
San Francisco, Cal.	1900	360,298	375,000	29,760.0	12,668,414	376	276	1.79	2,158,968	419,035	484,409	1,385,617	.....	264,600	5,605,600
Pittsburg, Pa.....	1816	352,852	400,000	18,161.2	13,583,798	475	475	1.25	1,334,131	611,101	139,270	1,434,380	532,215	508,712	18,694,623
Cincinnati, Ohio...	1819	341,444	450,000	27,182.9	14,335,002	230	182	2.60	1,193,742	405,227	470,971	1,157,254	850,000	418,257	31,759,899
Detroit, Mich.....	1883	[5]317,591	400,000	18,560.0	8,191,012	305	212	1.47	1,242,346	356,582	134,196	1,136,505	487,072	324,727	5,467,824
Milwaukee, Wis...	1840	[7]308,343	355,000	14,003.0	9,722,981	201	157	2.43	932,158	534,770	19,097	984,252	178,629	417,190	9,069,541
New Orleans, La...	1896	305,132	375,000	125,600.0	9,635,322	208	136	2.80	731,633	327,825	144,548	531,482	27,467	159,600	18,853,419
Washington, D. C.	1878	298,050	330,000	38,406.4	13,819,454	268	239	1.50	1,537,546	550,502	923,938	1,641,390	170,771	458,849	14,288,369
Newark, N. J.....	1857	[7]272,950	303,000	14,081.6	18,879,836	190	153	1.74	926,159	337,732	221,859	1,195,011	721,561	360,200	17,701,514
Minneapolis, Minn.	1881	[7]250,122	275,000	31,621.6	5,711,437	167	.....	2.55	642,254	174,816	99,787	1,047,983	237,797	402,867	8,105,163
Jersey City, N. J...	1871	[7]227,445	245,000	9,163.0	10,216,990	168	.....	2.49	695,325	102,367	49,916	662,063	639,402	274,014	15,708,461
Louisville, Ky.....	1893	219,191	245,000	13,093.5	6,683,097	142	95	1.80	603,500	181,626	181,247	560,597	282,090	136,465	7,827,490
Indianapolis, Ind..	1891	204,772	240,000	18,762.2	3,325,120	148	107	2.13	550,866	157,691	66,535	741,919	27,527	183,850	4,766,147
Providence, R. I...	1832	[7]194,027	200,000	11,355.1	8,555,980	225	170	1.65	808,926	246,755	105,726	840,776	423,215	185,145	13,476,205
St. Paul, Minn....	1854	[7]190,231	198,000	33,388.0	5,212,035	102	.....	2.96	414,536	146,762	50,623	657,026	204,811	379,000	8,958,514
Rochester, N. Y...	1834	[7]177,228	200,000	11,408.4	9,765,012	135	.....	1.93	549,791	279,630	95,349	572,338	327,846	192,812	11,151,566
Kansas City, Mo..	1889	176,168	250,000	16,743.0	7,535,166	107	.....	1.35	629,915	152,043	69,759	855,554	435,580	160,897	7,481,734
Toledo, Ohio.....	1851	150,594	184,740	16,450.0	3,560,671	73	.....	2.98	328,982	99,406	32,470	447,219	144,975	134,346	6,686,423
Denver, Col.....	1893	148,714	200,000	37,348.0	6,822,903	115	.....	3.25	545,304	134,219	207,819	928,392	27,005	255,380	4,217,343
Allegheny, Pa.....	1840	140,456	150,000	4,726.0	4,434,920	95	.....	1.40	386,429	154,807	82,060	495,383	395,134	176,025	7,814,986
Columbus, Ohio...	1834	138,796	179,370	10,176.0	9,347,141	82	.....	3.30	348,182	71,787	32,432	493,960	295,544	111,620	6,841,315
Worcester, Mass...	1848	[7]126,192	132,000	23,683.0	5,067,739	123	.....	1.66	385,294	206,972	194,616	640,339	367,784	151,614	5,627,672
Los Angeles, Cal..	1889	(6)	290,000	27,399.1	5,803,576	202	190	1.16	447,701	137,694	11,980	702,298	181,846	256,995	5,596,982
Memphis, Tenn....	1879	117,452	175,000	9,771.9	2,180,973	63	.....	1.78	304,270	103,396	37,621	187,925	289,849	19,550	6,081,403
Omaha, Neb.....	1897	116,963	150,000	15,380.0	4,497,243	106	.....	1.40	323,412	69,516	1,968	445,854	2,822	435,000	6,977,961
New Haven, Conn.	1784	116,827	130,000	11,460.0	3,381,539	110	.....	1.35	375,599	81,439	91,738	463,903	648	161,244	3,623,404
Syracuse, N. Y....	1847	[7]115,374	120,000	10,639.0	6,167,744	90	.....	1.74	375,659	171,659	110,877	488,591	257,279	146,946	7,957,387
St. Joseph, Mo.....	1885	112,979	115,000	6,080.0	1,525,714	32	.....	1.30	181,725	33,826	14,361	226,321	2,880	81,427	1,984,608
Scranton, Pa.....	1866	112,334	125,000	12,186.1	1,706,182	65	.....	1.10	169,375	43,019	98,616	406,261	756	174,000	2,043,678
Paterson, N. J.....	1871	[7]110,257	120,000	5,157.0	5,989,716	89	.....	1.78	317,827	87,149	78,963	359.246	912	136,750	4,048,330
Fall River, Mass..	1854	[7]105,582	112,000	21,722.0	3,770,545	83	.....	1.84	294,305	97,591	140,626	395,770	184,990	154,685	3,951,698
Portland, Ore.....	1903	101,398	161,205	22,850.0	3,819,337	135	.....	4.87	238,136	91,886	.....	378,377	314,179	163,800	7,664,380

[1] Cities of 300,000 or over. [2] Of 100,000–300,000. [3] Of 50,000–100,000. [4] Of 30,000–50,000. [5] State census. [6] No estimate. [7] Based on twelfth and State census of 1905.
[8] From reports of the mayors of the respective cities in the *World Almanac*.

OTHER STATISTICS—1903.

CITY OR MUNICIPALITY	Patrolmen and officers	Arrests			Marriages reported [3]	Divorces granted.[3]	Death-rate (not including still-births)	Permits for new buildings	
		Total	Drunkenness	Homicide				Number	Proposed expenditures
New York, N. Y.	7,854	175,871	(1)	(1)	38,174	1,087	18.2	7,206	$112,004,027
Chicago, Ill.	2,875	77,763	[2]40,796	139	20,698	1,816	15.3	6,221	33,447,175
Philadelphia, Pa.	2,510	75,699	37,821	68	10,816	627	18.8	3,585	27,461,165
St. Louis, Mo.	1,292	25,524	5,201	66	6,723	646	18.2	3,142	11,494,478
Boston, Mass.	1,225	43,033	27,792	22	6,640	507	17.9	726	.....
Baltimore, Md.	932	28,150	3,573	43	5,396	203	19.1	1,617	5,397,831
Cleveland, Ohio	435	22,250	12,535	45	5,435	583	16.6	1,873	5,458,535
Buffalo, N. Y.	730	20,185	9,119	13	3,732	158	15.4	1,523	5,142,025
San Francisco, Cal.	676	30,851	15,704	46	4,602	1,528	21.3	1,756	13,559,427
Pittsburg, Pa.	467	31,251	17,290	21	3,606	329	21.7	2,194	13,961,484
Cincinnati, Ohio	516	13,642	2,011	20	1,804	370	18.8	563	3,801,695
Milwaukee, Wis.	347	5,666	2,197	6	2,789	286	13.1	1,257	4,653,739
Detroit, Mich.	528	8,978	2,320	8	3,889	529	15.8	2,894	6,345,700
New Orleans, La.	287	16,046	4,576	67	2,303	158	22.3	1,138	2,912,480
Washington, D. C.	686	29,483	5,233	12	3,641	135	20.3	1,878	12,104,992
Newark, N. J.	435	7,394	1,914	26	3,250	75	18.5	1,695	5,473,779
Jersey City, N. J.	375	6,625	3,458	14	2,144	(1)	18.9	496	2,760,557
Louisville, Ky.	296	6,945	1,269	27	2,489	310	18.6	1,230	1,711,196
Minneapolis, Minn.	208	5,289	2,549	...	2,490	293	11.6	1,799	4,822,235
Indianapolis, Ind.	177	8,294	1,611	17	2,637	427	15.8	2,529	3,031,292
Providence, R. I.	305	11,257	6,361	4	2,238	236	20.9	654	3,321,900
Kansas City, Mo.	233	(1)	(1)	(1)	2,377	545	17.4	1,452	5,980,050
St. Paul, Minn.	178	4,933	2,141	...	1,757	155	10.4	884	3,050,244
Rochester, N. Y.	193	5,404	1,825	3	1,635	47	14.9	550	1,694,792
Denver, Col.	149	9,838	1,923	36	2,177	406	18.4	1,608	4,360,812
Toledo, Ohio	133	4,359	319	4	1,435	321	14.7	.....	.....
Allegheny, Pa.	128	4,381	915	1	952	....	19.0	484	1,844,775
Columbus, Ohio	93	4,655	1,137	11	2,058	289	16.9	1,529	3,909,189
Worcester, Mass.	146	5,761	4,034	7	1,428	82	16.4	423	2,080,029
Los Angeles, Cal.	130	10,390	5,417	5	(1)	476	26.3	5,228	12,510,355
New Haven, Conn.	163	5,246	2,711	3	1,144	100	17.0	246	1,461,151
Syracuse, N. Y.	124	4,730	2,040	...	768	45	14.2	270	1,461,070
Fall River, Mass.	111	4,704	2,476	3	1,369	59	20.5	268	897,050
Memphis, Tenn.	91	6,054	1,609	24	1,730	272	17.8	939	1,368,004
Omaha, Neb.	88	9,400	3,733	4	1,384	350	9.7	329	962,602
Paterson, N. J.	104	2,477	983	4	(1)	111	15.4	198	758,450
St. Joseph, Mo.	62	3,869	1,063	2	993	149	6.5	437	817,267
Scranton, Pa.	70	2,649	1,708	2	709	106	14.9	398	1,528,877
Lowell, Mass.	115	4,034	2,664	...	1,026	61	19.4	74	227,100
Portland, Ore.	82	8,347	2,999	5	1,331	186	12.7	1,630	4,280,156

[1] Not reported. [2] Includes arrests for disturbing the peace. [3] In many cases data are for county.

REFERENCES: John A. Fairlie, *Municipal Administration* (1901); F. J. Goodnow, *City Government in the U. S.* (1904); Frank Parsons, *The City for the People*, (1899); *Proceedings of Conferences*, National Municipal League; C. M. Robinson, *Modern Civic Art* (1903); *The Improvement of Cities and Towns* (1904); Albert Shaw, *Municipal Government in Great Britain* (1895); *In Continental Europe* (1895); Josiah Strong, *The Twentieth Century City* (1898); A. F. Weber, *Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century* (1899); Delos F. Wilcox, *The American City* (1904); Charles Zeublin, *American Municipal Progress* (1902).

CITIZENS' INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, THE: An outgrowth of the feeling that labor-unionism has taken on certain features which operate most injuriously to the general interest and which need correction. The fact that in all labor disputes, however brought about, the public must foot the bills and suffers from consequent derangement of business, loss of employment by the working classes, etc., suggested the idea that an organization which should comprize all classes of society was necessary to meet these conditions. Employers and strikers alike have been prone to disregard the interests of any one, except themselves, in case of a controversy.

The Citizens' Industrial Association is not opposed to labor-unions. It recognizes the value of organizations of working men, not only to themselves but to the general welfare. But many of the practices of modern unionism are directly opposed to that welfare, are extremely harsh in their operation upon working men who do not belong to the unions, and establish unjust conditions, as by a limitation of output, whereby working men who are members of the union are restricted to the amount of work they may do in a day, by restricting apprenticeship until it has become practically impossible for more than one out of eight of American-born boys to learn a trade, and by denying forcibly, and by violence very frequently, and sometimes by murder or manslaughter, the right of working men not members of the union to accept employment when and where they please and on such terms as suit them and thus to earn their living by the labor of their hands. The resulting assumption of the labor-unions that they must be permitted to control the labor market and dominate all transactions between employed, employers, and the public is regarded as un-American and the practical establishment of a trust which is more mischievous in its operations and more threatening to the best interests of the common people than any other in existence. It is unfortunate that the management of labor-union forces has fallen into the hands of a class of men not of the highest intelli-

gence and patriotism, who in seeking the advancement of their personal interest, as such leaders have misled their followers (the majority of whom are really at heart good and patriotic citizens) to the support of methods which cannot be justified.

For these reasons the effort was entered upon some four years ago to unite the people who are not members of the union and to set their strength over against that of the labor organizations in order to secure the correction of the evils referred to. This it was felt was not only required on behalf of the members of the unions themselves, but emphatically necessary for the protection of the people. And to that end the cooperation of not only employers and working men but also of professional men, of merchants, of farmers, of clerks, and the vast multitude who are not affiliated with labor organizations has been sought.

The census of 1900 gave 29,000,000 as the number of working men, wage-earners, etc., in this country. It is reasonable to assume that by this time the number has reached 32,000,000 at least. The leaders of what may be termed the Labor Trust do not claim that the membership of the unions amounts to more than 2,000,000, and yet they assume to speak for the other 30,000,000, assume to dictate as to the employment of the other 30,000,000, and assert the right to control relations between labor and employers. The result is, so far as the latter point is concerned, that by the unwise increase of wages brought about by force and duress, and not by natural operations of normal conditions, the cost of living to all has been enormously increased with no resulting benefit to the members of the Labor Trust (whose living expenses have been also forced up with the increase of wages, that is, the increase of the cost of production), while the burden has fallen with tremendous weight upon many millions who find no increase in their own incomes to correspond with the greater cost of living thus brought about.

There are between 400 and 500 local associations throughout the country, in at least forty-three states and all of the territories, which are in affiliation with this National Association. These local associations run from a hundred or more up to several thousand in membership each. The St. Louis local association, for instance, has a membership of over 8,000 and is rapidly increasing. By its influence it has succeeded in giving industrial peace to St Louis where three or four years ago the most violent demonstrations were characteristic of labor strikes, where the commerce and business of the city was held up at the mercy of the leaders of the strikers to the infinite loss of the community in general.

Activities

The work of the extension of the influence of the association is going steadily forward in all parts of the United States, is being emulated in Canada, and has been imitated in Great Britain by the recent organization of a British Citizens' Industrial Association, modeled upon the principles of the American institution. This system of meeting organization with organization is the first practical effort that has been made at reducing the undesirable conditions established by the Labor Trust. In politics the unions have been accorded an undue weight because of the fact of their organization as a compact body operating as a trained and disciplined influence, while the great mass of the voters had no organization outside of political parties.

The officers of the association are Mr. C. W. Post, who was elected last December for the third time to the position of president, Messrs. James W. Van Cleave (president of the National Association of Manufacturers), first vice-president; F. C. Nunemacher, second vice-president; A. C. Marshall, third vice-president; James A. Emery, Esq., secretary; and Major A. C. Rosencranz, treasurer, with an executive committee of ten members comprizing leading business men representing the large cities and manufacturing centers of the country. The association has its headquarters in the St. James Building, Twenty-sixth Street and Broadway, New York, and publishes, as its national organ, a monthly magazine known as *The Square Deal*, which is used chiefly as an educational instrumentality and which carries at its head the following platform of principles:

No closed shop.
No restriction as to the use of tools, machinery, or material except such as are unsafe.
No limitation of output.
No restriction as to the number of apprentices and helpers, when of proper age.
No boycott.
No sympathetic strike.
No sacrifice of independent workmen to the labor-union.
No compulsory use of the union label.
"I find every one of these principles to be in defense of private and public liberty."—*Charles W. Eliot, President Harvard University.*
That power through organization be placed in the hands of the people to effectually control the acts of all organizations when such acts relate to the public welfare, thus to perpetuate the individual liberty of every citizen and prevent interference with the continuous operation of industries.

WILSON VANCE.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM: The Civil Service of the United States includes all public employments which are not military or naval. It may be divided into two parts—the political and the non-political. The political part comprizes the positions which are essential to carrying out the policy of the administration which has been approved by the people at the polls; and the non-political part embraces the positions which are subordinate and ministerial. This last part is strictly a business agency with no representative political character or significance, and civil service reformers aim to purify politics by the removal from political contests of all inducement of office-seeking in these business agencies, and to make the tenure of office in them independent of party changes by putting them under the protection of law. They urge the adoption by legislation or executive action of rules for the regulation and improvement of the public service and for aiding appointing officers in choosing candidates for appointment upon a merit instead of a party basis. While it is obvious that a public office belongs to the people, that its duties are fixt by law and its salary paid by the people, yet owing to the infirmity of human nature the power of patronage tends to be exercised for personal and partizan gain. The reform rests upon the theory that a public office is a public trust and that a president, governor, or mayor in making appointments must not, therefore, himself profit directly or indirectly, in his own person or through the advancement of any other individual or party organization, in administering his trust, and he must himself conduct this administration and not hand it over or farm it out to others. The use of patronage by an appointing officer to strengthen himself in his faction or his faction in his party or his party at the polls is, upon this theory, an

abuse of trust and a form of bribery. The reform, therefore, does not merely propose the establishment of a system of mechanical examinations to test fitness for appointment, but aims at the eradication of the doctrine that offices are party spoils for the victors. A reform in this regard is deemed by its advocates to be vital if the government is not to break down under its work. Under the spoils system the government cannot deal worthily with the problems presented by the growth of industrial combinations, the tariff, the currency, and the regulation of public utilities. Business has attained a high economic organization with which law and administration have not kept pace. Governments are outgrowing their shell and are called upon to do more things and do them better than formerly. The number of public employees is increasing more rapidly than population, due to the assumption of functions that have heretofore been neglected or left to private enterprise. The task of solving these new problems and of administering government efficiently and economically needs the aid of men of as good abilities as the great captains of industries, men trained in administration and fit to be the dispensers and instruments of the power of society, who will administer their trust in the interest of the whole people and not pervert it to the interest of a faction or for corrupt ends.

The reform of the civil service is chief among the great administrative reforms for which the nineteenth century is distinguished. No other reform has made such rapid progress or reached such a stage of general acceptance. It has been found the necessary basis and means of effecting other civic reforms. The history of European countries during the century exhibits social transformations arising from the improvements which have been effected in their administrative machinery, and our country advances as fast as civic spirit and conscience gain the strength and find ways to overcome the forces which would debauch and dishonor it. Party leaders in all countries have used the power of patronage in aid of their own power or that of their party, and their followers appointed to office have regarded their allegiance and efforts as due to them rather than to the government. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the party system reigned in the civil service of Great Britain and state employments were treated as the assets of the party in power and available for party purposes. This feudal administration of the government demoralized the public service and public spirit and is said by Trevelyan to have been one of the efficient causes of the American Revolution. The founders of our government, in breaking away from the mother country, sought to escape the evils of the patronage system; and the purity of the early administrations was such that during the first forty years after the establishment of the Constitution the appointing power was exercised in the spirit of Washington, who declared that nothing would procure an appointment but evidence of ability, integrity, and fitness. The intent of the Constitution, that office should be held during good behavior, was during this period given thorough and practical effect. The spoils system had its beginning in the laws of 1820 and 1823, causing a departure from the traditional policy. It rapidly became the practise to regard these four-year tenure offices as agencies not so much for the transaction of the public business as for the advancement of political ends. The public service, from being used for political purposes, came also to be used for currupt purposes, frauds and defalcations were common, and the public duties, where not entirely disregarded, were negligently and inefficiently performed. The saturnalia of spoils and corruption culminated in the assassination of President Garfield.

The tide of corrupt practises in Great Britain began to turn with the growth of a better sentiment during the reign of George IV., and a merit system of selecting candidates for office began in a small way in 1834. In 1855 a uniform system of competitive examinations was established, effecting a sweeping reform, which has proved permanent and salutary. In our own country in 1853, the same year with the passage of the India Act, and in 1885, laws were passed providing for an examination before an appointment in any of the executive departments. These pass examinations proved inadequate, as they had also in Great Britain, and while useful to a degree, they failed to remedy the evils at which they were aimed. In 1864 Senator Sumner put the reform sentiment of our country into a bill which he introduced in the Senate. A somewhat similar measure was introduced in the House of Representatives in 1867 by Mr. Thomas A. Jenckes of Rhode Island, followed by a comprehensive report presented by him from a joint committee of the two houses of Congress. These bills failed, probably because public sentiment had not been sufficiently awakened, and because their provisions were regarded as too radical and sweeping.

In his annual message of 1870 President Grant recommended legislation, and a commission was established in 1871 of which Mr. George William Curtis was chairman. He was shortly succeeded by Mr. Dorman B. Eaton. An appropriation was made by Congress during two years for carrying the law into effect. Competitive examinations were enforced under rules applying to promotions as well as to original admissions. In the same year President Grant, in a message to Congress, urged that an appropriation of $25,000 be made to continue the system. Congress refused to make the needed appropriation, partly because of the inherent defects of this meager law and the partizan hostility to it. President Grant was obliged to arrest the work of the commission in 1875, and the efforts for reform in a large measure failed, tho the good effects of the examinations were beyond question. In 1877, and again in 1879, President Hayes requested Congress to make the necessary appropriation for the resumption of the work, and he established rules under which competitive examinations were enforced at the New York custom-house and post-office.

The Commission of 1871

Public opinion, which had been diverted from the growing evils in the civil service by the Civil War and the problems arising out of it, was now turned to the imperative need of reform. The voice of the people was unmistakable, and on Dec. 15, 1880, Mr. Pendleton, a Democratic senator from Ohio, presented in the Senate a bill which was in substance and in nearly all of its provisions the same which had been originally presented in the House by Mr. Jenckes. In the debates upon this bill its advocates declared that it would "vastly improve the whole civil service of the country," which they characterized as being at that time "inefficient, expensive, and extravagant, and in many instances corrupt." The bill

became a law on Jan. 16, 1883. It aims to eliminate patronage and political and personal favoritism in appointments, thus taking out of political contests all inducement to office-seeking, and preserving the independence of the legislative and executive departments. It provides for the appointment of three commissioners, not more than two of whom shall be adherents of the same political party, and makes it the duty of the commission to aid the president as he may request, in preparing suitable rules for carrying the act into effect. The act requires that the rules shall provide, among other things, for open competitive examinations for testing the fitness of applicants, the making of appointments from among those passing with the highest grades, an apportionment of appointments in the departments at Washington among the states and territories, a period of probation before absolute appointment, and the prohibition of the use of official authority to coerce the political action of any person or body. The act also provides for investigations touching the enforcement of the rules and forbids, under penalty of fine or imprisonment or both, the solicitation by any person in the service of the U. S. of contributions to be used for political purposes from persons in such service, or the collection of such contributions by any person in a government building.

Legislation in 1883

The first parts of the service classified embraced the departments at Washington and the custom-houses and post-offices having as many as fifty employees, applying in all to less than 14,000 positions. A committee of Congress, composed of eight Democrats and five Republicans, in June, 1884, made a unanimous report in which it declared itself "entirely satisfied with the thorough, conscientious, and non-partizan work of the commission," and added that the continuance of its work would in a large degree aid in eradicating the prevalent evils in the civil service. In the second year the new system was subjected to the severest test of its vitality. A party which had been out of power for twenty-four years refused to treat the New York custom-house and post-office as party spoils. Notwithstanding the change of power and the fact that the new party had been out of control of the offices for a quarter of a century, the new system was enforced, and the number of places subject to it nearly doubled. In 1886 direct assaults to annul the law failed in both houses of Congress. In the same year President Cleveland commended the cause to the liberal care and jealous protection of Congress. He said that the scheme for reform in the methods of administering the government was no longer an experiment, and that wherever the reform had gained a foothold it had steadily advanced in the esteem of those charged with public administrative duties, while the people who desired good government had constantly been confirmed in their high esteem of its value and efficiency. Several large extensions of the classified service were made by President Cleveland in 1888, as also by President Harrison in 1891. In 1896, during President Cleveland's second term, the number of classified positions was increased by executive order from about 43,000 to about 87,000. Under President McKinley the merit system was applied to additional customs ports, Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, and under President Roosevelt to the rural delivery, census bureau, field employees of the War Department, the Spanish War, forestry and Isthmian canal employees, and to laborers. The rules were revised and strengthened under President Roosevelt and a marked improvement effected in their observance; the number of excepted positions has been reduced, notably higher positions in the customs service and deputy collectors of internal revenue, and a merit system applied to the consular service.

Congressional Committee of 1884

There are about 325,000 positions in the executive civil service, of which 184,178 are classified subject either to competitive examination under the civil service rules or to a merit system governing appointments at navy yards. In the latter class are about 18,000 workmen. The total expenditure for salaries in the executive civil service is about $200,000,000. Laborers and persons nominated for confirmation by the Senate are exempted from the requirements of classification. Within these limits certain classes of positions are excepted from examination. Examinations are held in every state and territory at least twice a year. They range in scope from technical, professional, or scientific subjects to those based wholly upon the age, physical condition, experience, and character as a workman of the applicant. During the year ended June 30, 1906, 117,277 persons were examined and 39,050 were appointed. In 1900 the Philippine Commission passed a civil service act and in the same year the federal civil service act was extended to Hawaii and Porto Rico. The Philippine act is based upon the federal act and goes much further in giving powers to the commission. There are no excepted positions in the Philippines and natives are preferred in appointment.

Statistics

The competitive system has proved infinitely better than the patronage system. It has produced great economy and efficiency, and the public service has been improved in honesty and general character. Unnecessary positions created for parasites have been abolished. Improved methods of business have been rendered possible by the stability given to the service. Superfluous work is no longer devised to create places for favorites. Employees, released from political and personal obligations, are required to do more and better work. Thus a very great economy has been effected and vastly more is being done in aid of the public welfare, in promotion of the ends for which government is constituted. A marked result is found in the elevation of the tone of official life. The holding of office within the merit system, instead of being a makeshift or a refuge, is regarded as a worthy career that may be attained by self-respecting methods. In time office-holding may be regarded as one of the most important and desirable of professions when freed from the subserviency, discreditable partizan work, and solicitation by which office is gained and held in parts of the service outside the merit system and when promotion is possible to higher administrative positions.

The merit system has not been carried as far in this country as in Great Britain and in several European countries. Postmasters, collectors of customs and internal revenue, and other heads of offices and bureaus are appointed by the president subject to the confirmation of the Senate and are therefore not required to be classified. These offices continue to be political agencies and their occupants being active working politicians are

greatly aided by the power of their offices in affecting the political prospects of leaders in their districts. Thus the Senate becomes actually, if not formally, a nominating body and holds to the powers thus acquired by individual senators. The ultimate and complete success of the merit system depends upon the prohibition of a party test in appointments to these purely administrative business offices.

State Civil Service

The abuses which have been largely corrected in the federal service continue to exist in some of the state governments and especially in the governments of many of the large cities. Fitness for office has been subordinated to a party test, political assessments levied, employees coerced in their political action, and municipal contracts and jobs distributed as political favors. These abuses have been partly corrected by the adoption of the merit system for minor non-elective offices in several state and city governments. The success attending the reform in the federal service has led to its adoption in the program for the reform of state and municipal governments. The federal civil service law and a state law in New York were approved in 1883, a law in Massachusetts in the year following, and laws in Illinois and Wisconsin in 1905. In Massachusetts civil service rules prevail everywhere. In New York a second law in 1884 extended the system, and since 1894 it has been entrenched in the state constitution and applied to villages, all the cities, and, in 1906, to four counties. In Wisconsin, in addition to other state employees, the rules apply to legislative employees. The first municipal civil service rules in the U. S. were established in Brooklyn in September, 1884; the second in New York City in November, and the third in Buffalo in December of the same year; and the cities of Massachusetts followed in 1885. There have been setbacks, but in those cities the system is now successfully enforced. In Buffalo, for instance, more than four fifths of the municipal offices in all departments are under rules which are well administered. There are now seven cities outside of New York and Massachusetts which have a complete merit system: Chicago (1895), Milwaukee (1895), Seattle (1896), Los Angeles (1903), Portland, Ore. (1903), Denver (1904), and Philadelphia (1905). In addition to this list there are some states, cities, and towns where a partial merit system has been established, or where a system has been established and then abandoned. In 1885 Illinois passed an admirable act, not applying to the state service, but permissive for towns and cities, under which Chicago and Evanston adopted rules in 1885, and Cook County, Rockford, Aurora, and Elgin in 1903. The state charitable institutions of Indiana have been made non-partizan by voluntary action of the boards. San Francisco secured a measure of reform by a charter passed in 1900, but it is now held unconstitutional as to certain county offices. In most of the large cities and in many small ones examinations are held for the police and fire departments and for teachers. In 1903 Ohio passed a municipal code, the provisions of which appear to be meager and inadequate and cover only the health, police, and fire departments. Under this law Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Toledo have rules in those departments. In New Jersey in 1905 a law was passed providing for rules in the police and fire departments of cities of the first class. The revised charter of New Orleans has a semblance of the merit system, and there have been creditable but only partially successful or wholly unsuccessful attempts to establish rules in Atlanta, Memphis, Minneapolis, Galveston, Tacoma, Jacksonville, and Duluth, and in Michigan, Kansas, Maryland, and Texas. The application of the merit system to state and municipal governments has proved successful wherever it has been given a fair trial, and numerous and important improvements have been introduced in the more recent legislation permitting the remedial action to be more drastic, reaching to the heart of abuses and effectually stopping them.

References: Eaton, *The Civil Service in Great Britain. A History of Abuses and Reforms, and their Bearing upon American Politics* (New York, 1880); Curtis, *Addresses on the Reform of Civil Service* (vol. ii of Orations and Addresses, 1895); Salmon, *Syllabus for the Study of the History of Civil Service Reform*, and other pamphlets issued by the Massachusetts Civil Service Reform Association (55 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston); Fairlie, *The National Administration* (New York, 1905); Fish, *The Civil Service and the Patronage* (New York, 1905); Goodnow, *Principles of Administrative Law* (New York, 1905); Tyler, *Parties and Patronage in the United States* (New York, 1891); *Reports of Civil Service Commissions*; publications of the National Civil Service Reform League (79 Wall Street, New York City).

John T. Doyle,
Secretary, U. S. Civil Service Commission.

CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT ASSOCIATION: The United States Civil Service Retirement Association was organized in Washington, D. C., in the spring of 1900. The association has collected and tabulated numerous data bearing upon the subject of superannuation, in the service of this and foreign governments, and in the service of private enterprises; has endeavored to stimulate thought upon this subject, by means of investigations into the real conditions and giving the same publicity, public meetings, which have been addrest by men high in official life, and by correcting, wherever necessary, false impressions that have gained credence as to the labors, lives, compensation, cost of living, etc., of the civil service employees of the government; and it has also been in constant touch with actuaries, in an endeavor to formulate a plan under which superannuated employees may be retired with pay, such compensation to be derived from a fund constituted by assessment upon the salaries of those in the civil service.

The committee's labors resulted in the presentation of a draft of a bill to the President of the United States in May, 1906. The main features of this bill provided for an assessment of 5 per cent upon the salaries of civil service employees and the retirement of said employees, upon reaching the age of seventy, on a retired pay equal to one eightieth of the employee's average salary for the ten years preceding retirement, for each year of service. The bill also provides for retirement on account of disability, without respect to age, at any time after the employee has had ten years of service, on the same basis.

The present membership is about 18,000. Jacob W. Starr, of Camden, N. J., is president, and David D. Caldwell, of Peoria, Ill., secretary. *Address*: P. O. box 37, Washington, D. C.

Jacob W. Starr.

CLARK, EDGAR ERASTUS: Member of the Interstate Commerce Commission; born at Lima, N. Y., 1856. He attended school until sixteen years of age; commenced work on railroad in

1873; became a member of the Order of Conductors in 1885, and was chief of his local division for several terms. In 1888 he was a delegate to the international convention, and in 1889 was elected second vice-president of the Order of Railway Conductors. The following year he was elected chief executive, and held the office continuously till appointed by President Roosevelt in 1902 a member of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission, giving most active and valuable service in that important and difficult cause. Clark is a member of the National Child Labor Committee, the National Civic Federation, the American Institute of Social Service, and the Academy of Political and Social Science. Mr. Clark believes in the organization of labor on protective lines, but approves of the strike only as a last resort. He is a strong advocate of arbitration in industrial disputes. He has written "Articles and Papers on Labor and Sociological Subjects." *Address*: Washington, D. C.

CLARK, JOHN BATES: Professor of political economy; born at Providence, R. I., 1847; educated at the public high-school, Brown University, Amherst College (Ph.D., LL.D.), Heidelberg University and University of Zürich. He traveled as a student and tourist in France, England, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland, returning to America in 1875. He has held the chair of political economy and history at Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.; that of history and political science at Smith College (1881–92); and that of political economy at Amherst (1892–95); and is now (1907) professor of political economy at Columbia University. He has been lecturer on economic theory at Johns Hopkins University, and president of the American Economic Association. He is perhaps best known for his writings upon Wealth (see Capital). His main writings are: "Philosophy of Wealth"; "Capital and Its Earnings"; "The Distribution of Wealth"; "Essentials of Economic Theory"; "Control of Trusts"; and "The Problem of Monopoly," in addition to numerous articles in economic reviews and journals. *Address*: 616 West 113th Street, New York.

CLARKE, LADY JANET: President of the Australian Women's National League, Victoria. She is interested in all questions affecting the welfare of women, is prominent in philanthropic movements, and rendered active assistance to the Melbourne University Fund (1904–5). In 1890, mainly through her munificence, Trinity College Hostel was supplied with a permanent building erected within the college precincts, and called The Lady Janet Clarke Building. *Address*: Cliveden, East Melbourne, Victoria.

CLARKSON, THOMAS: English philanthropist and abolitionist; born in 1760. He commenced his life-work in 1825, while at Cambridge, by writing a prize essay against the principle of slavery. He secured the cooperation of WILBERFORCE, who undertook the parliamentary campaign. Clarkson became one of the leading members in the antislavery society formed in 1823. His benevolence led him to take part in many other philanthropic endeavors, most notably in providing homes for sailors in the English seaport towns. Among his works may be mentioned: "Essay on the Impolicy of the African Slave-trade"; "History of the Abolition of the African Slave-trade"; "The Cries of Africa to the Inhabitants of Europe"; and also the "Grievances of our Mercantile Seamen a National and Crying Evil." He died in 1846.

CLEVELAND, OHIO: Has been well characterized as a city finding itself. A city of broad areas, with plenty of room to grow, it is only within the last few years that it has come face to face with metropolitan problems.

Cleveland, of New England origin, with New England ideals, was founded in 1796 by General Moses Cleaveland, acting for the Connecticut Land Company. The Western Reserve, of which Cleveland is the metropolis, was sold to this company by the State of Connecticut, and the proceeds were applied to the fund which is still used in the support of the common schools of that state. In 1840 the population had reached 10,000; in 1860 it was less than 50,000. At this time the New England traditions asserted themselves. Cleveland was one of the strongholds in the antislavery movement and was an important station on the underground railroad. In 1880 the population was barely 160,000; now it is approximately half a million.

History

Prior to 1891 the government was chaotic. It consisted of the council and mayor, whose powers were modified by numerous boards or commissions, created in various ways. Irresponsibility was largely the result. The so-called federal plan, introduced in 1891, was an attempt to adjust the English parliamentary forms to city affairs. This charter was worked out by a committee of the chamber of commerce. The mayor, with the chief executive officials of five departments, appointed by him, became the repository of all the administrative authority. These officials had a unique privilege, that of a seat and a voice in the council. The mayor exercised the veto, subject to an overruling by a two thirds vote of the council. The chief opposition to the plan was the possibility it gave for a powerful machine, but in this case the mayor, who might become the boss, was at least a responsible boss, instead of an outside and irresponsible one, as is usually the case. This plan, successful on the whole, was overturned in 1902, and the city was given a mixed product, which was a partial return to the old system of the divided responsibility.

The city has come to be essentially independent in local elections, and the principle, city before party, is becoming increasingly prevalent. The merit of individual candidates is being more and more considered, as is shown by the frequent election of Democrat officials in a Republican city. The Municipal Association is undoubtedly to a large extent responsible for this independent spirit. This association examines the individual merits of candidates irrespective of party, and its recommendations are coming each year to have a greater force.

Early in its history the city was prominent in its charities and philanthropy. Its orphan asylums, relief associations, and missions were numerous, but it is only within the last few years that any definite coordination and cooperation has been in existence. This has been brought about largely through the efforts of the Associated Charities and the chamber of commerce. The Associated Charities is a clearing-house for all charitable efforts, particularly in the form of re-

lief, and through this means duplication of effort is rapidly being eliminated. The Associated Charities has a department of relief in which intelligent investigation is the vital principle and where the principle that charity is "love with discrimination" is the key-note. Included in this department is special effort for the tubercular. The organization conducts, also, an employment department, a lodging-house, a wood yard, a penny savings-bank, a system of friendly visiting, and numerous other activities.

All of the Jewish charitable institutions in the city are affiliated through a federation which collects and disburses all funds for the support of these organizations. The Catholics conduct numerous orphan asylums and other organizations upon a high grade of efficiency. The Visiting Nurse Association provides nurses for any who are unable to pay for this service, and this undoubtedly is one of the best of its kind in the country. There are several settlements doing efficient work. One of these, the Hiram House, is following the plan, as far as possible, of having its residents live in small houses of the grade of those in the neighborhood, thus getting closer to the life of the people in the district. Numerous orphan asylums, fresh-air camps, the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, the Anti-tuberculosis League, the Cleveland Day Nursery and Free Kindergarten Association are important factors in social welfare. The Juvenile Court, working in close cooperation with other organizations, is resulting in a constant decrease in juvenile delinquency in crime.

An opportunity for social service study is given through the Social Service Club, the Council of Sociology, and various women's organizations. The colleges of the city and the high schools are also paying especial attention to the subject.

The city government is now developing a "farm colony." This consists of 1,900 acres, ten miles from the city, laid out as a beautiful estate by a landscape gardener. In one section is an open-air tuberculosis hospital, in another is the city infirmary, where the poor and helpless are housed in separate cottages. In an entirely separated section is the workhouse, while the city hospital and other buildings are being planned for. This farm also contains the city cemetery. A large proportion of the work in preparing the land and in building is being done by the workhouse prisoners. These prisoners build their own houses and support themselves, and during their leisure hours they are permitted to work on individual lot-holdings, and produce that which will be placed to their credit as a protection against relapse, or for the maintenance of their families. In connection with the workhouse the brotherhood is conducted. This was founded upon the initiative of released workhouse prisoners, and its aim is the friendly assistance of newly released men until they are able in turn to help others. The city has also founded the Cleveland Boys' Farm, an institution of several hundred acres where boys who are homeless and neglected or delinquent through the influence of their surroundings may find the influences of a home. The boys are housed in families with a matron at the head of each family who is very properly designated "Ma," and who fully lives up to the responsibility thus placed upon her.

The chamber of commerce may well be considered the center of the civic life of Cleveland. In connection with many commercial interests, it carries on a department which embraces every form of civic activity. The chamber is responsible for the plan by which the city hall, the county court-house, the federal building, public library, the union depot, and other public and semi-public buildings will be grouped about a common center. The plan opens on the lake front and in this center will be a broad mall, 600 feet wide and adorned with statuary, fountains, lagoons, and sunken gardens. The architecture for the buildings will be uniform, and of the most classic style. The chamber of commerce includes a committee on benevolent associations, which supervises the charitable institutions of the city. The committee gives a card of indorsement to such organizations as conform to the required standard. It is difficult for any organization to gain support without this indorsement, and the committee is able to develop in this field a standard of highest efficiency. The housing committee has made an extended investigation of tenement conditions in the city, has been influential in procuring legislation tending to prevent future abuses, and is now engaged in preparing legislation for remedying existing conditions. At the inauguration of the industrial committee, six years ago, there were twenty-five employers in the chamber membership engaged in definite welfare work. There are now approximately 200. The municipal committee has brought about the creation of a city department of forestry, under which the trees in the city streets and parks are cared for, and new trees planted. The public bath-house committee brought about the erection of two public baths, and plans for others are now being considered.

Civic Improvements

The sanitary committee was effective in controlling the smallpox epidemic which threatened the city a few years ago. This committee prepared a sanitary code which was adopted by the Board of Health, and which, among other provisions, created a department of meat and milk inspection, which through the cooperation of the committee has become most efficient. This code also provides for medical inspection in public schools, the reporting of communicable diseases, the abatement of nuisances, and similar matters in the enforcement of which the committee is now actively engaged. An efficient system of street cleaning by means of flushing is the result of this committee's work. A committee of the chamber is at present working upon the subject of smoke prevention. Water-supply, sewage disposal, and many other matters are constantly under the active consideration of this commercial body. The chamber has also been influential in preventing various franchise abuses, and has taken a hand in national matters, such as consular service reform and peace promotion.

The city government has shown itself most willing to cooperate in the accomplishment of many civic movements. It owns its own garbage reduction plant, does its ash collection, and supplies the city water. The mayor, some three years ago, endeavored to establish a municipal lighting plant, but the opposition from various sources compelled him to discontinue the project. The city recently annexed a suburb which owns such a plant and this is now being enlarged to supply part of the city with electric current. The city is developing a system of broad boulevards, which will completely encircle it, and large spacious

parks form a part of the system. These parks were formerly adorned with "keep-off-the-grass" signs and were used largely for pleasure drives. The signs have now been torn down and the parks are used extensively for baseball, golf, tennis, outdoor meetings, band concerts, and playgrounds. The city has established several playgrounds in crowded neighborhoods, and a dozen skating-rinks are in operation. The city also conducts several public bathing-beaches.

Mayor Johnson is a strong advocate of public ownership of public utilities, both local, state, and national.

He has worked to bring about the ownership of street-railway lines, but through the failure of necessary legislation and the opposition of the existing railway company and other forces he has not yet accomplished this. He has, however, succeeded in introducing a competing line at a three-cent fare, and in reducing the fare of the other company to three cents and a half.

The public-school system of the city was founded in 1836, and in 1847 one of the first public high schools of the country was started. The Board of Education maintains the highest educational standard, both in its educational systems and in the construction and maintenance of its buildings.

The labor element of the city is essentially radical, the central labor body being largely committed to socialism. Union leaders claim 60 per cent of the laborers in the organized trades. Several severe strikes have been conducted, resulting in few victories for either side. The efforts of the unions have, however, undoubtedly resulted in shorter hours, higher wages, and better conditions of labor. The meetings of the various unions are open to the presentation of general movements of social reforms, and usually these unions have been willing and active in cooperation.

Some important organizations are:

Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, Chamber of Commerce Building.
Municipal Association, 734 Garfield Building.
Sociological Council, Chamber of Commerce Building.
Goodrich House (Settlement), St. Clair and Sixth Street.
United Trades Labor Council, 717 Superior Ave.
Cleveland *Citizen* (Socialist and Labor, M. S. editor), 193 Champlain Street.
Anti-Saloon League, 516 The Arcade.
Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 513 The Arcade.
Young Women's Christian Association, 1245 Euclid Ave.

CLIFFORD, JOHN: English clergyman and Christian Socialist; born at Sawley, Derbyshire, 1836. At the age of eleven he worked in a factory near Nottingham, and at fourteen he was received into the Baptist Church, soon becoming a student of the General Baptist College. In 1862 he took charge of the Praed Street Baptist Church, in London, of which he is still pastor, altho the growth of the congregation has compelled the removal to the present chapel in Westbourne Park. In connection with his work Dr. Clifford pursued studies and took degrees and honors at London University. He has added an educational institute to his own church, where 1,500 names stand enrolled in various classes. Dr. Clifford is known to-day for his active interest in social reform. He was one of the founders of the Christian Socialist League; president, Metropolitan Free Church's Council (1896–97); and president, National Council of Free Evangelical Churches (1898–99). He is the author of many religious works and numerous tracts and articles on Christian Social topics. *Address*: 25 Sunderland Terrace, Westbourne Park, London, W., England.

CLUBS, MEN AND BOYS' (see Women's Clubs; Working Girls' Clubs): Clubs have played a large part in social development and reform. They existed in classic times and are mentioned by Aristotle and others. The first modern club to win fame seems to have been the club established at the end of the sixteenth century in the Mermaid Tavern at London, to which Shakespeare and other literary men and wits of the day belonged. Since that day clubs of various sorts have flourished in London as in no city of the world. White's, still one of the leading London social clubs, was founded in 1697. There are said to be nearly 300 clubs in London,

London

social, literary, political, sporting, or the like, with a membership of some 300,000. The largest political club is the Constitutional (Conservative) with 7,000 members. The Junior Constitutional has 5,000, and the United Empire the same number. The Conservative (1840) has 1,300. The National Liberal Club has 6,000 members, but more important Liberal clubs are the Carlton (1832) and the Reform (1837) with from 1,500 to 2,000 members. The most expensive London club is the Naval and Military. The oldest service club is the United Service (1815). The leading literary clubs are the United University, the Oxford, and Cambridge. Science has the Athæneum with 1,200 members. There are thirty ladies' clubs, the Pioneers, the Sesame (political), and Empress being prominent. The Ladies' Army and Navy, with its great smoking-room, has 3,600 members. The initiation fees for the larger clubs are from £10 to £50.

Working men's clubs in England, and especially in London, have had a large development. Many have large buildings or rooms. Some of these, usually called "proprietary" clubs, are strictly secret, and with a doubtful reputation. Others are philanthropic, more or less supported and superintended by church and other organizations. Prominent among such are the University Club and the United Brothers. These are usually teetotal and mainly educational and social.

Many clubs are political, Liberal, Radical, Conservative, Socialistic. In most of the clubs

Working Men's Clubs

an unorganized socialism rather than old-fashioned radicalism is the dominant note. All these clubs have a bar, and breweries often help in fitting them up. They also have concerts, lectures, entertainments, dancing, and dramatics. Billiards and whist are played. It is declared by their enemies that they are drinking-dens, and take the men from their homes; but Mr. Booth declares the former accusation to be without foundation, and that most of the members, if not at the clubs, would be on the street. They give an opportunity for political education such as American workmen are almost without. The American workman is organized for political purposes usually only in the heated campaigns with partizan spirit. The English and European working men's clubs discuss politics all the year round, and to an extent in a broad spirit because the clubs are not merely political. It was to these clubs that the lecturers

of the Fabian Society (*q. v.*) went, and largely changed their political spirit from one of cheap negative radicalism to one of constructive evolutionary socialism.

In all the clubs the fee is usually 6*d.* per month; the average membership is from 300 to 400; the hours are from 6.30 P.M. to 12.30 A.M., and on Sunday from 11 A.M. to 1 P.M. and from 6.30 P.M. to 11.30 P.M. The management is by a committee, and the sale of drinks makes them largely self-supporting. Gambling and excessive drinking in the open clubs are rare.

Clubs on the Continent have played a minor part. Some republican clubs in Paris, especially during the Revolution, gained notoriety, but most European clubs are more or less artificial copies of English prototypes. In the United States clubs began late in the eighteenth century. The Hoboken Turtle Club, still existent, was formed in 1797. The (New York) Union Club was formed in 1836. The Union League Club (1863), Reform Club (1888), and especially the City Club (1892) have often led in civic reform movements. Various literary, social, university, and church clubs have wide influence, many of these having luxurious clubhouses and appointments. In other American cities clubs are found in similar number in proportion to the size of the city.

United States

In distinctive reform movements, the club is equally important. According to *Social Progress* (1905) there were in connection with Settlements in the U. S. 185 men's clubs, 220 women's clubs, 496 boys' clubs, and 466 girls' clubs. According to an investigation made by Dr. H. D. Sheldon in 1898, there were in 1898 862 clubs in the U. S. formed by boys between the ages of ten and seventeen. Of these 85½ per cent stood for physical activity. Most of the clubs in the Settlements and institutional churches, however, have been started by adults for educational and character purposes. Their object has been to get boys off the street and from bad surroundings, and interest them in activities of their own. The general principle adopted is to leave the conduct of the clubs so far as possible to the boys themselves, with, however, a guidance from some older person, and so far as possible influencing the boys by the power of personality. This is more especially true of the younger and more recently formed clubs. Larger clubs were formally formed and in New York and other cities often occupy large buildings or rooms. A modern development is the federation of clubs.

Boys' Clubs

REFERENCES: H. D. Sheldon, *The Institutional Activities of American Children*, in *American Journal of Psychology*, vol. ix.; Newman, *The Boys' Club in Theory and Practice*, London, 1900; Winfred Buck, *Boys' Self-Governing Clubs*, New York, 1903.

CLYNES, J. R.: English labor member of Parliament; born 1869, Oldham; served his time in a cotton factory. Showing ability for organization, he was selected, in 1891, by the Gas-workers' and General Laborers' Union as organizer for the Lancashire district; became chairman of the Federation of Trades Councils, and for ten years secretary of the Oldham and District Trades Council. He was recently appointed justice of the peace for the Oldham bench. Elected to Parliament 1906 for Manchester, N. E., under the auspices of the Labor Representation Committee. *Address*: 176 Union Street, Oldham.

COAL INDUSTRY (for Coal Miners, see MINERS' UNIONS): The question of coal production is one of the most important of economic questions, and in the coal industry have arisen some of the greatest industrial conflicts in the United States. (See COAL STRIKE.) The coal industry, which began in the U. S. in 1814, to-day employs 600,000 men and boys. Its yearly value is about $520,000,000 at the mine and over $2,000,000,000 when it reaches the consumer. For conditions so far as the miners are concerned, see MINERS. In regard to other conditions in the coal industry we quote largely from the address delivered by Mr. Henry D. Lloyd before the Interstate Anti-Trust Conference at Chicago, June 5, 1893. It still remains one of the best brief statements of evils in the coal trade ever made. The evils since that day have continued substantially unchanged. We add enough facts to bring the subject to date.

Within the last thirty years 95 per cent of the anthracite coal of America, practically the entire supply, it is reported to Congress, this year, has passed from the ownership of private citizens, many thousands in number, into the possession of the railroads controlling the highways of the coal-fields. These railroads have been undergoing a similar process of consolidation, and are now the property of eight great corporations. This surrender of their property by the individual coal-mine owners is a continuing process in operation at this moment, for the complete extinction of the "individual" and the independents in this field. It is destined, according to the report of Congress, to end in the entire absorption of the entire anthracite coal-fields and collieries by the common carriers. . . .

Monopolies

"The railroad companies engaged in mining and transporting coal are practically in a combination to control the output and fix the price. They have a practical monopoly of the production, the transportation, and the sale of anthracite coal."

Congress found in 1888 that the coal companies in the anthracite regions keep thousands of surplus laborers on hand to underbid each other for employment and for submission to all exactions; hold them purposely ignorant when the mines are to be worked and when closed, so that they cannot seek employment elsewhere; bind them as tenants by compulsion in the companies' houses, so that rent shall run against them, whether wages run on or not, and under leases by which they can be turned out with their wives and children on the mountain-side in midwinter if they strike; compel them to fill cars of larger capacity than agreed upon; make them buy their powder and other working outfit of the companies at an enormous advance on the cost; compel them to buy coal of the company at the company's price, and in many cases to buy a fixed quantity—more than they need; compel them to employ the doctor named by the company, and to pay him whether sick or well; "pluck" them at the company's stores, so that when pay-day comes around the company owes the men nothing, there being authentic cases where "sober, hard-working miners toiled for years or even a lifetime without having been able to draw a single dollar, or but a few dollars in actual cash; in debt until the day they died"; refuse to fix the wages in advance, but pay them upon some hocus-pocus sliding scale, varying with the selling price in New York, which the railroad slides to suit itself, and, most extraordinary of all, refuse to let the miners know the prices on which their living slides; a fraud, says the report of Congress, "on its face."

The companies dock the miners' output arbitrarily for slate and other impurities, and so can take from their men from five to fifty tons more in every hundred than they can pay for.

In order to keep the miners disciplined and the coal market undersupplied, the railroads restrict work, so that the miners often have to live for a month on what they can earn in six or eight days, and these restrictions are enforced upon their miners by holding cars from them to fill, as upon competitors by withholding cars to go to market. Labor organizations are forbidden, and the men intentionally provoked to strike to affect the market.

The laboring population of the coal regions, finally, is kept down by special policemen enrolled under special laws, and often in violation of law, by the railroads and coal and iron companies practically when and in what numbers they choose, and practically without responsibility to any one but their employers, armed as the corporations see fit with army revolvers, or Winchester rifles, or both, made detectives by

statute, and not required to wear their shields, provoking the people to riot and then shooting them legally. "By the percentage of wages," says the report of Congress, "by false measurements, by rents, stores, and other methods the workman is virtually a chattel of the operator."

Moved mainly by the disappearance of a free market in oil and coal, the people of Pennsylvania arose in 1873 and adopted a new constitution. To put an end to the consolidation of all the anthracite coal lands into the hands of the railroads, this constitution forbade common carriers to mine or manufacture articles for transportation over their lines, or to buy land except for carrying purposes. These provisions of the constitution have been disobeyed "defiantly." "The railroads have defiantly gone on acquiring title to hundreds of thousands of acres of coal, as well as of neighboring agricultural lands," says the congressional committee of 1888. "They have been aggressively pursuing the joint business of carrying and mining coal." So far from quitting it, "they have increased their mining operations by extracting bituminous as well as anthracite."

Defiance of Law

Instead of enacting "appropriate legislation," as commanded by the new constitution to effectuate its prohibitions, the legislature has passed laws to nullify the constitution by preventing forever any escheat to the state of the immense area of lands unlawfully held by the railroads. Every effort breaking down to meet the evil by state action, failure was finally confessed by the passage, in 1878, by the Pennsylvania Legislature, of a joint resolution asking Congress to legislate "for equity in the rates of freight," and to this day the will of the people of Pennsylvania, as declared in their sovereign utterance, has found among these corporations none so poor as to do it reverence.

The following statement is condensed from Leroy-Beaulieu's "The United States in the Twentieth Century":

The coal-fields of the United States cover an area of more than 275,000 sq. m. The Appalachian ranges along the Alleghanies from Pennsylvania to Alabama, across Ohio, Maryland, the two Virginias, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and contains 73,000 sq. m.; the East Inland field (Indiana, Illinois, and western Kentucky) contains 60,000 sq. m.; the North Inland field (Michigan) contains 11,000 sq. m.; the West Inland field, which stretches from Iowa to Texas, contains more than 89,500 sq. m.; the Rocky Mountain field, running from the Canadian frontier almost to the Mexican border, contains 45,000 sq. m. The small Pacific field has less than 1,000 sq. m. The richest by far, in point both of quantity and quality, appear to be the East Inland and the Appalachian. It is estimated that fully 55 per cent of the whole area is workable. Mention must also be made of the small but extremely valuable anthracite field which covers 500 sq. m. in eastern Pennsylvania, which has an average annual output of 50,000,000 tons. Finally, there are some deposits of brown coal which constitute a reserve supply.

Coal-Fields

In 1902 two thirds of the bituminous coal output of the U. S. was extracted from the mines of the Appalachian field, from which were taken more than 156,000,000 of the total 234,000,000 tons mined that year. As the anthracite field is contiguous to this particular field it is evident that this region furnished in all about 200,000,000 tons, or more than 70 per cent of the total American output. The most productive sections are the extreme northern and southern parts of the field, the more productive of these being the northern section in which the output was 89,000,000 tons for Pennsylvania, 21,500,000 for Ohio, 24,500,000 for West Virginia, and 5,000,000 for Maryland. In 1880 the aggregate output of these four states was but 28,000,000 tons; in 1902 close upon 150,000,000 tons. In the southern section 9,500,000 tons are extracted in Alabama. Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee have an annual output, respectively, of 3,000,000, 6,000,000, and 4,000,000 tons. Naturally, fuel is cheap in all these states. The average price, at the mine, varies (for 1902) from $1.05 per ton in Kentucky to $1.76 in Indian Territory.

One is surprised at the cheapness of coal. The wages paid are so high that it seems incomprehensible that it can be mined and sold at a profit for from only $1 to $1.20 per ton and even in certain years for 80 cents per ton. But the high cost of labor is offset by the employment of machinery. The coal-mines of America are well equipped in this respect, and the miners, after having at first opposed the introduction of machinery, have welcomed it, so soon as they perceived that not only were the risks of mining lessened thereby, but that since 1900 the U. S. has exported more coal than it has imported. In long tons the exports in 1902 were: coal, 6,126,946; coke, 392,491. The imports were: coal, 2,551,381; coke, 107,437.

Estimating a ton of coke as equivalent to 1½ tons of coal, the exports in 1900 exceeded 8,500,000 tons; 5,422,000 tons were shipped to Canada, 223,000 to Central and South America, 664,000 to Japan, 760,000 to Mexico, and 635,000 to Europe. Of the imports 1,484,000 tons came from Canada, mainly from British Columbia. If eastern Canada obtains its coal supply from the Eastern States, western Canada in turn supplies fuel to the Pacific slope, which, moreover, imported 252,000 tons of coal from Australia during 1900.

Coal Trade

There are reasons, too, for believing that the cost of carriage will fall and American coal may be sold on the Mediterranean at or below $4 per ton. In consequence of the deepening and the relative exhaustion of the English mines the price of English coal has a general tendency to rise; whereas in America, with the possible exception of the anthracite field, the development of the coal-beds has but begun. It is quite reasonable to predict that the time will come when, pending the exploitation of the coal-fields of China, all the world, with the exception of northern and northwestern Europe, which will almost certainly remain customers of Great Britain, will look to the U. S. for its coal supply.

WORLD PRODUCTION OF COAL
(IN METRIC TONS OF 2,205 POUNDS)

COUNTRY]	1885	1900	1905	Size of coal-fields in sq. m.
United States....	100,843,000	244,653,000	352,694,110	194,000
Great Britain....	161,909,000	228,795,000	239,888,928	9,000
Germany.....	73,675,000	149,788,000	173,663,774	3,600
Austria-Hung'y	20,436,000	39,108,000	40,725,000	1,789
France.....	19,511,000	33,405,000	36,048,264	1,800
Belgium.....	17,438,000	23,463,000	21,844,200	500
Russia.....	4,268,000	16,157,000	17,120,000	27,000
China.....	.....	.....	.....	250,000
Japan.....	1,303,000	7,489,000	11,895,000	4,000
Australasia....	3,661,000	7,599,000	8,255,250	24,000
Canada.....	1,743,000	5,088,000	7,959,711	65,000
India.....	1,315,000	6,217,000	7,921,000	35,000
South Africa...	15,000	884,000	3,218,500	.....
Spain.....	919,000	2,583,000	3,199,911	5,500
Sweden.....	174,000	252,000	331,500	.....
Italy.....	190,000	480,000	307,500	.....

COAL PRODUCTION IN THE UNITED STATES

Compiled from the U. S. Statistical Abstract, 1905

STATE OR TERRITORY	1880	1890	1900	1904
ANTHRACITE	*Tons*[1]	*Tons*	*Tons*	*Tons*
Pennsylvania	28,640,819	41,489,858	51,221,353	65,318,490
Colorado and New Mexico	.....	.....	87,861	64,352
Total anthracite	28,649,812	41,489,858	51,309,214	65,382,842
BITUMINOUS				
Middle States	28,492,519	57,633,166	112,055,688	142,681,714
Western States	11,800,132	29,645,860	51,161,510	70,703,161
Pacific States	439,918	1,566,136	3,440,091	4,308,312
Southern States	1,978,242	10,547,709	22,822,807	31,486,852
Total anthracite and bituminous[2]	71,360,623	140,866,931	240,789,309	314,562,881
AMOUNTS MARKETED[3]				
Anthracite... tons	.....	36,617,042	45,276,622	63,907,788
Anthracite... value	.....	$58,645,854	$83,761,750	$138,974,02
Bituminous.. tons	.....	78,011,224	154,528,814	243,612,420
Bituminous.. value	.....	$86,498,845	$179,995,163	$300,130,501
Total.... tons	.....	114,628,266	199,805,436	307,520,208
Total.... value	.....	$145,144,699	$263,756,913	$439,104,521

[1] In tons of 2,240 pounds. [2] Amounts marketed only for the year 1880; afterward the entire product of the mines. [3] Quantities represent amounts shipped to market; values are based on those of entire product.

Great Britain

The Royal Commission on Coal Supplies of the United Kingdom, appointed in Dec., 1901, reported in 1905. As summarized in Hazell's *Annual*, the commissioners estimated, after making necessary deductions, the available quantity of coal in the proved coal-fields of the United Kingdom to be 100,914,668,167 tons. The 1871 commission's estimate was 90,207,285,398 tons. The statistics show that, tho between 1870 and 1903, 5,694,928,507 tons of coal have been raised, the present estimates of available coal are nevertheless 10,707,382,769 tons in excess of those of the 1871 commission. This excess is accounted for partly by the difference in the areas regarded as productive by the two commissions, and partly by discoveries due to recent borings, sinkings, and workings, and more accurate knowledge of the coal-seams. In addition, the commission estimated that there were 5,239,433,980 tons of coal in the proved coal-fields lying at greater depth than 4,000 ft. below the surface. From the concealed and unproved coal-fields the Geological Committee appointed by the commission estimated there might be expected 39,483,000,000 tons at depths less than 4,000 ft. and over 1,000,000,000 tons beyond high-water mark in the Cumberland coal-field, and in St. Bride's and Carmarthen bays. The commissioners held that it was highly improbable, owing to physical considerations, that the average increase in the output for the last thirty years (viz., 2½ per cent per annum) would continue. They said: "In view of this opinion and of the exhaustion of the shallower collieries, we look forward to a time, not far distant, when the rate of increase of output will be slower, to be followed by a period of stationary output, and then a gradual decline."

COAL STRIKE OF 1902: One of the greatest and most far-reaching strikes in the history of the United States. Some 147,000 men were involved. Of the business loss Mr. Carroll D. Wright has said ("Battles of Labor," p. 146):

> According to the Chief of the Bureau of Anthracite Coal Statistics, the shipments of coal decreased 22,333,333⅓ tons, 40 per cent of the shipments of the previous year. Making an estimate on coal mined for local trade and consumption, the total decrease in 1902 must have been nearly 25,000,000 long tons. This meant a decrease in the receipts of the coal-mining companies of over $46,000,000, while the mine employees lost in wages a total of upward of $25,000,000, and $1,800,000 was spent by the mine-workers of the country in the relief of the miners of the anthracite regions. The decrease in freights paid to the railroad companies on the larger sizes, had it all been sent to New York harbor, would be about $19,000,000, and on the smaller sizes the total decrease in freight receipts would be about $28,000,000.

The occasion of the strike was the demand of the United Mine Workers of America for an increase in wages and a decrease in time, and the payment for coal by weight wherever practicable. But the cause lay deeper and may be found in the desire for recognition of the miners' union by the operators, and leading up to it many long-continued grievances. (See Coal Industry.)

In 1899 the United Mine Workers of America, who had already organized the bituminous coal miners and had won annual trade agreements, undertook to organize the anthracite miners. Finding some success, they struck, in 1900, for higher wages. Political conditions led Senator Hanna to induce the operators to yield and they posted a notice of a ten-per-cent rise in wages without recognizing the union. In 1901 Mr. John Mitchell, president of the union, tried to induce the operators to confer with his organization as to a wage scale. They refused, but gave notice that they would continue the existing advance. Again, in 1902, the union invited the operators to a conference, but they declined. In March the miners' convention met and demanded an increase in wages and an eight-hour day. They resolved to work only three days a week after April 1st, until the dispute was settled. The Civic Federation, through Senator Hanna, its chairman, tried to intervene, but unsuccessfully. May 8th, Mr. Mitchell, for the union, proposed to the operators to leave the matter to an arbitration committee to be chosen by the Civic Federation or by Bishop Potter and Archbishop Ireland. The operators refused and declined to deal any further with Mr. Mitchell.

On May 14th the United Mine Workers met in convention at Hazleton, and the next day the strike, which had already broken out, was officially declared. The demands of the strikers were:

1. An increase of 20 per cent in the pay of miners working by the ton—about 40 per cent of the whole number.

2. An eight-hour day for per diem employees, being equivalent to a reduction of about 20 per cent in working-time without change of wages.

3. Payment by weight to be based on a ton of 2,240 pounds.

The men were entrenched behind a law requiring every miner in the anthracite field to have a certificate of competence, granted after examination, and based on at least two years' experience as a laborer. As there were only about 40,000 holders of such certificates, and practically all of them belonged to the union, it was impossible to operate the mines as long as they held out, and the contest settled down into one of endurance. One hundred and forty-five thousand men were idle. An attempt was made to call out the bituminous miners in a sympathetic strike, but they unanimously voted to stand by their agreement with their employers and not strike. Two million five hundred thousand dollars, however, was contributed to the miners by unions and friends over the country.

September brought a general scarcity of coal, verging upon famine. By October the country was facing a calamity. The price of anthracite went up to $20 and even $30 per ton, and only small lots could be obtained at those rates. Political pressure was brought to bear upon the operators, but they defiantly refused to yield an inch. President Roosevelt had already, in June, directed Labor Commissioner Carroll D. Wright to investigate the causes of the dispute, and he now invited President Mitchell and the representatives of the operators to meet him in conference on Oct. 3d. Mr. Mitchell offered on the part of the miners to accept arbitration by a commission selected by the president. The operators rejected this proposition, and their whole attitude appeared so offensive as to make them the objects of intense popular indignation. They insisted that the whole matter was one of protection, and said that if troops enough were furnished they could operate the mines. A considerable force of militia was already on duty, but on Oct. 6th Governor Stone called out the entire National Guard of Pennsylvania, numbering 10,000 men. It soon became evident that miners could not be obtained under any conditions. Accordingly, Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan conferred with President Baer of the Reading, and went to Washington. He offered on behalf of the operators to accept the arbitration of a commission to be appointed by the President and to consist of:

1. An army or navy engineer officer.

2. An expert mining engineer, not connected in any way with coal-mining properties.

3. One of the judges of the United States Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

4. A man of prominence, eminent as a sociologist.

5. A man who by active participation in mining and selling coal was familiar with the physical and commercial features of the business.

The findings of this commission were to be binding for at least three years.

The union objected, unless the president was left free to appoint whom he would, and they have a representative.

This was accepted and a convention of the United Mine Workers at Wilkesbarre on Oct. 20th declared the strike off. As members of the commission the president appointed U. S. Court Judge George Gray, Carroll D. Wright, Thomas H. Watkins, General John M. Wilson, E. W. Parker, E. E. Clark, and Rt. Rev. John L. Spalding.

The commission after extensive hearings made an award almost wholly in favor of the men. All contract workers were to receive an advance of 10 per cent. Hours were reduced to eight wherever possible. Wages were to be advanced beyond this as coal prices rose. A board of conciliation was created to settle disputes and which perforce recognizes the union. Mr. Mitchell declares the miners will gain by the strike from $7,000,000 to $8,000,000 annually, but that the board of conciliation is the most important result. The strike was thus a test case between labor and capital, and it was proved that even capital must submit finally to organized public pressure.

COBDEN CLUB, THE: A society founded in 1866, with the object of encouraging the growth and diffusion of those economic and political principles with which Cobden's name is associated. The motto of the club is "Free Trade, Peace, Goodwill among Nations." Its principal work consists in the advocacy of free trade, and its funds are mainly devoted to the printing and circulation of books, pamphlets, and leaflets, in support of free-trade principles.

The club is always ready to place its information at the disposal of parliamentary candidates who are supporters of free-trade principles. With the further object of encouraging the scientific study of economic questions, the club spends considerable money in giving prizes for literary work on political economy at the universities and elsewhere. The club also occasionally organizes dinners, to which notable free-traders and other distinguished men are invited. The management of the club is vested in a committee which reports annually to the general body of members. The chairman of this committee is Lord Welby. Other committee members are: Sir J. T. Brunner, M.P.; the Right Honorable Herbert J. Gladstone, M.P.; Captain Sinclair, M.P.; T. Fisher Unwin; Henry Vivian, M.P.; and Sir Spencer Walpole, K.C.B.; General Secretary, J. A M. Macdonald, M.P.; organizing secretary, F. Maddison, M.P., Caxton House, Westminster, London, S. W.

COBDEN, RICHARD: English free-trader; born near Midhurst, Sussex, 1804. At an early age he entered a London warehouse and after a time became traveler for the firm. In 1832 he started a cotton-printing business of his own at Manchester and Sabden.

There are three great political agitations with which Cobden's name will be always connected—the repeal of protective duties, the movement against war and military expenditure, and the one in favor of commercial treaties.

The general spirit of his whole policy is well exprest in the motto quoted by himself (in "England, Ireland, and America") from George Washington: "The great rule of conduct in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our *commercial* relations, to have, with them, as little *political* connection as possible."

He believed that a nation's first care was for its own household, and that political and military entanglements interfered with the performance of a nation's duty in this respect. He preached the policy of non-intervention, opposing with Bright the war with Russia and China. He maintained that the prosperity of the nation demanded, not military glory and conquest, but a larger population and a wider trade. Cobden and the "Manchester school" of politicians erred in mistaking the welfare of merchants and manufacturers for the welfare of the whole nation; their standpoint was that of the employer of labor, not that of the people. They were the advocates of direct taxation. Cobden has been denounced as a mere pleader for a "let-alone" policy in matters of trade; but it must be remembered that in his day British trade was hampered by absurd governmental restrictions from which it is free to-day. A policy which was best then may be unwise at the present time. Cobden did much for the cause of free education. It was largely owing to his efforts that the Manchester Athenæum was established.

We need not here enter into the details of his busy political career, and shall only mention one more conspicuous service which he rendered, not only to his own country, but to the United States as well. Devoted as he was to the arts of peace, the outbreak of the American Civil War was to him an event most deeply to be deplored. From first to last his sympathies were with the North, because the South was contending for slavery. He was extremely anxious that Great Britain should adopt a just and worthy attitude toward the struggle; and when, therefore, vessels which sailed from English ports committed depredations upon American commerce, he sternly and forcibly brought the question before the House of Commons. Altho attacked for a time on every side because of his manly stand for honor and fair play he persisted in a series of speeches to maintain his position. His death was the occasion of many tributes of honor and esteem, all classes uniting in confessing him to be a statesman who was unswerving in his fidelity to conscience and to what he believed to be the best interests of his country. He died in London, 1865.

COEDUCATION (for the statistics of coeducation in the United States, see article EDUCATION): The following is abridged from an article that appeared in *Munsey's Magazine* for March, 1906:

The essential argument for coeducation in the university is the argument for the university itself. Special subjects can be taught in detached and specialized schools. The university makes better manhood. Its function, in Emerson's words, is to "bring every ray of genius to its hospitable halls, by their combined influence to set the heart of the youth in flame."

For these reasons, it is better for any body of students that they be taught in company with other kinds of students. Culture studies and technical studies gain from mutual association. The man who pursues each gains from contact with other types of mind.

This argument is especially cogent in institutions in which the individuality of the student is

recognized and respected. In such schools each man, by his relation to action and realities, becomes a teacher of women in these regards, as, in other ways, each cultivated woman is a teacher of men.

In woman's education, as planned for women alone, the tendency is toward the study of beauty and order. Literature and language take precedence over science. Expression is valued more highly than action. In carrying this to an extreme, the necessary relation of thought to action becomes obscured. The scholarship developed is not effective, because it is not related to success. The educated woman is likely to master technique rather than art; method, rather than substance. She may know a good deal, but she is not effective in action. Often her views of life must undergo painful changes before she can find her place in the world.

In schools for men alone, the reverse condition often obtains. The sense of reality obscures the elements of beauty and fitness.

Arguments For

It is of great advantage to both men and women to meet on a plane of equality in education. Women are brought into contact with men who can do things—men in whom the sense of reality is strong, and who have definite views of life. This influence affects them for good. It turns them away from sentimentalism. It gives tone to their religious thoughts and impulses. Above all, it tends to encourage action as governed by ideals, as opposed to that resting on caprice. It gives them better standards of what is possible and impossible when the responsibility for action is thrown upon them.

In like manner, the association with wise, sane, and healthy women has its value for young men. It raises their ideal of womanhood, and the highest manhood must be associated with the possession of an ideal.

It is not true that the character of college work has been in any way lowered by coeducation. The reverse is decidedly the case. It is true that untimely zeal of one sort or another has filled the West with a host of so-called colleges. It is true that most of these are weak, and are doing poor work in poor ways. It is true that most of them are coeducational. It is also true that the great majority of their students are not of college grade at all. But none of these defects is derived from coeducation; nor are any of these conditions made worse by it.

Very lately it has been urged against coeducation that its social demands cause too much strain both on young men and young women. College men and college women being mutually attractive, the result is that there are too many receptions, dances, and other functions in which they enjoy each other's company. But this is easily regulated. At the most, the average young woman in college spends in social matters less than one tenth the time she would spend at home.

With the young man, the whole matter represents the difference between high-class and low-class associates and associations. When college men stand in normal relation with college women, meeting them in society as well as in the classroom, there is distinctly less of drunkenness, rowdyism, and vice than obtains under other conditions. And no harm comes to the young woman through the good influence she exerts. To meet freely the best young men she will ever know, the wisest, cleanest, and strongest, can surely do no harm to a young woman. The best young men and the best young women, all things considered, are in our colleges. This always has been and always will be the case.

It is true that coeducation is often attempted under very adverse conditions. Conditions are adverse when the little girls of preparatory schools and schools of music are mingled with college students and allowed to have the same freedom. This is wrong, whatever the kind of discipline offered, lax or strict; the two classes need a different sort of treatment.

Another condition very common and very undesirable is that in which young women live at home and traverse a city twice each day on railway- or street-cars to meet their recitations in some college. The greatest instrument of culture in a college is the college atmosphere, the personal influence exerted by its professors and students. This atmosphere develops feebly in the rush of a great city. The *spur-studenten*, or railway students, as the Germans call them—the students who live far from the university—get very little of it.

Arguments Against

In the English universities the question of where the student should live has been made all-important, almost excluding consideration of methods of study, or even of the relative value or significance of the subject-matter of education. In America we have too much neglected this. We have housed our students in barracks, or, even worse, not housed them at all. We have exposed them, men and women alike, to the vulgarity of the small village or the wear and tear of a great city.

We cannot deny that there has arisen in the last few years a reaction against coeducation in our colleges. In so far as this is honest, it is a reaction not against coeducation, but against the lack of provision for wholesome living. It is a protest against turning girls loose unaided and unguarded in college towns, in which adequate safeguards exist neither for them nor for young men.

There are about three classes of college boys who seem to object to the presence of college women, and these may be classed as the boorish, the dilettante, and the dissolute. If these are to remain such, the sooner they are out of college the better for others, and often the better for themselves.

I have rarely found opposition to coeducation on the part of really serious students.

Sometimes, too, the college athlete objects to the presence of women in college. In athletic matters the young women give very little assistance. They cannot play on the teams, they cannot yell, and they are rarely generous with their money in helping those who can.

Of like grade is the feeling that men count for more than women, because they are more likely to be heard from in after life. Therefore their education is of more importance, and the presence of women impedes it.

A certain adverse influence comes from the fact that the oldest and wealthiest of our institutions are for men or for women alone. These send out a body of alumni who know nothing of coeducation, and who judge it with the positiveness of ignorance. Most men filled with the time-honored traditions of Harvard and Yale, of which the most permeating is that of Harvard's or Yale's infalli-

bility, are against coeducation on general principles. Similar influences in favor of the separate education of women go out from the sister institutions of the East.

The only serious new argument against coeducation is that derived from the fear of the adoption by universities of woman's standards of art and science rather than those of man, the fear that amateurism would take the place of specialization in our higher education. Women take up higher education because they enjoy it; men because their careers depend upon it. Only men, broadly speaking, are capable of objective studies.

It is quite true, as President Hall has lately shown, that the work of the woman student in college, in almost all fields except the creative, is better than that of men of the same age. Girls are more docile than boys; they take better care of their time; they see from a nearer view-point; they are cleaner, not only in their work, but in their acts; they write better examination papers; they are saved from vice not alone by environment, but by instinct. In general, they excel in the conventional courses, especially in those against which the average healthy boy has for generations rebelled.

They excel in others, as President Hall indicates, because these courses appeal to their tastes. The girls compete for outworn prizes, and will complete a useless piece of work with a care and patience which a boy will rarely show on better material.

It has been feared that the admission of women to the university would vitiate the masculinity of its standards, that neatness of technique would impair boldness of conception, and delicacy of taste replace soundness of results. It is claimed that the preponderance of high-school educated women in ordinary society is showing some such effects in matters of current opinion. For example, it is claimed that the university extension course is no longer of university nature. There is nothing ruggedly true, nothing masculine left in it.

Current literature and history are affected by the same influences. Women pay clever actors to teach them, not Shakespeare or Goethe, but how one ought to feel on reading "King Lear" or "Faust." Such studies may be good for the feelings or even for the moral nature, but they have no elements of that "fanaticism for veracity" which is the highest attribute of the educated man.

Current literature reflects the taste of the leisure class. The women with leisure who read and discuss vapid books are not representative of woman's higher education. Most of them have never been educated at all.

In any event, this gives no argument against coeducation. It is thorough training, not separate training, which is indicated as the need of the times. Where this training is taken is a secondary matter, tho I believe with the fulness of certainty that better results, mental, moral, and physical, can be obtained in coeducation than in any monastic form of instruction.

Finally, does not coeducation lead to marriage? We need not worry over this, because it is in fact not true, and because if it were, its effects would be of little consequence in the development of the race. Love and marriage and parenthood will go on normally whatever our scheme of education.

No doubt university training of women, as distinguished from college training, postpones marriage, and probably the majority of the women taking advanced training have in some degree placed some other ideal, at least as a present aim, before that of matrimony. Some of these women are perhaps "agamic" or "agenesic" by nature; and, if so, doubtless they ought not to marry under any circumstances. But there is not the slightest evidence that highly educated women are necessarily rendered sterile or celibate by their education. The best wives in the world belong to this class.

It is true, no doubt, that cultivated women are more exacting than other women. They are less likely to marry for convenience, and they expect more from their husbands. For these same reasons, their marriages are less likely to prove unhappy.

The woman who finishes credibly the undergraduate course in a well-regulated American college, coeducational or otherwise, has accomplished no *tour de force*, and has performed no dangerous feat of mental gymnastics. She has lived for four years an essentially normal life under wholesome and uplifting conditions.

Nor is the future of our race dependent on having every woman bear the largest possible number of children. In so far as education is genuine, it helps a woman to rear an increasing proportion of the number she bears.

The mental activity necessary to a successful college course is not intense enough to interfere with fecundity. If it were so in individual cases, there is not a ghost of a reason for believing that such a condition is hereditary. We need not fear that college education on a large scale means progressive race sterility.

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

REFERENCES: Articles, *Review of Reviews*, Jan., 1904; *Outlook*, Dec., 1902; *Education*, March, 1903; *Independent*, March, 1903; *Nation*, April, 1903; *Harper's Bazar* (W. R. Harper), Jan. and March, 1905; *Munsey's* (against, G. Stanley Hall), Feb., 1906; *Educational Review*, Feb., 1907.

CŒUR D'ALENE, STRIKES AT: Some of the most violent industrial disturbances in the United States have taken place at the Cœur d' Alene mines in Idaho, especially in the years 1899 and 1902. In 1899 mining industrial troubles developed widely in Idaho. At Wardner a mill of the Bunker Hill mine was blown up. It was never proved by whom, but the striking miners were accused. The mine-owners telegraphed to Washington for federal troops. Brigadier-General Merriam was dispatched with troops, some of them colored. He at once declared martial law in Shoshone County. He reported that there were no signs of resistance, but made a thousand or more arrests. The prosecuting attorney pro tem. for the county, who was also an attorney for the Bunker Hill & Sullivan Mining Company, had the courts suspend the writ of habeas corpus. Hundreds of the arrested men were cast into a discarded bull or cattle pen, with straw in the stables to sleep on. The food was bitterly complained of and served, some said, in large pans from which the prisoners had to dip with their fingers. They were certainly treated inhumanly, and the evils and injustices of the "bull pen" have rankled in the minds of organized labor in the U. S. It is claimed, however, by the capitalists that the declaration of martial law was a necessity and that the arrested men who were

innocent were not detained long, being released as soon as their innocence was established.

On the other hand, it is charged against the union miners that in the strike of 1902 they marched on the Cœur d'Alene mines, shot fleeing non-union miners, so that nearly fifty were shot or drowned, took possession of the town, and committed other lawless acts. See WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS.

COFFEE-HOUSES: Coffee-houses as rivals of liquor taverns have been favored almost from the beginning of the active temperance agitation. As early as 1830 and 1831 there was a coffee-house movement in Scotland, under the auspices of temperance societies, resulting in the successful operation of such establishments in nearly all the principal towns and cities, but many of them at that time sold the lighter alcoholic beverages as well as tea and coffee. It was in protest against this practise that the Dunfermline Society, Sept. 21, 1830, formed itself into the "Dunfermline Association for the promotion of temperance by the relinquishment of all intoxicating liquors," and passed a resolution agreeing "to give no encouragement or support to any coffee-house established or receiving countenance from any temperance society, for the sale of intoxicating liquors "(Dawson Burns's "Temperance History," vol. i., p. 48). In 1844 (*ib.*, p. 248) "the coffee-houses of Glasgow, conducted on strict temperance principles, and provided with news rooms, etc., were in some respects much superior to the coffee taverns and palaces of the present day."

But it is more recently, and in England especially, that the coffee-house has become a prominent feature of the temperance movement. Liverpool, Birmingham, Bradford, and other large cities in England are plentifully supplied with these places, while in London, where the development has been slower, a large number of establishments have been opened by the Lockhart Coffee-House Company, with the prospect of a rapid increase in the number. Two weekly newspapers in London, the *Temperance Caterer* and the *Refreshment News* (the latter the organ of the Coffee-Tavern Protection Society), are especially devoted to the coffee-house movement and its interests. In 1872 Rev. Charles Garrett conceived the idea of a coffee saloon in Liverpool, which should combine every attraction of the liquor saloon except the bar. A company was formed, and such a place, with reading-room attached, was opened near the docks. Refreshments were served at the cheapest rates. The enterprise was so successful that there are at present in Liverpool more than sixty of these cocoa rooms, as they are called, while the British Workman's Cocoa-House Company, of Liverpool, which has them in charge, has in no year paid less than 10 per cent dividends. Coffee-houses were established in Bradford after their success had been manifested in Liverpool, and the Bradford Coffee-House Company has opened twenty places in that city and its suburbs. Birmingham also is plentifully supplied with coffee-houses, or coffee-house hotels, and they are successful from a business point of view, as well as influential in molding temperance sentiment. The coffee-house movement has extended into Canada and Australia, but has made little progress in the United States. Probably the nearest approaches to the English coffee-house to be found in this country are the temperance restaurants established in various cities by enterprising or philanthropic persons, those opened and very successfully managed by Joshua L. Bailey, in Philadelphia, being especially worthy of mention.

In England

Another form of the coffee-house work is found in the rooms opened in Boston by the New England Department of the Church Temperance Society. The emphasis is placed in these rooms upon the social aspect, very little attention being paid to the sale of food and drink. Pool tables and other games are provided, smoking is allowed, and the aim has been to afford all the *freedom* of the barroom without the slavery, which is the penalty that has to be paid in places where social freedom means social drinking. In each of these rooms a program of entertainment and instruction is provided once a week; and the great success of this kind of work is demonstrated by the fact that a number of cultivated men and women come to talk about anything which interests themselves, and in the ever-increasing attention and appreciation on the part of the young men who frequent the rooms. Now and then the talk will be a religious one, but, as a rule, these are not preaching places.

The Boston Coffee-House

There is always plenty of water, for those who visit these rooms are thirsty people. As a rule they prefer water to coffee. The rooms are smoky; tobacco is not sold, but there is no restriction upon smoking.

General good order prevails; when parties get turbulent beyond control the doors are labeled "closed for a week on account of disorder," and in every instance the disturbers, missing their privileges, have returned and apologized.

The general idea is, of course, to make the rooms as nearly like a liquor saloon as possible, without the liquor. But good reading matter (illustrated papers, etc.) is provided in abundance.

The mere fact that, at the lowest estimate, the attendance in the Boston coffee-rooms has averaged during some seasons over 300 young men each night, is a sufficient argument for going on with the work; for this average of 300 a night means an attendance during one month of 7,800; during six months, of 46,800; during four years, of 187,000.

After twenty years of this kind of activity, the workers in it feel every year a stronger conviction that it is a good work, and right in line with the sanest temperance sentiment of the day. Tho the Boston coffee-house is not supported by any endowment, there is a constantly increasing sympathy with the work on the part of an always lengthening list of subscribers. A monthly program of the lectures and entertainments is sent to something over 600 people. In case of special need of financial help a simple statement is made of the facts, and the responses are always speedy and generous.

S. H. HILLIARD.

COGHLAN, TIMOTHY AUGUSTINE: Acting agent-general for New South Wales in London since Feb., 1905; born at Sydney, N. S. W., 1855; educated in the grammar-schools of that city. He was appointed to Public Works Department in 1873; became assistant engineer of harbors and rivers in 1884; and officiated as government statistician 1886–1905; and as registrar of friendly societies 1892–1905. From 1896 to 1900 he was a member of the Public Service Board; and he

served on three royal commissions: (1) to inquire into the Marine Board, 1896; (2) to inquire into the cause of the decline of the birth-rate, 1903; and (3) to subdivide the State of New South Wales into electorates, 1904. He was president of the Conference of Austin, and is president of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science. Among his works may be mentioned: "Wealth and Progress of New South Wales"; "The Seven Colonies of Australasia"; "Childbirth"; "Notes on the Financial Aspect of the Australian Federation"; and, jointly with T. T. Ewing, M.P., "Progress of Australia during the Nineteenth Century." *Address*: Office of the Agent-General, London, England.

COGNETTI DE MARTIIS, SALVATORE: Italian sociologist and economist; born at Bari, Italy, 1844. In 1868 he became professor in the Institute of Technology of that place; the next year he accepted a similar position in Mantua, and in 1876 he was called to take the chair of political economy in the University of Turin. Professor Cognetti, according to Cossa, may be classed with the Italian sociological school. He has especially studied the economic functions of animal and savage life, and by investigations in philology, etc., has thrown much light on the origins of socialism in antiquity. He has, however, studied modern economic conditions, and particularly those of the United States. He is the author of: "Delle Attinenze tra l'Economia Sociale e la Storia" (Florence, 1866); "Le Forme primitive nell' Evoluzione Economica" (Turin, 1881); "Il Socialismo negli State Uniti d'America" (Turin, 1887); and "Socialismo Antico" (1889).

COHN, GUSTAV: German economist; born at Marienwerder, West Prussia, 1840; studied in Berlin and Jena; Fellow of the Royal Statistical Seminary of Berlin, 1867–68, afterward at Heidelberg and the Polytechnic at Riga. In 1873 he visited England, and as a result of his studies published his "Untersuchungen über die englische Eisenbahnpolitik." In 1875 he was called to the Polytechnic at Zurich, and in 1884 as regular professor to the University of Göttingen. One of the foremost economists in Germany, his writings have been numerous. Perhaps his best-known works are his "System der Nationalökonomie" (1886), in which his chapters on cooperation, the normal labor day, and freedom of industry are of special value; and his "Finanzwissenschaft" (1889). He has written on the woman question (1897), besides various historical studies. *Address*: Göttingen, Germany.

COIT, STANTON: American ethical lecturer; born in Columbus, Ohio, 1857; was graduated at Amherst, 1879, and took the degree of Ph.D. at Berlin, 1885. Studying social conditions, and living himself in a tenement among the poor, he founded the Neighborhood Guild in the tenth ward in New York City in 1887, and became one of the founders, and for two years head worker of the University Settlement in that city. He was for several years lecturer with Professor ADLER of the New York Society for Ethical Culture. In 1888 he succeeded Mr. Moncure D. Conway, in London, as lecturer of the South Place Ethical Society, and instituted a Neighborhood Guild in London, and later founded and became head of the West London Ethical Society. He was one of the founders of the *International Journal of Ethics*. His main works are "Neighborhood Guilds"; "The Ethical Movement in Religion," issued in Germany, and several lectures in one volume, translated into French and published as "La Religion basée sur la Morale." *Address*: 30 Hyde Park Gate, S.W., London, England.

COLBERT, JEAN BAPTISTE: French statesman; born at Rheims, 1619. He rose from office to office, till he became one of the greatest ministers France has ever had. In 1661 he became controller-general. His first reform was to reduce the *taille*—a direct property tax—and to establish a departmental office. He was especially noted for his love of system and regularity in industry and commerce. Frequently his regulations were strict even to severity. His economic method was to organize industry, sustain it by custom-house regulations and protection, and to create model manufactures by grants of money or privilege. All financial dishonesties he strove with laudable severity to check. His mind was not sufficiently profound to establish a complete system; he dealt with immediate difficulties, and overcame them by his energy and good sense. He interested himself in the shipping trade and in the arts and sciences, encouraging the arts by liberal presents and pensions. In 1663 he founded the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, and in 1668 the Academy of the Sciences. He died in Paris, 1683.

COLINS, JEAN GUILLAUME CÉSAR ALEXANDRE HIPPOLYTE, BARON DE: French soldier and sociologist; born at Brussels, 1783. He entered the French army at an early age, and won many honors. In 1833 he settled down to a quiet life, and pursued at Paris his scientific and social studies. In 1835 he issued his first work, entitled "Le Pact Social." In it he advocated collectivism, and declared that "immovable property belongs to all." Numerous other works on social questions followed, and he continued to write until his death in 1859.

Colins and his disciples called their system Rational Socialism. They believed in spiritualism and atheism, denying the existence of a God, while at the same time affirming the immortality of the human soul. Morality, they say, is sufficiently based upon personal immortality. All men are equal, free, moral, and therefore responsible beings. M. de Laveleye, in his "Socialism of To-day," gives the following concise account of their economic doctrines:

> Originally there existed only man and the earth on which he lived: on the one hand, labor; and on the other, the soil or raw material, without which all labor would be impossible. But from the joint action of these two elements of production there soon came into being wealth of a peculiar kind, in which labor was, as it were, accumulated, which was movable and separate from the soil. This was capital. Labor is free when the raw material, the soil, belongs to it; otherwise it is enslaved. Man therefore can, in fact, only exercise his energy with the permission of the owners of the raw material; and he who requires the authority of another before he can act is clearly not free. In order, then, that all the members of the community should become permanent proprietors of the national soil, the soil must be collectively appropriated.
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> The collective appropriation of the soil implies, in the first place, that it should be at the disposal of all who wish to utilize it; and secondly, that the rent, paid by the tenants to the community, should be expended for the common benefit of all.
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> The above relates to the production of wealth. Let us now consider the way in which rational socialism regulates its distribution.
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> When labor is free—as is necessarily the case when the land is accessible to all—every one can live without being obliged to accept wages from anybody. In that case, a man would work for others only if they offered him, as wages, more than

he could gain by working for himself. This situation is exprest in economic terms by saying that then wages would tend to a maximum, and when it exists, the distribution of wealth is so affected that the larger share of the product goes to labor and the smaller to capital. But when labor is enslaved, the laborers are forced, under pain of starvation, to compete with one another in offering their labor to those who possess land and capital; and then their wages fall to what is strictly necessary for existence and reproduction; while if the holders of wealth do not need labor, the unemployed laborers must disappear. Wages, then, tend to a minimum, and the distribution of wealth takes place in such a way that the greater part goes to the landowners and capitalists, and the smaller to the laborers. When labor is free, every man's wealth increases in proportion to the toil he has expended; but when labor is enslaved, his wealth grows in proportion to the capital he has accumulated.

From these two opposite modes of distribution flow, according to Colins, the two following consequences, each of which has reference to one or other of the two systems of holding land above described: When land is owned by individuals, the wealth of one class of the community and the poverty of the other increase in parallel lines, and in proportion to the growth of intellectual power; but when land is collectively appropriated, the wealth of all increases in proportion to the activity of each, and to the advance of civilization.

Colins has developed also some original views on the history of communities, which have been reproduced by M. L. de Pottre in his "Dictionnaire Rationnel."

COLLECTIVISM: A term sometimes used in the United States and in Great Britain, but frequently in France, to denote socialism as distinguished from anarchism or communism, both of which are sometimes, tho wrongfully, included under socialism. Collectivism is also used sometimes to indicate the general sociological scheme of socialism, as distinct from any particular form of or plan for carrying out its ideas.

COLLECTIVIST SOCIETY: Organized in New York City, 1902. Its principles are set forth as follows:

We believe that the true principle of production and distribution is exprest in the dictum: "From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs." This principle requires that all should have the opportunity of useful work, and that all should engage in useful work under the penalty or public disgrace; that all should receive comfortable incomes except those who will not work, and that none should receive excessively high incomes, as the latter are morally injurious both to the recipient and to the community. The ultimate operation of this principle will be toward the ideal of practical equality of incomes.

We believe that this principle can be made effective only by the people acting as a whole through governments truly democratic.

We believe that this is no far-off ideal, but is in all civilized countries an attainable rule to be embodied, step by step, into law, custom, and habit.

We believe that the establishment of this principle will require the transfer of the means of production and distribution into the hands of the community; and that every transfer of this nature should be accompanied by full provision for those expropriated on the basis of their needs.

We believe that our governments, national, state, and local, are worthy of hearty allegiance, as in the main good institutions, far more free and beneficent than governments in past times. We believe, however, that they can be made vastly more beneficent through changes for which the present time is ripe.

We believe that in those cases where the powers of government are now used for private gain to the detriment of the people at large, it is because the energetic demands of private interests are not met by an enlightened and united opposition.

We believe that this evil—the exploitation of the powers of government for private gain—should be abolished and our government made fully responsive to the people's will, through the establishment of direct legislation, proportional representation, and the power of recall.

We believe that the measures, other than the last named, which at present promise best results are:

Legislation to secure work to the unemployed; to establish a maximum day and a minimum wage for all workers; and to provide pensions for the aged.

The taxation of franchises at their full value, and the graduated taxation of land values, incomes, and inheritances.

The assumption by city and state governments of enlarged and new activities for the common benefit, including the ownership of public utilities.

The assumption by the national Government of the telegraphs, railroads, and mines.

The organization works mainly by publishing and circulating tracts carefully prepared on evolutionary, scientific, and Christian socialism, and by holding meetings and conferences in New York. Secretary, Miss M. R. Holbrook, P. O. Box 1663, New York City.

COLORADO COOPERATIVE COMPANY, THE: Organized and incorporated in Colorado in 1904, to reclaim by irrigation desert land on Tabeguache Park, whereon to found independent homes for its stockholders. This tract of land in Montrose County, southwestern Colorado, consists of 30,000 acres, two thirds of which is arable and fertile. It is specially adapted to fruit growing and general farming. Timber, coal, and building stone are in close proximity, as well as large deposits of the more precious metals. To reclaim the land an irrigation canal, more than twenty miles in length had to be built, costing at least $300,000. To accomplish this work, stock subscriptions were taken in shares of $100 each, payable in cash, labor, or products of practical use to the company. The source of supply is the San Miguel River, a never-failing stream.

None but stockholders are employed, each of whom receives thirty cents per hour, payable in stock and food supplies from the company's store. There are about 400 stockholders, holding varying numbers of shares. The land holdings range from a town lot to a quarter section, tho a forty-acre tract is the usual claim of each stockholder. Each share of stock entitles its owner to draw a *prorata* share of water flowing in the canal, and on full completion it is estimated that a share will properly irrigate four acres. The unclaimed land may be still homesteaded or otherwise entered at $1.25 per acre. There is as yet no railroad, but surveys are being made, and the prospects for one are fair.

Under the title of The Nucla Town Improvement Company the colonists have incorporated a town company. The stock is divided into shares of $10 each, and each share entitles the holder to a lease of one business lot, or two residence lots, for ninety-nine years, with privilege of renewal. A block of four acres is the maximum holding of any shareholder. The organization is based on the Henry George single tax idea. (See FAIRHOPE.) Nucla town site already embraces 400 acres, nearly all of which is under lease, and more land is expected to be soon ready for platting into lots and blocks. Those appreciative of magnificent scenery, a mild and healthful climate, and an intelligent and progressive community, will find it at Nucla.

F. B. LOGAN.

COLWELL, STEPHEN: American merchant and economist: born in Virginia, 1800; admitted to the bar in his native state, but gave up the profession of law to become an iron merchant in Philadelphia. He studied and wrote much on political economy, being a protectionist; and he was a frequent contributor to the periodicals of his time. His best-known work is "The Ways and Means of Commercial Payment" (1858), in which he attempts to give a full analysis of the credit system, and contends that error has always been made in not distinguishing between

money of gold and silver, and forms of credit. His work is valuable also because of its historical inquiry into the growth of the credit system; and throughout it reveals independence of thought and research. He refused to accept the view that the quantity of money is the controlling factor in determining prices. In 1865 he was appointed a member of the revenue commission, and in the year following made a valuable report on taxation. He died in Philadelphia, 1872. Among his more extended writings may be mentioned: "The Relative Position in our Industry of Foreign Commerce, Domestic Production, and Internal Trade"; and an American edition of Frederick List's "National System of Political Economy," for which he wrote a preliminary essay. His other writings of economic interest are: "The Claims of Labor, and their Precedence to the Claims of Free Trade"; "Gold, Banks, and Taxation and State and National Systems of Banks," "Expansion of the Currency, the Advance of Gold, and the Defects of the Internal Revenue Bill of June, 1864."

COMMERCE (from Latin *com*, together, and *mercari*, to trade) is sometimes used for the interchange of any goods or property, but more correctly for the interchange of goods on a large scale and between different countries or different portions of one country.

The first race to carry on commerce on a large scale was the Phœnicians, first in Tyre and Sidon, and then in the Phœnician colony of Carthage. Much of the commerce of Rome was tribute rather than trade. With the breaking up of the Roman Empire commerce languished till the rise of the free cities of Italy, Venice, Florence, and Pisa. Commerce was also much quickened by the crusades. The free cities of Germany and the Netherlands, which formed the Hanseatic League, created a still greater commerce. The introduction of the mariner's compass into Europe in 1302 and the discovery of the New World and of the Cape of Good Hope vastly developed commerce, particularly in Spain, Portugal, and England, and later in the Netherlands. By the seventeenth century Spain and Portugal had lost their prestige, and England had become the great commercial nation of the world. In medieval times commerce was greatly restricted by dues, taxes, and laws. After the discovery of the New World, governments tried to favor commerce by granting monopolies, trading privileges, etc., often doing more harm than good. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century *laissez faire* has been the general policy. But see PROTECTION.

Enormous strides have been made recently in the development of commerce. At the beginning of the nineteenth century men still lived to a large extent in isolated communities. Only a few good roads existed. Even in England rivers rather than roads were the channels of commerce. It took many days to go from Edinburgh to London in the speediest way. When the battle of Waterloo was fought (1815) it took three days for the news to arrive in London. Dr. Atkinson as late as 1847 was eight months in going from New England to Oregon. Foreign commerce was largely limited to voyages made by ships fitted out or chartered for the special trip, and often a commercial venture of the captain himself. Each nation and each section of the nation had to raise its own food. Hence the failure of a crop in one locality meant a famine, and famines were numerous. To-day the world has become a single market. The use of steam as a motor power on land and sea, and the use of electricity for conveying intelligence has revolutionized commerce. Merchants in England make purchases in India the same day, and on the next day the purchased goods start on their journey. The Suez Canal has reduced the voyage between London and Calcutta to thirty days instead of 200. It has destroyed 2,000,000 of tonnage (see PANAMA). Fresh fruit, raised in California, is sold in London. Fresh meat is carried from New York to Liverpool for one cent a pound. Boxed meats have been carried from Chicago to London at one half a cent a pound. The productions of North America, South America, Australia, Russia, and Egypt battle for the world's markets. It has been calculated that railways have added to the power of the human race a force somewhat greater than that of a horse working twelve days for every inhabitant of the globe. Statistics, however, best show the growth of commerce.

FOREIGN COMMERCE OF PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES

(Compiled from U. S. Statistical Abstract, 1906) *Statistics for 1905 except as stated*

NOTE.—United States equivalents of the following monetary units: Argentina: Paper peso (1905)=42.5 cents. Bolivia: Boliviano (1905)=44 cents; (1906)=47.7 cents. Brazil: Milreis (1905–6)=30.4 cents. China: H. tael (1905)=73.6 cents. Costa Rica: Colon (1905–6)=46.5 cents. Greece: Paper drachma (1905–6)=15.7 cents. Haiti: Paper peso (1905–6)=25 cents. Honduras: Silver peso (1904–5)=43 cents. Nicaragua: Peso curr. (1905)=17 cents. Paraguay: Paper peso (1906)=8 cents. Portugal: Milreis curr. (1905)=99.2 cents. Salvador: Peso (1905)=44.1 cents. Siam: Tical (1905–6)=30 cents. Spain: Peseta curr. (1906)=17.1 cents. Turkey: £T=$4.40.

COUNTRY	FOREIGN COMMERCE			
	Imports of merchandise	Per cent imports from United States	Exports of merchandise	Per cent exports to United States.
	Thousands of dollars		*Thousands of dollars*	
Argentina	197,974	4.10	311,544	4.87
Australasia:				
Commonwealth of Australia	[4]186,614	11.70	[4]276,617	1.85
New Zealand	[5]62,432	11.21	[5]76,190	4.58
Austria-Hungary	435,665	9.49	455,487	2.36
Belgium	585,603	7.98	446,439	3.99
Bolivia	8,952	8.45	13,024	.21
Brazil	144,775	10.33	216,668	41.13
Bulgaria	23,594	1.16	28,556	.95
Canada[1]	283,282	59.59	218,182	30.41
Costa Rica	5,239	51.65	8,138	47.14
Guatemala	6,844	39.55	8,238	34.90
Honduras	2,293	73.70	5,564	83.09
Nicaragua[2]	3,202	52.09	3,926	53.21
Salvador	4,346	31.18	5,640	21.72
Chile	71,868	9.92	103,223	15.20
China	339,439	16.68	167,726	11.86
Colombia[2]	[6]14,453	34.15	[6]12,658	54.01
Cuba	94,807	45.34	110,168	86.53
Denmark	[7]166,837	16.08	[7]142,991	3.87
Ecuador	7,657	28.86	9,035	27.32
Egypt	106,591	2.26	100,641	6.18
France	922,329	10.72	939,305	6.06
Colonies: Africa	91,644	.....	55,398	.....
" Elsewhere	79,446	.....	73,310	.....
German Empire	1,696,660	13.91	1,364,131	9.46
Colonies[2]	8,666	2.00	5,897	.17
Greece[2]	26,441	1.11	17,480	4.63
Haiti[3]	5,500	35.56	12,760	8.84
India, British	338,750	1.47	513,563	6.13
Italy[2]	309,351	12.48	308,263	11.95
Japan	243,292	21.35	158,508	29.48
Formosa	12,175	4.71	12,097	14.17
Kongo Free State	3,875	.16	10,235	.....
Korea	15,916	6.19	3,438	.....
Mexico[1]	[5]109,884	65.99	[5]135,027	68.60
Netherlands	1,030,918	9.38	799,694	4.08
Dutch East Indies[2]	77,973	1.66	117,635	8.25
Norway	83,706	2.58	50,631	2.34
Paraguay[2]	3,566	3.51	3,179	.....
Persia[2]	26,943	.44	19,093	.15
Peru[2]	20,916	17.98	19,790	9.34
Portugal[2]	67,006	7.13	33,169	1.94
Rumania	65,145	.....	88,221	.....
Russia[2]	335,472	9.66	518,288	.43
Finland	51,770	.....	47,824	.....

FOREIGN COMMERCE OF PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES—*Continued*

COUNTRY	FOREIGN COMMERBE				COUNTRY	FOREIGN COMMERCE			
	Imports of merchandise	Per cent imports from United States	Exports of merchandise	Per cent exports to United States		Imports of merchandise	Per cent imports from United States	Exports of merchandise	Per cent exports to United States
	Thousands of dollars		*Thousands of dollars*			*Thousands of dollars*		*Thousands of dollars*	
Santo Domingo	2,737	71.65	6,881	65.16	United States[1]	[7]1,226,554	.....	1,717,953	.....
Servia	10,731	2.34	13,895	.....	Philippine Islands[1]	25,799	16.80	31,917	36.28
Siam	17,404	1.60	29,043	.....	Uruguay	21,938	9.67	39,793	5.37
Spain[2]	175,740	11.21	171,962	3.08	Venezuela[1]	8,676	30.22	15,630	31.11
Sweden	153,780	7.22	120,657	2.20					
Switzerland	266,311	4.13	187,079	12.90	World's commerce	13,739,697	.....	12,496,419	.....
Turkey[3]	104,903	.25	65,582	2.76					
United Kingdom	[7]2,749,669	20.45	1,605,053	7.25	Total, exclusive of the commerce of the United States	12,513,143	14.37	10,778,466	9.57
British colonies not elsewhere specified[2]	[5]501,956	7.52	[5]440,692	8.33					

[1]1906 year ending June 30th. [2]1904. [3]1901.
[4]Exclusive of intercolonial commerce and including specie and bullion. [5]Including specie and bullion.
[6]With principal countries. [7]General trade.

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES

(See also especial article "Commercial Relations," by Oscar S. Straus)

YEAR	IMPORTS OF MERCHANDISE				EXPORTS OF MERCHANDISE			
	Free	Dutiable	Total	Per capita[2]	Domestic	Foreign	Total	Per capita[3]
1800	(1)	(1)	$91,252,768	$17.19	$31,840,903	$39,130,877	$70,971,780	$13.37
1810	(1)	(1)	85,400,000	11.80	42,366,675	24,791,295	66,757,970	9.22
1820	(1)	(1)	74,450,000	7.71	51,683,640	18,008,029	69,691,669	7.22
1830	$4,590,281	$58,130,675	62,720,956	4.87	58,524,878	13,145,857	71,670,735	5.57
1840	48,313,391	49,945,315	98,258,706	5.76	111,660,561	12,008,371	123,668,932	7.25
1850	18,081,590	155,427,936	173,509,526	7.48	134,900,233	9,475,493	144,375,726	6.23
1860	73,741,479	279,874,640	353,616,119	11.25	316,242,423	17,333,634	333,576,057	10.61
1870	20,140,786	415,817,622	435,958,408	11.06	376,616,473	16,155,295	392,771,768	9.77
1880	208,301,863	459,652,883	667,954,746	12.51	823,946,353	11,692,305	835,638,658	16.43
1890	265,668,629	523,641,780	789,310,409	12.35	845,293,828	12,534,856	857,828,684	13.50
1900	367,236,866	482,704,318	849,941,184	10.88	1,370,763,571	23,719,511	1,394,483,082	17.96
1901	339,608,669	483,563,496	823,172,165	10.58	1,460,462,806	27,302,185	1,487,764,991	18.81
1902	396,818,871	506,502,077	903,320,948	11.39	1,355,481,861	26,237,540	1,381,719,401	17.16
1903	426,180,979	599,538,258	1,025,719,237	12.54	1,392,231,302	27,910,377	1,420,141,679	17.32
1904	454,130,240	536,957,131	991,087,371	12.01	1,435,179,017	25,648,254	1,460,827,271	17.56
1905	517,442,302	600,070,769	1,117,513,071	13.08	1,491,744,641	26,817,025	1,518,561,666	17.94
1906	549,623,878	676,938,568	1,262,562,446	14.42	1,717,953,382	25,911,118	1,743,864,500	20.41

[1] Not stated. [2] Total imports to 1860, after that imports for consumption only.
[3] Total exports to 1860, after that domestic exports only.

MERCHANDISE EXPORTS, CLASSIFIED

YEAR[1]	Foodstuffs in crude condition, and food animals Value	Foodstuffs partly or wholly prepared Value	Crude materials for use in manufacturing Value	Manufactures for further use in manufacturing Value	Manufactures ready for consumption Value	Miscellaneous Value
1870	$41,852,630	$50,919,666	$213,439,991	$13,711,708	$56,329,137	$363,341
1880	266,108,950	193,352,723	238,787,934	29,044,159	92,774,139	3,878,448
1890	132,073,183	224,756,580	304,566,922	46,454,992	132,527,050	4,915,101
1900	227,347,193	318,126,502	325,589,000	152,890,591	331,955,644	14,854,601
1901	246,394,140	336,605,378	397,767,463	148,013,625	317,764,367	13,917,833
1902	184,786,389	328,831,350	373,595,243	131,918,311	321,946,540	14,404,028
1903	185,308,064	323,244,251	408,679,699	140,415,620	327,482,757	7,100,911
1904	135,747,224	308,835,694	461,716,328	174,574,136	348,745,843	5,559,792
1905	118,185,098	283,064,680	472,665,309	209,361,544	402,064,030	6,403,980
1906	177,216,467	347,385,462	500,536,700	226,210,513	459,812,656	6,791,584

[1] Ending June 30th.

MERCHANDISE IMPORTS, CLASSIFIED

YEAR[1]	Foodstuffs in crude condition, and food animals Value	Foodstuffs partly or wholly prepared Value	Crude materials for use in manufacturing Value	Manufactures for further use in manufacturing Value	Manufactures ready for consumption Value	Miscellaneous Value
1870	$53,981,838	$96,253,561	$53,118,022	$54,545,306	$173,034,847	$5,024,834
1880	100,297,040	118,125,216	131,861,617	110,779,516	196,587,405	10,303,952
1890	128,480,142	133,332,031	170,637,250	116,924,080	230,685,581	9,251,325
1900	97,916,293	133,027,374	276,241,152	134,222,045	203,126,341	5,407,979
1901	110,385,208	125,540,654	248,006,751	127,576,924	205,505,580	6,157,048
1902	120,280,302	95,350,256	303,001,868	147,656,292	231,420,820	5,611,410
1903	119,202,674	116,620,623	330,491,084	195,750,847	257,757,184	5,896,825
1904	132,223,895	118,222,862	320,794,431	160,233,890	252,857,673	6,754,620
1905	146,130,903	145,355,839	389,160,658	177,827,960	252,372,050	6,665,061
1906	134,315,448	140,358,114	414,687,999	220,298,751	307,801,154	9,100,980

[1] Ending June 30th.

PER CENT OF MERCHANDISE IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF THE UNITED STATES

By Grand Divisions, Years Ended June 30th.

GRAND DIVISION	1890	1895	1900	1905	1906
	Per ct.	Per ct.	Per ct.	Per ct.	Per ct.
Europe... Imports..	57.01	52.41	51.84	48.39	51.63
Europe... Exports..	79.71	77.76	74.60	67.23	68.82
North America:					
Imports	18.78	18.29	15.30	20.33	19.19
Exports	10.98	13.45	13.45	17.16	17.68
South America:					
Imports	11.41	15.32	11.02	13.49	11.45
Exports	4.52	4.15	2.79	3.75	4.31
Asia..... Imports..	8.55	10.61	16.45	14.50	14.68
Asia..... Exports..	2.30	2.15	4.66	8.46	6.05
Oceania... Imports..	3.60	2.39	4.07	2.27	2.02
Oceania... Exports..	1.92	1.62	3.11	2.18	2.02
Africa.... Imports..	.43	.78	1.32	1.02	1.03
Africa.... Exports..	.54	.79	1.39	1.22	1.12

For countries, see TABLE OF PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES.

EXPORTS

Merchandise and Specie During the Year Ended June 30, 1906

ARTICLES	Values
Domestic Merchandise	
Agricultural Implements	$24,554,427
Animals	49,139,568
Books, Maps, Other Printed Matter	5,839,452
Brass, and Manufactures of	3,471,981
Breadstuffs: Corn	62,061,856
" Oats	16,234,918
" Wheat	28,757,517
" Wheat Flour	59,106,869
Carriages, Cars, Vehicles and Parts of	17,788,425
Chemicals, Drugs, Dyes, Medicines	18,331,974
Clocks and Watches	2,598,441
Coal: Anthracite	9,722,322
" Bituminous	18,494,054
Copper Ore	1,895,971
" Manufactures of	81,282,664
Cotton: Unmanufactured	401,005,921
" Manufactures of	52,944,033
Earthen, Stone, and China Ware	1,080,274
Fertilizers	8,686,965
Fibers, Vegetable, and Textile Grasses, Manufactures of	8,157,211
Fish	7,559,178
Fruits, Apples, Green or Ripe	31,751,375
Fruits and Nuts, all other	11,522,783
Furs and Fur Skins	8,002,282
Glass and Glassware	2,433,904
Glucose or Grape Sugar	3,489,192
Gunpowder and other Explosives	3,568,038
Hay	1,116,307
Hops	3,125,843
India Rubber Manufactures	6,543,735
Instruments for Scientific Purposes	10,887,774
Iron and Steel, Manufactures of	160,984,985
Leather, and Manufactures of	40,642,858
Malt Liquors	1,116,776
Marble, Stone, and Manufactures of	1,466,561
Musical Instruments	3,168,052
Naval Stores	20,075,585
Oil Cake	23,991,564
Oils: Animal	577,218
" Mineral, Crude	7,016,131
" Mineral, Refined or Manuf'd	77,025,196
" Vegetable	15,906,031
Paints, Pigments, and Colors	3,773,064
Paper, and Manufactures of	9,536,065
Paraffin, Paraffin Wax	8,808,245
Provisions: Beef Products	40,251,314
" Hog Products	130,212,298
" Oleomargarin	18,489,232
" Other Meat Products	13,283,998
" Dairy Products	8,753,223
Seeds	8,912,762
Soap	2,781,179
Spirits, Distilled	1,991,692
Starch	1,490,797
Molasses, and Syrup	2,952,953
Sugar	823,221

EXPORTS—*Continued*

ARTICLES	Values
Domestic Merchandise	
Tobacco: Unmanufactured	28,808,367
" Manufactures of	5,410,480
Vegetables	3,567,127
Wood, and Manufactures of	69,080,394
Wool, and Manufactures of	2,176,813
All other Articles	71,721,047
Total Exports, Domestic Mdse	$1,717,953,382
Exports, Foreign Merchandise	25,911,118
Specie: Gold	$38,573,591
" Silver	65,869,063
Total Exports, Domestic and Foreign	$1,848,307,154

IMPORTS

Merchandise and Specie During the Year Ended June 30, 1906

ARTICLES	Values
Merchandise	
Sugar	$85,460,088
Hides and Skins, other than Fur	83,882,167
Chemicals, Drugs, Dyes, and Medicines	74,452,664
Coffee	73,256,134
Silk, Unmanufactured	54,080,504
Cotton, Manufactures of	63,043,322
Fibers, Vegetable, Manufactures of	51,437,581
India Rubber and Gutta-Percha, Crude	46,035,685
Silk, Manufactures of	32,910,590
Fibers, Vegetable, Unmanufactured	39,360,290
Wood, and Manufactures of	36,528,503
Iron and Steel, and Manufactures of	29,053,987
Wool, Unmanufactured	39,068,372
Fruits, including Nuts	28,915,747
Tin, in Bars, Blocks, or Pigs	30,932,998
Jewelry and Precious Stones	42,120,715
Wool, Manufactures of	23,080,683
Tobacco	22,447,514
Tobacco, Manufactures of	4,143,192
Leather, and Manufactures of	15,140,926
Copper, and Manufactures of (not ore)	25,835,502
Furs, and Manufactures of	21,855,682
Tea	14,580,878
Earthen, Stone, and China Ware	12,877,528
Cotton, Unmanufactured	10,879,592
Wines	10,993,968
Oils	13,723,948
Cocoa, Crude, and Shells of	8,697,515
Glass and Glassware	7,507,823
Animals	3,914,422
Coal, Bituminous	4,367,750
Feathers, Flowers, etc	6,988,612
Paper, and Manufactures of	6,998,761
Spirits, Distilled	5,524,767
Books, Maps, Engravings, etc	5,601,345
Spices	5,188,116
Paper Stock, Crude	4,370,110
Cement, Portland, Hydraulic	1,302,239
Lead, Ore and Base Bullion	3,534,876
Toys	5,887,863
Vegetables	5,092,932
Hats, Bonnets, and Materials for	4,571,184
Hair, and Manufactures of	3,854,349
Art Works	4,908,782
Rice	3,082,203
Provisions, Meat, and Dairy Products	5,117,054
Bristles	2,695,746
Cork Wood, and Manufactures of	3,313,306
Clocks and Watches, and Parts of	3,105,136
Malt Liquors	2,738,855
Fertilizers	4,446,360
All other Articles	127,454,917
Total Merchandise	$1,276,614,917
Specie: Gold	$96,221,730
" Silver	44,442,540
Total Imports	$1,418,279,187

GREAT BRITAIN

Imports and Exports of Merchandise of the United Kingdom

(Compiled from the "Annual Statement of the Trade of the United Kingdom")

The values of the imports represent the cost, insurance, and freight; or, when goods are consigned for sale, the latest sale value of such goods. The values of the exports represent the cost and the charges of delivering the goods on board the ship, and are known as the "free on board" values.

Years	Total Imports		Exports				Total of Imports and Exports	
			Of British Produce					
	Total value	Proportion per head of population of United Kingdom	Total value	Proportion per head of population of United Kingdom	Of foreign and colonial produce	Total exports	Total values	Proportion per head of population
	£	£ s. d.	£	£ s. d.	£	£	£	£ s. d.
1891.	435,441,264	11 10 5	247,235,150	6 10 10	61,878,568	309,113,718	744,554,982	19 13 11
1895.	416,689,658	10 12 6	226,128,246	5 15 4	59,704,161	285,832,407	702,522,065	17 18 3
1900.	523,075,163	12 14 3	291,191,996[1]	7 1 6	63,181,758	354,373,754	877,448,917	21 6 5
1904.	551,038,628	12 17 6	300,711,040	7 0 6	70,304,281	371,015,321	922,053,949	21 10 11
1905.	565,019,917	13 1 5	329,816,614	7 12 7	77,779,913	407,596,527	972,616,444	22 10 1

Note.—The above accounts are exclusive of bullion and specie under bond.

[1] The value of ships and boats (new) with their machinery is included in 1900 and subsequently; previous to that the value of such exports is not included.

Foreign Commerce

(For commerce with colonies, see British Empire)

Country		1891	1900	1905
		£	£	£
Russia	Imports	24,110,251	21,983,952	33,362,234
	Exports	8,193,132	16,360,475	14,884,050
Sweden	Imports	8,509,651	10,635,060	9,827,993
	Exports	4,066,242	6,495,223	6,016,332
Norway	Imports	3,363,629	5,756,018	5,954,870
	Exports	2,520,196	3,910,982	3,712,532
Denmark	Imports	7,936,787	13,187,757	15,606,991
	Exports	3,032,612	4,724,181	4,609,671
Germany	Imports	27,031,743	31,181,667	35,799,758
	Exports	29,944,361	38,542,790	42,742,300
Netherlands	Imports	27,301,657	31,381,023	35,481,059
	Exports	14,988,930	14,931,090	14,516,887
Belgium	Imports	17,253,265	23,502,603	27,751,288
	Exports	13,272,472	14,846,307	14,818,923
France	Imports	44,777,460	53,618,656	53,072,900
	Exports	24,336,676	25,877,453	23,232,663
Portugal	Imports	2,952,965	3,241,367	2,929,634
	Exports	2,349,254	2,529,305	2,826,257
Spain	Imports	10,523,875	15,882,346	13,858,631
	Exports	5,527,061	6,333,857	4,841,774
Italy	Imports	3,419,281	3,417,790	3,324,595
	Exports	6,853,048	9,444,498	9,787,306
Austria-Hungary	Imports	1,464,106	1,375,245	1,488,604
	Exports	1,607,191	3,157,716	2,603,223
Greece	Imports	2,166,486	2,227,212	1,328,234
	Exports	1,218,546	1,104,196	1,251,642
Bulgaria	Imports	126,875	40,670	71,316
	Exports	121,641	171,911	649,761
Rumania	Imports	5,038,091	1,396,639	1,689,513
	Exports	1,739,712	616,287	1,305,658
Turkey	Imports	5,442,881	5,657,627	5,491,443
	Exports	7,098,474	5,372,956	6,979,147
Egypt	Imports	10,658,288	12,585,578	14,976,188
	Exports	3,875,664	6,159,468	8,069,668
Tripoli	Imports	271,870	170,024	323,439
	Exports	8,957	63,008	140,079
Tunis	Imports	204,211	202,661	257,636
	Exports	177,096	257,474	297,852
Morocco	Imports	611,445	618,421	467,314
	Exports	733,149	720,494	739,533
Congo Free State.	Imports	12,503	17,619	16,432
	Exports	94,847	162,308	136,245
Persia	Imports	163,639	180,279	151,098
	Exports	487,838	410,190	488,179
Siam	Imports	100,695	26,708	322,682
	Exports	101,938	205,271	544,522
China (exclusive of Hong-kong and Macão).	Imports	4,713,508	2,359,821	2,340,346
	Exports	6,525,662	5,634,313	13,298,828
Japan	Imports	1,152,585	1,540,526	1,860,313
	Exports	3,060,893	9,933,925	9,796,900
Philippine Islands and Guam.	Imports	2,421,227	1,680,291	1,889 302
	Exports	812,038	1,200,787	2,429;960
Islands in the Pacific not elsewhere stated.	Imports	58,795	228,664	296,797
	Exports	182,102	163,024	84,224
United States. On the Atlantic.	Imports	99,969,780	133,359,951	113,624,865
	Exports	39,952,818	36,894,169	46,790,941
On the Pacific.	Imports	4,439,270	5,429,310	1,948,186
	Exports	1,113,829	449,786	491,147
Total United States of America.	Imports	104,409,050	138,789,261	115,573,051
	Exports	41,066,647	37,343,955	47,282,088
Cuba and Porto Rico.	Imports	141,117	40,603	163,137
	Exports	2,488,061	2,031,866	2,772,485
Mexico	Imports	493,453	472,184	881,096
	Exports	1,956,647	2,158,976	2,031,260
Central American States.	Imports	1,400,130	672,406	1,257,478
	Exports	1,205,489	990,676	990,814
Haiti and St. Domingo.	Imports	44,757	53,058	31,354
	Exports	335,358	337,281	302,093
Colombia	Imports	329,244	282,906	295,088
	Exports	1,341,233	364,685	591,288
Venezuela	Imports	290,997	123,634	204,778
	Exports	860,490	567,692	479,997
Ecuador	Imports	110,238	152,677	170,231
	Exports	275,262	349,560	449,459
Brazil	Imports	4,249,909	5,946,547	8,109,208
	Exports	8,605,233	6,165,600	6,916,617
Uruguay	Imports	374,261	489,581	818,368
	Exports	1,194,630	1,737,493	2,098,532
Argentine Republic.	Imports	3,451,228	13,080,466	25,034,325
	Exports	4,366,028	7,438,238	13,383,835
Chile	Imports	3,110,356	4,828,371	6,068,037
	Exports	2,205,969	3,535,736	4,782,382
Peru	Imports	969,814	1,307,004	2,367,204
	Exports	1,125,206	1,069,301	1,313,421
Western Coast of Africa.	Imports	418,986	84,013	67,537
	Exports	424,979	103,079	79,380
Other Foreign Countries.	Imports	627,904	139,633	329,122
	Exports	699,986	550,565	903,450
Total of foreign Countries.	Imports	335,976,546	413,434,242	437,151,191
	Exports	215,775,599	252,290,645	284,883,607

GERMAN FOREIGN TRADE (in Marks)

Country	Imports		Exports	
	1898	1905	1898	1905
United States	877,200,000	1,004,300,000	334,600,000	543,000,000
Great Britain	825,700,000	784,300,000	803,800,000	1,057,800,000
Russia	727,100,000	1,090,800,000	409,600,000	368,400,000
Austria-Hungary	661,200,000	773,200,000	453,700,000	594,900,000
France	265,300,000	409,100,000	205,400,000	293,500,000
Belgium	201,400,000	277,500,000	187,300,000	312,500,000
Netherlands	184,100,000	256,800,000	280,100,000	448,800,000
Italy	170,300,000	216,000,000	107,000,000	175,400,000
Switzerland	173,500,000	190,300,000	255,900,000	369,800,000
Sweden	102,900,000	119,200,000	44,700,000	159,100,000
Denmark	65,600,000	124,100,000	94,400,000	185,900,000
Spain	48,100,000	116,800,000	24,700,000	53,100,000
Rumania	34,000,000	94,100,000	37,100,000	44,400,000
Turkey	29,500,000	51,500,000	37,100,000	71,000,000
Norway	29,100,000	24,300,000	63,100,000	70,600,000
Portugal	17,500,000	16,600,000	15,600,000	27,800,000
Bulgaria	1,800,000	15,300,000	5,800,000	12,400,000
Greece	8,400,000	13,000,000	5,500,000	8,500,000
British India	220,900,000	277,800,000	57,100,000	98,700,000
China	39,500,000	42,700,000	48,000,000	75,800,000
Japan	10,300,000	20,400,000	43,000,000	84,600,000
Asia (balance)	118,900,000	61,900,000	18,800,000	30,200,000
Africa	130,700,000	58,700,000	110,600,000	65,600,000
Mexico	11,300,000	22,200,000	30,900,000	43,500,000
Cuba	12,500,000	17,400,000	4,600,000	19,700,000
South America	241,600,000	421,500,000	140,700,000	312,600,000

For further information on commerce, see each country.

COMMERCE AND LABOR, DEPARTMENT OF: This department was formed by the act of Congress of Feb. 11, 1903, and constitutes one of the nine executive departments of the general government. It is in charge of a secretary who is a member of the Cabinet, and who also receives the same salary ($8,000) as the other Cabinet officers. This department was created with a view to the furthering and developing of trade both in the United States and also with foreign lands; of the different industries connected with the fisheries, mines, and manufactures; of matters respecting labor and the working people; of the bettering of the means of transit by coach, railway, and steamboat; of the overlooking of matters regarding the various kinds of insurance. Within the department are several bureaus, the Lighthouse Board and the lighthouse establishment, the Steamboat Inspection, the Bureau of Corporations, the Bureaus of Manufactures, of Labor, of Navigation, of Standards, of Statistics of the Treasury, of Foreign Commerce, of the Census, of the Fish Commission, of the Corporations, of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, of the Shipping Commissioner, of Immigration, of the Fulfilment of the Exclusion Acts against Chinese. The Fish Commission has oversight of the salmon and other fisheries of Alaska and the hunting of the fur-seal. The Bureau of Corporations is intended to have control of the different trust and trade combinations. There is a Commissioner of Corporations who receives a salary of $5,000, whose duty it is to look carefully into the organizing, getting up, and managing of all stock companies trading whether in the U. S. or abroad, with the exception alone of the common carriers who come under the Interstate Commerce Act. It is his duty to collect information and embody it in a paper to the president. He has the power to call upon and to subpœna witnesses to give testimony.

The first secretary under the act was Mr. George B. Cortelyou, of New York, appointed Feb. 16, 1903. After him came Mr. Victor B. Metcalf, of California. The present incumbent, appointed 1907, is Mr. Oscar S. Straus, of New York.

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS (United States): The friendly sentiment which exists between nations, while due in many cases to descent from a common stock and to the presence in one country of many former citizens of another, is also due to the existence of that other commercial factor, invested capital. The friendly sentiment existing between the United States and all English-speaking nations is, of course, the result, to a great extent, of a common parentage and the use of a common language as a medium of intercourse. In the case of our dealings with the Germanic nations there is not only the close relationship between the Anglo-Saxon and the Germanic, but also the presence in this country of millions of representatives of those nations.

The number of immigrants admitted into the U. S. from Germany alone since 1820 exceeds 5,000,000 and the number of natives of that country residing in the U. S. at the present time is nearly 3,000,000. The number of Austrians residing in the U. S. at the date of the last census was over a quarter of a million; natives of Holland over 100,000; and of the natives of Norway and Sweden and Denmark over 1,000,000; while of the natives of the United Kingdom the total in 1900 was 2,500,000 and of Canada more than 1,000,000.

The latest available statistics indicate that the number of natives of the U. S. now residing in the United Kingdom is approximately 30,000. The German census of 1900 showed the presence of practically 18,000 of our citizens residing in Germany. The Mexican census showed nearly 16,000 Americans residing in Mexico in 1900, and the Canadian census of 1901 showed about 41,000 natives of the U. S. residing in Canada. Sub-

sequent Canadian records show a migration of from 25,000 to 45,000 per annum from the U. S. to Canada, which suggests that the number of our own people now residing in the Dominion is probably over 100,000.

Our consul-general in Mexico reported some two or three years ago that over $500,000,000 of American capital was invested in that country, and persons well acquainted with the movements of investments out of the U. S. are of the opinion that this sum has been increased since at the rate of perhaps $100,000,000 per annum, and that the total American capital invested in Mexico approximates $800,000,000. Reports from our consuls in Canada and other available sources indicate that the investment of American capital among our neighbors on the north is also to be measured by hundreds of millions.

Our consul-general in Cuba has indicated that, in his opinion, the amount of American capital there invested is between $100,000,000 and $200,000,000, and a study of this subject recently made by the Bureau of Statistics develops the fact that probably $100,000,000 of American capital have been invested in the Hawaiian Islands, and from $10,000,000 to $15,000,000 in Porto Rico. In the great countries of Europe, where capital is plentiful, American inventions and American skill in manfacturing and management have combined with local capital to develop great industrial enterprises, which have strengthened the cordiality of sentiment existing between the two peoples.

There is no difficulty in proving that the existence of these factors—sentiment, immigration, and invested capital—has been followed by the maintenance of cordial commercial relationships. The United Kingdom, having with us a common language and of whose people we had in 1900 2,750,000 in the U. S., and to which we have sent 30,000 of our own people to become permanent residents in its communities, is the most important customer for American exports.

Germany is next in importance in both our export and import trade. Of German people we had in 1900 two and two thirds millions, and today have perhaps as many as 3,000,000, and in that country 20,000 Americans now reside. Canada follows, and of her people we had in 1900 over 1,000,000, and she has 100,000 former citizens of the U. S. In Canada are invested large sums of American capital. Still another country with which our trade relations have grown with wonderful rapidity is Mexico, which takes two thirds of its imports from us and sends three fourths of its exports to us. In that country probably 20,000 former citizens of the U. S. reside and hundreds of millions of American capital are invested, while the number of former Mexican citizens now residing in the U. S. is over 100,000.

There is negative proof to add to the positive proof that sentiment and good-will between nations needs immigration and invested capital for the growth of trade relations. Indeed, there is a reverse side to the picture. Our friendship for France is a matter of history. Altho our relations have always been cordial, we have often wondered that our trade grows so slowly and that we supply only about 10 per cent of its imports, while to Germany we supply 14 per cent, to the United Kingdom 25 per cent, and to Canada 60 per cent of their imports. While this apparently anomalous condition is doubtless due in part to the restrictive policy of France, may it not also be due in some degree to the fact that the total number of French residing in the U. S. in 1900 was but 104,000, as compared to the millions of the United Kingdom, Germany, and Canada?

To prove my proposition further, the surprizingly rapid growth of our trade with Italy in recent years is but an additional argument supporting the theory that the closeness of relationship between the peoples of the two countries is an important factor in the development of commercial relations. Our trade with Italy in recent years has expanded from practically $40,000,000 in 1896 to nearly $90,000,000 at present, and at the same time the number of Italians in the U. S., which in 1900 was nearly 500,000, has grown with phenomenal rapidity in recent years, with a correspondingly gratifying enlargement of our trade relations with that country.

The number of Russians in the U. S. in 1900 was nearly half a million, and the increase since then has been very great. The value of our exports to Russia has more than doubled in the last decade and the value of our imports from that country more than quadrupled. We have wondered and with reason at the slow growth of our exports to South American countries and especially at their small value when compared with the large amount represented by our imports from that section of the world. But possibly we do not take into consideration the fact that the South American countries are peopled by races less akin to us in nationality than those previously mentioned, and that American citizens and American capital are seldom found in those communities. The South American countries are generously populated with Europeans and are enjoying the beneficial effects of their capital. The number of South Americans residing in the U. S. in 1900 was less than 5,000, as compared with the 100,000 from Mexico.

The conclusions to be drawn from these facts and figures are clearly that the sentiment of friendship as well as that of cordiality has accompanied the development of commerce with those countries with which our commercial intercourse is greatest and most satisfactory and that it should be continued and fostered.

There can be no doubt that the presence in the U. S. of capital from foreign countries and the presence in such countries of American capital does strengthen commercial relations between the nations, while the presence of industrious citizens from other countries has been of great aid in developing the many industries that have made us the most wealthy and prosperous nation in the world, as well as the greatest manufacturing nation, and placed us in the front rank of exporters of domestic products and of manufactures.

For the purpose of properly expanding and enlarging our trade relations, it is of the highest importance that the executive branch of our Government charged with the cultivation of friendly relations with foreign countries shall not be hampered by any narrowness or short-sightedness on the part of our lawmakers, either national or in the separate states, for every obstacle that is put in the way of friendly international relations is bound to reflect and act as a check upon our foreign commerce, and at the same time upon our wage-workers, of whom so many are employed in industries and manufactures engaged in exporting. As it has been shown that the movement of population from one country to another is one of the forerunners of international trade, as well as a

great factor in promoting it, we must have a care not to put unreasonable checks on immigration.

So long as the exclusion law was clearly understood to apply only to the coolie class our trade with China grew with rapidity. Her merchants and travelers and representative people visited this country freely and sent their sons to be educated in our schools, colleges, and universities. In like manner Americans visited China freely, and the number of our people residing in that country increased from less than 1,300 in 1894 to over 3,200 in 1904. Our exports to China grew from less than $5,000,000 in 1895 to over $50,000,000 in 1905, and while we believe that the loss of over $20,000,000 shown in the returns for 1906 was due, in some degree, to the fact that the trade of 1905 was abnormally large, there can be no doubt that it was due in some part to the recent trade boycotts, resulting from the feeling on the part of the Chinese that their representative people do not receive proper treatment when they apply for admission into the U. S. So apparent was this fact that President Roosevelt, in a message to Congress a year ago, urged the enactment of a Chinese admission law.

The individual merchant or manufacturer knows that he cannot expect to hold customers whom he openly offends or brutally insults. The same is true of a nation. It cannot offend another nation and hold the trade of its people. International courtesy is as essential to international good-will as is a similar relationship between individuals, and the consequences in the former case are far more serious and permanent. The merchants and manufacturers of our country can perform no more valuable service to the nation and to the promotion of foreign commerce than in strengthening public sentiment to support the government in cultivating these friendly relations with other nations which are so essential to good-will and good trade relations.

Our trade with Japan has shown a surprizing growth in recent years, during which time a feeling of deep friendship has developed between that remarkable race and our own. Her people have been welcomed to all the privileges and immunities enjoyed by the most favored nation, except actual citizenship. The privileges of Americans residing in Japan, the number of whom has nearly doubled in the past decade, have correspondingly increased.

Our great silk manufactories, which employ thousands of working men and disburse over $30,000,000 a year in wages, have drawn largely for their raw material upon Japan, sending her nearly $40,000,000 for raw silk in the year just ended. Japan in turn has purchased freely of the products of our farms and factories, so that our exports to that country have grown from less than $8,000,000 in 1896 to over $38,000,000 in 1906. In view of these flattering commercial relations with the dominant power of the Far East, it is a matter of serious regret that recent incidents in a single community of our country—a community that has profited largely through the enlargement of our trade with Japan—should have endangered the cordiality of relations under which that trade has developed.

While this occurrence is too recent to have had as yet a perceptible effect upon trade relations, it requires no stretch of imagination to foresee that unless these deplorable incidents are satisfactorily adjusted they will have a disastrous effect upon our future trade with that country. On this subject I believe the President voiced the sentiment of the great mass of our people when he said in his message to Congress:

> Not only must we treat all nations fairly, but we must treat with justice and good-will all immigrants who come here under the law. All we have to question is the man's conduct. If he is honest and upright in his dealings with his neighbor and with the State, then he is entitled to respect and good treatment. Especially do we need to remember our duty to the stranger within our gates. It is a sure mark of a low civilization, a low morality, to abuse or discriminate against or in any way humiliate such stranger who has come here lawfully and who is conducting himself properly. To remember this is incumbent on every American citizen, and it is especially incumbent on every government official, whether of the nation or of the several states.

Altho the question of ethics in the growth of international commerce may at first sight prove novel, there is really nothing new about it other than that the nations of the world are growing more enlightened, because the basic principles of honesty and courtesy in individual business naturally extend to the larger enterprise of international trade relations. As I have traced out, the growth of trade relations is attributable, in some degree at least, to cordiality of international relationship and of relationship between our own people and those of the nations with which we come into business contact. The future success of our manufacturers and exporters rests in their own hands.

Our government can do certain things. It can, for instance, maintain a great department, such as that of Commerce and Labor; it can record the movements of articles into and out of the country, and the names of countries from which imports come and to which exports go; it can show the growth of exports of various articles, the demand in a given country for the same; it can send its consuls and special representatives to the various nations of the world to learn what markets exist for our goods, and how they must be made and packed and sold to meet the requirements of those markets—but it cannot bring to our manufacturers and exporters that close personal relationship with the people of these nations that is so essential to them if they are to maintain the greatest measure of success.

By sending special representatives to solicit trade, by establishing banking and other facilities therefor, and by cultivating and maintaining friendly relations the exporting nations of Europe have obtained their success in the markets of the world. And when I say special representatives I mean men representing the manufacturer, and so familiar with his own individual methods of production and with commerce that they can present to him the details of the existing trade opportunities and the processes to which he must adapt his own existing methods in order to make his goods salable in the communities in question. These are the things the government cannot do for the manufacturer and the exporter —things they can do only for themselves.

In round numbers the world's imports of manufactures now aggregate $5,000,000,000 in value, and of that amount we are at present contributing but $700,000,000, or about 14 per cent, altho we are the world's greatest producers of all the important articles used in manufacturing, such as cotton, iron, copper, timber, and coal, the last of which furnishes the power necessary to transform the others into the finished products.

We also have the world's greatest system of railways with which to assemble these raw ma-

terials and carry them to the water's edge. Whether our government shall aid in building a great merchant marine for carrying these products, already cheaply transported, from the water's edge to the principal foreign markets, or whether such aid should be confined to those sections with which our trade has shown little development and to which foreign capital is offering us no direct system of transportation, is a matter yet to be determined.

But certain it is that, whatever the government may do in aid of our foreign commerce, or in collecting general information regarding trade opportunities in foreign countries, the real opportunity for success in those markets rests with our producers and exporters, who, by sending their personal representatives among these people, will not only obtain for themselves the information necessary to that trade, but will, at the same time, aid in developing that international sentiment and close relationship which have proved so important a factor in our commercial relations with the countries where our greatest success has been attained.

OSCAR S. STRAUS,
Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

COMMONS: Commons, or land held in common by a village, town, or community, play a large part in the history of land tenure. This is true of Great Britain among other countries, but for the treatment of the subject in general and also in Great Britain, see LAND; PRIMITIVE PROPERTY. The subject is here treated in regard to the United States. The first colonists of America divided land among themselves in proportion to the size of their families; and in some parts of New England according to rank. In Plymouth, however, pasture lands were for many years assigned by lot in town meetings, and wood was cut down and hauled in common. The forests were for more than a century known as "commons." In 1710 Plymouth comprized over 30,000 acres of common land, and to-day there are still over 200 acres of "town land," chiefly forest.

In the old town of Sandwich there is still a parcel of land known as the "Town Neck." This is owned by a company of twenty-four proprietors, the descendants or heirs of the first settlers of the town. Originally the Town Neck, like other common lands, belonged to the whole town. In the town records, under the date May 22, 1658, stands the following note: "If an inhabytant wanteth land to plant, hee may have some in the Towne Neck, or in the common for six yeare and noe longer." Later, April 6, 1678, townsmen are given liberty to improve Neck lands "noe longer than ten yeares, and then to be at the townsmen's ordering againe." In the year 1695 the use of the Town Neck was restricted to the heirs of original proprietors, and the land was staked out into thirty-eight lots. The lots were not fenced off, and the whole tract continued to lie as a common field, under the authority of the entire body of proprietors, like the arable lands of a Germanic village community. On April 4, 1695, it was agreed that the Town Neck should be improved for the future as a common field, until the major part of those interested should see cause otherwise to dispose or improve the same. The common fence was to be made up, and a gate to be provided by May 1st. A field-driver or hayward was to keep the Town Neck clear of creatures, and to impound for trespass. In 1700 it was voted that the Neck be cleared of creatures by April 16th, and that no part of the land be improved for tillage other than by sowing.

Lately, it has been proposed to sell this land to a private company for the Cape Cod Canal, a proposal which the Massachusetts Nationalists have strongly opposed. The above is only one instance of the survival of communal lands in New England. In Salem there were ten fields which belonged each to a number of proprietors, who had individual rights, but were subject to communal authority, a majority vote being supreme. They were tilled, sown, reaped in common. And this was only a part of their communism. The forests around Salem were long kept "for the commons of the towne, to serve it for wood and timber." No townsman could make profit by exporting the logs or lumber, but every man was free to take all he needed for fencing, fuel, or building purposes. Like many other towns, Salem had large tracts of meadow land, where every man had liberty to mow. After the grass crop had been gathered, the cattle of the town were turned into the meadows to graze. Along the Connecticut River this custom continued until quite recent times. Boston Commons was thus used for many generations. The Town Neck in Salem, which is now a public pleasure-ground, remained a common pasture for milch cows until lately. At present there are 300 acres of common land, called the "Great Pastures," being the last remnant of a tract of 4,000 acres. It is owned by the descendants of the original commoners. In 1640 the town voted that "none of the commons within the cattle range should be granted to any individual use." Generally, however, the increase of population led to the gradual breaking up of the system of communism. It was, however, only after a long contest that the landless citizens triumphed over the village patricians. The immediate result of the abolition of common lands was very beneficial to the interests of the community, as the number of small landowners was increased.

It is not only in New England that traces of the early land communism appear, but in all English or Dutch settlements. There were commons in Nantucket, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas. Almost everywhere in the South certain communal customs prevailed. Forests, streams, and foot-paths are generally regarded as common to all. The court greens in Southern towns are as free as village greens or commons. Annapolis has a town pasture which is typical of scores of others. In the Southern parishes the glebe lands are only an ecclesiastical phase of the original communism, separated and administered by church boards for church purposes, similar to the town lands of New England, which yielded support to the schools and clergy.

REFERENCES: *The Survival of Land Community in New England*, by W. F. Allen, in *The Nation*, Jan. 10, 1878; *Johns-Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, vol. i., No. 2, on *The Germanic Origin of New England Towns*, and Nos. 9 and 10, on *Village Communities of Cape Ann and Salem.*

COMMONS, JOHN ROGERS: Professor of political economy; born at Hollandsburg, Ohio, 1862; educated in public schools and at Oberlin College; studied political science at Johns Hopkins University, 1889–90 (A.M., 1890). He was successively tutor in economics at the Wesleyan University, and professor of political economy at Oberlin (1891–92), Indiana University (1893–1895), Syracuse University (1895–9). He was expert agent of the United States Industrial Commission in 1901; and assistant secretary of the National Civic Federation, 1902. Since 1904 he has been professor of political economy at the University of Wisconsin. Commons was one of the founders of the AMERICAN PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION LEAGUE, and has been active in numerous social-reform movements and organizations, particularly, recently, in the National Civic Federation, and as a director of the American Bureau of Industrial Research at Wisconsin University, in which capacity he made special studies of trade-unionism and kindred subjects for an industrial history of the United States, now in course of preparation. He belongs to no one school, except as holding to the so-called ethical view of political economy. He favors the referendum and initiative, proportional representation, arbitration and conciliation, trade-unionism, the nationalization and municipalization of natural monopolies, and the complete governmental control of currency. He is the author of: "Distribution of Wealth"; "Social Reform and the Church"; "Proportional Representation"; "Trade-Unionism and Labor Problems"; "Races and Immigrants in America," besides numerous articles in magazines and economic journals. *Address*: Wisconsin University, Madison, Wis.

COMMUNE, COMMUNALISM, AND COMMUNARDS: A commune (from Latin *communis*, common) is in general a community organized, or the

government of such a community. Under the Roman Empire every province appears to have had its own provincial diet or assembly, called a *concilium* or *commune*, and these are held by some to have been the first attempts at representative assemblies. But see COMMUNISM; MIR, etc. In the Middle Ages many cities and towns formed confederacies of citizens, and all such confederacies of towns or provinces were called communes. We read of the Commune of Florence, the Commune of Paris, etc. In France especially these communes at one time developed very considerable power and obtained large rights which they gradually lost under the centralizing tendencies of the government of the Louis. Beginning with the Revolution, however, there has been a constant agitation for, and some serious insurrections in order to gain, the supremacy of the old *communes*. This has led to a theory particularly popular in France, which would make the commune the political and social center, and do away with all central government save a loose federation of communes. This was the ideal of BAKOUNIN, and is the view of most anarchist communists. (See ANARCHISM, section "Anarchist Communism.") It was this theory that largely led to the rising of the PARIS COMMUNE in 1871. One who advocates this view is sometimes called a *communard*, tho this phrase has been particularly appropriated for the supporters of the Paris Commune. Prof. R. T. Ely and other writers, however, prefer the word *communalist* for the believer in this theory. (See also COMMUNISM; PARIS COMMUNE.)

COMMUNISM: The economic theory which advocates the total or partial abolition of the right of private property, actual ownership being ascribed to the community as a whole or to the state. Says Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy":

> Communism is the theory which teaches that the labor and the income of society should be distributed equally among all its members by some constituted authority. For an example of what communists mean by equal division of labor and income, the following explanation may suffice: "Here equality must be measured by the capacity of the worker and the need of the consumer, not by the intensity of the labor and the quantity of things consumed. A man endowed with a certain degree of strength, when he lifts a weight of ten pounds, labors as much as another man with five times the strength when he lifts fifty pounds. He who, to satisfy a burning thirst, swallows a pitcher of water, enjoys no more than his comrade who, but slightly thirsty, sips a cupful. The aim of the communism in question is equality of pains and pleasures, not of consumable things and workers' tasks." (Buonarroti, "Conspiration de Babeuf," i., 297.)

Says John Stuart Mill ("Political Economy," book ii., chap. i.):

> The assailants of the principle of individual property may be divided into two classes: those whose scheme implies absolute equality in the distribution of the physical means of life and enjoyment, and those who admit inequality, but grounded on some principle, or supposed principle, of justice or general expediency, and not, like so many of the existing social inequalities, dependent on accident alone. At the head of the first class, as the earliest of those belonging to the present generation, must be placed Mr. Owen and his followers. M. Louis Blanc and M. Cabet have more recently become conspicuous as apostles of similar doctrines (tho the former advocates equality of distribution only as a transition to a still higher standard of justice, that all should work according to their capacity, and receive according to their wants). The characteristic name for this economical system is communism, a word of continental origin, only of late introduced into this country. The word socialism, which originated among the English communists, and was assumed by them as a name to designate their own doctrine, is now, on the Continent, employed in a larger sense; not necessarily implying communism, or the entire abolition of private property, but applied to any system which requires that the land and the instruments of production should be the property, not of individuals, but of communities or associations, or of the government.

This is probably the best use of the word, tho there is some authority for using the word "communism" simply as identical with extreme and radical socialism. It is unnecessary, however, to use two words for the same thing, and communism is being limited more and more by the best writers to apply to that school of Socialists who believe in holding all property in common except the merest personal effects, and giving to every man equally, in contradistinction to Socialists, who would only have capital, or the means of production, in common. Concerning communism in general, the best brief discussion is still undoubtedly that of Mill, from whom we therefore quote at length. He says:

Mill on Communism

> Whatever may be the merits or defects of these various schemes, they cannot be truly said to be impracticable. No reasonable person can doubt that a village community, composed of a few thousand inhabitants cultivating in joint ownership the same extent of land which at present feeds that number of people, and producing by combined labor and the most improved processes the manufactured articles which they required, could raise an amount of productions sufficient to maintain them in comfort; and would find the means of obtaining, and if need be exacting, the quantity of labor necessary for this purpose from every member of the association who was capable of work.
>
> The objection ordinarily made to a system of community of property and equal distribution of the produce, that each person would be incessantly occupied in evading his fair share of the work, points, undoubtedly, to a real difficulty. But those who urge this objection, forget to how great an extent the same difficulty exists under the system on which nine tenths of the business of society is now conducted. The objection supposes that honest and efficient labor is only to be had from those who are themselves individually to reap the benefit of their own exertions. But how small a part of all the labor performed in England, from the lowest paid to the highest, is done by persons working for their own benefit. From the Irish reaper or hodman to the chief justice or the minister of state, nearly all the work of society is remunerated by day wages or fixt salaries. A factory operative has less personal interest in his work than a member of a communist association, since he is not, like him, working for a partnership of which he is himself a member. . . .
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> Another of the objections to communism is similar to that so often urged against poor laws: that if every member of the community were assured of subsistence for himself and any number of children, on the sole condition of willingness to work, prudential restraint on the multiplication of mankind would be at an end, and population would start forward at a rate which would reduce the community through successive stages of increasing discomfort to actual starvation. There would certainly be much ground for this apprehension if communism provided no motives to restraint equivalent to those which it would take away. But communism is precisely the state of things in which opinion might be expected to declare itself with greatest intensity against this kind of selfish intemperance. Any augmentation of numbers which diminished the comfort or increased the toil of the mass would then cause (which now it does not) immediate and unmistakable inconvenience to every individual in the association; inconvenience which could not then be imputed to the avarice of employers, or the unjust privileges of the rich. In such altered circumstances opinion could not fail to reprobate, and if reprobation did not suffice, to repress by penalties of some description, this or any other culpable self-indulgence at the expense of the community. The communistic scheme, instead of being peculiarly open to the objection drawn from danger of overpopulation, has there commendation of tending in an especial degree to the prevention of that evil.
>
> A more real difficulty is that of fairly apportioning the labor of the community among its members. There are many kinds of work, and by what standard are they to be measured one against another? Who is to judge how much cotton-spinning, or distributing goods from the stores, or bricklaying, or chimney-sweeping, is equivalent to so much plowing? The difficulty of making the adjustment between different qualities of labor is so strongly felt by communist writers, that they have usually thought it necessary to provide that all should work by turns at every description of useful labor: an arrangement which, by putting an end to the division of employments, would sacrifice so much of the advantage of cooperative production as greatly to diminish the productiveness of labor. Besides, even in the

Difficulties

same kind of work, nominal equality of labor would be so great a real inequality, that the feeling of justice would revolt against its being enforced. All persons are not equally fit for all labor; and the same quantity of labor is an unequal burden on the weak and the strong, the hardy and the delicate, the quick and the slow, the dull and the intelligent.

But these difficulties, tho real, are not necessarily insuperable. The apportionment of work to the strength and capacities of individuals, the mitigation of a general rule to provide for cases in which it would operate harshly, are not problems to which human intelligence, guided by a sense of justice, would be inadequate. And the worst and most unjust arrangement which could be made of these points, under a system aiming at equality, would be so far short of the inequality and injustice with which labor (not to speak of remuneration) is now apportioned, as to be scarcely worth counting in the comparison. We must remember too that communism, as a system of society, exists only in idea; that its difficulties, at present, are much better understood than its resources, and that the intellect of mankind is only beginning to contrive the means of organizing it in detail, so as to overcome the one and derive the greatest advantage from the other.

If, therefore, the choice were to be made between communism with all its chances, and the present state of society with all its sufferings and injustices; if the institution of private property necessarily carried with it, as a consequence, that the produce of labor should be apportioned as we now see it, almost in an inverse ratio to the labor—the largest portions to those who have never worked at all, the next largest to those whose work is almost nominal, and so in a descending scale, the remuneration dwindling as the work grows harder and more disagreeable, until the most fatiguing and exhausting bodily labor cannot count with certainty on being able to earn even the necessaries of life—if this, or communism, were the alternative, all the difficulties, great or small, of communism would be but as dust in the balance. But to make the comparison applicable, we must compare communism at its best with the *régime* of individual property, not as it is, but as it might be made.

The perfection both of social arrangements and of practical morality would be to secure to all persons complete independence and freedom of action, subject to no restriction but that of not doing injury to others; and the education which taught or the social institutions which required them to exchange the control of their own actions for any amount of comfort or affluence, or to renounce liberty for the sake of equality, would deprive them of one of the most elevated characteristics of human nature. It remains to be discovered how far the preservation of this characteristic would be found compatible with the communistic organization of society. No doubt this, like all the other objections to the socialist schemes, is vastly exaggerated. The members of the association need not be required to live together more than they do now, nor need they be controlled in the disposal of their individual share of the produce, and of the probably large amount of leisure which, if they limited their production to things really worth producing, they would possess. Individuals need not be chained to an occupation or to a particular locality. The restraints of communism would be freedom in comparison with the present condition of the majority of the human race. The generality of laborers in this and most other countries have as little choice of occupation or freedom of locomotion, are practically as dependent on fixt rules and on the will of others, as they could be on any system short of actual slavery; to say nothing of the entire domestic subjection of one half the species, to which it is the signal honor of Owenism and most other forms of socialism that they assign equal rights, in all respects, with those of the hitherto dominant sex. But it is not by comparison with the present bad state of society that the claims of communism can be estimated. . . .

Freedom

It is yet to be ascertained whether the communistic scheme would be consistent with that multiform development of human nature, those manifold unlikenesses, that diversity of tastes and talents, and variety of intellectual points of view, which not only form a great part of the interest of human life, but by bringing intellects into a stimulating collision, and by presenting to each innumerable notions that he would not have conceived of himself, are the mainspring of mental and moral progression.

For contrary views, see ANARCHISM; INDIVIDUALISM.

We give here a summary of the history of communism in general, down to the nineteenth century, referring the reader to separate articles for details, and especially to the article COMMUNITIES IN AMERICA, for a sketch of the important development of American communism.

Communism has always existed, to more or less an extent. According to LAVELEYE (see also PRIMITIVE PROPERTY) and many other sociologists, communism was the earliest known form by which property was held, as evidenced in existing conditions among the North American Indians and most savages, and as witnessed to by the Russian *Mir*, the Javan *Dessa*, and many other Asiatic and European survivals from primitive forms. This has been strenuously denied by some authorities, notably by Fustel des Coulanges, but the denial is more apparent than real, since they admit that property was held by some great chief or strong man for the community fraternally or feudally rather than in the ordinary sense of private property. The Buddhist monasteries, where the devotees renounced marriage and property, are another early communistic attempt. Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle and other Greeks largely favored communism. (See PLATO; ARISTOTLE.) Some of the Jews, the Essenes, and Therapeutæ taught and practised communism. (See ESSENES.)

Early History

The early Christian Church was, in places at least, undoubtedly largely communistic. (See CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM.) We are distinctly told of the first Christian Church at Jerusalem, that they had all things in common. It was, however, a perfectly voluntary communism. Christians were not required to renounce private property. Peter said to Ananias of the price of his land, part of which Ananias had kept back—"While it remained was it not thine own, and after it was sold, was it not in thine own power?" Yet the fact remains that, led by the power of love, some early Christians did practise communism. After the third century the Church became a much more worldly power, but in the fourth century the communistic tendency developed into the communistic monasticism of the anchorites and monks. Ever since there have been various communistic orders and sects appearing in the Christian Church—the Humiliates; the Beghards and Beguines; the various mendicant orders of the Middle Ages; the Brethren of the Free Spirit, in the thirteenth century; the Adamites, during the Hussite wars. This last order advocated the community of women, and some of the other sects and orders degenerated into disorder and excesses; but, on the whole, considering the ages in which they appeared, they usually stood for the purest and most vital Christianity of their times. Often these communities of brotherly love were the only spots of quiet in the darkness and bloodshed of lawless ages. (See MONASTICISM and MIDDLE AGES.)

The Reformation developed a new impulse toward communism, as indeed has been the case with every new religious movement. The Peasant War in Germany was largely an outcome of the communistic idea working out among the peasantry, but the influence mainly appeared in the organization of the Heavenly Prophets, by Storch, the Anabaptists in Münster, the Libertines of Geneva, the Familists of Holland and England, and the Buchanites of Scotland. The communistic principle is also present in a purer form among the Herrnhuters (Moravians) and in some communities of Auvergne. In Germany many communistic sects arose in the eighteenth century. (See ANABAPTISTS; PEASANTS' WAR; MORAVIANS, etc.)

The eighteenth century also saw a wave of communistic thought in France. MORELLY in his "Code de la Nature" (1755), taught that man naturally possesses every virtue, and is only depraved by bad institutions, the chief of which is private property. He declared that it would be "in conformity with the intentions of nature," if every citizen contributed to the resources of the State, in accordance with his strength, talents, and age, and in return were wholly maintained at the public expense. MABLY, who was a brother of Condillac, endeavored to show, in opposition to Mercier de la Rivière that private property in land is not the natural and necessary basis of society. On the contrary, he said, society could exist without property, as is proved by the cases of Sparta, the Jesuits in Paraguay, and the monastic orders; while the establishment of property in land and inequality of condition has been the great source of avarice, ambition, and vanity.

The Eighteenth Century

BABEUF and his fellow conspirators of 1796, calling themselves the "Equals," were the most remarkable representatives of this thought. In the Utopia of Babeuf, as described by Buonarroti, every one is allotted two different occupations, the one light and the other hard. To give variety and change of scene, all are employed by turns in the transport and postal services. Those who will not work are treated as thieves. Education, carried on in vast boarding-schools, subordinates the family to national life. Distribution is to follow the strictest equality. In England Robert Owen was the great teacher of communism; but for his views, see OWEN.

For the Communists of Paris in 1871, see PARIS, COMMUNE OF. (See also ANARCHISM; BABEUF; CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM; COMMUNITIES IN AMERICA; COOPERATION; PROPERTY; PROUDHON; SOCIALISM.)

REFERENCES: *Histoire du Socialisme*, by B. Malon, 1879; *Life, Written by Himself*, by R. Owen, vol. i., 1857, vol. i. A., continuation of appendixes, 1858; *Outline of the Various Social Systems and Communities which have been Founded on the Principle of Cooperation*, by M. Hennell, 1844; *History of Cooperation in England*, by G. J. Holyoake, vol. i., 1875, vol. ii., 1879

COMMUNITIES IN AMERICA: Communism implies common ownership; and hence, strictly speaking, there should be included under this term only such settlements, colonies and societies, based on common ownership of property, as have been subjected to the test of practical experiment in America. It is usual, however, to group the communities, the Fourieristic phalanges of half a century ago, the commonwealths, and the joint-stock and cooperative associations of recent date, all together as "American Communities" or "Communistic Societies"; and this grouping is at least partly justified by the fact that in their practical life these various organizations have all had communistic features, all being, as the author of "American Socialisms" affirms, to a certain extent compromises between communism and some form of individual ownership. Then, too, the communists, associationists, and other builders of social colonies have had similar high aims, well exprest in the threefold motto of the Fourierists: "Union of man with man in true society, union of man with God in true religion, union of man with nature in creative art and industry." Their plans and methods, also, have had much in common, alike involving the elimination of class distinctions based upon wealth and special privileges, the substitution of brotherly cooperation for competition in the affairs of life, the erection of large unitary dwellings as centers of attractive social life.

The principle of common ownership, far from being of the modern origin supposed by many, antedates the individual holding of real estate, as exemplified in the village communities of India, Russia, Germany, and England, confirmation of which may be found in the works of Sir Henry Maine of England, Maurer of Germany, and Laveleye of France. "These three eminent writers," says Roswell D. Hitchcock, D.D., in his work on socialism, "are agreed in the conclusion, after independent and great research, that common property in land was, in many parts of the world, perhaps everywhere, undoubtedly the original form of ownership." But the antiquity of the principle of common ownership, and the fact that the record shows that it was favored by both the Old and the New Testament, it may be urged, do not prove that communism is to be the final status of society; and it may be fairly asked, What good purpose have the communistic societies served? And what sufficient reason is there for supposing that communism in any form will play an important part in the world's future? It must be admitted that these American communities, considered with reference to their numbers and wealth, have thus far been comparatively unimportant; but it is, on the other hand, affirmed by the communists that their history is of transcendent importance, in demonstrating by more than a century's experience the practicability of forms of society dominated by the Golden Rule. For example, the Shakers, who established their first community 131 years ago, now make the astounding claim that during all these years they have lived prosperous, contented, happy lives, and have not spent among themselves a penny for police, for lawyers, for judges, for poorhouses, or for penal institutions.

Principle of Common Ownership

Who shall measure the value of such a record for good in the world's history? If, as we read in Proverbs, "he that ruleth his spirit is better than he that taketh a city," what shall be said of the 1,700 Amana Communists that for threescore years have lived such a life of peace that no lawyers or constables or courts have been required to maintain order in their midst, and in such prosperity that during all these years not a mendicant has been seen in the streets of their seven villages save such as have come from the outer world? Consider, too, the example given by the Separatists of Zoar, who maintained their community organization for seventy-nine years, and proudly boast that during that time no member was ever charged with crime, and that they had no disputes they could not settle among themselves, no divorces, no scandals, no controversies over property.

Whether the principle of communism will play an important part in the ultimate condition of society will depend, the communists assert, upon the inherent character of society in the distant future. If individual selfishness shall become more rampant and dominant as the centuries roll by, then communism may be wholly ignored in the final social fabric; but if, on the other hand, the principles that have wrought since time began for the elimination of strife, ignorance, superstition, cruelty, injustice, and all forms of wickedness, and fostered the growth of all that tends to make mankind unselfish, altruistic, brotherly, just and noble, and that have built up institutions for the amelioration of human conditions, shall continue to be operative and become predominant and all-controlling, then surely, they say, the principle of communism will eventually become the most important factor in society.

Blessings of Altruistic Unity

In considering the principle of communism as exemplified in the communistic societies of the United States, and as likely to be more fully exemplified as mankind more fully realizes the unspeakable blessings that result from altruistic unity, a clear distinction should be kept in mind between the voluntary, peaceable, conservative communism so exemplified, and which abhors every form of compulsion, and the political communism that was exhibited in France in 1870, and now is occasionally heard even in the United States, demanding that society shall be reorganized on the basis of equality of conditions and privileges, and which aims at controlling all the functions of government, and compelling everybody, *nolens volens*, to become communists. With such communism, whether French, German, European, or International, communism as sought to be realized in the communistic societies of the United States, and properly termed American communism, has scarcely anything in common, either in aim or method.

The colonies and settlements thus collectively called American communities may be classified as: (1) the religious; (2) the non-religious; (3) the transcendental; (4) the Fourierists; (5) the Spiritualists; and (6) the commonwealths, brotherhoods, etc., of recent date. The religious communities head the list because first in point of time, first in longevity, first in general success. The most important of these are:

Classification of Communities

The Labadist Community of Protestant Mystics, numbering 100 members, and owning 4,000 acres of land in the northern part of Maryland, founded 213 years ago, and which has long ceased to exist.

The existing Community of German Seventh-day Baptists, founded 175 years ago at Ephrata, Pa., by Conrad Beisel, and at one time having 300 members and considerable property, both the membership and property being now greatly reduced.

The Shakers, founded in 1776 at Watervliet, N. Y., at one time having a membership of over 5,000 and large landed properties, and now having fifteen separate societies in eight states, but with much reduced membership.

The community founded in 1805 by George Rapp in Butler County, Pa., afterward removed to Posey County, Ind., and later to Economy, Pa., possessing at one time property of the estimated value of more than $1,000,000, and numbering 1,000 members, of whom very few now survive.

The community founded by Joseph Bimeler at Zoar, Ohio, in 1817, and at its greatest period of prosperity numbering about 500 members and having nearly a million dollars' worth of property.

The Perfectionist Community founded by John H. Noyes at Putney, Vt., in 1836; transferred to Oneida, N. Y., in 1848; numbering at one time with its branches over 300 members, and having several prosperous businesses; transformed in 1880 into a joint-stock corporation.

The Amana Community, founded near Buffalo, N. Y., in 1843, removed to Iowa in 1855–64; now numbering over 1,700 members, and having seven villages, all under one control and all having a common interest.

The Bethel-Aurora Community, founded by Dr. Wm. Keil in Shelby County, Mo., in 1844, and in Aurora, Ore., in 1856, and numbering together at one time about 1,000 souls, neither now existing.

The Swedish Community, founded by Eric Janson, at Bishop Hill, Ill., in 1856, having over 1,000 members and existing for sixteen years.

The Bruderhof Communities of Russian Mennonites in South Dakota, which have existed for many years, and aggregate over a thousand members.

The Koreshan Community of Estero, Fla., numbering over 160 members, and apparently prosperous.

The Community of Israelites at Benton Harbor, Mich., having 700 members, and growing.

The more important of the distinctly non-religious group are:

The community founded by Robert Owen at New Harmony, Ind., in 1825, which had 900 members, and which led to the formation of eighteen other communities of similar character; and the French community founded by Etienne Cabet in northern Texas in 1848, transferred to Nauvoo, Ill., in 1849, to Corning, Iowa, in 1857, and having at one time 500 members.

The Brook-Farm Community, founded by George Ripley at Roxbury, Mass., in 1842, and Fruitlands, founded by A. Bronson Alcott and others at Harvard, Mass., in 1843, constitute the transcendental group, tho often classed with the Fourieristic settlements, one of which Brook Farm became in its later years, but it owed its origin to the transcendental movement in and near Boston, and particularly to the Transcendental Club, an organization of cultured people formed in Boston in 1836.

Of the Fourieristic colonies nearly thirty were formed within five years in eight different states, with an aggregate membership of about 4,500, and a longevity ranging from a few months to seventeen years.

Of the several spiritualistic communities those founded by Thomas Lake Harris at Brockton, N. Y., in 1867, and at Santa Rosa, Cal., a few years later, are the most important, unless we include in this group the Shakers, who have abounded in spiritualistic phenomena during their long career, and claim to have been the first to introduce spiritualism into this country. Several smaller communities owe their origin to spiritualism.

It may be stated in this connection that no classification of the communistic societies of the United States which may be made will prove entirely accurate, there being, for example, religious people in the non-religious and Fourieristic societies, and vice versa.

Of the communities, commonwealths, brotherhoods, and cooperative settlements of recent date may be mentioned: The Koreshan Community at Estero, Fla.; the Christian Commonwealth of Georgia; the Ruskin Commonwealth of Tennessee and Georgia; the Cooperative Brotherhood of Burley, Wash.; the Equality Colony, Equality, Wash.; the Industrial Single-Tax Association, Fairhope, Ala.; the Colorado Cooperative Company; the Freeland Association of Washington; the Mutual Home Association of Washington; the Straight-Edgers of Staten Island and New York; Shalam, or "The Children's Land," of New Mexico; and the Woman's Commonwealth of Washington city.

These settlements are all of too recent origin to furnish noteworthy examples of success; but they all emphasize the longing desire filling the hearts of thousands for a life free from the contention and competition so universally prevalent.

There have been but two widespread movements in this country resulting in the establishment of communistic societies: that in 1825, when Robert Owen, of New Lanark, Scotland, electrified the nation with his grand schemes of social amelioration; and again in the decade between 1840 and 1850 when Fourierism was heralded by the New York *Tribune*, Horace Greeley, Chas. A. Dana, Albert Brisbane, and a score of other able writers and speakers, as the great social panacea—the one system that was to bring in the era of universal brotherhood and justice. The first movement produced, as we have seen, nineteen societies which survived for a few years only; the latter produced about thirty, some of which were of much longer duration, but none exceeding seventeen years.

The present status of the community movement in the United States is less favorable than it was in former years, undoubtedly owing in part to the fact that several of the prosperous religious communities have been unable to fully maintain their organization and prosperity after the death of their founders, and have either modified their property arrangements or dissolved; and partly to the fact that political socialism now absorbs much of the attention that would otherwise be given to experimental communism, its advocates claiming that only through state and national aid can the objects which communists have so much at heart—true and just relations of man to man and man to society—be realized. Still there exist to-day: (1) the Ephrata Community (after 175 years), (2) the fifteen Shaker Communities (after 131 years), (3) the Harmony Community (after 101 years), (4) the Amana Community (after 64 years), (5) the Oneida Community (after 59 years, tho transformed into a joint-stock company after 32 years), (6) the Koreshan Community, and (7) the Straight-Edgers; in addition to various brotherhoods, cooperative colonies, and other societies of recent date; and such experiments continue and seem destined to continue despite all discouragements and failures.

Wm. Alfred Hinds.

References: *History of American Socialisms*, by Noyes; *Communistic Societies of the United States*, by Nordhoff; *American Communities*, by W. A. Hinds; *Communistic Societies of the United States*, by Bushee; *Cooperative Communities*, by Kent; *U. S. Labor Bulletin*, No. 35; *Communism and Socialism*, by Woolsey; *Socialism*, by Hitchcock; *Transcendentalism in New England*, by Frothingham. See also the individual articles on communistic societies.

COMPETITION: In social science this term denotes the strife of the individual or of a group of individuals to gain the utmost possible profit, rent, or wage in free rivalry with other individuals or groups of individuals. It is defined in Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy" as "the free action of individual self-interest." But this is not enough. The free action of individual self-interest may lead a man into cooperation or socialism, the opposites of competition. The distinctive characteristic of competition is in its being the free action of self-interest *in fair rivalry with some other individual or group of individuals*. One man cannot compete. He must compete with somebody. This is seen in the derivation of the word, from *com* and *petere*, to seek together.

Competition, so conceived, is held by most to be to-day the supreme law of trade. As such it is defended by believers in present industrial methods, is bitterly condemned by Socialist reformers, while perhaps the majority of minds, and almost all political economists to-day, see evils in unlimited competition, and would modify its free play, but not supplant it by any other principle.

Still another school of thought denies that we have free competition to-day, and declares that what is needed to save us from our present industrial ills is not less competition, but more competition. We notice these four views:

The Argument for Competition

I. The believers in competition usually assert first that it is the law of nature, and they sometimes add that it is "the law of God." "Theorists and sentimentalists may talk as they will," say the believers in competition, "of abolishing the strife for self or the struggle for existence, the play of self-interest; but the fact remains that this principle always has existed in the world, always has ruled the world, has produced and exists most in the most progressive civilizations." "Progress," says Professor Flower ("Reply to an Address by the Trades' Council," Newcastle, September, 1889), "has been due to the opportunity of those individuals who are a little superior in some respects to their fellows, of asserting their superiority, and of continuing to live, and of promulgating as an inheritance that superiority." "To formulate this as the immutable law of progress since the beginnings of life has been," Mr. Benjamin Kidd tells us ("Social Evolution," p. 34), "one of the principal results of the biological science of the century." "It is," says Professor Flower, "the message which pure and abstract biological research has sent to help us on with some of the commonest problems of human life" (*idem*). "It is," Mr. Kidd adds (*idem*, p. 37), "an inevitable law of life among the higher forms, that competition and selection must not only always accompany progress, but that they must prevail among every form of life which is not actually retrograding." Socialism, therefore, which aims "at the final suspension of that personal struggle for existence," cannot, according to Mr. Kidd, "in any case avoid progressive degeneration" (*idem*, p. 210). This is the main argument urged in a hundred forms by the believers in competition. Competition is the source of progress. We must, therefore, have competition in order to have progress.

But, secondly, competition is defended as working on the whole for the good of all classes. Most orthodox economists take this position. Professor Fawcett ("Political Economy," book ii., chap. ii.), says of competition: "The poverty of the poor is often attributed to it; but we shall have reason to show that it is no enemy to the working classes. Without it, their poverty would be rendered doubly severe; for it is an active spirit of competition which maintains the capital from which the wages of the laborers are paid. Competition befriends the working classes in other respects; it cheapens commodities, and insures that the maximum of wages shall always be paid. Competition is not confined to one class; it may be as rife among buyers as among sellers, or among the employers as among the employed. Individuals who have goods to sell are anxious to realize as large profits as possible; but when there is competition, a trader cannot be paid more than what is termed a fair price for his goods, because if he attempts to obtain more than the ordinary price he will be undersold by other traders. When buyers compete with each other they are anxious to secure the greatest gains, or, in other words, to buy upon the best possible terms; and thus when buyers are each intent on purchasing on the most favorable terms, a commodity is sure to realize what it is worth. It therefore follows that if, on the one hand, competition prevents a trader obtaining exceptionally high profits, on the other hand it insures to him a fair price for his goods. Some, perhaps, may think it unfortunate that employers, stimulated by a desire to realize the largest gains, should seek to engage their laborers on the lowest possible terms. But such conduct upon the part of the employers inflicts no injury upon the laborers; for whenever there is activity of competition, an individual manufacturer or trader is as powerless to get laborers to work for him at less than the ordinary wages as he would be to buy cotton at a cheaper rate than his fellow manufacturers. The price of cotton is maintained because there are those who are anxious to purchase it; the rate of wages is also maintained by those who are anxious to purchase labor. Competition, consequently, exerts no tendency to reduce profits or wages; the tendency is rather one of equalization.

Wages

Another form of the same argument is to say that competition works for the good of all because it tends to make each individual and each nation do what they can do best. Where each individual and each nation is striving in a free market, that individual and that nation that can do given work or produce a given commodity the best will win. We thus have the survival of the fittest. But there is something which each man and each nation can do best. Therefore under free competition each man and each nation will do what he or it can do best, and all be benefited by the exchange.

Thirdly, believers in competition say nothing can be substituted for it. Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy" says: "It is difficult even to imagine upon what other principle certain complicated transactions of modern trade and industry could be regulated."

"The difficulty of finding any adequate substitute for it (the motive of self-interest) is an almost invincible obstacle in the way of reconstructing society on any but its present individualistic basis" (Sidgwick).

Jevons says: "Scientific Primer," chap. vii.): "There is no way of deciding what is a fair day's wages, outside competition."

Lastly, the believers in competition defend it on the ground that it tends to make individuals self-reliant, independent, inventive, alert, quick to conceive, strong to execute, ready to dare. They point out that the most progressive nations are those where competition has had the greatest development.

The Argument against Competition

II. Coming to the views of those who disbelieve in competition, they, in the first place, deny that competition and the struggle for existence is the *only* cause of progress. Says Charles Kingsley: "That self-interest is a law of human nature I know well; that it ought to be the root law of human society I deny, unless society is to sink down again into a Roman empire and a cage of wild beasts." "Competition," said F. D. Maurice, "is put forth as the law of the universe. This is a lie. The time is come to declare it a lie by word and deed."

That competition and the struggle for existence have entered into and do still enter into the progress of the world, no one denies; it is simply denied that it is the only way of making progress. Mr. Kidd's "Social Evolution," that lauds competition as "the immutable law of progress," is full of instances of progress in civilization made by the spirit of altruism and self-sacrifice. Even animals (like the beaver and the ant) progress by cooperation. Human society has progressed immeasurably by organization, by combination, by cooperation. It is not true that those states are the most progressive where competition is the least controlled. One chief function of the State is to limit competition, and when the State has reached the fullest development, as in Germany, England, and America, then civilization is the best. Biology, if it asserts that competition is the law of progress, has studied the lower forms of life more than the higher. It is almost more true that progress is proportional to man's escape from competition. Competition patterns after the brutes; cooperation patterns after the nobler instincts of humanity.

It is not, however, claimed by the disbelievers in competition that competition has no place in society. They simply argue for an evolution of competition. Competition does tend to the survival of those most fit to compete in the form of struggle in which the competition takes place. The primitive competition was purely physical. Men fought with bare hands, with clubs, or with spears, poisoned arrows, etc. It produced physical giants—Agamemnons, Herculeses, Nimrods. "There were giants in those days." But by the gradually developing combination of law, order, and State, the competition of force was checked, and replaced by a competition more intellectual. Did the race deteriorate? No; it simply developed a higher form of leaders, the Alexanders, Hannibals, Cæsars, Napoleons of society. To-day cooperation, combination, arbitration are replacing the competition of conquerors; competition is now industrial. It is developing leaders in that form of competition—"Napoleons of finance"—the Rothschilds, Carnegies, Rockefellers, etc. What the disbelievers in industrial competition ask is not that competition be done away with, but simply that it be lifted up to a higher level. As the State now in the main prevents physical competition and protects the life of the weakest citizen, so they would have the State replace industrial competition by fraternal cooperation, and set men free to compete in art, in science, in learning. This, they say, will produce not degeneration, but a higher type of men. They deny that industrial competition produces the best citizens. It exists nowhere so fiercely as in the United States." What is the result? Smart business men—the "smartest" in the world. But are these the highest type of men? Says Mr. Bryce ("American Commonwealth," part iv., chap. 81): "In no country does one find so many men of eminent capacity for business, shrewd, forcible, and daring, who are so uninteresting, so intellectually barren, outside the sphere of their business knowledge." Industrial competition produces a survival of the industrially smart, with little reference to their morals. Morals do help to a slight extent, but very slight. Says John Stuart Mill (*Fortnightly Review*, Feb., 1879): "If persons are helped in their worldly career by their virtues, so are they, and perhaps quite as often, by their vices; by servility and sycophancy, by hard-hearted and close-fisted selfishness, by the permitted lies and tricks of trade, by gambling speculations, not seldom by downright knavery. Energies and talents are of much more avail for success in life than virtues; but if one man succeeds by employing energy and talent in something generally useful, another thrives by exercising the same qualities in out-generaling and ruining a rival. It is as much as any moralist ventures to assert, that, other circumstances being given, honesty is the best policy, and that with parity of advantages an honest person has better chances than a rogue. Even this, in many stations and circumstances of life, is questionable; anything more than this is out of the question. It cannot be pretended that honesty, as a means of success, tells for as much as a difference of one single step on the social ladder. The connection between fortune and

Competition does not Produce the Best

conduct is mainly this, that there is a degree of bad conduct, or rather of some kinds of bad conduct, which suffices to ruin any amount of good fortune; but the converse is not true; in the situation of most people no degree whatever of good conduct can be counted upon for raising them in the world, without the aid of fortunate accidents." As for what competition means to the working classes, says Louis Blanc, quoted by Mill in the above review:

"What is competition from the point of view of the workman? It is work put up to auction. A contractor wants a workman; three present themselves. 'How much for your work?' 'Half a crown; I have a wife and children.' 'Well; and how much for yours?' 'Two shillings; I have no children, but I have a wife.' 'Very well; and now how much for you?' 'One and eight pence are enough for me; I am single.' 'Then you shall have the work.' It is done; the bargain is struck. And what are the other two workmen to do? It is to be hoped they will die quietly of hunger. But what if they take to thieving? Never fear; we have the police. To murder? We have got the hangman. As for the lucky one, his triumph is only temporary. Let a fourth workman make his appearance, strong enough to fast every other day, and his price will run down still lower; there will be a new outcast, a new recruit for the prison perhaps! . . .

"Who is so blind as not to see that under the system of unlimited competition, the continual fall of wages is no exceptional circumstance, but a necessary and general fact? Has the population a limit which it cannot exceed? Is it possible for us to say to industry—industry given up to the accidents of individual egotism and fertile in ruin—can we say: 'Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther'? The population increases constantly; tell the poor mother to become sterile and blaspheme the God who made her fruitful, for if you do not the lists will soon become too narrow for the combatants. A machine is invented; command it to be broken, and anathematize science, for if you do not, the 1,000 workmen whom the new machine deprives of work will knock at the door of the neighboring workshop, and lower the wages of their companions. Thus systematic lowering of wages, ending in the driving out of a certain number of workmen, is the inevitable effect of unlimited competition. It is an industrial system by means of which the working classes are forced to exterminate one another."

If it be answered to this that such is not the fact; that the working classes are not exterminating each other; that their condition has steadily risen through the century, and that the higher workmen of England and America, for example, do not fear the competition of China and India, it is to be said: "Yes, it is true that wages have risen; but is this the result of competition? Is it not because competition has to no little extent been limited in England and America by trade-union combination and factory legislation? Have not higher wages and shorter hours as a rule been forced from unwilling employers by organized labor and by legislation?" Until trade-unions were developed, and before there were efficient factory laws, when competition was unrestrained, wages were lower and conditions more terrible among working men than ever in English history. In the Middle Ages competition was somewhat restrained by feudalism, and later by monopoly grants. Only in the latter part of the last century and first of this has competition been at all unlimited. Now of this period Thorold Rogers says ("Work and Wages," p. 63): "I am convinced that at no period of English history for which authentic records exist was the condition of manual labor worse than it was from 1782–1821, the period in which manufacturers and merchants accumulated fortunes rapidly, and in which the rent of agricultural land was doubled."

Competition Modern

The trouble with competition is that it puts even those manufacturers and employers who would be just at the mercy of those who are willing to do anything for gain. Says Prof. Henry C. Adams, Ph.D. ("An Interpretation of the Social Movements of Our Time," p. 11):

"Without legal regulation the struggle between men for commercial supremacy will surely force society to the level of the most immoral man who can sustain himself. The fittest to survive unregulated competition will be he who is morally the least fit to live. For purpose of illustration, suppose ten manufacturers competing with each other to supply the market with cottons. Assume that nine of them, recognizing the rights of childhood, would gladly exclude from their employ all but adult labor. But the tenth man has no moral sense. His business is conducted solely with a view to large sales and a broad market. As child labor is actually cheaper than adult labor, he gives it a decided preference. What is the result? Since his goods come into competition with the goods of the other manufacturers, and since we who buy goods only ask respecting quality and price, the nine men whose moral instincts we commend will be obliged, if they would maintain themselves in business, to adopt the methods of the tenth man, whose immoral character we condemn. Thus the moral tone of business is brought down to the level of the worst man who can sustain himself in it."

As for the assertion that competition is necessary to produce independence, self-reliance, and individual exertion, the Socialists who would supplant competition by cooperation do not argue for paternalism. Says a Socialist writer: "Socialists are the opposite of paternalists. The Socialists of Germany, for example, recently cast 1,500,000 votes against the so-called paternal socialism of the emperor. It is the wealthy Carnegies who would manage all business and give of their fortunes for the good of working men, who are the real paternalists of the day. Under democratic socialism the people would be the government, and work and manage for themselves. It would be the very 'open sesame' of character. Each man would then have to work. No drones here; no beggars living on the rich; no wealthy parasites fattening on the poor. If any man refused to work he would be left to starve, yet with no one to blame but himself, *for every man would then have an opportunity to work*. By simply doing a few hours of honest work each day for a few years of his life (each man choosing his own kind of work, the more disagreeable kinds of work being favored by less hours being demanded in them, so that men would be found to choose even them), every man would be sure of an honest competence. Does any man assert that this would not produce better and more independent character than we have to-day? No sycophancy of employee to employer; no dependence of professional men upon patrons; no servility of men of genius to men of money. There would still be competition, but for honor, not for money. Men would battle to see who should best serve the community, and so be honored by their fellowmen; they would not be forced to battle as men are forced to battle to-day, however much they hate it, to undercut their rivals, or enter into 'combines' against the public. Competition for honor would alone be appealed to, as that alone would mean success. Mrs. Annie Besant well says: 'It is instructive to notice that these very forces may already be seen at work in every case in which subsistence is secured, and honor alone supplies the stimulus to action. The soldier's subsistence is certain, and does not depend on his exertions. At once he becomes susceptible to appeals to his patriotism, to his *esprit de corps*, to the honor of his flag; he will dare anything for glory, and value a bit of bronze, which is the "reward of valor," far more than a hundred times its weight in gold. Yet many of the private soldiers come from the worst of the population.

"She continues: 'Or take the eagerness, self-denial, and strenuous effort thrown by young men into their mere games! The desire to be captain of the Oxford eleven, stroke of the Cambridge boat, victor in the foot-race or the leaping—in a word, the desire to excel—is strong enough to impel to exertions which often ruin physical health. Everywhere we see the multiform desires of humanity assert themselves when once livelihood is secure.'"

The final argument of the opponents of competition to-day is, that competition cannot endure, that competition inevitably leads to combination, and that, therefore, the only question is not a choice between competition, or combination, but between different kinds of combinations. Starting with competition, the few strong competitors find that it pays to combine. They therefore combine and establish a private monopoly. The problem thus for the people becomes, not whether they shall compete or combine, but whether they shall submit to the rule of private combinations or democratically combine themselves through the State. It is a question of monopoly *vs.* monopolies, of democracy *vs.* the worst kind of an oligarchy, the rule of the plutocrat. The choice comes, they say, not between socialism or individualism, but between socialism and plutocracy.

Competition Develops Combination

III. Many minds to-day and most profest political economists would not abolish industrial competition, but simply limit it. Says Professor Jevons, in the last chapter of his "The State in Relation to Labor": "The subject is one in which we need above all things—discrimination. Restrictions on industry are not good nor bad *per se*, but according as they are imposed wisely and with good intentions, or foolishly and with sinister intentions. *Prima facie*, indeed, restriction is bad, because Providence is wiser than the legislator—that is to say, the action of the natural forces of evolution will insure welfare better than the ill-considered laws of the prejudiced and unskilful legislator. But reason is a Divine gift, and where upon the grounds of clear experience interpreted by logical reasoning we can see our way to a definite improvement in some class of people without injuring others, we are under the obligation of endeavoring to promote that improvement. The greater part of the interference of trade societies is objectionable, because, tho directed toward the welfare of a part, it is directed against the welfare of the rest of the community. All other industrial problems must be solved by similar careful estimation of the total utilitarian results.

Political Economists

"If such be a true view of the case, it is clear that there can be no royal road to legislation in such matters. We cannot expect to agree in utilitarian estimates, at least without much debate. We must agree to differ; and tho we are bound to argue fearlessly, it should be with the consciousness that there is room for wide and *bona fide* difference of opinion. We must consent to advance cautiously, step by step, feeling our way, adopting no foregone conclusions, trusting no single science, expecting no infallible guide. We must neither maximize the functions of government at the beck of quasi-military officials, nor minimize them according to the theories of the very best philosophers. We must learn to judge each case upon its

merits, interpreting with painful care all experience which can be brought to bear upon the matter."

This is probably the view of most professional economists to-day, tho as to Jevons's assertion that Providence works through competition, it may be questioned if the State is not quite as much a natural development under Providence as any fiercest competition.

The Individualistic View

IV. We must not forget the view of those who assert that we do not have competition to-day. They say that under various laws, protecting private property in land, men are not free to compete. They trace most monopolies in America, for example, to a protective tariff, and the most radical among them assert that as long as the law recognizes private property in land, men cannot be really free to compete. Some would abolish all taxes, save on land values. The total value of the land, which no individual has created, they would take by taxation for the community that has given land its value, and then, thus putting all men on a natural equality, they would let man be absolutely free to work, sell, or cooperate as he will. They argue that men, when natural opportunities are not monopolized, are so nearly equal in ability, that no man could take much advantage of his neighbor, but each would be led to do that which he could do best, and exchange the fruits of his activity in equality and in freedom. (For a complete statement of this view, see SINGLE TAX.) It is said, on the other hand, that men are not equal in ability; that even on free land the smart, the shrewd, the strong would soon lord it over the altruistic and the weak, and free competition lead to the tyranny of the shrewdest and smartest competitor.

COMPULSORY ARBITRATION (for the facts of the compulsory arbitration laws of New Zealand and Australia, which are the only general compulsory arbitration laws in the world, see articles ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION, and NEW ZEALAND). The following article by Samuel Gompers presents the reasons why organized labor in the United States and elsewhere has almost universally opposed compulsory arbitration. Mr. Gompers says:

The very terms arbitration and compulsory stand in direct opposition to each other. Arbitration implies the voluntary action of two parties of diverse interests submitting to disinterested parties the question in dispute, or likely to come in dispute.

Compulsion, by any process, and particularly by the powers of government, is repugnant to the principle as well as to the policy of arbitration. If organized labor should fail to appreciate the danger involved in the proposed schemes of so-called compulsory arbitration, and consent to the enactment of a law providing for its enforcement, there would be introduced the denial of the right of the workers to strike in defense of their interests and the enforcement by the government of specific and personal service and labor. In other words, under a law based upon compulsory arbitration, if an award were made against labor, no matter how unfair or how unjust, and brought about by any means, no matter how questionable, we would be compelled to work or to suffer the stated penalty, which might be either mulcting in damages or going to jail, not one scintilla of distinction, not one jot removed from slavery.

Arbitration is only possible when voluntary. It never can be successfully carried out unless the parties to a dispute or controversy are equals, or nearly equals, in power to protect or defend themselves, or to inflict injury upon the other party.

It is our aim to avoid strikes, but I trust that the day will never come when the workers of our country will have so far lost their manhood and independence as to surrender their right to strike or refuse to strike. We endeavor to prevent strikes, but there are some conditions far worse than strikes, and among them is a demoralized, degraded, and debased manhood. The right to quit work at any time, and for any reason sufficient to the workman himself, is the concrete expression of individual liberty. Hence any curtailment of this right, by and through law, or by and through contract enforced by law, is, in fact, a negation of liberty and a return to serfdom.

Various Laws

The industrial conciliation and arbitration law of New Zealand, the law creating and governing the Indiana Labor Commission and Arbitration Board, copied from the laws of 1897 and issued by the Indiana commissioners, and the arbitration law of Illinois, as well as an act concerning carriers engaged in interstate commerce and other employees, approved June 1, 1898, along with other information from this and European countries, show that the kernel of all this species of legislation is a desire to prevent strikes by punishing the strikers. Our existing form of society is unquestionably based upon manufacture, commerce, and transportation, and anything that disturbs the industries is resented, and means are sought to prevent a recurrence and to clothe it in such a garb that public opinion will accept it and permit its execution.

The industrial courts of France are, as I understand it, organized much in the same way. The bill to prevent strikes, which was introduced in the German Reichstag at the instance of the government, had the same underlying motive, and practically the same way, of attaining this purpose. In the law adopted by the Hungarian Diet—we again meet the same purpose to prevent strikes by punishing the strikers. The question of extending the master and servant laws of Sweden to the industrial workers of that country was under discussion in the Swedish Ricksdag, and was for some time fiercely combated by the lovers of liberty of that country, but it was finally adopted, and the other day a strike on the street-cars in Stockholm was suppressed by sending several of the strikers to prison for long terms.

Coming now to our own country, we find that a bill was introduced in Congress which would admit of every train being made a mail train, and which, under the postal laws, would have subjected the strikers in railroad transportation to imprisonment for delaying the mails. Through the efforts of the railroad brotherhoods and the American Federation of Labor the bill failed. Then followed the introduction of the Olney arbitration bill, which provided for arbitration, voluntary in submission, or in its initiatory stages, but with compulsory obedience to the award; that is, the award was to be enforced by a direct penalty for the individual violating the same. The Indiana law has the following provisions:

"An agreement to enter into arbitration under this act shall be in writing, and shall state the issue to be submitted and decided, and shall have the effect of an agreement by the parties to abide by and perform the award."

It will be observed that this may be called voluntary arbitration, because it is voluntarily entered into. The parties agree from the very beginning that if they, for some reason sufficient to themselves, should decline to abide by and perform the award, they are willing that the judge alone, without any jury and without any limit as to time, may send them to prison until they shall consent to perform the labor which the award enjoins upon them. The thought un-

derlying this law is that the individual man may alienate his right to liberty, and it is, therefore, destructive of the fundamental principle of the Republic of the United States. It is equally dangerous with the New Zealand law, the Hungarian statute, or the proposed law of Germany, because it aims at tying the worker to the mine, the factory, or the means of transportation upon which he works.

The Manufacturers' Association of the South in 1900 decided to submit to the legislature of each of the Southern States a law providing for term contracts, the violation of which would be punished as a felony, and that they did this with the specific purpose of preventing strikes and of inviting Northern capital. When their attention was called to the fact that they were as yet not "bothered" by labor organizations, they answered: "That's true, and that's just the reason why we decided to take steps to prevent the formation of any and to stop strikes in the most effective manner."

All these schemes are reactionary in their character.

I believe that the reason why many well-meaning, honest, and conscientious men and women favor some form of compulsory arbitration arises from the fact that their attention has been called to the refusal to arbitrate on the part of some large corporations or other employers of labor. It is felt that the rest of the public are made innocent sufferers and victims, and that there ought to be some way to give to the public the facts, in order that it might be known who is actually to blame. Whenever they are asked: "Do you want to send a man or a woman to jail for quitting work?" they immediately answer, "No, no." What they seem to desire is that these corporations or employers who refuse to arbitrate shall in some way be compelled to do so. This is manifestly impossible. Laws that are "jug handled," even if possible of enactment and execution, invariably have the handle so placed that the large corporations and employers of labor keep hold of the handle. Commissions, with power to examine and report, would seem to be more in line with what is actually desired, but I would call attention to the fact that even these have in them a feature dangerous to liberty, because from them may come, and sometimes do come, reports which have a tendency to warp public opinion and prepare it for measures which, without such preparation, the public would unhesitatingly repudiate.

We shall insist upon the right to quit work whenever the conditions of the labor are irksome to us. If we should commit an error—which is likely—then we will be the sufferers more than any other or all other peoples, and we shall have learned by that error to avoid them in the future. But I repeat, with all the emphasis that I can command, that we shall always insist upon our right to quit work for any reason or for no reason at all. SAMUEL GOMPERS.

COMPULSORY VOTING: This is advocated by some social reformers, on the ground that in democratic countries the government ought to represent the will of at least the majority of all the citizens entitled to vote. It is argued, too, that in most communities if all the citizens voted, the result would be the improvement of general conditions and the diminution of corruption, because those who have corrupt or low motives for voting can be counted on to go to the polls, while it is on the whole those who are the most intelligent and the most incorruptible who refrain from voting. In many communities the stay-at-home vote is as high as 25 per cent of the registered voters. Compulsory voting exists in Belgium and very recently in Austria.

COMSTOCK, ANTHONY: Secretary of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice; born at New Canaan, Conn., 1844; educated in the academies of New Canaan and New Britain. From 1863 to 1865 he served in the Union army. Since March, 1873, he has been post-office inspector; and secretary and chief special agent of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice since its organization in 1873. The society has made about 3,021 arrests, and seized and destroyed 103 tons of obscene matter and gambling materials. He has written: "Frauds Exposed" (1881); "Gambling Outrages" (1887); "Morals versus Art" (1888); and "Traps for the Young" (1890). *Office*: 140 Nassau Street, New York City.

COMTE, ISIDORE AUGUSTE MARIE FRANÇOIS XAVIER: French philosopher; born at Montpellier, France, 1798; studied at the *École Polytechnique* in Paris, and early attracted attention by his speculations. He became acquainted with St. Simon, and entered enthusiastically into his theories. In 1820 Comte was appointed to prepare an exposition of the *Politique Positive* of the St. Simonians. The work did not satisfy St. Simon, who deplored the absence of the "religious and sentimental aspects" of his system. In 1825, on the death of St. Simon, Comte broke off altogether from the school, and in after-years was accustomed to speak slightingly of his old master's abilities. In 1826 Comte was attacked by a cerebral disorder, brought on by "overwork and heart anxieties." He recovered, however, and in 1832 was appointed teacher of mathematics at the polytechnic school, which position he held for twenty years, till he was forced to resign in 1852, on account of differences with his colleagues. He died at Paris in 1857.

Comte's works are: "Cours de Philosophie Positive" (6 vols., 1830–42; freely translated into English and condensed by Harriet Martineau, 2 vols., 1853); "Traité Elémentaire de Géométrie Analytique" (1843); "Traité d'Astronomie Populaire" (1845); "Discours sur l'Ensemble du Positivisme" (1848); "Système de Politique Positive" (4 vols., 1851–54; Eng. trans., 1875, *et seq.*, Longmans); and "Catéchisme Positiviste, ou Sommaire Exposition de la Religion Universelle" (1 vol., 1852). In brief, Comte's central and governing doctrine is this:

> The race (like the individual) necessarily passes through three intellectual stages—the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive. "The theological conception assumes the direct intervention of an intelligent agent, presiding over the universe, to whom is attributed the arbitrary distribution of each modification undergone by nature. The metaphysical conception searches for some entity to whose intervention the phenomena in question are to be ascribed. The positive conception disregards all causes, and addresses itself solely to the study of phenomena as they present themselves to the senses" (Ward's "Dynamic Sociology," vol. i., p. 93). The theological conception, Comte tells us, ruled to the thirteenth century; the metaphysical, in western Europe, to the close of the eighteenth. To-day man asks, according to him, simply what are phenomena, without seeking for intelligent agent or intervening entity. Sociology under the first period, he argues, assumed God as the center of society; in the second period, it forgot God, yet found naught. It was critical, negative, destructive; its only positive tendencies were in

wild, visionary and anarchistic schemes, like those of most of the French revolutionists. To-day, he says, sociology must be constructive, based not on assumption of God or man, but only on proved facts.

This leads us to Comte's great distinction as a sociologist, that he first gave sociology a place as a science. His merit is to have laid emphasis upon facts rather than upon theories; to have given us a plan of arranging facts, which, if not a good plan, at least teaches us to have some plan, to insist upon action and legislation based upon knowledge of facts.

In the fourth volume of the "Philosophie Positive" (1839), Comte marks out the broad division between social statics and social dynamics—the former studying the laws of social coexistence, the latter those of social development, together forming sociology, which to him is the master science, for in his remarkable ordering of science he shows how the different sciences, as they emerge into the clear light of positivism, take their proper place, all leading up to sociology, as, so to speak, the architect who builds up the thought of society, using other sciences as materials. Yet is Comte essentially a dogmatist. He starts out with asserting that "the essential spontaneous sociability of the human species, in virtue of an instinctive penchant for a life in common, can in no way be henceforth contested." In the matter of the dynamics of sociology, Comte finds the great forces of life in the instinct for material self-preservation, in the battle of the attributes of humanity over those of animality, and in the restlessness of *ennui*. Of *laissez faire* Comte was no friend. He favored a State ruling all life, conducted by a scientific priesthood. Such were, in brief, the teachings of the world's first great sociologist.

Comte's sociologic weakness is that he himself knew little of sociologic facts. He discovers the ocean and tells us that we ought to know it, but not much of the ocean does he himself report.

CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH. See WEALTH.

CONGO QUESTION, THE: It is the question whether the civilized world will permit the exploitation of perhaps 20,000,000 of defenseless people. Up to the present time, according to a conservative estimate, from 6,000,000 to 8,000,000 of Congolese have been murdered, directly or indirectly, for the sake of increasing the gains of a great rubber monopoly. Of this monopoly King Leopold II. of Belgium is the head and the responsible individual. He has robbed the people of their native land. In spite of his own law that the "tax" limit shall amount to forty hours of labor a month, he has extorted the labor of the natives to the extent of nearly 300 days in the year. Practically the only wages which the people receive for their never-ending toil is the abuse of the king's agents, a few inhuman white men and an army of blacks, for the most part cannibals drawn from alien tribes. Under the abuse of these cannibals, which takes the form of outrage, mutilation, arson, murder, and whippings with the terrible "chicotte" of raw hippopotamus hide, the Congolese are disappearing from the earth at the rate of many thousands a year.

King Leopold's Commission of Inquiry

Frequent denials of the atrocities practised by the agents of King Leopold have been made, for the most part, by persons more or less intimately connected with the so-called "Belgian Lobby" in Washington. Over against all denials are the statements of King Leopold's own Commission of Inquiry, published to the world Oct. 30, 1905. This commission was an *ex parte* body appointed by the king. It spent five months in the Congo Free State collecting evidence as to the conditions of the natives. It consisted of men of the highest capacity and honor. Its deliverances constitute really the official report of the results of the government's self-investigation. Its decisions must, therefore, be accepted as final. It establishes the existence of the gravest abuses.

After a careful study of the Report of the Commission of Inquiry, Prof. Felicien Cattier, of Belgium, made the following statement:

An examination of the Congo Free State administration reveals the clear and indisputable fact that the Congo Free State is not a colony in the proper sense of the term; it is a financial speculation. The real aims of those in authority are pecuniary—to increase the amount yielded by taxation, to exploit the natural wealth of the country, to effect all that can stimulate the powers of production. Everything else is subordinated to this end. The colony is administered neither in the interest of the natives nor even of the economic interests of Belgium; the moving desire is to assure to the sovereign king the maximum of pecuniary benefit.

As showing the character of the atrocities in the Congo Free State, we may cite these extracts from the Report of the Commission of Inquiry itself:

As the greater part of the land in the Congo has never been under cultivation, this interpretation gives to the state a proprietary right, absolute and exclusive, to almost all of the lands, and as a consequence, it can grant to itself all the product of the soil and prosecute as robbers those who gather the smallest fruit, and as accomplices those who buy the same. It could prohibit any one from locating upon any portion of the greater part of the state; restrict the activities of the natives to a very limited space; and immobilize their economic conditions. This principle applied abusively would oppose all evolution in the life of the native. . . . Missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, were unanimous in accentuating the general wretchedness existing in the regions. One of them said that "this system will, if continued for another five years, wipe out the population of the district." . . .

It was barely denied that the imprisonment of women hostages, the subjection of the chiefs to servile labor, the flogging of rubber collectors, the brutality of the black employees set over the prisoners were the rules commonly followed. . . .

Evidence

The native must go one or two days' march every fortnight, until he arrives where the rubber vines can be met with in a certain degree of abundance. There the collector passes a number of days in a miserable existence. He is deprived of his wife, exposed to the inclemencies of the weather and the attacks of wild beasts. When once he has collected the rubber he must bring it to the station, and only then can he return to his village where he can sojourn for barely more than two or three days, until the next demand is made upon him. . . .

These auxiliaries convert themselves into despots, claiming the women and the food not only for themselves but for the body of parasites which a love of rapine causes to become associated with them; they kill without pity all those who attempt to resist. . . .

The commission could not, of course, verify in every case the correctness of these charges, many of which date back several years. However, the essential features of the accusations made against the sentries seem to be established from the combined testimony and the official reports. . . .

None of the agents who testified before the commission, or were present at the sessions, made any attempt to refute the charges made against the sentries.

The character of the atrocities is also indicated in the following statements of individuals:

Upon the least resistance the men were shot down, and the women were captured as slaves and made to work. It was a sad sight to behold these poor creatures driven like dogs here and there, and kept hard at their toil from morning to night. (Semliki region. Mr. Lloyd, a missionary, 1899.)

Imprisoning sixty women and putting them in chains, where all but five died of starvation. (One of the counts in the indictment drawn up against the agents of the Anversoise in the Mongala massacres in 1900.)

Men are first applied for, and if they do not present themselves, soldiers are sent, who tie up the women of the chiefs until the workmen are forthcoming. (Rev. A. Billington, Bwemba, 1903.)

M—— went to the factory and released 106 prisoners. We saw them pass our stations—living skeletons—among them gray-headed old men and women. Many children were born in prison. One poor woman was working in the sun three days after her child was born. (Mr. Ruskin, a missionary, 1903.)

Sixteen Esanga witnesses were questioned one by one. They gave clearly the details of how father, mother, brother, sister, son, or daughter were killed in cold blood for rubber. Then followed the chief of all, Bolima, who succeeded Isekifasu (murdered by the A. B. I. R.). He stood boldly before all, pointed to his twenty witnesses, and placed on the table 110 twigs, each twig representing a life for rubber. "These are chiefs' twigs," he said, "these are men's, these shorter are women's, these smaller still are children's." He said that the white man fought him, and when the fight was over handed him the corpses, and said: "Now you will bring rubber, won't you?" To this he replied "Yes." The corpses were cut up and eaten by M. Forcie's fighters. He told how he had been chicotted and imprisoned, and put to the most menial labor by the agent, of numbers of stolen and ravished wives, and of the many anklets, spears, shields, etc., that he had been forced to give the sentries. (Mr. John Harris.)

The young woman Imenega was tied to a forked tree and chopped in half with a machete, beginning at the left shoulder, chopping down through the chest, etc. This was how the sentries punished her husband. (Mr. Harris, a missionary, in letters to commission.)

While the men are in the forests trying to get rubber, their wives are outraged, ill-treated, and stolen from them by the sentries. (Mrs. Harris, at Baringa.)

Under the influence of terror entire villages hide in the bush at the approach of white men—natives are bound with ropes and chains—all aspirants for liberty are punished with the whip and hunger cure. (Dr. Edwardo Baccari, Surgeon-General of the Royal Italian Navy in report to his government.)

It has been maintained that the Congo reform movement is a Protestant propaganda against Roman Catholics. To the candid observer it must be patent that sectarianism is not in any sense the issue. The reform movement in the United States is founded on the report of a Roman Catholic body, King Leopold's own Commission of Inquiry. The commission, according to its own declaration on p. 6 of the translation published by Putnam, "received while in Congo the statements of judges, officials, directors, the agents of companies, of missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, and especially natives." The two strongest books against the king that have made their appearance in the reform campaign were both written by Catholics. The one is Professor Cattier, professor of history in the University of Brussels, the other is Father Vermeersch, a Belgian and a Jesuit priest. The personnel of the Congo reform movement in Belgium consists almost wholly of Roman Catholics.

It would seem that the primary moral responsibility for the sovereignty of Leopold in Africa belongs to the people of the U. S. A few years after the discovery of the Congo basin, England entered into a tentative treaty with Portugal which would have given to the latter country large rights in the government of Western Africa. Then came representatives of the "International African Association," of which King Leopold was the backbone and head, and appealed strongly to our government against the proposed treaty. Our influence was sought, rather, in favor of the "International Association," by Leopold purely on the ground of his philanthropic and humanitarian intentions toward the natives. On account of the king's representations, after a favorable recommendation by President Arthur, the U. S. Government formally recognized the "International Association," April 22, 1884. This action taken at a critical juncture was determinative of the future of the Congo Free State. Most of the great powers, following the lead of the U. S., recognized the flag of the "International Association." Finally a conference, participated in by fourteen different states, was convened at Berlin. By this conference practical recognition was given to the enterprise of King Leopold and articles regulative of its powers were adopted. Six months later, on Aug. 1, 1885, the association formally adopted the title of "The Independent State of the Congo." The U. S. Government, for prudential reasons, did not become actually a signatory of the act adopted by the conference of Berlin, but took a leading part in the deliberations.

The United States

The U. S. Government, by the act of Secretary of State Root, has formally put itself on record as in favor of an international convention of the great powers of the world to consider reform in the Congo Free State. On Dec. 6, 1906, Secretary Root definitely promised members of the Congo Reform Association that he would do his utmost to bring about reform. He recognized that our government has a right to cooperate in such a movement under the act of the Convention of Brussels, which pledges this nation to an interest in the preservation of the Congolese people from slavery. Immediately after the secretary had made this promise, Senator Lodge of Massachusetts drew up a resolution which is understood to represent the secretary's wishes. This resolution was introduced into the Senate on Dec. 10, 1906, where it was immediately referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. It is as follows:

Whereas, The reports of the inhuman treatment inflicted upon the native inhabitants of the Congo Free State have been of such a nature and so well sustained as to draw the attention of the civilized world and excite both the indignation and the compassion of the people of the U. S., therefore be it

Resolved, That in the opinion of the Senate of the U. S. the time has come when the affairs of the Congo Free State should be made the subject of international inquiry, and the Senate respectfully advises the president that in any steps he may deem it wise to take in cooperation with or in aid of any powers signatory to the treaty of Berlin, which shall seek to ameliorate the conditions of the Congo Free State and redress any evils now existent there, he will receive its cordial support.

On Dec. 14th the Belgian Chamber of Deputies voted tentatively under certain conditions to annex the Congo Free State as a Belgian colony. This action was unquestionably influenced by Secretary Root's stand for the liberties of the Congo people. King Leopold seeks by it to remove the Congo from the realm of international jurisdiction. The powers, through courtesy, would be inclined to defer action proposed till Belgium has received full opportunity to determine the question of her future relation to the Congo Free State. In case of final annexation by Belgium, Leopold plainly hopes thereby to balk all action by the powers. Will this expectation be realized? It ought not to be. The status of the Congo Free State has been heretofore that of an international colony. Leopold has reigned as the steward of the other powers. How does the steward suddenly acquire the right to dispose of the stewardship without authorization of the world powers which constituted him therein?

Belgium

If annexation by Belgium is to be the final disposition of the Congo Free State, humanitarians may well be filled with consternation. For the king permits annexation only under conditions which nullify all hopes of reform. In the first place the rights of the concessionary companies which already exist are to be recognized in the future. Many of the most terrible conditions now

prevailing in the Congo are due to this concessionary system. In the second place the king's own *Domaine de la Couronne* is to be preserved to him and to his heirs inviolate. This private domain is six times as large as Belgium and has been the scene of many of the worst cruelties and abominations. In the third place the revenues of the Congo Free State are not to be reduced. But the revenues cannot be maintained at the present rate except by the present system of enforced labor, which has been the cause of all the abuses. The only effect of the annexation for an indefinite period in the future would be to transfer the Congo from Leopold, the sovereign of the Free State, to Leopold, King of Belgium.

HERBERT S. JOHNSON.

REFERENCES: For information concerning the Congo reform movement address Congo Reform Association, Tremont Temple, Boston, Mass. Publications: *Bulletin Officiel de l'État Indépendant du Congo*, Sept.-Oct., 1905; *Rapport Au Roi-Souverain de la Commission D'Enquete. Bruxelles*, Nov., 1905; *Étude sur la situation de l'État Indépendant du Congo*, by Felicien Cattier, Bruxelles, 1906; *La Question Congolaise*, by Arthur Vermeersch, S.J., Bruxelles, 1906; *Red Rubber, The Story of the Rubber Slave Trade on the Congo*, E. D. Morel (recommended as best for general reading); *King Leopold's Rule in Africa*, by E. D. Morel, New York, 1905; *Civilization in Congoland*, by H. Fox-Bourne, London, 1903; *King Leopold II.*, by John de Courcy MacDonnell, London, 1905.

ED.—There are many who believe the Congo atrocities exaggerated, but it is said that this impression has arisen from misrepresentations systematically sent out from a bureau in Brussels organized to defend King Leopold's interests. See *Everybody's Magazine*, Nov. and Dec., 1906. For authorities, however, arguing that the reports of the atrocities are exaggerated, see:

Bulletin Officiel de l'État Indépendant du Congo; Rev. W. H. Bentley, *Life on the Congo* (London, 1887); *Pioneering on the Congo*, 2 vols. (London, 1900); F. Cattier, *Droit et Administration de l'État Indépendant du Congo* (Brussels, 1898); F. Cattier, *Étude sur la situation de l'État Indépendant du Congo* (Brussels, 1906); C. de Deken, *Deux Ans au Congo* (Brussels, 1901); *La Vérité sur le Congo*; *L'Indépendance Belge* (Roland de Marès, editor).

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM, THE: Democracy in religion, the fundamental principle and *raison d'être* of Congregationalism, has made it a reformatory force in modern life. In the stand for freedom of worship taken by a few churchmen within the Church of England in 1567 and thereafter began the far-reaching movement that issued in ecclesiastical Separatism, Independency, Nonconformity, and Congregationalism, and in the many reformatory tendencies toward social democracy necessarily involved therein. The first organization of this force was effected in Bridewell Prison by those incarcerated for holding religious services at a wedding in Plumbers' Hall, London, who provided for a continuance of the same during their term of imprisonment and thereafter. Under the leadership of Robert Browne, others became Separatists at first only from the "world," but involving thereby the principle of their separation from the State Church, and of the Church from the State by establishing the ecclesiastical right of self-government and local autonomy. Thriving under the persecution which branded Nonconformity in religion as treason to the State, and punished it with death, the blood of their martyr ministers became the seed of the social revolution of the English people. Barrowe and Greenwood in 1593 formulated this growing sentiment into a polity which, because it vested the only recognized ecclesiastical authority in the local congregation, came to be known as Congregational. The only chance for the survival and growth of this tender plant of liberty being in transplantation to more hospitable soil, the little village congregation of Scrooby "resolved to go into the Low Countries, where they heard was freedom of religion for all men."

Resident long enough in Holland to be deeply impressed with the civil and religious liberties, popular education, local self-government, and democratic tendencies of the Dutch, who were then the freest and most progressive people in Europe, the Pilgrim Fathers again tried the experiment of planting the free life on English soil in the New World.

With their landing at Plymouth, the process of settling the New England by church congregations began. "In pursuit of religious freedom they established civil liberty. Meaning only to found a church, they gave birth to a nation; and in settling a town in Connecticut, they cemented an empire."

The reformatory force of the Congregationalists both in England and America has been most profoundly and practically felt in the political life of both countries.

The ecclesiastical policy of these locally autonomous congregations of worshipers became the formative principle and framework of their politics when they formed themselves into the colonial bodies politic. Nov. 21, 1620, when, in accordance with the farewell letter of instruction from their pastor, John Robinson, the pilgrims signed their compact in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, is declared by Bancroft to be "the birth-hour of popular constitutional liberty." But constitutional government in America had another, tho Congregational source. It is to be traced through the independence of the town, as that political unit was first constituted in Connecticut. There the federation of three independent self-governing towns constituted the commonwealth. These three original towns were the Congregational churches of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield. Their compact, made with each other in Hartford, Jan. 14, 1638, more than that of the *Mayflower*, is to be regarded as "the first written constitution, in the modern sense of the term, as a permanent limitation of governmental power known in history." This first constitutional government was forged out in fact and formulated in statute by men who, on May 31, 1638, had heard Thomas Hooker, the pilgrim pastor of these migratory towns, preach from Deut. i. 13 these political doctrines of Christianity:

Doctrine I. That the choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people by God's own allowance.

II. The privilege of election, which belongs to the people, therefore must not be exercised according to their humors, but according to the blessed will and law of God.

III. They who have power to appoint officers and magistrates, it is in their power also to set the bounds and limitations of the power and place unto which they call them.

Reasons: 1. Because the foundation of authority is laid firstly in the free consent of the people.

2. Because, by a free choice, the hearts of the people will be more inclined to the love of the persons chosen and more ready to yield obedience.

"Here is the first practical assertion of the right of the people," writes Alexander Johnston in his volume on Connecticut, "not only to choose, but to limit the powers of their rulers, an assertion which lies at the root of the American system."

Two hundred years later the anti-slavery reform was largely prompted and promoted by the

Puritan and pilgrim spirit embodied in Congregational churches.

In 1836 Congregationalists, upon securing control of the recently founded Oberlin College, made it the first educational institution which accepted the basis of Christian equality and opened its full privileges to all alike, irrespective of color or previous condition of servitude.

The reformatory movement in the American body politic cannot be accounted for without recognizing the large part which Congregational educational institutions have borne in them all. Harvard, Yale, Mount Holyoke, and the New England colleges; Oberlin, Marietta, Beloit, Whitman, and the Western colleges have woven their names into the social and political history of the country. The acquisition of the rich and vast Northwest Territory of Oregon and Washington was due to Marcus Whitman, the pioneer missionary and educator, whose famous ride to the nation's capital saved the "great American desert" to the sisterhood of states. One in four of the entire male membership of churches in the interior and trans-Mississippi States was enrolled in the Union army during the Civil War. To reformatory literature the churches and schools of this order have contributed names than which none are more illustrious. Of the periodicals which have formed and led public opinion in these directions, such as the *Independent*, *Christian Union*, *Youth's Companion*, and others, many owe their origin and success to the aggressive spirits, born of these churches, who founded and conducted them.

In the adjustment of church life and work to the changed social conditions in city centers and large towns, the Congregationalists have been foremost. The so-called "institutional" churches, which by corporate effort and organized agencies seek to Christianize conditions of common life, have been from the first and still are found in the Congregational fellowship. The contemporary sociological movement in life, literature, and education has found no quicker and more practical response than in Congregational theological seminaries. While Harvard University was the first to offer social ethics as an elective course to its divinity students in 1880, Andover introduced the same in 1887; Hartford prescribed sociology as necessary to graduation in 1880; Chicago established an entire department exclusively devoted to sociological training in 1890, and Yale a distinct professorship of social ethics in 1894. In Iowa College, likewise, a department of applied Christianity was founded. In connection with three of these seminaries social settlements have been successfully inaugurated—the Andover House, now the South End, in Boston, Chicago Commons, and the Hartford Settlement. Among the foremost specialists in sociology and social economics a notably large proportion are Congregational professors and ministers.

In 1891 the National Council of the Congregational Churches appointed a labor committee, afterward called the Industrial Committee, to designate its broader and more impartial function, to inform and interest the churches in the social and moral phases of industrial conditions and relationships, and, as opportunity offered, to apply to them Christian ideals and spirit. This action was taken at the suggestion of the Standing Committee on Labor Organizations of the Massachusetts General Association. The appointment of similar committees has been initiated in the associations of other states to serve as auxiliaries to the Industrial Committee of the National Council to these ends:

To help toward a better knowledge of industrial conditions, and of the spirit of the churches, especially in their own locality.

To come into sympathetic relations, as far as possible, with labor, organized and unorganized.

To help just and wise movements among working men, which means physical, social, and moral betterment.

To seek affiliation with humanitarian and religious bodies having similar ends in view.

And to keep the Labor Committee of the National Council informed as to the conditions found and the efforts made to promote the well-being of the industrial part of the community.

In exemplification of these aims a joint meeting of members of the Trades and Labor Assembly of Des Moines, Iowa, and of the National Council was held at the call of the former, when the latter body met in that city in Oct., 1904, and representatives of the Assembly also addrest the council by special invitation.

The vital relation of the industrial situation to the spiritual problem of the churches is thus recognized in the latest published report of the Industrial Committee to the National Council:

> Your committee has a twofold conviction out of which issues an inference vital to the spiritual problem of our churches:
>
> First, that this question has come to stay; that it cannot be blinked or waved aside; that no amount of religious activity or of practical religious helpfulness can solve it; that nothing short of justice—justice by and justice to capital and labor alike—can reach the case.
>
> Second, that only by the principles of the Gospel—its ethics, its love, its law of respect for every human soul as a son of God, and a brother of Jesus Christ, and its foundation stone of sacrifice—can the ends properly sought by all true employers and workers be attained.

The Committee on the Family has for many years kept the congregational Churches abreast of the best literature and movements for the protection and promotion of the highest family life. Its reports to the National Council on marriage and divorce, sexual purity, and the nurture of child life have become valuable contributions to that literature. Its efforts have been made to invest the Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society with the function and equipment of promoting, especially through its home department, all these interests of the home by investigation, publication, and practical methods of teaching and applying Christian ideals and ethics to the relationships and obligations of family life.

While it cannot be said of any class of the American churches that they are to American social reform movements what Mr. Gladstone called the Nonconformist churches of Great Britain—viz., "The backbone of the Liberal Party"—yet the Congregational churches of America, by virtue of their polity, principles, and history, have a supreme opportunity to exemplify and make more largely possible a Christian social democracy. What these churches have always in principle and often in practise stood for in America they have planted in many lands and nations by that splendid world movement of Christian civilization in which their American Board of Foreign Missions has led, and whereby the kingdom of God is coming to earth.

GRAHAM TAYLOR.

CONGRESS: We consider the subject only from the standpoint of social reform, in which it plays, however, an important part. Congress as it now exists is the result of a long evolution.

Origin of Congress

In 1765, on a proposition made by Massachusetts, a congress met in New York to consider the Stamp Act. This was the first general meeting of the colonies for the purpose of considering their relations to the mother country. As a result, the Stamp Act was repealed, but the British ministers imposed new duties quite as obnoxious. The colonies determined to form a closer union, and sent delegates to Philadelphia with the general authority "to meet and consult together for the common welfare." This was the first Continental Congress.

The session was short, and the business quickly dispatched. They adjourned after recommending that another Congress should convene on May 10th of the next year, provided that a redress of grievances was not previously obtained.

The breach, however, between England and the colonies became wider. Consequently, in accordance with the recommendation of the first Continental Congress, delegates were appointed by the several colonies, who met in Philadelphia on May 10, 1775. This body is known as the second Continental Congress. It became the national government of the people and continued its sessions for fourteen years.

The delegates to this Congress were chosen in some instances by the colonial legislatures, and in other cases by conventions of the people. With the story of the Declaration of the Independence of the United States accomplished by this Congress we are not here concerned.

The Congress had but the most meager power. It was an executive without power to execute. It was a single House, composed of delegates from states, each of which expressly retained its "sovereignty, freedom, and independence." Each had the right at any time to recall and replace its delegates; and even their compensation was paid by the states sending them, so that no bond should hold them to the common government. Voting was by states. The separate states retained their sovereignty, refused at will their quota of contributions for national debts and national expenses, managed foreign and interstate commerce to suit their local interests, and made partial compacts with neighboring states in a manner which produced a general confusion bordering upon anarchy. But more union was necessary. In his "The Critical Period of American History," Professor Fiske shows how the country was "drifting toward anarchy" (chap. iv.). The difficulty was met by the Constitution (*q. v.*) of 1787, the present Constitution of the U. S. According to this, all legislative powers granted by the Constitution of the U. S. are vested in Congress, which consists of the Senate and the House of Representatives. The powers of Congress are enumerated in Article 1, Section 8, of the Constitution, and all powers not granted to Congress, or prohibited to the states, are reserved to the states or to the people; but the power of Congress is absolute within the scope of its authority. The Senate is composed of two members from every state, regardless of size or population; the members of the House are apportioned on the basis of population. Thus, while in the House the influence of the people is felt directly, according to their numbers, the Senate provides the means of defending the smaller states from the possible encroachments of the larger; and to assure the safety of the smaller states, the Constitution, Article 5, provides that "no state without its consent shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate." Bills that have passed both houses are sent to the president, who may either sign or veto them, or do neither, in which case the bill becomes a law after ten days unless Congress has previously adjourned. (See VETO.) The veto of the president is the only check upon the power of Congress to legislate within the scope of its authority. Legislation exceeding the constitutional power of Congress will be declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, if that body is appealed to by either party to any controversy arising in an attempt to enforce such laws. Each house is, by the Constitution, "the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members."

Powers of Congress

Each Congress must have at least two sessions. A new Congress comes into existence on March 4th in each odd year.

The first regular session begins on the first Monday of December following. This session may hold, if the two houses choose, through the entire year, or they may adjourn at any time during the year. Their second regular session begins on the first Monday of December following, and that session must close by March 4th following, when the new Congress comes into existence. The members of both houses receive a salary from the federal government.

These salaries are besides mileage and many other perquisites.

No senator or representative can hold any office under the U. S. during his membership. This prevents cabinet officers from being members of Congress.

"*All bills for raising revenue originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.*"

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate must, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the U. S.; if he approves he signs it, but if not he returns it, with his objections, to that House in which it originated, who enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two thirds of that House agree to pass the bill, it is sent, together with the objections, to the other House, and if approved by two thirds of that House it becomes a law. If any bill is not returned by the president within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it has been presented to him, it becomes a law, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it does not.

Coming now to the important subject of how this system works, we notice, first, the general characteristic that Congress works mainly by committees.

The number of bills before each Congress reaches into the thousands; only the few most important can be adequately discust by Congress as a whole. All others, if they are favorably reported by the committees to which they are referred, can be and usually are passed with little or no discussion. It follows that the fate of most bills depends not upon Congress as a whole, but upon the small committees to which they are referred. The committees usually sit in secret. They ordinarily give a public hearing to the friends and opponents of a measure, but the final voting of the committee is usually in secret. This gives the utmost opportunity for underhand influence and corruption. Small changes can be made, bills can be defeated or wholly altered at the last moment and then rushed through Congress. Especially is this the case with personal bills and special legislation. The fate of a bill thus often depends on the make-up of the committee. Now the appointing of the committees is made for the House by the Speaker, which gives him enormous and sometimes dictatorial power. In the Senate, the committees are voted on by the Senate but in both cases they are almost invariably appointed in consultation with the leaders of the party in power and for strictly party purposes. The Senate has toward fifty standing committees; the House over fifty. Besides these, special committees are continually being appointed. The most important standing committees are the following: Ways and means; appropriations; elections; banking and currency; accounts; rivers and harbors; judiciary (including changes in private law, as well as in courts of justice); railways and canals; foreign affairs; naval affairs; military affairs; public lands; agriculture; claims; and the several committees on the expenditures of the various departments of the administration (war, navy, etc.).

Secret Legislation through Committees

Each congressman is usually put upon some committee (a committee ordinarily consisting of from 3 to 11 members); but the more important committees and the chairmanship of all committees are usually given to old party leaders who often hold the same committeeship year after year, and are always (in the case of standing committees) appointed for the two years' session of Congress.

It is obvious from these conditions what a grip party machinery has upon Congress, and how helpless against the machine is the individual congressman. Especially in the last days of Congress, when bills are rushed through, enormous influence is brought to bear upon any obstreperous member who dares to resist the party's will. Corrupt special legislation can thus

be easily gotten through, provided that the party leaders acquiesce. This gives enormous power to lobbyists, who know what ropes to pull. A bill can be defeated or rendered successful by inducing the leaders to refer it to the right committee. In the committee the purchase or influencing of one or two votes will usually decide legislation. Considering the enormous financial interests involved in most congressional legislation, the wonder, perhaps, is, not at the corruption, but at the lack of corruption in Congress.

The system, however, is more effective in stopping legislation than in enacting it. It is easier to stop a bill than to pass it. Most bills are choked in committees. Almost any bill can be conveniently pigeonholed and not reported. Hence the defeat of most reform legislation in which the great parties are not immediately interested. Almost all bills are, as a matter of course, passed to a first and second reading and then referred to a committee, where it is said that over nine tenths of all bills stop. Occasionally a committee is compelled to report a bill, but usually not. When reported, it is rarely stated how large a majority or who of the committee favored or rejected the bill. The parties thus responsible for the adoption or rejection of a measure are often unknown. The whole system may be considered one of secret legislation.

The system, too, enables the administration to exert a strong but unseen influence on Congress. In the English Parliament the cabinet appears in Parliament to propose and defend its measures. In Congress the Cabinet does not openly appear. But it can appear before and influence the committees, and yet this most important connection between the administration and Congress is wholly secret.

This committee system is the most important characteristic of congressional working, but others are of only less moment. Congress is rendered largely inefficient for wise patriotic legislation by the fact that since all senators and representatives must, when elected, be inhabitants of the state or district they represent, each member is all but expected to speak and vote, not for the good of the country as a whole, but of his particular section. Debates, therefore, become sectional rather than of real statesmanship. Again, the above fact often keeps out of Congress the best men. If a leading Republican happens to reside in a Democratic State, or vice versa, he has little or no chance of election to Congress. Any congressman who rises above sectional feeling and for the good of the country opposes the interests of his section can be retired, and no other section of the country can elect him. Machine politics, rather than fitness, elect congressmen. Terms of office, too, in Congress, especially for representatives, being short, and the intricacies of politics often preventing renomination, few congressmen have power to accomplish much. Before they have well learned the ropes their term of office has expired. The result is that few congressmen have a chance to develop statesmanship. This is, of course, more true in the House than in the Senate. The House is usually a confused mass of new men whom the country does not know, managed by a speaker who becomes an autocrat, ruling through committees which can easily be influenced by trained lobbyists who know the ropes.

Other Characteristics

In the Senate men have more training and are better known; but it is a notorious fact that the best men of the country are not in the Senate, and the difference between the Senate today and in former times can be seen by comparing the names of senators early in the century with those now in office.

Congress is almost the only great national legislative body owned wholly by the well-to-do. In the legislative bodies of Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Switzerland, and Belgium there is a large and growing number of Socialists representing the toiling classes.

Composition of Congress

The following is the composition of Congress, as stated by the *World Almanac*, 1907:

PARTY DIVISIONS IN CONGRESS SINCE THE FORMATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN 1856

CONGRESSES	Years	Senate			House of Representatives.		
		Dem.	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	Rep.	Ind.
XXXV	1857–1859	39	20	..	131	92	14
XXXVI	1859–1861	38	26	..	101	113	23
XXXVII	1861–1863[1]	10	31	2	42	106	28
XXXVIII	1863–1865[1]	9	36	5	75	102	9
XXXIX	1865–1867	11	41	..	40	145	..
XL	1867–1869	11	42	..	49	143	..
XLI	1869–1871	11	58	..	78	151	..
XLII	1871–1873	17	57	..	103	138	5[2]
XLIII	1873–1875	20	47	7[2]	92	194	14
XLIV	1875–1877	29	43	2[2]	168	107	..
XLV	1877–1879	39	36	1[2]	151	142	..
XLVI	1879–1881	44	32	..	148	129	16[3]
XLVII	1881–1883	38	37	1[4]	138	146	10[3]
XLVIII	1883–1885	36	40[5]	..	198	124	1[3]
XLIX	1885–1887	34	42	..	204	120	1[3]
L	1887–1889	37	39	..	168	153	4
LI	1889–1891	37	39	..	159	166	..
LII	1891–1893	39	47	2[6]	236	88	8[6]
LIII[7]	1893–1895	44	38	3[8]	220	126	8[6]
LIV	1895–1897	39	42	5[6]	104	246	7[6]
LV	1897–1899	34	46	10[8]	134[9]	206	16[10]
LVI	1899–1901	26	53	11[12]	163	185	9[11]
LVII	1901–1903	29	56	3[14]	153	198	5[13]
LVIII	1903–1905	32	58	..	174	206	2[15]
LVIX	1905–1907	32	58	..	136	250	..
LX	1907–1909	29	61	..	164	222	..

Parties as constituted at the beginning of each Congress are given. These figures were liable to change by contests for seats, etc.

[1] During the Civil War most of the Southern States were unrepresented in Congress.
[2] Liberal Republicans.
[3] Greenbackers.
[4] David Davis, Independent, of Illinois.
[5] Two Virginia senators were Readjusters, and voted with the Republicans.
[6] People's Party, except that in the House of Representatives of the Fifty-fourth Congress one member is classed as Silver Party.
[7] Three Senate seats were vacant (and continued so) and two Representatives seats were unfilled (Rhode Island had not yet effected a choice) when the session began. Rhode Island subsequently elected two Republicans.
[8] Five Populists, two Silver Party, three Independents.
[9] Including fifteen members classed as Fusionists.
[10] Including three members classed as Silver Party. There was one vacancy.
[11] Six Populists, three Silver Party.
[12] Five Populists, one Silver Party, two Independents, and three vacancies.
[13] Three Populists, one Silver Party, one Fusion Party, one vacancy.
[14] One Populist, one Silver Party, one Fusionist, two vacancies.
[15] Two Union Labor and two vacancies—one Democratic, one Republican.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, SIXTIETH CONGRESS

STATES	Sixtieth Congress[1]		STATES	Sixtieth Congress[1]	
	Dem.	Rep.		Dem.	Rep.
Alabama	9	..	Nevada	1	..
Arkansas	7	..	New Hampshire	..	2
California	..	8	New Jersey	4	6
Colorado	..	3	New York	12	25
Connecticut	..	5	North Carolina	10	..
Delaware	..	1	North Dakota	..	2
Florida	3	..	Ohio	5	16
Georgia	11	..	Oregon	..	2
Idaho	..	1	Pennsylvania	7	25
Illinois	5	20	Rhode Island	1	1
Indiana	4	9	South Carolina	7	..
Iowa	1	10	South Dakota	..	2
Kansas	..	8	Tennessee	8	2
Kentucky	7	4	Texas	16	..
Louisiana	7	..	Utah	..	1
Maine	..	4	Vermont	..	2
Maryland	3	3	Virginia	9	1
Massachusetts	3	11	Washington	..	3
Michigan	..	12	West Virginia	..	5
Minnesota	1	8	Wisconsin	2	9
Mississippi	8	..	Wyoming	..	1
Missouri	12	4			
Montana	..	1	Total	164	222
Nebraska	1	5			

[1] As constituted at the beginning of the Congress.

CONRAD, JOHANNES C.: German political economist; born in West Prussia, 1839; studied at Berlin and Jena. In 1868 he became privatdocent, and then professor of political economy at Jena, but in 1870 was called to Halle. From 1872 he assisted his father-in-law, Professor Hildebrand, in the editorship of the *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, and in 1878 became sole editor. In economics he is identified with the historical school. From 1889 to 1895 he was chief editor of the important "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften." Among his writings are: "Die Nationalökonomie der Gegenwart und Zukunft" (1848); and "Liebig's Ansicht von der Landwirtschaftlichen Bodenerschöpfung"(1864); and "Grundriss zum Studien der Politischen Ökonomie" (1902).

CONSERVATIVE PARTY. See UNIONIST PARTY.

CONSIDÉRANT, VICTOR PROSPER: French Socialist; born at Salins, Jura, 1808; studied at the *École Polytechnique* in Paris. He entered the army as an engineer officer, but resigned his commission in 1831 to spread Fourierite socialism; and he took part in the socialistic experiment of 1832 at Condé-sur-Végre. Later he was associated with Fourier as editor of *Le Phalanstère*. In 1834 Considérant published "La Destinée Sociale" in 3 vols. On the death of Fourier (1837), he became chief of the Fourierites, and edited two papers, *La Phalange* (1836–43), and *La Démocratie Pacifique* (1843–50), a daily. He was chosen to the Republican constituent assembly of 1848 as representative for Loiret. In 1849 he was returned as member for Paris of the *Corps Legislatif*, but on account of certain indiscreet acts he was soon compelled to retire from the country. He went to Belgium, and thence to Texas (1853), where he afterward organized the unsuccessful socialistic colony *La Réunion*. He was naturalized, and remained in Texas until 1869, when he returned to Paris, where he died in 1893. Among his works may be mentioned: "Manifeste de l'École Sociétaire" (1841); "Exposition Abrégée du Système Phalanstérien" (1841); "Théorie de l'Éducation Naturelle" (1845); "Principes du Socialisme" (1847); "Théorie du Droit de Propriété et du Droit du Travail" (1848); "L'Apocalypse, ou la Prochaine Rénovation Démocratique" (1849).

CONSPIRACIES: A conspiracy may be defined in general as a combination of two or more persons to commit in concert some reprehensible, injurious, or illegal act. Conspiracy laws are the laws forbidding such combinations. According to the common law of England, which is also the basis of the American law, conspiracy laws forbid combinations

(1) To falsely charge another person with a crime punishable by law. (2) To wrongfully injure or prejudice a third person, or any body of men. (3) To commit any offense punishable by law. (4) To do any act with intent to pervert the cause of justice. (5) To effect a legal purpose with a corrupt intent or by improper means. (6) To endeavor, by unfair means, to raise wages.

General Laws

Under the United States laws the following are the things a concerting to do which made between two or more persons constitutes the offense of conspiracy: (1) An agreement to overthrow the government of, or levy war against, the U. S.; to overthrow, put down, or destroy by force, or oppose the authority thereof; by force to prevent, hinder, or delay the execution of any law of the U. S., or by force to seize, take, or possess any property of the U. S., contrary to the authority thereof. (2) To deter a party or witness from attending or testifying in a court of the U. S., or to injure one on account, or to influence a verdict or indictment by grand or petit jury, and to impede the due course of justice with intent to destroy equal protection of laws. (3) To hinder or prevent any person from voting or qualifying to vote at any election, or to injure, oppress, or intimidate any citizen in the full exercise or enjoyment of the right or privilege secured by the Constitution or laws of the U. S. (4) To hinder by force or intimidation any person from occupying or holding office under the U. S., or to injure such officer on account. (5) To induce any officer of the U. S. to leave any state, or to injure such officer on account. (6) To defraud the U. S. by obtaining approval of any false claim against the same. (7) To cast away any vessel with intent to defraud the underwriters.

Besides these the various states have their special laws. Criminal conspiracies in the United States consist not in the accomplishment of any unlawful purpose, nor in any one act moving toward that purpose, but in the actual concert and agreement of two or more persons to effect the unlawful thing so concerted or agreed upon. Mere concert in itself is not a crime, for associations to prosecute a felon have been held to be lawful; but it is the object or purpose of the concerting that makes the offense. Where the object or intent, it carried into effect, would be a wrong, then concert is indictable, as an act in itself tending to produce it; as, for instance, to support a cause, in itself just, by false testimony. A combination to do a criminal act is indictable; also an agreement or confederation to do a lawful act by unlawful means; because, in the first instance named, the act being in itself criminal, a conspiracy to do it must in the very nature of things be also criminal, while in the second instance, the means being unlawful, it matters not what may be the act to be done.

In this encyclopedia we are specially concerned with application of conspiracy laws to industrial combinations. For their application to combinations to raise prices, fares, etc., see MONOPOLIES. The laws are here considered simply in regard to their application to combinations of workingmen —a subject which has a long and important history.

The general theory in the Middle Ages of the relation of the workman to the State was one of tutelage. The law undertook to control him at well-nigh every point. This was largely attempted through the gild. The old craft gilds were originally composed of apprentices, journeymen, and masters, joined in one association. As, however, the gilds grew in wealth, they became more and more purely instruments of the masters to oppress the journeymen. These naturally resented this, and formed combinations of their

own, usually secret, and sometimes under the guise of religious brotherhoods, but really organized to protect their rights. It was against these brotherhoods that the first laws concerning workmen's combinations were directed.

Workmen's Combinations

As early as 1383 the city authorities of London issued a proclamation forbidding all congregations, covins, and conspiracies of workmen in general. In 1387 three journeymen cordwainers were carried to Newgate for trying to found a brotherhood. In 1415 the brotherhood of tailors was for a while suppressed. An early law of Henry VI. forbade the yearly confederation of the masons, on the grounds that these gatherings tended to destroy the force of the famous Statute of Apprentices, which had tried to fix wages at the wages of 1327. In 1548 a more general statute of Edward VI. prohibited all conspiracies and covenants not to make or do work except at a certain price, under penalty, on a third conviction, of the pillory and the loss of an ear. This act was not repealed till 1824. In the Elizabethan period the famous poor-laws were passed decreeing that wages should be fixt by justices of the peace, etc. This led to numberless combinations and prosecutions, particularly during the eighteenth century. The earlier laws forbade combinations of masters and of workmen alike. The later laws were directed against workmen only. In 1799 they were combined in a general act, repealed and replaced the next year by 40 Geo. III. c. 106, which prohibited all combinations for raising wages or reducing hours. Mr. Justice Stephen says of this act ("History of the Criminal Law of England," vol. iii., p. 20): "The only freedom for which it seems to me to have been specially solicitous is the freedom of the employers from coercion by their men." This act was in force till 1824, during all the period when the workmen were feeling the first results of the factory system, and were breaking machinery, etc. In 1803 three linen-weavers were sent to jail simply for carrying a letter requesting help from other workmen. At last, in 1824, a change came, due to the activities of Joseph Hume in Parliament, and of Francis Place, a London tailor, out of Parliament. All previous statutes, so far as they related to workingmen, were repealed, and workmen combining to advance wages or lessen hours were not liable to prosecution for conspiracy. But the masters next year succeeded in having this replaced by the 6 Geo. IV. c. 129. This new act, while it repealed the previous statutes, did not in express terms legalize combinations of workmen—the legality of such combinations was left to be dealt with by the common law—it simply rendered men liable to punishment for the use of threats, intimidation, molestation, and obstruction directed toward the attainment of the objects of trade-unions. A few alterations in the act were made by 22 Vict c. 34. The recommendations of the royal commission of 1867 on trade-unions led to the repeal of the 6 Geo. IV. c. 129, and the 22 Vict. c. 34, by the 38 and 39 Vict. c. 31, and the 38 and 39 Vict. c. 32, which declared that the purposes of a trade-union were not to be deemed unlawful by reason merely that they were in restraint of trade, and carefully defined what acts should be deemed criminal offenses. The protection afforded by these acts was greatly diminished by the gradual extension of the common law doctrine of conspiracy, and at length, in 1875, the act was repealed and replaced by the Conspiracy and Protection Act 38 and 39 Vict. c. 86. According to this act, an agreement between two or more persons to do any act in furtherance of a trade dispute is not indictable as a conspiracy if such act committed by one person is not punishable as a crime.

Present English Law

Such is a brief record of English legislation on this subject, but it does not show the bitter struggle of the workingmen against these combination laws. In 1834 the case of the six Dorchester laborers elicited general indignation. These poor and ignorant men, of good previous record and characters, were convicted nominally of administering unlawful oaths, really of committing the crime of combination. They were transported to Australia and sold to labor contractors for £1 per head. It aroused all English labor. A monster meeting was held in Copenhagen Fields, attended, it was said, by 400,000 persons; 50,000 workmen marched to the official residence of Lord Melbourne, presenting a petition for clemency signed by 266,000 persons. Pardon was finally granted against strong protests from the manufacturers, but was not properly promulgated, and some of the convicted only heard of it by accident after years of slavery. All through this period there were conspiracy prosecutions and condemnations. One of the most important of these was the prosecution of the Wolverhampton tin-plate workers in 1851, at a cost of some $19,220. During a strike the strikers picketed a factory, and, inducing workmen to keep away, brought the business to a standstill. They were charged with conspiracy, and convicted under common law misdemeanor, punishable by two years of penal servitude. It was this conviction that brought the first modification of the law of 1825. In the "sixties" a series of conspiracy trials led to the commission of 1867, which resulted (1871) in the change of the law and a careful definition of what was a conspiracy in trade disputes. This law, tho generally an advance, on one point—the right of the workman to address another employee during a strike—was retrograde, and led to the great act of 1875. Since 1875 disputes have turned mainly on the application of the law to such acts as picketing; and of late especially on the question of the liability of trade-unions. (See TAFF VALE DECISION.)

United States Law

In the United States, the first trial for conspiracy to raise wages was in 1741, when certain journeymen bakers of New York City were convicted for conspiring not to bake till their wages were raised. It does not seem, however, that any sentence was passed. The first case of which complete records exist was the trial of journeymen boot- and shoemakers of Philadelphia in 1806. They were found "guilty of a combination to raise their wages," and were fined $8 each and costs. The next important case was that of the people of the State of New York against James Melvin and others in 1809. It was decided July 12, 1810, before the Mayor of New York City, against the men, because, tho possibly a combination not to work except for certain wages might not be indictable, they were organized to compel members of their union not to work if the union voted to strike.

The same position was taken in a court of quarter sessions for Allegheny County, Pa., when Judge Roberts said: "It is not for demanding high prices that these men are indicted, but for employing unlawful means to exact these prices, for using means prejudicial to the community. . . . A conspiracy to compel an employer to have only a certain description of persons is indictable." Similar verdicts were rendered in various trials.

In 1834, in Hartford, Conn., the Thompsonville Carpet Manufacturing Company brought suit against W. Taylor and others for conspiring to raise the price of wages, hindering others from working, and declaring a strike. The defendants won. The court charged the jury that a peaceable arguing with workmen not to work except for a certain price was not a ground for civil action.

In 1840 certain journeymen of the Boston Bootmakers' Society were indicted for conspiracy in the municipal court. They were convicted in the lower court, but the Supreme Court did not sustain the verdict. It is claimed by labor leaders that the decision of Judge Shaw decided definitely that men have a right to combine to raise wages. The "Third Annual Report of the United States Commission of Labor" says (p. 1130) that this is a mistake, but that the verdict was not sustained simply because the indictment was not rightly framed.

The next important cases were those of the

Master Stevedores' Association *vs.* Peter H. Walsh and others, decided in 1867, important because Judge Daly reviewed adjudications; and the case of some members of the Knights of Labor of District Assembly No. 91, arrested March, 1887, for alleged interference with the employees of John H. Hanan and Gardner & Estes, shoe manufacturers of New York City, important for the opinion delivered by Judge Barrett.

The "Bulletin of the United States Department of Labor," in its first number (November, 1895, p. 98), thus summarized the state of the common law bearing upon combinations:

> Every one has the right to work or to refuse to work for whom and on what terms he pleases, or to refuse to deal with whom he pleases; and a number of persons, if they have no unlawful object in view, have the right to agree that they will not work or deal with certain persons, or that they will not work under a fixt price or without certain conditions. The right of employees to refuse to work either singly or in combination is balanced by the right of employers to refuse to engage the services of any one for any reason they may deem proper. . . . In short, both employers and employees are entitled to exercise the fullest liberty in entering into contracts of service, and neither party can hold the other responsible for refusing to enter into such contracts.

Of the present (1905) situation, Prof. T. S. Adams says ("Labor Problems," p. 194):

> About fifteen states have statutes modifying the old law of conspiracy, specifically conferring on the laborer the right to combine to raise wages, or to induce, by peaceable means, any person to accept or quit any employment. The Pennsylvania statute authorizing workmen, *inter alia*, to combine to quit work whenever the continued labor by them would be contrary to the rules of their union; the New Jersey, Texas, and Colorado statutes permitting combinations for the purpose of persuading others to strike or quit work; and the Maryland and California statutes declaring that no combination to do any act in furtherance of a trade dispute shall be indicted as a conspiracy, if such act committed by one person would not be punishable as an offense, have all wrought important modifications of the law, and might profitably be indorsed by the laboring classes in other states. But with these exceptions the statutes do not appear substantially to have altered the common law, particularly as regards the civil liability of strikers.
>
> Three federal statutes, however, are of great importance: section 3,995 of the Revised Statutes which penalizes the knowing and wilful obstruction of the passage of the mails; the tenth section of the Interstate Commerce Act which makes it a misdemeanor to interfere with interstate transportation; and the first section of the Anti-Trust Act of 1890 which declares illegal every combination in restraint of trade or commerce among the several states or with foreign nations. No one can state at the present time the exact effect of these statutes upon the legality of labor combinations.

See also Boycotting; Injunctions; Strikes.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, THE: In this article is considered the working of the United States Constitution, especially in relation to social reform. For a general view of constitutions, see Constitutionalism. The Continental Congress, which declared the independence of the United States, was a revolutionary body, called into existence by the necessity of common action between the colonies in protecting their rights, and, when it was so voted, of obtaining their independence.

Beginnings

It gave itself, in 1877, a new legal character by framing the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, whereby the thirteen states entered into a "firm league of friendship"; but this confederation was rather a league than a national government. Each state, according to the articles, retained "its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled."

There was no federal execution, no federal judiciary, no federal taxing power, no means of paying an army, or any federal bills, save as the states voluntarily contributed money. The confederation did not work. It was, in fact, little better than anarchy, as men like George Washington declared. Some firmer union was evidently needed.

In 1786 delegates from five states met at Annapolis, Md., and recommended that Congress call a general convention to consider the condition of the union and needed amendments to the Constitution. Congress did so, recommending the states to send delegates to a convention which should "revise the Articles of Confederation, and report to Congress and the several legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as shall, when agreed to in Congress and confirmed by the states, render the federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the union."

The convention thus summoned met at Philadelphia on May 14, 1787, became competent to proceed to business on May 25th, and sat nearly five months. Every state was represented save Rhode Island. George Washington was chosen President, and the leading men of the country were the delegates. It boldly decided to prepare a wholly new Constitution, to be considered and ratified neither by Congress nor the state legislatures, but by the people of the several states. The delegates were 55, and 39 signed the Constitution; the debates were secret; the difficulties were very great.

Two tendencies manifested themselves, which led to the formation of the two great political parties which, under different names, have divided American political life. On the one hand was a strong desire for a national unity, with a highly developed central power; on the other, a still more powerful fear of centralization and the desire to retain the sovereignty of each state. As is well known, the constitution adopted was a compromise between these two tendencies.

Fundamental Principles

The framers of the Constitution had the experience of the English Constitution to go by, with its Cabinet, its House of Commons, and its House of Lords. They had the state constitutions, which had to an extent been modeled after the English pattern, modified by the peculiarities of the different states as they had grown up under the different charters originally granted to the different colonies. On the other hand, the minds, particularly of the Virginian delegates, were filled with theories regarding the natural rights of individuals, derived, in fact, from Rousseau and other French writers, and made them very jealous of granting power to any government. The Constitution framed was a resultant of these and other forces. The framers had in mind the principle of English common law, that an act done by any official person or lawmaking body beyond his or its legal competence is simply void, which principle Mr. James Bryce declares became the key to their difficulties. They carefully assigned to different branches of the government certain fixt forms which they held it necessary for them to hold, and all powers not mentioned were therefore retained in the hands of the people. They sought so to divide the powers between federal and state governments, and between the different branches of government, that no branch should absorb too much power or trespass upon the power of another branch.

On September 17th the convention adjourned to submit its result to the people of the various states for ratification. Then began a struggle. It was declared by many that the Constitution gave too much power to the central government. Men said that liberty would perish. It was asserted that freedom won from George III. was being slain by her own children. The vote to ratify was nearly defeated in Massachusetts and New York. Several of the states suggested amendments, and most of these were adopted in 1791, soon after the adoption of the Constitution itself, in ten amendments, called, after the English precedent, a Bill or Declaration of Rights. The first state to ratify the Constitution was Delaware (Dec. 7, 1787). When nine states had ratified, the Constitution was to be adopted, and this was accomplished when New Hampshire ratified, June 21, 1788, by a majority of eleven.

Adoption

Four days after Virginia ratified, not knowing of New Hampshire's vote; next New York and North Carolina. Rhode Island had sent no delegates to the convention, but finally ratified, May, 1790. Congress voted that the Constitution go into effect March 4, 1789. Elections had previously been held, and on that day the first Congress under the new Constitution met, but for lack of a quorum did not organize till April. Then the electoral votes were counted in the presence of both Houses, and George Washington was found elected president, and inaugurated April 30, 1789, in New York City.

Analysis

The characteristic feature of the American Constitution is its union of federal and state government. The federal government was restricted to the minimum of power necessary to a national union, yet the state governments were prevented from exerting undue power. The Constitution being a creature of the states, only the states can amend it. The states, too, form the national government by choosing presidential electors, senators, and fixing the franchise which qualifies the citizens to vote for representatives. On the other hand, the federal court is supreme in the interpretation of the Constitution, and can overrule any state or national legislation which it decides to be unconstitutional. (See JUDICIARY.) The President and Congress, too, have power over the states in certain specified matters, the presumption, however, always being in favor of the state. The states cannot make treaties, tax exports or imports, save with the permission of Congress. They must surrender fugitives from justice in other states. They can be sued by other states or foreign powers in federal courts. Congress has power to establish uniform bankruptcy laws. Resistance to federal authority or attacks on federal property may be repulsed by federal troops. In all other cases states are to act, tho they may call upon the federal government for aid.

The federal government comes into direct contact with the people of the states by the federal courts, its taxing power, its power to raise an army, and, above all, by the election of presidential electors and representatives to Congress by the people. It was on these two last points that the framers of the Constitution found their greatest difficulty. Whether the states should be represented in Congress as states, or simply by the representatives of the people, was a burning question. The smaller states desired representation as states, while the opponents of this position declared that this would be unjust, since it would give the few people in the smaller states equal power with the large populations in large states. The question, too, of states rights *versus* the federal government was involved. It was finally settled by having the members of one house—the Senate—elected by the state government, and the members of the lower house—the House of Representatives—elected by the people, the number of the latter depending on the population of the state.

The election of the president caused even more discussion, but was finally decided by having the people choose electors who should choose the president. (For the working of this, see ELECTORAL COLLEGE.) The chief matters which, as national, were entrusted to the federal government were:

The conduct of the national defense, and the making of treaties.
The maintenance of federal courts.
Commerce, foreign and domestic.
Currency.
Copyrights and patents.
The post-office.
Taxation for general purposes.
Protection of citizens against unjust legislation by states (Amendments XIV., XV.).

The President

The three branches of government established by the Constitution were the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. It was attempted to make these independent of each other and coordinate, with such a balance of powers that no branch could wield too much power. To the PRESIDENT is given the supreme executive power. He has command of the army and navy, he can make treaties and appoint ambassadors and consuls, but must have the advice and consent of the Senate. He appoints the judges of the supreme court and all high federal officers, but again must have the consent of the Senate. He can grant reprieves and powers except in cases of impeachment. He can summon both Houses on occasion. He can veto any bill or resolution of Congress. He must inform Congress of the state of the union, and recommend legislation. He must see that the laws be executed. He is prevented from exerting too much power, because he can raise no money to pay an army; he can appoint no officers unless the Senate approves; he cannot prevent legislation passed over his veto; he can be impeached for faithlessness in office. The legislative power is given to the Senate and House of Representatives. No federal officer can be a member of Congress. This is an attempt to preserve the independence of the legislature. It has the power to enact all federal laws, to vote taxes and appropriations, to borrow money, to regulate commerce, to coin money, to establish post-offices and roads, to declare war, to raise and support armies, to determine the certificates and to count the votes of the presidential electors, to impeach and to try the president, to judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its members. Congress is limited in the exercise of its power, because it cannot change the Constitution, it can pass no bill unapproved by the president except by a two-thirds vote, and no bill of Congress is valid if declared to be unconstitutional by the supreme court. The members of the House of Representatives must be elected every second year by the people of their several states, and all bills for raising revenue must originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments. To the Senate is given the power of approving or advising in the matter of executive appointments and treaties.

Congress

To the federal judiciary is given the power of interpretation of the Constitution, and the trial of all cases in law and equity arising under the Constitution, the laws of the United States, U. S. treaties, controversies between states, controversies to which the U. S. is a party, and controversies between a state and citizens of another state, or between citizens claiming lands under grants of different states, and between states or citizens and foreign states or subjects. (For the working of the federal judiciary, see JUDICIARY.) Its power is limited simply to the interpretation of the Constitution and of the law. Trials of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, must be by jury. (See INJUNCTION.) All federal judges have a life tenure, subject to impeachment by the House of Representatives, and trial by the Senate. Such are the main features of the American Constitution. Certain actions are expressly forbidden. A writ of habeas corpus may not be suspended save in cases of rebellion or invasion. No *ex post facto* or bill of attainder may be passed. No tax or duty may be laid on articles exported from any state. No preference by regulation of commerce may be given to one state over another. No money may be drawn from the treasury save in consequence of appropriation made by law. No title of nobility may be granted, and no person holding office under the U. S. may receive a present or title from any king, prince, or foreign state. All duties, imposts, and excises must be uniform through the states. Amendments to the Constitution forbid any law respecting an establishment of religion, or curtailing the free exercise of religion, free speech, freedom of the press, the right to peaceable assembly, to petition government, to keep and bear arms, to trial by jury on indictment by a grand jury for capital or infamous crime, and trial by jury in all criminal prosecutions. By other amendments, the powers not delegated by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states or the people. No state may enact or enforce any law abridging the privileges or immunities of any citizen. The right of citizens to vote shall not be abridged on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment upon conviction for crime, shall be allowed.

Judiciary

Such is a general account of the Constitution of the United States. Its practical working, while open to not a few serious criticisms, has undoubtedly been a success. Even its most serious defect may be said to be the result of it virtues. At the present time, when conditions are so different from those under which it was drafted, the Constitution, with its slow process for amendment, seems to bind the nation against its will and unduly check wise action. But this defect, if defect it be, is assuredly the result of the strength of the Constitution, and a strength absolutely needed both in the days of weakness when the nation was young, and in the days of strength when the nation was rocked with discussions over the question of state rights.

Successes

De Tocqueville, sixty years ago, was more hopeful of the future of the separate states than of the union. He believed that with the first serious difference in views the union would be dissolved. At the time of the Rebellion most Europeans and some Americans believed that the end of the union was come. A strong Constitution was needed. To-day the union exists more firmly knit than ever, and no small part of this must be attributed to the wisdom and strength of

the Constitution. Perhaps, too, the greatest triumph of the Constitution has been that it has so marvelously succeeded in its compromise between federal and state powers. This was the greatest difficulty presented to the framers of the Constitution; it has been till now the burning question of American politics. The Constitution has weathered the storm. A small republic is comparatively easy to conduct. In the United States alone are giant states confederated in one republic.

Again, the Constitution, for the first time in history, has enabled a great nation without radical constitutional changes to preserve popular liberties. In the late election of 1896 a people numbering ever 70,000,000 went into an intense and even passionate contest, one in which the numbers on each side were about equal, which raised issues of section and still more issues of class—an election in which each party believed it stood for the preservation of liberty and for the defeat of principles subversive of honest and free government, and yet under a Constitution framed a century ago, the nation has come out of the conflict whole and unharmed. Surely such a Constitution has stood the test of time. It has succeeded, too, in the main in realizing that division of powers which its authors thought so necessary. The president has not been able to defy Congress; Congress has not been able to ignore the president. If the supreme court has been able to exert at times enormous power, it has, after all, usually but recorded the popular verdict. If, as a large majority believe, in 1876 a president duly elected was set aside for his rival candidate, the claims of the two were nearly equal, so that gross injustice was not done. If, more recently, a decision of the supreme court prevented an income tax which a large majority of the people desired, there can be no doubt that the decision will ultimately be reversed, provided the people continue to demand such a tax. No constitution can work without favor. Considering the vigor with which the nation has acted in emergencies and the moderation and freedom of its general policy, the experience of the century must be thought to bear out the verdict of Mr. Gladstone, that "as the British Constitution is the most subtle organism which has proceeded from progressive history, so the American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

There have been, however, notable failures in the working of the Constitution. Some of these we consider elsewhere. Perhaps the best brief discussion of the defects in the Constitution has been written by the Hon. Walter Clark, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, author of many volumes of history and law, and one of the most careful and earnest students of constitutional law. He says, in an article in *The Independent*:

Defects in the Constitution

As a product of its time, the Constitution of the United States was and is without counterpart. Gladstone gave words their way in praising it. Too much has not and cannot be said of the wisdom of the fathers who framed it. But idolatry is dangerous. Blind faith ought not to be a part of our national characteristics, and when from the cradle up—even from the halls of Congress—we hear that the "Great Instrument" stands beside the Bible, inviolate, that the Constitution of the United States is for this nation, to-day, all that the anxious fathers wished that it might be 120 years ago we are being brought too far. It is giving the framers of the instrument credit for being inspired prophets of greater wisdom for the future than they possest for their own day and generation.

They were not satisfied with the Constitution when it left their hands, as properly meeting the demands which immediately faced them. Neither were they satisfied with the Constitution itself. In short it was a compromise between many contending factions. It was simply the best that could be obtained at the time, under the widely separated conditions and expectations of the detached elements working up in the struggling states. There were grave defects in the Constitution then, there are graver defects to-day, calling for careful revision.

There was a great difference between the two conventions. That which met in 1776 was frankly democratic. Success in its great and perilous undertaking was possible only with the support of the people; it must be with the people. The Great Declaration was an appeal to the masses.

Never was the right of revolution more clearly asserted, or that government existed for the sole benefit of the people who were declared to be equal and endowed with the right to change their government at will when it did not subserve their welfare or obey their wishes. Not a word was there about property. Everything was about the people. The man was more than the dollar then, and the convention was in earnest. Every member signed the declaration, which was unanimously voted; according to Dr. Franklin's pertinent remark that it behooved them "to hang together or they would hang separately."

The convention which met in 1787 was as reactionary as the other had been revolutionary and democratic. It had its beginning in commercial negotiations between the states, when they were weary with a long war, and when the fierce enthusiasm for liberty was somewhat relaxed by the pressing need to earn the comforts and necessities of life, and when oppress by the ban upon prosperity caused by the uncertainties and impotence of the existing government they were thoroughly exhausted. Under these conditions and with as many minds as there were men, the convention of 1787 came together.

Ignoring the vital maxim that government should exist only by the consent of the governed, it sat behind closed doors that no breath of popular will should affect its decisions. To free the members from any future responsibility, all were prohibited from making copies of any kind of the resolutions or to correspond with constituents or others about matters pending before the convention. Any record of yeas and nays, even, was forbidden; but one copy was kept without the knowledge of the convention. It was kept by the one member best able to grasp each situation and make fair note of it. The journal was kept secret at the time, and later a vote to destroy it fortunately failed. Mr. Madison's copy was finally published after the lapse of forty-nine years, when every member had passed beyond human accountability. Only twelve states were ever represented. One of these withdrew before the final result was reached. Of the sixty-five members, only fifty-five ever attended, and so far from being unanimous only thirty-nine signed the Constitution, and some of them actively opposed its ratification by their own states, later.

That the Constitution thus framed was reactionary was a matter of course. There was grave consideration, at the time, of a royal government with Frederick, Duke of York, second son of George III., as king. Alexander Hamilton, whose wonderful work as Secretary of the Treasury, crowned him with a halo, and whose tragic death obliterated the memory of his faults, declared himself in favor of the English form of government, which he denominated a "most notable institution." Failing in that, he advocated an executive elected by Congress for life, senators and judges for life, and governors for states to be appointed by the president. Of these he secured, as it has proved, one most important item, from his standpoint, the creation of the judges for life. The convention was aware that a constitution on Hamilton's lines could not secure ratification by the several states. But the Constitution adopted was as undemocratic as possible, and was very far from responding to the conditions laid down in the declaration of 1776, that all governments derived their just powers from the consent of the governed. In his speech to the convention, Hamilton stated that the members were agreed that "we need to be rescued from the Democracy." They were rescued. Thomas Jefferson, unfortunately, was absent as our Minister to France, and took no part in the convention, tho we owe to him very largely the compromise by which the first ten amendments were agreed to, in exchange for ratification by several states which otherwise would have been withheld.

The consent of the governed was not to be asked. In the new government the will of the people was not to control and little to be consulted. Of the three great departments of government—legislative, executive and judiciary—the people were entrusted with the election of only the House of Representatives—one sixth of the government at most, even if the House had been endowed with equal authority and power with the Senate. The declaration of 1776 was concerned with the rights of man. The convention of 1787 entirely ignored them. The guarantees of the great rights of freedom of speech and press, freedom of religion, liberty to assemble, right of petition, exemption from general warrants, the right of trial by jury and by grand jury, protection of the law of the

land, and protection from seizure of private property for other than public use, and then only upon just compensation —matters of the utmost importance to the rights of the people were entirely omitted. They were added in the first ten amendments by preliminary agreement, while the Constitution was still in controversy in the several states, only because it was necessary to give assurance that such amendments would be adopted in order to secure the ratification at all.

The Constitution was so far from being satisfactory, even in the circumstances of the time for which it was framed, that only eleven states voted for its adoption in the convention. Its ratification by the conventions in the several states was carried with the greatest difficulty, and in no separate state was it ever submitted to a vote of the people themselves. Massachusetts only ratified after a close vote and a demand for amendments. South Carolina and New Hampshire demanded amendments, as did Virginia and New York, both of which agreed to ratification by the narrowest of votes, reserving for themselves still the right to withdraw, and two states rejected the Constitution and subsequently ratified only after Washington had been elected and inaugurated—matters in which they had no share.

George Washington was president of the convention, but as such was debarred from sharing in its debates. He left no impress upon the instrument so far as is known. Yet it was freely admitted that but for his popularity and influence the Constitution would have failed of ratification by the several states, especially Virginia. Indeed, but for his influence the convention would have adjourned without putting its final hand to the Constitution at all—it came very near doing so. Even his great influence would not have availed but for the overwhelming necessity for some form of government, with imperative haste, as a substitute for the rickety "Articles of Confederation," which were utterly inefficient.

An instrument so framed, adopted with such difficulty and ratified after such efforts, and by such narrow margins, could not have been a fair and full expression of the consent of the governed. The men that made it did not deem it perfect. Its friends agreed to sundry amendments which were adopted by the First Congress, as a preliminary necessity. The assumption by the new supreme court of a power not contemplated by the framers caused the enactment of the eleventh amendment. The unfortunate method prescribed for the election of the president, which nearly caused a civil war in 1801, forced the adoption of the twelfth amendment, and three others were brought about as the result of the great Civil War. The convention of 1787 recognized, itself, that defects innate in the Constitution and developed by experience and the lapse of time would require amendments, and the instrument prescribed two different methods by which amendments could be made.

Our federal Constitution was adopted 120 years ago. In that time every state has radically revised its own Constitution—most of them several times. The Constitution of New York requires that the question of a constitutional convention shall be submitted to its people at least once every twenty years, in order that organic law shall keep abreast of the needs and wants of the people and represent the will and progress of to-day, instead of being hampered by provisions deemed best by the divided counsels of a handful of men in providing for the wants of the government of over a century ago.

When the Constitution was adopted in 1787 it was intended for 3,000,000 people, scattered along the coast from Massachusetts to southern Georgia. Now we are trying to make it do duty for 100,000,000 from Maine to Manila, from Panama to Porto Rico and the Pole. Then the population was rural. At the census of 1790 we had but five towns in the whole union which had 6,500 inhabitants each, and only two others had over 4,000. Now we have the second largest city on the globe, with over 4,000,000 inhabitants, and many that have passed the half-million mark. In 1790 we had seventy-five post-offices, with $37,000 annual post-office expenditures. Now we have 75,000 post-offices, 35,000 rural delivery routes, and a post-office appropriation of nearly $200,000,000. During the first ten years the total expenditures of the federal government, including the payment of revolutionary debts, including pensions, averaged $10,000,000 annually. Our expenditures now are more than seventy-five times as much. When the Constitution was adopted Virginia was easily the first state in influence, population and wealth, having one fourth of the population of the entire union. New York, which then stood fifth, now has double the population of the whole country at that time, and several other states have a population greater than the original union—states whose very names were then unheard of. Steamboats, railroads, gas, electricity—except as a toy in Franklin's hands—coal mines, petroleum and a thousand other things which are a part of our very lives to-day, were undiscovered. Corporations, which now control the country and its government, were then so few that not till four years later, in 1791, was the first bank incorporated; the charter for the second bank was only obtained by the subtlety of Aaron Burr, who concealed the banking privileges in an act incorporating a water company. Corporations have had an affinity for water ever since.

Time has revealed flaws in that original instrument, as well as developed new necessities. The glaring defect in the Constitution was that it was not democratic. The only voice of the people was in the election of one sixth of the government, one half—by far the weaker half—of the legislative department. The other half, the Senate, was made elective at second hand, by the state legislature. The president was to be elected at third hand. In fact, until after the memorable contest between Adams, Clay, Crawford and Jackson, in 1824, in the majority of the states, the presidential electors were chosen by the state legislatures. They were so chosen by South Carolina until after the Civil War, and in Colorado in 1876. The intention was that the electors should make independent choice, but public opinion forced the transfer of the choice of electors from the legislatures to the ballot-box, and then made of them the figureheads which they are, thus capturing the executive department, and that department, with the House of Representatives, mark to-day the extent of the share of the people in this government.

The judiciary were placed a step further removed. The judges were to be selected at fourth hand, by the president—who was intended to be selected at third hand—and subjected to confirmation by the Senate chosen at second hand. And to make the judiciary absolutely impervious to any consideration of the "consent of the governed" they were appointed for life.

A constitution so devised was not intended to express but to suppress or at least disregard the wish and consent of the governed. It was admirably adapted for what has come to pass—the domination of the government by "The Interests." Should the president favor legislation and the House of Representatives pass a bill, the Senate can defeat it; and if by chance it yield to the popular will and pass the bill, as was the case with the "Income Tax," there remains the judiciary, who have assumed, without any warrant exprest or implied in the Constitution, the power to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional at their own will and without responsibility to any one.

The people's part in the government, in the choice of a House of Representatives, even when reenforced by the executive, is still nullity in the face of the senate and judiciary in whose selection the people have no direct voice.

The government of the United States is a government by Senate and judges—by whatever power can control the selection of senators and judges. What is that power? We know that it is not the American people.

Let us not be deceived by forms. Government rests not upon forms, but upon a true reply to the question, "Where does the governing power rest?"

In England to-day, there is a monarchy in form, but the real government of England is vested in a single House of Parliament elected by the people. The executive is not the king, but the prime minister and his cabinet, practically elected by the House of Commons, and holding office at the will of the majority in that house. The king has not even the veto power except nominally, since it has not been exercised in a single instance for more than 200 years; and the sole function of the House of Lords—a club of rich men representing great vested interests—is in the exercise of a suspensive veto—exercised only till the Commons make up their mind that the bill shall pass, when the House of Lords always give way as the condition upon which their continued existence rests.

In this country we retain the form of a republic, we choose our president and House of Representatives, but the real power does not reside in them or in the people. It rests with those great "interests" which select the majority of the Senate and the judges.

The sole remedy for this is by amendment of the Constitution that shall make it democratic; in other words, counteract the effects of the reactionary influence following the strenuous patriotism of the declaration, which was so strong during the framing of the Constitution.

In the convention of 1787, Pennsylvania voted for the election of senators by the people. A strong argument used against this was that the farming interests, being the largest, would control the House, and that the Senate could only be given to the commercial interests by making its members elected by the legislatures—which proved prophetic—tho the deciding influence was the fear of the small states, that if the Senate was elected by the people, its membership would be based on population. The same argument would still resist the call for a reviewing convention to-day, and be aided by "the interests," with the press which they control; but in truth and justice it may be that some modification now in that respect would be efficacious. There may no longer be good reason why Delaware, Nevada, Rhode Island, should have as many senators as New York, Pennsylvania or Illinois. It might better serve the interests of the whole country to grant to every state having 1,000,000 inhabitants or less one senator, and to allot to each state having over 1,000,000 of inhabitants an additional senator for every additional million. This would not change the number of senators, but while not putting the Senate frankly on a basis of population, would remove the present unjust ratio and the opposition to the admission of new states, whose area and development entitle them to self-government, but whose population does not entitle them to two senators.

The election of president, too, even as it has been improved still leaves much to be desired. It readily lends itself to the

choice of a minority candidate. It is an anomaly that 1,100 votes—as in New York in 1884—should swing seventy electoral votes, thirty-five from one candidate to another, and thus decide an election. But preserving the electoral vote system as now, and giving the smaller states still the advantage, it might yet be possible to divide the electoral vote of each state, according to the popular vote for each candidate, giving each his pro rata of the electoral vote on that basis, the odd elector being apportioned to the candidate having the largest fraction; so that in New York Mr. Blaine would have had seventeen electoral votes and Mr. Cleveland eighteen. Other states would also have been more or less evenly divided, but the result would be that the choice of president would no longer be restricted to two or three states as in our past history, and as is likely always to be the case as long at the whole electoral vote of two or three large pivotal states must swing to one side or the other and determine the result. This change would avoid the present evil of large sums of money being spent to carry the solid electoral vote of a large pivotal state; for there would cease to be "pivotal" states. At the same time, it would avoid the open gulf into which a per capita ballot by the whole union would lead us.

By the convention of 1787 the term of the president was originally fixt at seven years, and he was made ineligible for reelection. This was reduced to four years by a compromise that he could be reelected without limitation. It was in the interest of those who favored a strong government and a long tenure. Washington imposed a limitation by example, but it will not always be binding. An amendment making the term six years and the president ineligible to reelection has long been desired by a large portion of the public. Indeed, when the constitutional convention of the union shall assemble, as it must some day, to remodel our Constitution, it is more than probable that the powers of the executive will also be restricted. His powers are now greater than those of any sovereign of Europe except Russia, and the real restrictions upon him at present are not constitutional provisions at all, but the Senate and judiciary.

But by far the most serious defect and danger in the Constitution is the appointment of judges for life, subject to confirmation by the Senate. It is far more serious to-day than it was when the convention of 1787 framed the Constitution. It is too serious a matter to be considered in this article, which has already gone beyond desirable length. I only suggest it, as one of the greatest defects in our present Constitution.

CONSTITUTIONALISM: Most civilized states are governed under constitutions varying in form and precision.

The utility of a constitution for any given people must, of course, depend very greatly upon the nature and traditions of that people. There may be but a brief framework stating the trend of governmental authority and functions, or a definite plan of organization of the various departments. The constitution may be to guard the masses from the tyrannical power of an executive or despot, or to protect the people from themselves—i. e., from the turbulent and ambitious elements and from the rash and hasty expression of popular feeling.

It is important, however, that a distinction be made between simple charters and bills of rights, and a form of government crystallized into a document which defines the scope and functions of departments and officers. The former long antedate the latter.

"A constitution is a system of principles, laws, and rules combined in a written document or established by prescriptive usage, for the government of a nation or state" ("Century Dictionary"). In strong contrast are the unwritten British constitution, composed of charters, traditions, and usages, and the recent state constitutions, which closely define the duties of officers and rigidly prescribe the limits of the several departments.

Altho writers upon the history of constitutions usually trace their origin to Magna Charta, or to the Roman laws of the twelve tables, or possibly even to the Ten Commandments, written constitutions, in the present understanding of the terms, have nearly all been made since the United States Constitution of 1787, and all have been greatly influenced by, if not mostly founded upon it.

The French people, in the years between 1789–91, framed a constitution to effect the change from an absolute monarchy to a limited monarchy. It was not modeled upon that of the United States or directly upon any other, yet the U. S. and English constitutions were strong influences. The Massachusetts Constitution, mentioned below, was carried to France by John Adams and circulated to a limited extent in 1780; and Benjamin Franklin had already discust with the French philosophers the Pennsylvania Constitution.

In 1783 Franklin published in the French language all the constitutions of the thirteen states of the new republic, with notes. These publications, with a vast array of historical causes, contributed to the form and matter of the Constitution of 1791. Ten other constitutions have been made by or for the French since that date—five of them republican and five monarchical. The organic law of the present republic, formed since the overthrow of Napoleon III., in 1870, was adopted by the National Assembly at Versailles in 1875. It is the shortest of the written constitutions of important nations or states. The provisions are few and simple. The outlines of organization are given, and the remainder is to be provided for by ordinary statutes of the chambers. Precedents established in former constitutions and such provisions of earlier laws as are not incompatible with the new republican law still remain in force. The influence of the series of revolutions in France and elsewhere brought about constitutions in many of the smaller German states between 1820 and 1836. The general political upheaval in Europe in 1848 and the few years following resulted in many more, the characters of which cannot be examined in a brief article.

Switzerland deserves notice, however, for one feature connected with its latest constitution. The first one formed in Switzerland was in 1798, on the pattern of that of the French republic. A civil war gave birth to the constitution of 1848, and in 1874 the present one was adopted by a popular vote. In all but one (Freiburg) of the cantonal constitutions based upon and guaranteed by the federal constitution, the people have the right to demand that all important legislation be referred directly to them. "It may even be said that in some cantons the councils merely formulate the laws, while the people pass them" (Woodrow Wilson, "The State," § 519). In general, however, the laws are submitted to popular vote only upon demand by petition of a specified number of voters.

History

The English Constitution is of another type, and yet, directly or remotely, has influenced nearly all others. It is a collective name for the principles of public policy on which the government is based. It embraces statutory law, custom, tradition, and precedent. No one document outlines the whole system of government. "The British Constitution is a barrier which yields under the pressure of circumstances as often as that pressure reaches a certain degree of intensity, but a barrier which never breaks, being steady and firm despite, or rather on account of its flexibility" (C. Borgeaud, *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. vii., p. 613). It is maintained not by safeguards formulated within itself, but because it has the sanction of time and the protection of a conservative privileged class and the loyalty of the people.

The British colonies in North America, Australasia, and elsewhere have written constitutions in general features conforming to the practises and precedents of the English Government, the most noteworthy being the responsible ministry.

The most recent government on earth (1894), organized under a written constitution, is the republic of Hawaii. Its fundamental law embraces provisions similar to parts of those of Great Britain and of the United States.

The South American States and Mexico, which achieved their independence of Spain in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, are all now living under formal republican constitutions. The limits of this article will not permit of an examination of either these or the afore-mentioned English colonial constitutions. Sufficient to say, however, in all the recent ones the tendencies are markedly in the same directions as in those which will be considered more closely.

A constitution comes from a sovereign power, and its nature must depend, then, upon what power is recognized as sovereign. It may come from a king in the form of a charter or grant while he is absolute, and in order to get a recompense of some kind; later he may grant it because the people are so far recognized as the source of power that he is forced to a compact, and so one is agreed upon by the ruler and the representatives of the people. Later, when the people are acknowledged as sovereign, the constitution proceeds from them—i. e., they, by representatives, draw it up and then ratify it by a stipulated majority. The theory of the constitution is really far to seek. It is found directly connected with the origin of a state. Three theories are proposed for the origin of a state—the theological, the historical, and the contract theory. The contract theory, the work of J. J. Rousseau, is interesting in this connection as a curiosity, and because so many of its expressions have crept into constitutions. The theory, in brief, is that a state originates in the agreement of individuals to establish it. The theory itself has often been refuted by showing that men have always been associated in groups, larger or smaller, and that society in this sense needs no definite agreement, but rather is a state of nature. It is certain that the idea of a contract only entered the comprehension of men ages after they had already well-established forms of society, ruler and ruled, law trials and judges.

Theory

The preamble of the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780 is so much like a quotation from Rousseau's "Contrat Social," that the framers of that instrument must either have believed in Rousseau or have interpreted him in another manner than the common one—that is, instead of understanding his contract to be the basis of association, it may have been only a philosophical device for explaining the relations of the independent members of an already free state. Tho professing itself to be a contract between individuals, such a contract is really, by the ratification of the citizens of the state, the fundamental law, and not a mere contract and equalizer of rights.

We shall make no effort to detail the probable steps between the recognition of binding contracts as in practise by the Romans, charters of medieval towns and monasteries, and the nineteenth century state and national written instruments. All medieval charters, especially the Magna Charta, signed by King John in 1215, and early colonial charters have their place in the order of development of constitutions; but the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut (1639) is the first document which created a complete form under which a government was organized. This document, which was not superseded by a constitution till 1818, must be taken as the real and immediate origin of the present constitutions of Christendom. The Puritan is to be credited with the introduction of the written constitution into political life. The Fundamental Orders of Connecticut was the first, and there were two others emanating from the Puritans in England in 1647 and 1653.

Whether a constitution, after it is ratified, shall be effective or not depends entirely upon how firmly its principles are already an accepted part of the national consciousness, and hence how far it faithfully reflects the national will.

Numerous instances might be cited where constitutions have either been imposed upon a people who did not thus already experience the sentiments contained in them, or where people themselves, having overturned an existing government, have framed a constitution containing principles which call forth no patriotic response from the mass of the people. Constitutions, like poets, are not made. A constitution, to be at all effective, must be an evolution. No wonder that the new states of the United States should find their constitutions to work fairly well, and the numerous states nominally set free by France in her revolutionary period should find almost the exact opposite. In one case the whole experience of the past two or three generations has been in a constitutional atmosphere and in contact with the much praised and almost worshiped United States Constitution, while in the other a newly prepared paper constitution was presented to those who were almost totally unfitted for it by their previous political experience. It is not at all uncommon to find Americans and others who are such worshipers of their constitutions that they believe their principles to be of universal application, amazed to find that these constitutions, when imposed on people of different training, do not work satisfactorily.

Authority

In a period of eighty-four years, France has had eleven constitutions. The abandonment of one and the adoption of another has in each instance been accompanied by a revolution or a *coup d'état*, or a national calamity.

The history of the South American constitutions is almost a continuous tale of adoption, revolution, and a new instrument. May it not be a pertinent question whether even a sovereign people have authority over the next and succeeding generations.

The authority of a constitution is certainly not sufficient to prevent revolution, yet often it has taken revolution to amend a constitution. Those who make a constitution, appreciating their own necessity for altering the form of government, should also appreciate that others may wish to modify theirs without the accompaniment of revolution.

The most important feature of American constitutions is the division of governmental powers into the three heads —legislative, executive, and judicial —and the definition of the powers of each. The main difficulties that have arisen

Principles

among these departments have been from the encroachment of one department upon another. The numerous alterations in the state constitutions during the last 100 years have mostly been in the direction of limiting the functions of legislatures and enlarging the power of the executive. Possibly this has grown from observing that in the Federal Government during the same period Congress has been encroaching on the executive, and it has been easier to modify the state constitutions than that of the United States. In both state and national government the judicial department has been steadily gaining in importance.

It is rather a disappointment to those who, in idolizing the Constitution, think that its framers were so inspired that they could strike off at once such a remarkable instrument, to learn that the Constitution is not nearly so much the result of inspiration and foresight as it is the result of a series of compromises. The compromises were the result of the collision in the convention of two forces which are present in all political bodies—viz., the centralizing and decentralizing, otherwise the aristocratic and democratic forces. The first class is fearful of the power of the masses, and the second of the tyranny of officeholders. The aristocratic faction, fearing the thoughtless despotism of majority rule, endeavored to make a government popular in form, yet of such a nature that it could be controlled by a minority which would presumably be from the better side of society, and to so plan that amendments could with great difficulty be made and no radical change adopted as the result of popular clamor. With one party, then, in the convention fearing the masses, and the other a possible tyrant, the resulting constitution was reasonably satisfactory to both, but for different reasons. John Adams, in a private letter, recapitulates the arrangements whereby one department acts as a check upon another: "First, the states are balanced against the general government. Second, the House of Representatives is balanced against the Senate and the Senate against the House. Third, the executive authority is in some degree balanced against the legislature. Fourth, the judiciary is balanced against the legislature, the executive, and state governments. Fifth, the Senate is balanced against the president in all appointments to office and treaties. Sixth, the people hold in their own hands the balance against their own representatives by periodical elections. Seventh, the legislatures of the several states are balanced against the Senate by sexennial elections. Eighth, the electors are balanced against the people in their choice of president and vice-president" ("Works," vol. vi., p. 467). If these checks were all operative now, just as was expected by those who placed them in the Constitution, the work of the government would be even slower to express the real feeling of the nation than now. But even with the last-mentioned check entirely nullified, and some of the others not fully operative, through certain practises that have grown up, the work of government has in several instances been so clogged as to have well-nigh stopt.

It is very doubtful whether, in the development of society along the lines which are apparent, one generation ought to legislate for another. Each generation, perceiving its own needs and difficulties, and devising some means of satisfying and obviating them, also feels that if the arrangements by which they have surmounted difficulties can be made into fixt laws, then difficulties of the same kind will not occur in the future. Thus those who planned the Constitution of 1787 intended to guard against innumerable possible dangers. One evidence that they cannot prepare for changed conditions is that the method planned for the election of president, when tried, worked successfully for only four elections. An amendment was made and put into effect in 1804, so modifying the mode of election as to vote by the electors for president and vice-president separately. This portion of the provision is still operative, but the whole aim of separating the choice of president from the necessary excitement of popular election has been defeated, and the electors have become mere machines, to cast ballots according to instructions. This would be no calamity, but rather in accord with the growing tendency to elect all officers if the real voice of the people were heard, or even the voice of the majority. This, however, has not been the case. In several elections the successful candidates have not received a majority of the votes cast, and in two elections not even as many popular votes as the defeated candidates; but the only way in which the people have been able to express their dissatisfaction with the prescribed form in the Constitution has been by an evasion of the real intent in Article XII. of amendments in such a manner that the article is nullified without being violated in the letter. After the twelfth amendment, in 1804, no amendment was possible until the social upheaval caused by the Civil War, and it seems indeed apparent that no amendment further is possible without revolutionary proceedings and excitement.

United States

In the absence of ability to amend there must be some way of permitting government authorities to act according to the exigencies of the occasion, where there is no provision for or against, or where a literal reading would seem to obstruct. This way has been through the right of interpretation. Instead of seeking the probable intent of the writers of the document, there should rather be sought the view of the present political power —i. e., the people. Under a government where the constitution is established and ordained by the people it is absurd to consider the people ruled by the thoughts or intents of a past generation. Their utterances, even tho they be in the form of a fundamental law, can really be binding only when they are the reflection of the will of the living power. Hence in a government which rests ultimately for its support upon the whole people, or that portion of the people which molds public opinion, the interpretation of a constitution must be that which best reflects the "prevalent sense of right," or that which is the interpretation of the present possessors of political power. "The cases are not rare in which forced construction has been resorted to in order to justify the exercise of powers which are deemed necessary by public opinion. Nor can we expect to prevent altogether this tendency to strain and force the literal meaning of the Constitution in order to bring it into conformity with that unwritten constitution which is the real constitution, and which embodies the living rules of conduct; for the unwritten constitution is steadily but slowly changing under the pressure of popular opinion and public necessities, checked only by the popular reverence for the written word" (C. G.

Tiedeman, "The Unwritten Constitution," p. 136).

The following table of facts, obtained from the constitutions of all the states in the union, will partially illustrate the tendencies of the present in constitution-making. The constitutions called "earliest" are those which were first actually put into practise in the government of each state, and were mostly adopted between 1776 and 1850, and the "latest" are mostly those which have been adopted since the Civil War. The earliest and latest of each state are the ones meant:

In the earliest constitutions seven states had a four-year term for governor.
In the latest constitutions twenty states have a four-year term for governor.
In the earliest constitutions twelve states had a two-year term for governor.
In the latest constitutions eighteen states have a two-year term for governor.
Two states have decreased the term of governor.
Five states have increased the term of governor from one to four years.
In latest constitutions four have term of governor one year.
In latest constitutions two have term of governor three years.
In earliest constitutions nine elected governor by legislature or by assembly and council.
In latest constitutions all elect governor by all voters.
In earliest eight executives had a veto to be overruled by a majority.
In earliest thirteen executives had a veto to be overruled by a two-third majority.
In earliest ten constitutions had no provision on subject of veto.
In latest four constitutions have no provision on subject of veto.
No constitution before 1845 (Texas) gave the executive authority to veto items in a bill, and with this exception none till after the Civil War.
In latest constitutions five pass a bill over veto by a mere majority.
In latest constitutions twenty-four pass a bill over veto by a two-third majority.
In latest constitutions sixteen allowed items in bills to be vetoed. (Some confined to appropriations.)
In latest constitutions thirty have biennial sessions of the legislature.
Fourteen of this thirty have been changed from annual to biennial.
One of this thirty has been changed from semiannual to biennial.
One has changed from semiannual to annual.
Fifteen legislatures have always been biennial.
In earliest constitutions four have members of Lower House hold two sessions.
In latest constitutions six have members of Lower House hold two sessions.

Tho the people themselves are responsible for the legislators whom they are unwilling to trust, they have in all the more recent constitutions so shown their distrust as to make the constitution in length more like a code of laws, and have imposed restrictions of various kinds upon the legislative power. Several causes may be assigned for this untrustworthiness in legislatures, such as the spoils system, the political boss system, small salaries, suggesting dishonest dealings with public money, etc.; hence special legislation in certain enumerated cases is prohibited. These prohibitions amount, in the Constitution of Montana, to thirty-five, and in that of North Dakota to 100.

Another method which legislators have used for making questionable laws is by means of riders to appropriation bills, and by introducing doubtful appropriations into general appropriation bills. The people have guarded against this to a certain extent by giving to the governor in at least sixteen of the states the right to veto particular items in a bill, while indorsing the remainder and causing it to become a law.

All the later constitutions are really of a different class from the older ones, and represent new tendencies in the people. This is especially apparent in the development of the fourth department of government—viz., the administrative. In a few states this is made a distinct department of government, but in general it has not yet been separated from the executive. Certain bureaus and officers, such as those of agriculture, railroads, land, and insurance commissioners, indicate direct connection of the economic interests of the people with the administration of the states. The people in the early days of the republic knew nothing of these interests, and were quite content to leave them all to the legislature. But now the skill of experts to collect and classify information in these various fields is demanded in order that legislation may be intelligent rather than experimental, and to the immediate welfare of the whole people. These officers are now in every state chosen by the qualified electors instead of by the legislatures, and indeed nearly all officers which were in the earlier constitutions appointed by the legislature are now chosen at a general election. The state judiciary is also now elective.

In addition to reducing the frequency of legislative sessions, the length of session in many of the states is limited to a period of from forty days (the briefest) to (in general) ninety days, or by prescribing a definite salary for the whole period, thus offering an incentive to briefness; or a per diem compensation, to be stopped after a specified number of days. The multitudinous restrictions placed in all the more recent constitutions on legislative, executive, and other state officers shows clearly the desire of the voters to retain power in their own hands.

While the great length of the later instruments would seem to indicate a crystallization of the governmental powers, and hence the removal of them from the people, in truth the opposite of this is the case. The ease of amendment by general vote, the checks put on the officers, the change in several instances of the impeaching power from the Senate to the Assembly—these and other considerations point rather toward a retaining of the powers of the government in the hands of the people.

In the preamble or bills of rights introducing most of the constitutions, the statement is curtly made that all political power is inherent in the people.

A feature of the Constitution of Washington of 1889 is the provision for home rule in the cities —i. e., the charters, instead of being granted by the legislature, as in other states, are to be framed by the inhabitants—a noticeable step in the direction of real democracy.

Trusts and monopolies, developments of the last few decades, are not left open to arrangements by and with the legislatures, but are regulated by a code of laws enacted by all electors and embodied in the constitution under the head of provisions for "Corporations other than Municipal."

Between 1776 and 1894, 111 constitutions have been adopted in the United States. This, of course, means that many of the states have remodeled or made anew their constitutions, as well as that territories have made constitutions and become states. One state only (Massachusetts) has lived the whole time under one constitution, while Kansas has changed her constitution oftener than any other state. Only fourteen of the states retain their original constitutions, and

six of these are the recently admitted ones—Montana, Washington, the two Dakotas, Idaho, and Wyoming.

The United States Constitution, lacking flexibility, has failed to allow for changed conditions, and has been modified only by the effects of war, by nullifying portions in spirit, if not in letter, and by forced construction. According to the apparent trend of present national life, amendments would seem to be demanded for the election of United States Senate, president, and vice-president by direct vote.

Summary

The modifications of state constitutions—viz., increasing power of executive, curtailing power of legislative departments, shortening legislative sessions in length and frequency, election of many officers formerly otherwise chosen, embodying in the Constitution laws concerning tendencies regarded as dangerous—all are indications of the sovereign people's determination to retain in their own hands the actual management of government, and to delegate power solely for purposes of administration, and that in such a manner that all responsibility can be located.

The reforms which are next likely to be proposed are the referendum and proportional representation. (See REFERENDUM; PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.)

GEORGE EMORY FELLOWS.

CONSUMERS' LEAGUE, THE: The first Consumers' League was that of New York City, founded in 1890 and incorporated in 1898. It defines its aims as follows: "By the exercise of the combined influence of its members, to ameliorate the condition of working women and other employees in and about shops, stores, and workrooms in the City of New York, and to secure conditions which shall conduce to the physical and moral well-being of all such employees."

For sixteen years, the league has promulgated the following "Standard of a Fair House":

Wages: A Fair House is one in which equal pay is given for work of equal value, irrespective of sex, and in which no saleswoman who is eighteen years of age or over—and who has had one year's experience as saleswoman—receives less than $6 per week.

In which wages are paid by the week.

In which the minimum wages of cash children are $2.50 per week, with the same conditions regarding weekly payments.

Hours: A Fair House is one in which the hours from 8 A.M. to 6 P.M. (with three quarters of an hour for lunch) constitute the working-day, and a general half-holiday is given on one day of each week during at least two summer months.

In which a vacation of not less than one week is given with pay during the summer season.

In which all overtime is compensated for.

In which wages are paid and the premises closed for the five principal legal holidays, viz., Thanksgiving Day, Christmas and New Year's Day, Washington's Birthday and the Fourth of July.

Physical Conditions: A Fair House is one in which work, lunch, and retiring rooms are apart from each other, and conform in all respects to the present sanitary laws.

In which the present law regarding the providing of seats for saleswomen is observed, and the use of seats permitted.

Other Conditions: A Fair House is one in which humane and considerate behavior toward employees is the rule.

In which fidelity and length of service meet with the consideration which is their due.

In which no children under fourteen years of age are employed.

In which no child under the age of sixteen years shall work for more than nine hours a day.

In which no such child shall work, unless an employment certificate issued by the Board of Health be first filed with the employer and the name, etc., of the child be entered on a register kept by the employer.

In which the ordinances of the city and the laws of the state are obeyed in all particulars.

The stores which approach nearest to the standard of the league are printed in the "White List" which has been distributed in a million copies by the Consumers' League of New York City. Philadelphia and Cleveland have had "White Lists" for several years.

The Consumers' League of New York City has brought to light the level of wages in the retail trade by establishing its minimum at $6 a week for girls over eighteen years of age who have had a year's experience. This keeps so many merchants off the "White Lists," and requires such constant supervision of those who are on it, that there must obviously be a mass of workers who are ready to take this pittance, less than unskilled, inexperienced washerwomen and scrubwomen receive.

The National Consumers' League (founded 1899, incorporated 1902) states as its object and principles:

To secure adequate investigation of the conditions under which goods are made, in order to enable purchasers to distinguish in favor of goods made in the well-ordered factory. The majority of employers are virtually helpless to maintain a high standard as to hours, wages and working conditions under the stress of competition, unless sustained by the cooperation of consumers; therefore, the National Consumers' League also proposes to educate public opinion and to endeavor so to direct its force as to promote better conditions among the workers, while securing to the consumer exemption from the dangers attending unwholesome conditions. It further proposes to promote legislation, either state or federal, whenever it may appear expedient. The National Consumers' League further recognizes and declares the following:

That the interests of the community demand that all workers shall receive fair living-wages, and that goods shall be produced under sanitary conditions.

That the responsibility for some of the worst evils from which producers suffer rests with the consumers who seek the cheapest markets, regardless how cheapness is brought about.

That it is, therefore, the duty of consumers to find out under what conditions the articles they purchase are produced and distributed, and insist that these conditions shall be wholesome and consistent with a respectable existence on the part of the workers.

The president of the National Consumers' League is John Graham Brooks; secretary, Mrs. Florence Kelley, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York City.

There are now sixty-five leagues in twenty states, each electing its own officers and adopting its own constitution, and all cooperating with the national organization.

During 1906 the Consumers' League has extended the field of its activities in two important directions. It has undertaken to investigate the conditions of food production, and has started a movement among its members and others for the purchase of stock in cotton-mills for the purpose of voting for humane and enlightened conditions in such mills, particularly for abolishing the employment of young children.

The "Handbook of Child Labor Legislation," compiled by Miss Josephine C. Goldmark, is issued annually in January. It contains accurate schedules showing the legislation of each state, and a compilation of the best provisions of the most advanced statutes under the title, "The Standard Child Labor Law." It is one means of promoting uniform child labor laws throughout the republic.

The National Consumers' League awards the use of its label to manufacturers of stitched white muslin underwear who meet its conditions, as follows: "Goods bearing the label are made in factories in which (1) the state factory law is obeyed; (2) all the goods are made on the premises; (3) overtime is not worked; (4) children under sixteen years of age are not employed.

This guaranty is based upon the following procedure: Before the use of the label is awarded to a manufacturer, his factory is visited by an agent of the league, who also asks both the local Board of Health and the state factory inspector for a report on the establishment. When this is satisfactory, the manufacturer signs a penalty contract embodying the four points guaranteed. After the use of the label has been awarded, the factory is visited from time to time by the agent of the league, and the local committee of the league reports upon it to the national secretary.

FLORENCE KELLEY.

CONSUMPTION: In social science consumption may be defined as the use of commodities or of anything having exchange value.

"Consumption," says Adam Smith, "is the sole end and purpose of all production, and the interest of the producer ought to be attended to only so far as it may be necessary for promoting that of the consumer." "Later criticism," says Professor Nicholson (in Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy") "has thrown doubt on the possibility of making such a sharp distinction between the interests of producers and consumers. Apart from women, who are largely employed in domestic duties, and old men, invalids, and children, the number of those returned in the census of any civilized country as 'unoccupied' is extremely small, and thus the great majority of the adult males are both producers and consumers. Accordingly the conditions as regards health, variety, moral and intellectual effects on the worker of the work done, etc., are of coordinate importance with the amount and quality of the definite commodities consumed."

J. S. Mill ("Polit. Economy," bk. 1, chap. iii., sec. 5) makes the important distinction between productive and unproductive consumers. He says: "All the members of the community are not laborers, but all are consumers, and consume either unproductively or productively. Whoever contributes nothing directly or indirectly to production is an unproductive consumer. The only productive consumers are productive laborers; the labor of direction being, of course, included, as well as that of execution. But the consumption even of productive laborers is not all of it productive consumption. There is unproductive consumption by productive consumers. What they consume in keeping up or improving their health, strength, and capacities of work, or in rearing other productive laborers to succeed them, is productive consumption. But consumption on pleasures or luxuries, whether by the idle or by the industrious, since production is neither its object nor is in any way advanced by it, must be reckoned unproductive; with a reservation, perhaps, of a certain quantum of enjoyment which may be classed among necessaries, since anything short of it would not be consistent with the greatest efficiency of labor. That alone is productive consumption which goes to maintain and increase the productive powers of the community; either those residing in its soil, in its materials, in the number and efficiency of its instruments of production, or in its people."

The subject of consumption is speeially treated in Roscher's "Political Economy" and in Schönberg's "Handbook," by Professor Lexis.

CONTRACT LABOR: When a government—national, municipal, county, or otherwise—individual, or corporation of individuals desires to erect a building or undertake any other work of magnitude, the custom has grown of giving out the work to be done by some contractor or contractors, who usually sign an agreement to do the work or furnish the required supplies for a certain sum, taking the responsibility of purchasing the material, hiring the workmen, and concluding the whole work. Business done on contract forms a very large proportion, particularly of the building, constructing, and furnishing trades. This method of business has grown up mainly for two reasons: Firstly—and this reason applies particularly to private corporations and individuals—because it is usually the easiest method. An individual or a corporation, and to a less extent government, has not often either the time or the ability to conduct an operation apart from his, her, or its own line of industry, and it is therefore much easier and sometimes the only possible way to give the whole job to some contractor, whose exact business it is to do the kind of work that may be required, leaving to him all responsibility for details, and paying him a lump sum for the completed work, usually with certain specified requirements and by a specified time. Secondly, it is usually claimed—and this reason is applied particularly to governments—that it is cheaper to let out the work than for the government or individual to do it for himself or itself.

Arguments for

This reason springs in part from the first reason. What we know little about we cannot do cheaply. A contractor whose special business it is to undertake a work can naturally do it more cheaply. This, it is true, might be obviated, especially on the part of governments that are always having such works performed, by hiring paid specialists, not to take a contract for the work, but to conduct it for the government itself; but this, it is usually said, is expensive. It is a common opinion in business and public circles that public work is never as cheaply done as private work. Public work, carried out by paid officials and employees, it is said, is always comparatively expensive, because it is no one person's interest to see that the work is cheaply done. The only party that suffers if it is not cheaply done is the general public, and the public often knows little about it, and when it does know is often unable speedily and readily to act in the matter. Consequently, it is said, government work is usually carried out by corrupt officials and lazy, inefficient employees. Contract labor is cheaper, it is argued, because rival contractors will bid against each other to do a job as cheaply as possible in order to get the job, and will then see for the advantage of their own pockets that their men work cheaply. To insure this, legislation, and often the special legislation authorizing the undertaking, requires that the work be bidden for in the open market, and the job be given to the contractor agreeing to do it for the lowest figure. Therefore exact specifications of what is wanted are usually advertised by the government, and sealed bids from various contractors are received for doing the work, and at a certain time the bids are opened and the contract awarded to the contractor offering the best terms. This, until recently at least, has been almost universally regarded as the best way of getting work done.

But three main difficulties have resulted from this system. In the first place, it has developed some of the greatest political scandals of modern times. It being, of course, for the interest of the contractor to get all he can from the government for doing the job, it has repeatedly happened that contractors in some way bribe the administration or the officials in charge of the works to award them the job, even when they do not offer the lowest price. So frequently does this happen, that public officials expect, as a matter of course, to be bought in this way, and a job is created simply to afford a chance to the officials to sell the contract. Sometimes contractors seem all but compelled to bribe their way to receiving a contract. Not infrequently officials will form bogus companies of their own, and award a contract to themselves at exorbitant rates, and then secretly sublet the contract to some company or contractor, pocketing themselves the enormous difference. "Jobs" of this kind, especially in municipal governments, have at times been al-

Arguments against

most the rule in America. Secondly, it being the interest of the contractor not only to get a high price for his work, but having gotten a high price, to perform it as cheaply as possible, he often defrauds the public, and sometimes with the connivance of public officials, by furnishing anything but the specified quality of material and the specified quality of work. Jobs that have been thus put upon the people disgrace almost all American cities, and exist wherever the contract system is found. Thirdly, it being the interest of the contractor to pay low wages to his men, the contract system has often become synonymous with the employment of the lowest forms of imported labor, to the exclusion of the more educated workmen of the country. Roads are built and dwellings put up by contractors who employ imported Italian and Hungarian labor, while American workmen go idle for lack of employment. This, not unnaturally, has greatly incensed trade-unionists, and they continually urge, and occasionally succeed in compelling municipal governments to give the preference to workmen resident in the city; but more and more are they agitating for the abolition of the whole contract system, which has proved itself fruitful of such corruption, and is built often upon the low wages of working men. They argue that it is the first duty of a government to be just to its own citizens, and that it has no right to leave the management of public works to irresponsible contractors. They would have government employ its own workmen at fair prices, for fair hours, and avoid the costs of paying middlemen and contractors. They claim, too, that this will really give the public both better and cheaper work. They do not, of course, claim that all corruption will disappear, but that work conducted by public officials can be more easily investigated and watched than work given out to private contractors. Such are the general arguments on both sides.

We give two quotations, one from a believer and the other from a disbeliever in the contract system, which, tho now ten years old, are still classics for their respective views. For the contract system the Hon. Nathan Matthews, Jr., the Mayor of Boston, said in his valedictory address, Jan. 5, 1895:

One of the chief difficulties in municipal government under democratic institutions is the treatment of the labor problem in its various aspects. The relations between the municipal corporation and its employees engaged in manual labor are everywhere the cause of unceasing agitation and discussion; and this is particularly the case in Boston, where from the earliest times a larger proportion of the public work has been done by day labor than in the other large cities of the country. The collection of garbage, at first let out to contractors, was entrusted to a department of the city government to be handled directly by its employees, as early as 1824; and in the same year a street-cleaning service was inaugurated upon the day-labor plan. The lighting of the public lamps, which prior to 1868 had been done by the gas companies or other contractors, was at various times between that year and 1870 handed over to the lamp department, and has since been attended to by the employees of that department. Work upon the streets was done very largely by day labor as early as 1850; sewers have been built by day labor from an early period; the laying of pipes for our water-works has almost always been done by the day; since 1865 the construction of the great basins has frequently been attempted by day labor; and a large part of the work of park constructions since 1882 has been done by the day.

The present practise is to do all the work of maintenance, repairing, jobbing, pipe-laying, and all matters the proper execution of which is a question of opinion, and therefore difficult to secure through written specifications, by day labor employed directly by the city departments, and to let all works of large construction out by contract.

The day-labor system, even if excluded entirely from works of large construction, costs the city very much more than contract work, as, owing to the higher rate of wages paid, the smaller number of hours, and the large number of holidays and half-holidays without loss of pay, the city pays about sixty per cent more than the market rate of wages.* A further loss is experienced through the necessity of furnishing, so far as practicable, permanent employment throughout the year, and also by the continued employment of men who have grown old in the service of the city. On the other hand, a good deal of the city's work could not be done by contract without constant complaints from the citizens that it was not properly done. This applies to the collection of garbage, the cleaning of streets, the lighting of lamps, and other work of the sort, the proper execution of which is in the nature of things a matter of opinion and therefore incapable of accurate specification in a written contract. In the next place, work in the nature of jobbing—of which there is a great deal in the street department—probably costs no more under this system than if let out by contract, for the reason that the profits of the middleman in small jobs are necessarily large. Then there is a class of work difficult of inspection, such as the laying of water-pipes, which it is for the interest of the city to have done by day labor, even if it costs more, in order that the city authorities may be certain that it is well done.

Day Labor

Notwithstanding all that can be said against the execution of public works by day labor, I am satisfied that it is on the whole for the advantage of the city that work of the character mentioned should be done in this way; and as to the high rate of wages, shorter hours of work, and other privileges which swell the cost, it may be said that the wages paid to the city laborers have not been increased since 1882†; that the hours of labor are regulated by statute; and that if the city is to employ day labor at all, it has been found practically necessary that the laborers should receive high wages, permanent employment so far as practicable, and generally a more liberal treatment than in private work. Whether city laborers work as faithfully as those employed by contractors depends on circumstances, principally on the discipline of the department and the energy of its foremen.

Passing now to the consideration of works of construction, we find wholly different conditions. Here the cost of the day-labor system is very much greater than contract work, and the results are in no respect more satisfactory.

While there are opportunities for collusion and corruption in the contract system, still these opportunities can be and, so far as my experience goes, are avoided with comparative ease. Contracts for work of this character can be so drawn as to permit of accurate inspection, and with upright and watchful heads of departments there is no reason why public work of this sort cannot be carried on fully as cheaply and quickly as private work.

I have been at some pains to secure accurate comparisons of the cost of works of large construction done by day labor and by contract, and the following instances are given by way of illustration: At Lake Cochituate, in 1887, about 50,000 cubic feet of shallow flowage work was done by day labor, at a cost of $28,837.16; while the following year about 57,000 cubic yards of similar work was done by contract for $16,202.25. Stripping 54 000 cubic yards of loam from the bottom of Basin 6 cost by day labor seventy-one cents per cubic yard; while the average of five sections let out by contract, involving the removal of about 400,000 cubic yards, cost about forty and a half cents a cubic yard. Rubble masonry was built on Basin 6 by day labor at a cost of $12.50 per cubic yard, and by contract for $7.50 per cubic yard. The work on Basin No. 5 (that now under construction, estimated to cost $2,500,000 for land and construction) is being done by contract; while the greater part of the work at Basin 6 was done by day labor; and the following table shows a comparison of the results obtained.‡

* The cost in the street department alone of holidays and half-holidays amounts to nearly $75,000 per annum. A city laborer (unskilled) receives about twenty-four cents per hour of actual work, while the contractors pay about fifteen cents.

† When they were fixed by vote of the city council at not less than $2 per day.

‡ The city engineer, from whom these figures are obtained, makes the following explanation:

In the item of 496,007 cubic yards of stripping is included one section of 90,810 cubic yards, which was very difficult. Excluding that section, the average cost of stripping 405,197 cubic yards was thirty-five and a half cents per cubic yard. The city work necessarily costs more than that done by contract for the reason that the city pays in the country $2 for nine hours' work, gives one half-day per week during four months, all holidays, and two days for voting. The men work from eight to nine months per year. This makes the price paid for one hour of actual work about twenty-four cents, while the contractor pays in ordinary years, in the country, fifteen cents per hour.

The division of cost of building the dams is about as follows: Labor, 67 per cent; teaming, 13 per cent; tools, etc., 20 per cent; and on this basis the city must pay 1.42 times as much as the contractor for the same effort. For stripping, the division of cost would be for labor, 75 per cent; teaming, 20 per cent; tools, etc., 5 per cent; and the city must pay 1.49 times as much as the contractor.

	Dam No. 5	Dam No. 6	
	Contract	Contract	City
Stripping of basin and dam	0.24	.....	0.57
Sodding embankment.....	0.28	.....	0.90
Concrete core-wall.....	4.70	.....	6.61
Plastering Portland cement	0.67	.....	0.99
Delivering gravel on embankment.....	0.206 (est.)	0.206	....
Spreading and rolling.....	0.119 (est.)	.....	0.226
Stripping 496,207 cubic yards.....	.....	0.405	0.64
Stripping 110,232 cubic yards.....	.....	.....	....

The plan now being prest by certain labor organizations (not composed of city employees) for the construction of public buildings by day labor employed directly by the city is too preposterous for discussion. The city has no opportunity to give constant employment to the skilled labor required in building operations, and would, therefore, be unable to secure the best workmen; it has no plant; the administration of such work would greatly enlarge the scope of political patronage; the cost may be safely set down as two or three times that of the present system; and all the advantages to be gained from competition under our present admirable contract law would be lost.

Between the demands of the taxpayer for the execution of all public works by contract, and the demands of the labor organizations that all public works should be done by the day, I believe that the safe, reasonable, and prudent course to follow in the public interest is the system now and for some time past in operation. According to this, all work of large construction is done by contract, through competition, except, perhaps, in certain special cases of peculiar difficulty; while jobbing, maintenance, repairs, and other work of the kind, including all that cannot be accurately specified and inspected, is done by day labor employed directly by the city departments upon liberal terms, in respect to wages, hours, holidays, and length of employment.

To this it may be said that even if contract labor be cheaper, it is at least questionable if a city should seek cheapness by importing or encouraging the importation of cheap, ignorant laborers, who are often a danger and a burden to the community, and who prevent its own citizens from earning a fair living; but it is even argued that experience shows that contract labor is not cheaper. Mr. Sydney Webb, in a paper read before the Economic Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1894, relates the experience of the London Council. He says:

We come to an altogether different range of criticism when we consider the council's determination to dispense, wherever possible, with the contractor, and execute its works by engaging a staff of workmen under the supervision of its own salaried officers. This has been fiercely attacked as being palpably and obviously opposed to political economy and business experience. It is worth while to place on record the facts. The first case is that of watering and cleaning the bridges over the Thames, a service which the Metropolitan Board of Works let out to a contractor. The new council perversely went into calculations which led the members to believe that the contractor was making a very good thing out of the job, and finally to decide upon engaging labor direct. There have now been over three years' experience of the new system, with the result that, whereas the contractor charged 4*s.* 7½*d.* to 4*s.* 10½*d.* per square yard, the work is now done at an average cost of 3*s.* 2*d.* a square yard, everything included.

In July, 1892, it was necessary to do the annual cleaning and repairing of the council's offices. The architect's estimate for the work as executed was £740. Instead of giving this work to a contractor, the architect was asked to engage a foreman and artizans, and have it done under his own supervision. The result of the experiment was that the total cost was £686, an apparent saving of £54.

This, however, was merely a matter of hiring labor, no constructive work being involved. It is interesting to trace the stages by which the council was driven, by force of circumstances, to its present position of builder. The first piece of actual building executed by the council was a schoolhouse at Crossness. The architect's estimate was £1,800, and tenders were invited in due course. The lowest tender proved to be £2,300. After considerable hesitation the Main Drainage Committee resolved to try to save this large excess over the estimate, and set to work to do the job under its own officers. Certain items which had been put down at £112 were omitted, reducing the estimate to £1,688, and the lowest tender to $2,188. The actual cost proved to be £1,652 only, a saving of £536. But the case which finally convinced three out of every four members of the council of the desirability of executing their own works was the York Road sewer. The engineer estimated the cost at £7,000, and tenders were invited in the usual manner. Only two were sent in, one for £11,588, and the other for $11,608. The council determined to do the work itself, with the result that a net saving of £4,477 was made.

Remarkable Results

This remarkable result naturally created a sensation among the contracting world, and attempts were made to impugn the engineer's figures. In his crushing reply he pointed out that the contractors had reckoned out their tenders at absurdly high prices in nearly every detail, charging, for instance, 60*s.* and 70*s.* per cubic yard for brickwork and cement, whereas the work was done at 39*s.* It is clear from the particulars given, and from facts notorious at the time, that an agreement had been come to by the contractors not to compete with one another for this job, in order to induce the council to abandon its fair wages clause. The council preferred to abandon the contractor.

The outcome was the establishment, in the spring of 1893, of a Works Committee, to execute works required by the other committees in precisely the same manner as a contractor. The Works Committee has an entirely distinct staff, and keeps its own separate accounts. The committee requiring any work prepares its own estimate, as if tenders were going to be invited, and the Works Committee is asked whether it is prepared to undertake the work upon that estimate. Up to the present date sixteen separate works, varying in amount from £100 to £4,094, have been completed, and the accounts settled and checked by the controller. The result shows an aggregate net saving of £2,420, or over 8 per cent.

Now, it is obvious that, incomplete as statistics necessarily are, and difficult as it must always be to decide a question of policy upon mere statistical results, the figures, as far as they go, afford no assistance to those who denounce the council's action, and are distinctly encouraging to its progressive members. No sound induction on such a matter can, however, be made upon mere statements of profit and loss, extending, too, over a very brief period.

When we thus find even the county councils in rural districts giving up the contractor, it ceases to be surprising that the town council of Manchester, in the city of Cobden and Bright, now manufactures its own bass-brooms, or even that the ultra-conservative commissioners of sewers of the city of London actually set the county council an example by manufacturing their own carts. The superiority of direct municipal employment, under salaried supervision, to the system of letting out works to contractors has, in fact, been slowly borne in on the best municipal authorities all over the country by their own administrative experience, quite irrespective of social or political theories.

Comparing the present cooperative system in New Zealand with the former contract system, the Under Secretary for Public Works in that colony says: "The contract system had many disadvantages. It gave rise to a class of middlemen, in the shape of contractors, who often made large profits out of their undertakings. Under this cooperative system works are carried out for their actual value—no more and no less. . . . Work also is better done under the cooperative than under the contract system." (See New Zealand.)

References: *Municipal Affairs*, June, 1897, and September and December, 1898; *Cassier's Magazine*, February, 1900; *Gunter's Magazine*, January, 1902; *The Arena*, April, 1904.

CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY: There are few monetary questions more important than that of the contraction and expansion of currency. We consider: (1) The economic principles involved; (2) the practical importance of the subject; (3) the facts as to the United States.

I. The Economic Principles Involved.

These are not in debate. Upon them all economists are more agreed than upon almost any other principles in economic science. They are:

(*a*) That a contraction of the currency tends to lower prices, and, vice versa, that an expansion of the currency tends to raise prices. Says Ricardo: "That commodities will rise and fall in price in proportion to the increase or diminution of money I assume as a fact that is incontrovertible. That such would be the case the most celebrated writers on political economy are agreed."

Says President Walker: "That prices will fall or rise as the volume of money be increased or diminished is a law that is as unalterable as any law of nature."

The reason for this is simple. When a currency expands there is more money to meet the demands of trade. People are able to give more to purchase what they desire; hence the seller can raise his prices. It is, of course, implied that the currency has expanded *more than the demand for it*. If, as is often the case, a slight expansion of currency is accompanied by a greater expansion in the volume of exchanging, so that more currency is needed, the slight absolute expansion of the currency is more than counterbalanced by the greater expansion of the need or demand for it, and there is, therefore, virtually not an expansion, but a contraction of the currency, and prices fall instead of rising. Of course also, by expansion of currency is meant currency *in circulation* actually available for making exchanges. If in any country currency is coined or issued, no matter in how great quantities, and is locked up either in government vaults or withdrawn from active circulation by private or other cornering of the money market, there is no real expansion of the currency.

(*b*) Economists are agreed that it follows from the above that a contraction of the currency tends to benefit the credit class, and that, vice versa, an expansion of the currency tends to benefit the debtor class. Says President Andrews ("An Honest Dollar," p. 8): "Increase in the value of money robs debtors. It forces every one of them to pay more than he covenanted—not more dollars, but more value, the given number of dollars embodying at date of payment greater value than at date of contract. Decrease in the value of money robs creditors, necessitating each to put up, in payment of what is due to him, with a smaller modicum of value than was agreed upon."

Contraction Tends to Benefit Credit Class

So substantially say Jevons, Walker, Chevallier, and all authorities, altho all have not realized the importance of the subject. It should, however, be realized what this means. The credit class is, generally speaking, the small class who live directly or indirectly upon investments. The debtor class is the large class of producers in any nation.

(*c*) Economists are agreed that what is wanted is an "elastic currency"—that is, a currency that can decrease in volume when prices go up and increase when prices go down, thus operating to check the increase and decrease. Exactly on what basis this should be done there is, however, disagreement.

II. The Practical Importance of the Subject.

This is also admitted by all thinkers, altho it has not always been sufficiently realized. Says President Andrews ("An Honest Dollar," p. 13): "Jevons, at any rate, is too moderate. After enormous admissions touching the ravages of changing currency values, he almost apologizes for the change in money value, on the ground that the sorrows springing from it are mostly occult, and that the people habitually refer them to other causes. The question is not whether the infelicities accompanying these monetary vicissitudes are appreciated or not, but whether they are real and serious. That they are both will be the conviction of every student in proportion to his acquaintance with them. . . . It is certain that none who have not made the subject a study at all adequately conceive the magnitude of the evil."

Says Professor Commons (*The Voice*, Sept. 14, 1893):

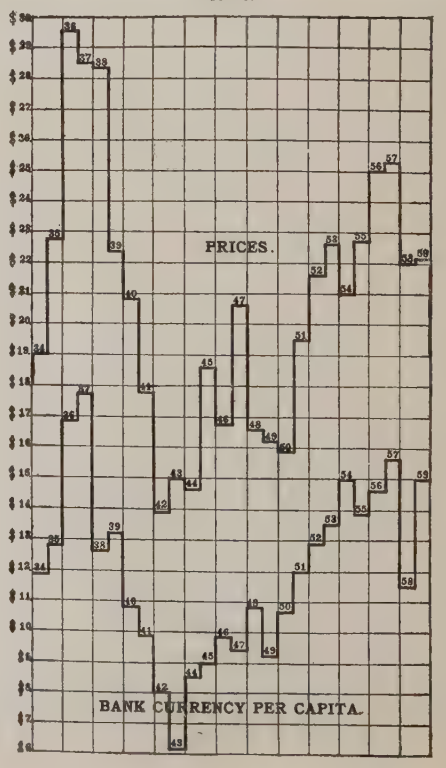
> What is the significance of price fluctuations? Nothing less than the very essence of modern industry. . . . It is estimated that the debts of the world are $100,000,000,000. Every nation, state, county, city, and township is a debtor. These debts run from three months to three decades. All business and productive enterprises are a speculation. The farmer borrows money expecting to sell wheat at a certain price and pay his debt in money. Meanwhile, the price of wheat falls 50 per cent. Where one bushel would have paid his debt when contracted, it now requires two bushels, and the burden of the debt has grown 100 per cent. During the past twenty years this is exactly what has occurred. . . . When we consider that the private debts of the country are one half the value of the country, it is no wonder that panic, depression, idleness, and despair are upon us.

III.—The Facts as to the United States.

These can be fully studied only in a complete review of the currency of the United States. (For this, see CURRENCY.) We here consider only such facts as are in dispute, and mainly those which have arisen since the war. For the antebellum period we present the following chart from Amasa Walker's "Science of Wealth":

DIAGRAM.

Showing the Corresponding Fluctuations in Currency and Prices for 26 years, 1834–1859.



This diagram shows at once how closely prices follow fluctuations in currency, and also the vast importance of the subject to the general prosperity of the nation.

For the period since the war we ask:

(*a*) *Has there been contraction or expansion of our currency since the war?*

This is a disputed point. According to authorities at Washington, no contraction has taken place. In the reports of the Secretary of the Treasury, that official gets the per capita circulation by dividing the total amount in circulation by the total population; but during the war millions of people in the South were not using United States money—at least not entirely. They had a currency of their own. The secretary should either have divided the currency only by the Northern population, or have added the Southern currency to the Northern and have divided by the total population. Either process would show a larger per capita circulation during the war days.

This assuredly seems to show that our currency in the United States has not been contracting, but steadily expanding. Equally assuredly, however, vast portions of currency are not available for the common people, and some portion is not available for any one.

According to the treasurer's report for 1892, for example, of the $1,601,347,187 reported in circulation on July 1, 1892, $408,568,824 was in gold coin. Now, except on the Pacific slope, the common people do not see gold from year's end to year's end. All moneys coined since 1872 in the case of gold, and since 1878 for silver, are considered by the treasurer as in circulation. That this is not the case; that large amounts have been hoarded, lost, or taken from the country is notoriously true, tho statistics of the amounts may not be available.

Since 1878 there has been expansion, but this does not take into account the increase of business over the increase of population. We shall consider this more fully, but must first note an objection that seems to vitiate our argument. It is said that the amount of currency really makes very little difference, because the vast majority of our monetary transactions are done, not by money, but by instruments of credit for which money merely furnishes the basis. The one thing we are told is to have this basis reliable and trustworthy; its amount matters little. Professor Commons (in the article above mentioned in *The Voice*) has well stated the objection and well answered it:

> There is a current statement emanating from the reports of the Controller of the Currency, and based on the statements of bank officers throughout the union to the effect that only 7 per cent of the business of the country is paid for in cash; the other 93 per cent is represented by credit instruments, such as checks and drafts. From this statement it is sought to minimize the share of money in influencing the range of prices. The conclusion is reached that 93 per cent of general prices is based on credit and only 7 per cent on money, and therefore that the question of the volume of money in a country has very little significance compared with the importance of a good credit system.
>
> **Use of Credit**
>
> But there are two objections to this conclusion. What would be thought of the sanity and the conclusions of a man who should gather statistics only from the meat markets in the land and then should expound the statement that 95 per cent of all the industry of the country consisted of fresh meat and only 5 per cent of the country's industry consisted of all other kinds of commodities? The conclusion is no less credible than is the aforesaid statement regarding credits. The statistics are gathered only from enterprises whose sole business almost is dealing in credits. But if you go to the retail merchant he will say 25 per cent to 75 per cent, and even 100 per cent, of his business is paid for in cash. The farmer uses very few checks and drafts. The millions of day laborers use none at all. Taking the country as a whole, perhaps not 50 per cent of all transactions are settled by credit instruments, while the cash of the country must be actually transferred in settling the other 50 per cent.

Until recently, however, prices have notoriously fallen; in other words, *money has appreciated*. How much this is the case is well illustrated by President Andrews ("An Honest Dollar," p. 13):

> Our national debt on Sept. 1. 1865, was about $2,750,000,000. It could then have been paid off with 18,000,000 bales of cotton or 25,000,000 tons of bar iron. When it had been reduced to $1,250,000, 30,000,000 bales of cotton or 32,000,000 tons of iron would have been required to pay it. In other words, while a nominal shrinkage of about 55 per cent had taken place in the debt, it had, as measured in either of these two world-staples, actually been enlarged by some 50 per cent. . . . Between 1870 and 1884 the debt of the United States decreased not very far from $750,000,000. Yet if we take beef, corn, wheat, oats, pork, coal, cotton, and bar iron together as the standard—assuredly not a bad one—the debt not only did not decrease at all, but actually increased by not less than 50 per cent.

Now, it can be seen what expansion and contraction of the currency means to the producing and debtor class of this country. As with public debts, so with private debts. Measured by what a dollar will buy from 1870–84, every debt increased, according to President Andrews' statement, threefold. Immediately after the war American enterprise filled the West with new farms. The farmers borrowed money, and mortgaged their farms to get stock and "plant." But their unpaid debt increased threefold in value. It is plain what made the battle for more currency (silver especially) of such vital moment to the West until very recent times. For proposed remedies, see BANKING; BIMETALLISM.

CONVICT LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES: Labor of some kind is required of all persons convicted of crime and sentenced to penal institutions in the several states of the United States. In most cases the sentence of the court itself requires that "hard labor" be added to the penalty of confinement in prison. In order to preserve the health and sanity of the prisoner, it is necessary that exercise at least, if not actual toil, be provided. It is only when the cupidity of the "taxpayer" enters so far into the management of prisons, and so far dictates the policy of prison management as to make it imperative that prisons be made "to pay," that convict labor becomes a serious moral and industrial question.

There are six general systems under which convicts are found at work in the United States: (1) Lease system; (2) contract system; (3) piece-price system; (4) public-account system; (5) state-use system; and (6) public works and ways system.

1. *The Lease System*: Under this system the state enters into a contract with a lessee, who agrees to receive the convict, to feed, clothe, house, and guard him, to keep him at work, and to pay the state a specified amount for his labor. The state reserves the right to make rules for the care of the convict and to inspect the convict's quarters and place of work. No institution is maintained by the state other than a place of detention, where the convicts can be held until placed in the hands of the lessee, and in which to confine convicts who are unable to work.

2. *Contract System*: Under this system the state feeds, clothes, houses, and guards the convict, and maintains an institution and a force of

guards and other employees. A contractor engages with the state for the labor of the convicts, which is performed in or near the institution. The contractor pays the state a stipulated amount for the services of each convict, supplies his own raw material, and superintends the work.

3. *Piece-Price System*: This system differs from the contract system only as to superintending the work and determining the speed at which convicts must work. The state maintains the institution, and feeds, clothes, and guards the convicts. The contractor supplies the raw material and pays the state an agreed amount for the work done on each piece or article manufactured by the convicts. The officials of the prison not only maintain discipline, but dictate the quantity of work required.

4. *Public-Account System*: In the public-account system the state enters the field of manufacturing on its own account. It buys the raw material, manufactures and puts the product on the market, and assumes all the risk of conducting a manufacturing business. The state has the entire care and control of the convicts, and with them conducts an ordinary factory.

5. *State-Use System*: Under this system the state conducts a business of manufacture or production, as in the public-account system, but the use or sale of the goods produced is limited to the same institution or to other state institutions. The principle of the system is that the state shall produce for its own consumption only.

6. *Public Works and Ways System*: This system is very nearly like the state-use system. It might not improperly be included therewith. Under this system the labor is not applied to the manufacture of the common marketable articles of merchandise, but to the construction and repair of prison or other public buildings, public roads, parks, breakwaters, etc.

The contract system obtains in twenty-seven states and in fifty-four institutions producing over $1,000 worth of goods in a year. The lease system is confined to the five states of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Virginia, and Wyoming. The piece-price system has been partially adopted in seventeen states and in thirty institutions. The public-account system is to be found in ninety-nine institutions, located in forty states. The state-use system is found in 149 institutions in forty-seven states, counting the two U. S. prisons as a separate state. The system designated as public works and ways is to be found in 166 institutions located in thirty-eight states.

The report of the U. S. Bureau of Labor for 1905 deals exclusively with the subject of convict labor, and contains the best information on the subject yet published. Quoting from that report:

Statistics

It will be necessary to wait until the report of the United States Census Bureau is published to ascertain the total number of convicts in the U. S. The present report shows only the total number of convicts in those institutions in which convicts are engaged in productive labor. This number was 86,036.4 in the year covered. Possibly a few hundred should be added to this number to cover the convicts who may have been at work in the institutions that produce so little as not to be included in this report. The number is believed to be so small, however, as to be of little consequence in an industrial sense.

Of the 86,036.4 convicts in the institutions covered, 80,426.3, or 93.5 per cent, were males, and 5,610.1, or 6.5 per cent, were females. In the penal institutions 70,069.0, or 93.7 per cent, of the convicts were males, and 4,702.7, or 6.3 per cent, were females; and in the juvenile reformatories 10,357.3, or 91.9 per cent, were males, and 907.4, or 8.1 per cent, were females.

While 86,036.4 convicts were in the institutions in which productive labor was performed, the number actually engaged at productive labor was only 51,172.2, or 59.5 per cent of the total number of convicts. Of the remainder, 21,403.3, or 24.9 per cent of the total, were engaged in prison duties, such as cooking, washing, cleaning, and other domestic service, 2,774.0, or 3.2 per cent, on an average, were sick or invalid, and 10,686.9, or 12.4 per cent, were idle because no work was provided for them or because they were purposely kept in confinement without labor. Those reported idle in juvenile reformatories include also inmates who were in school and were not engaged in productive labor.

The report covers 296 institutions of which 257 were penal and 39 juvenile reformatory; 103 were under state or territorial control, 139 under county control, 25 under city control, 1 under township control, 2 under federal control, 17 under the control of lessees, 1 under private control with assistance from the county, and 7 under mixt control. The value of goods produced under each of the systems of convict labor, and the number of convicts working under each system are shown in the following table:

VALUE OF GOODS PRODUCED AND OF LABOR ON THE SAME, NUMBER OF CONVICTS EMPLOYED, AND NUMBER OF FREE LABORERS THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN REQUIRED TO PERFORM THE SAME WORK

SYSTEM OF WORK	Institutions	Market value of goods produced	Value of labor on goods produced	NUMBER OF CONVICTS EMPLOYED			FREE LABORERS NECESSARY TO PERFORM SAME WORK		
				Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Lease	20	$3,093,764	$1,355,796	3,644.2	7.5	3,651.7	4,183.7	7.5	4,191.2
Contract	54	16,642,234	4,535,089	16,563.9	352.0	16,915.9	10,845.7	514.5	11,360.2
Public-account	99	4,748,749	1,616,758	8,228.4	302.0	8,530.4	4,183.6	355.5	4,539.1
Piece-price	30	3,239,450	858,764	3,809.6	76.1	3,885.7	1,291.9	747.5	2,039.4
State-use	159	3,665,121	1,836,801	11,067.9	976.6	12,044.5	5,081.9	626.9	5,708.8
Public works and ways	166	2,886,887	1,712,221	6,142.0	2.0	6,144.0	4,960.4	2.0	4,962.4
Total	296	$34,276,205	$11,915,429	49,456.0	1,716.2	51,172.2	30,547.2	2,253.9	32,801.1

While it is necessary in this article to follow the figures presented by the Federal Bureau of Labor in all phases of the subject, because they are the best obtainable, it must nevertheless be borne in mind that upon certain points the bureau itself is wholly dependent upon the contractors for information as to the value of goods produced by convicts under the contract plan, and also for its estimates of the number of free laborers required to perform the same amount of labor outside of prison walls. Upon these two points, therefore, the figures given by the bureau are not entirely convincing. Many persons who have had prison contracts and also operated free factories in the North, testify that with the use of machinery, and the enforcement of the task system, the output per convict in the prisons is nearly equal to that of free labor; while in the South the statement that one negro in prison will do as

much work as two or three on the outside is not regarded as a uniform experience. Bearing in mind, however, that the value of goods made under contract in a prison may be considerably understated, and that the numerical displacement of free laborers by convicts is at best but an estimate, the statistical data in this report must guide the student in any study of convict labor.

Opposition

The organized opposition to convict labor, especially under the contract system, was for many years led by the trade-unions. The trade-union objection is not primarily to the labor of convicts, but to the use of the products of that labor to reduce prices, and hence ultimately the wages of free labor. It is conceded that if the convict were not a convict he would labor; but in that case he must work for "a living-wage" and would enter the industry most in need of his service. As a convict he works at a fixt task, the state selling his labor to a contractor at a rate which would not support him, much less his family, on the outside, the contractor using the product of the labor of convicts thus secured to cut prices, and terrorize other manufacturers into cutting wages in the hope of being able to meet the prices of these competitors. It is simply the application of the economic theory that competition will eventually reduce all to the level of the lowest price and lowest wages prevailing in a given industry. The trade-unionist replies that if this is true, the massing of convict labor into special occupations will reduce all labor in those occupations to wages no higher than the contract price of convicts.

As a matter of fact, the opposition to contract convict labor has been as great and as persistent among employers as among members of labor-unions. At present the Free Labor Association is the principal opponent of convict labor, and is a national organization composed for the most part of manufacturers whose business is being menaced by the output of prisons. For many years the fight was upon the contract and lease systems only. Later experience has shown that the public-account system is even worse, as the state agents really sell for less and demoralize the markets more than do contractors. State-use is the system sometimes favored by trade-unionists and manufacturers, for while this eliminates a large customer (the state) from the market for free-made goods, it does not demoralize prices in the market that is left. Public works and ways, however, is the system that seems most in favor, except among those who, pretending to speak in the interest of the "taxpayer," demand that the state shall "make money" out of the crime committed within its borders; and who hope to make the criminals a source of revenue by farming out their labor, or by selling the products of that labor in competition with free industries.

For the first time an intelligent general investigation of the commercial effect of prison-made goods was made by the United States Bureau of Labor, and is contained in chapter 2 of its report for 1905. The Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics dealt with this phase in 1886. Summarizing the results of its work in 1905, the U. S. Bureau says, under the heading "Commercial Effect of the Competition of Convict-made Goods":

Supplementary to this general investigation, a special investigation was made in the principal lines of convict-made goods to ascertain the effect of the competition of convict-made goods. The industries selected for such investigation were boots and shoes, clothing (working-shirts, pants, and overalls), chairs, tables, etc., brooms and brushes, binding-twine, stove hollow-ware, stoves, harness, saddletrees, whips, cooperage (in the Chicago market), farm wagons, and stone-work. In each of these industries statements were secured from leading manufacturers, covering their experience and expressing their opinions of the effect of convict-labor competition.

Reviewing the general question of convict labor as a competitive factor, it may be said that manufacturers consider such competition unfair and ruinous, demoralizing to markets and business stability, compelling the reduction of prices below a fair margin of profit and often even below the cost of production. Wages are forced to the lowest limit in a vain effort to lower the cost of production to that of the prison contractor. In some cases a deterioration of quality of material used and in others an entire abandonment to the prisons of the manufacture of certain grades of goods has become necessary.

In the boot and shoe industry the testimony of manufacturers is that the low cost or production of prison-made goods—a cost decreasing steadily with the increasing efficiency of the convict through the equipment of prisons with improved machinery—has enabled the prison manufacturer to drive the employer of free labor out of the market or force on him a reduction in the regular prices of many lines of goods.

In furniture the character of work done in prisons has changed entirely in recent years. The high grade of work now being done in prisons, together with the increased use of machinery (in use in six prisons in 1885 and in sixteen prisons in 1903–4) and the low prison cost of production, have made it impossible for the product of factories employing free labor to compete with it. Prison-made furniture has compelled the abandonment to the prisons of some lines, the reduction of prices in others, and a cutting of wages in an effort to keep pace with the reduction of prices. The competitive power of the prison product is greatly increased by the fact that the output of seven prisons in five states is controlled by one contractor.

In brushes the volume of prison-made brushes (scrubbing, shoe, etc.) has been so great and the wholesale and jobbing prices so low that a large number of the factories formerly making this class of goods on a large scale have entirely abandoned that grade of product, and many of them now purchase the prison goods to sell with the higher grade of their own manufacture. Those still engaged in direct competition with prison-made brushes can compete only by giving a better finish to the brushes, or by selling them at cost and relying for their profit on their better grades.

In broom- and whisk-making manufacturers employing free labor have been subject to the greatest price-depressing competition. It is a favorite prison product, the authorities turning to it as an occupation for convicts which can be followed with the smallest outlay of materials and machinery, and one in which unskilled labor can be used to make a crude product at a cost far below the cost of a similar product of free labor.

The investigation has also brought out the tendency of prisons to absorb the entire production of goods on a declining market where the articles are being substituted, either by changes in style or character of goods, or shrinkage in the market from any cause. For instance, in stove hollow-ware the substitution of stamped enameled cooking-utensils for the cast-iron articles has taken from the manufacturer of such cast-iron stove hollow-ware all of the market that would come from increased population, and probably more. The result has been the absorption of all the market left for these goods by the prison-made product.

In like manner the Chicago stock-yards market for wood-bound cooperage has been practically abandoned to the prisons. Owing to the use of refrigerator cars, iron-bound cooperage, tubs, lard pails, both wooden and tin, the demand for wood-bound lard tierces and pork barrels has not expanded with the packing business—indeed is not holding its own—and what market is left is practically absorbed by the prison-labor contractors.

In the making of saddletrees a similar condition appears. Horseback riding has given way to other forms of conveyance. The saddle market is a shrinking one. Hence, by a slight expansion and combination of the prison industry in this article, the market is practically absorbed, 90 per cent of all saddletrees being made in prison.

In blacksnake whips the prisons have been able, first, to drive out of existence practically all the factories employing free labor, and then to expand to supply the demand of the market. This is also essentially true of whip-lashes, quirts, and other small articles.

In binding-twine the effect has been to cause an accurate measurement to be taken of both the entire market and prison output, thus enabling the manufacturers employing free labor to ignore for the most part the prices made by the prisons. That is to say, when the annual consumption of binding-twine was practically 110,000 tons, the prison output was approximately 11,000 tons; this sold at a price which would have ruined the factories employing free labor had not they, figuratively, stepped aside until the prison product was absorbed and then sold their 99,000 tons at a profit.

The competition of prison-made products, in some instances, forces the weaker manufacturers to deteriorate the quality of their goods in order to meet prison prices. In this way

the price-breaking power of the prison output is augmented by the output of those manufacturers who have had to debase the quality of their wares to meet the prison competition. This will be found true to a certain extent in boots and shoes, binding-twine, whips, and some other lines.

The concentration of the product of the prisons in a number of states under the control of a single contractor renders the competition of the prison-made goods more powerful and more aggressive. In stove hollow-ware one firm (under various names) has the contract for three prisons; another controls two prisons. In furniture one company controls the product of seven prisons in five states, and in clothing one contractor controls the product of eight prisons in six states.

It is the settled policy of prison contractors and prisons operated on public account, as far as possible, to sell their prison-made goods outside the state in which they are manufactured. There are local manufacturing and political reasons for doing this. It has been repeatedly pointed out by manufacturers, and their statements are reenforced by specific detail, that when this is done it is clearly an act of one state to injure the manufacturing and labor interests of another.

It is to be noted that this entirely reverses the position taken by the former Commissioner of Labor, Carroll D. Wright, not only in his public addresses, articles, and books, but in his official reports. Ignoring the concentration of convict labor in a few simple industries, the former reports have compared the whole prison population and output with the total industrial population and total manufactured products, to show that the percentage of convict labor was too small to be worthy of notice. A very significant indication of modern tendency is the fact that one contractor making workmen's shirts has the control of eight prisons in six states, while one furniture company controls the furniture product of seven prisons in five states.

References: The *Twentieth Annual Report of the United States Bureau of Labor* (1905), by Charles P. Neill, Commissioner; the second chapter shows the commercial effects of the system, and the report contains the convict-labor laws of all the states. The *Second Annual Report of the Department of Labor*, by Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner, is valuable for its survey of the subject in other countries of the world. *Bulletin 5 of the Department of Labor* should be consulted. Nearly every state labor-bureau has published from time to time something on the subject. The best of these publications is the *Fourth Illinois Report* (1886) and the *First New York Report* (1883). An index to state labor-bureau reports was published by the U. S. Labor Bureau in 1902, and this gives nearly four pages (67–70) of references to state reports, most of which should be consulted in any thorough study. The chapter on the *Convict Lease System* in Geo. W. Cable's *Silent South* should be read, also chapter 22 of *Practical Sociology*, by Carroll D. Wright. Vol. iii. of the *Report of the United States Industrial Commission* is devoted to prison labor.

Ethelbert Stewart.

COOKING-SCHOOLS: Schools for teaching the art of cooking have been established many years. As early as 1863 such a school was opened at 111 Great Portland Street, London, by Mrs. Mitchell. In 1876 there were many training-schools in England, sending out teachers all over the world, those of Glasgow, Liverpool, and South Kensington taking the lead. There are similar schools in France and Belgium. The Young Women's Association in the United States have taken up the instruction of public-school children. Juliet Corson, in 1872, then secretary of the Free Training-School for Women, devoted herself to the study of cooking with respect both to health and economy. In 1876 she established the New York School of Cookery. Maria Parloa opened a school in Boston in 1876, and lectured there, as well as in various seminaries and evening-schools. She began a school of her own in New York in 1882. A school of cookery for the teaching of the public-school children was begun in Boston in 1883 at the North Bennet Street Industrial School. In 1885 Mrs. Hemenway established a vacation cookery school, which was accepted later by the school committee as Boston School Kitchen No. 1, they assuming the charge of it and establishing other like schools. It is required that students have a grammar-school education and knowledge of household matters, with respect to cooking and the principles thereof, and also of the chemistry of food materials.

In the New England Kitchen Mrs. Ellen H. Richards and Mrs. Mary H. Abel have worked out valuable experiments. Similar experiment stations have been started in other places in the U. S. for the purpose of studying the theories of nutrition and food value as exprest by the Munich physiologists. The most of the women's colleges, many Western agricultural colleges, the Drexel Institute in Philadelphia, the Pratt Institute in Brooklyn, give courses in domestic science.

COOPERATION (see also Cooperative Agriculture; Cooperative Banks; Building and Loan Associations; Cooperative Stores in the United States; Cooperative Union, etc.): We consider cooperation in this article under four heads: I. Definitions and kinds. II. History. III. Statistics and development in all countries. IV. Arguments pro and con.

I. Definitions and Kinds

Cooperation (from Latin *co* and *operare*, to work together) is used specifically in social science for the voluntary union of persons, in joint production, distribution, purchase, or consumption, apart from government, on equitable principles and for their mutual benefit. Such is, perhaps, a rightly exclusive and inclusive definition. Yet it must be admitted that the word is used by good authority both in a larger and a narrower sense.

George J. Holyoake, for example, defines it as "the concert of many for compassing advantages impossible to be reached by one, in order that the gain may be fairly shared by all concerned in its attainment" ("History of Cooperation," vol. i., p. 68). But this definition is obviously too broad. This definition would include the State, socialism, communism, every trade-union, almost every church, society, trust, monopoly, or combination of any kind. To use words so loosely, is to misuse them, even tho it be admitted that the essence of the cooperative idea does often lie deep in all concerted life, especially in the true State, the true Church, the true trade-union. On the other hand, the word has been too narrowly used. It has been said to mean simply "the voluntary union of consumers or producers for the purchase or production of commodities and the division of profits on the basis of the amount purchased or produced by the cooperators." But this identifies one form of cooperation with cooperation itself. There are other forms. Each form of cooperation is claimed by some to be the true form.

Cooperation may be divided into at least three distinct kinds, and these, into an almost infinite number of methods and combinations of methods. The three main kinds are:

1. Societies of distribution or consumption, in which consumers unite to bring together or maintain stores of goods where members can buy at a cheaper rate, or with some advantage to themselves. Such are cooperative stores, wholesale, retail, etc.

2. Societies of production, where producers combine to gain the advantage of combination in production, and to sell the collective or individual work. Such cooperators are their own capitalists. They may cooperate in manufacturing, in agriculture, or in any department of production.

3. Societies of credit or banking, where accounts of credit are opened with the members, and loans advanced to the members at favorable terms on fair securities. Such societies, in numerous modifications, as cooperative banks, friendly societies, burial societies, building societies, etc., exist in most cities. Owing, however, to these societies being in many ways different from the other kinds of cooperation, we consider them under separate heads. (See Building and Loan Associations; Cooperative Banks, etc.)

Between these various classes of cooperation it is necessary carefully to distinguish, for one class is often perfectly practical when the other is not. Distributive cooperation has been very successful, but was not the first attempted, and is by many severely criticized. Productive cooperation was first attempted, and is unquestionably the highest kind, but not unnaturally has been the slowest to be developed. Credit cooperation has been the most successful, but as being nearest to ordinary business methods and least developing the principle of cooperation is by many not considered true cooperation.

Distributive cooperation is the easiest to establish, and the Rochdale plan (for this, see below) is considered by almost all the safest and best method. Many consider this the only form of distributive cooperation meriting the name of cooperation. According to this plan, membership is open to any one interested who will take one or two small shares (in England generally £1, with 1*s.* on entrance, and the remainder, if he chooses, out of his accumulating dividends). A maximum share of capital which one person can hold is fixed in England at £200. Goods are sold at ordinary retail prices, and each purchaser receives a check or voucher corresponding to the amount of purchases. These are paid into the store, and every quarter or every six months the surplus of receipts over cost is divided among the members at so much per pound of purchases. This is the rebate, or dividend as it is called. Anybody may deal at the stores, and receive discount as a rule at half the members' rate. In England the rate of dividend is usually between 2*s.* and 3*s.*, but runs up to 3*s.* 6*d.* or 4*s.* Four or five per cent interest is generally paid on capital. The store is managed by a committee elected by the members, each member having one vote. The first department of a store is usually grocery and provisions. Many stores, even the smaller ones, bake their own bread, and find it most successful. Other industries are also frequently developed. Of this plan, Mr. N. O. Nelson, of St. Louis, its leading American advocate, says:

Distributive Cooperation

The most feasible method of getting into cooperative manufacturing is through the cooperative store. Storekeeping takes less money to start with, is simpler in its operations, and when once under good headway easily accumulates capital for factory plants. . . . Working men who really want to better the condition of their class should get together, familiarize themselves with the working details, and make a beginning in a small way. The difficulties to be encountered are not so much the business itself as the people's indifference. Where as many as fifty can be gotten together and imbued with the proper spirit a safe start can be made. Some members can pay their shares in full, and others fifty cents or $1 a week. Some vacant room can be rented cheaply or obtained for nothing; the work can be done evenings by volunteers or by some one out of work for small pay. The beginning should be confined to staple articles of food, and books should be kept under advice of a friendly bookkeeper. Care should be taken to keep the expenses so proportioned to the business that a fair net profit will be made from the start. Purchases and sales should be rigidly cash, and prices should be the same as at the neighboring retail stores. Every one of the fifty should be a missionary to explain the plan to his friends and get them to join. Members should loyally do all their trading at the store, even at some inconvenience. Undertaken in this way, a cooperative store can be started anywhere and be assured of success.

On the other hand, many criticize distributive cooperation and say that productive cooperation, the original form, is the only true cooperation. Said Mr. E. V. Neale at the English Cooperative Congress of 1886:

Productive Cooperation

The original pioneers looked forward to self-employment and the many advantages that might thus be brought within their reach, as the goal to be attained through the accumulation of the profits on their own purchases. Their successors, to whom the idea of self-employment has melted into the haze of a distant future, have too commonly got to look on the profits on their purchases as so much addition to their ordinary income; and have even been disposed to measure the benefits of the store by the amount of this addition—the actual dividend on their purchases—without caring to inquire closely how much of it is legitimately earned in the ways as specified above, and how much has come out of their own pockets by arbitrary additions to the prices of the goods sold. These departures from the original idea have produced a reactionary movement, a tendency to place the benefits of the store not where they really lie in the collective action which they make possible, and the educational and recreative resources that the members may obtain by their union beyond what they could secure individually, but simply in the power of getting what they want at a cheaper rate, by selling to themselves as nearly as may be at cost price.

Productive cooperation therefore is being developed, and in spite of some failures with increasing success. Most thoughtful cooperators now find no contradiction between the two forms and believe that any form of cooperation should be favored which local conditions make possible and opportunity and need call for.

Cooperative credit societies have been largely developed, in the United States under the form of Building and Loan Associations, and in Germany under the Schulze-Delitzsch and the Raiffeisen systems (see Section III. of this article under Germany), from which they have spread into most European countries.

II. History

For the beginnings we quote from George J. Holyoake, the eminent author of the "History of Cooperation in England."

Writing in the *Fortnightly Review* (1887), he tells us that cooperation dates from the latter portion of the eighteenth century.

"Ambelakia," he says, "was almost a cooperative town. So vast a municipal partnership on industry has never existed since. The fishers on the Cornish coast carried out cooperation on the sea, and the miners of Cumberland dug ore on the principle of sharing the profits. The plan has been productive of contentment and advantage. Gruyère is a cooperative cheese, being formerly made in the Jura Mountains, where the profits were equally divided among the makers. In 1777, as Dr. Langford relates in his "Century of Birmingham Life," the tailors of that enterprising town set up a cooperative workshop, which is the earliest in English record. . . . Shute Barrington, Bishop of Durham, established at Mongewell, in Oxfordshire, the first known cooperative store; while Count Rumford and Sir Thomas Bernard published in 1795, and for many years after, plans of cooperative and social life, far exceeding in variety and thoroughness any in the minds of persons now living."

Early Cooperation

"The only apostle of the social state in England," continues Mr. Holyoake, "at the beginning of this century, was Robert Owen, and to him we owe the cooperation of to-day. With him it took the shape of a despotism of philanthropy. Lord Sidmouth and the Duke of Kent gave him their personal influence to advance his views. Mr. Owen carried into practical use his ideas in his New Lanark Mills for educating his workpeople, and with a success that has had no imitators except

Godin, of Guise, whose Palace of Industry is known throughout civilization. Jeremy Bentham, who held shares in New Lanark, said it was the only investment he had made that paid him. It was here that Mr. Owen set up a cooperative store on the primitive plan of buying goods and provisions at wholesale and selling them to the working men's families at cost price.

"The benefit which the Lanark weavers enjoyed was soon noised abroad, and clever workmen elsewhere began to form stores to supply their families in the same way. The earliest instance of this is the Economical Society of Sheerness, commenced in 1816, and which is still doing business in the same premises and also in adjacent ones lately erected. Its rules stated that its object was 'to supply the members with wheaten bread and flour and butchers' meat.' The great war had long deprived them of both, and this society was commenced by intelligent dockyard workmen, who, altho better paid than ordinary workmen, were yet subject to privations. . . .

"Cooperation was also put to use on the Sussex coast, where Lady Noel Byron aided it, in order that the savings of the store might assist poor men in the way of self-employment, by keeping market gardens, and setting up tailors', shoemakers', and carpenters' shops. The desire of workmen to become their own masters, and the double prospect of independence and profit, spread the idea over the country as a new religion of industry. The cooperative stores now changed their plan. They sold retail at shop charges, and saved the difference between retail and cost price as a fund with which to commence cooperative workshops. By 1830 from 300 to 400 cooperative stores had been set up in England. There are records of 250 societies, distributive and productive, existing at that period, cited in the 'History of Cooperation.'"

Yet the real history of cooperation does not commence until 1844 in

England

England is the classic home and birthplace of cooperation as a practical movement. Its beginnings we have seen. But the early movement died away.

It should not be forgotten that cooperation received its first practical solution at the hands of the few poor weavers of Rochdale, in North England, who saved up a few shillings, afterward investing them in a bag of flour, which they distributed among themselves at cost price. It was this humble enterprise which marked the beginning of the great Rochdale system, that now counts its establishments by thousands, its investments and profits by millions of pounds sterling, and takes its name from those poor weavers, the Rochdale Pioneers. April 25, 1844, the day when this society commenced work, is a red-letter day in the history of cooperation.

Rochdale Pioneers

When their society began it only had twenty-eight members—£28 of funds—and the first year made no profit. In its second year it had seventy-four members, £181 in funds, £710 of business, and made £22 profit, 2½ per cent of which was used as a fund for education. In 1876 its members were 8,892, its funds were £254,000, its year's business exceeded £305,000, its profits were more than £50,500.

The methods of the Rochdale and other early stores were very simple, as the following early account will show. "The societies have a public store, where goods are sold even to those who are not members. The condition of membership is the payment of a few pence. At certain intervals, further payments of a few pence are required from the new member (in most cases twopence and a half a week, or tenpence a month), until their aggregate, together with the interest and dividends placed to his credit, amount to the prescribed minimum share in the undertaking. The sum in Rochdale was at first £4 ($19.36), afterward £5 ($24.30); in Manchester, however, only £1 ($4.84). Each member has the privilege of letting his share increase to £100 ($484); altho, in case of an excess of capital, the society can diminish the amount. Each member can, after previous notice, demand that his share, over and above the minimum share, be paid back to him, after an interval varying according to the amount; the minimum share itself, however, is not paid back to the member when he resigns, but may, with the approval of the society, be carried over to the credit of another, who thus becomes himself a member.

"A distribution of the net profits is made quarterly. After an interest at the rate of 5 per cent per annum has been deducted from the shares of the members, and 2½ per cent of the profits have been applied to the educational fund, the balance is placed to the credit of the members, in proportion to the purchases that each has made at the store during the preceding three months. The members are liable for no losses beyond the value of their respective shares. This right of allotment is governed by a special statute of Aug. 7, 1862, which secures to the companies the same legal rights possest by an individual.

"Every year there is a general meeting, in which every member has a vote. By this meeting, an executive committee of twelve is elected to manage the business of the society for one year, which holds a weekly session. This is the gist of the rules of the English societies, which differ only in minor particulars."

In 1849 commenced the Christian Socialist movement of the Rev. F. D. Maurice—the "Master," Charles Kingsley, Vansittart Neale, Thomas Hughes, and, above all, J. M. Ludlow, the real founder of the movement. (For their general principles and the history of their movement, see CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.) It is sufficient here to state that their efforts were important, not for the immediate results, since these were meager, but for the impetus they gave to the cooperative ideal, and to its ethical and enduring character. They started a society for aiding cooperative production, and as the result some cooperative tailor shops were begun. These, however, either did not live or were merged in the larger Rochdale movement. A more enduring result was the gaining by the Christian Socialist leaders successive improvements in laws which gave cooperative stores legal protection, and enabled cooperators to become bankers, to hold land, and to increase their savings to £200; which last provision led to some stores becoming rich, through the prospect it opened to members to acquire houses. This legislation with the ethical principles they so brilliantly advocated was the real contribution of the Christian Socialists to cooperation.

Christian Socialists

It is, however, in the Rochdale movement that we follow the real development of English cooperation. By 1856 the Pioneers had a capital of £12,900, and sold not only articles of grocery, but bread, meat, and clothing. In 1855 they commenced cooperative production, first hiring a small room, in which they placed a few looms, the beginning of their cooperative cotton mills.

It was a success and part of a mill was accordingly rented. Each laborer's share of the profits, after capital had received 5 per cent, was proportioned to the aggregate amount of wages he had earned, and as, in addition to this bonus, wages current in the trade were paid, it was natural that the best efforts of those employed were stimulated. The undertaking developed so rapidly that soon a larger mill was required than any that could be rented. It was resolved to build; a mill was commenced in 1856, and completed in 1860, at a cost of £45,000. A second mill was then commenced. These mills had scarcely time to get into full working when the breaking out of the Civil War in America brought the cotton trade of Lancashire into a state of unprecedented depression.

Growth of Cooperation

Meanwhile, the success of their movement had created efforts at cooperation all over England, particularly at Manchester, Halifax, Huddersfield, Leeds, Newcastle, and Oldham. The last named became a cooperative town. The "Oldham Building and Manufacturing Society," the first of its kind registered under the Joint-Stock Companies Act, was founded in 1858: capital, £1,000 in £5 shares.

The success of somewhat numerous stores led to united effort. In 1863 the present Cooperative Wholesale Society, Limited, was founded as the North of England Cooperative Wholesale Society, Limited. It confined itself at first to purchasing articles at wholesale price and selling them to cooperative societies and companies, whether members or not, at a small profit, which was divided half yearly among all customer societies in proportion to their purchases, mere customers receiving only half dividends, customer members whole. Its sales in 1865 (the first complete year of its working) were £120,754. In 1872 these had reached £1,153,132. In 1872, however, the society began production, purchasing some biscuit works, and starting in Leicester a boot factory in 1873, then soap works in 1874, other boot works at Heckmondwike in 1880. Leather-currying was entered on in 1886, a woolen mill taken over in 1887. Cocoa works were opened in 1887, a ready-made clothing department in 1888 (clothing having been already made up in two branches as an adjunct to the woolen cloth and drapery departments); a corn mill was opened in 1891, jam-making entered on in 1892, and a printing department undertaken, besides building departments in three English branches—Manchester, London, and Newcastle. In 1894 the society purchased a factory at Leeds for the manufacture of ready-made clothing.

The Wholesale Society

This society soon led to another. The Scottish Cooperative Wholesale Society was established in 1868. It entered upon production in 1880 with a shirt factory, followed in the same year by a tailoring department (the two were united in 1888), by a cabinet factory in 1884, boot works in 1885, currying works in 1888, a soap factory in 1890, and a mantle factory in 1891. A printing-office opened in 1887 to which business ruling and bookbinding were afterward added. Preserve-making and tobacco-cutting were also entered on. Many of the productive departments have been grouped together on twelve acres of land at Shieldhall on the Clyde, about three miles from Glasgow. The requisite buildings have been put up by the building department of the society, as well as several of its warehouses; and a large flour mill at Chancelot, near Leith.

Scottish Wholesale

The Scottish Wholesale Society has paid bonus to labor since Nov., 1870. The principle on which such bonus has been granted has varied, but by an alteration of rules made in 1892 bonus is credited to all employed at the same rate on wages as on purchases, half the bonus remaining on loan at 4 per cent.

In 1869 the first annual cooperative congress was held, and congresses have been held annually since.

What has been done in the way of gaining legal advantages for cooperative societies may be summed up under two main heads.

1. The incorporation of the societies by which they have acquired the right of holding in their own name lands or buildings and property generally, and of suing and being sued in their own names, instead of being driven to employ trustees.

Legal Rights

2. The Industrial and Provident Societies Act, 1876, which consolidated into one act the laws relating to these societies, and, among many smaller advantages too numerous to be mentioned in detail, gave them the right of carrying on banking business whenever they offer to the depositors the security of transferable share capital.

A Cooperative Union (q. v.) was formed in 1869, as a propagandist center.

The literature furnished by the union is varied and extensive. It publishes some hundreds of leaflets, pamphlets, and books for propaganda purposes. Lists and specimens may be had from the secretary. Among the writers are Messrs. Holyoake, Hughes, Kaufmann, Tom Mann, E. V. Neale, Beatrice and Sidney Webb.

Sept. 2, 1871, was published the first number of the *Cooperative News*, the recognized organ of English cooperators, a penny weekly published in Manchester by a federation of cooperative societies.

III. Statistics and Development

Great Britain

The following are the most recent figures for English cooperation. Distributive societies (1905), 1,457; members, 2,153,185; sales, £61,086,991; profits, £9,559,238; share capital, £26,077,174; employees, 72,712; assets, £35,249,964. The distributive societies also carry on various productive departments—e. g., baking, corn-milling, cabinet-making, boot-making, tailoring, dressmaking, etc.; the total output being more than £5,000,000 annually. Of these figures Mr. W. Henry Brown writes in "The Reformer's Year Book" for 1907:

> The decrease in the number of societies is due to the tendency for amalgamation that has lately been noted. Membership and sales have increased, but the difficulties of business are indicated in the lessened rate of advance, so far as profits are concerned. The assets include land, buildings, stocks, houses, investments, and £861,651 owing to societies for goods at the end of the year—representing a lapse from first principles to the tune of nearly a million, and proving the need for the anti-credit campaign of the Women's Guild. This growth of the credit system—the debts were only £771,778 in 1903—is a matter of regret. The salaries and wages paid by the distributive societies totaled £2,990,697 last year, and of the employees 19,456 were engaged in productive work, such as bread-making and the like; £81,747 were spent on educational purposes, and £39,084 went to charitable accounts.

The English Wholesale Society in 1905 had 1,138 members (its shareholders are the cooperative societies, none others being allowed to become shareholders or purchasers). Its share and loan capital was £3,301,429; its sales, £20,785,469; profit, £368,309. It manufactures boots, soap, candles, biscuits, sweets, preserves, pickles, lard, underclothing, corsets, furniture, cocoa, chocolate, woolens, clothing, flannels, tobacco, hosiery, brushes, starch, printing, corn-milling. The capital it employs in production is £1,564,256, its output of manufactures £3,543,501, profit £98,543, persons employed 11,468. It owns four steamships, and has numerous creameries in Ireland, purchasing agencies in Canada, the United States, Denmark, Germany, France, Spain, Sweden, Greece, and Australia, and has its own tea plantations in Ceylon. Its banking department has a turnover of £90,000,000. In the first half of 1906 the Wholesale Society invoiced goods to the value of £10,720,966, and transferred from its own productive works a further value of £2,123,069 in the same period. Its capital rose to £4,705,688, and the membership of societies comprized in the federation was 1,693,684.

The most important of the society's operations is the boot and shoe branch, which turned out in the third quarter of 1906 1,119,304 pairs of boots at the three factories at Leicester, Rushden, and Heckmondwike, the total value of the production of boots, leather, etc., being £283,933. Of growing extent are brush factories at Leeds and Huddersfield, cabinet works at Newcastle and Manchester, clothing works at Manchester and Leeds, the weaving shed at Bury, the corset factory at Desborough, the printing works at Manchester, lard refinery at West Hartlepool, hosiery works at Leicester, preserve and pickle works at Middleton. From its tobacco factory nearly 50,000,000 cigarettes are sent out every year.

The greatest increases among recent efforts have been in the home coal trade, which has shown a rise of 50 per cent in 1906, and probably indicates the ownership of mines ere long.

The Leeds Industrial is the banner cooperative store of the world, and has 49,186 members. It operates its own flour mill, clothing, furniture, and other factories.

The Scottish Wholesale Society in 1905 had 281 society members and 528 shareholders among employees; share and loan capital £2,372,904, sales £6,939,738, profits £267,564. It manufactures boots, shoes, tweeds, blankets, drapery, shirts, furniture, preserves, sweets, chemical sundries, soap, tobacco, printing, and corn-milling. In 1905 its productive capital was £685,678, output of manufactures £1,942,321, profit thereon £72,982, and productive employees 4,599. There are also eight corn mills owned by federations of retail societies and consumers which in 1905 had a capital of £347,071, sales £1,364,527, and profit £80,563; and 17 baking societies (also consumers' federations) with a total capital of £417,249, sales £624,967, and profits £74,340.

Besides these wholesale societies, the English cooperative development has produced innumerable societies and organizations of different kinds. The Cooperative Congress of 1906 was attended by 1,329 members. These congresses are addrest by the most prominent statesmen, bishops, and sociologists, and have wide-spread influence and importance.

The line of demarcation between the two schools of productive cooperation may be so clearly drawn that no confusion need arise as to the principles of wholesale and those of the copartnership side of the movement. The Cooperative Wholesale Society is a distributor as well as a producer of goods, and is really a federation of the distributive societies of the country, of which 1,154 are in membership. No individuals are admitted as shareholders, and goods are sold only to societies. The profits are divided among the shareholding societies in proportion to their purchases. In the copartnership societies profits are distributed among capital, customers, and labor, the workmen generally having representation on the management committees—a system that cannot obtain in the wholesale society owing to the fact that all concerned act as delegates from societies, instead of being personal members.

Productive Societies

The following figures indicate the extent of cooperative product of all kinds in 1905, that being the latest period for which complete returns are available:

	No. of societies	No. of employees	Trade	Profit	Loss
			£	£	£
England and Wales	122	6,433	2,453,219	126,186	2,722
Scotland	17	1,864	722,840	78,383	246
C.W.S., England	1	11,468	3,543,501	98,543	2,594
C.W.S., Scotland	1	4,599	1,942,321	72,982	2,945
Total	141	24,364	8,661,881	376,094	8,507

France

France, while the classic home of profit-sharing (*q. v.*), has had until recently little development of cooperation. In the early half of the century, while there was much discussion of the principles of cooperation, it usually took the form of plans for cooperative communities or communism, and little resulted. What did result is best studied under Communism; Fourierism; St. Simon; Buchez; Guise, etc. Cooperation proper in France dates from the Revolution of 1848, when the National Assembly opened a credit of $600,000 to be loaned to cooperative societies. In six months there were 480 requests for loans, amounting to $5,400,000. Only 29 could be complied with, and that partially. Few of these efforts prospered, and on the establishment of the empire a decree of March 25, 1852, abolished all workmen's societies. The law of 1867 gave an opportunity for cooperation, but little was done. In 1888 certain privileges and exemptions from taxation were given to all cooperative societies in France. In spite of this little developed. The Socialists of France have till recently repudiated cooperation and profit-sharing as reactionary, and the attention of capitalists and of the well-to-do has been mainly called to profit-sharing (*q. v.*). Nevertheless cooperative societies developed.

According to the *Bulletin de l'Office du Trevail* there were in 1904 in France 1,101 cooperative distributive societies (stores), 765 cooperative bakeries, and 338 other cooperative productive societies (111 in the building trades). According to the *Annuaire des Syndicats Professionels* there were in 1905 3,116 cooperative agricultural associations with 659,953 members, with 47 federations of societies.

According to the returns to the Cooperative Congress at Budapest in 1904, there were, at the end of 1903, 328 productive societies, of which 123 were in Paris, 19 being among cabdrivers. Distributive societies numbered 1,880, of which only 64 have more than 1,000 members each, and only 3 have more than 10,000. Their sales only totaled £3,405,400; the aggregate profits are unobtainable—in many cases no surpluses were made. Cooperative building societies numbered 56, many having received advances from the savings-banks. Credit societies have risen from 873 in 1902 to 1,038 in 1903. Nearly one half are on the Raiffeisen principle. Two hundred and seventy-three are in touch with the agricultural syndicates—cooperative societies existing merely for the common purchase of agricultural requirements.

In Luxemburg there were in 1903 365 agricultural cooperative societies and 89 cooperative dairies.

Belgium

The beginning of the cooperative movement in Belgium was simultaneous with the formation in Paris, after the revolution of 1848, of a large number of productive cooperative societies. A considerable number of tailors', shoemakers', and printers' cooperative societies were established in Brussels and Ghent, but were with one exception, shortly afterward dissolved. The first distributive societies were the cooperative bakeries established in 1854 at Ghent and Antwerp, but these also enjoyed only a brief existence. A certain number of societies for the purchase of stores for the winter were established a little later, chiefly among the members of friendly societies; in 1865, 12 of these societies were in existence. Between 1864, when the first "people's bank" was instituted at Liège, and 1873, a large number of societies were established, mainly through the influence of the *Internationale*, but the lack of recognition and protection by the law, as well as of proper organization among the working classes, and in some cases the bad management and dishonesty on the part of the managers, brought about the dissolution, by 1873, of almost all the societies, with the exception of the various distributive societies established in 1869 at the Mariemont and Bascoup collieries. In 1867, M. Anspach, the burgomaster of Brussels, established cheap dining-rooms for working men.

Cooperation and Socialism

The real development of cooperation in Belgium has been in connection with the Belgium Socialist movement. (See Belgium.) In 1879, largely under the lead of the Socialist Anseele, a cooperative bakery was begun in Ghent. This movement has given cooperation in Belgium a firm hold. Agricultural cooperative societies were commenced in 1885. There are also cooperative dairies, drug stores, insurance societies, banks, and distributive societies of many kinds.

There were in 1904 some 238 of these Socialist cooperative societies, several of them of very great strength. Most of these are organized into the "Federation of Socialist Cooperative Societies," which is also a wholesale society. It does a business of about 1,500,000 francs, while the collective sales of the individual Belgian societies reach 40,000,000 fr. annually.

The most important societies are those at Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, Liège, Louvain, Charleroi, Namur, Verviers, La Louvière, and "*Le Progrès*" at Jolimont. In industrial centers such as Charleroi, Borinage, and the Center of Hainault, the cooperative society began by selling flour and butter, but it was soon found that a cooperative bakery could produce bread far more cheaply than it could be produced by each family for their own consumption. With the exception of the cooperative society at Jolimont, where bread is sold at the lowest possible price, these societies have almost all adopted the system of the Pioneers of Rochdale, selling at the current trade prices, and dividing the profits realized at the end of a certain period, generally a year or six months.

The movement, however, is wholly in the hands of the (Socialist) *Parti ouvrier*, and no small portion of the profits are spent for Socialist

education, literature, and propaganda. The club houses are centers of socialism, and usually one must belong to the party to have the benefits of the society.

The great society "*La Maison du Peuple*," at Brussels, begun 1882, is representative, with its large central store, selling almost all kinds of goods, its restaurant, café, magnificent hall, and cooperative features of every kind.

Other cooperative societies are, however, also numerous in Belgium. There are numerous agricultural cooperative societies, largely "savings and credit societies" of the Raiffeisen type. These are mainly Catholic societies of the *Boerenbond* or Peasants' League, formed by Abbé Mellaerts of Louvain. There were in name at least 313 of these in 1904. They loaned 1,256,562 fr. to small agricultural cultivators in 1903, and 544,440 fr. to others.

People's banks do a much larger business in Belgium, and are organized into a federation. According to the *Revue du Travail*, of the Belgium Labor Department, there were Jan. 1, 1905, 17 people's banks making returns, with 15,721 members, and a loan of some 11,600,000 fr. There were 884 agricultural supply societies with 51,451 members; 496 cooperative dairies with 53,922 members.

The Netherlands

Cooperation in the Netherlands is somewhat advanced, tho largely in the form of cooperative dairies and rural societies. According to the Netherlands Cooperative Association there were in 1904 174 cooperative stores, 227 societies for the purchasers of fertilizers, seeds, etc., 30 for the sale of produce, 70 cooperative bakeries, 584 dairies, 76 other productive societies, 309 savings and loan associations, 143 building associations, 26 insurance associations—1,639. These figures include two societies in Batavia. The figures are also stated to be too high, as the law compels the registration of the formation but not of the dissolution of societies. The formation of 6 printing societies and 6 dressmaking societies indicates some tendency to cooperative production.

Denmark

Here cooperative development has been mainly on the Rochdale system, and on the authority of M. P. Blem, the chairman of the Danish Cooperative Committee, it can be said that there are now 1,000 societies with about 150,000 members, and an annual collective turnover of about £2,000,000. The Cooperative Wholesale Society of Copenhagen sells to 915 distributive stores. Cooperative creameries number 1,057, and the butter produced from milk delivered therefrom, during the last fiscal year, was valued at £8,400,000. The bulk of the agricultural exports from Denmark are of cooperative origin, the total production of the butter, bacon, and egg societies for export in 1903 being £11,414,000, while the total exports from the whole of the country were under £20,000,000.

Germany

The cooperative movement as a whole began much later in Germany than in England or France, and took a different form. The first attempts in Germany arose from the desire on the part of the artizan class to relieve the distress due to factory competition, by obtaining credit and the raw material necessary for their work at a more reasonable cost. In 1848 certain loan associations, or people's banks (*Darlehnskassenvereine*), were established, but as they lent money without interest, and were subsidized by philanthropic outsiders, they came to be regarded by the artizans as mere charitable associations, and were held in small esteem. In 1849 Herr Schulze-Delitzsch, who for years was the life and soul of the cooperative movement in Germany, founded the first cooperative society for the purchase of raw material among thirteen cabinetmakers in Delitzsch, his native town. A shoemakers' cooperative society followed, and the results were so favorable that during the next few years a considerable number of such societies were formed in the neighboring towns. In 1850 Herr Schulze founded the first of his loan associations (*Vorschussvereine*), which differed from the earlier banks in that the persons to whom loans could be granted must themselves be members of the association paying regular monthly contributions. They thus themselves indirectly furnished the security for the credit afforded them. After a time both the societies for procuring raw material and the loan associations federated, and the security thus afforded by the unlimited liability of all the members of all the associations for the obligations of any one association rendered it easy to procure the necessary capital. Tho the societies for procuring raw material form the necessary basis for productive cooperation, their expansion was less rapid than that of the loan associations founded later. Productive cooperation has at no time been able to show a very successful record in Germany. Between 1860 and 1870 a movement was set on foot for the establishment of retail distributive societies (*Konsumvereine*), and the attention of the working classes was attracted to these stores by the quarrel which resulted between Schulze and Lassalle. The history of cooperation in Germany has since been a continuous progress. The movement has spread from industry to agriculture. In 1859 a congress of members of loan associations was summoned by Herr Schulze at Weimar; a central committee was appointed, with Herr Schulze at the head, which in 1864 developed into the General Association of German Cooperative Societies (*Allgemeiner Verband Deutscher Erwerbs und Wirtschaftsgenossenschaften*), including all forms of cooperation within its limits.

Schulze-Delitzsch

Meanwhile another cooperative system had arisen in Germany. In 1849 F. W. R. Raiffeisen in Westerwald established a cooperative bakery, and then a cooperative bank. This had a capital of only £300. Contesting against great odds, his system was little known till 1874, but before his death, in 1888, "Father Raiffeisen," as he was called, saw his system a distinguished success.

The following gives the essential points of difference in the two systems:

The Schulze-Delitzsch credit associations put the *lender's* interest foremost; Raiffeisen, on the contrary, places the *borrower's* interest as the keystone of his system. He aims at social benefit, not at business profits. Every member joining one of the Schulze associations is expected to take one share valued at from $40 to $125

(each association determining the value of its shares). This share may be paid for in small instalments. The shares draw dividends ranging from 1 to 30 per cent. Some associations have declared dividends of nearly 60 per cent. This is gained by charging a somewhat high rate of interest. Loans are only made to members and are for short periods, never more than ninety days. As security, mortgages, pledges, bills, and sureties are taken. These associations are managed by a well-paid committee whose salaries are increased by commissions based on the amount of business done. In order to increase their commissions, a committee often takes bad securities.

The Raiffeisen loan banks were established to assist borrowers, and at the same time to free the small agriculturists from the merciless grasp of usurers. Raiffeisen offered to supply the peasantry with money if they would subscribe to his rules. As his aim was to benefit the poorest classes he exacted nothing from those joining, and as most members were agriculturists, he made long credits the rule. Each bank membership is confined to a small district. Within this district members are elected with great care and discrimination. No difference is recognized between the poor and rich except that the latter are allowed to take the brunt in the administration. No officers receive a cent of remuneration. Only one man connected with a bank is paid, viz., the cashier, and he has no say whatever in the employment and the distribution of the money. Banking in the ordinary sense is strictly forbidden. The banks are *loan* banks and their sole instrument is credit. No dividends are paid. All profits go into a reserve fund, which is used to meet deficiencies or losses, or it is voted to some public work or charity. Money is loaned only to members, and no request for a loan is granted until after a careful examination is made into the object of the loan, whether it is economically justified, and if found to be so the applicant for a loan is never refused. When the money is granted it must be used for the specific object for which it was requested. The rate of interest usually charged is 5 per cent. The banks obtain their money from various sources, paying from 3½ to 4 per cent. They have more money than they can use, as their reputation is excellent. The lending is on character, no pledges or mortgages are taken as security, but simply a note of hand backed by one or two other members. It is thought by many that one of the strong points of these *loan* banks is that they are based on the *unlimited liability* of members.

Raiffeisen System

Before the passing of the law of 1889, loans were made to non-members, but the law forbade this extension of the business of the associations on the ground that it destroyed their cooperative character. Since 1889 also the liability of the members has been no longer universally unlimited; but according to Dr. Crüger experience has shown that associations with limited liability have not always proved able to procure the necessary capital. Tho agreeing in their main object, the Schulze-Delitzsch and Raiffeisen banks differ considerably in other details. The former admit members of every class, and think this safer, since it is improbable that a demand on the bank will occur in every industry at once; the latter limit their advantages to agriculturists. The former charge high interest (8 to 12 per cent), and pay high dividends, with salaried officers. The latter charge low rates and have no salaried officers, and claim to be more ethical, while the former they consider merely commercial.

A connection between the associations, however, is maintained by means of the Central Agricultural Bank for Germany. The General Secretary's Union, presided over by Dr. Raiffeisen until his death, and since then by his son, aims to extend the system. The firm of Raiffeisen & Co. has been founded to supplement the funds of the association, and render them independent of subsidies hitherto granted by the Prussian Ministry of Agriculture. The firm publishes a journal, *The Cooperative News* (*Genossenschaftsblatt*).

In 1889 a general German agricultural cooperative union was established, and gave a great impetus to agricultural cooperation.

According to the Prussian *Central Genossenschaftkasse*, there were Jan. 1, 1906, in Germany 15,108 cooperative credit societies of one kind or another, with 2,018,821 members. The largest number of these belonged to the Reichsverband of Agricultural Societies, of which Dr. Haas is president. At the Budapest International Cooperative Congress in 1904, there were reported from Germany 7,008 credit societies of Dr. Haas's union; 3,982 societies of the Raffeisen type, and 960 of the Schulze-Delitzsch type. The peasant cooperative societies established by the Roman Catholic Church are also numerous. A German Cooperative Wholesale Society, somewhat on the lines of the English wholesale, transacts business with 1,400 cooperative societies.

According to statistics published by the Prussian Government there were in the empire Jan. 1, 1905, the following cooperative societies: 14,272 credit societies with 1,901,122 members; 1,833 stores with 897,092 members; 3,062 agricultural productive societies with 218,863 members; 199 other productive societies with 23,153 members; 1,806 associations for the purchase of raw materials with 139,426 members; 452 societies for the purchase of instruments of production, with 22,984 members; 295 societies for the sale of members' products with 33,231 members; 142 societies for purchase and sale with 6,392 members, 652 building associations with 120,954 members, 425 other societies with 42,979 members, a total of 23,221 societies with 3,409,871 members.

Present Statistics

Switzerland

Cooperative distributive societies formed on the English pattern were founded in Switzerland at an earlier date than in any other continental country and took firm root. The most usual form of the distributive society is an association for the wholesale purchase of food and household commodities. The articles bought at wholesale prices are sold to customers at prices varying from five to seven per cent below those of ordinary retail dealers. Some societies have also undertaken the management of restaurants, where a meal of soup, meat, and vegetables can be had for about 40 c. (eight cents).

The capital is formed either by weekly subscriptions or by the issue of small interest-bearing notes for sums as low as three frs. The net

profits go to form a reserve fund or to extend the operations of the society. Most of these societies enjoy a high degree of prosperity. One of the oldest and most important associations is the Consumverein of Zurich. This society was founded in Oct., 1853, by eight members of the Grütliverein, with a joint capital of 75 frs., which they employed in the purchase and sale of cigars.

Cooperative banking in Switzerland has had large success. The Schweizerische Volksbank has branches in almost every Swiss trading center.

In all there are said to be 4,400 cooperative societies in Switzerland, altho this large number is partly due to the fact that Swiss law makes it easy for almost any kind of common action to be registered under the name of a cooperative society. Of these, in 1903, some 1,800 were agricultural societies, including 1,536 cheeseries, which practically monopolize the cheese industry. There are some 1,200 societies for cooperative purchase. The 204 Swiss distributive societies are organized into a *Verband der Schweizerischen Konsumvereine*, which publishes an organ, the *Schweizerische Konsumvereine*. The agricultural cooperative supply societies are organized in a *Verband Ostschweizerische Konsumvereine*. In 1899 these two combined in a general union.

Italy

Cooperation in Italy connects itself with the past, yet has only recently been thoroughly organized. In 1886 and 1887 the first and second congresses of Italian cooperators met at Milan, and the Federation of Italian Cooperative Societies was constituted, and a journal, *La Cooperazione Italiana*, established.

Day Laborers' Unions

The most unique success of cooperation in Italy has been of cooperative societies of day-laborers. The origin of day-laborers' associations has been traced back to the companies of Lombard masons who, in the Middle Ages, wandered through Europe building cathedrals and palaces.

In Oct., 1888, Signor Marin opened a "cooperative campaign," which lasted for a whole year. The first conference was held at Contarina on Nov. 24th, and soon afterward a day-laborers' cooperative society was formed. Other conferences followed, and fresh associations were constituted. In all fifteen day-laborers' societies were established, besides four associations of day-laborers and builders. These nineteen unions had almost 8,000 members, drawn from the ranks of the poorest peasants in Italy.

The organization of these societies and the system of payment to members which is observed are very simple. The society makes a contract for a given piece of work at a given price, and then sublets the work by the piece to gangs (*squadre*) of its members. It provides the necessary tools if the workmen do not possess them, and gives a price equal to that which it has received, minus the expenses of administration. While the work goes on the members receive instalments of pay for their immediate maintenance. When the work is finished the quantity done by each man is estimated, and he is paid a proportionate share of the profits.

In 1902 there were 270 cooperative Labor Societies in Italy (not all day-labor) and they received 132 contracts at 3,293,705 lire.

Distributive

The first distributive societies in Italy were founded early in the second half of last century. A cooperative store was started in 1853 by the General Society of the Working Men of Turin, followed by another at Alessandria, which was opened in 1854. The capital of many of these original societies was obtained by means of subscriptions from wealthy persons, and in some places they were even organized by the municipal authorities. To this form of distribution others opposed the more purely cooperative English type based upon the scheme of the Rochdale Pioneers. They believe that the consumers would benefit more by receiving the profits of the society in the form of dividends than by a constant diminution of retail prices. The Italian Industrial Association was formed at Milan, to promote the development of industry in Italy, by the foundation of people's banks, benefit societies, and strictly cooperative societies of consumption and production. In 1865 there appear to have been about fifty-two such societies in Italy, and by the end of 1873 this number had risen to eighty-five, including sixteen associations on the English system. Unfortunately the hopes raised by this brilliant beginning were destined to disappointment. The Italian distributive societies were a foreign importation and lacked unity in direction, in form, and in aims. The severe English type, with its complicated system of reckoning, could not be maintained, for the consumers, urged by necessity, preferred a great immediate fall of prices to the slow accumulation of profits.

Bakehouses

The question of improving the dietary of the peasantry is one of great and increasing importance in Italy. Since 1860 the question of establishing cooperative and other bakehouses in the rural districts has been before the public. Don Rinaldo Anelli started a small cooperative bakehouse at Bernate, which proved a great success. In 1884 the government offered to pay half the expense of starting new establishments, and by 1885 the total number of cooperative bakehouses in Italy had risen to thirty-eight.

In 1863–64 Signor Luzzatti, in a series of lectures delivered at Milan, recommended the establishment of people's banks on the Schulze-Delitzsch system.

The movement quickly spread through Lombardy, Tuscany, Emilia, Romagna, and Venetia, and finally into the southern provinces. By the end of 1890 the total number of Italian cooperative credit societies was 738, with a paid-up capital of 92,000,000 li., and a nominal capital of about 100,000,000 li.

In 1887 there was, on an average, one people's bank for every 46,809 inhabitants in the kingdom, and these banks were most numerous, relatively to the population, in Apulia and Basilicata, a fact which is the more striking when it is considered that the means of obtaining credit were formerly in a most primitive state in these southern districts, where the peasantry were completely in the power of the local usurers.

The people's banks have been to some extent transformed, or rather they have been supplemented by the institution of other popular credit societies, based generally on the same principle, and organized on similar lines, but differing in their character and in their aims from the original associations. Some of these societies are called "workmen's banks" (*banche Operaie, casse*

operaie), "workmen's credit banks" (*banche di credito per gli Operai*), "popular banks" (*casse popolari*), names which show the predominance of working men in the new associations.

Another form of credit cooperation has been introduced into Italy by rural loan banks on the Raiffeisen system. These banks were first started in 1883 by Signor Leone Wollemborg, to protect the rural laborers and small landed proprietors of Venetia and Friuli against the exorbitant demands of money-lenders, by making it possible for them to borrow capital at a moderate rate of interest.

According to the *Liga Nazionale* (*National Union of Cooperative Societies*), the total number of Italian cooperative societies (including 322 outside of Italy) was 4,371 on Jan. 1, 1903. Of these some 1,500 were people's banks, 948 were distributive societies, 471 industrial productive societies, 396 credit societies, 175 societies for common labor and enterprise, 186 agricultural societies (besides banks and 99 dairies), 28 bakeries. The number of societies of the Wollemborg Union is given at 148. The "Catholic" cooperative societies number 1,039.

Austria

The first cooperative societies in Austria were loan societies modeled after the German, and came into existence between 1850 and 1860. There were in 1903 in Austria (not including Hungary) 9,713 cooperative societies. Of these 6,445 were credit associations, of which 2,320 were of the Schulze-Delitzsch and 4,125 of the Raiffeisen type, 814 distributive societies, 2,459 other societies. Of the credit societies those of the Schulze-Delitzsch type had in 1901 1,063,505 members, with a share capital of 102,066,000 kronen. The agricultural credit associations of the Raiffeisen type had 261,026 members, and dealt out credit of 938,435,000 kr. The societies of the Raiffeisen type, tho by far the most numerous, have developed almost wholly within the last fifteen years. Of agricultural cooperative societies of all kinds in Austria there are almost 5,000. The Allgemeiner Verband Landwirthschaftlicher Genossenschaften in Oesterreich included 14 unions in 1904 with 3,549 societies.

Hungary

Cooperation in Hungary began about 1850. The first society, the Beszterce Savings Bank and Aid Society was formed in 1851. The movement slowly grew. The (National Cooperative) Hungarian Land Credit Bank was formed in 1862, and up to 1903 had loaned 662,500,000 crowns on mortgage and 74,000,000 more for improvements. For long, however, credit societies were the only cooperative efforts in Hungary. Only in 1883 was the Budapest Central Cooperative Creamery formed. In 1886, however, Count Alexander Karolyi, sometimes called "the father of Hungarian cooperation," gave a new impetus to the movement. In 1896 the Central Credit Bank of the Hungarian cooperative societies was formed, and in 1898 established societies in 465 localities. Other central institutions appeared. In Transylvania a Raiffeisen movement was developed. In 1898 a national central credit cooperative association (Raiffeisen) was formed, with capital to which the government largely contributed, and which it controls. Jan. 1, 1904, there were affiliated with this association 1,653 societies, with 366,721 members, organized in 5 446 distinct communes, with a collective saving deposit of 21,000,000 crowns, and a credit of 39,000,000 cr. The chief business of these societies is to supply credit,but agricultural supply societies are not a few, and some productive societies exist. Distributive cooperative societies in Hungary came later, but now have a central distributive society, the "Hangya," with 267 societies in 1902. There were also, at that date, 150 so-called Christian cooperative societies with a central organization of their own. Cooperative insurance began 1894. The government in 1904 granted 12,000,000 cr. to promote the cooperative sale of farm produce.

Russia

Russia has some 1,320 cooperative societies with 450,000 members. There were in 1904 926 cooperative distributive societies; in 1903 there were 801 with 146,550 members in the 248 societies making returns, with a collective share capital of 3,174,940 rubles, and sales of 25,958,508 ru. during the year. The Moscow Union of Cooperative Distributive Societies had 131 societies in 1903, and the Cooperative Wholesale Society in St. Petersburg had 15. There were also in Russia 7,809 cooperative credit societies in 1902 (including 4,568 savings and provident societies).

Finland

Finland has a very active cooperative movement.

Two hundred and sixty cooperative stores have 35,000 members and annual sales of $2,400,000. The wholesale sold $300,000 in the last six months. One retail store sold $140,000 in the past year. There are 144 cooperative banks, 238 cooperative creameries, a total of 700 cooperative associations. The weekly *News* has a circulation of 7,000. The movement is comparatively new, the wholesale being only in its second year. Rochdale lines are strictly followed and a vigorous growth is assured.

Scandinavia

Cooperation in the modern sense began in Norway in 1866, when a cooperative canvas manufactory was begun at Christiania. By 1875 there were 290 cooperative societies with 33,000 members. Many of these, however, did not endure. In 1896 the government employed Mr. Dehli to study cooperation in other countries, and his lectures and writing on his return produced a new interest. In 1900 there were 260 societies with 28,000 members, and a "turnover" of about 12,250,000 kroner. The movement has been largely agricultural. There are now some 830 cooperative dairies and cheeseries, and as many more for the improved breeding of cattle. There are central unions for northern, eastern, and western Norway. Sweden had in 1906, 2524 registered cooperative societies, besides many not registered, and the movement is growing fast. Of the registered, 903 were building societies, 410 agricultural, 382 retail, 338 dairies, 155 productive.

Other European Countries

Poland has 160 cooperative societies, including 34 Polish societies in western Prussia, for the most part cooperative banks. Servia has 788 (including 100 provident and friendly societies). They are almost all agricultural; 416 are Raiffeisen banks. Rumania has 1,121 rural people's banks. Bulgaria has an agricultural bank with 25 societies and there are 47 other cooperative societies. Greece has only 10 societies. Spain has 140 small societies, of which 50 are in Barcelona and 40 in Catelonia. In Portugal cooperation is said to have existed for centuries among her agricultural and fisher folk, and to-day cooperative agricultural societies and cooperative pharmacies are numerous, while in Lisbon there are several strong distributive societies. The Portuguese Socialist movement is somewhat cooperative.

Other Continents

In Japan cooperation of some form has come down from ancient times. There are said to be cooperative silk stores which can trace their existence 230 years. In 1903 there were reported 583 cooperative societies in Japan, 357 being credit societies. In India modern cooperative ideas are spreading, but as yet with small actual results. South Africa has a cluster of cooperative distributive societies growing in strength. In Australia cooperation seems to have made less headway. Iceland has a cooperative movement begun in 1844, and now with some strength, including 15 dairies.

United States

Cooperation in the United States is hard to summarize. The word has been used, even by responsible writers, in such a loose way and to cover such a variety of forms, as often to make the word cooperation almost meaningless unless the sense in which it is used be stated. Even the most purely mercenary, unfraternal, and, occasionally, even fraudulent schemes are sometimes masked under the fair name of cooperation. Statistics therefore greatly vary.

Professor Parsons finds (*Arena*, July and Aug., 1903) 8,500 societies in the U. S. for cooperative production and distribution. Mr. N. O. Nelson, on the other hand, using the word in a more guarded sense, reported to the International Alliance in 1902 only 558 societies with 89,447 members, a capital of $3,203,520, and sales of $22,705,645. Of these, 283 were creameries, 192 stores, 38 selling associations, 45 factories.

Nevertheless cooperation in the U. S. has had a very much longer and fuller history than is usually realized. It has reached very large proportions. In cooperative credit associations it is scarcely equaled; in attempts in cooperative communities it has led the world. It is, however, except in the cooperative bank movement almost utterly unorganized as a national movement, and most of its early attempts have proved of short duration. Dr. R. Heber Newton, in his "Social Studies" (1887), gives the following interesting table of the main events in the history of American cooperation:

1730 (*about*).—Share system introduced into New England fisheries.

1752.—Fire-assurance introduced in Philadelphia.

"The Philadelphia Contributionship for the Insurance of Houses from Loss by Fire." Benjamin Franklin, first director. Corporation still prospering.

1767.—Life-insurance introduced in Philadelphia.

"The Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of Clergymen in the Communion of the Church of England in America." Composed of clergymen. Still flourishing.

1819.—Mutual assurance bodied in a national order—the Odd Fellows.

1820–30.—Owen's movement; socialistic.

1830–40.—Loan and building societies formed in Philadelphia.

New England Association of Farmers and Mechanics agitate the formation of stores.

Labor organizations in New England open some stores.

1840–50.—Brook Farm, Hopedale, etc.

Fourierite phalanxes.

New England Protective Union builds up a system of stores; which at their height did a business of about $2,000,000 per annum.

The earliest essay in cooperative production—Tailors' Association in Boston (1849).

1850–60.—Loan associations arise in Massachusetts. Associate dairies started in New York. Anaheim.

1860–70.—Stores started in several states.

Productive societies also.

Revival of building and loan associations in Pennsylvania.

Mutual assurance assumes business forms.

Renewed attempts at cooperative production.

Shipyard in Baltimore (1865), in Boston (1866); machine shop in Philadelphia (1866); foundries in various cities; shoe manufactory in Lynn and in North Adams (about 1868); cigar manufactory in Westfield, Mass. (1869).

1870–80.—Knights of St. Crispin agitate cooperation.

Founding and growth and decline of the Patrons of Husbandry; which order claimed to save in one year (1874) $12,000,000 to its members, through its cooperative agencies.

Founding and growth of the Knights of Honor—a great mutual assurance association. Still flourishing.

Founding, growth and dissolution of the Sovereigns of Industry; which order did a cooperative business in one year (1877) of $3,000,000; representing a saving to its members of $420,000; all of its stores being on the Rochdale plan; some of which are still prosperous.

Scattered stores in many states; Massachusetts reporting fifteen independent stores organized since 1870.

Philadelphia Industrial Cooperative Society organized (1875).

Independent productive societies in many states.

Rapid growth of associate dairies, of which there are now 5,000 in the U. S.

Rapid growth of mutual assurance companies; the Patrons of Husbandry having at one time in one state alone thirty-eight fire-insurance companies; three companies in one county carrying over $1,000,000 of risks; New York State claiming 300,000 members of various mutual assurance societies at end of decade.

Rapid growth of building and loan societies in Pennsylvania, which now number over 600 in Philadelphia, with a membership of 75,000 and a capital of $80,000,000; which number in Pennsylvania from 1,500 to 1,800; which have led to investment of $100,000,000 in real estate in Philadelphia alone.

Revival of loan associations in Massachusetts; where are now over twenty-two societies incorporated, having a total membership of over 6,000.

Institution of loan associations in New Jersey, Ohio, California, etc.; New Jersey reporting 106 associations in 1880; Ohio reporting the incorporation of 307 associations during the seven years preceding the report (1880); total estimated societies (1880), 3,000 in U. S., with membership of 450,000; and aggregate capital of $75,000,000.

Experiments in colonization.

1880–90.—Formation of the New England Cooperative Association.

Revival of the Patrons of Husbandry.

Greatly quickened growth of cooperation in all lines.

Development of the Knights of Labor.

The more recent developments may be thus summarized (for Cooperative Distribution see especial article Cooperative Stores in the U. S.):

Productive Cooperation

The first productive association of which we have any record was that of the Boston Tailors' Associative Union, which was formed in 1844, but did not endure long. Dr. Newton in his article (see above) mentions similar attempts at shipyards in Baltimore (1865); in Boston (1866); a machine-shop in Philadelphia (1866); foundries in various cities—Troy, Albany, Cleveland, Cincinnati, St. Louis (1865–68); shoe manufactories in Lynn and North Adams, Mass. (*cir.* 1868); a cigar manufactory in Westfield, Mass. (1869); a machine-shop in Greenfield, Mass. (1870). Says Dr. Newton:

The most promising of these early experiments was the stove foundry of the Iron Molders' International Union. This was started in 1867, in Allegheny County, Pa., the 10,000

members of the union having been expected to become stockholders. The paid-up capital, however, proved insufficient in a critical moment—the oft-repeated experience—and the enterprise failed.

The decade 1870–80 experienced a marked increase in the number of productive societies. In the mid-year of this decade Massachusetts had sixteen productive societies reporting to the State, and nine not reporting, tho duly chartered. All but one of these had been organized since 1870. The sixteen societies reporting gave an aggregate paid-in capital of $114,210. The nine not reporting were incorporated for $47,110. Other societies were known to exist.

Ohio had a number of associations for manufacturing, but the cooperative feature did not long survive in the few societies that were successful. One of these associations had a capital, in 1877, of $100,000, but lapsed into a joint-stock concern, votes counting not by persons, but by shares. . . .

A number of these societies were the results of strikes. The strike at North Adams, e. g., on the introduction of Chinese labor, led to the establishment of a cooperative shoe factory. A report says: "The men speak with pride of their new feelings of self-reliance and freedom, as well as of the quality of their work." . . . The Patrons of Husbandry were reported in the *Economist* of Nov. 8, 1876, as having "thirty manufacturing associations, whose capital ranges from $200,000 to $500,000; . . . sixteen grist-mills, one of which produces 100 barrels of flour per day; . . . three tanneries, and six smitheries."

The Sovereigns of Industry contemplated entering upon this field, and made some essays in it, e. g., the Kingston Cooperative Foundry Company, in Kingston, Mass. Its members consisted chiefly of picked men from other foundries. It organized with a capital of $8,000. Details of the experience of this and other societies have vanished with the order.

This brings us down to the attempts of the Knights of Labor. The attempts of the Knights were most various and most wide-spread, including boot and shoe companies in Massachusetts, painters and decorators' associations in Minneapolis, clothing companies, tobacco factories, plumbers' associations, printing companies, mining associations, etc. All these, however, as Knights of Labor organizations have come to grief. Nevertheless, not a few strong productive cooperative enterprises have secured enduring form.

"Among the most successful cooperative enterprises of a productive character were those existing among the coopers of Minneapolis. Between 1874 and 1886 no fewer than nine associations have been formed there which conduct business on cooperative principles. As early as 1868 the experiment of renting a small shop and selling the product direct to the mills was tried by a few journeymen coopers; they allowed themselves the ordinary rate of wages, calculated on the piece system, and then divided the profits in proportion to the work done. A suspension of trade in the flour-mills caused a discontinuance of the enterprise, and on its resumption in 1870 it proved a financial success, but a failure from the cooperative point of view, owing to the determination of the treasurer, who had secured a large contract for himself instead of for the firm, to set up as a master cooper. The rapid increase of the milling industry and the consequent influx of coopers to supply the demand for barrels caused the labor market in Minneapolis to become overstocked; the wages of coopers fell so low that the former cooperators decided in 1874 to renew their experiment. Having obtained the promise of a contract, the Cooperative Barrel Company was formally incorporated under the laws of Minnesota, and entered upon a prosperous career." This, however, has not seemed permanent. By 1896 the nine shops had dwindled to four, and in 1907 to three.

Minneapolis Coopers

Cooperative production in some forms, however, has grown in the U. S., and of late years very rapidly. Mr. J. M. C. Hampson, editor of *The National Cooperator*, Chicago, reported to the International Cooperative Congress in 1902 that there are something like 50,000 cooperative societies in the U. S. He included in this 5,000 building and loan associations (*q. v.*), which he adds, however, are scarcely of the true cooperative kind, 2,000 mutual fire-insurance companies, 5,000 cooperative creameries and cheese factories, about 3,000 cooperative telephone companies (particularly in the rural districts of Michigan), hundreds of cooperative elevator associations (particularly in Minnesota). He also refers to thousands of cooperative irrigation associations.

According to Professor Parsons (see above), the U. S. leads the world in cooperative insurance, with 3,800 associations, more than 8,000,000 members, and $100,000,000 premium receipt. In cooperative banking, he puts Germany first, with 12,083 banks, and a business of $850,000,000 or $900,000,000, and the U. S. second, with 5,302 loan associations, having over 1,500,000 members and $330,000,000 of business. Professor Parsons estimates in the U. S. 8,500 societies of production and distribution, with nearly 1,000,000 members and a business of some $150,000,000 per year. Professor Parsons tells us, that there are 3,800 cooperative creameries with 300,000 members and a production of about $80,000,000 per annum. In Minnesota, through the work of one professor in the University of Minnesota, 600 cooperative creameries were started in ten years, with a membership of 50,000 farmers. There are about 4,000 farmers' purchasing and distributing societies with 500,000 members. Fruit-growers' cooperative organizations have been formed in nine states with about 100,000 members. It is estimated that there are more than 20,000 cooperators in California and that one third of the whole fruit business of the state is handled cooperatively. The cooperative Southern California Fruit Exchange handles more than half of the orange business of the state. In five states the milk producers have cooperative associations for selling wholesale to city dealers. Six or seven states have cooperative grain elevators. Near Solomon, Kan., in 1901, some fifty farmers established a cooperative grain elevator. The railways and the Grain Trust tried to break it down by buying grain above the market price. The farmers sold to the trust, but paid over a cent a bushel to the cooperative on their sales and the trust gave up the fight. There are also cooperative bee-keepers, sheepherders, basket-makers, sawmills, grist-mills, wood-yards, starch factories, canning factories, dealers in poultry, eggs, cattle, horses, and cotton. Outside of the creameries and butter and cheese factories, there are, however, only some sixty cooperative factories. There are in the U. S. 5,302 cooperative credit societies. Cooperative life-insurance alone exceeds $7,000,000,000 on 5,500,000 lives. There are mutual fire, hail, and live-stock insurance companies. The "Insurance Year Book" reports only 179 such mutual companies, but George K. Holmes, studying the subject for the U. S. Agricultural Department, says there were 3,000 of them among the farmers alone in 1899, with a membership of 2,700,000, or about half the farmers in the U. S. There are also thousands of cooperative irrigation societies in the West, and some 1,000 cooperative farmers' telephone companies.

Such are Professor Parsons's figures, but the round numbers indicate that they are not based on exact returns, and while suggestive include many movements not cooperative except in a very general sense of the word. For a careful study of productive distribution in the U. S., see especial article, Cooperative Stores in the United States.

IV. Arguments For and Against Cooperation

The argument against cooperation is never against cooperation as an ideal, but simply against it as a practical method of social reform. On this line the opposition to cooperation has been varied and often strong; the answer, however, being probably stronger.

1. Against distributive cooperation it has been

claimed that it enables the cooperative *consumer* to obtain lower prices and save some of the profits that would otherwise go to middlemen, but does not tend to raise wages, and may even tend to lower wages through the interest the purchasing cooperators have in purchasing as cheaply as possible.

As a matter of fact, however, cooperation has not lowered wages. The cooperative wholesale society in England pays union wages; so, with the rarest exceptions, do all cooperators.

2. On the other hand, it is claimed that productive cooperation tends either to develop little companies or groups of producers competing against each other, or, if these little companies combine into one whole, to develop a monopoly which is either against the community, or, if large enough to include the whole community, is socialism and not cooperation.

But this, again, is argument not against cooperation, but against its misuse, not against cooperation, but for the necessity of combining trade-unionism with cooperation—a combination which is, fortunately, rapidly on the increase in England and in most countries.

3. A stronger argument against cooperation is that it so fixes the mind of investors and cooperators on saving or earning a few cents that they forget questions of much larger economic importance. Says Beatrice Potter (Mrs. Sidney Webb):

> It would be a fatal error if the million members of cooperative societies allowed their comparatively small interests as dividend receivers for one moment to divert their attention from their much vaster interests as wage-earners and citizens. The dividends of a cooperator amount on an average to about £3 a year, or just about a farthing per hour on his wages. A "good" cooperator, dealing pretty constantly at the store, will make perhaps double this amount, or a halfpenny per hour of his working-time. Now I need not remind you how very easy it is to lose a halfpenny per hour in wages for the want of a strong trade-union. Take, for instance, the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters, with its 500 branches all over the kingdom. Their standard rates of wages vary from 5*d.* per hour in some towns up to 9½*d.* per hour in others—a difference equal to no less than eighteen times as much as the average cooperator makes out of his store. . . . It will hardly be maintained that the £5 a year dividend of the Keighley "good cooperator" is equivalent to the £26 a year additional wages earned by the Manchester "good trade-unionist."

Yet this, again, is no argument against cooperation, but simply an argument (as, indeed, Mrs. Webb uses it) for a combination of cooperation *with* trade-unionism. Cooperation may not accomplish all things, but a penny saved is a penny earned, and trade-unionists in England have learned that they cannot afford to sneer at the millions of pounds in the English cooperative movement, gained by saving pennies.

4. The main argument against cooperation, as applied to the U. S. at least, is the difficulty of successfully conducting it. Nowhere is monopoly so entrenched as in the U. S., and nowhere is competition when there is competition so keen. With mills, stores, and all forms of business carried on by these gigantic corporations and monopolies, it is almost impossible for the small cooperative store to successfully compete. Against corporations able to run a year or more at a loss, in order to run out the small venture, small cooperation is often helpless. Too often, too, these corporations do not need to run out the small venture. Small cooperative ventures too often run themselves out. They can rarely be well managed, because good managers can get larger salaries than the small venture can afford to pay, and even when well managed the small venture cannot buy or manufacture or sell on a small scale so cheaply as the corporation on a large scale. Small cooperation is, thus, often hopeless, swallowing up the hard-earned money invested in it, and sometimes, in spite of the best intentions, becoming a veritable sweating-den, simply because of the inability of the small venture to compete with large stores and yet pay living wages.

One must not be misled for the U. S. by the success of the English movement. In the first place, the foundations of that success were laid before business was so monopolized as it is today, even in England. Secondly, it must be remembered that most English cooperation is consumptive, not productive—in other words, the least beneficial form of cooperation to the producer.

Yet all this is not an argument against cooperation, only a statement of actual difficulties, and against attempting cooperation except under the right conditions of management, capital, and support.

Where a small cooperative venture is fortunate enough to secure a good manager, where it can secure some capital, where there is a community or a body of working men willing to support it, where there is willingness and determination to carry it through, then in trades and under circumstances where the competition is not too intense the cooperation may succeed. Such cases are by no means wanting in the U. S., tho exceptional. See Cooperative Stores in the United States.

References: *Reports of Cooperative Congress* (Great Britain); *Annual* Cooperative Union, Manchester, England; *Reports of International Cooperative Alliance*, 19 Southampton Row, London, W. C., England; Prof. Frank Parsons, in *The Arena*, July, Aug. (1903); G. J. Holyoake, *Self Help by the People*. A history of cooperation in Rochdale (1893); Benjamin Jones, *Cooperative Production*, 2 vols. (1894); H. D. Lloyd, *Labor Copartnership in Great Britain and Ireland* (1898); Beatrice Potter (Mrs. Sidney Webb), *Cooperative Movement in Great Britain* (1899); Catherine Webb, *Industrial Cooperation*.

COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURE: Cooperation in agriculture in Great Britain has had a varied career, and has hitherto been mainly associated with the sympathetic work of some leading landowners. Here and there distributive stores have managed farms, but the losses have been greater than the profits. In 1905, 8,706 acres were thus farmed by sixty-eight societies, the results giving an aggregate profit of £4,075, and an aggregate loss of £7,889. The farms range in size from ten acres of the Middlesbrough Society, upon which a loss of £1 was made, to the 449 acres of the Hucknall Torkard Cooperators, who lost £177. The Chester-le-Street had the largest deficit, £256 on 212 acres; and the Sunderland society made the most notable profit, viz., £632 on 420 acres, followed by the £515 of the Newcastle-on-Tyne society secured on an acreage of 122. Neither of the great wholesale societies made profits, and the aggregate loss on the two farms at Lancaster and Lanark was £6,455. Rather better returns were furnished by the three farming societies, two of which made profits of £4,203, the other having a small deficit of £7.

The most hopeful aspect of associated farming, however, is that directed by the Agricultural Organization Society, which is working in loyal cooperation with the Cooperative Union, altho quite a distinct body with definite constitution and aims. At the beginning of Nov., 1906,

there were 136 societies affiliated to the Agricultural Organization Society, being classified as follows:

Societies for the supply of requirements and sale of produce	97
Dairy, bottled milk, and cheese-making societies	12
Rural Industries Societies	4
Allotments and small holdings societies	4
Agricultural credit societies	11
Auction market	1
Fruit grading society	1
Motor service societies	3
County Pig Insurance Association (which already includes fifty-five branches)	1
Agricultural Cooperative Federation, Ltd	1
Scottish Agricultural Organization Society	1
	136

Five years ago the combined trade of the agricultural societies thus united for mutual action was £10,000; in 1906 it was over £300,000 and some of the societies have grown important enough to secure substantial concessions from railway companies. At Hereford, the Great Western Company has built a depot for the Hereford Cooperative Fruit Grading Society, and the L. & N. W. R. has been similarly well disposed toward another society at Newport (Salop). Latterly a system of interchange of produce and commodities has been developed, with the result that dwellers in rural districts have been brought into direct contact with the advantages of distributive as well as agricultural cooperation. Thus the Forest Supply Society of Worcester is supplying bottled milk to the Kidderminster Society; the Eastern Counties Dairy Farmers' Society sends a large supply of milk to the Stratford Society, which has a milk trade of £40,000 a year; the Framlingham Agricultural Society sends eggs to the Lowestoft and Penge societies, while other societies are arranging to take meat and poultry.

This practical trade development is being carried out by means of the Agricultural Cooperative Federation, which arose out of the Advisory Department of the Agricultural Organization Society and was formed toward the end of 1905. This is doing useful work in assisting the agricultural cooperators to dispose of their produce to the best advantage.

Associated with this work is the Central Cooperative Agricultural Bank, which was formed in July last to provide a central bank from which to supply capital to the local agricultural societies. W. Henry Brown.

COOPERATIVE ALLIANCE (INTERNATIONAL). See International Cooperative Alliance.

COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, THE: Organized at Lewiston, Me., in 1900, by Mr. Bradford Peck, author of "The World, a Department Store," and Rev. Hiram Vrooman. Mr. Peck was the owner of a department store in Lewiston, one of the largest in New England outside of Boston; and this business, which was earning large profits, he turned over to the association, taking three per cent ten-year bonds in payment. The association also started a cooperative café and a large grocery store patterned after the Rochdale stores in England; but these enterprises have been abandoned.

The present condition of the department store in Lewiston is prosperous and encouraging. The employees are organized into a club which, together with a managing board of three, which is appointed by the association's board of directors, has the entire management of the store. During the past two years these coworkers have voted to themselves vacations of two weeks in the summer and two weeks in the winter on pay, and five per cent dividends on their salaries. The directors of the association require the management to lay aside adequate sinking- and reserve-funds. The business of the store is on the increase, and the enthusiasm and loyalty of the coworkers speak eloquently in favor of their organization. The last general statement of the association (May, 1906) shows assets of $226,182 and liabilities of $168,333. Ralph Albertson.

COOPERATIVE BANKS: Organizations formed to enable members, while carefully practising thrift, to make the small amount of security which each may have available, as a rule in a form not readily accepted by ordinary banks, effective for purposes of credit. The practise of thrift is essential, not merely as a means of obtaining funds, but also as contributing to the steady creation of capital. The credit societies organized by Schulze-Delitzsch, the earliest formed, have come to be popularly known as "compulsory savings-banks." M. Luzzatti, who introduced the banks into Italy, calls them "perfected savings-banks." There is no doubt, however, that the most powerful attraction offered is credit, which is, or should be, limited to useful purposes, as not covering deficit but producing new value. M. d'Andrimont, who introduced cooperative banks into Belgium, rightly christened their credit "democratized credit," and Schulze-Delitzsch called his banks "people's banks." They are to enable the small man or small society, to whom or which credit is not accessible under ordinary circumstances, to obtain such for productive purposes, or purposes insuring economy, however poor he or it may be.

The means by which this is done is by the grouping together of either liabilities or else small pecuniary resources, so as to make them tell as security. And in doing this an intermediate body is necessarily formed, composed of all the members of the cooperative bank which, while securing the original lender or depositor by collective liability and funds, and so providing for the borrower access to capital, at the same time prevents waste or abuse by, in its own interest, holding the borrower to his duty. Members collectively would suffer if the individual borrower were to make default. So they see that he does not. Security may be said to be created by the substitution of careful selection of members and of vigilance, quickened by a keen sense of responsibility, for the more or less real security accepted by ordinary banks.

Cooperative banks, by providing such credit, have greatly added to the current resources of the countries in which they are established; they have substantially cheapened the use of money; and they have brought the world nearer to the ideal stage in which credit is to become accessible to all, rich and poor alike, who can make out a good claim, and in which money becomes a mere commodity, purchasable by any one at the price of security.

The security provided by combination may be made effective in two distinct ways, or by a combination of the two: either by the creation of a share capital, which forms the first stake and

which accordingly shareholders are not likely to jeopardize, or else by the unlimited liability of all members pledged for any debt contracted.

The latter method, which may be combined with a levy of small shares, is practicable only in small country districts, where there is a steady and unshifting population, mutually acquainted and capable of watching one another. In such districts, however, it has been found exceedingly beneficial because it quickens the necessary sense of responsibility more effectively than anything else, and therefore makes members very careful in the selection of other members and in the granting and watching of loans. By such means it has had a very powerful educational effect, economically and morally. To produce such, however, it must make services gratuitous, forbid dividends or any other distinctly personal benefit, and make the money accumulated indivisible common property.

The method of providing for security by shares is applicable in populous districts as well as in the country, for industrial as well as for agricultural purposes; but it does not dive down equally low in the social scale or bring the same help to the very poor. In such banks, tho there may be dividend, it ought to be strictly limited, or the interest of the shareholders will be placed in opposition to that of the borrowers for whose use the bank was really formed.

The credit given by cooperative banks is, generally speaking, personal; and in its general aspect it is better the more personal it is. In Germany and in the Scandinavian kingdoms there are, however, excellent cooperative mortgage banks, which have raised enormous sums of money, and cheapened and facilitated mortgage credit materially. They make the loans repayable by terminable annuities carried over a long period of time, and protect the borrower against any danger of notice or raising of interest so long as he pays his instalments punctually.

Various Countries

Altho cooperative banks are generally supposed to be distinctly European, there are known to have been exceedingly useful cooperative banks in existence in New York before the Civil War. The well-known loan and building associations of the United States, which in some states pass by the name of "people's banks," are in a manner cognate institutions, but only in one particular aspect.

The most serious obstacle at present in the way of the formation of cooperative banks in the U. S. is the law which allows no bank to be opened with a capital of less than $10,000.

In Europe cooperative banks have become numerous and as a collective body very powerful. In Germany some 950 cooperative banks of the Schulze-Delitzsch type alone—but these are by far the largest—keep about $500,000,000 steadily in circulation in credits fructifying in the country. Germany has about 12,000 such banks in all, and the larger number of these, tho least powerful individually, are employed in financing agriculture. Grown numerous, banks have combined to unions and formed central banks, which have added to their financial power. In Austria, Italy, and Belgium cooperative banks are less numerous but equally useful. In Russia there are a large number of cooperative banks, but their cooperation is not everywhere perfect. France is making great headway, more specifically in the formation of agricultural banks. Several cooperative banks have been formed in Canada, and succeed well. The best known and oldest is that of Lévis near Quebec. Cooperative banks are now also forming in India; there is one in Barbados and one recently formed in Jamaica.

HENRY W. WOLFF.

REFERENCES: *People's Banks* (1896) and *Cooperative Banking* (1906), by H. W. Wolff.

COOPERATIVE BROTHERHOOD, THE: Incorporated under the laws of the State of Washington, Sept. 20, 1898, at Burley, Kilsap County, Washington. As originally organized, it endeavored to carry out the provisions of a deed of trust which secured for its members certain privileges, including guaranty of home and employment; to establish a socialistic commonwealth; "to organize persons for the cooperative production of wealth; to secure the equitable distribution thereof among those producing it, thereby dispensing with the wage system; to provide for the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution; and to make it possible for those so organized to recognize in a practical way the brotherhood of humanity."

Seven years after its establishment the capital stock was increased from $5,000 to $50,000, and a reorganization, involving the setting aside of the deed of trust, was undertaken. Under the new by-laws neither home nor employment are guaranteed to members. With the exception of its printing department, the brotherhood has ceased to manage any industries. The company leases its property, as its board of directors sees fit, giving preference to members. Still, recognizing that "one of the principal purposes for which the C. B. was organized was to provide a permanent home for its members," it is sought to do this by a plan of long leases at a nominal rent.

A member who was in good standing Jan. 1, 1905, is "entitled to the lease of a home-lot consisting of one acre, more or less, for fifty years, without allowing more than one lot to a family, for the payment of the taxes plus $1 per annum, to be placed in a common fund to cover necessary expenses, and the remainder to be used for keeping roads."

Any new member (that is to say, one who joins after the reorganization) can secure a home-lot just as soon as he holds "paid-up shares of stock amounting to $200." The new by-laws of the C. B. are modeled after the "Standard Rochdale By-Laws."

Financially, the organization is strong. Its surplus, at a conservative estimate, is between $19,000 and $20,000, and its liabilities less than $2,500. It holds, under an agreement for purchase, nearly 300 acres of fine land fronting on tide-water, of which thirty acres are partially cleared, while twenty acres are under cultivation with fruit-trees and crops. Its income from leases of real estate during 1906 is estimated at $650 for the year. The brotherhood owns a sawmill, shingle-mill, and planer which, at present, are leased to an outsider who holds, at the same time, a contract to cut timber.

The total membership of the Cooperative Brotherhood is about 150, of whom twenty are resident at Burley. The total population of Burley, not including outsiders, is thirty-four. Including outsiders who are connected with its leased industries and in other ways, Burley has a population of seventy or more.

Aside from the printing department, the only

industry which is managed by members of the brotherhood is the Fruit and Dairy Company, incorporated under the laws of the state. The right to engage in any industry is not restricted to members, altho at present the two industries mentioned are under their control.

The provision of the original by-laws, providing for "the free exercise of the individual preferences, convictions, or desires in religious, political, or domestic affairs," has been carefully observed. The denominational religious services, attended by Roman Catholics as well as by Protestants, have been held from an early date, almost continuously, the endeavor having been made to set forth the practical teachings of Christ; to indicate a working method of Christian socialism.

A. B. Ellis.

COOPERATIVE GILD, THE WOMEN'S: An organization of women connected with the industrial cooperative societies of Great Britain. It was founded in Oxford in 1883, and has now 400 branches attached to industrial cooperative societies throughout England and Wales. These branches, with a membership of 22,000 women, are all federalized in the one cooperative gild. The purpose and spirit of the movement are well set forth in the words of Miss Reddish, a former president of the gild: "I believe that all the physical, social, and moral evils have their source for the most part in a bad economic and industrial system, and therefore I would have society and the industry of the kingdom (that is, England) established and worked on new lines—on the lines of true and universal cooperation, on the principle of equal efforts in producing and equal participation in results. . . . When we have done our best to bring about this great and desired end of universal cooperation, we shall feel that we have done our duty to our fellows in the endeavor to realize the hopes and wishes of the great founders of the cooperative movement, that poverty and idleness should disappear from the land; that idleness should cease to revel in luxury, and labor pine in want; that vice should no longer glitter in the palace, and virtue droop in the hovel; that man's inhumanity to man may be a thing only of the past." The principle underlying the whole organization of the gild is that of self-government, that is, it is a democracy of working women, banded together not simply to increase the benefits and to share in the material advantages of cooperative stores and societies, but to take a place and to have a share in the great social, industrial, moral, and political movements that are making for the welfare and advance of the great common people of England. The gild takes its part when factory bills are up before Parliament, forwarding memorials, and in other ways bringing its influence to bear and making it felt for better legislation in the interests of labor and economic and social reform. The secretary is Miss M. Llewelyn Davies. *Address*: Kirkby-Lonsdale, England.

COOPERATIVE PRODUCTIVE FEDERATION. See Labor Copartnership.

COOPERATIVE STORES IN THE UNITED STATES: No trace of the establishment of cooperative stores in the United States is to be found prior to the organization of the New England Association of Farmers and Mechanics in 1831. This was composed of many of the local labor organizations formed at that time, and at its first convention it enthusiastically indorsed the application of cooperative principles. Other organizations took part in the agitation for the establishment of cooperative stores, with the result that several short-lived attempts were made in different parts of the New England States.

Out of the Boston division of this association grew what was later known as The Workingmen's Protective Union of America, organized for the collective buying and selling of merchandise.

Early Attempts

The association spread rapidly, and 106 divisions were in existence in 1850. A purchasing agent was located in Boston, and to him were sent orders to be filled and produce to be sold. The business of the union amounted to $112,507 in 1848, $220,801 in 1849, and $535,338 in 1850. In 1849 its name was changed to The New England Protective Union. Eighty-three of the 106 divisions had in 1850 a membership of 5,109, and eighty-four of them reported a capitalization of $71,890. During the last four months of that year, sixty-seven divisions purchased over $102,000 worth of goods, and in the first nine months of 1851 this amount was further increased to $620,000. In 1852 the number of divisions had grown to 413, with the sales of 167 amounting to $1,696,825. With the disruption of the organization in 1853, The American Protective Union was formed, and from 1853 to 1858 the latter [society transacted an annual business varying in amounts from $1,000,000 to $1,536,000. With the approach of the Civil War, decay and disintegration set in, and within a short time the organization had disappeared.

During the next few years, altho cooperation as a movement was dead, nevertheless several stores existed and were fairly successful, while one or two new ones were organized in various parts of the Eastern states. Throughout the "sixties" trade magazines make mention of meetings held for the discussion of cooperation, and of calls being made for lectures and information. From 1863 to 1866 thirty-six stores were started in ten of the Eastern states. In 1864 the Rochdale methods were introduced into the U. S. by the members of a Philadelphia cooperative store who had obtained the constitution and by-laws of the original Rochdale association. The store was fairly prosperous for a time, but soon failed owing to lack of business knowledge on the part of the cooperators.

The first labor organization of national importance to declare itself as being favorable to the organization of cooperative stores and workshops was the National Labor Union organized in Baltimore in 1866. This association lived for but a few years and consequently had no effect whatsoever upon the cooperative movement.

The National Labor Union was followed in 1867 by the organization of the Patrons of Husbandry, or "The Grange," as it is often called, a secret order formed among the farmers for their mutual benefit. From the very nature of its conception, i. e., mutual helpfulness among the farmers, the Grange was a society based upon cooperation. According to its constitution it was organized for the establishment and extension of cooperative principles among the agricultural classes. One of the first methods which it adopted to carry out this policy was to have all the members of the Grange concentrate

Patrons of Husbandry

their orders upon a certain manufacturer or wholesaler, with the understanding that they were to receive a discount on their trade. The plan was comparatively successful for a time, but soon aroused the determined opposition of the local retail merchants, who often induced the manufacturers and wholesalers to cease trading with the Grangers. The local branches of the order then banded together and supported a state purchasing agent, to whom were sent all the orders of the subordinate associations, and who was thus enabled to buy in car-load lots and at greatly reduced prices. Confidential lists, bearing the names and prices of those firms from which discounts could be obtained, were sent to the local granges. Orders were then made up from these lists and were sent to the purchasing agent. The business of these agencies was enormous. Thus, in one year that of the Ohio Grange amounted to almost $1,000,000, and in Indiana it was no uncommon occurrence to have the day's receipts of the agency exceed $1,000. At one time the Grangers had five steamboat lines, thirty-two grain elevators, and twenty-two warehouses to assist in their system of cooperative buying and selling. Dissatisfaction with the state agencies arose, however, and in a short time many of them were abandoned.

But during the years just preceding the abolition of the agencies another form of cooperation began to attract the attention of the Grangers. This was the establishment of cooperative stores.

Grangers

As early as 1874 six granges in Wisconsin had united to form a mercantile association with $5,000 stock. During the first year of its existence it transacted a business of over $12,000. Stores sprang up in almost every city in which local granges were located. In Illinois at one time there were Grange stores in one half of the counties. In Massachusetts in 1875 there were fifteen associations with a capitalization of $75,000 and with assets valued at $140,000. The sales of eight of these amounted to about $500,000 a year. There were also thirty dividing stores in Fall River, Mass., with about 1,500 members and an annual trade of $300,000. During this year several stores were also started in California. However, the enthusiasm of the Grange for cooperative stores died away with returning prosperity following the panic of 1873, altho in Missouri in 1880 there were fifty-seven Grange stores together with a state purchasing agency, while in Texas in 1885 there still remained a Grange wholesale house run in connection with 150 cooperative stores. To-day only a few of the stores established by the Grange remain. Altho but temporarily successful, nevertheless the Grange stores did great and good work. They not only succeeded in saving the farmers millions of dollars on their purchases, but they were also greatly instrumental in lowering the prices of articles to those who were not members of the order.

Shortly after the reaction against the Grange had set in, another order came forward, having as its motto the word "Cooperation." This was the order of The Sovereigns of Industry, organized in 1874, with the purpose of doing for the factory-workers what the Grange had done for the farmers. At first it also pursued the methods followed by the Grange, and established state purchasing agencies, but these soon gave way to the formation of cooperative stores. The national council of the order, by printing and distributing thousands of pieces of literature dealing with cooperative matters, encouraged the local councils to undertake the work. Stores owned and operated by the "Sovereigns" sprang up throughout the Eastern and Central states, but with the subsequent disruption of the national order the greater number of these stores disappeared. In 1875 there were forty-eight stores in Massachusetts with a capitalization of $30,268, and an average monthly trade of $26,250. In 1876 this number had decreased to thirty-nine. Half of these were joint-stock companies, seventeen did not deliver goods, twenty sold only to "Sovereigns," and twenty-two sold below the regular market prices. In 1877 but thirty of these stores were in existence.

The Industrial Brotherhood, organized in the early "seventies" for the purpose of federating all unions into a national body, also declared itself favorable to "the establishment of cooperative institutions, both productive and distributive." It lived for but a few years, and was soon succeeded by the Knights of Labor which had been formed in 1868, but which ten years later adopted in toto the platform and purposes of the brotherhood. The members of the Knights of Labor entered enthusiastically into the work of establishing cooperative stores, workshops, foundries, and various other enterprises, their aim being the complete destruction of the competitive wage system, and the introduction of one based entirely on cooperation. Very few of the stores and cooperative establishments started by them are in existence at the present time.

From 1886 to 1892 the Farmers' Alliance was active in propagating cooperative doctrines among the Southern farmers. Its members attempted to eliminate the middleman in the buying and selling of products by the establishment of a system of trade discounts similar to that followed by the early Grangers and Sovereigns of Industry. In 1890 it was estimated that the alliance transacted a business of more than $10,000,000. In 1886 a very complete investigation under the supervision of Prof. R. T. Ely disclosed the existence of eighty cooperative stores in the United States. Thirty-two of the fifty-three associations in New England reported a capitalization of $187,466; twenty-two of these had 5,470 members, while the total trade of the New England stores was estimated at $2,000,000. Seven of the associations outside of the New England states reported aggregate sales amounting to $357,674.

Farmers' Alliance

It was in 1886 that the first attempt was made to form a federation of the stores in and around Boston, but to no avail. During the next ten years there was but little activity in the cooperative world. In 1894 an attempt was made by Messrs. Barlow, Rhodes, Peabody, and Ely of Massachusetts to form a federation of cooperative associations. The Cooperative Union of America resulted, and was composed of fourteen societies. It published a paper, *The American Cooperator*, for a short time, but both ventures were soon abandoned, only to be followed in 1896 by The American Cooperative Union, a national federation of cooperative enterprises. This association was organized in St. Louis, July 1, 1896, but scarcely lived long enough to receive its name.

As a result of an investigation which he had made for the U. S. Department of Labor, Dr.

States	Total number of cooperative stores	Number making report	Total capital stock		Total number stockholders		Total sales of all stores reporting		Total expenses		Average per cent of expenses of sales		Total number of employees		Average dividends on capital		Average dividends on purchases of members		Average dividends on purchases of non-members	
Group I.		*		*		*		*		*		*		*		Per cent	*	Per cent	*	Per cent
Maine	9	3	3	$26,100.00	3	689	3	$98,398.20	3	$10,372.19	3	11	3	13	3	6	2	6	1	3
N. Hampshire	3	1	1	1,000.00	1	130	1	10,000.00	1	1,200.00	1	12	1	2	....	.....	1	2	....	.....
Vermont	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts	26	11	11	338,759.34	9	6,314	11	856,032.82	7	113,649.10	7	33	11	130	10	6	10	7	8	4
Connecticut	4	3	3	10,000.00	3	1,318	3	130,435.90	3	16,631.34	3	13	3	23	2	20	2	2	1	1
New York	16	8	7	53,464.00	7	1,837	8	325,276.35	6	38,427.97	6	11	8	42	5	9	5	6	3	4
Pennsylvania	14	3	3	15,360.00	3	413	3	40,267.72	1	30,867.61	1	93	3	11	2	6	2	4	2	2
New Jersey	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals & av.	75	29	28	$414,683.34	26	10,701	29	$1,460,410.99	21	$211,148.21	21	25	29	221	22	9	22	5	15	3
Group II.																				
N. Carolina	1	1	1	$3,000.00	1	102	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	7	....	.....	1	5	....	.....
Tennessee	1	1	1	1,000.00	1	6	1	$6,800.00	1	$680.00	1	10	1	2	1	8	....	.....	....	.....
Arkansas	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Texas	17	9	8	235,435.00	9	1,616	6	189,642.29	6	30,277.70	6	16	9	40	7	11	2	9	1	4
Oklahoma	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals & av.	22	11	10	$239,435.00	11	1,724	7	$196,442.29	7	$30,957.70	7	13	11	49	8	10	3	7	1	4
Group III.																				
Ohio	13	6	6	$105,000.00	5	718	3	$66,000.00	3	$6,614.00	3	10	6	31	....	8	...	14	....	11
Michigan	18	11	11	342,990.00	10	3,059	11	1,176,301.31	10	91,546.56	10	11	10	151	8	7	5	5	1	2
Indiana	2	1	1	35,000.00	1	75	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois	8	3	3	16,100.00	3	985	1	20,000.00	1	1,440.00	1	12	3	12	1	6	1	5	1	3
Wisconsin	30	15	15	351,200.00	15	4,404	11	690,081.20	10	54,044.23	10	8	14	88	10	13	4	5	...	.....
Minnesota	12	8	7	207,860.00	8	843	4	229,794.54	4	27,361.12	4	11	7	46	3	3	2	8	1	10
Iowa	17	7	7	36,920.00	7	839	5	176,341.57	5	13,238.84	5	7	7	26	5	16	3	6	1	2
Missouri	1	1	1	25,000.00	1	1,498	1	20,414.00	1	1,865.91	1	9	1	3	.....	.....	1	10	.....	.....
Kansas	34	19	19	407,185.40	18	4,399	15	1,047,799.72	14	66,010.85	14	7	18	154	13	9	11	6	5	4
Nebraska	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Dakota	2	1	1	50,000.00	1	102	1	11,000.00	1	300.00	1	3	1	2	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals & av.	138	72	71	$1,577,255.40	69	16,922	52	$2,993,614.34	49	$262,421.51	49	9	67	513	40	9	27	7	9	5
Group IV.																				
Colorado	2	1	1	$6,200.00	1	208	1	$56,000.00	....	.....	.....	.....	1	10	1	5	....	.....	....	.....
Montana	4	1	1	100,000.00	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho	4	2	2	20,000.00	2	55	2	22,000.00	2	$2,400.00	2	11	2	4	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah	5	1	1	1,077,000.00	1	650	1	4,246,896.03	1	438,863.48	1	10	1	50	1	10	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arizona	1	1	1	150,000.00	1	72	1	36,000.00	1	7,000.00	1	20	1	5	1	6	1	1	1	1
California	68	36	36	334,379.00	36	4,701	27	1,330,867.80	27	196,697.20	27	15	35	168	23	8	15	4	....	.....
Oregon	2	1	1	2,000.00	1	75	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington	22	15	13	138,980.00	15	1,178	10	294,728.15	10	30,477.29	10	10	13	40	6	10	4	5	1	5
Totals & av.	108	58	56	$1,837,559.00	57	6,939	42	$5,986,491.98	41	$675,437.97	41	11	53	727	32	8	20	3	2	3
Grand totals and averages	343	170	165	$4,098,932.74	166	36,286	130	$10,636,959.60	118	$1,179,965.39	118	12	160	1,060	102	9	72	6	27	4

E. W. Bemis announced in 1896 that there were some seventy cooperative stores in the U. S. at that time, with a possible membership of 19,000, and with the sales of forty-one of the societies amounting to $2,372,000 for their 15,707 members. The next few years saw a slow and steady increase in the number of cooperative stores, encouraged as it was by no central organization or national movement, but by the desire of the people for lower prices.

It was on the Pacific Coast that the first successful federation of cooperative stores, The Pacific Coast Cooperative Union, was begun (Nov. 7, 1899). It was here that such great activity had been shown in the early years of the Grange and Alliance agitation. The union was formed for the purpose of studying and propagating cooperative ideas. On Jan. 1, 1900, the association established The Rochdale Wholesale Company of San Francisco, which since that time has played an important and indispensable part in the upbuilding of the strongest cooperative movement in the U. S. In this work it has been greatly assisted by a most efficient weekly (formerly monthly) paper, *The Cooperative Journal*, founded in 1900 and published at Oakland, Cal.

In 1900 The Cooperating Merchants' Company of Chicago, Ill., was organized. This corporation, composed of over 450 retail stores, some owned cooperatively and some privately, serves as a medium through which the constituent stores purchase their supplies, buying direct from the wholesaler and manufacturer. This company owns two large wholesale houses, and publishes its own monthly trade-organ, *Mixed Stocks*. In the same year The Right Relationship League was organized at Chicago for the purpose of propagating a certain kind of cooperative ideas. These consist in the establishment of stores in which there is an equality of ownership and voting power, a strict adherence to the principle of cash payments, provisions for the accumulation of a reserve and an educational fund, the payment of 8 per cent on the capital stock, and the apportionment of the remainder of the profits of the trade among the members on the basis of the amount of goods purchased. In 1901, 1903, and 1906 respectively, state cooperative federations were established in Kansas, Washington, and Pennsylvania.

In June, 1904, a national convention of the cooperators in the U. S. was held at St. Louis, Mo., resulting in the formation of The National Cooperative League, and in the establishment of a bureau to gather statistics dealing with the cooperative movement. The National Cooperative League indorsed the Rochdale principles, and established a uniform method for the organization of cooperative stores in accordance therewith. A second meeting of the league was held at Seattle, Wash., in 1905. The bureau of statistics proved to be of little if any value to the movement, and thus far has made no report of its activities.

National Convention

In 1904–5, Mr. Ira Cross, working under the supervision of the Wisconsin Bureau of Labor Statistics, made an investigation of cooperative distribution in the U. S. (See the "Twelfth Biennial Report of the Wisconsin Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics.") The following table gives the results of that investigation, the total returns only being given for each state. Group I. comprises the Eastern manufacturing states; Group II., the Southern cotton states; Group III., the Central grain states; and Group IV., the Western mining states. An asterisk at the head of the column denotes that in this column is placed the number of cooperative stores making returns upon that specific matter.

Judging from the returns received from these 170 establishments, the above 343 stores represent an estimated capitalization of $2,520,809, a membership of approximately 76,146 persons, and a trade of about $265,526,743.

The majority of these stores are largely patronized by farmers. Out of 124 stores answering the question as to whether the majority of their customers came from the city or the country, seventy answered from the latter, thirty-nine from the former, while the remainder stated that their trade was about evenly divided. The greater portion of the stores were originally begun on a cooperative basis. Credit was seldom given, and then only for a short time. Market prices were usually followed, and in no case were goods sold only to stockholders. In the majority of cases the effect of these stores was to lower prices of merchandise in their localities.

A unique development of the cooperative movement in this country is to be found in a number of so-called "College Cooperative Societies," connected either directly or indirectly with many of our higher educational institutions. Such associations operating cooperative stores are to be found at Yale, Harvard, Cornell, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Northwestern University, Amherst, Williams, the Ohio Wesleyan, Kenyon College,

College Societies

College Cooperative Stores in the United States, June, 1905

Society	Date of Starting	No. of Members	Sales 1904–5	Rate of Dividends	Employees
Cornell University	1898	150	$45,000.00	8 per cent	7
Harvard University	1822	2,503	232,325.24	7	49
Massachusetts Institute of Technology	1886	573	5,000.00	.....	1
Northwestern University	*	.....	.....	.....	..
University of California	1884	450	54,651.58	8 per cent	6
University of Illinois	1905†	522	5,000.00	5 " "	2
University of Missouri	1900	500	27,000.00	10 " "	3
University of Tennessee	1902	7	7,000.00	8 " "	2
University of Texas	1896	243	75,499.80	5 " "	5
University of Wisconsin	1894	1,631	48,762.07	10 " " / 13 " "	Cash, Trade, 5
Yale University	1883	1,176	60,504.72	‡	8

* Store just being organized.
† This store was begun in January, 1905, and the returns are for the succeeding five months.
‡ Declares no dividends but sells all goods at cost.

Otterbein University, Miami University, and Worcester University, together with the state universities of California, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, Ohio, Tennessee, Texas, and Wisconsin. In most cases, under judicious management, they have proven to be very successful and of the greatest benefit to the student body which patronizes them. No interest is paid on the shares of stock held by the students, but the profits of the societies are divided among these students upon the basis of the amount of goods purchased.

The preceding table presents the status of the largest of these stores at the close of the 1904–5 semester (June, 1905).

IRA CROSS.

REFERENCES: *Bulletin No. 6 of the U. S. Department of Labor; Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics*, 1875; 1877; *Twelfth Biennial Report of the Wisconsin Bureau of Labor Statistics*, pt. i.; *History of Cooperation in the U. S.*, in the *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, vol. vi.; Article in *The North American Review*, by Newton, vol. cxxxvii., p. 327; *Fincher's Trade Review;* Article in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, by Cummings, vol. xi., p. 273; Article in *The Arena*, by Cross, April, 1906; *Labor Problems*, by Adams and Sumner, s. v. *Cooperation.*

COOPERATIVE UNION, THE: The Cooperative Union is an organization of the associated trading societies in Great Britain under the Industrial and Provident Societies' Act. It has 1,230 societies in membership, their adherents aggregating 2,115,995, or 93.6 per cent of the total number of cooperators in the country. In addition to sustaining the propaganda work in districts as yet untouched by cooperation, the union pays special attention to matters of importance to the movement, and has special committees to deal with (*a*) education, (*b*) production, (*c*) international and foreign inquiries, (*d*) propaganda of a joint character with the Cooperative Wholesale Society, (*e*) the relations of societies to trade-unions, (*f*) parliamentary affairs, (*g*) exhibitions, and (*h*) cooperative defense, this latter committee having come into existence in consequence of recent attacks on cooperators at St. Helens and elsewhere in the north.

The Cooperative Union comes most prominently before the public in connection with the annual congress. *General Secretary*: J. C. Gray, J.P. *Central Offices*: 2, Nicholas Croft, High Street, Manchester.

COOPERATIVE WHOLESALE. See article COOPERATION, Section II.

COOPER, PETER: American manufacturer and philanthropist; born in New York City, 1791. He received a meager education, whereupon he entered the trade of carriage-making. Gradually, however, he took up one enterprise after another, with continuous success. In 1830 he established the Canton Iron Works, at Canton, Md., where he constructed from his own designs the first locomotives ever made in the United States. Soon after he established a rolling- and wire-mill in New York, and in 1845 he moved it to Trenton, making it the largest rolling-mill of the day in the U. S. He built three blast furnaces in Phillipsburg, and conducted other similar enterprises. Cooper was one of the chief supporters of the laying of the Atlantic cable and other important enterprises. Deeply interested in the free education of the industrial classes, he gave the money for and laid the corner-stone of the Cooper Union in 1854, and saw its completion in 1859, to be "forever devoted to the instruction and improvement of the inhabitants of the U. S. in practical science and art." He gave $200,000 as an endowment during his life, and $100,000 by his will. The original cost when he conveyed it to the trustees was $630,000. In 1876 Mr. Cooper was candidate for the presidency of the Greenback or National Independent Party, and received some 100,000 votes. He died in New York City, April 4, 1883. Among his writings may be mentioned: "Ideas for a Science of Good Government, in Addresses, Letters, and Articles on a Strictly National Currency, Tariff, and Civil Service" (New York, 1883).

COOPER, THOMAS: English author and editor; born in Leicester, England, 1805. The son of a poor widow, he learned the shoemaker's trade. At the age of twenty-three he opened a school in Lincoln, and a year later became a Wesleyan Methodist local preacher. In 1839 he went to London to engage in journalism, but finding little success, he later returned to Leicester and joined the Chartists. He published a newspaper in their interests, and was nominated for Parliament. He addrest many meetings and aroused great excitement. In one instance a riot occurred at Hanley after he left; and at Manchester military guards were placed in the street. He was arrested and taken back to Staffordshire on a charge of arson in connection with the Hanley riot, but he proved that he was not there when the offense was committed. He was then arraigned for conspiracy and sedition and tried before Sir Thomas Erskine, March, 1843. He defended himself eloquently, but was condemned to two years' imprisonment in Stafford jail, during which time he wrote the greater part of an epic, the "Purgatory of Suicide," dealing with the social and religious questions of the age. After his release he wrote several books of poetry and prose. He joined Mazzini's International League, but took no part in the Chartist agitation of 1848 on account of differences with O'Connor. For some time he lectured on political and historical subjects; and later, after having been a skeptic for ten years and a follower of Strauss in 1855, he changed his views and lectured against atheism. When his health broke down, W. E. Forster and Samuel Morley obtained for him a small annuity. In 1882 he published his autobiography. He died in Lincoln in 1892.

COPARTNERSHIP TENANTS' HOUSING COUNCIL, THE: Was established under the auspices of the Labor Copartnership Association. Its object is to help toward the solution of the problem of housing the people by means of the establishment of copartnership societies for tenants and by promoting the forming of the same.

Objects.—To aid in the solution of the Housing Problem by encouraging and promoting the establishment of Copartnership Tenants' Societies.

Methods.—To make the principles and work of such societies known by means of lectures and the distribution of literature.

To draft rules for registration, to meet the various conditions under which such societies may be established.

To give legal and other advice.

To centralize information as to plans, material, cost of construction, etc., so that small societies with limited capital, shall not be put to the full expense in each case.

The council will take no financial responsibility, but will be willing to give advice in financial matters.

Henry Vivian, M.P., is chairman of the council, whose address is 22, Red Lion Square, London.

COPYRIGHT is the exclusive right to publish intellectual productions, such as books, papers, plays, paintings, sculptures, designs, music, photographs, etc.

The first copyright law of England dates from 1710. Before that date some exclusive rights of printing had been granted for limited periods. By the present law, intellectual productions in the United Kingdom have copyright during the life of the author and for seven years after his death, or for a term of forty-two years, whichever may be the longer time of the two. Foreigners have the same right by publishing in England.

In Germany laws for copyright begin in 1837. By the law of 1845 they can be extended to thirty years after the author's death.

In France copyright exists for the life of the author or his widow, for twenty years for his children, and for ten years for other heirs. The Belgian law is the same, except that all the heirs can hold copyright for twenty years after the author's death.

Copyright laws in the United States date from 1790 and at first pertained only to citizens or residents.. To-day copyright is given also to citizens of states granting reciprocal rights. It endures for twenty-eight years, with right of renewal for fourteen years. The Congress issues *copyrights* to authors and *patents* to inventors. All books, maps, charts, musical compositions, engravings, photographs (or negatives), chromos, statues, etc., whatever the subject may be, are included, and so are all inventions. There is no limitation to science in the strict sense of the word.

In Canada the right of copyright lasts for twenty-eight years and may be renewed thereafter for fourteen years. In order to be protected by this law an author of the United Kingdom must register his work in Canada and publish it there inside of a month of its having been published elsewhere.

Other British colonies possess local copyright laws peculiar to themselves.

International Copyright has been a slow growth, and is determined by the laws of each nation.

The English International Copyright Act provides that a work having been published first in any part of the British Empire is entitled to the benefit of the English laws just as if it had been issued first in the United Kingdom. Thus it follows that the work so published possesses copyright in those foreign lands which belong to the Berne Convention of 1887. By a convention in Berne in 1887, Great Britain and possessions, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Haiti, Italy, Luxemburg, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and Tunis formed an international agreement. Foreign books to receive copyright in the U. S. must have an edition manufactured in the U. S.

CORPORATIONS: A corporation may be defined, in general, as a body formed and authorized by law to act as a single individual in carrying out the purposes for which it is incorporated. It is the creature of the State, and can do only that which it is allowed to do by the State in the act which gives it birth, but within those limits it can act as freely as any individual. Corporations are usually divided into public and private corporations.

Over the former the legislature, as the trustee or guardian of the public interests, has the exclusive and unrestrained control; and acting as such, as it may create, so it may modify or destroy, as public exigency requires or recommends. . . . Private corporations, on the other hand, are created by an act of the legislature, which, in connection with its acceptance, is regarded as a *compact*, and one which, so long as the body corporate faithfully observes, the legislature is constitutionally restrained from impairing, by annexing new terms and conditions, onerous in their operation, or inconsistent with a reasonable construction of the compact. (*Angell and Ames on Corporations*, §31, ch. 1.)

Corporations are of comparatively recent growth. Says Professor Ely, in his articles on "The Growth of Corporations," in *Harper's Magazine* for 1887:

History

In thirty years, in the second half of the eighteenth century, only one corporation was formed in Massachusetts, and that was of an eleemosynary character. When Alexander Hamilton wrote his celebrated report on the establishment of the first United States Bank in 1790, there existed only three banking corporations in the United States. Some estimate that railway corporations own one fourth of the wealth of the country, but they did not begin to exist until more than half a century had elapsed after the promulgation of the Declaration of Independence. Gas companies, which have been so fruitful a source of corruption in states and municipalities, did not exist at all in the eighteenth century, and not in large numbers much before 1830. Manufactures were carried on in the last century in insignificant shops by men of little wealth and of no great social importance.

It was the general opinion a hundred years ago that corporations or joint-stock companies could not succeed, because they did not appeal to the stimulus of self-interest as much as private concerns, and therefore must go down in competition with them. The opinion of Adam Smith, in his "Wealth of Nations" (1776), is well known when he says:

The trade of a joint-stock company is always managed by a court of directors. This court, indeed, is frequently subject in many respects to the control of a general court of proprietors. But the greater part of those proprietors seldom pretend to understand anything of the business of the company. . . . The directors of such companies, however, being the managers rather of other people's money than of their own, it cannot well be expected that they should watch over it with the same anxious vigilance with which the partners in a private copartnery frequently watch over their own. Like the stewards of a rich man, they are apt to consider attention to small matters as not for their master's honor. . . . Negligence and profusion, therefore, must always prevail, more or less, in the management of the affairs in such a company. . . . That a joint-stock company should be able to carry on successfully any branch of foreign trade, when private adventurers can come into any sort of open and fair competition with them, seems contrary to all experience. . . . The only trades which it seems possible for a joint-stock company to carry on successfully, without an exclusive privilege, are those of which all the operations are capable of being reduced to what is called a routine, or to such uniformity of method as admits of little or no variation.

Nevertheless corporations, altho only comparatively recently of large growth, have existed at least some four hundred years.

To-day, however, the corporate field, particularly in the U. S., covers enterprises of every conceivable nature. Manufacturing corporations embracing every thinkable need or luxury of the human being, distributing concerns selling every kind and class of necessity and luxury in the lines of food, clothing, or what not, are carried on in the corporate form. Transportation methods of every kind, from the stage-coach to the powerful locomotive and electric engine, from the coal-cart to the automobile, are operated by corporations. Our department stores, our restaurants, our candy manufacturers, our theaters, our magazines and newspapers, the advertising in the street-cars, many of the metropolitan barber shops, the bootblack stands and the news stands and book stores, are operated by corporations. Not a large building is now

put up in American cities but that an enormous corporation puts in the foundation; another corporation erects the superstructure and still others put on the finishing touches, while usually a large realty or investing corporation owns and operates the building itself. The hats we wear, the umbrellas we carry, the clothes, all are shaped and produced to a large extent through corporate activity.

Not only is the corporate field diversified in the different classes of business and commercial undertakings, but it is also of gigantic scope and size. The estimated national wealth of the U. S. at the present time is in excess of $110,000,000,000, and it is estimated that of this total wealth, something like one half is owned in corporate form. If we eliminate agricultural wealth and confine our estimate to only the wealth represented in manufacturing, transportation, and like industries, we find that over eighty per cent of such wealth is in corporate form. The tendency at the present time is for the corporate growth to increase several times more rapidly than the growth of private concerns. This is due to the fact that not only do most new undertakings start under the corporate form, but the tendency of former private concerns to combine as they grow and enter the corporate form seems absolutely irresistible.

Statistics

The following figures from *Moody's Manual* for 1907 not only demonstrate the great magnitude of the corporate field, but illustrate the pronounced tendency of the smaller concerns to combine with or become swallowed in the larger ones. For the year ended May 1, 1907, the *Manual* reports facts and figures on about 222,000 miles of steam railroad in the U. S., representing a combined par value capitalization in stocks and bonds, all of which is in the hands of the public, of about $13,900,000,000. These totals embrace 1,419 active, existent corporations, all of which have stocks and bonds outstanding in one form or another. Of this number of corporations, however, no less than 688, representing 196,429 miles of railroad and having outstanding $12,931,000,000 of stocks and bonds, are controlled by fifty-seven large corporations; and the remaining 674 companies, which are independent of control, represent only 25,588 miles and about $977,000,000 of capitalization. It will thus be seen that nearly 90 per cent of the railroad mileage of the country and more than 92 per cent of the par value capitalization of the railroad corporations of the country are embraced in the control of fifty-seven larger corporations or controlling systems.

The facts and figures bearing on other corporate undertakings in the U. S. are also interesting, both as regards magnitude and tendency, and all serve to demonstrate the fact that businesses of every nature are year by year going into the larger corporate form. The figures given in the *Manual* for 1907, covering the street-railway industry, the gas- and electric-light industry, the telephone, telegraph, and other public utility undertakings, as well as the field of manufacturing and miscellaneous enterprise, show that over $20,000,000,000 of capitalization is to-day in corporations, the stocks and bonds of which in each individual case aggregate at least $500,000, and are more or less in the hands of investors and the public generally. Thus it will be seen that including the steam-railroad industry, represented by a capitalization of about $14,000,000,000, the aggregate amount of capital in corporate form in this country is approximately $34,000,000,000, without considering the many thousand smaller corporations of less than $500,000 capital and also the banking and trust companies and other financial institutions of like nature.

Contrary to a very general impression, the owners of corporate wealth in this country are not alone a few millionaires, but a multitude of small investors whose average holdings are probably less than $10,000 each. Many of these are $5,000 investors and still more of them hold less than $1,000 each. In 1905 the Interstate Commerce Commission reported that the railroads of the country then had 327,851 shareholders. As this estimate is necessarily inaccurate and incomplete because of the fact that thousands of stockholders do not have the certificates in their names, the truth probably is that there are at least double this number of holders. It is a well-known fact that the Pennsylvania Railroad system alone has had on its books as high as 40,000 stockholders. The number of holders of railroad bonds is entirely unknown, but should at least equal that of stockholders, thus giving us as a fair estimate in the neighborhood of 1,500,000 of investors in the steam-railroad industry alone. If we add to this 1,500,000 more to represent the number of investors in other corporate undertakings which are not private or close, we have in all about 3,000,000 investors who are the owners of the corporate wealth of the U. S. Of course, a proportion of these investors are outside of the U. S., altho what percentage is difficult to guess. If, however, we include all enterprises in which foreign capital would naturally enter, including mining undertakings, it would probably be fair to estimate 15 per cent of the above total as foreign, thus leaving approximately 2,550,000 persons to represent the ownership of the large corporate wealth of the country.

Shareholders

It should be pointed out that the above figures do not embrace the ordinary "close" corporations. The close corporation is different from the others in the fact that its entire stock is usually owned by a few individuals who are the actual managers of the enterprise itself. Thus it is, in effect, precisely similar to the old-style partnership as far as its responsibility to outsiders is concerned, and its success or failure in a financial sense therefore involves only those who are actively connected with it.

Concurrently with the rise of the modern corporation have come in various economic and social problems which would otherwise never have arisen. Under the old form of partnership the business man or firm usually found it necessary to either limit the amount of the business he might do to his personal financial capacity, or else make use of additional capital through the aid of a money-lender. Under the corporate form, however, securities are issued which produce the necessary capital to extend business and handle increased business, as well as to improve credit generally. These securities are of two classes, stocks and bonds. The stockholder stands in the same relation to the concern itself as did the old-fashioned partner, with the exception that the stockholder is not necessarily an active partner, and is not responsible for the

debts of the concern beyond the amount of his shares. The bondholder, on the other hand, stands in the same position as the old-fashioned money-lender; that is, he is a creditor and his loan is usually secured by some sort of mortgage on the property. The difference between a stock and a bond, therefore, is simply the difference between the owner and the loaner.

Capitalization

While the modern form of corporate enterprise has slowly evolved, and is an enlargement of the old partnership method, yet it has in modern times taken on features which were entirely unknown to the partnership. For instance, in the matter of capitalization, the stock company of to-day is usually capitalized far beyond the invested value of the undertaking itself. For instance, if a former partnership represents an actual invested cash capital of $1,000,000, and is showing a net profit to its owners of $400,000 per annum (which is not an unusual occurrence), when it is converted into a corporation its capitalization will be based not on the original investment, but on the earning power in connection with the current rate of interest, future prospects, etc. In this particular case, for instance, the capitalization of a corporation taking over such a business would not be less than $4,000,000, basing our estimate on the showing of earnings alone. Should there be other considerations, such as patent rights, franchises, or special conditions which would insure a steady future growth, the capitalization would be very much more than this; possibly twice as much. The bond issue alone which might be put on to such a property might run as high as $3,000,000 or $4,000,000. Thus has come in the custom of what is popularly known as "stock-watering." The difference between the actual invested amount of cash in the plant and the capitalization itself is generally understood to be the "water."

While stock-watering is generally regarded as a vicious practise and its elimination looked upon as a great remedy for the evils of corporate enterprise, yet, as a matter of fact, its elimination would not be a remedy at all, for the reason that stock-watering is not the evil itself, but simply one of the results of certain evils which are bound up in corporate as well as many other industrial and commercial undertakings in this and other countries. The capitalization of a corporation in the shape of stocks and bonds does not of itself have any effect on the relationship of the corporation with its customers or with the public generally. A corporation of $1,000,000 capital, for instance, cannot, by raising its stock certificates to $10,000,000, make any changes in the prices of its products unless some other factor enters in besides the mere one of the increase in the face value of its stock certificates. If it does so increase its capitalization, the actual value of its business will be no greater than before and the price of its stock certificates will of course depreciate accordingly. If, however, it increases its capital to represent some tangible acquisition which it did not possess before, then, but then only, it will have made a distinct gain in its assets. To illustrate this, the recent incident brought out by the Harriman investigating committee, of the increase in capitalization of the Chicago & Alton Railway some years ago, is worthy of mention. Prior to this increase in capitalization, the Chicago & Alton Railway had for years been growing in value as a result of the increase in population along its lines and general expansion of industry and commerce in that part of the country. Its terminals and all other assets had shown the natural and automatic increase to which all enterprises of this nature are heirs in a growing country like the U. S., but the old management had never discounted these increased values in the capitalization. When the Harriman interests took hold of the property, however, they immediately decided to capitalize the automatic growth in value of this railroad system and added approximately $60,000,000 in stocks and bonds to the former capitalization. In other words, prior to this time its "monopoly" or special privilege had not been capitalized, and all the Harriman interests did was to bring the face value of the securities of the Chicago & Alton Railway up to the current value of its monopoly or special privilege. They put no water into the property in the sense of trying to capitalize a vacuity, as is popularly stated.

Stock-watering

The remedy for corporate evils, therefore, does not lie along the line of prohibitive legislation in regard to the amount of face value in stocks or bonds which may be placed upon a property, but will be found rather through an examination of the conditions which enable the heads of corporations to issue vast amounts of securities, which, while not representing actual cash investment, do nevertheless represent something of a tangible nature. This tangible something may be patent rights, tariff protection, franchise privileges, or something else of an exclusive nature. Only when this feature of the situation is examined and analyzed will this vital problem of corporate capitalization be permanently solved.

Another condition which has been brought about by the change of industrial and commercial activity through the corporate form is the concentration of control of industry, commerce, finance, etc., without the same concentration of responsibility. That is to say, while it is necessary for the corporate manager in order to be successful to bear great responsibility, yet he is usually now more in the position of an employee than an owner. Under the partnership form the manager felt a financial responsibility and liability which he now seldom feels. He is usually employed under a large salary, and while the failure of the organization may involve him financially, yet not to the same extent as it will the great body of stockholders or bondholders, who must supply the necessary capital, and who unlike the salaried manager, get nothing in the shape of income until it is actually earned and can be drawn out of the business. It is, therefore, often the case that the corporation will be so managed as to benefit the officers and directors at the expense of the stockholders.

The foregoing situation is illustrated in many ways in modern corporate enterprise where conducted on a large scale. With corporate capitalizations running up into the billions of dollars and controlling entire industries, it is necessary to keep the control in close touch with large financial and banking interests. Thus the gigantic railroad, industrial, and public utility corporations of the U. S. are all managed from what is commonly known as "the Wall Street end." That is, the control of the companies, as represented in the boards of directors and officers, is all in the hands of the banking interests of the

country, who supply the necessary capital, combine the plants, form underwriting syndicates, float the securities, devise the plans of capitalization and stand at the forefront of the financial organizations. The boards of directors are usually chosen by the banking interests, and of course all matters of policy are either devised or approved by these same banking interests. Naturally the banking interests advocate policies which will serve to strengthen their control of the particular industries and conserve whatever special privileges the enterprises may have. The methods employed, while often of the best kind possible, do not universally result in the advantage of or even equitable treatment of the consumer.

A further result of large corporate enterprise is the necessity for the large privileged corporation to interfere with legislation. On the one hand we find a public sentiment very antagonistic to corporations generally, and on the other hand we find the corporations endeavoring, in one way or another, to influence and guide legislation. There is a reason for corporate interference with legislation which is a perfectly rational one. Inasmuch as practically all antagonistic legislation, which is favored by the public, is of the nature of attack on results and not on causes, and often, if carried through, has the vicious effect of doing harm in greater amount to the community itself than to the corporation, it is perfectly natural that the corporate managers of the country should regard the legislation as stupid, inane, and futile, and should use all means in their power to retard it. This condition of things will logically continue until people awaken to the fact that in attacking corporate forms and not special privileges, they are barking up the wrong tree.

Privileges

A word needs to be said in relation to the corporation as a field for actual investment of funds. Practically all investments, outside of those placed in real-estate bonds and mortgages, are corporation investments. There are two methods by which money is invested in corporation enterprises. These are direct and indirect. The person who places his investment directly in a specific undertaking, or through a banker or broker, is a direct investor. He personally becomes a stock- or bondholder in a corporation of his own choosing. But the man who deposits his money in a savings-bank, trust or insurance company, or state or national bank, is an indirect corporation investor. His money goes from the institution into an investment of some sort, where it earns the interest which he receives and possibly a little more. In the former case he sees his money at work; it stays presumably in the place where he put it. In the latter case he delegates the matter of actual investment—to the bank—which acts in the capacity of a trustee, and invests his money for him. And in both cases the money may easily be invested in the same enterprise. Thus, in the latter case, he may place his money in a savings-bank, and the bank may then invest it in New York Central Railroad bonds. In the former case he may himself, through an investment banker, purchase New York Central bonds. His money is in the same enterprise in both instances, the chief difference being that in one case he knows it and in the other he does not.

The growth of large corporate activity in the U. S. during the past twenty years is concisely reflected by the growth of Wall Street as a financial center. The stocks and bonds of all corporate enterprises are there dealt in in greatly increasing volume year by year, and where a generation ago the dealings in corporate securities were almost entirely confined to steam-railroad stocks and bonds, to-day they cover every conceivable form of corporate undertaking, and a great majority of the transactions in stocks and bonds, including those outside of the Stock Exchange, now represent corporate enterprises which are entirely independent of steam railroads. That this tendency will continue there seems to be little doubt, and that within the next generation all business undertakings of any size whatever will be in the hands of greatly enlarged and steadily growing corporate organizations seems to be almost certain JOHN MOODY.

CORRUPTION IN GOVERNMENT AND COMMERCE: In this article we consider corruption in the United States only, because, considered as a *social* factor in contradistinction from a question of individual ethics—and in this encyclopedia we are only concerned with the social aspect—corruption in commerce and government has admittedly developed in the U. S. as a social phenomenon, very much more than in any other civilized country. This is not to say that the average American business man, or even the average American legislator, is more dishonest than the average European. That is another question and would lead us far. There are many kinds of dishonesty. Hypocrisy, e. g., is not characteristic of America. Corruption in government in Europe is undoubtedly much more concealed than in the U. S., and much more common than many realize. Generalizations in morals are unsafe. Yet when all is said, corruption in commerce and government is undoubtedly carried on in the U. S. in a larger and, certainly, in a more open way than in Europe. It can, therefore, be best studied here and will cover and include almost every variety of corruption to be found anywhere, even tho some forms of corruption may be even more existent in other countries. We consider the subject under Corruption in Commerce; in Elections; in Municipalities; in Legislatures, State and National; Causes.

Corruption in Commerce

Corruption in commerce has, at least until recently, been generally considered far less frequent than corruption in governmental transactions. Many facts to-day, however, are leading people to question this view, and also to ask themselves if even the corruption in government is not largely due to the corruption of government by large and often most reputable corporate commercial interests and institutions. According to Mr. C. R. Woodruff, in his survey of municipal progress for 1904:

> The United States Fidelity and Trust Company is authority for the statement that in 1901 the banks of the country lost $1,665,109 from defalcations, and in 1902 $1,709,301, while the editor of *Midland Municipalities* is responsible for the statement that the loss of federal, county, and municipal governments from the same cause was $1,283,055 in 1901, and $1,067,789 in 1902. So that for these two years the employees and officers of banks defaulted in the amount of $1,024,569 more than did all the public officials in the country. These figures do not take into consideration all the forms of governmental corruption, but they do not all the forms of commercial corruption. They cover solely one form of dishonesty, but show that the average run of public office is as honest—yes, a little more so—than the average run of bank officers. As the editor of the *Midland Municipalities* pertinently remarks, "The fact is that neither the bankers nor the offi-

cials are as a class dishonest, but, on the contrary, look after the interests in their care much better than the average man looks after his business. With the vast sums handled each year by the officials or the banks, the amount lost in defalcations is exceptionally small, so small that when compared with the whole they are hardly worth notice, much less an excuse for general condemnation."

Defalcation, however, is but a single form and probably a minor form of commercial corruption. Bribery and adulteration of goods, the dishonest manipulation of stock, stock-watering, stock-gambling, the falsifying of accounts, the misrepresentation of values, the obtaining of "graft" (or unearned and dishonest participation in financial transactions) is much more common. For ADULTERATION OF FOOD, STOCK-WATERING, and STOCK-GAMBLING, see those subjects.

A writer in the *Independent* (Sept., 1904), who is stated to be a business man of responsibility and large experience, but who for obvious reasons does not sign his name, gives many concrete illustrations of corruption in commerce. He says:

The growth of large corporations, where the buying is separate from the ownership, where the buyer's personal interests may be worked on if he is at all susceptible to corruption or blinded if he is not very shrewd, has opened the business field for the Old World diplomacy of intrigue and corruption, and corruption flourishes there in a way that few appreciate. There is no publicity of the corruption. When the heads find it out they may remedy it, but that is all and they keep it quiet. . . . This corruption is rapidly growing.

As an instance of one form of corruption he quotes the following from a New York buyer:

"Of course I give presents, or, if you prefer to call it so, commissions and bribes. You can't do business in any other way. I'm not paid a salary of $10,000 a year to hesitate at a little check-giving, when I can't get the business otherwise. They all do it. You know the case of Brown, who bought for A. & B. (mentioning one of the largest department stores in New York City). He used to turn over to C. & D. (a prominent manufacturer of cloaks and dresses) business to the amount of $300,000 or $400,000 a year. They gave him a brown-stone house up-town in New York, where he lived for years. Every one knew it, and it is said that both A. & B. knew it at the time, but they said they did not care if Brown did get houses and money, that he had made his department pay big profits and that was what they looked at. Later on C. & D. actually made Brown one of the partners in their firm, so that he shared in their profits, and he was still the buyer for A. & B."

Later, when others had talked, he said: "I have an understanding with my house that I can draw up to $25,000 a year and no questions asked. I always carry several thousand dollars with me." And here he showed a roll of bills. "Oftentimes I meet a squeamish cuss and have to handle him with gloves. I'll get him around to my hotel in the evening and we'll have drinks and cigars served and a little game of poker; of course I always lose. Nothing is said, but I book a good-sized order before I go, and really that is one of the cheapest methods; when the man comes right out and asks for money then I usually have to pay a big price."

In Ordinary Business

Foremen in factories are often bribed to demand certain brands of goods or certain articles for use in their factories. The corruption or "graft" in real estate deals has become notorious. The use of blackmail in the lesser press of the country and of paid editorials and "fake" telegraphic reports in the larger papers is well known. The use of more or less fraudulent advertisements is almost universal. The prices put upon articles in stores has often little or no relation to the cost of production. These are but a few instances of dishonesty in ordinary commercial proceedings. Very many business men believe it is impossible to-day to conduct business with strict regard to truth.

When one comes to the larger commercial transactions, corruption is, if possible, still more prevalent. Says Mr. N. O. Nelson:

The exposures are fresh in mind of the boodlers in St. Louis and Philadelphia, of the meat packers, and the insurance officers and directors, and Wall Street financiers. Were these, like ordinary crimes, the occasional lapses of individuals, they would have little or no weight. *But the remarkable thing is that wherever the probe happens to be inserted, the same condition is found.* Everywhere, in every case, every railroad, every packer, every valuable franchise, every life-insurance company, every tax return that has been investigated, has been found lawless, perjured, brazenly rotten, when judged by either legal or moral standards. Did not the statute of limitation intervene, Mr. Folk, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Jerome, and Mr. Hitchcock could be kept busy the remainder of their days, and could every day give material for yellow head-lines. It is the yellow history that is at fault, not yellow journalism.

Life-insurance companies supposed to be the most reputable have been found to have altered their books overnight, to avoid the requirements of the law. The New York Life-Insurance Company was declared to have paid their "legislative agent" $416,927 during five years, besides $235,000 for which no receipt was given, and $134,000 for personal use. The president of the Metropolitan could borrow $80,000 of his and other companies at 1½ per cent. Mr. McCurdy, president of the Mutual, received a salary of $150,000 a year, and his son $30,000, besides $91,766 in commissions, while his son-in-law, Mr. Thebaud, received $147,687. (See INSURANCE.) The investigation of the Pennsylvania Railroad, considered by many one of the best managed roads in the country, showed department officials receiving large sums for granting illegal favors to certain companies. The revelations of Mr. Thomas W. Lawson in his "Frenzied Finance" have been discounted but never answered. Mr. Henry D. Lloyd, after his sensational but substantiated exposure of the Standard Oil's dishonest and corrupt methods, became convinced that he was but attacking individual cases of a uniform system, and the question arises: What great corporation's money is not tainted?

Corruption in Corporations

The evil has not grown in a day. As long ago as 1871 Charles Francis Adams, since himself president of a great railroad organization, wrote ("Chapters on Erie"):

The system of corporate life and corporate power, as applied to industrial development, is yet in its infancy. It tends always to development, always to consolidation; it is ever grasping new powers or insidiously exercising covert influences. Even now the system threatens the central government. . . . The belief is common in America that the day is at hand when corporations far greater than ever—swaying power such as has never in the world's history been trusted in the hands of mere private citizens, controlled by single men like Vanderbilt, or by combinations of men like Fisk, Gould, and Sage—after having created a system of quiet but irrepressible corruption, will ultimately succeed in directing government itself. . . . It is a new power for which our language contains no name. We know what aristocracy, autocracy, democracy are, but we have no word to express "government by moneyed corporations."

In 1895 Judge William J. Gaynor of the New York Supreme Court, writing to the St. Louis Mercantile Club a letter for Jefferson Day, said:

The untold millions of sham, dishonest, and oppressive paper stock and bonds now existing in this country, issued generally upon rights and privileges conferred by law gratuitously, and to pay dividends and interest upon which it is proposed to sap agricultural, mechanical, manufacturing, mercantile, professional, and all other honest industry, may well be the subject of grave thought by those who meet to recur to and keep alive principles which are wholly antagonistic to such a condition, and which cannot be said to be paramount while such a condition exists.

In 1904, Supreme Justice David J. Brewer, addressing the Albany Law School, June 1, said:

To-day's great temptation to the lawyer as a lawmaker comes from the marvelous development of corporate interests. The corporations themselves are colossal in size, alluring by

the magnitude of their achievements, tempting not merely by the money they possess and with which they can reward, but more by the influence they can exert in favor of the individual lawmaker in the furtherance of his personal advancement. No one can be blind to the fact that these mighty corporations are holding out most tempting inducements to the lawmaker to regard in lawmaking their interests rather than the welfare of the nation. Senators and representatives have owed their places to corporate influence, and that influence has been exerted under an expectation, if not an understanding, that by them as lawmakers the corporate interests shall be subserved. I am not here to deny the value of corporations. I realize the magnitude of the work that is possible through such combinations, and I do not deny their right to be heard before any legislative body in defense of their rights or in furtherance of their interests. But the danger lies in the fact that they are so powerful and that the pressure of so much power upon the individual lawmaker tempts him to forget the nation and remember the corporation. And the danger is greater because it is insidious. There may be no written agreement. There may be in fact no agreement at all and yet when the lawmaker understands that the power exists which may make for his advancement or otherwise, that it will be exerted according to the pliancy with which he yields to its solicitations, it lifts the corporation into a position of constant danger and menace to republican institutions. I do not mean to insinuate that all legislators are influenced thereby. On the contrary, I know there are many and I trust they are a large majority who stand in the full integrity of their being, acting always in accordance with their judgment of the best interests of the nation; but within the limits of our profession, as elsewhere in the world, are many weak characters who, while they might not deliberately do a dishonest thing or deliberately prove false to an oath or obligation, yet yield to the pressure of corporate interests, deluding themselves with the idea that those interests are synonymous with the interests of the nation.

Justice Brewer

As example of very recent commercial corruption we quote from a public letter of Mr. R. R. Bowker (until recently manager of the Edison Electric Company), addrest to Governor Hughes. Speaking of his company he says:

There was the prospect of a condition under which the company could reduce the rate to one half of what it formerly had been and yet could pay a 10 per cent dividend. In the mean time, by semipolitical movements, Mr. Anthony N. Brady, with ex-Mayor Grant and a well-known trust company, had organized a company, bought the franchises of a petty lighting organization, and made a deal "with the late W. C. Whitney, then in control of the Metropolitan Street Railway Company, for the supply of its 'surplus electricity,'" tho the Metropolitan Company had need for all its electricity. Thereupon the hint came from a director common to both the Metropolitan and Edison companies that the sale of the Edison Company would be wise. Deterred from opposition by the fear of the political power of Mr. Whitney and others, the directors acceded. Mr. Bowker had to choose between opposing the deal and getting the best possible price for the stockholders. He himself sacrificed the opportunity to dispose of his own stock at a high price. The company was greatly overcapitalized by an excessive issue of bonds, which were marketed, if not illegally, at least by a palpable evasion of the law. The order reducing the rates was rescinded. In the midst of these transactions there was a "Wall Street whirl," and a financial battle between the various interests contending for the lighting monopoly and its vast profits. Finally, peace was made by consolidation; the Brady-Whitney interests were absorbed and were represented on the gas board. The final result has been that the Consolidated Gas Company is now entire master of the gas and electric lighting of New York City, both public and private. Mr. Bowker says that since the consolidation he believes that the management has dealt fairly with the public. "But the facts remain," he adds, "that it was, and is still, possible to juggle with great properties in the most unscrupulous manner, and that the consumer is required to pay a price that will produce earnings on three times the capitalization needed by the industry." —*The Outlook*, May 4, 1907.

New York Gas Monopoly

As a sample of management of railroad corporations we quote from the *Independent* of May, 1907, as to the Chicago & Alton Railroad:

A syndicate composed of Mr. Harriman, Mortimer L. Schiff, James Stillman, and George J. Gould bought nearly all the stock of the company. Within six years, under their management, the capital stock was increased from $40,000,000 to $122,800,000, altho only $22,000,000 was spent for improvements. Large quantities of bonds issued by the syndicate were virtually sold to the syndicate at sixty-five and then marketed at from ninety to ninety-six, a considerable part being taken by the great life-insurance companies. The controlling owners also declared and paid to themselves a dividend of 30 per cent. The profits of these transactions appear to have exceeded $24,000,000. In due time 103,000 shares of the Alton stock were sold to the Union Pacific. The testimony showed that heavy commissions, amounting to several millions, had been paid to the affiliated banking-house for its services in handling securities.

Corruption in Elections

The corrupt use of money in elections is almost as old as elections themselves. Such corruption in Great Britain, where it was once rampant, as well as in Canada and on the Continent of Europe, has been checked by efficient CORRUPT PRACTISES LAWS. But in the United States, tho perhaps now less openly than formerly, corruption still exists very widely spread, while the amounts of money spent in elections have generally risen.

A series of articles by Mr. John G. Speed in *Harper's Weekly* (1905), and mainly based on studies of conditions in the last presidential election, shows the evil as great as ever. In industrial states like New Jersey and Connecticut, with portions of New York, he finds that 25 per cent of the vote was bought. In states surely Republican or surely Democratic less sums are spent, but in close states like Indiana he estimates that both parties spent in that election $600,000. The retiring governor of that state, Colonel Durbin, declared that the revelations of corruption were "astounding." Smaller states, like Rhode Island, are "pocket boroughs" owned by party bosses. In Maryland he estimates that $200,000 was spent and a similar amount in West Virginia. In Montana, in the investigation for corruption which deprived Senator Clark of his senatorial seat in 1899 (tho he has been elected since), it was shown that as high as $50 was paid for an ordinary vote and for a vote in the legislature $1,000. In New York City in close wards, as high as $10 or even $25 is paid for votes. Ordinary prices are exprest by the saying "$2 for a negro vote, $2.50 for a dago, $3 for an American." A presidential election in New York City is said to mean the expenditure of $574,000 dishonestly and nearly as much more for legitimate expenses. In each of the last two mayoralty campaigns in New York City over $800,000 was spent. These expenses are largely levied by the party machines upon the candidates and are contributed to even more by the corporations which expect and demand therefor the granting of franchises, favorable legislation, exemption from unfavorable legislation, or reductions in taxation, etc. Senator Platt testified that an insurance company like the Equitable usually gave $10,000 a year to his machine as its ordinary political assessment, and more if it expected unusual favors. A small railroad paid Tammany $50,000 for certain favors. Candidates are assessed at a fixt ratio upon value of their offices. For Supreme Court judgeships $50,000 and even $100,000 has been paid. The system is not new.

Corrupt Voters

The president of the Sugar Trust, before a special committee of the United States Senate, testified that this "politics of business" was the custom of "every individual and corporation and firm, trust or whatever you like to call it" (Senate Report No. 485, Fifty-third Congress, second session, June 21, 1894). Asked if he contributed to state campaign funds, said: "We always do

that. . . . In the State of New York, when the Democrat majority is between 40,000 and 50,000, we throw it their way. In the State of Massachusetts, when the Republican Party is doubtful, they probably have the call. Wherever there is a dominant party, wherever the majority is very large, that is the party that gets the contribution, because that is the party which controls local matters" (Supplemental Report of Senator W. V. Allen of the Senate Special Committee (ordered May 17, 1894) to investigate alleged attempts at bribery by the Sugar Trust).

The handling of election money has been reduced to a system. Professor Jenks, investigating the system in 1892 (and the main methods have not changed), says:

Doubtful voters will not be divided carelessly into "blocks of five, and each block put into the hands of a trusty man," but each doubtful voter, being known, with his habits, his work, his associates, is considered individually. If he is one whose vote can be affected by honest persuasion, the man in the party who would be likely to have most influence with him is selected to work with him, and to influence his vote by fair means, if possible. If he is a man whose vote must be purchased, he is assigned to the worker who can purchase him to the best advantage. If the number of "floaters" or "commercials" as they are variously called, is relatively large to the number of workers, it may well be that they will have to be purchased in blocks of fives or blocks of tens; or, again, owing to social reasons, they at times can best be bought in groups or clubs, or traded; but in all cases where the best work is done, each individual "floater," whether bought singly or as one of a group, is looked after personally by the man best competent to handle him.

For electoral corruption in New York City, see TAMMANY. To Philadelphia, however, is usually given the palm of the worst electoral corruption, tho in Western cities like Denver ballot-box stuffing has perhaps been more open. Philadelphia, however, with 47 per cent of its citizens native born, and the so-called "city of homes" has had at least more persistent ring-rule than any other. Its "machine" has been the most daring. A report of the Municipal League says:

Philadelphia

The assessor of a division kept a disorderly house; he padded his (voting) lists with fraudulent names registered from his house; two of these names were used by election officers. . . . The constable of a division kept a disreputable house; a policeman was assessed as living there. . . . The election was held in the disorderly house maintained by the assessor. . . . The man named as judge had a criminal charge for a life offense pending against him. Two hundred and fifty-two votes were returned in a division that had less than 100 legal votes.

The assessor pads his list, it is said, with the names of dead dogs, children, and non-existent persons. Repeating is done brazenly and most openly. The officers of the league have published a booklet of cases of policemen helping to beat off citizens and election officers trying to do their duty. Thousands of voters have stayed away from the polls declaring it was no use to vote, but have been recorded as voting for the machine.

It is not, however, only a question of the city. Says Professor Jenks (*Century Magazine*, Oct., 1902): "The probability is that, all things considered, in such a state as New York the farmers are as corrupt as the residents of the cities."

Municipal Corruption

Among the best studies of municipal corruption in the U. S. have been the articles in *McClure's Magazine* by Mr. Lincoln Steffens and republished as "The Shame of the Cities" (1904) and "The Struggle for Self-Government" (1906). From these articles we condense the following statements:

St. Louis

St. Louis' municipal corruption, tho long known locally, came to general attention through the fearless exposures by Mr. (now Governor) Joseph W. Folk, as circuit attorney. He showed how Charles H. Turner, the millionaire president of the Suburban Railway, used $135,000 to buy the (municipal) House of Delegates; how one member of the House of Delegates made $25,000 per year; how a councilman was paid $50,000 for a vote on a single measure; how a franchise bill was carried over the mayor's veto by the expenditure of nearly $300,000, and then within a year sold to Eastern capitalists for $1,250,000. Out of this deal grew the St. Louis Transit Company. Mr. Steffens shows how even after conviction many of the boodlers felt so secure as to go right on with their corruption. "In the House of Delegates sit, under sentence, as follows: Charles F. Kelly, two years; Charles J. Deeny, three years and five years; Henry A. Faulkner, two years; E. E. Murrell, state's witness, but not tried. Nay, this house with such a membership had the audacity to pass an appropriation to enable Mr. Folk to go on with his investigation." Finally, Mr. Folk reached Colonel Edward R. Butler, the "boss" of the whole system of corruption, and unearthed his methods. Mr. Steffens tells us how this Colonel Butler, an Irishman by birth and a horseshoer by trade, wearing his apron in the '70's, became first the boss of his ward, then got the city railways to buy a certain patent horseshoe, and, making money, developed into the boss of his party, at times almost openly marching up repeaters to vote his party ticket. He next worked through both parties and made boodling his profession. He sold franchises and privileges at regular prices. It was alleged at the trials that every transportation and public convenience company that touches St. Louis had dealings with Butler's combine. Some paid him a regular salary, others a fee; others an interest in their concessions. Tho he "sometimes could rent or own the mayor, he preferred to be independent of him, so he formed in each part of the legislature a two thirds majority—in the Council nine, in the House nineteen—which could pass bills over a veto. These were the 'combines.' They were regularly organized and did business under parliamentary rules." Choosing their chairman they would meet and decide for how much they would enact certain bills or grant franchises. Butler got the most and became a millionaire two or three times over. Dissensions, however, arose as to the division of the plunder. Cliques arose which had to hire "trailers" to follow their agents, while Butler had to hire men to betray these. All decency was gone. Nevertheless, boodling was good business and boodlers from St. Louis would visit Chicago, Cleveland, and Pittsburg, to learn what new forms of graft had been invented, while boodlers from those cities would visit St. Louis. Every bit of city property was sold or offered for sale for graft. A St. Louis banker estimated that the combines sold (gave away so far as the city was concerned) $50,000,000 of franchises or assets. Mr. Folk, however, finally got evidence against Colonel Butler through a division in the ring. The men skipt to Europe and elsewhere to avoid indictment and giving evidence. Butler was convicted, but went on with his corruption; his son was nominated for Congress, and the Supreme Court of Missouri reversed the judgment, as indeed it did gradually with all the boodle cases. The municipal corruption was shown to involve state corruption, and also the leading citizens and practically every large corporation in St. Louis. Mr. Steffens names the St. Louis Transit Company, first and foremost, the Western Union Telegraph Company, the Missouri Pacific Railroad, the St. Louis & San Francisco, the Iron Mountain & Southern, the Sugar Refining Company, the American Book Company, the Royal Baking Powder Company, among others. Through the confession of Governor Lee, who was trapped, U. S. Senators like William J. Stone, and the highest officials were involved. The result has been to some extent the purification of the state, the election of Mr. Folk as Governor, a municipal administration mainly honest. But the criminals have been let off, what convictions were made have been reversed, and the end is not yet.

Colonel Butler

Corporations

Minneapolis

Municipal corruption in Minneapolis, according to Mr. Steffens, has taken mainly the form of the corruption of the police in connivance with the mayor, "Doc Ames" being the leading corruptionist. Albert A. Ames, an M.D. before he was twenty-one and of good Puritan stock, began his professional life by being free and easy and popular with all, rich and poor, the evil and the good. Drifting into politics, he gained several offices, and then was elected mayor, once as a Republican, and later twice as a Democrat. He broke with his own family in a disgraceful way, but was again elected mayor (1901) and began a career of deliberate and shameless corruption. He organized a city government of thieves, gamblers, confidence

men, to work under police direction, for the profit of his administration. His agent systematically collected graft from gambling-dens, thieves, and houses of prostitution. The owner of a house of evil repute was captain of police with "no duties except to sell places on the police force." Laws were passed forbidding vice and then vice was permitted for a consideration. Pedlers and pawnbrokers had to pay graft. Ames declared that the police collected too much from the houses of ill-fame and ordered that they collect only every other month, it being discovered later that his private agent collected the alternate months. All this was more or less known in the city, but little effective work was done till 1902, when an effort led by Hovey C. Clarke finally broke up the corrupt ring, many of the ring, however, escaping by flight, Mayor Ames, himself under indictment and heavy bonds for extortion, flying by night out of the state.

Pittsburg

Corruption in Pittsburg, Mr. Steffens tells us, has centered around its local boss, Christopher L. Magee, an American, made, thro private pull, cashier of the city when he was twenty-one. Says Mr. Steffens: "The railroads began the corruption of the city. . . . The municipality issued bonds to help the infant railroads to develop the city, and, as in so many American cities, the roads repudiated the debt and interest and went into politics. The Pennsylvania Railroad was in the system from the start, and as the other roads came in and found the city government bought up by those before them, they purchased their rights of way by outbribing the older roads, then joined the ring to acquire more rights for themselves and to keep belated rivals out. As corporations multiplied and capital branched out corruption increased." It was under this situation that Magee got his power. A man of great natural popularity, and working with William Flinn, a Protestant of Catholic stock, he spent months in New York studying Tammany's methods, and then returned and organized Pittsburg. Magee worked for fame, Flinn for wealth. Getting the control of his party (Democratic) in the city and then in the county and working with Republicans when necessary, he cemented his power by favors to corporations and individuals. There were ring banks, ring trust companies, ring brokers. The Pennsylvania Railroad stood in with the ring and the city interests were sacrificed to give it exclusive freight traffic. But Magee needed state power; so he stood in with Matthew S. Quay and Quay with him. Magee was elected state senator, being nominated by both parties and elected unanimously. Pittsburg was turned over to Quay by Magee and Flinn. There was graft, of franchises, public contracts, vice, and public funds. Magee and Flinn mainly working in the two first ways, tho the vice graft alone was valued at $250,000. Magee got the Councils to give him railroads and he capitalized them for $30,000,000. Finally the Municipal League commenced a fight to beat the ring in the election of 1896. A paper read by Mr. McClintock before the Municipal League said: "We found that prominent merchants and contractors who were 'on the inside,' manufacturers enjoying special municipal privileges, wealthy capitalists, brokers, and others, who were holders of the securities of traction and other companies, had their mouths stopped, their convictions of duty strangled, and their influence before, and votes on, election day preempted against us. In still another direction we found that the financial and political support of the great steam railroads and largest manufacturing corporations, controlling as far as they were able the suffrages of their thousands of employees, were thrown against us, for the simple reason, as was frankly explained by one of them, that it was much easier to deal with a boss in promoting their corporate interests than to deal directly with the people's representatives in the municipal legislature. . . . As one of them put it, 'If you want to be anybody or make money in Pittsburg, it is necessary to be in the political swim and on the side of the city ring.'" On the night of the election, the returns up to one o'clock in the morning showed George W. Guthrie, the reform candidate, far ahead. Then all returns suddenly ceased and a few days later the ring's candidate was officially declared elected. An appeal to the court for a recount was denied.

The Ring

The Pittsburgers then tried for a new charter from the state legislature, giving the citizens control of the city. Quay promised to have it passed. But Quay wanted to be elected to the U. S. Senate. The ring supported him. He was elected and Pittsburg did not get its charter. In 1902 a reform movement won the election; Magee died; but a new boss was discovered to have gained the power.

Philadelphia

Some of Philadelphia's electoral methods we have seen above. Says Mr. Steffens of Philadelphia's corruption: "There is nothing like it in the country except possibly in Cincinnati."

In 1885 the citizens revolted and adopted a good charter, with the Bullitt law which went into effect in 1887, giving the mayor vast powers and believing that electing an honest mayor would secure a good administration. Since then things have been as bad as before. According to Mr. Steffens, the machine is not merely municipal, but state and national. All the power of the Republican Party and Republican city, state, and national patronage is made use of to keep it in power, with Senator Quay and his successor, Senator Penrose, at the head of all. Mr. Quay at times used the reform law to keep in check certain local bosses, as when he put down Boss McManus and put Dave Martin in his place, but the people got no benefit. Martin took away much of the loot from the ordinary ward heelers and party office-holders and gave it to a firm which he stood in with, Filbert & Porter. They got almost any contract they desired, with the appearance of legality, as their bid was always considered "lowest and best." Martin had under pay in office at least 15,000 men and women, each capable of delivering many votes. In with Mr. Quay stood—according to Mr. Steffens—the Standard Oil Company, Cramps' Shipyard, the Steel companies, with the Pennsylvania Railroad at their head, and other public utility companies following after. They got franchises, privileges, exemptions, and Martin's bosses could get his workers jobs from these companies as in a city department. Martin, however, finally fought Quay, and Quay put Israel W. Durham in his place. Martin nearly got Quay in prison. John S. Hopkins, cashier of the People's Bank, had let Quay and others have bank funds without collateral, Quay and the state treasurer leaving heavy state deposits with the bank. Quay, his son, and the state treasurer were indicted for conspiracy, but Quay got every kind of stay and postponement, till Judge Biddell ruled out the essential evidence on the ground of the statute of limitation. Mr. Wanamaker then, defeated in getting the second U. S. senatorship, fought Mr. Quay, but was defeated at every point, Mr. Quay naming Penrose as his successor and Penrose and Durham electing Samuel H. Ashbridge—"Star and Stripes Sam"—as Mayor of Philadelphia. Durham widened his ring, taking in James P. McNichol as preferred contractor and John M. Mack as promoter and financier. The Municipal League said of Ashbridge's administration: "Never before, and let us hope never again, will there be such brazen defiance of public opinion, such flagrant disregard of public interest, such abuse of powers and responsibilities for private ends." Corruption spread through every department. Teachers and principals had to have a pull to get appointment and were assessed "2 per cent" on their salaries for political purposes. Widener and Elkins, "the national franchise buyers," were in the ring. They had combined all the street railways of the city before 1900. Having got all they wanted from the ring they wanted to retire. But while they were on the ocean bound for Europe, the ring went to the legislature with two bills granting a charter for practically all the streets and alleys in Philadelphia not already covered by tracks (so as to be able to threaten Widener and Elkins with competing street-car lines and so blackmail them). The bills were introduced without notice at 3 P.M., May 29th, and were reported from the committee in five minutes; at 8.50 P.M. they were printed and on the members' desks and by 9 P.M. were passed on first reading. The next day they passed second reading, and the following day they were passed through the Senate with more trickery, and in six legislative days were signed, June 7th, at midnight in the presence of Senators Quay and Penrose, James P. McNichol, John M. Mack, and other capitalists and politicians of the ring. The next morning 100 charters were applied for under the law—thirteen of them for Philadelphia. A special meeting of the Philadelphia Select Council was called; a brief hearing was heard, but the charters were sent to Mayor Ashbridge to sign June 13th. The mayor's secretary promised authoritatively that he would not sign them that day. But Mr. John Wanamaker sent the mayor an offer of $2,500,000 for the franchises about to be given for nothing, and deposited $250,000 as guarantee of good faith. Mr. Ashbridge therefore threw the letter aside unread and signed the franchises before midnight.

State Ring

The ring put through two more bills and then compelled Widener and Elkins to lease their lines to the new company representing the ring. The leaders of the ring were cartooned and so Durham, Quay, and Governor Pennypacker passed a libel law meant to muzzle the press. Mr. Weaver, a former notorious ring leader, suddenly broke with the ring and was elected as a reform mayor. For more recent developments, see Philadelphia.

New York

Of corruption in New York Mr. Steffens writes:

"Tammany is the embodiment of corruption. All the world knows and all the world may know what it is, and what it is after. For hypocrisy is not a Tammany vice. Tammany is for Tammany and the Tammany men say so. . . . Richard Croker said under oath once that he worked for his own pockets all the time. . . . The items are so incredible that I hesitate to print them. Devery told a friend once that in one year the police graft was 'something over $3,000,000.' Afterward the syndicate which divided the graft under Devery took in for thirty-six months $400,000 a month from gambling- and pool-rooms alone. . . . Yet this was but one department and a department that was overlooked by Tammany for years. . . . Tammany when in control of New York takes out of the city unbelievable millions of dollars a year. . . . The Tammany clique of financiers have knocked

down and bought up at low prices Manhattan Railway stock by threats of the city's power over the road; they have been let in on Metropolitan deals and on the Third Avenue Railroad grab; the Ice Trust is a Tammany trust; they have banks and trust companies, and through the New York Realty Company are forcing alliances with such financial groups as that of the Standard Oil Company. Croker shared in these deals and businesses. He sold judgeships, taking his pay in the form of contributions to the Tammany campaign fund, of which he was treasurer, and he had the judges take from the regular real estate exchange all the enormous real estate business that passed through the courts and give it to an exchange connected with the real estate business of his firm, Peter F. Meyer & Co. This alone would maintain a ducal estate in England. But his real estate business was greater than that. . . . Some of the richest graft in the city is in the Department of Buildings; $100,000,000 a year goes into building operations in New York. . . . Architects and brokers had to stand in with the department. . . . The Dock Board has exclusive and private and secret control of the expenditure of $10,000,000 a year. . . . It is very large graft and the new Tammany leader, Charles Murphy, had it. . . . Tammany leaders are usually the natural leaders of the people. . . . Their charity is real at first. But they sell out their own people. They do give them coal and help them in their private troubles, but as they grow rich and powerful, the kindness goes out of the charity and they not only collect at their saloons or in rents—cash for their 'goodness'; they not only ruin fathers and sons and cause the troubles they relieve; they sacrifice the children in the schools; let the Health Department neglect the tenements, and, worst of all, plant vice in the neighborhood and in the homes of the poor. . . . The police grafters, for example, in Devery's day, were not content with the amounts collected from the big vices. They cultivated minor vices, like policy, to such an extent that the policy king was caught and sent to prison, and Devery's wardman, Glennon, was pushed into so tight a hole that there was danger that District-Attorney Jerome would get past Glennon to Devery and the syndicate. The murder of a witness the night he was in the Tenderloin police station served to save the day. But, worst of all, Tammany, the 'friend of the people,' permitted the organization of a band of so-called cadets, who made a business, under the protection of the police, of ruining the daughters of the tenements, and even of catching and imprisoning in disorderly houses the wives of poor men. This horrid traffic never was exposed. It could not and cannot be. Vicious women were 'planted' in tenement-houses (I know this personally), the children of decent parents counted the customers, witnessed their transactions with these creatures, and, as a father told with shame and tears, reported totals at the family table." (See New York; also Tammany.)

Tammany's Graft

San Francisco

For San Francisco, we quote from *The World's Work*, May, 1907:

"The people of San Francisco have suffered overmuch. But the earthquake and the fire are not the greatest of their calamities. . . . After the ruin of April, 1906, a venal city government, the tool of a corrupt and corrupting city boss, sold the public privileges of the city for ridiculous prices upon payment to the supervisors of graft fees ranging from $500 to $15,000 a vote. The street-railway company bought the privilege of running an overhead trolley line from "Abe" Ruef, the chief grafter, instead of buying it from the city for what it was worth. The telephone monopoly entrenched itself by similar means. Citizens otherwise reputable chased smaller private ends through the same paths of graft. In all, something more than $1,000,000 seems to have been collected into Ruef's corruption fund, and much of it stuck to his fingers. Enough passed on, however, to purchase the desired favors from the city powers.

San Francisco was used to the kind of graft disclosed in the earlier part of the investigation. The purchase of immunity by vice had been known for years, and was common to many cities. But the graft in high places, the spread of the taint to "good people," and the enormous bulk of the corrupting influences raise San Francisco to a solitary eminence of shame. . . .

The fact that the graft had been accepted by labor politicians is not especially significant. The significant fact is that the graft was offered by men of every political complexion, and especially by some of those highest in the city's business life.

To some extent the honor of the city has been redeemed by the conviction of Ruef and Mayor Schmitz, "the Labor Mayor." But the great corporations who made use of these men and to whom Ruef himself was largely only a tool are left in the main intact.

Chicago

Chicago's corruption has never been so well organized as in other cities. Says Mr. Steffens: "The city was once pretty solid black. Criminally it was wide open; commercially it was brazen; socially it was thoughtless and raw; it was a settlement of individuals and groups and interests with no common city sense and no political conscience. Everybody was for himself; none was for Chicago. There were political parties, but the organizations were controlled by rings, which in turn were parts of state rings, which in turn were backed and used by leading business interests, through which this corrupt and corrupting system reached with its ramifications far and high and low into the social organization. The grafting was miscellaneous and very general, but the most of the corruption was that which centered in the city council. It never was well organized and orderly. The aldermen had 'combines,' leaders, and prices, but, a lot of good-natured thieves, they . . . were so unbusinesslike that business now went into the city council to reduce the festival of blackmail to decent and systematic bribery. These men helped matters some, but the happy-go-lucky spirit persisted, until the advent of Charles T. Yerkes from Philadelphia, who, with his large experience of Pennsylvania methods, first made boodling a serious business." Then the city rose through a few shrewd men in the Municipal League and began to elect honest aldermen. (See Chicago.)

But in spite of many successes by the Municipal League, terrible corruption still remains. Mr. George K. Turner, in *McClure's Magazine*, April, 1907, shows that the revenue of the dealers in dissipation in Chicago totals at least $135,000,000 and directly employs more than 40,000 persons, and that every dollar of this sum, and every person it employs, is and must be in politics. The dealers recognized by law, brewers, wholesale and retail liquor dealers, have to be in politics to protect their interests from the anti-liquor legislation continually threatened by legislative blackmailers and by temperance reformers. The illegal dealers, in prostitution and gambling and criminal saloons, have still more need to be in politics to be able to break law with security. With this disrespectable element in politics work for other reasons, many "respectable" interests. He says:

It is the custom to call the tribute of illegal establishments to the police of great cities blackmail. This term is neither comprehensive nor accurate. The operation is merely one phase in the working out of the business of a great financial and political organization. Inroads have been made and will be made upon the influence of this organization by attacks on particular powers—as has been done in Chicago. Such attacks will probably not achieve final results.

The fact is that under present conditions the financial interests of dissipation have more direct representation in the administration of the city government than the will of the people. In Chicago the dealer in vice reaches directly through the ward and county organizations into the police department. The citizen at large must act through a mayor politically indebted to the ward organization, who hands over bodily the function of enforcing the law—concerning which he himself is and must be to a large extent ignorant—to a political appointee at the head of the police department.

Vice in Politics

Mr. Turner gives details. He says:

It would be difficult to estimate the cash payment which must be made every year by the interests of dissipation, for the privilege of breaking the law. So many people receive the money, so many give it out. There is such a variation from time to time. However, there cannot be less than $500,000 a year paid out now. There is probably much more. Prostitution pays at least $250,000; the remainder is largely paid by gambling.

In two down-town wards of Chicago—the First and the Eighteenth—are situated five sixths of the criminal saloons and of the dealers in prostitution, and at least two thirds of the gambling interests. It is not surprizing therefore that the bosses of Wards One and Eighteen in Chicago are remarkable figures and wealthy men.

Considering both worlds—the upper and the under—the bosses of the First Ward in Chicago are the most widely known men in political life, which that city has ever produced. "Hinky-Dink" (Michael Kenna), the older, ex-bootblack and newsboy, is the keeper of the greatest tramps' saloon on the continent. He is a wise, silent, dapper little man of about fifty; straight as a die in his personal relations; a virtuoso in the English language. When he speaks in anger, his words leave scars. "Bath-house John" (John J. Coughlin)—a large, pompous, poetic temperament—rose from the work of a rubber in a Turkish bath-house to his present occupation as insurance broker and active ward boss. He dresses like a bartender's dream of Beau Brummel, a bottle-green dress suit being his highest sartorial achievement; he also hires a man

to write poetry for him, to appear under his name. The rulers of the Eighteenth Ward have been less successful. John J. Brennan, the older—a gruff, husky, generous old saloon-keeper, adored by his ward—has, in fact, served a term in the House of Correction for the clumsy buying of votes. His health has failed since that experience. He has now the appearance of a broken-down prize-fighter. The junior boss, M. C. Conlon, was formerly a keeper of an unsavory saloon near the Union Station, and is now interested as a silent partner in various enterprises for the sale of dissipation.

These four men have the absolute power of political dictators in Wards One and Eighteen. As political agents of the business interests of dissipation, they have unlimited funds. They operate throughout the year a finely organized business for the handling of votes. The main aims of this business are two: first, the control of the ward; second, and vastly more important, the production of a Democratic majority so large that they can secure from the city administration the right for the business interests they represent to break the law in their wards.

Boston

Boston is believed by many to have had at times at least, corruption and ring rule equal to any city of her size. Mr. Thos. Lawson, whose articles in *Everybody's* (1904) have not been considered the sanest, yet whose statements have been more scoffed at than answered, says of one period of corruption: that the arch-corrupter was Henry M. Whitney, president of the Boston Chamber of Commerce and brother of the late William C. Whitney; and that, in comparison with the Whitney machine, "an average 'Tammany gang,' a 'Chicago combine,' or a 'St. Louis syndicate' would look like a broken-down snow-plow in August." Mr. Lawson goes to the extent of specifying the particular rooms in Young's hotel where the Whitney machine received the legislators, drove its bargains, and paid its bribes; and relates in detail Whitney's vain attempt in 1896 to buy a two thirds vote to override a veto —vain because he could not meet the legislators' demand for cash in advance. He says: "Of the year in which he writes (1904) the Massachusetts legislature is bought and sold as are sausages and fish at the markets and wharves; the largest, wealthiest, and most prominent corporations in New England, whose affairs are conducted by our most representative citizens, habitually corrupt the Massachusetts legislature, and the man of wealth among them who would enter protest against the iniquity would be looked on as a 'class anarchist.'"

Mr. Lawson asserts that any one who would investigate the legislature and municipal life of Boston would find more corruption than in any other civilized community in the world. How far these broad accusations can be proved is uncertain. What is certain is that thus far they have not been disproved.

Smaller Towns

In many of the smaller towns corruption is proportionally as marked an evil as in the larger. Nor is it new.

Says Mr. James Bryce ("American Commonwealth," vol. i., p. 608):

There is no denying that the government of cities is the one conspicuous failure of the U. S. The deficiencies of the national government tell but little for evil on the welfare of the people. The faults of the state governments are insignificant compared with the extravagance, corruption, and mismanagement which mark the administrations of most of the great cities. For these evils are not confined to one or two cities. The commonest mistake of Europeans who talk about America is to assume that the political vices of New York are found everywhere. The next most common is to suppose that they are found nowhere else. In New York they have revealed themselves on the largest scale. They are "gross as a mountain, open, palpable." But there is not a city with a population exceeding 200,000 where the poison germs have not sprung into a vigorous life; and in some of the smaller ones, down to 70,000 it needs no microscope to note the results of their growth.

Says Mr. Andrew D. White (*The Forum*, Dec., 1890):

Municipal Corruption

Without the slightest exaggeration we may assert that, with very few exceptions, the city governments of the U. S. are the worst in Christendom—the most expensive, the most inefficient, and the most corrupt. The city halls of these larger towns are the acknowledged centers of the vilest corruption. They are absolutely demoralizing, not merely to those who live under their sway, but to the country at large. Such cities, like the decaying spots on ripe fruit, tend to corrupt the whole body politic. As a rule, the men who sit in the councils of our larger cities dispensing comfort or discomfort, justice or injustice, beauty or deformity, health or disease, to this and to future generations, are men who in no other country would think of aspiring to such positions. Some of them, indeed, would think themselves lucky in keeping outside the prisons. . . . Few have gained their positions by fitness or by public service; many have gained them by scoundrelism; some by crime. . . . It has been my lot also to have much to do with two interior American cities of less size—one of about 100,000 inhabitants, the other of about 12,000. In the former of these, I saw a franchise for which $1,000,000 could easily have been obtained, given away by the common council. I saw a body of the most honored men in the state go before that council to plead for ordinary justice and decency. I saw the chief judge of the highest court of the state, one of his associate judges, a circuit judge of the U. S., an honored member of Congress, two bishops, the president and professors of a university, and a great body of respected citizens urge this common council not to allow a railway corporation to block up the entrance to the ward in which the petitioners lived, and to occupy the main streets of the city. They asked that, if it were allowed to do so, it might be required, in the interest of human life, either to raise its tracks above the streets or to protect the citizens by watchmen and gateways, and to pay a fair sum for the privilege of cutting through the heart of a populous city. All was utterly in vain. I saw that common council, by an almost unanimous vote, pass a bill giving away to this great corporation all this franchise for nothing, so far as the public knew, and without even a requirement to protect the crossings of the most important streets; and I soon afterward stood by the mutilated body of one of the noblest of women, beheaded at one of these unprotected street crossings while on an errand of mercy. So, too, in the smaller of these two interior cities, while the sewerage and the streets were in such bad condition as to demand the immediate attention of the common council, I saw the consideration of these interests neglected for months, and the main attention of the council given to a struggle over the appointment of a cemetery-keeper at a salary of $10 a week.

Legislative Corruption

Considering first state legislatures, the relation between the city and state political machines is, in most states, so intimate that there is probably little to choose in purity between the city council and the state legislature. The state legislature because of its greater prestige undoubtedly attracts a considerably stronger and to a less extent a better class of men, but on the other hand the greater value of the franchises and legislative bills at the disposal of the legislature compared with those at the disposal of most city councils undoubtedly works to draw to it much larger corruption funds, a more persistent lobby, and consequently the most daring and effective corrupt politicians, and especially the tools of the most corrupt rings. The corruption of the legislatures of Missouri, Minnesota, Illinois, Pennsylvania have been shown in connection with municipal corruption. The corruption of the legislatures of states largely under the dominance of one or more railroads, like New Hampshire and California, is notorious. The old joke about the legislature of Pennsylvania only adjourning when the Pennsylvania Railroad has no more business for it to transact has still point. New Jersey has been called "a traitor state" because of its legislature's notorious subservience to corporate influence. The facts, however, as to the corruption of state legislatures have been sufficiently shown in connection with municipal corruption.

Concerning Congress, Mr. Bryce, in his "American Commonwealth," comes to the conclusion that all legislation affecting corporations and manufactures is systematically managed or at least influenced by corruption, that about 5 per cent of both houses of Congress take direct money bribes, that from 17 to 20 per cent are pretty certainly open to corruption and a much larger number suspected to be dishonest. It is doubtful if the situation has very much changed since. Recent agitation and a growing public condemnation of the evil have undoubtedly increased the number of honest congressmen, but recent revelations of the complications of congressmen in

land steals and various other forms of graft have shown that the evil is very widely spread. As to the form of the corruption Mr. Hudson ("Railways and the Republic," 1886) says:

The Huntington letters, published last year, throw new light on corporate lobbying in Congress. Here in the confidence of private correspondence, we learn from the railway kings how some statesmen serve the corporations under the pretense of opposing them; how editorial opinions in leading journals are a good investment for the corporation fund; how unsuspected lobby agents are set to work, apparently without concert, but under secret orders from one head; how, in short, the unlimited resources of great corporations employ all that is unscrupulous, wily, disreputable, and dangerous in politics to attack members in their weak points, to flatter, bribe, and control them so that they must support the corporations. . . .

A remarkable series of articles by David Graham Phillips, appearing in the *Cosmopolitan Magazine* in 1906, entitled "The Treason of the Senate," makes very general and daring assertions, but accompanied by very detailed and concrete evidence.

Senators

Of the two senators from New York, Platt's record he calls "an unbroken record of treachery to the people in legislation, of privilege and plunder promoted and indecent legislation permitted." Mr. Depew is "the sleek, self-satisfied American opportunist in politics and plunder." He estimates that Depew's joviality and popularity have cost the American people at least $1,000,000,000. The Republican right arm of the corporation control of the Senate, in defeating legislation in the interest of the people, and enacting legislation for "the interests," he considers to be Senator Aldrich of Rhode Island, the Democratic left arm, formerly Gorman of Maryland. He says: "Whoever may be for appearance sake in charge of the Republican machine, Aldrich is really in charge. Whoever may be nominally at the head of the Democratic machine, Gorman is really there. Aldrich and Gorman are as the thumb and the forefinger to a skilful hand." The tariff bill of 1894, which President Cleveland called "party perfidy and party dishonor," was a Gorman-Aldrich bill. The sugar scandal bill which presented $20,000,000 a year to the Sugar Trust, he lays largely at Gorman's door. Senator Spooner of Wisconsin Mr. Phillips considered to be the crafty spokesman of the interests, who openly spoke against them and quietly worked their will. Senator Bailey, he argues, works in the Democratic Party for the interests as Senator Spooner in the Republican Party. Senator Elkins of West Virginia is presented as perhaps the most open and powerful of the lieutenants for "the merged interests," and particularly the railroads, and therefore placed by Mr. Aldrich as chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee, one of the most influential of positions. It was he who made a farce of the railway hearings in 1905, he who has made his $30,000,000 out of railways and coal lands in western Virginia. Senator Knox of Pennsylvania, attorney of the corporations outside of the Senate, Mr. Phillips argues is their attorney in the Senate, even tho he was appointed Attorney-General by Mr. Roosevelt, nominally to prosecute his former clients, but naturally accomplishing nothing. Senator Foraker of Ohio Mr. Phillips considers in the second rank of the Senate's leadership, but equally in his place to serve the corporations. Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, in his literary aristocracy, prefers foreign affairs to active service in pushing corporate interests, but can always be counted on to vote for them and against the people. Such, according to Mr. Phillips, are the Senate's leaders, and after them many followers, down to Senators Burton of Kansas and Mitchell of Oregon who have been caught with their hands in the pocket of the people and imprisoned.

It is true that these and similar articles have been answered. Mr. C. Arthur Williams, writing what he considers "The Truth About the Senate" in *The World To-day* (May, 1906), says:

There are bad senators, of course. Some of them are merely weak or easily led. Possibly one or two are actually corrupt, and certainly several, who look at everything from only the "business" point of view, stand for special interests rather than for the interests of the people. But in every such instance it will be found that the bad senator is fairly representative of a majority of the people of his state. It is not the fault of the Senate that he falls below its standard. It is rather the fault of his constituency.

Kansas knew what Burton was, yet sent him to the Senate. Rhode Island knows what Aldrich is, yet complacently permits his reelection as frequently as he and the corporate interests he serves desire it. New York has long known what Platt and Depew are, yet they have represented that state in the Senate for many years.

Opposed to this is the attitude of the Senate itself toward such men. Since Burton has been under indictment he has been barred from the Senate chamber by the sentiment of a majority of his former colleagues. The same was true of Mitchell. In another way it is true of Platt and Depew, who, since the Senate has come to know them for what they really are, have been stript of the last vestige of legislative influence . . . Even Aldrich is not the puissant figure he once was.

On the other hand Mr. Williams mentions Senator Teller of Colorado, "an earnest advocate of right and justice"; Senator Culberson of Texas, "a conspicuous example of the highest type of senatorial integrity"; Senator Morgan of Alabama, "who had an unbroken record of faithful and upright public service"; La Follette of Wisconsin, "perhaps the most prominent representative of the interests of the people"; Tillman of South Carolina, "with all his explosive passion, as honest a man as ever sat in a legislative assembly." He says:

Corrupt Senators

Every official act of Bacon of Georgia will bear the closest scrutiny. Berry of Arkansas, Blackburn of Kentucky, Overman of North Carolina, and Clay of Georgia, tho perhaps less able, are certainly not less upright. Cullom of Illinois was somewhat tardy in responding to the demand for relief from existing transportation conditions, but has since done all his ill health would permit him to do in support of the rate bill. Dubois of Idaho, altho possibly more of a politician than a statesman, has no corporate connections or leanings. Fulton of Orgeon is also to be counted on the right side, as is Heyburn of Idaho. Kittredge of South Dakota and McCumber of North Dakota are considered both worthy and able.

Uncorrupt Senators

Morgan and Pettus of Alabama, the oldest men in the Senate, have unbroken records of faithful and upright public service. Newlands of Nevada, however much he may be inclined to ride hobbies, and despite his considerable wealth, enjoys the reputation of a good and efficient official. Even Clark of Montana, the richest man in the Senate, is almost invariably to be found voting in opposition to measures in the interest of corporate wealth. The impulsive and emotional Patterson of Colorado votes and speaks in accordance with his convictions, which, tho sometimes mistaken, are always honest. Rayner of Maryland, one of the minority's most brilliant lawyers and debaters, is as upright as he is erudite. Taliaferro and Mallory of Florida, Carmack and Frazier of Tennessee, and McEnery and Foster of Louisiana are good men, and Teller of Colorado is as earnest an advocate of right and justice as the Senate contains. Beveridge of Indiana is in danger of being consumed by his overweening vanity, and sometimes politics leads him into grave errors. But he is an upright man. Allison of Iowa occasionally leans toward corporate interests by reason of his ultra-conservatism perhaps, but his probity is unquestioned. The courtly Daniel of Virginia is a sincere friend of the people.

Yet even Mr. Williams has to add (we condense his words):

Some of the senators who favor corporate interests are powerful in the workings of the Senate, because they are members of the dominant party, and because they are sent back for term after term by the "business" elements by which their respective states permit themselves to be controlled. Kean of New Jersey, enormously wealthy and unalterably opposed to any legislation tending to curb corporate domination, is one of them. Elkins of West Virginia, a capitalist whose obligations are mainly to the railroads, and Foraker of Ohio, who, altho he has indignantly denied connection with any special interests, is nevertheless invariably opposed to legislation objectionable to such interests, are others. Wetmore of Rhode Island is a nonentity who does what Aldrich tells him to do, just as Aldrich's butler does. Allee of Delaware is another follower of such "leaders." Carter of Montana and Hansbrough of North Dakota have been charged with wrongful practises in connection with Alaskan affairs and have remained silent. Crane of Massachusetts, the successor of Hoar, has aligned himself with the pro-railroad forces in the rate bill contest. Other New England senators—high-class men, too, like Lodge, Frye, and Proctor—are partial to special interests, but they are the special interests which New England votes to uphold.

Dryden of New Jersey is an excessively rich man, whose constant endeavor is so to shape legislation as to give added riches and power to himself and others like him. Flint of California, a former attorney for the Southern Pacific Railroad, has yet to show his hand. Hale of Maine is one of the most independent of all the Republican senators, but even he

seems to forget the public at times. Hemenway of Indiana left a fairly good record in the House, but has diminished the respect in which he was formerly held by standing sponsor for an amendment to the pure food bill which was palpably in behalf of the patent medicine trust.

Millard of Nebraska is a "railroad senator," but lacks the courage to wage his campaigns in the open. Clapp of Minnesota and Dolliver of Iowa exhibited leanings toward the railroads in the past, but realized that sentiment in their respective states was distinctly not pro-railroad, in the matter of the rate bill, and acted accordingly.

Dick of Ohio has a record which is by no means commendable. Hopkins of Illinois is of no importance beyond the circumstance that several transactions which are not particularly creditable, are marked against him. Penrose of Pennsylvania has all the late Quay's tendencies and none of his talents. Scott of West Virginia is not a conspicuous corporation man, but is not free from the taint. Stone of Missouri came to the Senate with a particularly bad record. The list is all too long, but, even if none of the men named is given the benefit of the doubt which is perhaps justifiable in some cases, they would still not be a majority of the Senate.

Causes of Corruption

To understand these, it is necessary to revert to a few first principles. When the U. S. began to fashion its life, a principle of government generally accepted by all parties was that that is the best government which governs least. In considering any activity, the presumption was against its conduct by government and for its conduct by individuals. Only those things necessary to be done which private initiative would not or could not do were left to government. With few exceptions this was universally, and still to-day is to a large extent, the view of all schools of political thought, Jeffersonian or Hamiltonian, strict or broad constructionist, Democratic or Republican. It is admittedly the theory upon which our commercial and governmental life has developed.

Freedom from Restraint

As a result, American government, local, state, or national, has done less in the *conduct* of industrial enterprises and even less in the *control* of such enterprises than any other strong civilized government. This needs no proof. It is but the converse of this to say that in America individuals apart from government have done more than in any other country. But this has meant enormous opportunity for the able individual. In an enterprising country, with boundless resources, a continental domain, and a rapidly growing population, energetic individuals, and especially combinations of energetic individuals, i. e., corporations, have had such opportunities and development as in no other age or place; and, above all, with a freedom from legal restraint and governmental supervision undreamed of in any country with manifold traditions of paternal or feudal governments. This, again, no thoughtful man will deny. The inevitable result has been to attract to enterprises promising such rewards the shrewdest and most daring commercial spirits, and also to enable these energetic captains of industry to summon to their employ the ablest lieutenants to conduct their business, and the keenest professional talents, of attorneys, inventors, accountants, architects, and the like. To all these American business has given opportunity never equaled in any other land.

Meantime government, by the theory, limited in the range of its activities, has given, broadly speaking, comparatively little opportunity *to the able and the upright.* Its higher offices, to a considerable degree in the nation and to a much less extent in the state, have indeed appealed to noble spirits. Especially in time of national need American statesmen have not been wanting. Politics in America in the open political arena compare not unfavorably in ability and in honor with politics in Europe. Diplomacy in America is, in the opinion of most, more honest than in the Old World. But the politics of office-holding and of office-seeking, except for the highest offices, has had very little to attract the honest able man. Government salaries are usually small, very small compared with commercial salaries to men of ability. A cabinet officer recently left a salary of $7,000 from the nation to take one of $70,000 from a private corporation. Still less have ordinary government positions called for large activities from able men. The theory has been that government should do little things and corporations big things. Our Constitution balances branches of government by other branches, to restrain each. The government official is hampered in a hundred ways. Again, to gain his office and to hold his office he often has to resort to humiliating and sometimes questionable petty political devices; and even with that he has no certainty of tenure in office. For an unattractive, petty, uncertain political position, he must also usually for a period of time renounce, or at least partly renounce, attention to his business, which—if he be a man of ability—would be incomparably more remunerative, certain, and usually more attractive. The wonder is that government has attracted the ability that it has.

Minimizing of Government

This with honest business and honest government officials. But the moment dishonesty enters in, the whole case is changed. Under the American theory of government the honest official has little opportunity, but the dishonest official has almost boundless opportunity. The very growth of corporate wealth and power gives him his chance. To the legislator, the alderman, the commissioner, the assessor, corporate wealth goes and must go to seek a franchise, a grant, a privilege, an exemption. A clause in a legislative enactment, or even the change in one word, may mean to interested petitioners millions of dollars. The question is decided often and the bill is worded usually, not in open legislature, but in closed committee. (See CONGRESS.) The honest legislator, alderman, commissioner, assessor, on American salaries and with American expenses of life in his position, can scarcely meet expenses. The dishonest legislator, alderman, commissioner, inspector, can get almost what he will. The theory thus does everything it can to handicap honesty—so much so that unless born wealthy an honest man can scarcely afford to sacrifice business and enter politics; it does almost all that can be done to give opportunity to corruption, and yet we ask what is the cause of corruption.

Dishonest Officials Favored

The corrupt official or legislature does not always need even to be *consciously* corrupt. Almost every American newspaper shows what great things corporate wealth has done and is doing for America. No millionaires are so generous as American millionaires. What other country is so financially prosperous or pays such high wages? Why should not the legislator, the alderman, the commissioner, the assessor, favor these corporations that are doing such great things? Where were we without

Unconscious Corruption

our railroads, mines, gas works, electric plants, systems of transit? Could we have these, developed as they are more than in any other country in the world, without these great corporations? If these laudable corporations, therefore, want a little change in a bill, or a certain concession in a franchise, why should they not be accommodated? The legislator and commissioner is taught to worship the corporation. Its attorneys and legislative agents are his personal friends and professional brethren. Why should they not be listened to? The legislator and commissioner in serving the interests of the corporations is carrying out often, perhaps usually, what he is taught to believe in. Why should he not have some return—not open money, perhaps, but a pass, retainer, position, political help or indorsement, from these corporations if he helps them get favors worth millions, and in which favors the legislator honestly believes? The line between honest and dishonest service of special interests is not marked in black and white.

And here another important element enters in. Given wealthy corporations seeking franchises or concessions from poorly paid officials with uncertain tenure, he who is dishonest can make money, but *he who will make a profession of graft and give it his time and organize politics for it, and put brains into it, can become enormously wealthy, enormously powerful, and almost absolutely secure.* This is the city or more often the state boss. Everybody knows what Mr. Platt is, yet he sits in the United States Senate representing New York. In St. Louis, Mr. Folk even got Colonel Butler convicted, but he laughed at the indictment, and is still in power in St. Louis. Senator Clark was unseated from the Senate for corruption, but he is now in the Senate. Everybody knows what Mr. Murphy stands for in New York and men like Michael Kenna, "Bathhouse John," John J. Brennan in Chicago, yet they rule their city or their ward. And this power once developed, the corporation must, if they are to go on under the present system, continue the purchase of legislations and immunity, otherwise these political bosses who have gained their power through corruption by corporations will turn against the corporations. A banker in California declared that he was no more to blame for giving his quota to purchase legislation from the legislature of California than the traveler who pays over his money to the highwayman who holds him up. An enthusiastic capitalist recently declared that he had given $5,000 to help purchase Indiana, and would willingly give $5,000 more. A Rhode Island protectionist said it was necessary to buy votes from the working men for their own good else Rhode Island would go free trade and manufactures and employment would be ruined. The vice-president of a great insurance company said the present so-called insurance reforms in New York would do no permanent good because corruption was necessary, not to insurance, but to the present methods of doing business on a large scale. Mr. Lincoln Steffens found this out in Chicago. He says:

Power of the Boss

I spent one whole forenoon calling on the presidents of banks, great business men, and financiers interested in public utility companies. With all the evidence I had had in other places that these men are the chief sources of corruption, I was unprepared for the sensation of that day. Those financial leaders of Chicago were "mad." All but one of them became so enraged as they talked that they could not behave decently. They rose up, purple in the face, and cursed reform. They said it had hurt business; it had hurt the town. "Anarchy," they called it; "Socialism." They named corporations that had left the city; they named others that had planned to come there and had gone elsewhere. They offered me facts and figures to prove that the city was damaged.

Said Charles Francis Adams in 1871:

The existing coalition between the Erie Railway and the Tammany ring is a natural one, for the former needs votes, the latter money.

It must be remembered that through the political boss corporations can get immunity from legislation which is to-day threatening their dividends, possibly even their existence. The boss has this power because he has the political reputation, good name, and future of most politicians in his hands. Even judges sometimes high on the bench, at some time—perhaps early in their career—have had politically to "stand in" with him. The boss can sway conventions and organize political districts to nominate and elect his men. He controls the funds. If he be cunning enough to work, either through both parties, or with one party plus enough of the other party to hold the balance of the power, he can rule almost any legislature. Without him no corporation can get a favor. With him it can get almost what it will. Such is the position in almost every state in the union. An article by Mr. John Jay Chapman in *The Atlantic Monthly* calls it the *capture of government by commercialism*, but it is based upon the fundamental American idea of enthroning commerce over government.

Government in Europe is much less corrupt precisely because there government is enthroned over commerce. Government there has power, position, traditions of respect. Law is magnified. Government controls and does important things. It attracts able men. There are scandals, indeed, Panama affairs, Dreyfus questions, scandals in war offices, colonial departments in England and Germany, corrupt administrations more or less everywhere, but they are not comparable to American corruption in extent or persistency.

A subsidiary proof of the truth of the above analysis is that the higher you go in American government, the more you exalt government, the less corruption you have. Municipal legislatures are the lowest and the worst. State legislatures come next in power and in dishonesty. Congress is highest and best. It is so generally speaking with officials and with judges. This is enforced by the apparent exception that *some* high offices are more open to corruption than lower ones; this is because they are especially valuable for corporate wealth to control.

Other causes of corruption come in subsidiary to and derivative from the prime cause—the degradation of governmental action as compared with private corporations. Such minor causes are the disgust of the better classes of citizens with "practical politics." It has been estimated that the stay-at-home vote in many elections is one fourth of the registered vote, and this is true usually of the more intelligent citizens.

There is not so much to fear from the Irish vote or the German vote as from this absentee vote. The foreign vote is susceptible of disintegration; it may negative itself. But the abstaining vote is almost solid against good government. At intervals, after some particularly atrocious conduct, this vote is invaded by indignation, and some fraction of it shakes off its languor and makes itself felt at the polls. But

it is only a spasm. It is the rush of raw volunteers against regulars. The regulars may be broken, but they can wait. Their turn will come. Of another potent subsidiary cause of corruption it has been said:

Another cause of municipal misgovernment is the uncertainty of responsibility, especially in its executive branches. Various departments, which should work in closest harmony, owe their appointment to as many different authorities, and often not only do not cooperate, but actually pursue cross purposes. At one time Philadelphia was found to be possest of four boards with power to tear up the streets at will, but none whose duty it was to see that they were properly relaid. Or here is an example of a composite officialdom which may happen any day: a "citizens' ticket" mayor, a Republican street commissioner, both elected by the people; other appointments filled by men acceptable to a Democratic board of aldermen; a police commissioner named by the governor, together with the state legislature interfering on occasion. With such a mixture it is not easy to fix responsibility for maladministration. Non-partizan commissions of four members, two from each party, is another favorite and specious arrangement by which the people are prevented from calling either party to account. This non-partizan contrivance is also an open door for the most unblushing division of spoils in the department between the "workers" of both parties. . . .

It is another proof of the correctness of the above analysis that generally speaking those departments of government are the least corrupt which have least to do with corporation influences and those branches of business are least corrupt which are least dependent upon government franchises and favors. The demoralizing effect upon legislatures, upon the adulteration of commodities, and upon the pricing of articles in the market affected by the tariff alone, it is hard to overestimate. (See FREE TRADE.)

It is largely from these sources, however, that springs the corruption in commerce even apart from government. Business upon a large scale, being largely carried on with corruption, is copied by business on a small scale. The seller who bribes his purchaser is copying his employer who bribes his assessor.

This view of the cause of corruption in the American minimizing of government and the magnifying of controlled commerce is supported finally by the conclusions to which Mr. Steffens came in his investigations apart from any theory. He says ("The Struggle for Self-Government," p. 1):

Every time I attempted to trace to its sources the political corruption of a city ring, the stream of pollution branched off in the most unexpected directions and spread out in a network of veins and arteries so complex that hardly any part of the body politic seemed clear of it. It flowed out of the majority party into the minority; out of politics into vice and crime; out of business into politics, and back into business; from the boss, down through the police to the prostitute, and up through the practise of law into the courts; and big throbbing arteries ran out through the country over the state to the nation—and back. No wonder cities can't get municipal reform! . . . The corruption of our American politics is our American corruption, political, but financial and industrial, too. Miss Tarbell has shown it in the trust, Mr. Baker in the labor-union, and my gropings into the misgovernment of cities have drawn me everywhere, but always, always out of politics into business, and out of the cities into the state. Business started the corruption of politics in Pittsburg; upheld it in Philadelphia; boomed with it in Chicago and withered with its reform; and in New York, business financed the return of Tammany Hall. Here, then, is our guide out of the labyrinth. Not the political ring, but big business—that is the crux of the situation. Our political corruption is a system, a regularly established custom of the country, by which our political leaders are hired by bribery, by the license to loot, and by quiet moral support, to conduct the government of the city, state, and nation, not for the common good, but for the special interests of private business. Not the politician, then, not the bribe-taker, but the bribe-giver, the man we are so proud of, our successful business man—he is the source and sustenance of our bad government. The captain of industry is the man to catch. His is the trail to follow.

The Chief Cause

Of the business man Mr. Steffens says:

The typical business man is a bad citizen; he is busy. If he is a "big business man" and very busy, he does not neglect, he is busy with politics—oh, very busy and very businesslike. I found him buying boodlers in St. Louis, defending grafters in Minneapolis, originating corruption in Pittsburg, sharing with bosses in Philadelphia, deploring reforms in Chicago, and beating good government with corruption funds in New York. He is a self-righteous fraud, this big business man. He is the chief source of corruption, and it were a boon if he would neglect politics. But he is not the business man that neglects politics; that worthy is the good citizen, the typical business man. He, too, is busy. He is the one that has no use and therefore no time for politics. When his neglect has permitted bad government to go so far that he can be stirred to action he is unhappy, and he looks around for a cure that shall be quick, so that he may hurry back to the shop. Naturally, too, when he talks politics, he talks shop. His patent remedy is quack; it is business.

"Give us a business man," he says ("like me," he means). "Let him introduce business methods into politics and government; then I shall be left alone to attend to my business."

There is hardly an office from U. S. senator down to alderman in any part of the country to which the business man has not been elected; yet politics remains corrupt. . . .

Two hopeful elements in the situation, however, must not be overlooked. These are (1) the extent to which the public is aroused on the subject of corruption, and (2) and even more, the nature of its interest and the way in which it is beginning to look at the problem. As to the extent of its interest it may be said that the revelations of corruption in St. Louis made by Mr. Folk, in Wisconsin by Senator Spooner, in New Jersey by Mr. Colby, in Pennsylvania by the reform element, have been almost the supreme recent political interest in the U. S. This has probably, however, been exceeded by the interest in the investigations into the corruption of the big insurance companies, the Pennsylvania and other railroads, the packing industry in Chicago, the Standard Oil Company, and other monopolies. Articles like those above quoted of Mr. Steffens, and of Mr. Th. Lawson have been most eagerly read. Mr. Upton Sinclair's novel, "The Jungle," exposing the conditions in the Chicago packing industry has had a most phenomenal sale. The exposure and consideration of corruption may be said to be even at present the supreme interest in the U. S., and this is a fact of the most hopeful import.

Hopeful Elements

But even more important is the direction this interest is taking. There have for many years been local and sporadic efforts at pure politics, but only recently has there been any effort to strike at causes. People hitherto have been content to oust the rascals and put in the saints without any attention to or understanding of the system which produced the rascals, and the result has been that not seldom in a year or two the saints elected to office have become almost as bad as the rascals, or, and more frequently, the reformers have relaxed their spasm of political efforts and the regular rascals have returned to power, sometimes with greater evil and daring than before. Still is this too true; nevertheless a change is certainly coming. A steadily increasing number of able and honest men are giving themselves permanently to politics, while Governor Folk in Missouri, Senator La Follette in Wisconsin, and to a less extent Governor Hughes in New York, show that able and persistent honesty can defy even an entrenched machine. A growing number of reform clubs in the important cities of the union (see MUNICIPAL REFORM), are making serious study of the question. In all the large cities independent political citizens'

parties are organizing, not for one campaign, but upon permanent lines. Popular articles and academic studies are pointing out more and more not only the corruption but the causes of the corruption, and therefore implicitly, and to some extent explicitly, pointing to the way out. A serious and persistent effort is being made, and notably by the present federal administration, to enforce the law against all lawbreakers and not the least against the great corporations which have been found most seriously at fault. People are less afraid of the word "socialism" as a scare word to prevent the extension of the control of commerce by government, and are seeing that the best way to prevent an undesirable socialism is to do away with its fertile soil, corporation dishonesty and corporation preying upon the public, and that, by an increased supervision of commerce by government, federal and national. Signs of this tendency are on every hand. Even municipal ownership is advocated by many and is entering into practical politics. Whether effective or not, it is certainly a sign of the effort to enthrone government over commerce, which, if the above analysis of the evil be correct, is certainly a sign of hope. (See CORRUPT PRACTISES ACTS; PRIMARIES; REFERENDUM; MUNICIPAL REFORM CLUBS; GALVESTON. MUNICIPALISM; PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

Striking at Causes

REFERENCES: Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities* (1904) and *The Struggle for Self-Government* (1906); articles by David G. Phillips, *Cosmopolitan* (1906); by George K. Turner, *McClure's* (April, 1907); Thomas W. Lawson, *Everybody's Magazine* (1905–6); John G. Speed, *Harper's Weekly* (1905). See also Upton Sinclair, *The Jungle* (1905); Ida M. Tarbell, *History of the Standard Oil Company* (1904); Hudson's *Railways and the Republic* (1886).

CORRUPT PRACTISES ACTS, or legislative acts passed to prevent the use of corrupt methods in elections: They are to-day mainly based on the English Corrupt Practise Act of 1883, which has had an almost unqualified success, as has also the Canadian law based on it.

English Acts

The Corrupt Practises Prevention Act of 1854 was aimed mainly at bribery in elections. A wider effect was aimed at by an act of 1868, but the Act of 1883, of which Sir Henry James was author, is by far the most important.

Previous to 1883 there were three corrupt practises known to the law in England: bribery, treating, and undue influence. The act of that year added a fourth, by declaring that "personation, and the aiding, abetting, counseling, and procuring the commission of the offense of personation" (fraudulent impersonating of another person), should be a corrupt practise.

The British law is very explicit in its definition of bribery. "Every person is pronounced guilty of it who directly or indirectly, by himself or by any other person, gives, lends, or agrees to give or lend, or offers, promises, or promises to procure or to endeavor to procure, any money or valuable consideration, or any office, place, or employment, to or for any voter, or to or for any person on behalf of any voter, or to or for any person in order to induce any voter to refrain from voting, or who in any similar manner seeks to induce any person to procure or endeavor to procure the return of any person to Parliament or the vote of any voter at any election. Every person is also pronounced guilty of bribery who, in consequence of any of the forbidden acts mentioned, procures or endeavors to procure the election of a candidate, or who advances or pays or causes to be paid any money to or to the use of any other person with the intent or knowledge that it shall be expended wholly or in part in bribery; and every voter who, directly, receives, either before or during election, any consideration of the kind forbidden in the anti-bribery provision above summarized, either for voting or refraining from voting, is also pronounced guilty of bribery; as also is any person who, after election, directly or indirectly, by himself or by any other person in his behalf, receives any money or valuable consideration on account of any person having voted, or refrained therefrom, or having induced any other person to vote or refrain from voting."

Provisions of the Law

Treating is also forbidden with explicitness: "Any person is pronounced guilty of it who corruptly or by himself, or by any other person either before, during, or after an election, directly or indirectly gives or provides, or pays wholly or in part the expenses of giving or providing any meat, drink, entertainment, or provision to or for any person for the purpose of corruptly influencing his vote, or inducing him to refrain from voting, or on account of himself or any other person having voted or refrained from voting, or being about to do one of these things; and every voter who accepts such forbidden attentions is equally guilty.

"In regard to undue influence, every person is guilty of that who directly or indirectly, by himself or by any other person in his behalf, makes use of or threatens to make use of any force, violence, or restraint, or inflicts or threatens to inflict by himself or by any other person any temporal or spiritual injury, damage, harm, or loss upon or against any person to induce or compel him to vote or to refrain from voting, or on account of his having done either of these things, or who by abduction, duress, or any fraudulent device or contrivance impedes or permits the free exercise of the franchise of any elector. Personation is also defined and forbidden."

The penalties attached to a conviction of these offenses are, for bribery, treating, and undue influence, each of which is a misdemeanor, imprisonment with or without hard labor for a term not exceeding one year, or a fine not exceeding £200; for personation, which is a felony, for a term not exceeding two years with hard labor. If it is found by the election court that the offenses of treating, or undue influence, have been committed by a candidate, or that the offenses of bribery and personation have been committed by or with his knowledge or consent, he is declared ineligible ever after to hold a seat in the House of Commons in the county or borough in which the offenses were committed.

Penalties

To prevent objectionable expenditures, the law restricts the employment of agents, clerks, messengers, and others within a very narrow limit. "Voluntary efforts are made to take the place of paid labor. But it was anticipated that there would be a strong desire to evade such a restriction by making contracts to carry on the election work in place of the candidate employing persons for that purpose. And so the plan of controlling the amount of expenditure by a fixed schedule was accepted, and it has certainly proved most beneficial in practise. By the eighth section of the act it is enacted that no sum shall be paid and no expenses incurred by any candidate in excess of any maximum amount in that behalf specified in the first schedule to the act. Any breach of this prohibition by a candidate or his election agent is an illegal practise."

From $1,000 to $3,500 is the maximum amount which may be expended in a parliamentary election.

The United States

Fifteen states have enacted laws more or less modeled after the English law, tho most of them have been very weak and none have proved very efficient. The first was the New York law of 1890, which merely requires the reporting of personal campaign expenditures by candidates without any report from committees. The Minnesota law of 1892, and especially its law of 1895, is much more thorough, and applies to committees and all campaign expenses. The Massachusetts law of 1892 is one of the best. It applies to all public elections, including elections by the Legislature or by city council, and nominations by caucus or convention. The only exception to it is the election of town officers in towns. It provides for a complete and public account of all political expenditures. This is its main feature; but it falls short of the English act by not restricting the amount to be spent and by not specifying legal objects of expenditure. With the exception of personal expenses, no candidate is allowed any expenditure to secure his own election otherwise than through a political committee. This political committee is held responsible for violations of the law.

It has resulted in publicity, yet not a prosecu-

tion has been made under it, and the use of money in politics in Massachusetts recently has been greater than ever. The Ohio Act of 1896 (Garfield Act), among the best, was repealed. The trouble with most of the laws has been one of procedure.

Among the requirements of the laws are:

First. The full publication of election expenses both by individuals and organizations. There is a general feeling that publicity will do much to mitigate present evils. But it is doubtful whether correct and complete statements will be made, unless some easy form of procedure is provided by which such statements can be readily inquired into and criticized, on the motion of responsible citizens or organizations.

Second. The prohibition of corporate contributions for election purposes. These contributions are shrouded in such secrecy that they can probably be detected only by beginning with the expenses in a given election district, and working back to the contributor.

Third. The fixing of proper objects of expenditure, such as meetings, publications, etc., and the fixing limits to the amounts so to be spent. No state law now covers this branch of the subject with any thoroughness.

Fourth. Providing punishments by forfeiture of office, fines and imprisonment. The New York statute now decrees forfeiture of office for corrupt practises by a candidate but has no proceeding to enforce the penalty.

The legislation proposed last winter provided that where a party organization was guilty of corrupt practises in an election district, it should forfeit its vote in that district.

Fifth. Procedure. To enable citizens to push a judicial inquiry into the correctness and completeness of statements and the existence of corrupt practises. The grant to the public of this important right is considered by many to be the thing now most needed.

The failure of these laws and the increase of the evil has led to a demand for stronger legislation and also for federal action, which has resulted in congressional bills for publicity, and also forbidding political contributions from corporations. In many states various societies are agitating the question. New York has an Association to Prevent Corrupt Practises at Elections in New York City, of which Mr. Wm. C. Osborn, 70 Broadway, is secretary. It is pressing for legislation, as are other bodies.

References: Rogers, *Elections* (London, 1895); article by Perry Belmont, *North American*, Feb., 1905; *Civic Federation Review*, April, 1906.

COST OF LIVING. See Expenditure.

COTTON (for statistics, see Agriculture, p. 26): For one of the best brief statements of the economic importance of the cotton industry, and especially as applied to the United States, we quote from Leroy-Beaulieu's "The United States in the Twentieth Century." He says:

Next to cereals, hay, and live stock, the chief agricultural resource of the U. S. is cotton. In 1899, the year to which the agricultural statistics of the census of 1900 apply, the area under cotton was 23,257,000 acres, or 8.4 per cent of the crop-bearing land. But the value of the cotton crop was no less than $370,000,000, or 12 per cent of the total crop value. For no other staple, agricultural, industrial, or mineral, is the primacy of the U. S. so clearly established. If it has more cattle, if it produces more wheat, oats, petroleum, coal, iron, and lead than any other country, if it furnishes more than half the world's supply of corn and copper, it also provides over three fourths of the cotton-supply. Throughout the nineteenth century cotton was the backbone of its agriculture. Cotton is still its chief reliance. In 1902 out of a volume of export trade of $1,400,000,000 fully $300,000,000 must be placed to the credit of cotton. Assuredly the leading modern textile is of vast importance in the economic life of the U. S. . . .

It was introduced into the country in 1721, and from that year was grown in Virginia and the two Carolinas, but long for local consumption only. It was not until 1784 that it was exported from Virginia for the first time—to the amount of eight sacks, weighing 1,200 pounds. The development of spinning machinery by Hargreaves, Cartwright, and Crompton at the end of the eighteenth century and the invention of Whitney's cotton-gin about the same time, paved the way for an enormous development of its industrial utility, and the U. S., whose exportations in 1790 still met only one sixth of the British demand, made ready to produce it in enormous quantities.

Importance

Production of Cotton, United States

Crop of	Number of bales	Average number of pounds per bale	Total weight (in millions of pounds)
1790	6,667	225	1½
1800	153,509	228	35
1810	286,195	297	85
1820	575,540	278	160
1830	1,026,393	341	350
1840	1,634,954	394	644
1850	2,454,442	416	1,021
1860	3,849,469	477	1,836
1870	4,352,317	442	1,923
1880	6,605,750	460	3,038
1890	8,652,597	473	4,092
1900	10,245,602	480	4,846
1906	13,305,265	489	6,354

It will be seen that gains were steadily made, except during the Civil War decade, 1859–69, when the cultivation of cotton became almost a thing of the past. During the preceding ten years, development had been most rapid as a result of the increased demand produced by an era of exceptional prosperity in Europe, and history tells us how great a crisis arose in consequence of the almost total cessation of American exports. To-day the cotton production of the U. S. is about double what it was on the eve of the Civil War.

To have thrived thus it is evident that cotton must be produced in the U. S. under very favorable conditions. Such conditions are not found throughout the country, however, . . . Increased improvements in methods of transportation have tended to concentrate cotton-growing, like all other kinds of production, in the most favorably situated localities. Not only has it receded toward the South, but it has also advanced in a westerly direction. In 1850 only 12 per cent of the annual crop was grown west of the Mississippi, Louisiana being the only state on that side of the river to have fields of any size. By 1860 the development of Arkansas and Texas had begun, and the share of the trans-Mississippi states in cotton production had reached nearly 30 per cent. By 1880 the percentage was a little higher; by 1890 higher still, and by 1900 it amounted to nearly half the entire output—to be exact, 44 per cent. An interesting and distinctive feature of cotton production is that it is largely in the hands of cash and share tenants.

Farms operated by direct ownership are in a minority. I have already had occasion to explain why the vast plantations of the South were partitioned into a number of small holdings leased to cash and share tenants. In the ten principal cotton states, farms operated directly by the owner constituted, in 1900, but 48.3 per cent of the total, 20.3 per cent being operated by cash tenants and 31.4 per cent by share tenants. In 1880, on the contrary, the proportions were respectively 60.6, 12.4, and 27 per cent. We see that the number of cash tenants has increased more rapidly than that of the share tenants, and, consequently, that many share tenants have become cash tenants. This indicates social progress on the part of the cultivators, for the share tenant—most frequently a former slave or the descendant of a slave—works to a large extent under the more or less effective supervision of the owner. The cash tenant is by far the more independent. On the other hand, so far at any rate as the colored producers are concerned, it must be said that the share tenants are the ones who obtain the best results, averaging exactly two fifths of a bale per acre—as a result, doubtless, of having put themselves under the guidance of the planters—while the cash tenants obtain an average of only .381 per acre and the owners but .368. Among the white cultivators these proportions are reversed: .40 for the owners and cash tenants, .381 for the share tenants.

Ownership of Cotton-Fields

Everything considered, the production of cotton is a profit-

able occupation, the crop bringing an average price of nine to ten cents per pound, a return much higher than for any other American product.

Concerning the cotton industry in Great Britain and in other countries, the following is abridged from Hazell's "Annual" for 1907:

Hitherto the cotton manufacturing industry has relied mainly upon the U. S. for its supplies. Out of an annual crop now amounting to about 16,500,000 bales, the U. S. furnishes on the average about 11,000,000 bales. India is responsible for a further 3,000,000 bales (of which, however, nearly half is consumed in that country itself), and the remainder is not of sufficiently high quality to be available for most manufacturers. Egypt produces another 1,250,000 bales, and a further 1,000,000 is derived from various parts of the world.

With the development of cotton manufacturing in the U. S., and on the Continent, the proportion of the American cotton crop available for the United Kingdom diminishes, tho the real requirements of its manufacturers increase.

The question of seeking supplies in other directions has therefore become very urgent. This task has been seriously taken up the British Cotton-Growing Association, a body formed by the Lancashire producers. The following is a brief summary of the results of the investigations which have hitherto been made.

India.—As already stated, India is a large cotton producer, but the quality has suffered a good deal from the methods of picking, while at the same time the standard of quality in manufactured articles has been steadily growing higher.

Egyptian cotton is good in quality, but unfortunately nearly the whole area suitable for cotton-growing has already been taken up.

Africa.—Investigations show that cotton-growing in British Central Africa offers very promising prospects. The Protectorate contains an area of 20,000,000 acres suitable for cotton-growing, and cotton has indeed been grown in a small way for centuries.

All the British colonies and protectorates in West Africa are capable of producing good cotton crops, but the possibilities in this connection are dependent upon improved transport facilities, which at present do not exist.

Supply

The cotton plant grows wild over nearly the whole of Rhodesia, and the results of experiments and investigations there have been so far encouraging as to lead to the sending out of an American expert to conduct experiments on a very large scale.

West Indies.—Here the cotton industry has been reestablished on an extended scale.

While it is impossible to give exact figures relative to the cotton manufactures of various countries owing to the fact that in practically every case a large part of the output is consumed at home, and no figures are available as to any country's home trade, indications of the chief movements are to be found. A test of the progress of the chief nations concerned is to be found in the export figures.

Commerce

Taking cotton-yarn first, the following are the particulars of the exports of Great Britain, Germany, and France during the past twelve years:

Value of Exports of Cotton-Yarn

	United Kingdom	Germany	France
	£1000	£1000	£1000
1894.....	9,286	785	....
1900.....	7,741	1,455	217
1904.....	8,956	1,492	262
1905.....	10,317	1,703	750

British trade is very much larger than that of the other two countries put together, but it will be seen that it has shown a fluctuating tendency for some time past, while that of both Germany and France has been improving on the whole. This however, reflects no discredit upon British producers. Owing to a number of favorable circumstances they practically had a monopoly for many years; and that monopoly has now disappeared.

British trade has been steadily growing in volume, and the increase has been much larger than in that of all the other three countries put together. The table affords an incidental illustration of the fallacy of percentage increases. The U. S., for instance, starting from a very low level, shows an increase of about 200 per cent, while the United Kingdom has only an increase of about 20 per cent. In point of fact, however, British trade has increased £12,000,000, and that of the U. S. only £3,000,000.

As regards cotton manufactures, figures can be given relative to four countries, tho it should be explained that with regard to the U. S. the statistics include cotton-yarn.

Value of Exports of Cotton Piece Goods

	United Kingdom	Germany	United States	France
	£1000	£1000	£1000	£1000
1894.....	57,279	7,090	2,867	....
1900.....	62,009	12,235	4,801	6,977
1904.....	64,078	12,974	5,495	7,829
1905.....	70,817	13,208	6,000	10,562

COULANGES, NUMA DENIS, FUSTEL DE: French historian; born in Paris in 1830. A member of the Institute and director of the École Normale Supérieure, Fustel de Coulanges is best known in social science for his important studies in the history of early civilizations and primitive tenures of land and other property. It was "La Cité Antique" which gave De Coulanges his first name; his "Institutions" is his great life work. He died in 1889, before his work was completed, but he may be regarded as a creator in the realm of historical economic research. He has freely criticized M. de Laveleye's theories of the communistic primitive property in land, arguing that property in land was always held on the seigneurial rather than the communal tenure. De Coulanges was the author of the following works: "La Cité Antique, Étude sur le Culte, le Droit, les Institutions de la Grèce et de Rome" (1864); "La Gaule Romaine"; "Histoire des Institutions Politiques de l'Ancienne France" (7 vols.); and an essay translated into English, "The Origin of the Property of Land," edited by W. J. Ashley (1891).

COUNTY COUNCIL. See Local Government and London County Council.

COURCELLE-SENEUIL, JEAN GUSTAVE: French economist; was born at Dordogne, Chile, 1813. At first a merchant, he later occupied himself with economics. In 1848 he held a post under the minister of finance; from 1853–63 he was professor of political economy at the University of Santiago, in Chile. Since 1879 he has been state councilor; since 1882 Fellow of the Academy of Naval and Political Science. Author: "Études sur la science sociale" (1862); "Operation de banque" (1853); "Traité théorique et pratique d'économie politique" (1867), one of the best-known treatises in the French language.

COURTS. See Judiciary.

COXEY, JACOB SELCHER, AND "COXEYISM": The movement popularly called "Coxeyism," or the formation of "armies" or companies of unemployed men or of those sympathizing with them to peaceably march to Washington and give Congress and the country visible evidence of the distress of the unemployed, and thus induce legislation to meet the need, is a movement which has gained its name from Mr. J. S. Coxey, of Ohio, to an extent the originator of the movement, and the "general" of the leading "army."

Jacob Selcher Coxey was born in Pennsylvania in 1854, and after leaving school when he was thirteen worked for ten years in a rolling-mill. In 1879 he purchased a sandstone quarry at Massillon, Ohio, where he has since lived, and in 1889 he added to other ventures a stock-farm in Kentucky, making a specialty of blooded race-horses. He prospered, and is reputed by his neighbors to be worth some $200,000, an honest and successful business man. Originally an Epis-

copalian, he has become a theosophist, and is said to have believed that he and his lieutenant, Browne, are between them sharers of the reincarnation of Christ.

Long interested in public questions, in 1892 he drafted a bill, which was presented in Congress, calling upon the federal government to construct a general country road system in the United States, and to meet the expense of this by issuing $500,000,000 of treasury notes to be a legal tender for all debts. The bill, however, was pigeonholed by Congress, and this led Mr. Coxey to more radical agitation. There now appeared on the scene a Mr. Carl Browne.

Carl Browne was born near Springfield, Ill., in 1849. He became a painter, and painted a "Lord's Supper" and panoramas of the Yosemite, of the Franco-Prussian War, and other subjects which were exhibited all over the United States. In 1872 he married and settled in Berkeley, Cal. At the time of the great Pennsylvania strikes of 1877 (see STRIKES) he came out for the cause of labor, and later supported Dennis Kearney's agitation by cartoons and in a newspaper. He then threw himself into the Greenback and later the Populist movements. Christmas Day, 1892, his wife died of pneumonia, and it was during her last days that he was converted to theosophy, believing that he absorbed his wife's soul. He went to the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893 and met Mr. Coxey at a bimetallic convention. He later visited Mr. Coxey, and was sent by him to Chicago to induce the American Federation of Labor to indorse the Good Roads plan. He succeeded, and there devised the plan of marching the unemployed to Washington. Mr. Coxey approved the plan. They finally decided to start, and did start from Massillon, Easter morning, March 24, 1894. They planned to reach Washington on May 1st, to present a petition to Congress on the steps of the capital, and then to camp there until Congress acted upon two bills to be presented by Senator PEFFER—a Good Roads bill and a Non-interest-bearing Bond bill.

Coxey's Army

As Mr. Coxey was very busy, tho he accompanied the army with his wife, daughter, and a little infant son whom he named "Legal Tender," he left the whole management of the army to Mr. Browne. The plan was to get an army of 100,000; as a matter of fact, they never had over 500. It was a motley, altho perfectly orderly company. It took a religious coloring. They called the army "The Commonweal of Christ" and bore a banner with a portrait of Christ, and the legend "Death to interest-bearing bonds." As they left Massillon, a negro carrying the American flag marched ahead. Then on a gray horse rode Carl Browne, in the dress of a cowboy, with buckskin coat, fringed down the sleeves and plastered with decorations, a broad-brimmed sombrero on his head, around his neck an amber necklace given him by his wife. Next came the trumpeter, "Windy Oliver," the astrologer, "Cyclone" Kirkland, of Pittsburg, and seven musicians. "General" Coxey came next in a buggy drawn by two bay mares. Behind rode Mrs. Coxey with her infant child and her sister. Then came another negro carrying the banner of the Commonweal; next the army proper of 100 men, expected to swell on its way to Washington to 100,000, and accompanied on either side by forty-three newspaper men. Three wagons carried a circus tent and supplies. As a rule, however, the army was supplied with victuals by people on the way, but went often hungry. Crowds gathered to see them at every point. On Sundays Browne preached, with continual allusion to Scripture prophecies. They met many difficulties, such as a snow-storm in crossing the Blue Mountains. Some of their men were arrested as vagrants. Dissension arose, but they persevered. After reaching the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal they were transported for ninety miles. Everywhere they preserved good order. Mr. Coxey boasted that not a chicken had been stolen on their march.

The "Commonwealers" reached Washington the last of April. May 1st, in a solemn procession, the army marched to the Capitol to present its petition. Thousands flocked to see the sight. But when Mr. Coxey alighted he is said to have walked on the grass, and he, Carl Browne, and Mr. Jones were arrested "for trespassing on the grass." Mr. Coxey handed his address to the reporters, and was hurried away by the police. The army quietly returned to its camp. Coxey, Browne, and Jones were imprisoned twenty days. When they came out the movement was practically at an end. The army was maintained for a while, but gradually disbanded. Congress had been somewhat frightened, and considerable talk and discussion arose as to conditions that led to such armies; but no serious action was taken. "General" Coxey himself, however, has entered politics more earnestly than ever, and in 1895 was nominated for governor by the People's Party of Ohio, and polled 52,675 votes, the Populist vote for president in Ohio in 1892 being only 14,850.

The Result

Such were the main incidents. Gradually the movement came to an end. Returning opportunities for work absorbed most of the men, and the rest disbanded. With its bizarre side the movement had its serious side, at least as an evidence of the lack of employment among large bodies of law-abiding citizens. The men of these armies were not tramps or lawbreakers. They simply asked for work. Of 290 "industrials" selected at random from "General" Randall's Chicago army, Professor Hourwitch of the University of Chicago says: "One half were American born, two thirds were English-speaking men; they averaged from 30 to 32 years of age; 181 were skilled mechanics; of 115 questioned, only two were uneducated; twenty-six had attended high school or college; only five or six appeared of questionable character; seventy were trade-unionists." Carlyle said of a similar "insurrection" in Manchester, England: "An insurrection that can announce the disease and then retire with no balance account of grim vengeance opened anywhere has attained the highest success possible for it."

REFERENCES: *The Story of the Commonweal*, by Henry Vincent, Chicago, 1894; *Coxeyism*, an article by W. T. Stead, in the (American) *Review of Reviews*, July, 1894.

CRANE, WALTER: English artist and Socialist; born in Liverpool, 1845; son of Thomas Crane, a miniature and portrait painter. Apprenticed in 1859 to W. J. Linton, the eminent wood-engraver, poet, and chartist, Walter Crane learned from him reform ideas, as well as lessons in art. A prominent member of various art societies and committees, an examiner at the national competition of drawings at South Kensington since 1879, elected an associate of the Royal Society of

Painters in Water Colors in 1888, he was associated with the movement against the Royal Academy in 1886, and favored the establishment of a national exhibition in which *all* arts should be represented. In 1888 he founded with other decorative artists the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, and became its first president. Successful as a painter, he is even better known as a designer and decorator of books, etc. In 1891 an exhibition of his works was held, and the collection was also taken to the United States and Germany, Mr. Crane accompanying it. In 1884 he became associated with the Socialist movement, largely under the influence of William Morris, and has lectured and written for it, besides making numerous designs for Socialist books and papers. *Address*: 13 Holland Street, Kensington, W. London, England.

CREDIT: A term used in political economy in so many different ways and in so many shades of meaning that it is almost impossible to define it so as to cover all its uses. Certainly many of the definitions given to it by economists are faulty. Credit is defined by John Stuart Mill as "permission to use the capital of another person." Professor Roscher defines it as "the power to use the goods of another, voluntarily granted in consideration of the mere promise of value in return." Credit has also been defined as "confidence in the ability of another to make a future payment."

Professor Knies of Heidelberg has defined credit as merely "a commercial transaction between two parties, in which the services or the value rendered by the one falls in the present, and the counter-service or counter-value of the other in the future."

Says Professor Ely: "There are three elements in a business transaction to which we apply the term credit: first, the present transfer of goods; second, the use of the goods transferred; third, the future retransfer of the goods or an equivalent —that is, repayment."

But these definitions, while emphasizing important points, do not cover all the uses of the word, nor give even its central idea. Professor Jevons does better, in his "Primer of Political Economy," in reminding us that credit comes from the Latin *credo*, and means *belief*. Any one who sells on credit does so in the belief that the purchaser who does not pay at the time will do so in the future. Credit is trust. A man, a government, or a currency that has good credit is trustworthy. As such, credit enters into all life. It has been said that there is scarcely a human being in a civilized country who does not transact a piece of credit business almost every day of his life. The workman, hired by the week, and paid at its end, gives his employer credit from Monday morning to Saturday evening. The same workman, when getting a coat made for himself, even altho he engaged to pay ready money on delivery, gets credit from the tailor during the making.

Into monetary transactions of a more ambitious nature credit enters still more largely, and in many forms credit is the instrument for the greater number of exchanges. Money is used, but in the latest development of credit economy, only as "small change." Banks are the chief organs of society for credit economy. We live now in a period of credit, and in business circles the volume of money is small when compared with the amount of annual transactions in what are called instruments of credit, by which we mean principally checks, drafts, and bills of exchange. An American bank in a large city will in a day's business frequently handle over $40 in instruments of credit for every dollar in actual money. According to Rae, from 70 to 90 per cent of the monetary transactions of the world are done on a credit basis. Nevertheless, there is serious doubt if this is not an exaggeration. President Andrews, in "An Honest Dollar," gives elaborate reasons for questioning whether the proportion is so large as is generally supposed. He shows that clearings for many years have fallen in numbers in this country and in England; that never since 1882 has the New York Clearing House cleared in an autumn week a sum reaching the billion figures, which was a regular thing that year. Some credit substitutes for cash have been disappearing. The truck system is dying out. Barter in rural communities is disappearing. Book accounts between neighbors, once common, are now rare. "With nations, as with individuals," says President Andrews, "those who have the most credit need use it the least." Credit traffic has its fullest development in Holland; its strongest in Turkey and Yucatan. Cash payment getting the mastery, first in wages, in retail trade, and in raw products, spread gradually over other fields, shutting up credit to its most useful and least dangerous functions. Many authorities agree with President Andrews, others do not. (For the economic principles involved in and growing out of credit, see Contraction and Expansion of Currency; Money; Panics, etc.)

CREMATION: Cremation, or, as it is sometimes called, incineration, is the rapid decomposition of human bodies by means of extreme heat. All decomposition or disintegration is, of course, effected through the agency of heat, and the length of time which is occupied in the process depends upon the degree of heat that is employed. When bodies are placed within the ground, so that no more heat than that which is naturally contained in the earth can act upon them, decomposition goes on perceptibly, but still very slowly. During its progress new compounds are formed, and some of these find their way into the air as fetid and noxious gases, while others, in a liquid form, contaminate the water which has its origin in the neighborhood.

To such an extent is this accomplished that high medical and chemical authorities have pronounced the opinion that organic substance can never undergo what may be called spontaneous decomposition without so contaminating the adjacent air and water as to impair the health of those living in the neighborhood, and to shorten the average duration of life.

The process of disintegration, or resolution into elements, is thus seen to be the same, whatever may be the method employed to encompass the result. It is believed by many that a large proportion of the diseases which afflict mankind are due to the slow decomposition of organic matter within or upon the earth. When thousands of bodies are interred yearly in a limited area, the earth becomes in time so saturated with the liquid resultants of decomposition that it is incapable of further absorption. Then, whatever be the character of the soil, the decomposition becomes still less rapid, and its gaseous products find their way directly into the air.

Among the advantages to be derived from

substituting cremation for burial besides those which are said to appertain to the sanitary aspect of the question, it is urged that the cost of the former is quite small when compared with that of placing a body in the ground. It is necessarily admitted that, so far as show and circumstance are concerned in the conduct of a funeral, there is no limit to the expense that may be incurred in the one case as in the other. But the necessary outlay for cremation is small when placed by the side of the indispensable expenditure involved in the purchase of ground and the decent and reverent deposition of a body therein. This will have weight with those by whom the scientific features of the question would be passed without notice. Altho it will no doubt be a long time before the burial of the dead is abolished in Christian countries, yet there seems but little doubt that cremation is yearly commending itself more and more to the thoughtful, and that it will gradually work its way into general acceptance.

It is not in modern times only that circumstances have compelled a consideration and discussion of the means by which the human body can be best disposed of after death. In Rome both inhumation and cremation were employed, and either was expressly permitted by the Roman law. It was found, however, that accumulations of decomposing bodies within the boundaries of the cities was not favorable to the health of the community, and cemeteries were removed to the rural districts. Cicero tells us that by one of the twelve tables it was decreed that *hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito neve urito*. From the foundation of the empire to about the fifth century of the Christian era burial in the earth was almost entirely abandoned, and cremation substituted.

When the burning of the dead was first adopted by the Greeks is not settled. Homer does not mention it as an innovation, but speaks of it as if it were a common custom.

Greeks, Romans, and Jews

Among the ancient Jews, also, both methods appear to have been in use. The burning of the body was ostensibly regarded as the more honorable manner and the ceremony was performed as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased; while it was explicitly denied to those whose lives were regarded as having reflected discredit upon the nation.

Among these nations, and by the Hindus at the present time, as well as with the native Australian, the American Indian, and other savage tribes, the means by which cremation was affected was the open pyre, consisting generally of a platform of rough logs, upon the top of which were placed both the body and the bier upon which it had been brought. By the early Christians, however, the custom was abolished so thoroughly that, for a period of 1,500 years, we do not know of any cremation having taken place in Europe. From the end of the fourth century of the Christian era until the year 1658 we do not find the subject even mentioned in European literature. The essay of Sir Thomas Browne upon non-burial was then published, and caused a temporary interest in the subject.

In 1817 Dr. Jamieson published in the Proceedings of the Royal Society, Edinburgh, a paper on "The Origin of Cremation," and public attention was directed to the merits of the question. In July of that year the poet Shelley and his companion Williams were drowned by the upsetting of a boat in the Ligurian Sea. Their bodies were washed ashore near Leghorn. The quarantine laws of Tuscany required the burning of all material drifting in from the sea. Byron and Shelley had made an agreement that whichever died first should be cremated by the survivor. Thus, by a singular coincidence, was Byron compelled by legal enactment to perform a ceremony which had been prearranged, but in the conduct of which he had expected to meet with powerful opposition.

It attracted a great amount of notice and comment. For the first time in its history science bestowed its attention upon the subject. Altho the first step toward a practical realization of cremation was made in England, yet must Italy be regarded as the pioneer in Europe of the modern scientific system. The first Italian cremation society was formed in 1876, in the city of Milan. Two other societies, those of Cremona and Lodi, were formed, and Rome and Udine followed suit in 1879. In Germany the first crematory was established in Dresden, but was forbidden by law, and Gotha remained for several years the only place in Germany where cremation could be carried into effect.

Modern Times

In 1874 the first attempt to carry the change into England was made by the formation of the Cremation Society of England. For several years the Parliament of the country was asked to take such action as should legalize cremation. At length the body of a child was cremated, and the father was prosecuted upon the charge of having performed an illegal act. At the trial, however, the presiding judge laid down the rule that, provided it was done without creating a nuisance, there was, in the law, nothing which was infringed by this method of disposing of a body. At this the crematorium of the society was at once opened (1885) and has since continued in operation, mainly through the efforts of Sir Henry Thompson of London.

In that year three bodies were cremated, in the next ten, in 1901 over 300, in 1903 over 2,000.

In Switzerland, Zurich led the way in 1873. France cremates her dead in considerable numbers, and Sweden has manifested great activity in the matter. In the United States the first effort, at all serious, to form a cremation society was made in 1874, in the city of New York. In 1881 two societies were formed: the New York Cremation Society, to prepare public opinion for the theory, and the U. S. Cremation Company, to construct crematories. Dr. F. J. Le Moyne of Washington, however, cremated the first bodies in the U. S. in a private furnace in 1884. The same year a crematory was opened in Lancaster, Pa. The U. S. Cremation Company opened its first crematory in 1885. Buffalo followed the same year. Detroit, Baltimore, San Francisco, Davenport, Ia., Cincinnati, Pittsburg, Philadelphia, Boston, followed later. By 1897 there were 592 crematories in the U. S.

In Great Britain there are now several crematoria at Woking, near London, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, Hull, Darlington, Birmingham, and smaller places. There are twenty-five crematoria in the U. S. of America, where 3,613 were cremated during the year 1901, San Francisco and New York being by far the largest, the first with 666, the second 654, during 1901.

In Paris there is a fine crematorium at Père-la-Chaise. Germany has seven crematoria: Gotha, Hamburg, Heidelberg, Offenbach, Jena, Manheim, and Eisenach, the total cremations being 693 during 1901.

Italy possesses twenty-two crematoria.

In Switzerland there are three crematoria: Zurich, Basle, and Geneva. There is a crematorium at Stockholm and at Gothenberg. There is also one at Copenhagen.

CREMER, WILLIAM RANDALL: British member of Parliament; born 1838 at Fareham, Hants, England. In 1859 he organized the Society of Amalgamated Carpenters; and during the American Civil War he protested, as a trade-union leader, against sympathy with the Southern states. On behalf of the proletariat he took a leading part in welcoming Garibaldi to England; and he was one of the founders of the Reform League, and for two years and a half general secretary of that terror of kings, the famous "International." He was elected to Parliament in 1885 for the Haggerston Division of Shoreditch, and has been four times reelected since. Of late years his attention and energy have been mostly devoted to international peace and arbitration. Cremer is the founder of the Inter-Parliamentary Conferences which since 1888 have met in the great cities of Europe and once in the United States. He has twice presented to the president and Congress of the U. S. memorials from members of the British House of Commons in favor of a treaty of arbitration between Great Britain and America. For thirty-five years secretary of the International Arbitration League, he also edits the League's organ, *The Arbitrator*. In 1903 he was awarded the Nobel Prize, £7,000 of which he gave as an endowment to the International Arbitration League. In addition the French Government bestowed upon him the Cross of the Legion of Honor. Mr. Cremer's views in matters of economic and social reform are those of a thorough democrat and practical Socialist. *Address*: 11 Lincoln's Inn Fields, W. C., London, England.

CRIME (see also PENOLOGY): In this article we consider the facts as to crime, and the question as to whether or no crime is on the increase. We shall notice:

I. Some general considerations. II. International statistics. III. The statistics of crime in the separate countries and the question for each country whether crime is on the increase or not. IV. Some general conclusions.

I. General Considerations

The first thing to be remembered in statistics of crime is what they do and do not indicate. Increase in numbers of persons accused, or of criminals tried, or convicted, do not, by any means, always indicate increase of criminality. Very often, perhaps even usually, they mean the reverse. When crime is common, public conscience low, morals lax, enforcement of law weak, few criminals are accused, tried, or convicted. When, however, public morals awake, new laws are put on the statute-books, offenses formerly condoned or not made amenable to law become contrary to law, people are tried, and convicted, and the number of criminals is apparently largely increased.

Effect of New Legislation

In England to-day hundreds of thousands of people annually are convicted of offenses against laws which did not even exist a generation or two ago. Education acts, vaccination acts, acts against the adulteration of food, regulations concerning the muzzling and treatment of dogs and other animals—all these enormously swell the number of convictions, and afford basis for thoughtless statements of the increase of crime, but certainly show if anything the reverse. In 1860 there were 158 offenses punishable as crimes in Massachusetts and 108 in Virginia, or fifty less. A large number of convictions in Massachusetts would therefore not prove more crime in Massachusetts than in Virginia, but here again very probably the reverse. In the German Empire, Mr. A. C. Hall ("Crime and Social Progress") states that between 1882 and 1895 new legislation increased the number of delicts punishable under the German code from 323 to 447, or 38 per cent. It is small wonder that apparently Germany has grown in crime. It is perfectly evident that one must know the state of the laws and of the enforcement of laws, before one says whether statistics of crimes do or do not mean high or low criminality.

Again, one must know what other conditions are. A large part of the modern apparent increase of crime is owing to accusations and convictions for comparatively petty offenses, but even in regard to the more serious crimes, like murder, which in all times and in all countries has been contrary to law, there are very different degrees of enforcement of the law. Law in Spain is probably much less enforced than in most civilized countries. In the United States legal methods and procedures are such that it is unquestionably much more difficult to convict even of murder in the U. S. than in England or most European countries. Notice must also be taken of the extent to which crimes are reported and recorded. Says a Boston paper, speaking of the asserted increase of crime in the U. S.:

> "The ubiquitous reporter is responsible for the gloomy showing. His note-book and pencil are everywhere, and the telegraph is the ready agent for transmitting news to all parts of the world. . . ." Says another writer: "Years ago a crime had to be of unusual proportions to make its way into an adjoining state. Only the great crimes could cross the continent. But now we see and know everything. We skim the whole creation every morning, and put the results in our coffee."

All this and very much more must be remembered before one can rightly answer the question whether crime is on the increase or not, and also before one can compare the amount of crime in the different countries. Especially is it difficult, if not impossible, to compare the amount of crime in the U. S. with that in other countries. Conditions, methods, laws, vary greatly; the statistics of criminals in the U. S. for the census of 1900 have not yet appeared; the most recent general statistics we have are, therefore, those of 1890, and these the census tells us are not truly comparable with those of former censuses because these latter as to criminals were too incomplete.

II. International Statistics

It is scarcely too much to say, for the reasons given above, and, particularly, as to the U. S., that there are no general international statistics as to crime which are not more misleading than they are informing. The utmost that can be done, and that with the extremest caution, and even then with no little danger of being misleading, is to compare the statistics of crime in different countries for a very few main crimes. As to murders and homicides in the different countries Dr. A. C. Hall (idem, p. 32) gives the following suggestive table:

	England	Germany	France	Austria	Italy	Spain
Industrial rank (value of manufactures produced yearly in millions of pounds sterling, 1888)	820	583	485	253	121	85
Percentage of adults able to write (1889)	90%	90%	85%	55%	47%	28%
Convictions for murder and homicide, per 1,000,000 inhabitants (average for 10 years 1886–95)	5.13	5.45	11.55	15.42	76.11	44.70

Statistics comparable with this for the U. S. cannot be given. The *Chicago Tribune* reports each year the number of homicides and murders in the U. S., and also the number of executions, but neither of these are official or comparable with statistics as to *convictions* in other countries.

Mr. W. D. Morrison, of the prison at Wandsworth, England, in his "Crime and Its Causes" (1891), gives the following table:

HOMICIDES OF ALL COUNTRIES

COUNTRIES	Years	TRIED	CONVICTED	
		Annual average	Annual average	Per 100,000 inhabitants over 10 years
Italy	1887	3,606	2,805	11.98
Austria	1883–6	689	499	2.90
France	1882–6	847	580	1.87
Belgium	1881–5	132	101	2.31
England	1882–6	318	151	0.76
Ireland	1882–6	129	54	1.40
Scotland	1882–6	60	21	0.74
Spain	1883–6	1,584	1,085	8.16
Hungary	1882–6	....	625	5.78
Holland	1882–6	35	28	0.88
Germany	1882–6	567	476	1.35

For statistics of illegitimacy and prostitution, see those articles.

For theft and robbery, Baron Garofalo, of Italy,

presented the following statistics at the International Conference of Charities and Corrections at Chicago in 1893 as to those *accused* of robbery and theft (annual average from 1881–87).

Country	Accused	Per 1,000,000 inhabitants
France	46,000	14.2
England	50,000	18.2
Belgium	11,000	18.3
Germany	146,000	29.8
Italy	125,000	42.2

A more minute study from facts given by Mr. Hall seems to show the following as to *accusations*:

Robbery and Extortion

Period	England	France	Austria	Germany	Italy
1881–85	215	143	164	1,116	725
Per 1,000,000	8.7	3.8	7.5	24.5	25.5
1891–95	226	[2]230	[2]134	1,024	859
Per 1,000,000	7.8	5.0	5.6	20.6	26.6

Serious Theft

1881–85	7,095	1,285	17,589	[1]12,898	.....
Per 1,000,000	288.4	31.5	803.1	283.4	.....
1891–95	6,92	[2]1,129	14,590	12,354	.....
Per 1,000,000	252.8	29.4	611.3	248.9	.....

Frauds and Fraudulent Bankruptcy

1881–85	1,829	14,800	17,783	37,081	.....
Per 1,000,000	74.3	393.6	812.0	812.8	.....
1891–95	1,837	18,577	23,847	43,775	10,791
Per 1,000,000	66.6	485.0	1,006.2	882.4	354.3

Allowance must be made in these figures for different ratings in different countries. When, as in the above, it appears that there is nine times as much serious theft in England as in France and that there is five or six times as much fraud in France as in England, it is evident that the difference is largely not in morals but in different ratings as to what is theft and what is fraud.

Nevertheless, it is significant that both as to murder and homicide, the countries stand in this order (those having the least murder and homicide in proportion to population being put first): England, Germany, France, Austria, Italy, Spain.

In offenses against the property there is more confusion, because of the different ratings of crime, but the countries stand in about this order: France, England, Belgium, Germany, Austria, Italy.

The United States

As already stated, the 1900 census returns as to statistics for crime are not yet available. The returns for 1890 are therefore the latest official figures.

Is Crime Increasing?

Based largely on these, the opinion is general that crime is largely on the increase in the United States. This is the statement of such authorities as David A. Wells, Henry M. Boies, Dr. F. H. Wines, General Brinkerhoff, Dr. Josiah Strong, and others. Dr. J. M. Buckley writes in the *Century* for Nov., 1903, on the present "epidemic of crime." S. S. McClure gives startling figures (*McClure's Magazine*, Dec., 1904). More recently epidemics of crime have been spoken of in New York, Chicago, and other cities.

Nevertheless, other authorities, like R. P. Falkner (*Forum*, July, 1900) and Eugene Smith ("Proceedings of National Prison Association," 1904), deny that this is proved. The statement of the census is:

	Prisoners	Per 100,000 of population
1850	6,737	29
1860	19,086	61
1870	32,901	85
1880	58,609	117
1890	82,329	132
1904	81,772	100.6

The figures published each year by the *Chicago Tribune* as to murders and homicides are not official, and are undoubtedly somewhat more complete for the later years than the former; nevertheless, they are significant and cannot be ignored:

Murders and Homicides in the U. S.

(From statistics compiled by the *Chicago Tribune*)

Year	Number of murders and homicides in the United States	Number of murders and homicides for each million of people	Number of suicides in the United States	Number of executions in the United States	Number of murders and homicides to each execution	Number of lynchings
1885	1,808	32.2	978	108	17	181
1886	1,499	26.1	914	83	18	133
1887	2,335	39.8	1,387	79	29	125
1888	2,184	36.4	1,487	87	25	144
1889	3,567	58.2	2,224	98	36	175
1890	4,290	68.5	2,640	102	42	123
1891	5,906	92.4	3,331	123	56	193
1892	6,791	104.2	3,860	107	63	230
1893	6,615	99.5	4,436	126	52	200
1894	9,800	144.7	4,912	132	73	189
1895	10,500	152.2	5,759	132	79	166
1896	10,652	151.3	6,530	122	87	131
1897	9,520	132.8	6,600	128	74	166
1898	7,840	107.2	5,920	109	72	127
1899	6,225	83.6	5,340	131	87	107
1900	8,275	108.4	6,755	117	71	115
1901	7,852	100.9	7,845	118	67	135
1902	8,834	111.7	8,132	144	61	96
1903	8,976	112.4	8,597	124	72	104
1904	8,482	104.4	9,240	116	73	87
1905	9,212	111.9	9,982	136	67	66
1906	9,350	108.9	10,125	123	76	69

Making every allowance for error, and tho things do not seem quite as black as in the hard times of 1895–96, an increase in murders and homicides in twenty-one years from 1,808 in 1885 to 9,350 in 1906 is startling in the extreme.

Yet possibly even more significant is the fact that in 1885 there were only seventeen murders and homicides for each execution, and in 1906, seventy-six for each execution, an increase of over 400 per cent. The columns, too, show that except for the years of depression from 1894 to 1899, the growth of murders and homicides has been almost steady, showing it the resultant not of accidental causes, but of some sinister evils in the nation steadily working increasing wrong.

Concerning the nature of crimes and criminals in the U. S., the Special Report on Prisoners and Juvenile Delinquents in Institutions (Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Cen-

sus, 1907) gives the following data, p. 20, for June 30, 1904:

Crimes	Number	Per cent
Against society	17,739	21.7
Against the person	26,017	31.8
Against property	37,166	45.5
Miscellaneous	850	1.0
Total	81,772	100.0

Criminals

White	Total	Native	Foreign born	Per cent native	Per cent foreign
United States	[1]55,111	41,730	12,945	[2]76.3	[2]23.7
Males	52,280	40,004	11,848		
Females	2,831	1,726	1,097		
North Atlantic	24,349	16,363	7,954	67.3	32.7
Males	22,193	15,170	6,994		
Females	2,256	1,193	960		
South Atlantic	2,859	2,473	173	93.5	6.5
Males	2,758	2,387	163		
Females	101	86	10		
North Central	16,693	13,871	2,645	84.0	16.0
Males	16,295	13,562	2,556		
Females	398	309	89		
South Central	4,339	3,880	454	89.5	10.5
Males	4,297	3,839	453		
Females	42	41	1		
Western Division	6,871	5,143	1,719	74.9	25.1
Males	6,737	5,046	1,682		
Females	134	97	37		

Colored

United States	26,661	26,087	190	384	67.4	32.6	12.1
Males	24,989	24,426	189	374			
Females	1,672	1,681	1	10			
North Atlantic	3,040	3,010	15	15	88.9	11.1	1.9
Males	2,689	2,661	15	13			
Females	351	349	...	2			
South Atlantic	8,291	8,281	1	9	25.6	74.4	35.8
Males	7,777	7,767	1	9			
Females	514	514	...	...			
North Central	4,307	4,068	3	236	79.5	20.5	2.1
Males	4,066	3,832	3	231			
Females	241	236	...	5			
South Central	10,275	10,269	...	6	29.7	70.3	30.3
Males	9,758	9,752	...	6			
Females	517	517	...	...			
Western Division	748	459	171	118	90.2	9.8	5.3
Males	699	414	170	115			
Females	49	45	1	3			

[1] Including 436 "unknown" parentage for U. S. not appearing in separate column.

[2] The percentage of white population over 10 years of age in 1900 was: native, 80.5; foreign, 19.5.

The compendium gives the following statements as to the birthplace of the parents of prisoners in the U. S.: Canada, 4,388; England, 5,997; Scotland, 1,996; Ireland, 29,184; France, 1,036; Germany, 9,987; Italy, 1,209; Mexico, 1,483; Norway, 487; Poland, 339; Russia, 382; Sweden, 775; Switzerland, 384. (Figures for 1890.)

For 1900 we have estimates only. Mr. Eugene Smith (" Proceedings of National Prison Association," 1900, House Document No. 491, 56th Congress, 2d Session) estimates 250,000 in the U. S. who make their living, at least in some degree, by the practise of crime. Their annual income he estimates at $1,600 each, or $400,000,000. Taxation caused by crime he puts at $200,000,000, besides the property destroyed; the time, life, and labor lost; the private expense entailed, expenses for steel safes, safe-deposit vaults, burglar alarms, detectives, locks, bars, bolts.

Rev. J. J. Munro, chaplain of the Prison Evangelistic Society of New York, writing in *Harper's Weekly*, estimates the annual direct and indirect cost of crime in the U. S. for 1906 at $1,075,000,000, which he figures as follows:

Cost of crime to Greater New York	$35,000,000
Cost of crime to New York State elsewhere	42,000,000
Cost of crime all other states	697,000,000
Cost of crime to federal government	80,000,000
Criminal losses by fires	100,000,000
Custom House frauds	60,000,000
Wages of 100,000 prisoners in state prisons	28,000,000
Wages of 150,000 in jail	33,000,000
	$1,075,000,000

After a careful study of the statistics of penitentiaries in 1890, Professor Falkner found that of 9,859 prisoners reported by the Wardens' Association, there were only 227 females, or 2.3 per cent, which, he says, may mean that females are not sent to penitentiaries or do not commit the more serious crimes. (The total aggregate in all penal institutes, however, in 1890 was 40,741 men to 32,304 women.) Nearly one fifth of the convicts in the penitentiaries studied were colored, a proportion far in advance of the colored in the population.

As to the extent to which the foreign born in the community contribute to our penal population, Professor Falkner found that, in 1890, considering penitentiaries alone (not including workhouses and other penal institutions) adult whites of foreign birth did not contribute more than their due proportion as compared with the native born.

But of the second generation of the foreign born —that is, of the native whites of foreign parentage —it does seem true that they produce more than their proportion of criminals, for native whites of native parentage had 753 prisoners for each million in 1890, and native whites of foreign parentage had 1,345. And taking into consideration penal institutions of all sorts, except juvenile reformatories, the 20,000,000 of our population in 1890 who were foreign by birth or parentage, furnished a half more prisoners than the 34,000,000 of our native white population. In other words, the tendency to crime in the U. S. was more than two and one half times as strong among those who are foreign by birth or parentage, as among the native white.

Difference of race, however, seems to count more than difference of nativity in the production of criminals. The following table, compiled from the census of 1890, gives the nationality of the parents of prisoners and paupers in the U. S., so far as these were known, and compares the per-

PERCENTAGE OF NATIVITY OF 105,885 KNOWN PARENTS OF PRISONERS IN U. S. AND 108,802 KNOWN PARENTS OF PAUPERS IN U. S. CENSUS OF 1890

	Canadian, English	Canadian, French	English	Scotch	Irish	French	German	Scandinavian	Russian	Hungarian	Bohemian	Italian	Total foreign	Native
Parents of total population	1.50	.82	3.07	.86	7.85	.41	10.94	2.11	.41	.12	.34	.40	33.02	66.94
Parents of prisoners	3.83	.30	5.66	1.88	27.56	.97	9.43	1.20	.36	.24	.08	1.14	56.81	43.18
Parents of paupers	1.85	.22	4.30	1.28	29.79	.89	14.36	1.98	.12	.09	.32	.29	48.40	41.59

centages of the extent to which each country has furnished the parents of criminals, with the percentage of the extent to which it has furnished parents in the community at large. It will be seen by making this comparison what differences there are in this respect between races.

As to age and conjugal condition, Professor Falkner found that in round numbers one third of the convicts were over 30 years of age, and that 68.75 per cent were unmarried. As to occupations, agriculture produced 15.27 per cent. of the prisoners and (in 1900) 44.3 of the community; personal and professional life, 72.09 of prisoners and 23.7 of the community; trade and transportation, 10.41 of prisoners and 16.3 of the community; manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, 22.01 of prisoners to 23.3 of the community.

GREAT BRITAIN

Criminals committed for trial, convicted and acquitted

IN ENGLAND AND WALES AT ASSIZES AND QUARTER SESSIONS

YEARS	COMMITTED FOR TRIAL			CONVICTED
	Males	Females	Total	
1891	9,837	1,858	11,695	[3]9,055
1892	10,492	1,724	12,216	9,607
1893	10,648	1,646	[2]12,296	9,797
1894	10,519	1,636	12,155	9,634
1895	10,018	1,602	[4]11,621	9,169
1896	9,833	1,379	[2]11,214	8,856
1897	9,930	1,411	[4]11,342	8,992
1898	10,144	1,450	11,595	9,272
1899	9,723	1,322	11,045	8,751
1900	9,099	1,230	[2]10,331	8,157
1901	9,744	1,260	[2]11,006	8,840
1902	10,302	1,300	[5]11,606	9,352
1903	10,773	1,349	12,122	9,882
1904	11,147	1,325	12,472	10,233
1905	11,422	1,267	12,689	10,481
IN SCOTLAND[1]				
1891	1,969	385	2,354	1,823
1892	1,871	381	2,252	1,778
1893	2,010	384	2,394	1,903
1894	1,984	387	2,371	1,937
1895	1,711	316	2,027	1,652
1896	1,781	339	2,120	1,704
1897	1,866	337	2,203	1,796
1898	1,946	344	2,290	1,877
1899	1,861	292	2,153	1,785
1900	1,886	281	2,167	1,835
1901	1,946	345	2,291	1,872
1902	2,157	320	2,477	2,052
1903	2,256	334	2,590	2,114
1904	2,354	277	2,631	2,208
1905	2,506	305	2,811	2,312

[1] For Scotland the number of persons convicted is exclusive of those outlawed.
[2] Including two corporate bodies indicted for nuisances.
[3] Including 104 incorrigible rogues sentenced at Quarter Sessions in 1893, 116 in 1894, 105 in 1895, 111 in 1896, 125 in 1897, 139 in 1898, 143 in 1899, 182 in 1900, 209 in 1901, 214 in 1902, 240 in 1903, 314 in 1904, and 363 in 1905.
[4] Including one corporate body indicted for nuisance.
[5] Including four corporate bodies indicted for nuisances.

IN IRELAND AT ASSIZES, DUBLIN COMMISSION, AND QUARTER SESSIONS

YEARS	COMMITTED FOR TRIAL			CONVICTED
	Males	Females	Total	
1891	1,714	398	2,112	1,255
1892	1,761	270	2,031	1,196
1893	1,994	345	2,339	1,378
1894	2,026	382	2,408	1,469
1895	1,535	240	1,775	1,096
1896	1,754	301	2,055	1,310
1897	1,609	276	1,885	1,242
1898	1,786	325	2,111	1,367
1899	1,644	309	1,953	1,329
1900	1,438	244	1,682	1,087
1901	1,565	291	1,856	1,221
1902	1,452	265	1,717	1,086
1903	1,445	288	1,733	1,169
1904	1,566	271	1,837	1,296
1905	1,766	294	2,060	1,367

Concerning the nature of crimes, and the question of increase or decrease in recent years, the 1907 Year Book of the *Daily Mail* makes the following summary:

OFFENSES	1904	Annual average 1900–4	Proportions per 100,000 population: 1904	Proportions per 100,000 population: Annual average 1900-4
I. Crimes (indictable offenses) known to the police	92,907	84,247	275	255
II. Persons for trial or tried for:				
(*a*) Indictable offenses	59,960	56,911	178	172
(*b*) Criminal non-indictable offenses	89,254	94,288	264	286
(*c*) Other non-indictable offenses	657,925	641,159	1,949	1,943
Total persons tried	807,139	792,358	2,391	2,401
III. Persons convicted of:				
(*a*) Indictable offenses	49,567	46,550	147	141
(*b*) Criminal non-indictable offenses	59,372	61,605	176	186
(*c*) Other non-indictable offenses	556,440	540,016	1,648	1,637
Total persons convicted	665,379	648,171	1,971	1,964
IV. Persons imprisoned:				
Convicted prisoners received	199,153	175,613	590	532
Convicted prisoners in prison on 31st March	20,099	18,130	60	55

These figures are not all of equal value as criteria of the state of crime, but they all indicate an increase of criminality in 1904. The statistics of persons tried for indictable offenses have been generally accepted as the best index to the fluctuations of crime, and accordingly these figures will be used in the remarks which follow in preference to the others.

The total number of persons for trial for indictable offenses was 59,960, or 177.59 per 100,000 population, being an increase of 1,516, or nearly 3 per cent, as compared with the previous year. There has been a continuous growth of crime since the year 1899; the figures for each year from 1899 to 1904 being as follows:

Year	Number of Persons	Proportion per 100,000 population
1899.....	50,494	158.97
1900.....	53,628	166.98
1901.....	55,453	170.00
1902.....	57,068	172.94
1903.....	58,444	175.10
1904.....	59,960	177.59

It is necessary, however, to remember that for many years prior to 1899 there was a steady decline, with occasional interruptions, in the number of persons tried for indictable offenses, and in that year the total was less than in any previous year since 1875. The actual figures for 1904, altho high, are by no means the highest, there having been eight occasions during the forty-eight years for which figures are available in which the total exceeded 60,000; and as in those years the population was less than in 1904, the proportion of crime to population was of course greater than in recent years. For example, during the quinquennial period, 1860–64, the annual average was 280 per 100,000 population, as compared with 172 in the last quinquennial period

An increase in the total of crime does not imply an increase in all descriptions of crime. The increase in 1904 was wholly in offenses against property. Offenses against the person fell from 2,768 to 2,525, or nearly 9 per cent. Except in the past year, and in 1900, the figures for offenses of this description have shown a remarkable steadiness during the 12 years covered by the revised criminal statistics, the figures being as follows:

1893.....	2,790	1899.....	2,785
1894.....	2,752	1900.....	2,566
1895.....	2,755	1901.....	2,727
1896.....	2,812	1902.....	2,757
1897.....	2,734	1903.....	2,768
1898.....	2,749	1904.....	2,525

The decrease in 1904 is spread over nearly all the headings, but is mainly in offenses of violence. The only offense against the person which (measured by the number of cases tried) shows a marked tendency to increase, is bigamy, for which the figure was 138, the quinquennial averages for 1895–99 and 1900–4 being 104 and 112 respectively.

The principal classes of offenses showing an increase in 1904 are:

Offenses	1904	1903	Annual average 1900–4
Simple larceny and minor larcenies..	41,952	40,127	39,368
Obtaining by false pretenses.....	2,153	1,830	1,727
Frauds by agents, etc.....	76	54	37
Bankruptcy offenses.....	59	32	40
Other frauds.....	152	114	111
Arson.....	219	143	152
Coining.....	98	89	75

The increase of offenses of simple larceny and minor larcenies (1,825, or 4 per cent) is more than sufficient to account for the whole of the increase in the total number of persons tried. The increase under this heading is mainly in cases tried summarily, and it may therefore be inferred that the additional offenses were not of the gravest character.

It is satisfactory to observe that those classes of offenses usually committed by habitual criminals have ceased to increase at the same rapid rate as formerly. The figures for burglary and housebreaking were 2,942, as against 2,863 in 1903, an increase of only 79, as against increases of 313 and 435 in the two previous years; and the figures for receiving stolen goods were 1,187, as against 1,267 in 1903. The offense of larceny from the person has been on the decline for a long period, the figures for 1904 (2,164) being little more than half the figures for 1893 (3,993).

The number of persons prosecuted for non-indictable offenses was 747,179, an increase of only 1,927, or 0.25 per cent, as compared with the previous year, while the proportion to population fell from 2,233 to 2,213 per 100,000. During the forty-eight years for which figures are available, non-indictable offenses reached their highest point—761,322—in 1899, the year in which indictable offenses touched their lowest level during the past thirty years.

The principal conclusions as to the increase and decrease of crimes and offenses to be drawn from the statistics for 1904 may be thus shortly stated:

1. Crimes against the person have diminished.
2. Crimes of the classes chiefly committed by habitual criminals have ceased to increase at the same rapid rate as in previous years.
3. Minor offenses of dishonesty have increased.
4. Serious frauds and breaches of trust have increased.
5. Drunkenness is stationary.
6. Offenses of the vagrancy class are growing rapidly.

Concerning the question of the increase or decrease of crime in England compared with former times, Mr. A. C. Hall has compiled considerable information. We are largely indebted to him for the following:

Former Times

He finds that as England emerged from feudalism, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (the great period of constitutional progress) were times of weakness in the administration of justice, of increasing anarchy, and moral decay, tho on the whole there was little crime, the lawless being attracted to the service of the nobility and their feuds. Under the Tudors there was the enactment of a large number of new laws severely enforced. Hence, apparently and in fact, a flood of criminality. English blood was astir with restlessness. Under the Stuarts again there were great constitutional and religious contests. There was large and general corruption, but less of other forms of crime. The Reformation and Puritanism checked immorality with an unnatural condemnation of all joys, that reacted in a carnival of vice and crime. In 1723 Lady Mary Montagu wrote: "Honor, virtue, and reputation, which we used to hear of in the nursery, are as much laid aside as crumpled ribbons." Says Lecky ("England in the Eighteenth Century," vol. i., p. 482): "The impunity with which outrages were committed on the ill-lit and ill-guarded streets of London during the first half of the eighteenth century can now hardly be realized. In 1712 a club of young men of the higher classes, who assumed the name of Mohawks, were accustomed nightly to sally out drunk into the streets to hunt the passers-by. . . . One of their favorite amusements, called 'tipping the lion,' was to squeeze the nose of their victim flat upon his face, and to bore out his eyes with their fingers. . . . [Another] favorite amusement was to set women on their heads and commit various indecencies and barbarities on the limbs that were exposed. . . . Country gentlemen went to the theater as if in a time of war, accompanied by their armed retainers." Macaulay, in his well-known picture of England of the seventeenth century, confirms the same picture of London being utterly unsafe by night, while the country was unsafe by night or day. Banditti and highwaymen infested the roads near London, and ruled the remoter sections. Walpole (1721–42), established an "organized system" of parliamentary bribery. Coaches were plundered for weeks together in broad daylight. Piracy was common. Laws were ferocious. Men were hanged at Tyburn every Monday by the dozen. Even from 1824 to 1830, forty kinds of forgery were punishable by death.

Since the beginning, however, of the nineteenth century there has been a large doing away with the death penalty for most crimes, the passage, as stated above, of a very large number of new laws, a resultant steady increase of accusations and convictions, but beyond all question a diminution of serious crime, except perhaps in a few forms peculiar to modern commercialism. For serious crimes Mr. Hall gives the following table of arraignments before the high courts of England and Wales:

	Annual average	Per 100,000 of population
1857–61.....	17,825	90.53
1862–66.....	19,758	94.61
1867–71.....	18,445	83.00
1872–76.....	15,096	63.63
1877–81.....	15,567	61.36
1882–86.....	14,303	53.13
1887–91.....	12,481	43.87
1892–96.....	11,816	39.31
1896–	11,103	36.13

IRELAND

	Annual average	Per 100,000 of population
1852–56	12,155	185.52
1857–61	6,071	99.52
1876–80	4,255	80.86
1881–85	3,687	73.11
1886–90	2,430	50.55
1891–95	2,133	46.15

Says the Report of the Howard Association (1906):

It is interesting to note that while crime generally has increased, offenses against the person have decreased, falling from 2,785 in 1899 to 2,525 in 1904, a decrease of nearly 9 per cent. The obvious deduction is that passion and brutality are becoming less potent factors in the causation of crime.

The great increase has taken place in those kinds of offenses that require not only dishonest intention, but also some education and skill in their perpetration. Hence false pretenses, frauds, embezzlements, and larcenies make up the increase; the deduction being obvious, that dishonesty, cupidity, and lack of principle are becoming more powerful causes of crime.

SCOTLAND

The number imprisoned during 1904 was 59,962, or 1 prisoner in 75 of the population.

As in England, while the number of minor offenses resulting in imprisonment has been going down, the more serious crimes have been increasing. Drunkenness and breaches of the peace show large reductions below the average of the last five years; but thefts, frauds, housebreakings, and cruelty to children have increased greatly. The commissioners call particular attention to housebreaking and fraud. The average number of imprisonments for housebreaking for the previous five years was 563; in 1904 the number rose to 869, or 54 per cent above the average. Cases of fraud rose in the same period from 316 to 434, or by 37 per cent.

Concerning the increase of crime the following figures seem to show a steady increase, but are probably largely due to increasing legislation:

GERMAN EMPIRE

	Convictions in courts of first instance	Per 10,000 inhabitants
1883	330,128	102.3
1884	345,977	106.6
1885	343,087	104.6
1886	353,000	108.2
1887	356,357	108.4
1888	350,665	105.5
1889	369,644	110.1
1890	381,450	112.0
1891	391,064	112.4
1892	422,327	119.6
1893	430,403	121.2
1894	446,110	124.4
1895	454,211	124.9
1896	456,999	124.4
1897	463,585	124.8
1898	477,807	125.7
1899	473,139	123.6
1900	469,819	119.5
1901	497,310	125.6
1902	512,329	127.3
1903	505,353	123.4
1904	516,976	124.2

THE GERMAN EMPIRE, 1904

(Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich, 1906)

CRIMES AND MISDEMEANORS AGAINST LAWS OF THE EMPIRE	Accused	Convicted	Punishable actions	PERSONS SENTENCED			
				Male	Female	From 12 to 18 years	Previously sentenced
Total crimes and misdemeanors	660,857	516,976	611,082	435,191	81,785	50,028	225,326
(*a*) Against the State, public order, and religion	106,760	92,677	101,049	81,170	11,507	2,230	38,003
(*b*) Against persons	285,904	220,164	245,180	189,118	31,046	12,939	89,890
(*c*) Against property	266,606	202,860	261,899	163,704	39,156	34,850	97,157
(*d*) Crimes and misdemeanors of officials	1,587	1,275	2,354	1,199	76	9	276

TABLE OF PERCENTAGES

		Percentage of crimes and misdemeanors specified			Percentage of persons sentenced			
Total crimes and misdemeanors		100.0	100.0	100.0	84.2	15.8	9.7	43.6
(*a*) Against the State, public order, and religion		16.2	17.9	16.6	87.6	12.4	2.4	41.0
(*b*) Against persons		43.3	42.6	40.1	85.9	14.1	5.9	40.8
(*c*) Against property		40.3	39.2	42.9	80.7	19.3	17.2	47.9
(*d*) Crimes and misdemeanors of officials		0.2	0.3	0.4	94.0	6.0	0.7	21.6
Details	Violence and threats against officials	2.8	3.4	3.1	94.5	5.5	2.0	65.1
	Breaking the peace	4.7	4.8	5.4	90.5	9.5	4.7	48.5
	Escaping from jail and prison	0.4	0.3	0.3	73.3	26.7	0.8	47.0
	Perjury	0.3	0.2	0.2	73.1	26.9	4.3	47.5
	Rape, assault, and incest	1.0	1.1	1.4	99.4	0.6	19.5	45.0
	Calumny	12.5	11.8	14.3	73.4	26.6	2.5	32.3
	Murder and homicide	0.05	0.05	0.05	87.2	12.8	7.0	57.1
	Bodily injury (light)	5.2	5.2	5.0	90.1	9.9	4.4	44.3
	Bodily injury (dangerous)	19.1	19.1	13.3	92.4	7.6	7.7	42.7
	Threats and blackmail	2.4	2.3	3.5	94.7	5.3	3.2	56.6
	Theft and burglary	18.6	19.1	19.3	76.3	23.7	24.3	47.8
	Defalcation	4.4	4.4	5.3	82.5	17.5	10.2	50.8
	Robbery	0.1	0.1	0.07	97.5	2.5	18.6	65.4
	Receiving stolen goods	1.9	1.4	1.4	67.0	33.0	15.4	42.0
	Cheating and swindling	5.5	5.0	7.9	83.0	17.0	7.4	60.2
	Forgery	1.0	1.1	1.6	83.2	16.8	11.8	47.1
	Damage to property	4.0	3.8	3.6	94.4	5.6	16.4	43.9
	Incendiarism	0.1	0.1	0.09	85.5	14.5	35.8	33.5

As stated above, Germany from 1882 to 1895 increased the number of offenses punishable under the code 38 per cent. Naturally accusations have increased, as will be seen from the tables of international statistics. Germany's main offenses are against property, not against life. This is doubtless due to her new almost sudden development of commercialism. According to Mr. Hall, there were from 1891 to 1895 1,080 crimes for 100,000 in the country districts, 1,400 in cities of 20,000 or over. Fraud increased from 1882 to 1895 50 per cent; fraudulent bankruptcy and forgery 45 per cent. Theft in all forms decreased. Delicts of immorality and lust increased from little over 3,000 in 1882–85 to 4,000, 1891–95. Mr. Hall finds a rapid increase of crime among young men and women, which he connects with the increase of factories.

France

	Convictions in			Total	Per 100,000
	Assize courts	Correctional tribunals	Police courts.		
1885....	3,028	211,797	450,773	665,598	1,779
1890....	2,918	211,731	447,273	661,988	1,731
1895....	2,372	221,234	398,723	622,329	1,620
1900....	2,248	187,024	[1]411,087	600,359	1,547
1903....	1,996	190,421	435,354	627,771	1,565

[1] 1901.

This shows a somewhat marked diminution in convictions. Until recently, however, convictions have been on the increase in France, mainly, probably, as in other countries, due to the enactment of new laws and particularly of police regulations. Comparing various periods in the nineteenth century Mr. Hall gives us the following table:

	Total persons held for trial	Per 100,000 of pop.	Persons convicted
1826–50.....	403,748	1,199	350,775
1851–75.....	685,445	1,872	639,047
1876–95.....	679,944	1,799	650,318

Most of this increase, however, was due to new police regulations, such as laws for wagons and coaches.

Austria

	Crimes	Per 100,000 of pop.	Less serious offenses	Misdemeanors
1885.....	30,865	137	....	544,692
1890.....	29,090	127	....	581,813
1895.....	28,709	115	7,596	521,756
1901.....	36,317	144	9,052	607,081
1904.....	34,202	131	8,388	560,058

Austria in recent years shows a decrease of crime; up to 1885, however, there was an increase. As Austria has become liberal and less clerical, crime has grown less.

Italy

	Persons Condemned			
	Total convictions	Per 100,000 of pop.	Serious crimes,[1] annual average	Per 100,000
1881–85.....	367,510	1,291	[2] 6,464	23.3
1891–95.....	506,687	1,614	[3] 4,952	13.9
1900–4.....	403,743	1,246	2,788	9.6

[1] Before courts of assize. [2] 1880–84. [3] 1890–94.

Italy shows recently a decrease of convictions of all kinds and a very marked decrease in serious crimes. From 1880 to 1890, however, convictions multiplied, because for the first time under a strong centralized government law began to be enforced and brigandage and lawlessness put down. Under the Church, convictions were few, because law was not enforced and brigandage common.

Spain

	Convictions Under the Criminal Code	
	Annual average	Per 100,000 of pop.
1883–85.....	84,188	504.1
1886–90.....	91,846	532.5
1891–95.....	89,923	521.4
1896.....	81,118	.....

From the above table by Mr. Hall, he draws the conclusion that the political and economic misfortunes and popular ignorance and superstition which have made an almost unprogressive nation of a once great people, have produced an almost stationary condition of criminality.

Belgium

	Annual Convictions			
	Assize courts	Per 100,000 of pop.	Correctional tribunals	Per 100,000 of pop.
1870.....	105	1.9	22,254	419.8
1880.....	137	2.4	40,208	731.0
1890.....	97	1.6	40,275	671.9
1900.....	68	1.0	45,939	696.0
1903.....	68	1.0	47,748	712.1

Belgium in recent years has been among the most progressive countries in the enactments of laws. Convictions of lesser offenses have, therefore, grown since 1870, tho as in other countries serious offenses have fallen off.

Netherlands

	Annual Convictions			
	Cantonal courts	District tribunals	Together	Per 100,000 of pop.
1887.....	66,143	17,262	83,405	1.853
1891.....	69,622	17,428	87,050	1.934
1900.....	95,289	14,490	109,779	2.152
1904.....	147,955	16,138	164,043	2.983

In the Netherlands crime of all kinds seems to have increased. Even the cases before the High Court increased from 270 in 1895 to 437 in 1905.

DENMARK

	Convictions of crime	Per 100,000 of pop.
1885	3,525	176
1890	3,897	185
1897	3,689	161
1904	3,863	148

Showing a decrease of crime.

NORWAY

	Convicted of crimes	Per 100,000 of pop.
1891	2,548	134
1896	3,075	146
1902	3,362	151

An increase of crime.

SWEDEN

	Convicted of crimes	Per 100,000 of pop.
1899	2,224	45
1904	2,393	46

A slight increase.

SWITZERLAND

	Convictions	Per 100,000 of pop.
1893	4,426	147
1898	3,295	106
1903	4,044	118

A decrease of crime.

JAPAN

	Serious crimes	Lesser	Total	Per 100,000 of pop.
1893	3,129	172,489	175,618	425
1900	2,675	128,525	131,200	382
1904	3,866	84,597	88,463	187

A marked diminution of crime, tho serious crimes seem to have increased.

AUSTRALASIA

The following tables are compiled from Coghlan's "Statistical Account of Australia and New Zealand," 1904. The figures are for the year 1902:

STATE	Persons charged	Summarily convicted	Committed	Persons charged per 1,000 of pop.
New South Wales	60,373	50,776	1,271	42.89
Victoria	45,198	33,461	641	37.49
Queensland	21,115	17,625	489	41.01
South Australia	6,608	5,556	209	18.06
Western Australia	16,443	12,753	335	76.43
Tasmania	6,228	4,975	75	35.17
Commonwealth	155,965	125,146	3,020	40.13
New Zealand	28,076	22,125	765	34.75
Australasia	184,041	147,271	3,785	39.21

In New Zealand each charge is counted as a separate person—a proceeding which, of course, tells against the colony; a reduction of about 10 per cent should be made to get at the number of persons.

NATURE OF OFFENSES

STATE	PER 1,000 OF POPULATION				
	All offenders	Serious offenders			Minor offenders
		Against the person	Against property	Total	
Commonwealth	40.13	2.52	3.81	6.33	33.80
New Zealand	34.75	1.62	3.57	5.19	29.56
Australasia	39.21	2.36	3.77	6.13	33.08

YEAR	PER 1,000 OF POPULATION	
	Committals	Convictions in superior courts
1861	2.2	1.3
1871	1.4	0.8
1881	1.2	0.7
1891	1.1	0.6
1902	0.7	0.4

Showing a steady diminution of crime.

CANADA

	Summarily convicted	Per 100,000 of pop.	Convicted in higher courts	Per 100,000 of pop.
1888	33,902	737	3,747	81
1893	31,023	646	4,630	96
1898	32,419	635	5,787	113
1904	48,192	932	6,754	127

Showing an increase of crime.

III. General Conclusions

The general conclusion from these statistics is that (excepting, perhaps, in the U. S., Canada, Germany, the Netherlands, and to a less extent the Scandinavian countries) serious crime is on the decrease, and that if commitments for minor offenses are in many countries on the increase, it is in almost every case due to the enactment of new laws, police regulations, etc., with the stricter enforcement of social and hygienic regulations—an indication, therefore, of social progress rather than of the reverse.

Speaking broadly, statistics therefore unquestionably show that the world is growing better. Comparing for a moment the present with the remote past, this is clearly the case.

For social evils to-day, see PROSTITUTION; but compare these with classic days, when the noblest philosophers practised and openly defended not only prostitution, but unnatural vice; when in the baths of Rome thousands of men and women were abandoned *en masse* to the lowest crimes. Without referring to Rome under her degenerate Cæsars, under Augustus 10,000 gladiators fought, and their bloody games were applauded by Stoic philosophers and by vestal virgins. Naturally recklessness of life spread everywhere, and philosophy defended the right of the master to kill or to torture his slaves.

The immorality of Rome and Greece cannot be credited, scarcely described, in a modern encyclopedia. Take it in other lands. In England before the Norman Conquest it was the custom to buy men and women in all parts of England and carry them to Ireland for sale, the buyers usually making the women pregnant to insure a better price ("Life of Bishop Wolstan"). The one aim of life was to escape being slain if a man, and being violated if a woman. The violence and crime and bloodshed of the Middle Ages are well known. The Peace of God, when for a few days a week men agreed not to murder, was instituted to preserve society from absolute disintegration. Murders, treasons, brawls, poisonings were on every hand. A nobleman declared war against Frankfort because a lady had not danced with his cousin. Together with good men the vile were also in the Church, at times even in the chair of St. Peter's; priests went from their mistresses to the altar, and the nunneries were like brothels. The Reformation and Puritanism checked immorality with an unnatural condemnation of all joys, that reacted in a carnival of vice and crime.

Former Ages

Of modern times progress is less clear, only because one of the characteristic marks of modern progress has been the enactment of social and humanitarian legislation, technically vastly increasing the possibility of violating law.

Another conclusion that stands out is what Mr. Hall shows in his book, that crime, at least of the lesser sort, is an almost inevitable concomitant of social progress and of steps to a larger gain.

Again, the facts show that in times of war and political agitation, crime so far as it appears in statistics is reduced, partly because the restless find other outlet and partly because society is too much otherwise occupied to arrest or prosecute petty crimes which would be noticed in times of peace.

Once more, it seems shown, that as countries break away from former religious or governmental paternal forms, the first result in crime is an increase, but that liberalizing institutions and, above all, advance in education tend to the decrease at least of serious crimes.

For the sources of information used in this article, tho not for the tables as here published, we have largely used various editions of the Statesman's Year Book, except as stated.

REFERENCES: A. C. Hall, *Crime and Social Progress* (1902); Mayo Smith, *Statistics and Sociology* (1895); W. D. Morrison, *Crime and Its Causes* (1891); *Statesman's Year Book*. Statistics for each country; R. P. Falkner, article *Forum*, July, 1900; S. S. McClure, article *McClure's*, Dec., 1904; Eugene Smith, *National Prison Association Proceedings* (1904).

CRIMINAL ANTHROPOLOGY: This can hardly be considered a science, but it is a term which represents systematic efforts made in recent years to apply physiological, and to some extent psychological tests to the study of the criminal. Lombroso has worked with great industry in the field, but his conclusions are not generally accepted. Mr. W. D. Morrison in his "Crime and its Causes," chapter vii., has brought out the variety of opinions represented by criminal anthropologists.

CRIMINOLOGY treats of the nature, causes, and prevention of crime and the treatment of the criminal. The word is often used synonymously with PENOLOGY, under which head it is treated in this volume.

CRISES (COMMERCIAL AND MONETARY): A time of general difficulty and pressure in commercial and monetary circles, if acute, is called a *crisis*; if prolonged it is usually called *a period of depression*. A crisis, too, must not be confused with a panic. A panic starts with a group of speculators, perhaps occasioned by some disastrous event or report of a disastrous effect. The market is upset. Weaker firms fail; yet there is no general crisis and the market soon recovers. A crisis lasts longer and is general, tho it is often connected with panics. Crises, whatever be their cause, usually follow a certain course, which it is asserted by some writers, Jevons prominently among them, follows a certain cycle.

In 1634 there was a crisis over speculation in tulips which became a furor in Holland, and lasted four years before it burst. But the first crisis of the modern type occurred in 1720 over the speculative plans of John Law in forming his Mississippi Company. His company possest in 1719 over twenty-one ships and nearly $1,000,000. Shares went up to many times their value. Speculation developed like a fever in France and England. About the same time, too, the South Sea Bubble was developed in England. In 1763 and 1799 there were crises in Hamburg. In England there were crises in 1783, 1793, 1795–97, in connection with the American and French wars. In 1815 there was a severe crisis at the close of the Napoleonic wars. After the peace England undertook to flood Europe with manufactures, but there was OVERPRODUCTION and a crisis. In 1825 there was another crisis, which affected America also. In 1837 there was a most severe crisis in the United States, renewed in 1839, when 959 banks stopt payment. There were 33,000 failures with an aggregate loss of $440,000,000. The crisis of 1847 affected England more, being occasioned by the failure of the potato crop of 1846. The crisis of 1857 began in America, but affected England and all Europe more severely.

Early Crises

The crisis of 1866 was mainly in England, once more causing a suspension of the Bank Act, and was marked by the memorable "Black Friday" and of the failure of the almost historic house of Overend, Gurney & Co. The 23d of September, 1869, saw a "Black Friday" in New York, but it was mainly local and connected with gold speculation.

During the first three quarters of 1873 the general prosperity of the U. S. seemed undiminished; but on Sept. 18, 1873, the most extraordinary panic began which this country has ever witnessed, and reached its height about the middle of October. It prostrated thousands of commercial houses, cut off the wages of hundreds of thousands of workmen, and overthrew the Stock Exchange. It swept down the entire banking system of the country. Even savings-banks closed their doors. It broke off the negotiation of American securities in Europe, and prostrated business in every way. The causes were involved.

Crisis of 1873

The closing of the War of the Rebellion had seen the commencement of great industrial activity in the U. S. From 1869–73 enormous amounts of money were invested in commercial enterprises. The cost of the railroad construction

of those five years is estimated at $1,700,000,000, while municipalities and private corporations borrowed money for vast undertakings. The land grant policy and cheap transportation developed a new West. In Europe the opening of the Suez Canal stimulated commerce. Interest was based on the high prices of war time. There was increased need of currency. Instead of this the policy of resumption and contraction (see CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY) limited the amount of currency below the demand. On Sept. 18th, the great house of Jay Cooke & Co. of New York failed, dragging other houses with it. Concerted action was taken, and the immediate crisis was stayed; but in industrial lines 1874 was worse than 1873, and there was depression till 1877. The great railroad strikes of that year made matters worse. In 1878 there was improvement, and this continued till 1883. In 1884 another crisis occurred, tho of less serious character, and depression prevailed through the strikes and industrial troubles which continued till 1886. Confidence was then in a degree restored, with some depression in 1888, till the crisis of 1890. That year prominent English houses which had invested in Argentine Republican and African securities were disturbed, and finally on Dec. 15th even the great house of Baring Brothers suspended. In France the great coffee syndicate failed. But the Bank of England stood firm, and a syndicate of strong houses liquidated the debt of Baring Brothers. It affected the U. S. almost as much, tho not so much in the form of a crisis as of adding to depression, continuing without much improvement to the great crisis of 1893.

Crisis of 1893

The crisis of 1893 was in many ways different from all other crises. It was only very slightly due to overspeculation, almost purely to monetary conditions, yet it affected not only financial circles, but industry all over the U. S. In Congress there was discussion over the repeal of the silver-purchasing act of 1890. (See CURRENCY.) On June 26th it was announced that India had stopped the free coinage of silver. This at once sent the price of silver bullion down to the lowest point ever recorded, and all stocks went down. The mines of Colorado and other silver states were at once stopt, and their workmen left unemployed. There was a panic. Western and Southern banks began to fail. Hoarding set in, even in the East. Currency became scarce. Many manufactories shut down. Wealthy men with unquestioned credit could not get checks cashed. All the banking centers except Chicago began to have recourse to clearing-house certificates. There was a money dearth. The president called an extra session of Congress which opened Aug. 7th. There was a heated struggle over the money question, and not until October 30th was a bill, introduced by Senator Voorhees, repealing the silver-purchase law, but declaring for the parity of gold and silver, passed by the Senate, accepted by the House, and signed by the president.

Meanwhile the crisis was already checked. Foreign investors began sending in money, taking advantage of the low price of stocks. Only one private banking firm in New York City had failed, and only one national bank. Of the 301 bank suspensions from May 1st to July 22d, 93 per cent were in the South and West. Yet the business failures from April 1st to October 1st were 8,105 against 4,171 for those months in 1892, with liabilities of $284,663,624 against $41,110,322 for 1892. Thus the number of failures had doubled, and the liabilities had increased nearly sevenfold. Three great railway systems were sent into the hands of receivers: the Northern Pacific, the Union Pacific, and the Erie. Since 1893, while there have been money stringencies, and while the elections of 1896 and 1900 caused some depression of business, there has been no real panic, tho there was a severe depression of stocks in 1907, when some trust companies and banks temporarily closed.

REFERENCES: *Financial Crises and Periods of Industrial and Commercial Depression*, by J. E. Burton, 1902; *History of Modern Banks of Issue, with an Account of the Economic Crises of the Present Century*, 1907; Articles in the *Political Science Quarterly*, March, 1901, and September, 1903.

CRITTENTON, CHARLES NELSON: Founder of the Florence Crittenton Mission; born in Adams, Jefferson County, N. Y., Feb. 20, 1833. Beginning in the drug business he became head of the Charles N. Crittenton Company. But after the death of a daughter, Florence, he felt that God was calling him to a work in behalf of homeless, friendless, and unfortunate girls. From that time he has devoted his time and energy to establishing homes and schools where homeless, friendless, or unfortunate girls can be cared for.

In 1895 a corporation, known as the National Florence Crittenton Mission, was chartered to take charge of the work.

At the present time there are sixty-eight of these homes and schools in the U. S. and five in foreign lands.

The Charles N. Crittenton Company was one of the original profit-sharing companies in the U. S.

Mr. Crittenton is a pronounced prohibitionist and at one time was a candidate for the mayoralty of New York on the Prohibition ticket. *Address*: 213 Third Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

CROOKS, WILLIAM: One of England's leading trade-unionists, and member of Parliament; born, in Poplar, 1852. Part of his early life was spent in the workhouse. Apprenticed to a cooper, he early found difficulty in securing work because of his trade-union principles. In 1882 he was elected trustee of the parish and library commissioner for Poplar; 1892, elected to the London County Council; chairman of the Poplar Board of Guardians since 1877. He has also been mayor of his borough. In 1903 he was elected to Parliament from Woolwich, his election bringing consternation to Conservatives and Liberals. In 1906 he was reelected, under the auspices of the Labor Representation Committee, by 9,026 votes against Adams, Conservative, 6,914 votes. *Address*: 81 Gough Street, Poplar, London E.

CROSBY, ERNEST HOWARD: American author and lecturer; born in New York City, 1856; was graduated from New York University, 1876, and from Columbia Law School, 1878; practised law in New York till 1889. He was a member of the New York Legislature in 1887 and in 1889, being in charge of high-license legislation, and chairman of the committee on cities. In 1889, being nominated by President Harrison, he was appointed judge of the mixt tribunal of Alex-

andria, Egypt, by the Khedive. He resigned this position in 1894, and returned to America. Mr. Crosby was long president of the New York Social Reform Club, of the People's Club, of the Civic Council, N. Y., of the Anti-Imperialist League, and of the New York Vegetarian Society. He was an ardent admirer and student of Tolstoi, a believer in the system of single taxation, an advocate of peace, and an opponent of all kinds of monopoly. He has written: "Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable"; "Captain Jinks, Hero"; "Broadcast"; "Tolstoi and His Message"; "Tolstoi as a Schoolmaster"; "Garrison, the Non-Resistant," etc. Mr. Crosby died in 1907.

CRÜGER, HANS: Member of the Prussian House of Deputies; born 1859 in Königsberg; studied law and political sciences at Königsberg and Göttingen; Dr.J., 1883. He followed the law till 1887, when he became secretary of the General German Cooperative Society till 1896. His literary activity has been quite extensive. Besides annotating and digesting the laws of Germany, as to cooperative societies, he has edited the year books of the society, and written numerous pamphlets about cooperative savings-banks and related subjects. He is a collaborator of the *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*. *Address*: Nussbaum Allee 17, Westend, Berlin.

CUBA, REPUBLIC OF: Till 1898 in the possession of Spain, the incessant guerrilla wars maintained in the mountainous portions of the island against the Spanish, the injustice and inefficiency in many ways of the Spanish Government, the cruelties practised by General Weyler, the blowing up of the United States warship the *Maine* in the harbor of Havana, whether by the Spaniards or not, all combined to make most people in the U. S. favor the armed freeing of Cuba, and war of the U. S. against Spain was declared April 22, 1898. After a brief but brilliant campaign Spain was compelled to yield and relinquished sovereignty over the island in the treaty of Paris, Dec. 10, 1898. For three years the U. S., through its War Department, controlled the island, doing much for education, justice, hygiene, and the establishment of republican institutions. On May 20, 1902, however, the U. S. turned the complete control of the island over to the Cuban Republic, General Palma having been elected president. After apparent success, however, dissensions arose in the island (1906). The government being unable to restore order, the U. S. Government was appealed to and 6,000 troops were sent and order restored. The U. S. Government has appointed Secretary Taft as provisional governor, but as soon as orderly government is established the U. S. Government will retire.

Relations with United States

The area of the island is 43,000 sq. m., of which only 3 per cent till 1899 and now little more than 4 per cent is under cultivation; population, (1905), 1,786,207, of whom less than one third are mulattoes or negroes.

Capital, Havana, with a population of 275,000. Revenue, 1905, $29,609,000; expenditures, $18,997,000; exports, 1905, $112,000,000; imports, $103,000,000. In 1906 the debt was $47,693,000.

Statistics

The government of the republic is patterned upon the American Constitution, with a president, Senate and House of Representatives. There are six provinces, each having four senators. The representatives are elected one for every 25,000 inhabitants. Every male Cuban who has reached the age of twenty-one has the right to vote, except he be a criminal or of unsound mind. A residence of five years is required before a foreigner may become a citizen. Education is free and compulsory. The schools are organized after the American system; there is a university at Havana, and 3,550 schools through the island, with an attendance of about 150,000. About two thirds of the population is illiterate, but the schools are rapidly improving this condition. The prevailing religion is of the Roman Catholic Church, the whole island being the diocese of an archbishop. The Protestant Churches, notably the Episcopal Church, have active missions.

Morals are somewhat loose, but this is partly due to defective laws. The proportion of those over fifteen legally married is in the U. S.: in Cuba 30, in Havana 25, among the colored in Cuba, 6. Over 8 per cent of the people are living together without legal marriage.

The island is noted for its sugar and tobacco. The most famous tobacco lands are found in the far west. The climate is mild, with northeast trade winds. There is considerable rain during the summer. The dreaded yellow fever was largely due to carelessness and unnecessary exposure. The whole country is like a park, with vegetation mainly tropical. It is believed that sugar was first planted in the year 1523. In 1905 the sugar exported was worth $71,249,055 (to the U. S. $64,366,169). Tobacco seems to have been grown first in the year 1580. Corn, rice, wheat, oats, barley, all thrive well. The banana, or plantain, grows in great quantities, and forms very largely the food of the poorer classes. Manufacturing consists mainly in the making of cigars and cigarettes. Such skilled labor as there is, is largely in the building trades. Nominal wages have fallen since the Spanish rule, owing to trade uncertainties. But prices have also fallen. Labor generally is rather in bad shape, whether in the agricultural or the industrial lines, many feeling that the result of the freeing of the slaves has been to retard development of the country. The freedmen are not industrious, either in Cuba or in any of the West Indian islands, and there have been many Chinamen brought in. Great numbers of these people are cooks and house-servants. Many Gallegos and people of the Canary Islands have also been brought there lately. The tobacco trade is generally in the hands of the white people.

A trade-union movement began in Cuba in 1878 and since its relations with the U. S. the American Federation of Labor has made efforts to organize the workers. But results are not large, tho in Havana and in a few other places the nominal membership of some unions is considerable. The building of the Cuban Central Railroad has developed some work at fair wages. There has been considerable immigration from Spain. Currency troubles have caused uncertainties and depreciation. The two economic needs of Cuba are by some said to be immigration and capital.

References: *Labor Conditions in Cuba:* Bulletin of U. S. Department of Labor, July, 1902; Porter, *Industrial Cuba*, (1898); Halstead, *The Story of Cuba* (1898).

CUNNINGHAM, WILLIAM: British clergyman and economist; born in Edinburgh, 1849; was graduated from Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1873, and ordained the same year; devoted his early years mainly to economic, theological, and philosophical studies. Deputy to the Knightsbridge professor in 1880, and since 1887 Vicar of St. Mary's the Great, Cambridge, he has given his later years largely to economic history. In 1882 appeared the first edition of his important work, "The Growth of English Industry and Commerce," which Professor ASHLEY calls the first attempt that has been made to trace the whole course of English economic development. He has since developed this book into a practically new work, the first volume of which appeared in 1890 and the second in 1892. In 1891 he was made Tooke professor of political economy at King's College, London, and also elected to a fellowship at Trinity, Cambridge. He is a D.Sc. of Edinburgh, and D.D. of Cambridge. Mr. Cunningham is considered by many the leading advocate of the historical or empirical study of social phenomena. He is the author of: "Christian Opinion on Usury"; "Politics and Economics, an Essay on the Nature of the Principles of Political Economy and a Survey of Recent Legislation"; "S. Austin and His Place in the History of Christian Thought"; "Western Civilization in its Economic Aspects"; "Use and Abuse of Money," etc. *Address*: Trinity College, Cambridge, England.

CURRAN, PETE: British labor organizer; born in Głasgow, Scotland, 1860. He has been in the labor movement since he was eighteen, and belongs to the Independent Labor Party. He was first brought prominently before the trade-union world in connection with the "Intimidation Case" at Plymouth in 1890, when he was sentenced to imprisonment for six weeks. On appeal, however, Lord Coleridge reversed the decision. Curran is the principal organizer for the Gas-workers and General Laborers' Union, and chairman of the General Federation of Trade-Unions. He represents trade-unions on the executive committee of labor representation, and has been labor delegate to America, France, Germany, Belgium, and Holland. Judging from the present outlook Mr. Curran's prospects of an early election to Parliament are very bright. He has many friends, and a large and influential committee is working to secure for him the seat for Jarrow in the county of Durham. *Address*: 1 Pretoria Avenue, Walthamstow, Essex, England.

CURRENCY (UNITED STATES) (see also MONEY; BANKS AND BANKING; GOLD AND SILVER; BIMETALISM; MONOMETALISM; PAPER MONEY; CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY; CRISES; GREENBACKISM, etc.): The word currency may be defined as money in *circulation*, or the commodity or commodities in use in any country as the medium of exchange. Money (*q. v.*) is the general and philosophic term; currency is money, with emphasis upon its passing from hand to hand. A large percentage (estimated at over ninety) of the actual business transactions of the U. S. is performed, however, not with *money* at all, but with monetary substitutes; representatives of credit, as notes, drafts, bills of exchange, and the like. If not strictly *currency*, these should, nevertheless, be remembered as doing the work of currency, and as constituting a vastly important factor of our medium of exchange. For a statement of the economic principles and different theories of money, see MONEY. We present here an historical review of the U. S. currency, our main authorities being, for the earlier periods, Professor Sumner's "History of American Currency" and Bolles's "Financial History of the United States"; for the later periods, the reports of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Controller of the Currency, the Director of the Mint, the *Congressional Globe*, and the Record of Political Events in the *Political Science Quarterly*.

I. COLONIAL PERIOD

From Professor Sumner we learn that the first colonies to this country brought little English or European currency with them, and soon found need for more.

Winthrop wrote to his son in 1630 especially to bring £150 or £200 with him. A married clergyman in those days was allowed £30 per annum. Carpenters and skilled workmen who were greatly in demand were forbidden to take over one shilling and later two shillings per day. When explorers reached Long Island Sound they found the Indians using a medium of exchange consisting of beads of two kinds, one white and the other black. They were rubbed down and polished, and when artistically arranged in strings or belts formed objects of real beauty. These beads, one black bead being reckoned as worth two white ones, were known as *wampum*, or *wampumpeag*, or *peag*. The colonists came to use them first in their trade with the Indians, and then among themselves. In Massachusetts they became the currency of the colony, and were made a legal tender in small sums. "The white man," says Professor Sumner, "also proved his superiority by counterfeiting it." A fathom or belt of wampum consisted of 360 beads, and one fathom of white would buy furs valued at five shillings sterling. Barter was also at this time continually used, and various commodities did duty for money. In 1635 musket bullets were used for change at a farthing apiece. And the more barter was used because money was scarce, the scarcer money became. Interest in 1664 was 8 per cent. Merchants drained the people of their cash. In 1652 Massachusetts set up a mint to coin silver—

Pine-Tree Coinage

the famous "pine-tree" coinage. She coined shillings, sixpences, and threepences. The coins were to be of sterling alloy $\frac{1}{12}$ fine, and the shilling worth tenpence sterling. It was taken in England at 25 per cent discount, and declared to be not of even weight or fineness. Barter, however, continued. Silver was smuggled out of the country or clipt. The silver which came to the colonies consisted mainly of Spanish pillar coins. They were not allowed to be circulated. In 1686 a bank was proposed, and seems to have made issues, but soon disappeared. Andrews stopt the mint about 1688. The first enduring issue of paper money made in the colonies was in 1690, six years before the founding of the Bank of England. It was declared to be "in value equal to money," and kept at par twenty years.

There were continually at every new crisis new issues of money. An expedition against Canada in 1709 meant a new, large issue. Connecticut and most of the colonies also issued a small amount. South Carolina probably issued more money than any other colony. In 1709 the time for redemption in Massachusetts was set at four years and then later, and the paper began to depreciate. In Connecticut there were four prices for "pay," "pay as money," "money," and "trusting." "Pay" was barter at government prices. "Money" was Spanish or New England coin. "Pay as money" was barter currency at prices one third less than the government rate; "Trusting" was an enhanced price according to time. The merchant asked his customer how he would pay before fixing his price.

In 1715 John Colman proposed a land bank, which in those days meant simply an issue of paper based on land. Such an issue was made. Banking was arresting attention the world over. At the same time the commissioners of the New England colonies became alarmed at the tendency to further increase the paper notes. The English Parliament forbade banking except under its charter, and forbade the colonial governments from emitting bills. Later the restriction was modified to permit an issue for government expenses only. In 1739 a "land bank" was set in operation, which loaned its notes for 3 per cent per annum interest, and 5 per cent in principal, *both payable in merchandise*.

Land Banks

Rhode Island had the severest experience, as it issued bills the most recklessly. Parties were no longer Whig or Tory, but Creditor and Debtor. In 1749 the paper issue of Massa-

chusetts was £2,466,712. Parliament at this time, however, ransomed Louisbourg from the colonies, and paid Massachusetts in silver and copper £138,649 sterling which, at eleven to one, the ruling exchange, nearly canceled the paper, and Massachusetts found herself with a specie currency. Other colonies, and Rhode Island in particular, clung longer to paper money.

II. To the War of the Rebellion

With the beginning of the Revolution the Continental Congress at once faced the need for revenues. These it sought through appeals to the states, calls for commodities, loans, domestic and foreign, the lottery, confiscation by states of Tory property, forced sales, and voluntary subscriptions. The receipts from all these sources were trifling. Congress next resorted to bills of credit, i. e., irredeemable paper money. These were its only remaining resource; and, without them, it is inconceivable how the colonies could have won in the Revolutionary struggle.

Had Congress possest an effective power of taxation, enabling it, on paying out its paper money, to call it back at par in taxes, thus establishing a circuit of outgo and income, and had it strictly limited the volume of its issues to the amount of its taxes—these, in war, being necessarily high—it is entirely probable that, like the demand notes of the Civil War, the continental currency would have maintained almost or quite its face value through the war. Congress, however, was destitute of the power of taxation. The only course open to it, therefore, was to print paper and pay it out for goods and services; and, on the consumption of these, to repeat the process. Thus, throughout the war, Congress poured forth a non-returning stream of paper money. This, of course, meant inflation. It also meant that Congress was unable to maintain the value of the paper by receiving it at par. The situation was aggravated by the systematic counterfeiting of continental currency by, or through the connivance of, the British Government. Furthermore, the states failed to cooperate with Congress in maintaining the value of paper money. Congress, on issuing the paper, assigned each state a quota to call in by taxation and cancel. This the states did to a very limited extent. Again, army officers were paid commissions proportioned to the amount of their expenditures. They were thus stimulated to pay high rather than low prices. These various causes combined to force down the value of the continental currency. Numerous attempts, including maximum and legal-tender laws, were made to maintain it, but without effect. The value of the money fluctuated and fell until, by the close of the war, it had practically disappeared.

Unfair critics have argued from the history of our continental currency that government paper is necessarily unscientific and vicious; a position as logical as that of one who should declare that railroads, because of occasional tie-ups and wrecks, are unscientific and vicious.

The effect of the continental currency on the laboring class is thus described by Bolles, whose conservatism is unquestioned:

The candor of history requires the fact to be stated that paper was "at all times the poor man's friend. While it was current, all kinds of labor very readily found reward. In the first years of the war none were idle from want of employment, and none were employed without having it in their power to obtain ready payment for their services. To this class of people, whose daily labor was their support, the depreciation was no disadvantage. Expending their money as fast as they received it, they always got its full value." ("Financial History of the United States," vol. i., p. 177, quoting Ramsay.)

The new federal Constitution, framed in 1787, had decreed that no state "shall coin money, emit bills of credit, or make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts."

The proposal in the constitutional convention to give to Congress the right to emit bills of credit was defeated by a vote of nine states to two.

In 1786 Congress passed a coinage law upon a plan presented by Thomas Jefferson.

The Constitution (Article 1, section 8, clause 5) had vested in Congress the right to coin money and to regulate the value thereof, and the Act of Congress of April 2, 1792, was the first act respecting coinage, entitled "An act establishing a mint and regulating the coins of the U. S." The ninth section of this act provided:

"That there shall be, from time to time, struck and coined at the said mint, coins of gold, silver, and copper of the following denominations, values, and descriptions, viz.: Eagles—each to be of the value of $10 or units, and to contain 247 grains and four eighths of a grain of pure, or 270 grains of standard gold."

After providing for half-eagles, each to be of half the value of the eagle, and quarter-eagles, each to be of one fourth of the value of the eagle, the section continues, as follows:

"Dollars or units—each to be of the value of a Spanish milled dollar as the same is now current, and to contain 371 grains and four sixteenth parts of a grain of pure, or 416 grains of standard silver."

The act also provided for half-dollars, quarter-dollars, dimes, and half-dimes, each to contain respectively one half, one fourth, one tenth, and one twentieth of the pure silver contained in the dollar. The coinage of cents and half-cents of copper was also provided for.

It thus declared the dollar to be the unit of value, and it measured this value in silver.

The money unit of the U. S. had been already established in 1785 by the Continental Congress as the dollar. This was a well-known coin, and had been in constant use for many years. Indeed, it competed with the pound as a measure of value; in some transactions the pound measure was used; in others, the dollar measure. Persons expres their transactions in their books of account either in pounds or dollars; but for a long period the quantity coined was so small that it was necessary to use foreign coins for monetary purposes. Congress first authorized their use in 1793, declaring at what rates they should pass current, and that they should be a legal tender for the period of three years from the time the mint began operations. When that time expired their use was renewed by additional legislation for short periods until 1809.

Adoption of a Currency

By the Act of 1792 the proportion of pure gold to the alloy in gold coins was made eleven parts gold and one part alloy, the alloy being composed of silver and copper. The proportion of pure silver to the alloy in silver coins was made 1,485 parts fine silver to 179 parts alloy. The reason for this proportion of silver to alloy was that the alloy was found in that proportion in the Spanish dollars then current.

A dollar of gold contained 24.75 grains of pure metal, and a dollar of silver 371.25 grains, being exactly fifteen to one.

This ratio of fifteen to one was not exactly in accordance with the ratio which then prevailed in European countries. Silver was slightly overvalued and gold a little undervalued.

15 to 1

The result was that the metallic money of the U. S. during this period consisted mostly of silver coins and largely of foreign coins. But $11,908,890 of gold altogether were coined from 1793 to 1834, and this was generally soon exported. The production of gold for the same period in the U. S. is given at $14,000,000.

The Act of May 8, 1792, provided for the purchase of copper "not exceeding 150 tons," "to be coined into cents and half-cents," which, by the Act of April 2, 1792, were to contain respectively eleven and five and one half pennyweights. The Act of Jan. 14, 1793, provided that the cent piece should contain 208 grains of copper and the half-cent 104 grains.

The Act of June 28, 1834, changed weight and fineness of the gold eagle, making the 258 grains of .899225 fineness, or 232 grains of pure gold.

Currency Changes

No change was made in our silver coins by the Act of 1834. Why the ratio should have been changed at this time from fifteen to one, as established in 1792, to sixteen (16.002) to one thirty-one years after the French Act of 1803, which had practically fixt the ratio for all Europe at fifteen and one half to one, is difficult to understand. The reason usually given is that under the ratio of fifteen to one little or no gold came or stayed here, and new mines of gold having been discovered in North Carolina and Georgia about this time, the higher ratio was adopted in order to give the gold a higher rating relatively to silver, and thereby keep it here.

But it worked evil, and the Act of Jan. 18, 1837, established .900 as the standard fineness of both gold and silver. It left the weight of the gold dollar unaltered (thus slightly increasing its value) and reduced the weight of the silver dollar to 412½ grains.

The ratio was thus altered from 16.002·1 to 15.988:1.

(See BANKS AND BANKING.)

Revolutionary experience on the one hand, coupled with private interest on the other, had created a very strong prejudice against government paper money, whatever its backing: the bank paper money both with and without adequate support was constantly and often abundantly issued during the period under consideration. In time of stress, however, the national treasury was authorized to issue its notes. These were issued during the War of 1812, at the time of the panic of 1837, the Mexican War, and the Buchanan administration, when the government finances were running constantly lower and lower.

Treasury Notes

These issues were made not as money but as notes given in exchange for loans. Special pains were taken to prevent their circulating as money. The denominations were usually large, ranging from $100 upward. They usually bore interest; often 5⅝ per cent, and at times more; this provision led to hoarding. The notes quite commonly were not negotiable without indorsement by the payee; finally, the notes were not made a legal tender. When in 1814 such a provision was hinted at, Secretary Dallas said, "The extremity of that day cannot be anticipated, when any honest and enlightened statesman will again venture upon the desperate expedient of a tender law."[1] On Nov. 12, 1814, Mr. Hall, of Georgia, proposed in the House that legal-tender U. S. notes should be issued, but his proposal received no support.[2] In 1837 a hybrid semilegal-tender "loan certificate" was proposed in the House. This certificate was to be a "legal tender to public creditors but not receivable for dues to the government." That is, the government might force the paper into circulation and then refuse to receive it. "The question of legal tender," very properly, "was not discust."

Yet a slight tendency can be detected, in the treasury note legislation, toward government paper money. The denominational barrier was in cases broken down and notes were issued for $50, $20, $10, $5, and even $3.[3] The interest rate was, in cases, made merely nominal, falling as low as one mill per $100 per annum.[4] Tho not generally if ever redeemable in specie, these notes were generally if not invariably receivable for all public dues. Finally, despite the handicaps above mentioned, these notes quite usually retained their face value, rising in cases to a premium because of their interest-bearing qualities. In cases where depreciation occurred, this depreciation could be traced directly to bank failures and suspensions; tho even in such cases the notes were saved from a serious fall in value by means of funding acts.[5]

Later history shows how these notes developed into the full legal-tender greenbacks whose legality and constitutionality were sustained in 1884 by the Supreme Court of the U. S.

III. The Period of the War of the Rebellion

At the breaking out of the rebellion the government found itself destitute of the means necessary to carry on a gigantic war, and unable to procure such means from ordinary sources. Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, had been nominated Secretary of the Treasury by Mr. Lincoln, and after much hesitation had accepted. He was without experience, but trusted by the people. He had a difficult problem to meet. Howell Cobb had worked under the preceding administration to ruin the credit of the government, and tho General J. A. Dix, after Mr. Cobb's retirement, had done his best, he had had to borrow at 12 per cent interest, and raised only $5,000,000 of treasury notes at that.

Mr. Chase first negotiated some small loans under the authority already existing, and on July 4, 1861, Congress convened to enact measures for suppressing the war. A loan of $250,000,000 was authorized, duties were increased, an internal-revenue system was adopted, and a direct tax of $20,000,000 was laid. The states were offered 15 per cent reduction if they paid the tax, and this course was taken by all the states except those in rebellion, Delaware, and two of the territories, altho much of the money was paid by fitting out troops, and brought in no revenue to the general government. Tax commissioners were appointed to enforce the law in the insurrectionary states, and they made levies and sold land, and after a long effort collected a portion of the tax assessed on them.

War Loans

As soon as Congress adjourned, Mr. Chase went to New York to effect the loan, and was met, Aug. 9th (Bolles, vol. iii., p. 20), by "bankers and other prominent men of New York." Bank-president Coe proposed a general organization of the banks for the purpose of advancing money to the government in exchange for bonds. The next day a committee was appointed to formulate a plan; Aug. 15th it reported its plan. The banks of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia were represented at the meeting. "The report was cordially accepted and adopted by the banks of New York," while those in Boston and Philadelphia, through their representatives, "as zealously and cordially united in the organization" (Bolles, vol. iii., p. 21). The cooperation of the Western banks could not be secured. The aggregate capital of the united banks was $120,000,000. "They had $63,165,039 in coin to meet $142,381,956 in liabilities, or 45 per cent of the whole amount" (Bolles, vol. iii., p. 25). With this and the paper they might issue, supplemented by "clearing-house certificates and other well-known expedients," they proposed to furnish the funds desired.

Borrowing Money

The bankers' plan soon began to take shape as follows: 1. The public funds, instead of being held and safeguarded by the government, were to be deposited "in such solvent, specie-paying banks as he [the Secretary] may select." (Act of July 5, 1861, p. 9.) To this end the clause of the Sub-Treasury Act of 1846 forbidding such deposits was to be "suspended." Thus the government would keep its account in certain private banks. No interest, of course, was to be paid on such deposits.

When the secretary wanted money he was to obtain it by "draw[ing] checks upon some bank in each city representing the association, in small sums, as required in disbursing the money thus advanced. By this means his check would serve the purpose of a circulating medium, continually redeemed, and the exchanges of capital and industry would be best pro-

[1] Knox, U. S. Notes, pp. 31–32.
[2] Knox, p. 33.
[3] Knox, pp. 37–38.
[4] Knox, p. 46.
[5] Knox, p. 39.

moted." Bonds, of course, would accompany these checks, sooner or later, tho we do not find this fact stated. That this plan might be adopted, another provision of the Sub-Treasury Act of 1846—requiring the government to receive "gold and silver coin only," "or treasury notes issued under the authority of the U. S.," instead of "wildcat" bank-notes, etc.—was to be suspended. In other words, the banks were to enjoy the gratuitous use of the government's money; and, in addition, were to exchange their notes par for par for government checks as good as money, and receive an interest to boot. "To the astonishment of the committee who represented the associated banks, Mr. Chase refused" (Bolles, vol. iii, p. 26). And yet "this law [of Aug. 5, 1861] was passed for the purpose of enabling the secretary of the treasury to adopt the policy recommended by the banks" (Ibid., p. 26). Mr. Chase, instead, insisted on the banks furnishing him gold and silver if he was to borrow from them; he "was emphatically a 'hard-money man'; he well knew the evils caused by using any other medium of payment, and he believed the government could continue to do business on a purely specie basis. He did not in the least comprehend that the vastly greater payments required an entirely different mode of making them. The banks were far wiser than the secretary" (Ibid., p. 28). In other words, the banks were perfectly well aware that the war would have to be carried on with paper money of one kind or another; but if "by putting their coin into a common fund" and placing it where it might be in greatest demand, "and otherwise aiding each other" (Ibid., p. 23) in protecting their coin reserves—they could but maintain the farce of specie payments, they might enjoy the exclusive privilege of furnishing the paper money and lending it countless times over to the secretary; thereby easily buying bonds that, at a future day, would represent a gold-mine.

But the insistence of the secretary necessitated as it seemed loans in coin. The banks, therefore, reluctantly acquiesced, and, for a time, succeeded remarkably well. "As long as the secretary kept the treasury notes out of the channels of circulation, the disbursements of the government were so rapid, and the movements of trade so intense, that the coin paid on each instalment of the loan came back to the banks through the people in about a week" (Ibid., p. 31). That is, the banks were able to lend the secretary the same specie dollars over and over again at weekly intervals; which plan, so long as it could be maintained, was about as satisfactory and remunerative to them as lending the same paper dollars over and over.

Trouble, however, arose between the secretary and the banks over the demand notes. These were authorized by the Acts of July 17, 1861, Feb. 12, 1862, and March 17, 1862. They were payable on demand and were "receivable in payment of all public dues." This latter provision, combined with their limitation in quantity, constituted them an almost ideal form of money; throughout the war, both before and after suspension, they stood practically at a parity with gold (Knox, "U. S. Notes," p. 97; *Wall Street News*, quoted in *Public Opinion* for Sept. 2, 1893, p. 515; Bolles, "Financial History of U. S.," vol. iii, p. 78). Naturally a public money so perfect competed dangerously with private money, i. e., bank-notes; and, as an object lesson, menaced the latter in exactly the same way that a successful, publicly owned water, lighting, trolley, or steam-railway system menaces the privately owned. The secretary, adhering to his hard-money principles, insisted that these notes should be redeemed "in coin." The scarcity of coin rendered this impracticable either for him or the banks. This fact afforded a pretext for an attack upon the demand notes by the banks. They demanded of the secretary that he discontinue issuing them. He at first acquiesced; in Nov., 1861, however, he began issuing demand notes freely. The banks, thereupon, on Dec. 28, 1861, voted to suspend specie payments; the government followed their example. From that date until Jan. 1, 1879, a period of seventeen years, the business of the country was done with paper money and its representatives, and the subsequent war loans made by the banks to the government were made in paper.

Demand Notes

But more money was needed. Public sentiment favored the issue of treasury notes. Mr. Chase, in his report (see BANKS AND BANKING), had already proposed the creation of a national banking system, but it was seen that this could not be developed in time. Money was needed then. Mr. E. G. Spaulding, of New York, therefore, two days after the suspension of the banks, introduced a bill into the House authorizing the issue of $50,000,000 of treasury notes to be legal tender in payment of all debts in the U. S. and receivable by government for all dues to the U. S. It was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means, which increased the amount to $100,000,000, and reported it favorably. It immediately created great discussion and interest. Delegates from the banks came to Washington and protested. James Gallatin, president of the Gallatin Bank of New York, proposed a counter plan of taxation, and to make a loan with the banks as depositories, the government to issue $100,000,000 treasury notes for two years, to be receivable for public dues except duties on imports. Meanwhile the $100,000,000 Legal-Tender Note Bill came before the House for debate Jan. 28. An amendment was passed increasing the amount to $150,000,000; but the $50,000,000 authorized by the July act of the previous year were to be retired. The act finally passed by a vote of 93 to 59.

Greenbacks

On Feb. 10th the bill was reported by the Finance Committee of the Senate, with various amendments—among others, that the notes should not be receivable for "interest on bonds and notes, which shall be paid in coin," and an amendment relating to the issuing of certificates, which, said Mr. Fessenden, the chairman of the committee, "was very much desired by the banks in all the cities." This was opposed by Senator Sherman, and answered by Mr. Fessenden, who, however, opposed the bill as "a confession of bankruptcy," "bad faith," and "a stain on the national honor," altho he admitted that if it were necessary to issue legal-tender notes to sustain the government, he should have no hesitation in doing so. The bill passed the Senate by a vote of 30 to 7. Returning to the House, after a strong contention with the Senate, its principal amendments were finally concurred in.

The bill finally passed as amended by a vote of 97 to 22.

On Feb. 25th the bill was signed by the president. The limitation or "Exception Clause" read as follows:

> Such notes herein authorized shall be receivable in payment of all taxes, internal duties, excises, debts, and demands of every kind due to the U. S., except duties on imports, and of all claims and demands against the U. S. of every kind whatsoever, except for interest upon bonds and notes, which shall be paid in coin, and shall also be lawful money and a legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, within the U. S., except duties on imports and interest as aforesaid.

The limitation on the greenback called forth vigorous opposition in the House. Mr. Spaulding, on Feb. 19, 1862, expressed himself in strong terms against it.

On Feb. 20th Thaddeus Stevens, closing the debate upon this bill, said:

> "I approach the subject with more depression of spirits than I ever before approached any question. No personal feeling influences me. I hope not, at least. I have a melancholy foreboding that we are about to consummate a cunningly devised scheme which will carry great injury and great loss to all classes of the people throughout this union, except one.
>
> "With my colleague I believe that no act of legislation of this government was ever hailed with as much delight throughout the whole length and breadth of this union by every class of people, without any exception, as the bill we passed and sent to the Senate. . . . It is true there was a doleful sound came up from the caverns of bullion brokers and from the saloons of the associated banks. . . . They fell upon the bill in hot haste, and so disfigured and deformed it that its very father would not know it. . . . It is now positively mischievous. . . . It makes two classes of money—one for the banks and brokers and another for the people."

In speaking of the mutilated bill, he said later:

> "We did not yield until we found that the country must be lost or the banks be gratified, and we have sought to save the country in spite of the cupidity of the wealthy citizens,"

To the legal-tender act Judge Kelley, on Jan. 15, 1876, in Philadelphia, refers in these words:

"But the patriots to whom I have referred had studied the Constitution of the U. S. They knew that it had imposed upon them the duty of saving the nation. They knew that money is the sinew of war. . . . A marvelous child was that 'rag baby.' It lighted the fires in every forge and furnace in the country; it hired ships and bought others. . . . It rallied an army of 75,000 men, and we soon after heard ringing through the streets shouts of well-paid and well-clad soldiers—'We're coming, Father Abraham, 300,000 more.' It met all demands, and the free states, with the great war on its hands, were prosperous as they had never been before."

Of the Senate's limitations he said:

"That crime perpetrated by the Senate of the U. S., or that blunder worse than a crime, has cost the American people more than all the war would have cost had the House bill been adopted as originally passed."

Even Senator Sherman said, in 1862:

"If we can compel one citizen to take this paper money, why not another and another? Is it any less the violation of contracts in one case than another? Do not all citizens hold their property subject to unlimited power of taxation? Do not all share in the blessings of government, and should not all share in its burdens? Shall we inflict a loss only on those who furnish the labor for the government, and relieve the selfish, avaricious, idle, unpatriotic citizen who will neither fight for, lend to, nor aid the government?

"Sir, to make all these share in the burden of the war, and to relieve those who risk life and property in its defense, I would waive a constitutional doubt."

This exception clause was afterward justified by Mr. Sherman on the grounds that paying interest on bonds in coin increased the value of and thus made a market for the bonds; while collecting duties in specie caused specie to be imported, and thus increased our scarce stock. The effect of the provision was obviously the demonetization of government paper for the payment of duties on imports and interest on the public debt. This created a demand for coin with which to meet these two species of obligations. The coin would now travel first from the banks to the custom-house in payment of duties, thence to the treasury, and thence largely to the banks; a portion in payment of coin interest on the bonds held by the banks and the remainder on deposit, in accordance with the act suspending the provision of the sub-treasury law that required the secretary of the treasury to take charge of public funds, and permitting him instead to deposit the funds in such solvent pet banks as he might select.[1] In accordance with the law of supply and demand this exception clause by increasing the demand for coin would raise its price; and by curtailing the demand for greenbacks would cause this species of money to depreciate. With the now depreciated greenbacks, bonds could be bought cheap; while the depreciation of the greenback could be used as a weapon with which to destroy government paper issues, on the ground that only "intrinsic value" money or bank money is good. Further, if the bonds could afterward be made to appreciate, an unearned increment could be created that might in time handsomely reward the "enterprise" and "thrift" of the promoters of the policy.

Second Issue

Many who voted for the first bill strongly opposed the second; but it passed and became a law. The banks, tho prudently confining their issues for a time after suspending specie payments, turned a fresh issue into the swollen stream. Having suspended specie payment they could issue as much as they chose. As soon as the legal-tender notes appeared, the banks could legally use these for redeeming their own issues, and thus the way had been made easy for an enormous inflation. Some of the banks did, in truth, collect the legal-tender notes and substitute their own to a much larger amount. The increase in one year, after suspension of specie payment, was $56,000,000 (Treasurer's Report, 1866, p. 67). This was one of the causes of enmity on the part of Congress against the banks, and helped onward the creation of a rival system and the imposition of the tax of 10 per cent on the state bank issues, which finally drove them out of existence.

[1] Act of Aug. 5, 1861, § 6, p. 9.

At this time this was one of the strongest arguments made for issuing more treasury notes. Mr. Hooper, of Massachusetts, said in the debate:

"I confess that I can see no limit to a depreciation of the currency that may be produced by the banks; and were it not that I have great faith in the prudence and wisdom and patriotism of those who manage the banks, I should have great apprehension in regard to it, as no obligation is now recognized by them to redeem their circulation, many of the states having legalized the suspension of specie payments."

Another member said of the banks:

"They have authority to buy up our bonds in the market, to take up our circulation, and put their circulation in place of it, and that is what they are doing all the time, and the question is whether we shall pay these people 6 per cent upon our bonds for furnishing no better currency than we can furnish ourselves. . . . In other words, it is a struggle on the part of the banking institutions of the country to bleed the Government of the U. S. to the tune of 6 per cent on every dollar, which is necessary for the government to use in carrying on this struggle for our independence and our life." Senator Sherman said the same in milder form: "The legal-tender notes are actually kept out of circulation by the depreciated bank paper of the country; and every issue you make increases that tendency. Every new issue of treasury notes is only a bid for new inflation by the banks, and thus the better money of the U. S. is hoarded and laid away, and the paper money, which is issued on the credit of it, is thrown on the country, producing inflation and derangement of our monetary system, and I believe in the end will produce disaster." (A. S. Bolles's "Financial History of the U. S.," vol. iii., pp. 79, 80.)

Senator Chandler, of Michigan, spoke strongly against the issue, but it passed. Depreciation set in and gold rose. By August, Professor Sumner says that specie had disappeared. July 17th postage-stamps were made legal payment to the government in quantities not exceeding $10. Cities and towns issued small notes payable in taxes or lawful money. This was forbidden by Congress for amounts less than $1. In March, 1863, Congress authorized the secretary to issue fractional currency to an amount not exceeding $50,000,000. But already by Feb. 1863, Congress had issued $400,000,000 of treasury notes (the last $100,000,000 of these being in Jan., 1863, to pay the soldiers), and had indorsed $60,000,000 more of other notes with the legal-tender quality, besides the postage-stamps, etc.

The next step we give in the words of Mr. A. S. Bolles ("Encyclopedia Americana," article FINANCE):

The same law which authorized the first issue of legal-tender notes also authorized the issue of $500,000,000 of bonds bearing 6 per cent interest and payable after five and within twenty years. The interest was payable in gold collected from import duties, and at this early date Congress also provided that 1 per cent of the public debt should be discharged annually. At first the bonds sold very slowly, but, in the mean time, the government procured considerable funds by two kinds of temporary loans. The first consisted of certificates of indebtedness, which were nothing more than certificates given to such creditors of the government as would take them, payable in a year, or sooner if it desired, and bearing 6 per cent interest. The other kind of temporary loan consisted at first of $25,000,000, and finally increased to $100,000,000, of deposits of treasury notes by the banks to the government, which bore not exceeding 5 per cent interest, and which they could demand after thirty days' notice.

To some members of Congress this operation of the treasury seemed to be wholly for the benefit of banks, as the government could make no use of money which it was liable to pay at such a short notice. In truth, however, the government did use all of the money thus loaned, so that it was a highly favorable operation of the government. To provide more adequately for the payment of these deposits, if they should be demanded when the government was not able to respond, an issue of $50,000,000

legal-tender notes was authorized for this purpose.

Meanwhile the bill establishing the national banking system had been at last enacted. (See BANKS AND BANKING.)

It received the president's signature Feb. 25th. The bill (see BANKS AND BANKING) provided for an issue of $300,000,000. Yet no issues appeared till Dec. 21st, and conversions of the state banks did not take effect until after the amendments of the bill the next year, the Act of March 3, 1865, which forced their conversion by a tax of 10 per cent on all issues of state banks, and the decision that the act was constitutional. Then the process went on rapidly. Many claimed that the delay was because the banks wanted to send the treasury notes to a lower point before they bought them all and exchanged them for bonds, which meanwhile Mr. Chase was gradually placing. Into all the details of the placing of these bonds we need not enter. When Mr. Chase found that he could not place the bonds at 5 per cent he had recourse to the issue of more legal-tender notes which he induced Congress to authorize till the currency was depreciated to a point where he could place these bonds. Thus, wittingly or unwittingly, he played into the hands of the bond-buyers, who bought these bonds with a depreciated currency, and then held them for the contraction which later they forced. On the last day of the fiscal year 1864 Mr. Chase retired from the office of the treasury and Mr. William P. Fessenden, of Maine, took his place. Mr. Chase, not a banker by profession and without much experience in financiering, had yet proved himself obstinate and unwilling to learn. Whatever were his intentions—and it must be allowed that they were probably good and his difficulties great—he had, without consenting to what the bankers desired on many points, actually played into their hands. Mr. Fessenden was a man of different type. He determined, if possible, to issue no more treasury notes. He advertised for a loan, the lenders to receive treasury notes payable in three years, with semiannual interest at 7.3 per cent in lawful money. The response was not great—the soldiers themselves, however, taking over $20,000,000. Once more then he endeavored to sell bonds, and was successful. Bids reached nearly $70,000,000, and the premium offered was 4 per cent and higher. He continued this general policy till, being reelected to the Senate, he retired from the treasury on March 5, 1865, and Hugh McCulloch took his place. In April Richmond was captured, and soon after the Confederate armies surrendered. Mr. McCulloch knew that he would now need a large sum for transportation, pay, and bounties. To use his own words, "As it was important that these requisitions should be promptly met, and especially important that not a soldier should remain in the service a single day for want of means to pay him," the secretary perceived the necessity of realizing as rapidly as possible the amount —$53,000,000—still authorized to be borrowed under the Act of March 5, 1865. The 7.3 per cent notes had proved to be a popular loan, and altho a security on longer time and lower interest would have been advantageous to the government, the secretary considered it advisable, under the circumstances, to continue to offer these notes to the public, and to avail himself, as his immediate predecessors had done, of the services of Jay Cooke in the sale of them. The result was in the highest degree satisfactory. . . . No loan ever offered in the U. S., notwithstanding the large amount of government securities previously taken by the people, was so promptly subscribed for as this. Before Aug. 1st the entire amount had been taken. This was the last war loan. The other great war loans had been:

Inflation

$500,000,000, authorized Feb. 25, 1862; $900,000,000, March 3, 1863; $200,000,000, March 3, 1864; $400,000,000, June 30, 1864; $600,000,000, March 3, 1865.

The significance of the certificates referred to should be noted.

Section 4 of the act authorized the secretary to receive on deposit U. S. notes in sums not less than $100—thereby preventing the scheme from degenerating into a mere savings-bank arrangement for the common people—and to issue in return "certificates of deposit" bearing 5 per cent interest. Bolles explains the workings of this feature ("Financial History of U. S.," vol. iii., pp. 88–92). New York City banks belonging to the clearing-house deposited $20,000,000 of government notes with the assistant treasurer (the law authorized the deposit of only $25,000,000) "very soon after the law was passed, and used the certificates received from him in settling clearing-house balances. By such action the banks loaned permanently $20,000,000 to the government, because they were not likely to present these certificates for redemption. Funds of some kind must be kept for paying clearing-house balances, and the above arrangement was very beneficial to the banks as well as to the government. Having thus deposited four fifths of the amount authorized by law, the question was raised in the Senate whether the limit of deposits should not be extended to $50,000,000" (Ibid., pp. 88–89). Tho some senators strongly opposed the measure, it nevertheless passed. Its exceeding great popularity with the banks, and their influence in Congress is shown by the fact that the limit of deposits was raised as follows: Beginning Feb. 25, 1862,[1] with $25,000,000, it was raised to $50,000,000 March 17, 1862,[2] to $100,000,000 by the Act of July 11, 1862,[3] and to $150,000,000 by the Act of June 30, 1864.[4]

Certificates of Deposit

From Bolles's statement, its popularity was obviously due to the fact that it enabled the banks to trade to the secretary or his authorized agent $1 and receive in exchange what for them was as good as another dollar, and, in addition, a "boot" of 5 per cent interest. This privilege was confined to banks connected with the clearing-house. On this sum of $150,000,000 the government paid the banks a gratuity of 5 per cent. The Act of June 30, 1864, authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to "increase the interest on deposits at less than 6 per centum to that rate."

The acts for legal-tender notes may be thus summarized:

$150,000,000, Feb. 25, 1862; $150,000,000, July 11, 1862; $150,000,000, Jan. 17 and March 17, 1863; $400,000,000, March 3, 1863; 6 per cent interest-bearing notes, running not longer than two years; $400,000,000, June 30, 1864, and Jan. 28, 1865, 7.3 per cent interest-bearing notes, running for three years or longer.

The cost of the war was estimated at $6,844,571,431.03 (Sen. Doc., No. 206, Forty-sixth Congress, Second Session). The expenditure by states and municipalities was $467,954,364 (Bolles's "Financial History," vol. iii., p. 245).

The leading provisions of the five great war loans are shown in the table on page 350.

The term "five-twenty" signifies that the bond so designated was payable by the government in not less than five nor more than twenty years; that is, the government could not require the bondholder to accept payment for his bond until five years had elapsed from the date of contract. From that date until after the twenty years had expired, the government enjoyed the option of paying whenever it pleased. At the expiration of the twenty years, however, the bondholder acquired the right to demand immediate payment, should he so desire. The terms "ten-forty," "five-thirty," and "five-forty" are to be similarly interpreted. The term "seven-thirty," however, as applied to the notes authorized in the fifth of these loans, signifies that such notes bore interest at the rate of 7.30 per cent, provided such interest were not payable in coin.

As elsewhere stated, the Civil War, like the War of the Revolution, was carried through by the federal government on paper money. Specie, always scarce, early disappeared. The

[1] Act, § 4. [2] Act, § 3.
[3] Act, § 3. [4] Act, § 4.

LEADING PROVISIONS OF THE FIVE GREAT WAR LOANS

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Number	1	2	3	4	5
Form	Bonds	Bonds	Bonds	Bonds	Bonds or interest-bearing notes.
Date	Feb. 25, 1862	March 3, 1863	March 3, 1864	June 30, 1864	March 3, 1865.
Amount authorized	$500,000,000	$900,000,000	$200,000,000	$400,000,000	$600,000,000
Designation	First 5-20's of 1862	10-40's of 1863	5-40's of 1864	{5-30's of 1864 {5-40's of 1864	5-40 bonds of 1865. 7-30 notes of 1865.
To be sold	At market value for U. S. coin; or for any treasury notes already authorized; or for U. S. notes provided for in this act.—*Sec. 2.*	Upon such terms as the Secretary of the Treasury may deem most advisable, for lawful money of U. S., or for any of the certificates of indebtedness or deposit that may at any time be unpaid, or for any of the treasury notes heretofore issued, or which may be issued under the provisions of this act.—*Sec. 1.*	Same as preceding (Sec. 1).	In U. S. or Europe, upon such terms as the Secretary of the Treasury may deem most advisable, for lawful money of U. S., or at his discretion, for treasury notes, certificates of indebtedness, or certificates of deposit issued under any act of Congress.—*Sec. 1.*	Where, and under such conditions, and at such rates as the Secretary of the Treasury deems best, for coin or other lawful money, treasury notes, or certificates of indebtedness or deposit, and the like.—*Sec. 2.*
Principal payable in	Nothing said[1]	Coin	Coin	Nothing said	Coin or other lawful money.
Interest. Payable in	Nothing said	Nothing said	Nothing said	Coin	Coin or other lawful money.
Interest. Payable how	Semiannually	Semiannually	Semiannually	Semiannually	On bonds — semiannually; on treasury notes — semiannually, annually, or at maturity.
Interest. Rate	6 per cent.	Not over 6 per cent.	Not over 6 per cent.	Not over 6 per cent.	If in coin, not over 6 per cent. If not in coin, not over 7.3 per cent.

[1] See Bolles, pp. 316 *et seq.*

banks suspended specie payments at the close of the first year of the war; the uncertainties of the war impeded the use of credit; and paper money, as the banks foresaw from the start, became indispensable.

It will be seen that the issue of non-interest-bearing legal-tender notes was comparatively not large. Their ill effect has been greatly exaggerated by hostile interests. Prices rose not only because of inflation, but because of the enormous demand for arms and other commodities by the government. The price of gold was comparatively but slightly affected by the issue. It went up and down according as war reports were unfavorable or otherwise. Gold speculation was also rife. Hugh McCulloch, controller of the currency, said in his second report:

Speculation

> Hostility to the government has been as decidedly manifested in the effort that has been made in the commercial metropolis of the nation to depreciate the currency as it has been by the enemy in the field, and unfortunately the effort of sympathizers with the rebellion and of the agents of the rebellious states to prostrate the national credit has been strengthened and sustained by thousands in the loyal states whose political fidelity it might be ungenerous to question. Immense interests have been at work all over and concentrated in New York to raise the price of coin, and splendid fortunes have been apparently made by their success. . . . Gold has been a favorite article to gamble in. . . . The effect of all this has been not to break down the credit of the government, but to increase enormously the cost of the war and the expense of living; for, however small may have been the connection between the price of coin and our domestic products, every rise of gold, no matter by what means effected, has been used as a pretext by holders and speculators for an advance of prices, to the great injury of the government and the sorrow of a large portion of the people.

CONTRACTION AND CREDIT-STRENGTHENING

Scarcely was the war at an end when the demand arose from the financial classes that the public money should be destroyed. Protests, it is true, were not wanting. Senator Sherman, for one, expressed his condemnation of the contraction policy in the strongest terms. Speaking of England's passage from a paper currency to a gold standard after the War of 1815, he said:

Senator Sherman on Contraction

> When the war was over measures were slowly adopted for its appreciation to the gold standard. These measures resulted in a reduction of the paper currency from $231,000,000 in 1815 to $152,000,000 in 1821. Commercial paper, discounted at the Bank of England, fell from $75,000,000 in 1815 to $13,000,000 in 1821. It is only necessary to appeal to histories of the time to show the disastrous effect. The purchasing value of capital was increased 50 per cent. A thousand dollars in 1821 would buy more than $1,800 in 1815. Small traders, debtors, and laborers were reduced to the sorest distress. The loss to them was far greater than the actual depreciation of the currency, for all confidence and trust were lost. . . .
>
> If senators wish other examples of the severe process of passing from a depreciated currency to a gold currency, or to a paper currency convertible into gold, let them read the story of the times after the Revolution and the War of 1812, and after the revulsion of 1837, all of which were periods of transition from a depreciated paper currency to a convertible paper currency. Sir, it is not possible to take this voyage without sore distress. To every person except a capitalist out of debt, or to the salaried officer or annuitant, it is a period of loss, danger, prostration of trade, fall of wages, suspension of enterprises, bankruptcy, and disaster. To every railroad it is an addition of at least one third to the burden of its debt; and, more than that, deduction from the value of its stock. To every bank it means the necessity of paying $150 for one hundred of its notes and deposits, except so far as the bank may transfer this to its debtors. It means the ruin of all dealers whose debts are twice their capital, tho one third less than their property. It means the fall of the agricultural productions without any very great reduction of taxes. To attempt this task suddenly, by a very surprise upon our people, by at once paralyzing their industry, by arresting them in the midst of lawful business and applying a new standard of value to their property, without any reduction of their debt,

or giving them an opportunity to compound with their creditors or distribute their loss, would be an act of folly without example in modern times.[1]

President Lincoln is also credited with the following declaration:

If a government contracts a debt with a certain amount of money in circulation, and then contracts the money volume before the debt is paid, it is the most heinous crime a government could commit against the people.[2]

It is, of course, true that the circulating mediums of the U. S. at the close of the Civil War was much greater than at the beginning. President Lincoln, in his annual message, said: "Five years ago the bank-note circulation of the country amounted to $200,000,000; now the circulation, bank and national, exceeds $700,000,000." And it is also true that a portion of this circulation should have been retired. The real question, however, was, Which kind of circulation should go: the U. S. treasury notes or the national bank-notes? Each represented a public utility, essential to economic, commercial, and industrial life. The first, however, represented public ownership and control; the second, private ownership and control of that utility. The fact which should be firmly grasped is that it was the public money upon which sentence of death was passed, while the private, corporation currency was preserved, and in every way safeguarded and cherished.

The effect of currency contraction upon the present value of debts is a large question, and played a vastly important part in the currency controversy. On this subject, E. Benjamin Andrews ("An Honest Dollar," p. 13) said:

Falling of Prices

Our national debt on Sept. 1, 1865, was about $2,750,000,000. It could then have been paid off with 18,000,000 bales of cotton or 25,000,000 tons of bar iron. When it had been reduced to $1,250,000,000, 30,000,000 bales of cotton, or 32,000,000 tons of iron, would have been required to pay it. In other words, while a nominal shrinkage of about 55 per cent had taken place in the debt, it had, as measured on either of these two world staples, actually been enlarged by some 50 per cent.

One chief pretext for the demand that our national currency should be destroyed was and still is the extraordinary theory that a national currency not made of metal (more recently one not made of a single metal, i. e., gold[3]) is a portion of the national debt, to be paid like any other debt; and the evidence of debt, i. e., the paper money itself, thereupon destroyed.

Why Contract?

The destruction of the greenback and consequent contraction of the currency was authorized by the Act of April 12, 1866, in the following provision:

The Contraction Act

Within the next six months after the passage of the act $10,000,000 worth of U. S. notes might be destroyed;[4] from that time on indefinitely a stream of $4,000,000 worth each month might pour into the public furnace. Not content with this the promoters of the contraction policy deliberately left open an avenue for further contraction, which again called forth an indignant protest even from Senator Sherman. While permitting the Secretary of the Treasury to destroy greenbacks it at the same time left it within his power to dispose of still more by simply locking them up in the vaults of the treasury. Of this provision Mr. Sherman said: "He [the secretary] might retire $200,000,000 of legal-tender notes by retaining them in his possession without consultation, or sell bonds for legal tenders and hold them in his vault, thus retiring them from the business of the country. He might, therefore, without violating the terms of the bill, contract the currency according to his own good-will and pleasure. My own impression is that the Secretary of the Treasury, in carrying out his known policy, will do so."[1]

[1] Speeches and reports by John Sherman, pp. 198–199.
[2] Quoted by John Clark Ridpath, in *Arena* for Jan., 1896, p. 274, note.
[3] See e. g., Horace White's "Money and Banking."
[4] Burned. See Bolles, vol. iii., p. 279, note.

Two years' steady pursuit of this policy of money destruction was all the country could or would endure, at least for one time. "When Congress convened in Dec., 1868, a considerable stringency existed in the money market. The price of commodities had declined and opposition to further contraction was loud and general. From all parts of the country complaints were heard of depression and paralysis in business, and many of those who suffered were certain that contraction of the currency was the cause."[2]

Contraction Checked

The greenback circulation had now fallen from $449,338,902[3] to $356,000,000;[4] and "so loud and general," in truth, "was the opposition to further contraction" that Congress on its assemblage made haste, and by vote of an overwhelming majority, to pass the Act of Feb. 4, 1868,[5] depriving the secretary of the power which he had used so freely and with such serious results.

The amount of U. S. notes actually destroyed is stated by the Treasury Department to have been "about $44,000,000."[6] This excludes $50,000,000 authorized as a "temporary issue for the redemption of a debt known as the temporary loan." It also takes no account of the contraction caused by the locking up of notes in the vaults of the treasury and of the banks.

Following the panic of 1873 came another imperious popular demand for an increase in the actual monetary machinery required to perform the exchanges of the country. The result was a reissue of $26,000,000 of the canceled notes not yet destroyed.[7] But the contraction policy had not yet reached its end. On Jan. 14, 1875,[8] was passed the "Act to provide for the resumption of specie payments." This act provided that the remaining sum of greenbacks should be cut down to $300,000,000, and more bonds issued. Thus the furnace was rekindled, to burn until Congress, on May 31, 1878, in obedience again to an imperative popular demand, extinguished its flames with the currency standing at $346,681,016.

At this point, despite vehement assertions that "the greenback must go," and that "the government must go out of the banking business," and despite determined attempts to supplant our national currency with the issues of banking corporations, the volume of U. S. notes still stands.

The next important act in the history of our financial legislation is that approved March 18, 1869, entitled "An act to strengthen the public credit."[9] Following is that portion of the act especially worthy of attention:

The Credit-Strengthening Act

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the U. S. of America in Congress assembled, That, in order to remove any doubt as to the purpose of the government to discharge all just obligations to the public creditors, and to settle conflicting questions and interpretations of the laws by virtue of which such obligations have been contracted, it is hereby provided and

[1] Bolles, vol. iii., pp. 295–296. For Secretary McCulloch's views on contraction, see Knox, "U. S. Notes," p. 139.
[2] Bolles, pp. 278, 280. [3] Knox, "U. S. Notes," p. 139.
[4] Bolles, vol. iii., p. 279. [5] Laws, p. 45.
[6] Treasury circular No. 123, p. 10.
[7] Treasury circular No. 123, p. 10.
[8] Laws, p. 57. [9] Laws, p. 46.

declared that the faith of the U. S. is solemnly pledged to the payment in coin or its equivalent of all the obligations of the U. S. not bearing interest, known as U. S. notes, and of all the interest-bearing obligations of the U. S., except in cases where the law authorizing the issue of any such obligation has expressly provided that the same may be paid in lawful money or other currency than gold and silver.

What ground was there for "doubt," or "conflicting questions and interpretations of the laws"? Reference to the chart will show that, contrary to the supposition of some, the bonds and treasury notes were sold not for specie simply, but, generally speaking, for coin or for any kind of government security the bond buyer chose to offer; moreover, that the bonds were sold not at par but at market price. Indeed, the original plan of the bankers was that the secretary should sell his bonds for the notes of private and state banks, "wildcat" and all.[1] From this plan, however, the secretary dissented. The original plan of Congress, it is true, provided that the bonds should not be sold at a discount.[2] This scheme, however, soon proved impracticable, and the secretary threw his wares on the market and took in return whatever price they would command.

Further, the bonds that were on a future day to command such a premium as to destroy the profit on national bank circulation were sold on a par with the depreciated paper currency. Senator Sherman declared:

> The notes were still received, *par for par*, for bonds during the war and after the war was over. The right to convert them into a particular form of bonds, that is, the five-twenties, was denied; still they were converted at par into seven-and-three-tenths treasury notes, into ten-forty gold bonds, and into every form of security except only the five-twenties.[3]

Next, in what were these bonds and treasury notes payable? A glance at the chart shows that, regarding loans 1 and 4, nothing whatever was said. Loan 5 specifies "coin or other lawful money," plainly leaving the option to the government. Loans 2 and 3, however, say "coin"; but the coin specification in even these two cases Bolles[4] says was "accidental."

Considering his general attitude on financial questions, Senator Sherman's opinion on this question may be quoted:

> I do not believe, and I never could reason myself into the belief, that the laws which authorized the issue of these bonds made a discrimination against the lawful-tender money of the U. S. I do believe that by a fair and reasonable construction of those laws the bonds of the U. S. might be paid in lawful money issued within the limits and according to the terms of those laws.[5]

The following letter, found in the *Congressional Globe*, for Dec. 14, 1877, p. 204, is, if possible, even stronger:

> United States Senate Chamber,
> Washington, District of Columbia, March 20, 1868.
>
> *Hon. A. Mann, Jr., Brooklyn Heights.*
>
> Dear Sir: I was pleased to receive your letter. My personal interests are the same as yours, but, like you, I do not intend *to be influenced by them.* My construction of the law is the result of careful examination, and I feel quite sure an impartial court would confirm it, if the case could be tried before a court. I send you my views as fully stated in a speech. *Your idea is that we propose to repudiate or violate a promise when we offer to redeem the "principal" in legal tenders.*
>
> *I think the bondholder violates his promise when he refuses to take the same kind of money he paid for the bonds.* If the case is to be tested by the law, I am right; if it is to be tested by Jay Cooke's advertisements, I am wrong. I hate repudiation or anything like it, but *we ought not to be deterred from doing what is right by fear of undeserved epithets.* If under the law as it stands the holders of the five-twenties can only be paid in gold, then we are repudiators if we propose to pay otherwise. *If the bondholder can legally demand only the kind of money he paid, then he is a repudiator and extortioner to demand money more valuable than he gave.*
>
> Truly yours, John Sherman.

This act next provides that where the government's right to pay in lawful money is unquestioned, that right may not be exercised until the debt has matured; unless, in the mean time, the lawful money has become as dear as coin. The provision reads: "But none of said interest-bearing obligations [i. e., those payable in lawful money] not already due shall be redeemed or paid before maturity unless at such time U. S. notes shall be convertible into coin at the option of the holder, or unless at such time bonds of the U. S. bearing a lower rate of interest than the bonds to be redeemed can be sold at par in coin."

Assurance Made Doubly Sure

That is, the bondholder must, in any case, be guaranteed his unearned increment.

Refunding the Public Debt

The next series of acts is that providing for the refunding of the national debt. Previous to the Civil War the people of the U. S. had been unaccustomed to the thought of a public debt. The debt, ever since its establishment by Alexander Hamilton, had continued to exist, but it was never large, and at one time it fell so low as to be practically insignificant. Yet at the very beginning of the war it leaped to a considerable height, and by the end of the war it had attained a magnitude beyond the mind of man to conceive. The following figures will show its growth:

The Public Debt

Jan. 1,	1791	$75,463,476.52
	1800	82,976,294.35
	1810	53,173,217.52
	1820	91,015,566.15
	1830	48,565,406.50
	1840	3,573,343.82
July 1,	1850	63,452,773.55
	1860	64,842,287.88
	1861	90,580,873.72
	1862	524,176,412.13
	1663	1,119,772,138.63
	1864	1,815,784,370.57
	1865	2,680,647,869.74
	1866	2,773,236,173.69

—"Report of Secretary of Treasury," 1894, p. xcvi.

The debt was indeed great, but all of the loans (see chart of "Five Great War Loans," p. 9) were contracted for comparatively short periods. The 5–20 bonds might at any time between five years and twenty years from the date of sale be paid by the government at its own option. Similarly, the 10–40's might be discharged in ten years, or at any time within the following thirty years, at the government's option. In the same way the 5–40's were payable at any time after five years and before forty years, and the 5–30's at any time after five years and before thirty years from the date of sale as the government might choose.

Further, the day of possible payment soon rolled around; 5–20's, sold in 1862, were payable in 1867, tho payment was not obligatory till 1882; 5–30's and 5–40's, sold in 1864, might be paid in 1869; 5–40's, marketed in 1865, might

[1] Bolles, vol. iii., p. 25 *et seq.*
[2] See Act of July 17, 1861, § 4, and Chapters of Erie, p. 314, *passim.*
[3] Speeches, pp. 416, 417.
[4] Vol. iii., p. 316.
[5] Speeches, pp. 204, 205.

be cleared away in 1870; and, slowest of all, the 10–40's of 1863 might, if sold in 1863, be paid off in 1873. Provided, then, its revenues were only sufficient, the U. S. might, according to the terms of the contract into which it had entered with the bondholder, rid itself of the burden of a national debt in 1873, or soon thereafter.

Had it felt unable to do so at so early a day it might, as Secretary Windom did, have exchanged its maturing bonds for new bonds payable at the government's option.

Instead, Congress pursued a wholly different course. The following table of refunding acts will show what was actually done:

Demonetization of Silver

Regarding the much-mooted question of the demonetization of silver in the U. S., the facts in brief are as follows:

By an order of Secretary Madison in 1806 the coinage of the silver dollar was discontinued, but the coinage of fractional silver was still permitted. Such silver was, from 1792 to 1853, a full legal tender.

In 1834 Congress changed the ratio between silver and gold from 15 to 1 to 16.002 to 1. In 1837 Congress again changed the ratio, this time to 15.988 + to 1. Neither the act of 1834 nor that of 1837 affected the amount of pure silver in the silver coins, nor the full legal-tender character of any coin.

In 1853 Congress demonetized fractional silver coins for payments of more than $5; this act, however, left intact the weight, fineness, and full legal-tender quality of the silver dollar. Except in 1858, silver dollars were coined constantly between 1853 and 1873.

In 1873 Congress dropped the standard, 412.5-grain silver dollar from the list of coins, and substituted, instead, the 420-grain silver trade dollar, good only for payments of $5 and under.

The movement leading to the general demonetization of silver originated in Europe after the great gold discoveries. The plan at first was to demonetize gold (see Report of U. S. Silver Commission of 1876, p. 15). In 1857 Germany and Austria demonetized their gold.

In 1865 the nations of France, Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy, later reenforced by Greece and the papal states, all together constituting the "Latin Union," agreed to establish a system of international bimetalism, fixing the ratio between the precious metals at 15.5 to 1. In 1867 it was proposed to extend the principles of this bimetallic system to other countries. An internationa committee met at the Paris Exposition in 1867 On this committee the U. S. was represented by

Refunding Acts

No.	Date.	Bonds authorized—amounts	Rate	Redeemable	Payable	Conditions and application
I.	July 14, 1870.	[a] Not more than $200,000,000.	5 per cent payable semiannually in coin of present standard value.	In coin of present standard value.	After ten years at pleasure of U. S.	To be sold at not less than par for coin; proceeds to be applied to redemption of 5–20's at par; or exchanged for 5–20's par for par. To be used for no other purpose.
		[b] Not more than $300,000,000.	4½ per cent do.....	"	After fifteen years do.	" " "
		[c] Not more than $1,000,000,000.	4 per cent do.....	"	After thirty years do.	" " "
II.	Jan. 20, 1871.	Class [a], above, to be increased to $500,000,000; tho $1,500,000,000 limit [200 plus 300 plus 1,000] is not to be passed.	.....	.....	.....	Secretary of Treasury may make interest on any of above bonds payable quarter-yearly.
III.	Jan. 25, 1879.	Secretary of Treasury may employ billion-dollar, 4 per cent bonds [above] in clearing away remaining 5–20's. When all such have been redeemed, "provisions of this section and all existing provisions of law authorizing refunding of national debt shall apply to any bonds of U. S. bearing interest at 5 per cent per annum or a higher rate which may be redeemable." Double interest for three months is provided for.				
IV.	Feb. 26, 1879.	The act authorized exchanges as follows: 1. Bondholder may present to Secretary of Treasury a 5 per cent bond of Act of July 14, 1870,[1] or a 5-20 bond and receive a legal tender. 2. Holder of legal tender may present same to Secretary of Treasury and receive a 4 per cent certificate of deposit. 3. Holder of $50 worth of 4 per cent certificates of deposit may present same to Secretary of Treasury and receive a thirty-year, 4 per cent bond.				

[1] These bonds, having but ten years to run, were in 1879 almost due.

Analysis of this legislation shows that its effect was to defer for many years the possibility of paying the public debt, and to provide an opportunity for investment to those able to avail themselves of it.

The effect of such legislation was well illustrated in President Cleveland's first term when the country was suffering from "a congested treasury and a depleted circulation."

The logical and rational solution would have been to apply the surplus to the payment of the national debt. Refunding acts, however, had made this impracticable. No bonds were due; and to go into the market and buy them at the existing premiums would have cost the government as much as to wait and pay interest on them. The refunding acts had practically closed the door in the face of the government to all opportunities advantageously to reduce its debt, however great might be its stock of cash. That such a situation was designed in order to furnish a permanent basis for a system of currency-issuing banks might be inferred from the following utterance of Secretary Chase in 1862 relative to the national banking system:

> The central idea of the measure is the establishment of a sound, uniform currency throughout the country *upon the foundation of national credit* (in other words, upon a national debt), *making this the settled policy of the country.*

Samuel B. Ruggles, a believer in an international gold standard. Correspondence between Mr. Ruggles and Hon. John Sherman, Chairman of the U. S. Senate Committee on Finance, himself at Paris, showed that Mr. Sherman also favored the international gold standard. (See Senate Executive Document No. 14, Fortieth Congress, second session, pp. 107–110.) Mr. Sherman expressed the belief that the U. S. Congress would share his view. His letter had much weight with the international committee.

The session of the international committee was immediately followed by that of the Paris Monetary Conference. Mr. Ruggles was the American delegate to this body also. Mr. Sherman's former letter was read, and exerted much influence on the conference. (See Senate Executive Document No. 14, Fortieth Congress, second session, pp. 9, 13, 55, 99, 100.) This conference recommended the establishment of "a single standard exclusively of gold." Of it Mr. Sherman said: "The single standard of gold is an American idea, yielded reluctantly by France and other countries." (Ibid., pp. 4–6.)

Returning home, Mr. Sherman, on Jan. 6, 1868, introduced into the U. S. Senate a bill (S., No. 217) dropping the silver dollar from the list of coins, and reducing the weight of the gold dollar to facilitate international coinage and the establishment of the international gold standard. Mr. Sherman accompanied this bill with a powerful report strongly advocating its passage. Senator E. D. Morgan, of New York, however, also of the Finance Committee, presented a minority report arguing strongly against the silver demonetization feature of Mr. Sherman's bill. Mr. Sherman thereupon moved that further consideration of the matter be postponed till the next session. It was, in fact, postponed until Mr. Morgan's retirement from the Senate.

This first and unsuccessful attempt to demonetize the U. S. standard silver dollar was followed by two others. The second attempt apparently emanated neither from Mr. Ruggles nor Mr. Sherman, but from the U. S. Treasury Department, in a bill prepared by Mr. John Jay Knox, and looking toward the revision of the laws relative to the mints, assay offices, and coinage of the U. S. It substituted for the standard silver dollar of 412.5 grains a silver dollar of 384 grains, whose use was limited to payments of $5 and under. This bill also made the gold dollar of 25.8 grains the unit of value in place of the standard silver dollar which Mr. Knox declared had, hitherto, been by law the dollar unit. This bill, in "rough draft," was submitted to some thirty "experts" in monetary matters. The correspondence may be found in "Documentary History of the Coinage Act of Feb. 12, 1873," issued by the U. S. Treasury Department without date. A few of the experts, e. g., E. B. Eliott, recognized and called attention to the fact that the bill demonetized the standard silver dollar. Chief attention, however, was given to other and minor matters.

Mr. Knox revised his bill and dropped the 384-grain dollar, omitting also the standard silver dollar. In this form the bill was submitted by Secretary of the Treasury Boutwell to Senator Sherman, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, who, on April 28, 1870, introduced it into the Senate. It was known as the "Mint Bill." Table, "The Evolution of the Mint Bill" (p. 358), shows the various changes which, from time to time, were made in this bill. A table, "Tabular View of History of Act of Feb. 12, 1873, known as the 'Mint Bill'" (published in *The Industrialist*, Kansas State Agricultural College, Nov., 1898), epitomizes the legislative history of the measure. This bill passed the Senate of the Forty-first Congress, and appeared twice in the House. In no instance was demonetization mentioned. The bill died with the adjournment of this Congress.

The third and successful attempt was made in the Forty-second Congress, which immediately met. The Mint Bill was again introduced, this time by Representative Kelley, of Pennsylvania, chairman of the House Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, as H. R. No. 5. Later Mr. Kelley retired from the management of the bill; on Feb. 9, 1872, it reappeared, this time as H. R. No. 1,427, in charge of Mr. Samuel Hooper of Massachusetts, characterized by Mr. Blaine as the most competent financier in the House. Mr. Hooper's bill provided for a 384-grain or "five-franc" dollar, good only for payments of $5 and under.

Reference to the "Tabular View" will show that, throughout the entire history of the bill, the demonetization feature was never mentioned in the Senate, and on but a single day, viz., April 9, 1872, in the House; it was referred to by Messrs. Hooper, Stoughton, Potter, and Kelley. This feature attracted but little attention. Alleged "jobs" in the bill brought upon it bitter attacks. Although entitled to daily consideration until disposed of, the bill did not again appear in the House for nearly seven weeks, and then within forty-eight hours of adjournment. On this last appearance it was brought in by Mr. Hooper, "for the purpose," as he said, "of offering an amendment to the bill in the nature of a substitute, one which has been very carefully prepared, and which I have submitted to the different gentlemen in this House who have taken a special interest in the bill. I find that it meets with universal approbation in the form in which I offer it. I move that the rules be suspended and that the substitute be put on its passage." In the midst of a stormy discussion, in which the demonetization feature was not mentioned, a former opponent of the bill, Mr. McNeely, declared his thorough familiarity with it, and his belief that it ought to pass. It therefore did so, 110 to 13. The demonetization clauses of the Hooper "substitute" were the same as those of the bill for which it was a substitute.

Throughout the Senate history of this bill, as of its predecessor in the Forty-first Congress, the demonetization feature was, as stated, not once mentioned. Senator Sherman had constant control of the bill, and allayed all suspicions as to its character. He substituted for the Hooper 384-grain silver dollar the 420-grain silver trade dollar, good also only for payments of $5 and under. The differences in the House and Senate bills were referred to a conference committee dominated by Senator Sherman and Representative Hooper. The bill as recommended by this committee passed both houses and, on Feb. 12, 1873, was signed by President Grant.

That congressmen actually did not know that the bill they were passing demonetized the standard silver dollar is shown by the following statements: Senator Conkling, *Congressional Record*, March 30, 1876, p. 2062, column 2; Senator Thurman and Allison, ditto, p. 1064, column 1 and p. 1058, column 1; Senators Voorhees and

Blaine, ditto, p. 1063, column 2; Senator Beck, ditto, p. 260, column 2, and *Congressional Record* for Jan. 10, 1878, p. 261, column 2; Senator Hereford, *Congressional Record*, for Feb. 13, 1878, p. 989; Senator Howe and Representative Garfield, *Cong. Rec.*, Feb. 5, 1878, p. 764; Representative Bright, *Cong. Rec.*, Jan. 26, 1878, p. 584, column 2; Representative Holman, *Cong. Rec.*, p. 4561, and Appendix, p. 193, column 1; Representative Cannon, *Cong. Rec.*, Forty-fourth Congress, first session, Appendix, p. 197, column 1; Representative Burchard, *Cong. Rec.*, July 13, 1876, p. 4560, column 1; Representative Kelley, *Cong. Rec.*, vol. vii., part 2, Forty-fifth Congress, second session, p. 1605, column 1, and *Cong. Rec.*, p. 1231, column 2.

It is clear, however, that Senator Sherman and Representative Hooper were well aware of the fact that the bill demonetized the standard silver dollar. That the general public did not, for some time after the passage of the bill, so understand is shown by testimonials on both sides of the subsequent controversy, including those of Murat Halstead, the Chicago *Tribune*, Hon. Thomas B. Reed, President F. A. Walker, Hon. W. S. Groesbeck, and J. K. Upton. That President Grant, when signing the bill, was ignorant of its effect upon our silver coinage, is shown by his celebrated "Cowdrey letter." Senator Sherman, in his speech delivered Aug. 30, 1893, virtually admitted as much, saying: "It is sometimes said that General Grant did not know of the demonetization of silver. Well, what of it? General Grant was not a financier, nor a metalist, nor a monetary expert."

The act of 1873 closed the mints of the U. S. against the coinage of additional full legal-tender silver dollars. Such, however, as had before been coined were unaffected by this act. Their demonetization came one year later in the revision of the statutes of the U. S. The revisers were authorized simply to revise, not to legislate. When their work in completed form came before Congress for acceptance, the question at once arose whether the revisers had made changes in the laws. Senators Butler, of Massachusetts and Poland of Vermont declared positively that they had not. In fact, by section 3,586, which reads, "The silver dollar coins in the U. S. shall be a legal tender at their nominal value for any amount not exceeding $5 in any one payment," they had demonetized the outstanding standard silver dollars save for payments of $5 and under.

On Jan. 14, 1875, the free-coinage system was applied to gold by the discontinuance of the coinage charge of one fifth of one per cent.

On July 22, 1876, by a joint resolution, the trade dollar was deprived of all legal-tender qualities, Senator Sherman declaring that it was never intended to make it a legal tender for any sum whatever. In Feb., 1887, the trade dollars were retired.

That the above was but a part of a world-wide movement to demonetize silver is shown by U. S. Treasury Circular No. 123, pp. 35–36.

Resumption of Specie Payments

On Jan. 14, 1875, the act for the resumption of specie payments was passed. This act provided for the redemption of paper money with coin, for unlimited issues of national bank-notes, for the reduction in volume of "greenbacks" to $300,000,000, and for the selling of bonds by the Secretary of the Treasury that funds might be obtained with which to effect resumption. The same act provided for the discontinuance of the charge made for coining gold bullion.

The Bland-Allison Act

The discovery that silver had been demonetized occasioned a tremendous agitation, and demand for remonetization. In consequence Congress, on Feb. 28, 1878, passed the Bland-Allison Compromise Silver Act. This act authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase from $2,000,000 worth to $4,000,000 worth of silver bullion per month, and coin the same into standard silver dollars of 412.5 grains. Coinage of silver on private account was prohibited. Standard silver dollars, old or new, were made full legal tender save where otherwise provided by contract, i. e., demonetization by private contract was permitted. Silver certificates, redeemable in silver, were provided for. The president was directed to call an international conference to fix the ratio between gold and silver, and establish international bimetalism. President Hayes vetoed the bill, but it was passed over his veto.

By Act of May 31, 1878, at which time the amount of U. S. treasury notes had been reduced to $346,681,016, the further cancelation of this form of money was forbidden, notes redeemed being required to be reissued. Thus was established the so-called "endless chain," to remedy which it was later proposed by some that the greenbacks be abolished; by others, that the redemption feature be abolished; and, by still others, that the secretary redeem in silver as freely as in gold.

The year 1881 saw a renewed monetary agitation, when France and the U. S. jointly issued a call to a monetary conference. It met in Paris on April 19th, fourteen governments being represented at the opening, and delegates from Great Britain, India, and Canada being present a part of the time. This conference, which continued its sessions with some breaks for nearly two months, indicated a strong approval of the theory of bimetalism, but came to no agreement or line of action, England and Germany being unwilling to act. The U. S., therefore, were still left to act alone. No change, however, was made in our currency, these years being marked by large decreases in the public debt and a discussion of what to do with the "surplus" in the treasury.

The year 1883, however, was marked by financial depression and many failures, caused partly by poor crops and overspeculation, and fell particularly on the iron trade. Yet there was no panic till May, 1884, when it fell in force, altho in speculative rather than in commercial circles. In 1885 there was a general improvement, yet the Secretary of the Treasury and the president alike in their annual messages recommended the repeal of the Silver Bill of 1878; but Congress declined to act, and the next year likewise, altho it also declined to pass a free-silver bill. In 1887, a year of prosperity, there was still more discussion of the "surplus" in the treasury, and again an effort to repeal the Silver Bill of 1878, but still Congress refused. In 1888 the revenue of the U. S. was over $1,000,000 a day. The circulation of the national banks was, however, contracting, and Congress could still not be prevailed upon to repeal the silver law. In 1890 the failure of several London houses, and notably Baring Brothers, owing mainly to a crisis in the Argentine Republic, was

to some extent followed by a stringency in the market here.

On July 14, 1890, the so-called Sherman Silver Purchase Act was passed. This law required the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase each month 4,500,000 ounces of silver, paying for the same with treasury notes ("Sherman notes") not more than $1 for 371.25 grains of pure silver. These notes were made redeemable on demand, *in coin*, at the discretion of the secretary. The act declared it to be "the established policy of the U. S. to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided by law." When redeemed, these notes, like the notes comprehended in the Act of May 31, 1878, might be reissued. Unless otherwise provided for by contract, these notes were legal tender. They might be used as national bank reserves. Until July 1, 1891, the secretary was required to coin 2,000,000 ounces monthly; thereafter he was required to coin enough to redeem the treasury notes presented. The price of silver being such that the amount of silver requisite for the coinage of a dollar could be purchased with less than a dollar, a difference called the "seigniorage" was foreseen; this seigniorage was to be preserved. The silver-purchase clause of the Bland-Allison Act of 1878 was repealed.

The Sherman Law

A stormy period followed the enactment of this law. "Raids" were made on the treasury gold reserve, "Sherman notes" being presented in large quantities for redemption. The Secretary of the Treasury uniformly redeemed these notes in gold, leaving the silver idle in the treasury; he gave as his reason that only by paying out the coin demanded could he "preserve the parity" between the two metals. The so-called "endless chain" thus depleted the treasury of its gold. In the spring of 1893 there burst the most fearful panic in American history, the financial classes accounting for it on the ground that "confidence was destroyed" by the exhaustion of the treasury gold-supply; while others attributed it to a conspiracy among certain New York national bank presidents and officers of the national government. (See J. W. Schuckers's "The Black Crime of 1893.")

President Cleveland called Congress together Aug. 7, 1893, in special session to repeal the silver-purchase clause of the "Sherman Act." After a long and bitter session the clause was repealed. Congress, however, passed a bill requiring the coinage of the seigniorage, at that time lying idle in the treasury. On March 29, 1894, this bill was vetoed by the president.

The theory that repealing the purchasing clause of the Sherman Act would stop the raids on the treasury proved groundless. Drains on the treasury gold stock continued. The gold thus drafted away was recouped by four bond sales. The first occurred Jan. 14, 1894. Authority, dubious at best, for all these sales was found in the Act of Jan. 14, 1875. The secretary borrowed $50,000,000 in gold, redeemable in coin after ten years. By November the gold-supply had again fallen so low as to cause a crisis. At a time when the "balance of trade" should have brought it to the U. S., gold was again going abroad. The secretary now sold to a syndicate $50,000,000 worth of bonds, payable in coin after ten years. Late in the same winter heavy withdrawals of gold again occurred; less than one half of this gold was exported, the balance being hoarded at home. On Feb. 8, 1895, the secretary, at the direction of the president, sold to August Belmont & Co. on behalf of the Rothschilds and themselves, and to J. P. Morgan & Co. on behalf of J. S. Morgan & Co., of London, and themselves, bonds amounting to $62,315,435. The bonds were payable in coin after thirty years, and bore interest at the rate of 4 per cent, payable quarterly. The syndicate agreed to "protect the treasury." The syndicate bought at 104½; on Feb. 20th they offered one half of the entire amount purchased ($62,315,435) in New York at 112½, and the remaining one half in London at about the same rate. Subscriptions in New York amounted to $200,000,000; in London, to $590,000,000. In consequence the price in New York went to 120.

By the holiday season of 1895–96 the gold stock had again dropt to the danger line, and the secretary arranged again to sell bonds, amounting this time to $100,000,000, to the Morgan syndicate. A loud protest was now raised against bond sales to private syndicates, and a popular loan was demanded. Over $568,000,000 were, accordingly, bidden for. In consequence the syndicate, which would have paid 104⅜, was obliged to pay 110.6877 for its bonds, the government saving, in consequence, over $8,000,000.

Bond Sales

The total of bonds issued in these four sales amounted to $262,315,435.

Currency "Reform"

The financial legislation of 1893–94 was accompanied and followed by a series of demands from financial circles for currency "reform." Numerous "plans," the Baltimore, Rhodes's *Journal of Banking*, Eckels, Carlisle, and, later, the McCleary, Fowler, and Gage bills, all variations of the same general measure, were proposed. These measures contemplated the ultimate elimination of government paper money, the substitution therefor of national bank-notes, and the reduction in the cost to bankers of securing these notes, notably by the substitution of the banks' "assets" for government bonds, whose advancing premium reduced the profits on national bank circulation. These proposals, in a word, all looked to the private ownership and monopolization of a prime public utility. In view of the popular hostility to greenback destruction, the process of "impounding," i. e., locking up this form of money in the national treasury and thus protecting the bank-note against the competition of the greenback, met with much favor. Silver dollars, which also competed with bank-notes, were characterized as "fiat" money and their redemption in gold was advocated. None of these plans, however, found expression in legislation.

The money question constituted the paramount and almost the exclusive issue in the national political campaign of 1896. The Republican National platform declared: "We are . . . opposed to the free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such agreement can be obtained the existing gold standard must be preserved." The Democrats declared for the "free and unlimited coinage of both silver and

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gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation," i. e., the restoration of silver to the position it occupied in the currency system of the U. S. prior to 1873. The "National" or "Gold" Democrats declared for the gold standard.

In intensity and earnestness the campaign of 1896 surpassed all others since that of 1860. Under the leadership of Mark Hanna, the Republicans employed money to a degree unparalleled in political history. The avowedly gold standard party, the "National" Democrats, carried one county—in western Kansas. The Republicans won, and announced the result as a victory for the gold standard.

In accordance with his party's platform pledge to promote international bimetalism, President McKinley appointed a commission, consisting of Messrs. Walcott, Stevenson, and Payne, to visit Europe and, if practicable, negotiate an international bimetalic agreement. In France the commission found the prospect very favorable; in England they received much encouragement from Lord Salisbury, Prime Minister, and others. The British financial classes, however, abetted, it was widely believed, by the government at Washington, vetoed the proposal, and the commission returned home empty-handed. The agitation was thereupon dropt, and the "single standard exclusively of gold," for which Messrs. Ruggles and Sherman began working in 1867, but for which the American people had never voted, was accepted as final.

In his message of Dec., 1897, President McKinley proposed legislation providing for the redemption of greenbacks in gold, the greenbacks thereupon to be retained in the treasury unless called for in exchange for gold. Inasmuch as redemption would be demanded mainly by bankers and speculators, constitutionally opposed to the existence of the greenbacks, such a law, as pointed out by Congressman Walker, of Massachusetts, would have enabled a single individual with $1,000,000, or less, in greenbacks to impound the entire $346,000,000 of greenbacks. To do this it would have been necessary only, first, to present the greenbacks at the sub-treasury in Wall Street for gold; then, crossing the street to a bank, to exchange the gold for greenbacks; then, recrossing the street to the sub-treasury, to redeem these greenbacks in gold, and so continue until all the greenbacks in the country, as they gravitated to the financial center, were safely locked in the vaults of the sub-treasury. The proposal was not carried out.

President McKinley

On March 14, 1900, the "single standard exclusively of gold" was enacted into law. This law designated the gold dollar of 25.8 grains, nine tenths fine, as "the standard unit of value," and directed the treasurer of the U. S. to maintain all of the forms of money issued by the U. S. at a parity with this standard. The gold reserve of the national treasury, traditionally assumed to have been fixt by the law of July 12, 1882, at $100,000,000, was definitely put at $150,000,000, and the Secretary of the Treasury was directed to maintain it, if necessary, by selling bonds. The legal-tender quality of the silver dollar and greenback was retained. Divisions of issue and redemption were established in the national treasury. Silver certificates were made to replace treasury notes. The Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to coin silver purchased under the Act of July 14, 1890, into subsidiary coins, canceling an equal value of treasury notes of 1890; national banks with capitals of $25,000 were authorized for towns of 6,000 population or under; bonds maturing in 1904, 1907, and 1908 were permitted to be refunded, at a lower interest rate, into gold bonds payable in thirty years and exempt from duties and all species of taxation, national, state, municipal, or local; and national banks were permitted to issue circulation up to the par value of their bonds, the tax upon such circulation, if based upon the new bonds, being at the same time reduced one half.

The Gold Standard Law of 1900

In the second session of the Fifty-ninth Congress a bill (H. R. 23,017), drawn in accordance with the carefully prepared recommendations of a convention of bankers, and indorsed by the president, was introduced by Representative Charles N. Fowler. It provided that any national bank which had been doing business for a year, and had a surplus equal to 20 per cent of its capital, might issue credit notes equal to 40 per cent of its outstanding bond-secured currency, but not exceeding 25 per cent of its capital; upon these credit notes an annual tax of 3 per cent was to be laid. In addition, the bank might, in time of emergency, issue credit notes equal to 12½ per cent of its capital, upon which a tax of 5 per cent was to be laid. The government would hold, as trustee, a 5 per cent security fund out of which to pay the notes of insolvent banks.

National Bank Money

This bill was correctly characterized as a "revival of the old Baltimore plan of non-secured asset currency," "contrived in formidable banking circles twelve years ago, and, periodically, when stock jobbers and speculators on the 'street' had been pinched and squeezed by a high call rate of interest, put forward with constantly increasing vehemence." By its friends this measure was described as "merely another patch on a patchwork system"; by its opponents as providing for currency inflation, certainly of $213,000,000, and possibly of $320,000,000, at a tax to the banks of 3 per cent on the smaller sum, and 5 per cent on the $106,000,000 additional, and by the banks upon the borrowers of two or three times that amount; as calculated to stimulate the spirit of speculation and gambling at the money centers; as failing absolutely to provide, like the Scotch and Canadian systems after which it was nominally modeled, for prompt redemption; as unnecessary to meet an alleged lack of money, inasmuch as national banks were already issuing but 62½ per cent of the amount of circulation to which they were entitled by law; as merely enabling banks, unwilling to issue expensive bond-secured currency, to issue a cheaper form of money at a greater profit to themselves; and as utterly uncalled for by the business community in general. Critics might also have added that the scheme provided for fiat money, pure and simple; the 5 per cent security fund serving as but the shadow of that metallic basis which bankers, when criticizing government-issued and -secured money, have been accustomed to maintain is essential to the "soundness" and "honesty" of a medium of exchange. Further, in the light of our financial history, they might also have pointed out that this bill was but another long step toward the realization of the national bankers' dream, name-

THE EVOLUTION OF THE MINT BILL

Chart showing forms assumed by important sections of the Mint Bill at various stages of its progress

NUMBERS AND FORMS	1. GOLD SECTION			2. SILVER SECTION				3. PROHIBITORY SECTION	
	Number of section	Effect		Number of section	Effect			Number of section	Effect
		Amount of value provided	Legal tender of gold coins		Silver dollar		Legal tender of silver coins		
1. "Rough draft" first sent to experts...	10	Gold dollar of 25.8 grains.	All gold coin a legal tender in all payments.	11	412½ grain dollar dropt.	384-grain dollar introduced.	All silver coins named in bill a legal tender in payment of debts for all sums not exceeding $5, except duties on imports.	Wanting.	
2. Bill submitted to Senator Sherman, April 25, 1870, by Secretary of Treasury. Step I.	14	"	"	15	"	No silver dollar whatever.	All silver coins named in bill a legal tender for sums less than $1.	18	No coins to be minted other than those named.
3. Bill introduced into Senate by Senator Sherman, April 28, 1870. Step II, S. 859.	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
4. Bill submitted to Speaker Blaine, June 25, 1870, by Secretary of Treasury. Step VI, S. 859.	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
5. Chairman Kelley's "Substitute" of Feb. 25, 1871. Step XIV, S. 859.	"	"	"	"	"	"	All silver coins *named in bill* a legal tender for sums not exceeding $5.	"	"
6. Bill newly introduced by Chairman Kelley, March 9, 1871. Step XV, H. R. 5.	"	These sections are cut away from the only extant copy of the bill.		"	"	"	"	"	"
7. Bill reported by Chairman (pro tem.) Hooper, Feb. 9, 1872. Step XVIII, H. R. 1427.	"	Gold dollar of 25.8 grains.	All gold coin a full legal tender in all payments.	16	"	384-grain dollar reintroduced.	"	"	"
8. Chairman (pro tem.) Hooper's "Substitute" of May 27, 1872. Step XXI, H. R. 1427.	"	"	"	"	"	384-grain dollar remains.	"	"	"
9. Bill read (twice by title) in Senate, May 29, 1872. Step XXII, H. R. 2934.	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
10. Bill reported in Senate with amendments, Dec. 16, 1872. Step XXIII, H. R. 2934.	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
11. Bill after amendment in Senate (?) Jan. 17, 1873 (?). Step XXV, H. R. 2934.	"	"	"	[16] 15	"	420-grain substituted for 384-grain dollar.	"	[18] 17	"
12. Bill approved by President Grant, Feb. 12, 1873. Step XXXVIII, H. R. 2,934.	"	"	"	15	"	420-grain dollar remains.		17	"

ly, a currency system created and indorsed by government and turned over to national banks at a nominal cost, to be contracted and expanded by them at pleasure, and employed in exploiting the public to their own enrichment.

This scheme, providing for what is usually styled "credit currency," "elastic currency," and, derisively, "rubber money," again ignominiously failed. An act, however, approved March 4, 1907, and bearing the name of Senator Aldrich, was passed. Aside from some features of minor interest, it conceded, in part, two of the bankers' demands. The first of these, omitted, however, from the above bill, was that the Secretary of the Treasury should be required to turn over to the national banks all the funds in the national treasury save such as were needed for the safe conduct of the daily business of the treasury. The Aldrich bill met this demand in part through the following clause:

"All national banking associations, designated for that purpose by the Secretary of the Treasury, shall be depositories of public money, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the secretary"; i. e., banks specified by the secretary may have free use of the public funds. What percentage of such funds might thus be placed at their disposal the act does not indicate.

The second demand of the bankers, namely, that they should be provided with a less expensive money than a currency based on government bonds, was conceded in part by a provision that a national bank may, upon deposit of lawful money, withdraw its circulating notes, the maximum of such withdrawals for all national banks in a given month being fixed at $9,000,000. This provision saves the bank, now entrusted with public funds, the cost of the premium paid for government bonds with which to secure its circulation, and enables it to secure a higher interest rate upon its own money than that borne by government bonds. The measure is a step toward asset or "elastic currency"; it permits contraction of the currency by national banks to the extent of $9,000,000 per month. "Elasticity" requires that the banks shall be permitted both to contract and to expand. Naturally, their next demand should be, again, for "asset" or "credit" currency that they may thus expand.

"Elastic Currency"

The Aldrich law also contains the following provision:

> The Secretary of the Treasury shall require the associations thus designated (as depositories of public money), to give satisfactory security, by the deposit of U. S. bonds *and otherwise*, for the safe-keeping and prompt payment of the public money deposited with them.

What do the words "and otherwise" mean? In answer, the *Wall Street Journal* said:

> By the passage of the Aldrich bill Congress has made lawful, if there was any doubt about the legality before, the acceptance by the Secretary of the Treasury of other bonds than those of the U. S. as security for U. S. deposits in national banks.

This statement has been interpreted to mean that hereafter "when it is not convenient for the bankers to deposit U. S. bonds they may give state bonds, municipal bonds, or railway bonds, and when it suits their purpose not to give any bonds whatever, then the personal notes of the officers of the banks will be accepted."

Commenting upon this situation, *The Commoner* (April 12, 1907, p. 3) said: "Why did it (the *Wall Street Journal*) not tell its readers that the very men who had laughed to scorn the Populists' subtreasury proposition, which, as described by one Republican, meant 'the loan of the public money on haystacks, hogs, and hominy,' had provided for loaning the public money without interest upon the personal notes of national bankers?"

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CURTIS, GEORGE WILLIAM: American editor and civil service reformer; born in Providence, R. I., 1824. He began a commercial career in New York City, and later, together with his elder brother, joined the community at Brook Farm, being the youngest member of that company. Mr. Curtis remained four years at Brook Farm, going thence to Concord, Mass., keeping up the friendship formed with Emerson, Hawthorne, and others.

In 1846 Mr. Curtis went to Europe, and during his travels contributed letters to the New York *Tribune*. On his return, in 1851, he became connected editorially with that paper. In 1852 he became one of the editors of *Putnam's Monthly*, and in 1853 began a career as a lyceum lecturer, soon becoming one of the most popular speakers of the day. In 1857 he became permanently associated with the Harpers, as editor of the "Easy Chair," the remarkable series of papers which he had commenced in 1853. The previous year he had become chief editorial writer for *Harper's Weekly*, a position he held till his death.

In 1860 Mr. Curtis was a delegate to the convention that nominated Mr. Lincoln, and in *Harper's Weekly* and on the platform he enthusiastically advocated the cause of the union and emancipation. In 1871 General Grant appointed him one of the commissioners to draw up rules to regulate the civil service. A civil service league had been formed in New York State in 1876, and in 1880 it was revived, and Mr. Curtis became its president. This was superseded a year later by the National Civil Service Reform League, which was essentially of his organization. In 1890 Curtis became chancellor of the University of the State of New York, of which he had been a regent since 1864. He died at his home on Staten Island, Aug. 31, 1892. Among his works may be mentioned: "Lotus Eating" (1852); "Trumps" (1862); "Eulogy on Wendell Phillips" (1865); "Motley's Correspondence" (1890); and "From the Easy Chair" (1892).

D

DANGEROUS TRADES, THE (see also ACCIDENTS): American legislature seems almost to have ignored a branch of factory legislation considered elsewhere of the utmost importance. While most of the countries of Europe, especially England, have considered the special regulations of dangerous trades as a necessity of modern industry, in only one case have the American states enacted special laws on the subject. This is the law with reference to emery wheels that has been adopted by several of our states.

The expression "dangerous trades" is used in a somewhat technical sense. It does not include all trades that are dangerous, but has been especially applied to those trades in which some form of poison or disease is incidental to the trade itself as at present carried on. It is not generally used with reference to those trades in which sudden injury and death are caused by dangerous machinery or unguarded perils (see ACCIDENTS), but rather refers to those slower acting causes which, while not so sensational in their horrors, are even more frightful in their results. On the other hand, the term is not applied to those dangers of poor sanitation and poor ventilation that are incidental to all trades.

In our present era of sharp international competition the smallest difference in the technic of an industry may give a nation a great commercial advantage, such as the United States enjoys in many cases to-day; but with the spread of technical education all the nations are turning out men able to bring each industry up to the highest level of efficiency, so that in the great majority of processes the same methods prevail in all countries. In England the U. S. has her greatest competitor, and in England this question of the dangerous trades has for the last ten years claimed a very large share of public attention. It has been foremost in the unions, has filled columns of the press day after day for years, has been the subject of parliamentary acts and exhaustive parliamentary reports.

Looking to her as leader in this matter, the following is a classified list of those trades which have been considered dangerous either in the acts of Parliament, in the recent reports above mentioned, or in the annual reports of the factory inspector:

1. Trades in which lead is a poisonous element: The manufacture of earthenware and china. File cutting. The manufacture of white lead; Lead smelting. The use of lead in print or dye works. The manufacture of red, orange or yellow lead. Glass polishing. Enameling of iron plates. Enameling and tinning of hollow metal ware and cooking utensils. Processes in which yellow chromate of lead is made, or in which goods dyed with it undergo the process of building, winding, weaving, etc.

2. Trades which produce other chemical poisons: Manufacture of paint and color. Extraction of arsenic. Dry cleaning. Paper staining, coloring and enameling. Hatters' and furriers' work. The manufacture of matches. Chemical works. Bronzing and metallochrome powder in lithographic works. India-rubber work. Dyeing with certain dyes. Mixing and casting of brass, gun metal, bell metal, white metal, phosphor-bronze, and manila mixture.

3. Trades in which anthrax or lockjaw is an incident: Wool sorting. The handling of hides and skins. Hair factories. Brushmaking. Bone factories. Fellmongers' works. Furriers' works. Tanneries; Wool combing. Blanket stoving and tentering. Warp dressing. Carbonizing and grinding of rags. Flock-making. Feather cleaning.

4. Trades in which the danger arises from injurious particles in the air or from dust: Basic slag works. Manufacture of silicate of cotton. File cutting. Flour mills. Trades which use grindstones or emery wheels. China scouring. Silk combing. Flax scutching.

5. Trades in which sudden accidents are so frequent as to demand special legislation: Metal works which use converters. Electrical generating works. Bottling and bottle testing. Quarries. Manufacture of salt.

6. Processes which require a sudden change from great heat to cold and vice versa, such as lacquering and japanning, galvanizing of iron, and the work carried on in furnaces and foundries.

7. Processes that require artificial humidity: Cotton spinning, weaving, etc. Flax spinning, weaving, etc. Wool spinning. Silk spinning.

Remedies

Legislation has been provided by Parliament to cover all these trades, and is in many cases very effective. The method followed is to give the Home Secretary power to declare a certain trade dangerous and to require whatever preventives he may consider necessary. If the manufacturer objects he may appeal to arbitrators, whose decisions are then binding. These provisions are very generally enforced. Out of fifty-six cases before the courts in 1898 the inspectors won forty-nine.

The first essential point in the regulations is that sickness from these cases is required to be reported. This is essential both for the enforcement of the rules and as a guide for future action.

These rules may be said to have the following objects:

1. To prevent fumes of dust from arising in the first instance.
2. To carry off the fumes and dust before they reach the worker.
3. To prevent the fumes or dust from reaching the worker or those parts of the body they might injure.
4. To keep clean the person and clothes of the worker where he is exposed to injurious dust.
5. To furnish an antidote before any poison taken into the system has had its effect.
6. To bring immediate relief after an injury, whether the worker is aware that he has been injured or not.
7. To prevent poisoning from reaching a more serious stage.
8. To eliminate persons unfitted for dangerous occupations, whether this unfitness results from youth, sex, personal idiosyncrasies, or even from the accumulated effects of labor at the trade.

In the U. S. the success of the emery-wheel laws should give encouragement and show the practicability of special legislative enactments in this field. Two or three states have a general law which may be stretched to cover some of the evils, but, as experience in Great Britain has shown, this is not sufficient.

The INTERNATIONAL LABOR ASSOCIATION is agitating for international legislation upon the making of phosphorus matches, etc.

DANTE AND SOCIAL REFORM (1265–1321): The influence exerted by the great Italian poet on the social movement of his day was not small. As is well known, he took an eager part in public affairs. Altho of a family traditionally Guelph, he was a Ghibelline, favoring the empire against the Church, and therefore, for what he believed to be the deepest good of Florence and Italy, opposing the popular party. It was as a result of the strife and intrigues arising out of this controversy that he was expelled from Florence, and given the bitter, sad, noble life out of which has come his great, mystic, unfathomable song. His one great work on social themes is his "De Monarchia," written in Latin in rigid dialectical method, perhaps about 1302, tho more probably later. In any case, it represents his mature Ghibelline views. He asks three questions concern-

ing the Roman Empire ("De Monarchia," i., ii.): 1. Whether it was necessary for the welfare of the world. 2. Whether the Roman people took to itself by right the office of monarchy or empire. 3. Whether the authority of monarchy comes from God directly or only from some other minister or vicar of God. He believes that the authority of the empire came from God direct; he advocates the theory which became the ruling thought of the Middle Ages, and which has affected all European history—that the empire and the Church are two parallel coordinate powers, both divine, both owing respect, but neither owing obedience, to the other. It is this ideal that is revived in the German ideal advocated by Bismarck—e. g., of the Christian State. (See GERMANY.)

DANTON, GEORGE JACQUES: French revolutionist; born at Arcis-sur-Aube, 1759; received a good education and entered the practise of law in Paris. Of radical views, he was one of the leaders of the club of the Cordeliers, which was from the first the center of the extreme popular party in the French Revolution, and became prominent in 1792. He is credited with instigating the rising of the bloody insurrection of Aug. 10th of that year, which began the Reign of Terror. The next day he was raised to the post of minister of justice. On Sept. 2d, when Paris was in a panic, Danton made a bold, powerful speech in the assembly, closing with the words: "Dare, dare again, and forever dare." That evening several hundred prisoners were massacred in the prisons. His admirers claim that Danton adopted this attitude because he believed that a little audacity on the part of the people then would really in the end most preserve life as well as liberty. As a member of the convention he joined the Mountain, as the extremists were called, and voted for the death of the king. He was prominent in the establishment of the revolutionary tribunal; was a member of the committee on public safety; aided in overthrowing the Girondists; but was not a member of the new committee on public safety, being unable to approve its excesses. He could not, however, prevent them, and fell into a sort of apathy till at last Robespierre moved against Danton. He was brought before the Tribunal, sentenced, and guillotined April 5, 1794.

REFERENCES: *Ça Ira*, or *Danton in the French Revolution*, by Grönlund' (this work gives the favorable view of Danton); *Life of Danton*, by Beesly; *Danton, a Study*, by Belloc. (See also FRENCH REVOLUTION.)

DARROW, CLARENCE S.: American lawyer and worker for reform; born at Kinsman, Ohio, 1857; educated in the public schools; admitted to the bar in 1875; acted for some time as attorney for the Northwestern Railroad. In politics he is a radical or independent democrat, practically a Socialist. He was counsel on the side of labor for Eugene DEBS, as well as in a large number of labor injunctions and conspiracy cases. He represented the United Mine Workers of America before the Anthracite Coal Commission which was appointed by President Roosevelt in 1903, and at present (1907) is defending the officials of the Western Federation of Miners who were indicted for conspiracy to murder former Governor Steunenburg of Idaho. He was special traction counsel for the city of Chicago in the recent litigation against the gas and traction companies. He is the author of: "The Persian Pearl"; "Resist not Evil"; "Farmington"; and "An Eye for an Eye." *Address:* 1202 Ashland Block, Chicago.

DAUM, ADOLFUS: Austrian reformer; born in Vienna, 1850; studied at the university of his native city, and was admitted to the bar in 1880. In 1887 he became a member of the Gemeinderat (common council). He is very active in charity organization and temperance work, and together with Baron Oppenheimer he founded an association for improving working men's dwellings. He is joint founder with Dr. Proskowetz of the first Austrian temperance society (Oesterreichischer Verein gegen Trunksucht), has been its secretary since its foundation, and edits its monthly paper. Daum is author of articles and pamphlets on temperance, housing, and charity organization. *Address:* 19 Spiegelgasse, I. Vienna, Austria.

DAVIDSON, THOMAS: Philosophist and reformer; born near Tetterangus, Scotland, 1840; graduated at Aberdeen University, 1860; in 1866 removed to Canada; in 1867 to the United States, and in 1870 settled at Cambridge, Mass. He however, studied, wrote, and lectured on both sides of the Atlantic, mainly on philosophical themes. He also established a summer camp in the Adirondacks for the study of philosophy and ethics. Deeply interested in social reforms, he conducted a class of Russian Jews in New York, tho his main reform influence, however, was his inspiring personality. Out of his classes and lectures have come various reform efforts, some of them, however, not at all on the lines he approved, notably among these the Fabian Society of London. He himself was a strong individualist and a religious and violent freethinker, but large enough to encourage all workers for humanity and seekers for truth. His published writings are all philosophical. Died 1900.

DAVITT, MICHAEL: Founder of the Irish Land League; born in the village of Straide, Mayo County, 1846. When five years old he saw his parents evicted from their home. The family emigrating to Lancashire, he was employed in a cotton-mill, and at the age of eleven lost his right arm through a machinery accident. He attended school at Harlingden until fifteen, when he obtained work in a printing-office, remaining seven years. In 1865 he joined the Fenian Brotherhood, and in 1870 was arrested on charge of treason and sentenced to fifteen years' penal servitude. After seven and a half years he was released on ticket of leave. After a visit to America he returned to his native country. In 1879 he started the land agitation, and in conjunction with Parnell and others founded the Land League. In 1880 he went to the United States to organize land leagues; and on his return (1881) he was again arrested, but after fifteen months was released anew on ticket of leave, and was accorded a reception by Mr. Parnell and the Irish leaders. In February, 1883, he was once more arrested for a speech against rent and landlordism, and was incarcerated four months. While in prison in Portland in 1882 he was elected M.P. for Meath, but was disqualified by vote of the House of Commons. In 1890 Mr. Davitt, siding with Mr. Gladstone, demanded the retirement of Mr. Parnell because of his proved immorality, Mr. Davitt believing this to be the only way of saving the Home Rule cause. The conflict in the Irish Party

and in Ireland became bitter, but Mr. Davitt found a large following, and in 1892 was returned to the House of Commons. In 1895 he was again returned, serving until 1899, when he resigned. Afterward he traveled extensively. He died in 1906. He is the author of: "Leaves from a Prison Diary" (1889); "Defense of the Land League" (1891); "The Boer Fight for Freedom" (1902); "The Fall of Feudalism in Ireland" (1904); besides works on Australia, etc.

DAWSON, HON. ANDERSON: Senator for Queensland in the Australian Federal Legislature; born at Rockhampton, Queensland, 1863. He educated himself, and afterward engaged in the grocery business, later becoming a mining prospector. In 1901 he was elected to the first Commonwealth Parliament. Dawson is leader of the Queensland Labor Party, and in 1899 he was premier for a brief period. *Address*: George Street, Fitzroy, Victoria.

DEAF AND DUMB AND BLIND SCHOOLS AND ASYLUMS: The first public institution for the deaf and dumb was opened at Leipzig in 1788 and the first in England, in London, in 1792, tho in 1760 Abbé de l'Épée, in Paris, and Thomas Braidwood, in Edinburgh, had gotten together classes of the deaf and dumb. The first institution of the kind in America was opened at Hartford, Conn., in 1817, owing to the efforts of Dr. Gallaudet.

The first blind school or asylum was founded at Paris in 1785. England followed in 1791, in a school at Liverpool. A London school was established in 1799.

The first American school for the blind was opened in Boston in 1831 through the efforts of Dr. J. D. Fischer. (See also Howe.)

The first embossed book for the blind was invented by Victor Haüy, in Paris, 1785.

The total number of deaf-mutes in the United States, 1890, was 40,592—whites, 37,447; negroes, 3,115; others, 30; males, 22,429; females, 18,163; native-born whites, 33,278; foreign-born whites, 4,169.

The number of persons so deaf as to be unable to hear loud conversation June 1, 1890, was 121,178, of whom 80,611 were able to speak. The latter were 49,278 males, 31,338 females, 77,308 whites, 3,308 negroes.

Deaf-mutism is an affection of childhood. The steady decrease after the age of twenty shows the greater mortality among these unfortunates.

The total number of the blind in the U. S., 1890, was 50,568—whites, 43,351; negroes, 7,060; others, 157; males, 28,080; females, 22,488; native-born whites, 34,205; foreign-born whites, 9,146. The number blind in one eye only was 93,988.

Statistics

The U. S. Census of 1900 reports deaf and blind asylums together. There were, in 1904, 66 public, 34 private, and 15 ecclesiastical schools or asylums for the deaf and blind. These had Dec. 31, 1904, 7,923 male and 6,808 female inmates. The cost of maintenance was (1903) $3,523,683. Annual subsidies to private and ecclesiastical institutions, $884,772. Pay from inmates, $100,693.

In Great Britain, under Blind and Deaf Children Act, 1893, there are 39 schools and institutions for blind and 54 for deaf children, with 1,683 and 3,248 inmates. London, Bristol, Birmingham, and Nottingham, voluntary after-care committees, take the blind, deaf, and defective children as they leave school, find them work, and generally supervise their welfare.

Professor Mayo-Smith ("Statistics and Sociology," p. 213) gives the following table, but reminds us that it is of doubtful comparative value, owing to the different degrees to which the deficient are registered in different countries:

Deficient for 1,000,000 of Population: 1890

Countries	Blind	Deaf-Mutes
Austria	806	1,292
England and Wales	809	489
Hungary	1,051	1,089
Ireland	1,135	715
Norway	1,289	1,080
Scotland	695	528
Sweden	825	1,019
United States	805	659
North Atlantic Division	777	670
South Atlantic Division	888	634
North Central Division	783	731
South Central Division	895	581
Western Division	561	430

DEAKIN, ALFRED: Prime minister of the Australian commonwealth; born at Melbourne, 1856; educated in the Church of England Grammar School and at Melbourne University; called to the Victorian bar in 1877; elected to the legislature in 1879, but resigned; reelected in 1880, serving till 1889. He was solicitor-general and minister of public works and water supply in the service ministry, 1883–86; and leader of the Liberal Party, 1886, holding various offices. Deakin is the author of the first factory act, and of the first act for public irrigation on an extensive plan; and he is president of the royal commission on irrigation. He was a member of the Federal Council in 1889, 1895, and 1897, took a prominent part in the movement for federal union, was a member of the convention which framed the commonwealth constitution (1897–98), was a delegate to London to urge the passing of the Commonwealth Bill (1900), attorney-general for the first federal ministry (1901–3), acting prime minister and minister for external affairs in 1902, prime minister from 1903 till April, 1904, and leader of the Protectionists. In July, 1905, he was again made prime minister. He is also president of the Imperial Federation League in Victoria since 1905. In 1887 he declined knighthood. *Address*: Llanarth, South Yarra, Melbourne.

DEARMER, PERCY: English clergyman and author; born in London, 1867; educated at Westminster School, abroad, and at Christ Church, Oxford. He has been successively curate of St. Anne's, South Lambeth; St. John's, Great Marlborough Street; and Berkeley Chapel, Mayfair. Since 1901 he has been vicar of St. Mary the Virgin's Church, Primrose Hill. Mr. Dearmer is greatly interested in the social conditions and problems of the time, and has written many tracts on social questions, besides editing and contributing to several volumes on the same subject, notably "The Church and the New Century Problems." Since 1891 he has been the secretary of the London branch of the Christian Social Union. He is the author of: "Oxford Cathedral" (1897); "Religious Pamphlets" and

"Wells Cathedral" (1898); "The Parson's Handbook" (1899); "The Little Lives of the Saints" and "Highways and Byways of Normandy" (1900); "The English Liturgy" (1903); "The Server's Handbook" (1904); "The Sanctuary" (1905), etc. *Address*: St. Mary's Vicarage, Elsantly Rd., London, England.

DEATH PENALTY: The infliction of the death penalty has existed among all peoples and in all times. Only recently has there been any serious agitation for its abandonment. In the earliest times and through the Middle Ages it was often accompanied with the most terrible tortures. Death on the wheel, by quartering, by flaying alive, by burning, by crucifixion, by immersion in boiling oil, by disemboweling—these were but a few of the simpler methods.

The death penalty was in former times inflicted for all manner of crimes. It was once the ordinary punishment for all felonies; in England it was the certain doom of all who could not avail themselves of benefit of clergy—i. e., it was inflicted on all who could not write. Moreover, numerous acts of Parliament created felonies without benefit of clergy. Things grew worse rather than better. Llorente estimates the number that were buried alive under the Inquisition alone at 31,912. Rowe divides this by 10. Protestant England has her shame. Blackstone mentions 160 offenses as punishable by death. Four fifths of these had been added during the reign of the first three Georges. Among these offenses were stealing in a shop to the value of 5*s*.; counterfeiting stamps used in the sale of hair powder and perfumery. In the latter part of the reign of George III., due to the efforts of Sir Samuel Romilly, much of this was abolished. In Pennsylvania, under Penn's code of laws, murder and treason were the only crimes punishable by death. In Massachusetts there were twelve causes. Capital punishment has been defended in all times and by the greatest philosophers. The Mosaic and the Germanic law allowed retaliation—a life for a life. Plato argued for its limitation to incorrigible culprits, whose death would serve the public good. Grotius treats the question from a religious point, basing his argument on the laws of Moses. Montesquieu defends it as a sort of retaliation by society, based on the nature of things. Rousseau, following Hobbes, defends it on the ground that the criminal is a rebel to the social contract. Kant says that in the social contract man consents to the penal law, and so can be put to death. Beccaria, in his "Essay on Crimes and Punishments" (1775), was the first to argue for its total disuse. He did so on the ground that society had no right to take away life, since it did not give life, and that it was not the punishment most deterrent to crime. Bentham argued that it was the most deterrent. Romilly argued that if it is not the supreme penalty, and society has the right to inflict worse penalty, it surely has that right.

The main arguments for capital punishment have been based on the absolute justice of demanding life for life, on Scripture warrants, and, above all, on the asserted teaching of experience that the death penalty is actually the most deterrent punishment, and therefore the most effective. Men have striven to show that where the death penalty has been abolished murder has decreased. This, on the other hand, is strenuously denied; and the argument against the death penalty is based on the denial of the right of the State to take life, on Christian charity, and, above all, on the claim that it works evil, brutalizes the community, making it think life cheap, even adding a horrible fascination to murder, and delivering juries from convicting murderers, etc.

In the United States the death penalty may be given in most states for treason, murder, arson, rape, piracy, robbery of the mails with jeopardy to life, rescue of a convict going to execution, burning a vessel of war, and corruptly destroying a private vessel. It has been abolished in Michigan (1846), Wisconsin (1852), Rhode Island (1852), Iowa (1877), Maine (1887), and New York; but has been restored in Iowa and New York. In 1888 the latter state substituted death by electricity for hanging.

In Europe it seems going out of use. In Holland there have been no executions since 1860, and the penalty was abolished in 1870. In Rumania it was abolished in 1864, and in France and Portugal in 1907. Switzerland abolished it in 1874, but murders increasing, in 1879 the cantons reestablished it where the canton so votes. It remains abolished in fifteen cantons. From 1870–79, of 805 persons sentenced to death in Austria, only 16 were executed; in Sweden, only 3 out of 32; in Norway, 3 out of 14; in Denmark, 1 out of 94; in Bavaria, out of 249 committed for murder, only 7 were executed. In North Germany, from 1869–78, 1,301 were convicted of homicide, 484 sentenced, but only 1 executed—Hödel, who attempted the assassination of the emperor. The death penalty for political crimes is all but universally abolished. The French Revolution of 1830 declared for this, and it was abolished in France by the Constitution of Nov. 4, 1848, and the law of June 8, 1850. In Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and most of the states of the U. S., the method of execution is by hanging; in New York and Massachusetts by electrocution; in Germany by beheading; in Spain by garroting. See Penology.

References: *The Death Penalty* (*Questions of the Day Series*, 1891), by A. J. Palm; *On the Punishment of Death*, by Basil Montagu, 1809–13; *Memoirs of Sir S. Romilly*, 1840; *Rationale of Punishment*, by Jeremy Bentham, 1830; *Report of Select Committee on Capital Punishment*, New York State Assembly, 1851; *Essays on Crimes and Punishments*, by Beccaria, 1775; Articles: *Westminster*, April, 1901, May, 1906; *Annals Am. Acad.*, March, 1901.

DEATH-RATES: Two facts stand out in the study of death-rates from the standpoint of social reform. First, the marked falling of the death-rate in almost all civilized countries and cities, clearly indicating advance in national and civic cleanliness and hygiene, together with increasing successful provision for the sick and for old age. Second, the varying death-rates between city and country, the poor and the rich, the overcrowded and the well-circumstanced, showing to what extent the death-rate is a matter of economics and of environment. These questions, however, are better considered after the statistics:

General Statistics

Death-Rate per 1,000 Population

(From U. S. Census Bulletin 15. 1904)

	1890	Twenty-five years 1876–1900	1900
Austria	29.4	28.6	25.4
Belgium	20.6	20.1	19.3
Denmark	19.0	18.3	16.9
England and Wales	19.5	19.1	18.2
France	22.8	21.9	21.9
German Empire	24.4	24.2	22.1
Prussia	24.0	23.7	21.8
Hungary	32.4	32.3	26.9
Ireland	18.2	18.2	19.6
Italy	26.4	26.5	23.8
Netherlands	20.5	20.3	17.8
Norway	17.9	16.6	15.9
Scotland	19.7	19.2	18.5
Spain	32.5	30.3	28.7
Sweden	17.1	17.0	16.8
Switzerland	20.8	20.6	19.3
United States (registration area)	19.6	....	17.8

In the United States the "registration" area means areas where there are adequate official returns. "Non-registration"

areas are those where the census enumerators made the reports, or where the official reports were too defective to be adequate. The registration area embraces ten registration states—namely, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, and Vermont—and outside these states 153 registration cities. These are all states and all cities having at least 8,000 inhabitants, for which the registration of deaths under local laws and ordinances was found to be sufficiently accurate for use by the Census Office. The population of the registration area in 1900 was 28,807,269, or about 38 per cent of the entire population of continental U. S. In the registration area it is estimated that the death-rate of 1900 was 17.8, but the census states that as the non-registration area was largely rural the real death-rate was between 17.8 and 15.4 (the rural registration rate).

The United States

Death-Rates per 1,000 Population by Race and Nativity: 1900

(Twelfth Census, vol. iii., pp. lvii., lxx., lxxiv., and 286)

Registration Area	Total	White	Negro, Indian and Mongolian	White	
				Native	Foreign born
Summaries:					
Registration area...	17.8	17.3	29.6	16.6	19.4
Registration cities..	18.6	17.9	30.5	17.3	19.7
Registration states..	17.3	17.1	25.3	16.7	18.3
Cities.....	18.6	18.4	27.6	18.3	18.5
Rural.....	15.4	15.3	19.0	14.9	17.8
Registration states....					
Connecticut.....	17.0	16.9	23.4	16.8	16.9
District of Columbia.	22.8	19.1	31.0	17.6	32.0
Maine.....	17.5	17.5	16.1	17.7	16.2
Massachusetts.....	17.7	17.7	19.5	18.3	16.4
Michigan.....	13.9	13.8	16.4	13.1	16.4
New Hampshire.....	18.0	18.0	15.1	19.3	13.1
New Jersey.....	17.4	17.1	23.3	16.7	18.6
New York.....	17.9	17.8	26.2	17.0	20.1
Rhode Island.....	19.1	18.9	24.9	19.7	17.3
Vermont.....	17.0	16.9	28.7	16.6	19.1

Death-Rates

Certain Causes, for the Registration Area, 1900 and 1890

(From the Twelfth Census)

Cause	Death-Rate per 100,000		Increase or Decrease in Death-Rate, 1890 to 1900	
	1900	1890	Increase	Decrease
Pneumonia.....	191.9	186.9	5.0	.....
Consumption[1].....	190.5	245.4	.....	54.9
Heart disease[2].....	134.0	121.8	12.2	.....
Diarrheal diseases[3]...	85.1	104.1	.....	19.0
Diseases of the kidneys[4].....	83.7	59.7	24.0	.....
Apoplexy.....	66.6	49.0	17.6	.....
Cancer.....	60.0	47.9	12.1	.....
Old age.....	54.0	44.9	9.1	.....
Bronchitis.....	48.3	74.4	.....	26.1
Cholera infantum....	47.8	79.7	.....	31.9
Debility and atrophy.	45.5	88.6	.....	43.1
Inflammation of the brain and meningitis	41.8	49.1	.....	7.3
Diphtheria.....	35.4	70.1	.....	34.7
Typhoid fever.....	33.8	46.3	.....	12.5
Influenza.....	23.9	6.2	17.7	.....
Diseases of the brain.	18.6	30.9	.....	12.3
Croup.....	9.8	27.6	.....	17.8
Malarial fever.....	8.8	19.2	.....	10.4

[1] Including general tuberculosis.
[2] Including pericarditis.
[3] Including cholera morbus, colitis diarrhea, dysentery, and enteritis.
[4] Including Bright's disease.

Death-Rates by Age Periods per 1,000 Population of Corresponding Age: 1900

(Twelfth Census, vol. iii., p. lxxx.)

Registration Area	Age Period							
	Under 1	Under 5	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 64	65 and over
Summaries:								
Registration area...	165.4	52.1	4.3	6.4	9.0	11.5	22.1	86.6
Registration cities..	179.9	57.6	4.7	6.7	9.6	12.6	24.8	93.3
Registration states..	159.3	49.9	3.8	5.7	8.3	10.5	20.3	82.8
Cities.....	184.7	59.7	4.3	5.9	9.1	12.1	24.3	90.9
Rural.....	117.4	34.4	3.2	5.3	6.8	8.0	15.7	76.8
Registration states:								
Connecticut.....	156.8	46.4	3.6	5.4	7.4	9.5	19.8	83.8
District of Columbia	274.5	81.0	7.0	9.7	11.2	13.0	27.3	103.3
Maine.....	144.1	41.9	3.5	6.5	7.9	8.7	17.0	78.1
Massachusetts.....	177.8	54.4	3.8	5.6	7.8	9.7	20.7	86.3
Michigan.....	121.3	36.0	3.2	5.3	7.0	8.0	15.6	74.5
New Hampshire....	172.0	51.8	3.9	5.4	6.3	8.2	16.1	79.2
New Jersey.....	167.4	52.7	4.2	5.5	8.3	10.9	21.0	85.5
New York.....	159.8	52.3	3.9	5.6	9.1	11.8	22.1	83.6
Rhode Island.....	197.9	63.3	4.0	5.9	8.0	10.6	22.5	91.7
Vermont.....	122.1	34.4	3.4	6.0	7.4	9.5	16.6	80.4

Death-Rates from Principal Causes per 100,000 Population: 1900

(Twelfth Census, vol. iii., p. cxiii.)

Registration Area	Cause of Death									
	Measles	Scarlet fever	Diphtheria and croup	Whooping-cough	Diarrheal diseases	Typhoid fever	Malarial fever	Influenza	Pneumonia	Consumption
Summaries:										
Registration area...	13	11	45	12	132	33	8	23	192	187
Registration cities..	14	12	52	13	144	36	9	20	210	204
Registration states.	14	10	40	14	132	25	5	29	193	175
Cities.....	18	13	52	16	156	25	4	25	233	204
Rural.....	9	7	22	10	97	25	5	34	135	134
Registration states:										
Connecticut.....	17	6	35	13	140	27	12	70	161	168
District of Columbia	13	9	75	13	175	80	22	41	185	305
Maine.....	7	7	24	14	113	28	2	35	164	164
Massachusetts.....	11	13	45	13	139	22	2	39	187	186
Michigan.....	15	9	22	11	104	28	6	17	109	100
New Hampshire....	10	7	26	19	122	16	4	44	212	152
New Jersey.....	10	12	48	17	133	21	5	23	194	180
New York.....	16	11	45	13	138	24	4	20	228	194
Rhode Island.....	47	8	29	25	185	23	5	75	209	195
Vermont.....	6	4	18	11	73	31	2	37	183	152

Great Britain

Death-Rates per 1,000 Population

(Statistical Abstract, 1906)

	England and Wales	Scotland	Ireland	United Kingdom
1891.....	20.2	20.7	18.4	20.0
1892.....	19.0	18.5	19.4	19.0
1893.....	19.2	19.3	18.0	19.0
1894.....	16.6	17.1	18.2	16.8
1895.....	18.7	19.4	18.5	18.7
1896.....	17.1	16.6	16.7	16.9
1897.....	17.4	18.4	18.5	17.6
1898.....	17.5	18.0	18.2	17.7
1899.....	18.2	18.1	17.7	18.2
1900.....	18.2	18.5	19.6	18.4
1901.....	16.9	17.9	17.8	17.1
1902.....	16.2	17.2	17.5	16.5
1903.....	15.4	16.6	17.5	15.8
1904.....	16.2	16.8	18.1	16.5
1905.....	15.2	15.9	17.1	15.5

The More Important Causes of Death—Deaths per 100,000 People in 1903

Compiled from statistics of the Imperial Health Department of the German Empire, 1906

Per 100,000 Inhabitants

	Smallpox	Malarial fevers	Typhoid fever	Diphtheria	Measles	Scarlet fever	Whooping-cough	Tuberculosis (lungs)	Tuberculosis (other organs)	Pneumonia	Other diseases of respiratory organs	Total diseases of respiratory organs	Influenza	Diarrhea, dysentery, etc.	Cancer and ulcers
German Empire	0.03	0.01	7.4	33.5	26.9	26.5	30.0	186.2	21.1	134.0	133.2	453.4	.....	249.6	77.3
Switzerland	0.1	.....	5.0	15.9	16.1	4.8	16.5	188.1	76.2	183.6	183.6	371.7	.....	112.4	131.1
Italy	18.1	.....	35.3	12.3	22.2	6.0	19.7	111.6	47.5	251.3	188.5	551.4	21.6	328.4	.....
England and Wales	2.3	0.2	10.0	19.5	27.5	12.5	28.5	120.2	53.9	121.1	132.8	375.1	18.9	79.5	87.2
Scotland	0.9	0.3	12.1	15.6	24.7	8.9	42.5	144.8	67.6	141.4	137.3	423.5	21.1	79.9	82.9
Ireland	0.9	1.7	10.9	8.5	15.5	4.8	24.1	216.6	59.4	79.2	214.1	509.9	35.2	24.8	69.1
Belgium	23.3	.....	15.6	19.9	33.1	10.0	39.1	108.6	30.0	89.2	194.2	392.0	13.6	115.7	58.5
Netherlands	0.4	0.02	8.6	12.8	22.9	2.5	16.1	133.6	57.1	76.6	58.0	268.1	14.1	147.9	100.0
Norway	.....	0.2	6.2	14.7	13.2	5.3	19.4	198.1	60.8	89.4	86.1	373.5	4.6	49.0	93.2
Russia	40.5	5.6	22.8	60.1	73.7	114.9	87.0	....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	286.1	.....
323 largest cities of Germany, 1904	0.04	0.04	7.3	25.1	20.0	20.5	6.6	191.2	....	219.4	219.4	410.6	3.8	256.1	.....
18 largest cities in Switzerland	0.3	.....	5.7	13.9	18.1	6.1	16.5	240.2	95.6	157.4	157.4	397.6	....	120.8	.....
71 cities of France with 30,000 or more people	23.0	0.05	21.0	12.4	18.8	4.2	9.3	315.4	59.7	93.1	216.7	625.3	19.2	119.0	106.8
75 cities of Denmark	.....	.....	6.0	13.0	8.3	6.6	28.5	140.4	50.0	42.4	116.7	299.6	17.0	91.7	125.4
76 large cities of England	2.8	.....	....	19.7	36.4	14.3	32.7	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	70.4	.....
72 cities of Belgium	34.8	.....	13.8	14.3	27.3	1.6	15.6	121.5	28.4	86.2	178.0	385.8	5.4	166.9	61.0

The More Important Causes of Death in the Largest Cities of Europe

Compiled from statistics of the Imperial Health Department of the German Empire, 1906

Per 100,000 Inhabitants

		Smallpox	Malarial fevers	Typhoid fever	Diphtheria	Measles	Scarlet fever	Whooping-cough	Tuberculosis (lungs)	Tuberculosis (other organs)	Pneumonia	Other diseases of respiratory organs	Total diseases of respiratory organs	Influenza	Diarrhea, dysentery, etc.	Cancer and ulcers
Berlin	1904	.....	.....	4.0	18.1	21.3	21.6	23.6	207.5	32.6	140.1	101.0	448.5	13.3	136.7	0.3
Breslau	1904	.....	.....	7.7	19.7	10.8	5.1	12.4	312.6	.....	196.6	70.4	579.5	9.5	294.9	.....
Munich	1904	.....	.....	3.4	17.0	25.6	6.3	20.4	257.8	.....	21.2	182.8	461.8	.....	593.5	.....
Hamburg	1904	.....	.....	4.2	17.0	11.9	11.1	21.8	158.5	35.1	99.1	105.9	363.5	5.7	195.3	0.3
Vienna	1904	0.1	.....	3.3	21.5	56.8	3.6	4.8	314.4	95.4	164.5	60.1	539.0	0.8	176.3	0.3
Prague	1904	.....	.....	36.8	16.4	33.7	5.8	21.7	707.7	707.7	146.1	.....	.....	.....	112.0	4.0
Milan	1904	0.2	38.2	27.9	6.9	0.8	5.4	234.9	74.0	214.9	103.5	553.4	2.7	166.2	0.4
London	1904	0.5	.....	6.4	16.2	48.6	7.9	32.4	166.4	56.1	142.2	157.5	466.1	15.3	126.3	.....
Edinburgh	1904	4.5	.....	6.6	19.0	19.9	9.3	55.4	122.9	74.1	70.5	174.4	367.8	8.1	41.0	0.6
Antwerp	1904	26.1	.....	18.0	6.4	37.3	2.4	13.2	134.0	23.8	120.5	149.0	403.5	5.4	232.1	0.7
Hague	1904	.....	.....	7.4	9.1	79.6	0.4	13.9	92.2	55.3	87.0	50.9	230.2	7.4	149.7	.....
Amsterdam	1904	1.3	.....	8.4	12.1	85.1	1.6	32.6	142.4	69.5	101.4	30.2	273.9	4.8	90.2	0.4
Copenhagen	1904	.....	.....	2.6	7.3	14.7	5.7	52.2	149.4	52.7	32.6	171.4	353.4	8.0	122.2	.....
Stockholm	1904	.....	.....	2.5	16.2	7.0	11.5	16.2	222.3	67.5	165.0	75.5	462.8	6.4	67.5	.....
Christiania	1904	.....	.....	0.9	26.1	4.5	4.9	9.9	219.9	73.3	97.6	133.6	451.0	8.1	95.8	.....
Moscow	1904	11.8	1.1	9.2	47.6	66.8	51.4	17.2	287.3	55.7	74.3	496.5	858.1	36.9	397.5	16.8
Warsaw	1904	106.2	2.6	21.9	55.4	36.0	86.2	13.0	242.6	94.1	299.9	139.0	681.4	1.7	244.6	7.0
Bucharest	1904	.....	.....	18.7	35.0	19.4	44.5	5.3	433.0	.....	385.3	.....	.....	.....	181.5	.....
Athens	1904	.....	.....	104.9	22.1	4.9	6.6	1.6	382.6	130.3	289.2	113.1	784.9	41.8	290.9	.....
Rome	1903	0.4	.....	41.9	7.5	12.7	2.1	11.2	169.0	46.9	247.9	122.1	539.0	11.6	176.1	.....
Zurich	1903	0.6	.....	3.0	4.9	0.6	14.6	10.4	212.2	78.1	.....	114.7	326.9	.....	126.2	.....
Paris	1903	0.8	.....	11.0	14.7	16.4	5.0	7.5	383.2	32.2	56.5	200.1	639.7	8.7	76.2	.....
Marseilles	1903	23.2	.....	39.5	11.8	16.5	3.7	6.1	237.0	26.1	230.3	367.3	834.6	52.1	147.8	.....
Lyons	1903	0.2	.....	13.1	15.0	2.0	2.6	5.4	296.2	75.8	186.7	162.5	645.4	41.6	70.6	.....
Brussels	1903	31.6	.....	20.0	11.6	17.9	.....	13.7	204.6	40.5	80.0	207.8	492.3	.....	201.5	1.1
Madrid	1903	146.1	24.8	41.8	15.4	91.3	7.5	5.4	256.7	96.4	271.3	318.0	846.1	61.9	253.7	.....

DEATHS IN THE GERMAN EMPIRE, 1851–1904

YEARS	Deaths	Still-born	Per 1,000 including still-born	Still-born per 100
1851–60....	1,013,903	54,251	27.8	4.0
1861–70....	1,123,864	62,363	28.4	4.1
1871–80....	1,232,854	69,045	28.8	4.0
1881–90....	1,247,470	66,763	26.5	3.7
1891–1900..	1,233,843	63,812	23.5	3.2
1900.....	1,300,900	64,518	23.2	3.1
1901.....	1,240,014	65,522	21.8	3.1
1902.....	1,187,171	64,679	20.6	3.1
1903.....	1,234,033	63,128	21.1	3.1
1904.....	1,226,683	63,500	20.7	3.0

Concerning the interpretation of these and other vital statistics caution must be exercised. Says Professor Mayo-Smith ("Statistics and Sociology," p. 149):

The ordinary basis for comparison of mortality is to take the number of deaths per 1,000 of the population. As the death-rate, however, is greater among males than among females, and at certain age periods than at others, it is obvious that comparison would only be fair between two populations where the sex and age distribution was exactly the same. This never happens, and even in the same population, in course of time, the sex and age distribution may vary. The use of the crude death-rate has given rise, therefore, to many criticisms. In 1881 the general rate in England and Wales was 18.9 per 1,000 of all ages, while in France it was 22.0—i. e., 3.1 higher. But had the age distribution of the French population been identical with that of England, the general death-rate would have been 20.9 and not 22.0. Thus, of the 3.1 difference between the two rates, 2.0 was due to difference of health condition and 1.1 to difference of age distribution.

Various plans, therefore, have been proposed for correcting the death-rate by reducing the population to a common standard.

Professor Edgeworth, of Oxford, has summed up in Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy" the generally received conclusions as to death-rates, which we condense as follows:

One class of causes in variations in death-rates, since they can be little changed, are mainly important because they must be allowed for in estimating the causes which can be changed. Among these, in the main, unvariable causes of differences in death-rates is sex.

At the early ages the difference between the mortality of the two sexes is marked. At the zero point of age it appears that the proportion of male to female still-born children is 139 to 100. For the period 0–5 the proportion of mortality is 72 to 62 (according to Dr. Farr's life-table for England and Wales). At the age of adolescence female mortality gains upon male, but again lags behind at later ages. The disturbing effect which this cause exercises on inferences drawn from the general death-rate is not so considerable as the effect of age. Mr. Humphreys, in his paper "On the Value of Death-Rates" (*Journal of Stat. Soc.*, xxxvii., p. 444), contrasting the English towns which have the greatest and the least proportion of male to female inhabitants, argues that the extreme perturbation of the general death-rates which may be expected from this cause is not more than two per mille.

Here may be mentioned the effect on mortality of the variations of the seasons. Of the four quarters of the year, the first is the most fatal; next comes the fourth; the mortality of the second quarter is for this country on an average in excess, but occasionally below, that of the third quarter ("Reports of the Registrar-General," tables showing death-rates in each quarter of the years since 1838).

Other causes, not admitting of such exact measurement, are race and climate (including properties of soil, water, etc.).

Also it may be expected that the mortality of unmarried persons will, *cæteris paribus*, be particularly large. The married have the advantage at almost all ages, as is shown by Dr. Farr ("Vital Statistics," p. 441, and references there given). But it is a nice question whether celibacy can be regarded as a cause of high death-rate. The high death-rate attending celibacy may be a case of *post hoc* not *propter hoc*; the finest individuals being selected for marriage; while "men with a weak constitution, ill health, or any great infirmity of body or mind will not often wish to marry, or will be rejected" (Darwin, "Descent of Man," part i., ch. v.).

Among the causes which can be remedied are (1) vice, (2) unhealthy occupations, (3) indigence, and (4) insanitary residences—agencies which are apt to be entangled with each other as well as with the first set of causes.

(1) There is much truth as well as exaggeration in Süssmilch's dictum ascribing the chief differences in mortality to "the manner of life, the moral circumstances, virtue and vice, indolence and industry." One example is the great mortality of illegitimate children. Dr. Farr cites instances in which the death-rate of illegitimate infants is double that of the legitimate. The vice of drunkenness is also conspicuously fatal. The mortality of hotel keepers and their servants is appalling. It is difficult to say, however, in many instances how far alcoholism is to blame and how far occupation and economic causes.

Vice

The other three causes of death which Professor Edgeworth mentions—unhealthy occupations, indigence, and insanitary residences—may be summed up in one word—poverty. How far death is due to poverty few realize. From England we have the most abundant testimony. Some years ago Dr. Drysdale, in England, wrote:

At present the average age at death among the nobility, gentry, and professional classes in England and Wales was fifty-five years; but among the artizan classes of Lambeth it only amounted to twenty-nine years; and while the infantile death-rate among the well-to-do classes was such that only eight children died in the first year of life out of 100 born, as many as 30 per cent succumbed at that age among the children of the poor in some districts of our large cities. The only real causes of this enormous difference in the position of the rich and poor with respect to their chances of existence lay in the fact that at the bottom of society wages were so low that food and other requisites of health were obtained with too great difficulty" (Dr. C. R. Drysdale, "Report of Industrial Remuneration Conference," p. 130).

One great cause of the short and miserable lives of the poor is the insanitary condition of the slums in which many of them are compelled to dwell. The strongest testimony to the evil effects of such surroundings comes from the insurance companies. The industrial friendly societies have in each large town their "proscribed streets." The Liverpool Victoria Legal Friendly Society proscribes, for Liverpool alone, on account of their insanitary character, 167 "streets wherein no members of the society may be entered" (Circular of Oct. 13, 1886). Yet these unhealthy streets are not too bad to be the only homes of thousands of the poorer citizens of that commercial center.

The relation between overcrowding and death-rate is only too plainly seen in the following tables for London:

Proportion of total population living more than two in a room (in tenements of less than five rooms)	Death-rate, "all causes," 1885–92
Districts with under 15 per cent.....	17.51
Districts with under 15 to 20 per cent.....	19.51
Districts with under 20 to 25 per cent.....	20.27
Districts with under 25 to 30 per cent.....	21.76
Districts with under 30 to 35 per cent.....	23.92
Districts with over 35 per cent.....	25.07

"London Government," p. 68.

In the United States similar facts exist. In 1904, in Boston's wealthy wards the death-rate was 13.45; in the thirteenth ward, a working-class district, it was 18.45. Speaking broadly, the rural death-rate in the U. S. registration area 1900–4 averaged 14.3, and for the cities 17.5. In Paris, the rich quarters of the Elysée and the Opéra had, according to Levasseur ("Pop. Française, Vol. II., p. 403), a death-rate of 13.4 and 16.2 when Ménilmontant had a death-rate of 13.3.

For the terrible effect of occupations upon death-rates, see ACCIDENTS, RAILWAYS, and DANGEROUS TRADES.

It is, however, among the children that is seen the most fatal effects of poverty. For this, however, see INFANT MORTALITY.

REFERENCES: Report of the U. S. Census on *Mortality Statistics*, 1905; Great Britain, *Reports of Registrar-General*; Germany, *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*. Arthur Newsholme, *Vital Statistics* (1899); Mayo-Smith, *Science of Statistics*, 1895–99; G. Newman, *Infant Mortality*, 1906; *Trades* (dangerous), Thomas Oliver (1902); *Facts for Socialists*, Fabian Tract No. 5; Articles: *Harpers' Weekly*, Feb, 1904; *Nation*, Nov., 1903; *American Journal of Sociology*, Sept., 1897; *Ann. Amer. Acad.*, May, 1906; *Independent*, June, 1906.

DEBS, EUGENE VICTOR: American Socialist and labor leader; born at Terre Haute, Ind., 1855. He was educated in the common schools, and worked first as a railway fireman (1871–74) and later in the wholesale grocery trade (1875–79). In 1879 he was elected city clerk of Terre Haute, which position he held until 1883, being elected to the state legislature two years later. He was grand secretary of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen from 1880 to 1893, in which latter year he formed the American Railway Union, an effort to organize all railway men in one aggressive union rather than on the more conservative lines of the American Federation of Labor. He was president of this union from 1893–97. In 1894 he led the great PULLMAN STRIKE, having first done his best to procure a peaceable settlement. He was charged with conspiracy, but acquitted, was then charged with violation of an injunction, imprisoned without trial, and held in prison for six months for contempt of court. Joining the Socialists he has traveled and delivered brilliant addresses in all parts of the United States. In 1900 and again in 1904 he was the presidential candidate of the Social Democratic Party. His views are those of international and "class conscious" socialism. *Address*: Terre Haute, Ind.

DEBTS. See FINANCE.

DE COLINS. See COLINS.

DEGENERATION: To whatever school of social reform one belong, whatever be his view of the cause of present ills and the methods to be followed to remove those ills and to advance to any ideal condition, whatever that ideal may be, one cannot escape the question of the ability of the individuals who compose society to conduct the methods of reform believed in, and to realize the ideal conditions that may be desired. The Socialist, who dwells most upon the power and function of society in developing progress, must meet the question whether the individual be capable of socialism no less than the individualist must consider individual ability. We therefore consider in this article the causes which tend to lower individual ability and to produce that personal degeneration which makes the individual lower than the norm (*de*, from, and *genus*, class or norm), unfitted to play his proper part in life. This is all that we mean here by the degenerate. All forms of unfittedness for life are more or less connected, and pass by degrees from the slightest unfittedness to the extremes of vice, intemperance, and disease.

The conception of degeneration which prevails to-day in the study of mental disease, and which lies at the basis of Max Nordau's well-known book, "Degeneration," was first clearly defined by Dr. Morel in his "Traité des Dégénérescences Physiques Intellectuelles et Morales de l'Espèce Humaine et des Causes qui Produisant ces Variétés Maladives," published in Paris in 1857. He says (p. 5): "The clearest notion we can form of degeneracy is to regard it as a morbid deviation from an original type. This deviation, even if at the outset it was ever so slight, contained transmissible elements of such a nature that any one bearing in him the germs becomes more and more incapable of fulfilling his functions in the world; and mental progress, already checked in his own person, finds itself menaced also in his descendants." Such degeneracy shows itself, according to many writers, and particularly LOMBROSO, in his "L'Uomo Delinquente," in certain physical characteristics termed *stigmata*, such as deformities, stinted growth, asymmetry, etc. Max Nordau, however, argues that there are also certain mental stigmata which appear in degeneracy when coupled with affinity for art or literature. Such higher degenerates he considers to dwell in the borderland between reason and pronounced madness. These mental stigmata he considers to be the lack of moral sense or of moral proportion, egoism, impulsiveness, emotionalism, despondency, fear; a predilection for idle reverie, doubts, and curious surmisings as to the causes of the universe, mysticism, etc. His book, which has been by many received as an able contribution to modern thought, and by others as a weak and sometimes ignorant criticism upon new forms of art and literature, is a minute analysis of many of the foremost works of art and literature of the day, with the result of convicting most of the artists and litterateurs of the day of being, according to Nordau, degenerate.

We have referred to this book to show how wide is the range that has been covered by the word degenerate. The causes that produce such an undefined and such an undefinable phenomenon must be themselves undefined and undefinable. Only some of them can be here noted, and one must beware of too exact statements, especially as to the degree to which different causes contribute to producing character and ability below the norm. The main causes we can here only name, for a discussion of them referring the reader to their respective heads. In the first place, we are met by the old question, how far environment and heredity contribute to the formation of character, and how far men form their own characters. Without entering into questions of philosophy, it is not difficult to show the results of modern careful investigation upon this point. Mr. A. G. Warner, in his "American Charities" (p. 34), has tabulated the results of careful investigations as to the prime causes of poverty, conducted by trained charity organization visitors in Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Cincinnati, and New York, by Mr. Charles Booth in London, and results tabulated by Böhmert for seventy-six German cities. This tabulates practically all the scientific investigations that have been made. The details are given in the article POVERTY, in the section on its causes. We here simply point out some of its results. According to this table, in all the different investigations taken by men and women, humanitarians, tho not socialistically inclined, only from 2.7 to 42.2 per cent of the cases were found to be primarily due to causes indicating misconduct, while the causes indicating misfortune are put at from 46.4 to 92.5 per cent. According to this showing, then, poverty—and since poverty and degeneration usually are as-

sociated, degeneration—is very much more due to misfortune than misconduct. And even in cases of poverty due to misconduct, one can by no means be sure how much of the misconduct is due to bad environment or bad heredity. Misconduct causes much poverty—of that there is no question; but that poverty also causes much misconduct, such as drinking, prostitution, crime, theft, can no more be questioned. How much tendency, too, to drinking, prostitution, and crime is inherited, who can say? Cases like the JUKES show the terrible power of heredity. The extent to which people thus form their own characters, as taught by modern science, is reduced to the lowest proportions. That people can, however, rise out of the lowest environment to the highest character, numerous instances indicate; but how far this is due to heredity remains still to be ascertained.

Misconduct or Misfortune

Coming to the question as to whether heredity or environment is the more effective cause, we are again on a contested field in biological controversy.

Mr. Spencer's philosophy is mainly based on the belief that heredity accounts for much, and that acquired characteristics can be transmitted to posterity. Professor Weismann denies this. Science to-day is undecided upon the point, tending perhaps, however, to the position that while Weismann may not be wholly right, and acquired characteristics may sometimes be transmitted, yet for the future race selection has more to do with character than environment, and acquired character cannot largely be transmitted. This, however, does not prevent environment from being for the individual more important than heredity, which seems to-day largely proved. For further details upon this point, however, see HEREDITY.

Heredity or Environment

Coming to the question of what are the principal factors in environment that produce degeneration in the individual, perhaps the first that should be named is lack of employment. This has the highest percentages of *any single cause* of poverty in Professor Warner's table, its percentages running from 2.2 per cent to 32.5 per cent, while insufficient employment and poorly paid employment carry the percentage much higher. Not, perhaps, so much as a cause of poverty, since it is rather a result of poverty, but certainly among the very foremost causes of degeneration is the lack of a good home. This is probably the supreme cause of degeneration as far as environment goes, mainly because it is that which most affects the early years, when, by all experience, character is the most impressionable. The point is too well known, however, to need dwelling upon here. For confirmation of it, see POVERTY.

It should, perhaps, however, be suggested, too, that in noticing the terrible effects upon character of lack of homes and poor homes, one should not forget the terrible results upon character of unhappy homes, of unhappy marriages, and family quarrels. (See FAMILY.)

Professor Warner puts as a most palpable social cause of degeneration accidents, and shows how in one year, ending June 30, 1892, 28,268 men in railway employ were injured on the railways of the United States, or one man for every twenty-nine. (See RAILWAYS.) It must not be forgotten that the worst results of accidents are often not the direct results, but the indirect, when homes are broken up through the inabilty of the breadwinner to maintain the family. Akin to this is the effect of unhealthy trades. The effect of this, however, on the individual and the family can be seen only in studying the relative death-rates, and perhaps even more the relative sick-rates that prevail in different occupations. According to statistics prepared by Josef Körösi, as quoted by Professor Warner (idem., p. 104), if we start at the age of twenty-five with 1,000 persons of each class, there will be alive at the end of thirty-five years, of merchants, 587; of tailors, 421; of shoemakers, 376; of servants, 290; of day laborers, only 253. The total number of years of life for the merchants will be 28,501, and of the laborers only 22,317, while, worse yet, of the years falling to the laborer, 1,493 will be years of sickness, while of the merchants' years only 824 will be years of sickness. Such are some of the social causes of degeneration.

Among the causes which may be considered under misconduct, the most recent thought gives a larger place to sensuality than to intemperance. It is often not easy to tabulate this as a cause; but, says Professor Warner: "Careful observers believe it to be a more constant and fundamental cause of degeneration than intemperance. It certainly effects degeneration of a more or less pronounced type in a much larger number of persons. It persists almost to the end in the most degenerate stock, while at the same time it is operative among the healthier classes." It has, however, been comparatively little studied. The effects of venereal disease have been treated at length, but the amount of vitality burned out through lust has never been and, perhaps, never can be adequately measured. Above all, it brings multitudes of unhealthy children into the world, often to be neglected after birth. (See ILLEGITIMACY.)

Sensuality

Intemperance is much more readily recognized as a cause of degeneration. Says Professor Warner: "Probably nothing in the tables of the causes of poverty, as ascertained by cold counting, will more surprize the average reader than the fact that intemperance is held to be the chief cause in only from one fifteenth to one fifth of the cases, and that where an attempt is made to learn in how many cases it had a contributory influence, its presence cannot be traced at all in more than 28.1 per cent of the cases. (See POVERTY.) Professor Warner sums up the case by saying: "The general conclusion regarding drink as a cause of poverty is sufficiently well formulated by Mr. Booth. 'Of drink in all its combinations, adding to every trouble, undermining every effort after good, destroying the home and cursing the young lives of the children, the stories tell enough. It does not stand as apparent chief cause in as many cases as sickness and old age, but if it were not for drink, sickness and old age could be better met.'" Such are the chief social causes of degeneration, but by no means all. Speculation in the market, hopelessness and discouragement in business—all are causes. Perhaps the most powerful causes of personal degeneration have not yet been mentioned—the psychic causes. These may be often connected with religion. When in early years moral teachings have been combined with certain religious dogma, it often happens that when in later years the religious dogmas are given up, there results, for a time at least, a moral chaos.

Intemperance

Probably far more demoralizing both in extent and degree, and especially to the young, is the skepticism as to honor and virtue which results from seeing those whom they have been taught to respect at the church commit acts contrary to their profession. The degeneration of character that arises from this source can never be measured, but it must be among the most operative causes. Such considerations, however, lead us into fields too wide to be covered here, and apart from the limitations of this cyclopedia. Yet this and a hundred other similar psychological forces must never be forgotten in their effect upon character.

How far such an analysis of the causes of degeneration affect the question of the wisest methods in social reform different minds will differently estimate. Socialists argue that all modern science tends to show that character is almost wholly the result of environment, and hence that by giving right environment vice and crime will disappear, and gradually a race be developed capable of what is to-day impossible. Individualists, while not denying the power of environment upon character, fear that socialism will result in weakened character and impaired individuality, by tending to make men rely too much upon society. (See EVOLUTION; INDIVIDUALISM; PHYSICAL DEGENERATION; POVERTY; PROSTITUTION; SOCIALISM.)

REFERENCES: *American Charities*, by A. G. Warner, chaps. ii.–v., 1895; *Principles of Biology*, by Herbert Spencer, concluding chaps., 1891; *Heredity*, by August Weismann; *Psychic Factors of Civilization*, by Lester Ward, 1893; *Abnormal Man*, by Arthur McDonald, 1893; *Degeneration*, by E. R. Lankester; *Degeneration*, by Max Nordau; *Ueber den Rückschritt in der Natur*, by Weismann.

DE LEON, DANIEL: Socialist; editor of *The People*; born in Curaçao, Dutch West Indies, off the coast of Venezuela, 1852. Came to the United States from Europe, 1872; graduate Columbia Law School. Lectured on diplomacy at Columbia School of Political Economy; supported Henry George 1886; joined Knights of Labor 1888; became interested in Nationalism 1889; joined Socialist Labor Party 1890. Growing more revolutionary in his methods, and opposing working with the trade-unions as the Social Democratic Party does a split resulted, and Mr. De Leon led in founding the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance 1895. He has since been the leader of the Socialist Labor Party as opposed to the Social Democratic Party. (See SOCIALISM.) In 1892 he founded *The People* (a weekly paper) and in 1900 *The Daily People*. A lessening number of irreconcilable Socialists stand with him as opposed to the main Socialist Party, altho his party perhaps correctly claims to represent the original Socialist Party. *Address*: 2–6 New Reade Street, New York.

DEMAND AND SUPPLY: In political economy demand and supply may best be considered together as correlatives. *Demand* is the desire to purchase and possess coupled with the power of purchasing; sometimes called, by way of distinction, effectual demand—a phrase originated by Adam Smith. Cairns ("Political Economy," I. ii., sec. 2) defines demand as "the desire for commodities or services seeking its end by an offer of general purchasing power." *Supply* is the amount or quantity of any commodity that is on the market and is available for purchase. Cairns defines it (ibid.) as "the desire for general purchasing power, seeking its end by an offer of specific commodities or services." As, then, the things are correlate, the laws of supply and demand are correlated. Marshall states them thus; first of *Demand* ("Economics of Industry," pp. 69–71):

> It is a matter of common experience that the larger the stock which sellers determine to sell, the lower will be the price at which it can be got rid of. Vice versa, the lower the price at which anything is offered for sale, the greater is the amount of it which can be sold off. Examples occur to us every day. In a good apple year, the price of apples is low; in a bad year it is high. At the end of the season a fashionable shop sells off at a great reduction, and so gets many customers. . . .
>
> The lower the price that a man has to pay for a thing, the more of it is he likely to buy. A fall in price will not, indeed, make every purchaser increase his purchases. It might in the case of sugar; it would not in the case of carpets. But a fall in the price of carpets would induce some of the householders in a large market to buy new carpets; just as an unhealthy autumn increases the mortality of a large town, tho many persons are uninjured by it. For in a large market there must be some who are doubting whether to replace an old carpet by a new one; and their decision will be affected by a fall in the price of carpets. There will not be any exact relation between the fall in price and the increase of demand. A fall of one tenth in the price may increase the sales by a twentieth or by a quarter, or it may double them. But in a large market every fall in price will cause an increase of demand. The law of demand then is:
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> The amount of a commodity which finds purchasers in a market in a given time depends on the price at which it is offered for sale, and varies so that the amount demanded is increased by a fall in price and diminished by a rise in price. Its price measures its final utility to each purchaser—that is, the value in use to him of that portion of it which it is only just worth his while to buy.

Of *Supply* Marshall says (p. 76):

> The interest of every producer of a commodity is always to calculate the amount of it that is being produced for market. If this amount seems likely to be small, so that its price will rise above its expenses of production, he will produce as much as he can, so as to derive as much benefit as possible from the high price which he anticipates. If, on the other hand, the amount brought to market seems likely to be so great that its price will fall below its expenses of production, then he will check his own production so far as he conveniently can. So that if the price of a commodity is likely to be higher than its expenses of production, it is the interest of each producer to do what he can to increase the supply; and the effect of this is to lower the price toward its expenses of production. And if its price is likely to be lower than its expenses of production, it is the interest of each producer to do what he can to check the supply; and the effect of this is to raise the price toward the expenses of production. That is to say:
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> Every producer of a commodity calculates the price at which he will be able to sell it, and the expenses of producing it. He thus determines whether to increase or diminish his production. If there is free competition—that is, if he is not acting in combination with other producers—he increases or diminishes his supply according as the price of the commodity seems likely to be greater or less than its expenses of production. Thus he is led by his own interests to act in the same way as he would if his only object were to regulate the amount produced so that it could just be sold off at a price equal to its expenses of production.
>
> This law of supply may be called the law of normal supply, because it refers to the results that are in the long run brought about by free competition. Of course, all the expenses of production of a thing are themselves liable to variation. Wages may rise and fall, the rate of interest may rise and fall; and so on.

Putting these two laws together, Marshall goes on to say:

> The laws of demand and supply tell us that a rise in price lessens the amount demanded and increases that supplied, and that a fall in price increases the amount demanded and lessens that supplied. This competition tends to make the exchange value such as just to "equate supply and demand," i. e., such that the amount that people are willing to sell at that value is equal to the amount which can find purchasers at that value. This tendency of competition to equate supply and demand is the central fact of the theory of exchange, whether applied to normal values or to market fluctuations of value.

Mill says on this point ("Political Economy," Book III., chap. ii., sec. 4):

> Demand and supply, the quantity demanded and the quantity supplied, will be made equal. If unequal at any

moment, competition equalizes them, and the manner in which this is done is by an adjustment of the value. If the demand increases, the value rises; if the demand diminishes, the value falls; again, if the supply falls off, the value rises; and falls, if the supply is increased. The rise or the fall continues until the demand and supply are again equal to one another; and the value which a commodity will bring in any market is no other than the value which, in that market, gives a demand just sufficient to carry off the existing or expected supply.

The above are, perhaps, the best statements of the law of supply and demand, which has played such a large part in economic thought from the days of Adam Smith to the present time. It refers, however, as already stated, only to articles which are not monopolized, and also which cannot be multiplied indefinitely at pleasure. For a discussion of the first case, see MONOPOLY. Other articles have no *exchange value* and these need not be studied in the science of exchange, to which the subject of demand and supply belongs. Nevertheless, these exceptions should always be borne in mind, especially at the present, when there is so little of free competition in many industries and so much of combination. The importance of the so-called law of supply and demand, which has hitherto played a part in economic thought, is thus being very rapidly diminished. Certainly, at least, generalizations that have been so rashly made on the subject must be carefully scrutinized, if not avoided. To say, as is not infrequently done, that demand is the cause of supply, is as rash as to say that supply creates demand. Many inventions have come into the market before there was an (effectual) demand for them; and for many demands, as for flying machines, there is no supply. No amount of demand will supply a Shakespeare, and no amount of supply can compel a demand for professors of Sanskrit. These are but a few illustrations of the many limits there are to the working of this boasted law. One school of economic thought, the eight-hour philosophy, denies that demand has anything to do, for example, in determining either price or wages; but for this, see VALUE; WAGES.

DEMOCRACY: A system of government, or the state where a government exists, according to which the sovereign power is vested in the people as a whole, and is exercised directly by them or by representatives chosen by them. In Greece, whence we derive the name (δῆμος, people, and κραῖειν, to rule), most of the republics or cities, and notably Athens, were, at their best periods, democracies, if by the word *people* in the definition of democracy is meant *citizens*. Yet they were by no means true democracies, because large classes of the people—some say a large majority—were slaves and not considered citizens, and had no voice in the government. Some even question whether the United States is a democracy, since even here a large half of the people—the women—do not vote. (See WOMAN SUFFRAGE.) Many writers, like Aristotle, claim that it is not necessary, however, that all classes of the people vote to constitute a democracy. He believes that suffrage should be limited to the citizen class. Where all vote, he says, it is an ochlocracy, or mob government. A modern author, Professor Burgess, of Columbia ("Political Science and Constitutional Law," vol. i., p. 72), defines democracy as applied to the State as the rule of the majority. On the other hand, John Stuart Mill, in his "Representative Government," makes the rule of all, not of a majority, and certainly not of a class, the essence of democracy. He says:

> The pure idea of democracy, according to its definition, is the government of the whole people by the whole people equally represented. Democracy, as commonly conceived and hitherto practised, is the government of the whole people by a mere majority of the people, exclusively represented. The former is synonymous with the equality of all citizens; the latter, strangely confounded with it, is a government of privilege, in favor of the numerical majority, who alone possess practically any voice in the State. This is the inevitable consequence of the manner in which the votes are now taken, to the complete disfranchisement of minorities.
>
> The confusion of ideas here is great, but it is so easily cleared up, that one would suppose the slightest indication would be sufficient to place the matter in its true light before any mind of average intelligence. It would be so, but for the power of habit; owing to which the simplest idea, if unfamiliar, has as great difficulty in making its way to the mind as a far more complicated one. That the minority must yield to the majority, the smaller number to the greater, is a familiar idea; and accordingly men think there is no necessity for using their minds any further, and it does not occur to them that there is any medium between allowing the smaller number to be equally powerful with the greater, and blotting out the smaller number altogether.

He then goes on to make a strong plea for PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION, and says:

> Nothing is more certain than that the virtual blotting out of the minority is no necessary or natural consequence of freedom; that, far from having any connection with democracy, it is diametrically opposed to the first principle of democracy, representation in proportion to numbers. It is an essential part of democracy that minorities should be adequately represented. No real democracy, nothing but a false show of democracy, is possible without it.

Of the advantages of democracy, he says:

> There is no difficulty in showing that the ideally best form of government is that in which the sovereignty, or supreme controlling power in the last resort, is vested in the entire aggregate of the community; every citizen not only having a voice in the exercise of that ultimate sovereignty, but being, at least occasionally, called on to take an actual part in the government, by the personal discharge of some public function, local or general. . . .
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> It is a great discouragement to an individual, and a still greater one to a class, to be left out of the constitution; to be reduced to plead from outside the door to the arbiters of their destiny, not taken into consultation within.
>
> **Advantages** The maximum of the invigorating effect of freedom upon the character is only obtained when the person acted on either is, or is looking forward to becoming a citizen as fully privileged as any other. What is still more important than even this matter of feeling is the practical discipline which the character obtains from the occasional demand made upon the citizens to exercise, for a time and in their turn, some social function. It is not sufficiently considered how little there is in most men's ordinary life to give any largeness either to their conceptions or to their sentiments. Their work is a routine; not a labor of love, but of self-interest in the most elementary form, the satisfaction of daily wants; neither the thing done nor the process of doing it introduces the mind to thoughts or feelings extending beyond individuals; if instructive books are within their reach, there is no stimulus to read them; and in most cases the individual has no access to any person of cultivation much superior to his own. Giving him something to do for the public supplies, in a measure, all these deficiencies. If circumstances allow the amount of public duty assigned him to be considerable, it makes him an educated man. Notwithstanding the defects of the social system and moral ideas of antiquity, the practise of the dicastery and the ecclesia raised the intellectual standard of an average Athenian citizen far beyond anything of which there is yet an example in any other mass of men, ancient or modern. The proofs of this are apparent in every page of our great historian of Greece.
>
> Still more salutary is the moral part of the instruction afforded by the participation of the private citizen, if even rarely, in public functions. He is called upon, while so engaged, to weigh interests not his own; to be guided, in case of conflicting claims, by another rule than his private partialities; to apply, at every turn, principles and maxims which have for their reason of existence the common good; and he usually finds associated with him in the same work minds more familiarized than his own with these ideas and operations, whose study it will be to supply reasons to his understanding, and stimulation to his feeling for the general interest. He is made to feel himself one of the public, and whatever is for their benefit to be for his benefit. Where this school of public spirit does not exist, scarcely any sense is

entertained that private persons, in no eminent social situation, owe any duties to society, except to obey the laws and submit to the government. There is no unselfish sentiment of identification with the public. Every thought or feeling, either of interest or of duty, is absorbed in the individual and in the family. The man never thinks of any collective interest, of any objects to be purchased jointly with others, but only in competition with them, and in some measure at their expense. A neighbor not being an ally or an associate since he is never engaged in any common undertaking for joint benefit, is therefore only a rival. Thus even private morality suffers, while public is actually extinct.

Morality

So conceiving of democracy, we notice here, tho briefly, its growth and steady development in the world. The first democracies of the world were undoubtedly the city-states of ancient Greece. In Sparta the constitution of Lycurgus (about 850 B.C.), tho maintaining the ancient double monarchy, introduced institutions largely democratic. The kings became little more than presidents of a senate elected by the general assembly of citizens over sixty years of age. This assembly (*ἀπέλλα*) could accept or reject all laws and decide on war and peace, etc. Ephors were created to watch over the constitution. The immediate result was to raise Sparta into preeminence in Greece—a position she never wholly lost till she finally fell, last of the Greek states, before the power of Macedon. Yet her democracy was little more than a military oligarchy based upon birth and age. Athens was more really democratic in her best period. After Codrus, the last of her kings (1050 B.C.), the Eupatrids (nobles) ruled with a council (*βουλή*) on Mars Hill (*Areopagus*), tho all citizens could meet in the agora and express assent or dissent. The Eupatrids elected archons, first for life and later for ten years. In 594 B.C., the legislation of Solon created constitutional government, admitting all citizens to a share in power, but giving the higher orders a preponderating influence. This gave way to the dictatorship of the Pisistratidæ till the constitution of Clisthenes (about 509 B.C.) introduced a complete democracy, so far as free citizens went. All such could vote. Ten strategi, elected annually, were the officers. Then came Athens' classic period of the wars with Persia and of art and letters. By a law of 478 B.C. the last property qualification for office was swept away. Yet the continual reelecting of a favorite statesman gave the republic the continuity of brilliant leadership like that of Aristides, Cimon, and Pericles. Yet within a century dissatisfaction with a Sicilian expedition induced the citizens to change their constitution in the direction of aristocracy, resulting finally in defeat by the Macedonian kingdom. (For the ideals and spirit of Greek democracy, see ARISTOTLE; ATHENS; PLATO; POLITICAL SCIENCE.)

Greek Democracy

Democracy in Rome begins 508 B.C., when the patricians expelled Tarquin, the last of the kings. Rome was now ruled by two prætors or consuls elected by the centuries, in which all freemen were enrolled. Then came the long struggle between the patricians and plebeians; the oppressions of the former; the secessions of the latter from the city; the creation of tribunes to defend the rights of the people; the election of the decemvirs; the return to the consulate; the creation of censors and military tribunes; the growing militarism; the division between the rich and the poor; the agrarian laws of the Gracchi; the triumph of the aristocracy; the creation of the triumvirs; the development of the empire. Yet through all these changes ran the ideal of the people as sovereign. (See POLITICAL SCIENCE.) Lecky says ("History of European Morals," vol. i., chap. ii.) that even under the empire "the theory of the Roman Empire was that of a representative despotism. The various offices of the republic were not annihilated, but they were gradually concentrated in a single man."

Rome

Democracy among Germanic nations begins with the mark or clan where the eorls or earls (leading men) elected their chief or voted war and peace, while the free ceorls or churls declared assent by the clash of arms. This early democracy, however, gradually disappeared in the development of feudalism, save in the rights maintained in communities like the Russian *mir*, and, above all, in the *Landsgemeinde*, the Swiss cantons. (See COMMUNISM; REFERENDUM.)

The real democracy of the Middle Ages is to be found in the rise of the free cities and centers of art, trade, and commerce, like Florence, Pisa, Venice, and Genoa in the south, and Hamburg, Nuremberg, and Frankfort in the north. (See CITY.) The southern cities aimed at avowed republicanism, perhaps, more than the northern, but save for fitful periods, as in Florence, were really under dukes and aristocracies more than the northern cities. In the northern free cities one finds the real parent of modern democracy.

Modern democracy begins as an idea with the Christian teaching of the brotherhood of man, the Protestant teaching of the right of private judgment, and of the responsibility of the individual to God alone. It is developed in theory in the social compact by Locke, Rousseau, and the various French writers of the eighteenth century. (For the ideas of this period, see NATURAL RIGHTS.)

Modern Times

But all history enters into modern democracy. Says De Tocqueville in the introduction to his "Democracy in America":

> We shall scarcely meet with a single great event in the lapse of 700 years which has not turned to the advantage of equality. . . . The gradual development of the equality of conditions is therefore a providential fact, and it possesses all the characteristics of a divine decree; it is universal; it is durable; it constantly eludes all human interference, and all events as well as all men contribute to it.
>
> Democracy began, according to De Tocqueville, with the Church, when the clergy opened her ranks to all classes, and "the being who as a serf must have vegetated in perpetual bondage took his place as a priest in the midst of nobles, and not infrequently above the head of kings." Next, he says, the need of civil laws gave the legal functionary a place by the mailed baron. Thirdly, the nobility being exhausted by wars and the lower classes enriched by commerce, the man of money gained position by the side of the man of birth. Next, education, science, and literature opened to any one of ability avenues to power. "In the eleventh century nobility was beyond all price; in the thirteenth it might be purchased; it was conferred for the first time in 1270. . . . It sometimes happened that in order to resist the authority of the crown or to diminish the power of their rivals, the nobles granted a certain share of political rights to the people, or, more frequently, the kings permitted the lower orders to enjoy a degree of power, with the intention of repressing the aristocracy. . . . Some assisted democracy by their talents; others by their vices. Louis XI. and Louis XIV. reduced every rank beneath the throne to the same subjection; Louis XV. descended himself and all his court unto the dust."

But modern democracy finds its first chief actual development in the United States, tho descended from English ancestry. Parliament was in a sense the continuation or revival of the ancient Witenagemote, or meeting of the wise men (eorls) of all England. If it did not rule England in form, it did rule through the purse. The con-

nection between taxation and representation, the idea that no man could be taxed save by his own consent—that and the kindred idea embodied in the Great Charter won from King John, that no man could be condemned without a trial by his peers—"by the country" (see JURY), lie at the basis of English and American ideas of freedom. The overthrow of feudalism, the struggle with Charles, the Revolution of 1688, the development of constitutional government, had made England to an extent democratic by confiding its government to a Parliament elected by a limited suffrage to represent the people. The American colonies held the same ideal of democracy, no more and no less. The doctrines of natural rights and the social compact to some extent found acceptance in America; but this was balanced by the constructive common sense of an English race and in the true spirit of Burke, the consciousness of national development. "No men were less revolutionary in spirit," says Bryce, "than the fathers of the American Revolution." The spirit of George Washington and John Adams was opposed to the ideas of Paine, of Rousseau, and even of Jefferson. Hamilton openly preferred monarchy to democracy, which he feared would overthrow morals and property and end in despotism. American democracy was thus a healthy natural development almost forced by circumstances on the people, and developed by a race jealous for rights. (For the constitutional development of American democracy, see CENTRALIZATION; CONSTITUTION.)

De Tocqueville's View

De Tocqueville, who studied America in 1831, found one of its fundamental characteristics and safeguards to be its connection between liberty and religion. "The safeguard of morality," he says, "is religion, and morality is the best security of law and the surest pledge of freedom." Another great tendency which he finds in the United States at this period is one to decentralization. The town meeting is the ideal. This results in weak, irregular administration, but its political results are admirable in interesting all portions of the land in government. "The town meeting is to liberty what primary schools are to science." De Tocqueville believed very much more in the future of the states than of the union; he believed that would go to pieces when the states desired it or differed in policy. How completely his view has been disproved is well known, but he touched here on the burning question of American politics for more than half a century. The constitution of the federal government, however, he highly praises. Its balanced division of powers he considers necessary and admirable. The election of the president by electors he terms a most happy device. He deplores, however, the custom of electing representatives as mere delegates bound by instructions as tending to destroy representative government. The practise of electing judges he criticizes, and praises the independence of the supreme court; tho, speaking of the power of that court to judge as to the constitutionality and therefore legality of any bill, he says, "A more imposing judicial power was never constituted by any people." He fears the power of majorities, and says that the main evil of democratic institutions in the U. S. arises "not from their weakness, but from their overpowering strength"; he is "not so much alarmed at the excessive liberty which reigns in that country as at the very inadequate securities which exist against tyranny. . . . If ever the free institutions of America are destroyed, that event may be attributed to the unlimited authority of the majority, which may at some future time urge the minority to desperation and oblige them to have recourse to physical force." This danger, however, is mitigated by the absence of centralized power, the wise laws, and especially by the morality, religion, and intelligence of the people. "Despotism may govern without faith, but liberty cannot."

With these institutions, De Tocqueville says, "the union is as happy and free as a small people and as glorious and strong as a great nation."

The effects of democracy upon the people of the U. S., he considers to be to produce mediocracy. They worship equality more than liberty. Great political parties, he says, have disappeared. The country contains few germs of revolution; America has factions but not conspiracies, the race of statesmen has dwindled. Universal suffrage does not guarantee wise choice of officers. Democracies are better in times of peace than of war. They develop the activities of the individual. De Tocqueville says: "This ceaseless agitation which democratic government has introduced into the political world influences all social intercourse. I am not sure that upon the whole this is not the greatest advantage of democracy. And I am much less inclined to applaud it for what it does than for what it causes to be done."

Such was the view of the most careful critic of American institutions at the close of the first third of the present century. How accurately he judged upon some points, how utterly events have proved him wrong upon others, is apparent. The union is stronger to-day than the states; democratic government in the U. S. has not been proved weak in war or fickle in time of peace. Majorities have rarely been tyrannical. Of the faults which have appeared, Mr. Bryce, writing in 1888, says ("American Commonwealth," 1st ed., chap. xcv.):

We have seen that the defects commonly attributed to democratic government are not specially characteristic of the United States. It remains to inquire what are the peculiar blemishes which the country does show. . . .

First, a certain commonness of mind and tone, a want of dignity and elevation in and about the conduct of public affairs, an insensibility to the nobler aspects and finer responsibilities of national life.

Secondly, a certain apathy among the luxurious classes and fastidious minds, who find themselves of no more account than the ordinary voter, and are disgusted by the superficial vulgarities of public life.

Thirdly, a want of knowledge, tact, and judgment in the details of legislation, as well as in administration, with an inadequate recognition of the difficulty of these kinds of work, and of the worth of special experience and skill in dealing with them. Because it is incompetent, the multitude will not feel its incompetence, and will not seek or defer to the counsels of those who possess the requisite capacity.

Fourthly, laxity in the management of public business.

Mr. Lecky, however, in his still more recent "Democracy and Liberty" (1896), is much more severe on the U. S. Its success he considers largely due to its wise constitution and the very favorable circumstances of its trial. Yet he points out no little corruption (see CORRUPTION), and then adds:

Lecky's View

There is, however, one thing which is worse than corruption. It is acquiescence in corruption. No feature of American life strikes a stranger so powerfully as the extraordinary indifference, partly cynicism and partly good nature, with which notorious frauds and notorious corruption in the sphere of politics are viewed by American public opinion. Of one other point Mr. Lecky says: "It must, I think, be added, that modern democracy is not favorable to the higher forms of intellectual life. Democracy levels down quite as much as it levels up. The belief in the equality of man, the total abstinence of the spirit of reverence, the apotheosis of the average judgment, the fever and the haste, the advertising and sensational spirit which American life so abundantly generates, and which the American press so vividly reflects, are little favorable to the production of great works of beauty or of thought, of long meditation, of sober taste, of serious, uninterrupted study. Such works have been produced in America, but in small numbers and under adverse conditions."

So far Mr. Lecky. He seems to consider most of these faults the direct natural and all but inevitable result of democratic institutions, tho he considers them "aggravated" by the unnecessary rule that congressmen must belong to the states they represent, and that senators should receive large salaries.

Mr. Lecky, however, does not seem to see how far political corruption in America is the result, not of democracy, but of commercialism and that moneyed aristocracy which De Tocqueville bade democrats fear sixty years ago. Lecky does, indeed, say that the industrialism of American life is one of its most characteristic features, and that its influence on politics has been by no means

wholly good; he does also notice the fact that in wealthy America, in 1893 alone, 30,000 miles of our railways passed into the hands of receivers, and says, "What an amount of gigantic and deliberate dishonesty as well as unscrupulous gambling does such a state of things represent!" But he does not seem to have a suspicion how far corporations corrupt democracy, and not democracy corporations. Of this, however, we shall speak later. We pass on to notice briefly the result of democracy in other lands.

French democracy was born of ideals of natural rights falling on a nation perhaps more despotically ruled than any in Europe. These ideals, with those of altruism, as Mr. Kidd has pointed out in his "Social Evolution," made even the aristocracy aware that their position was unjust, and prevented their effectually opposing the uprising of the oppressed. The result was an explosion. Says De Tocqueville of French democracy (Introduction to "Democracy in America"):

Europe

> The existence of democracy was seemingly unknown when on a sudden it took possession of the supreme power. . . . The theory was then submitted to its caprices; it was worshiped as the idol of strength, until, when it was enfeebled by its own excesses, the legislator conceived the rash project of annihilating its power, instead of instructing and correcting its vices. The consequence of this has been that the democratic revolution has been effected only in the material parts of society, without that concomitant change in laws, ideas, customs, and manners which was necessary to render such a revolution beneficial.

This view of a French opponent of democracy, written sixty years ago, is to a less extent true to-day. The French Revolution was one of the middle classes rather than of the lowest. The mass of the people were not ready for it. France, therefore, during the century has vibrated between emperor and commune. Plebiscites have served tyrants. Between 1800 and 1881 France had eleven revolutions and nineteen successive constitutions, and between 1870 and 1894, thirty-two ministries.

Still democracy has steadily grown, and is now probably more firmly established in France than ever. Her suffrage is all but universal, the main restrictions on her democracy being in the Senate, and, for Paris, in its lack of self-government. (See PARIS.) No one is enthusiastic over the French Government. Panama scandals, coquetting with Russia, the steady growth of her national debt and of taxation, in spite of her widely diffused land property and her popular loans, have made socialism and, to a less extent anarchism, the popular idols in France.

Switzerland is undoubtedly the most democratic and one of the most prosperous countries in Europe. Her well-known referendum and initiative we consider under that head. In Switzerland far more than in America the people rule. This is undoubtedly in part because of the smallness of her territory and of the fact that her commercial and industrial interests have not called into existence the great corporations which dominate and corrupt American politics; but believers in democracy argue that Switzerland shows that the cure for the ills of democracy is more democracy. France and America, they say, are plutocracies. With the referendum and the initiative, so that the legislative power is with the people, with a president (see SWITZERLAND) who is little more than a figurehead, with a government largely decentralized between cantons and municipalities, with a judiciary not allowed to enslave a people by interpreting a constitution framed in other days for other needs, Switzerland is really democratic, and tho not a land of extreme wealth, she holds high rank in popular learning, industry, and prosperity for her people.

Other countries in Europe, tho nominally monarchies, are, as in England, Germany, and Belgium, almost as democratic in many respects as America or France. In the extent of national as opposed to municipal suffrage, they rank almost with America. (See ELECTIONS.) They groan under standing armies, but so does republican France. Their legislatures represent the classes more than the masses; but England has some sixty labor men in Parliament, Germany forty-three Socialists in her Reichstag, France seventy-five, Austria eighty-two in their various Parliaments, while in the Congress of the United States there are no working men. Where do the people most truly rule?

Coming now to the arguments for and against democracy, Mr. Lecky, its latest critic, says of its evil results:

Unfavorable View

> "Sometimes the voter will be directly bribed or intimidated. He will vote for money or for drink or in order to win the favor or avert the displeasure of some one who is more powerful than himself. . . . A still larger number of votes will be won by persistent appeals to class cupidities. . . . If the poorest, most numerous, and most ignorant class can be persuaded to hate the smaller class, and to vote solely for the purpose of injuring them, the party manager will have achieved his end. . . . As education advances newspapers arise which are intended solely for this purpose, and they are often almost the only reading of great numbers of voters. As far as the most ignorant class have opinions of their own, they will be of the vaguest and most childlike nature. . . . A man will vote blue or yellow as his father did before him. . . . A few strong biases of class or creed will often display a great vitality. Large numbers, also, will naturally vote on what is called 'the turnabout system.' . . . A bad harvest or some other disaster over which the government can have no more influence than over the march of the planets will produce a discontent that will govern dubious votes. . . . The evil of evils in our present politics is that the constituencies can no longer be fully trusted, and that their power is so nearly absolute. . . . One of the great divisions of politics in our day is coming to be whether, at the last resort, the world should be governed by its ignorance or by its intelligence." Some results of democracy Lecky considers to be a lowered character of parliamentary government over all Europe and America. All countries give a sigh of relief when legislatures are prorogued. Wealth still rules, but wealth of the worst kind. Taxes and debts are increased, one class "has the power of voting taxes, which another class must almost exclusively pay." Group system and log-rolling are developed, machines govern parties.

There is, however, another side to this. Even Lecky has to admit that democratic institutions have enormously advanced both the quantity and the quality of popular education, have made enormous strides in caring for the public health, have aided factory legislation, have been favorable to religious liberty.

Favorable View

> It is true that he carefully shows that popular education does not accomplish all the good sometimes claimed, but yet he cannot bring himself to actually oppose, and he has to admit that opposition to much education for the toiling classes was a Tory doctrine, and that under democracy "hardly any change in our generation has been more marked than that which has made education of the poor one of the main functions of the government. . . ." "At the same time," he says, "the standard of popular and free, or, in other words, state paid education, seems steadily rising." Sanitary reform he calls "perhaps the noblest legislative achievement of our age." Of religious liberty he says, "On the whole, democracies, at least in the Anglo-Saxon race, seem to me favorable to religious liberty." No forms of liberty are more loved by English democracies than the liberty of expression, discussion, and association. Incidentally he speaks of "the higher wages, the better payment of functionaries and workmen of every order which has followed in the track of a higher standard of life and

aspect." He refers to the "intense and many-sided intellectual and moral energy that pervades the country." He thinks there never was a period when more time, thought, money, and labor were bestowed on the alleviation of suffering. He says, "No feature of our century is more remarkable than the skill with which by reformatories and industrial and other schools, by factory laws, by the diminution of insanitary dwellings, and by the better regulation of the drink traffic, modern philanthropy has succeeded in restricting or purifying the chief sources of national crime." . . . "Not less conspicuous is the improvement that has taken place in the decorum, civilization, and humanity of the bulk of the poor. . . . [while] the skilled artizans in our great towns within the memory of living men have become not only the most energetic, but also one of the most intelligent and orderly elements in English life." The closing chapter in Mr. Lecky's book in which he shows the almost revolutionary improvements that democracy has introduced in respect to women is one long argument for democracy. Surely if a critic of democracy has to admit all this, we need not regret that, as Mr. Lecky says, democracy is for a considerable time at least "an inevitable fact."

The main charge Mr. Lecky brings against democracy is that it makes the poor tax the rich, but most will think that that is an advance on the Toryism under which the rich tax the poor. Probably, too, it is true that democratic legislatures will be for some time in some ways inferior to aristocratic legislatures, because they admit representatives of classes whom aristocrats have long kept ignorant. But if democracy educates the people and raises their life, it will soon raise the standard of the representatives of the people. Democracy, as De Tocqueville discovered, is best because of its indirect results.

There are, indeed, those in America—and the number is at present growing—who ask if democracy is not a failure; they see the voters of our cities bought and sold; they see offices put up at auction, legislation obtained by corrupt means. They think this due to the ignorance and corruption of the people, and therefore they desire from good motives to restrict the ballot. They look with envy to the institutions of Great Britain and of Germany, where they find less political corruption and more efficient government. This class forgets that political corruption may be due, not to the ignorance of those who are bought, but to the corrupt power of the educated, who buy. They forget that England and Germany have recently made rapid advances in democracy, and that as they have advanced in trust of the people they have advanced and not retrograded in political and municipal purity. The reason for their comparative municipal purity and our municipal corruption may be, not that they are less democratic than we, but because with them the government rules the corporations; with us corporations rule the government. (See CITY.) This, at least, is a view that needs to be remembered. Whatever be the truth, the fact cannot be denied that a growing class in America desires to restrict the suffrage, to have less frequent elections, to take power from the common people. One of the "reforms" prest before the recent Constitutional Convention in New York was the restriction of the suffrage. In Massachusetts the effort for less frequent elections has been very strong. In many states "educational and sometimes property qualifications" are being mooted. In Ohio, the counsel of a great trust recently said, in a United States court, that "too many people vote." It is equally clear that this does not represent the view of the masses of the country, nor of some of the most experienced thinkers. Professor Ely (*Christian Union*, Oct. 9, 1890) quotes Mr. Seth Low, when Mayor of Brooklyn, as saying that universal suffrage is not the cause of bad city government. Professor Commons, in "Outlines of Lectures on City Government," quotes him as saying: "In a country where wealth has no hereditary sense of obligation to its neighbors, it is hard to conceive what would be the condition of society if universal suffrage did not compel every one having property to consider, to some extent at least, the well-being of the whole community." Mr. Albert Shaw, who perhaps has studied municipal administration more widely than any other writer, in an interview published by the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Nov. 27, 1888, makes it the second most important principle of municipal administration to "trust the people."

Cause of Plutocracy

The masses of this country want not less democracy, but more. They want not a limited suffrage, but industrial democracy added to political democracy. Their problem is not how to limit the suffrage, but how to save the political liberties of the people. Mr. Henry D. Lloyd, in an address before the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in Chicago, December, 1893, speaking of present evils in America, said:

The pioneers who saw a generation ago the thread that would lead us through this labyrinth and into the free air have now become a multitude. That thread is the thread of democracy, whose principles must and will rule whreveer men coexist, in industry not less surely than in politics. It is by the people who do the work that the hours of labor, the conditions of employment, the division of the produce is to be determined. It is by them the captains of industry are to be chosen, and chosen to be servants, not masters. It is for the welfare of all that the coordinated labor of all must be directed. Industry, like government, exists only by the cooperation of all, and, like government, it must guarantee equal protection to all. This is democracy, and democracy is not true only where men carry letters or build forts, but wherever they meet in common efforts.

The declaration of independence yesterday meant self-government, to-day it means self-employment, which is but another kind of self-government. Every dollar, every edifice, every product of human toil is the creation of the cooperation of all the people. But in this cooperation it is the share of the majority to have no voice, to do the hardest work and feed on the crumbs of life. Not as an exception, but universally, labor is doing what it does not want to do, and not getting what it wants or what it needs. Laborers want to work eight hours a day; they must work ten, fourteen, eighteen. Crying to their employers, to Congress, to legislatures to be rescued, they go down under the murderous couplers and wheels of the railroads faster than if they were in active service in war, marching out of one battle into another. They want to send their children to school; they must send them to the factory. They want their wives to keep house for them; but they, too, must throw some shuttle or guide some wheel. They must work when they are sick; they must stop work at another's will. . . . This is an impossible situation. No human society ever held together on such terms. This is contrary to the most sacred principles of American society. This is government without consent and it is the corner-stone and rooftree of American life that we will have none of it. The men who think it can continue are our idlest dreamers and most impracticable theorists. . . .

Need of Industrial Democracy

Democracy must be progressive or die. It was by a divine instinct of right, whether they knew it or not, that the hundreds of men who found themselves these winter nights in Chicago without a roof went to the city hall. That is the house of democracy. It stands on the foundation principle that the people live and work for the people. The city hall means nothing if it does not mean that the general welfare, not the advantages or privileges of a few, is the object of society. It means more—the general welfare can be properly planned only if all have a voice, and the plans can be properly carried out only when all join their efforts. The city hall represents an institution ready made for any purpose of the common good for which the common people choose to use it—an institution in which they are equal partners, and no thanks to any one but themselves. The old democracy is the father of this new democracy. The old trade-union is to herald this greater union. The people who vote are bound on their own recognizance to get the independence and knowledge to vote right and free. The public schools are a pledge of the public honor that every citizen shall be able to buy books and shall have time to read and digest.

The progressive genius of democracy is at one with its progressive necessities. "A house divided against itself

cannot stand," said Lincoln. "This union cannot permanently endure half slave and half free." It is equally true that all cannot remain politically free if all are not economically free. Political freedom is but the first instalment of economic freedom.

Nor is this the view of those alone who are socialistically inclined. Mr. George Gunton, who opposes socialism, says ("Wealth and Progress," p. 205):

> Freedom does not consist in the mere absence of legal barriers, but in the actual power to go and to do. The poor can never be *free* in any true sense of the term. Whoever controls a man's living can determine his liberty. Freedom means independence, which nothing but wealth can impart. Even intelligence cannot give independence, except as it can give wealth. Poverty and freedom are incompatible with each other.
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> Whatever may be, theoretically, the form of government, the political *freedom*—real power and influence—of the masses is always proportionate to their industrial prosperity and progress. Thus, the political influence of the masses is far greater under the present European monarchies than it was under the ancient republics. And the political influence of the masses is greatest to-day in those countries where the industrial conditions—real wages—are the highest. The laboring classes possess more political influence and freedom in England under a monarchy with higher wages, than they do in France under a republic with lower wages; and there is still more real democracy with higher wages under a republic in America than with lower wages under a monarchy in England. . . .
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> It is not and never was true that liberty enlightens the world. On the contrary, our democratic institutions are the natural consequence of our industrial prosperity and superior civilization; and liberty, like morality, instead of enlightening the world, is the golden result of the world's being enlightened by the material and social progress of society. Were this otherwise, the industrial depressions which afflict the Old World would be unknown here. The notorious fact is that the frequency and severity of industrial depressions are as great under the democracies of France and America as under the monarchies of England, Germany, and Belgium.

Such is a view of democracy that is growing to-day. Be this, however, as it may, democracy unquestionably, for weal or for wo, has the future. Mr. Kidd, in his "Social Evolution," shows that it is the underlying principle of all modern progress. Of this progress, he says (p. 164):

> It has consisted essentially in the gradual breaking down of that military organization of society which had previously prevailed in the emancipation and enfranchisement of the great body of the people, hitherto universally excluded under that constitution of society from all participation on equal terms in the rivalry of existence. From a remote time down unto the period in which we are living, we have witnessed a continuous movement in this direction. The progress may not have been always visible to the current generation among whom the rising waves surge backward and forward, but looking back over our history, we mark unmistakably the unceasing onward progress of the slowly advancing tide. . . . And it tends to culminate in a condition of society in which there shall be no privileged classes.

Growth of Democracy

Accepting democracy, the only question then is how to save it from defeat, from corruption, from misdirection. For this see various views: Direct Representation, through which it is claimed all the people can legislate, and thus take away from corrupt representatives the power to sell legislation; Proportional Representation, by which it is urged that all parties and all views and all interests can be represented in legislation, the rights of minorities being specially protected; Industrial Reform, by which all being put on the same plane economically and being able to earn a living by a moderate amount of honest toil, will not be easily tempted to either sell their vote or buy legislation. (See also ANARCHISM; CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM; CIVIL SERVICE REFORM; INDIVIDUALISM; MUNICIPAL REFORM; SINGLE TAX; SOCIALISM.

REFERENCES: *The Theory of the State*, by J. C. Bluntschli; *The Science of Rights*, by J. G. Fichte; *Popular Government*, by Sir H. Maine; *Representative Government*, by J. S. Mill; *Thoughts upon Democracy in Europe*, by Giuseppe Mazzini; *The American Commonwealth*, by James Bryce; *A True Republic*, by Albert Stickney; *Democracy, and Other Addresses*, by J. R. Lowell; *Democracy*, a lecture by Wordsworth Donisthorpe; *Problems of Modern Democracy*, E. L. Godkin (1896); *Democracy and Liberty*, W. E. H. Lecky (1896); *Democracy and Reaction*, L. T. Hobhouse (1904).

DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND SOCIAL REFORM, THE: A signed statement abridged from Mr. William J. Bryan's addresses on the subject.

"The aim of the Democratic Party in relation to social reform is the abolition of privilege. The Democratic Party is not the enemy of property or of property rights; it is, on the contrary, the best defender of both, because it defends human rights and human rights are the only foundation upon which property and property rights can rest securely. If we can but repeal the laws which enable men to reap where they have not sown—laws which enable them to garner into their overflowing barns the harvests that belong to others—no one will be able to accumulate enough to make his fortune dangerous to the country. Special privilege and the use of the taxing power for private gain—these are the twin pillars upon which plutocracy rests. To take away these supports and to elevate the beneficiaries of special legislation to the plane of honest effort ought to be the purpose of our party.

"The paramount issue to-day is the trust question, and for the purposes of this discussion it is sufficient to draw the line at the point where competition ceases to be effective and to designate as a trust any corporation which controls so much of the product of any article that it can fix the terms and conditions of sale.

"Legislation which prevents monopoly not only does not injure legitimate business, but actually protects legitimate business from injury. We are indebted to the younger Rockefeller for an illustration which makes this distinction clear. In defending the trust system he is quoted as saying that as the American beauty rose cannot be brought to perfection without pinching off ninety-nine buds, so that the one hundredth bud can receive the full strength of the bush, so great industrial organizations are impossible without the elimination of the smaller ones. It is a cruel illustration but it presents a perfectly accurate picture of trust methods. The Democratic Party champions the cause of the ninety-nine enterprises which are menaced; they must not be sacrificed that one great combination may flourish.

Trusts

"There must be no mistaking of the issue and no confusing of the line of battle. The trust, as an institution, will have few open defenders. The policy of the trust defenders will be to insist upon 'reasonable regulation' and then they will rely upon their power to corrupt legislatures and to intimidate executives to prevent the application of any remedies which will interfere with the trusts. Our motto must be: 'A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable,' and our plan of attack must contemplate the total and complete overthrow of the monopoly principle in industry. We need not quarrel over remedies. We must show ourselves willing to support any remedy and every remedy which promises substantial advantage to the people in their warfare against monopoly. Something is to be ex-

pected from the enforcement of the criminal clause of the Sherman antitrust law, but this law must be enforced not against a few trusts as at present, but against all trusts, and the aim must be to imprison the guilty, not merely to recover a fine. What is a fine of $1,000 or even $10,000 to a trust which makes $100,000 while the trial is in progress?

"If the criminal clause is not going to be enforced it ought to be repealed. If imprisonment is too severe a punishment for the eminently respectable gentlemen who rob 80,000,000 of people of hundreds of millions of dollars annually, the language of the statute ought to be changed, for nothing is more calculated to breed anarchy than the failure to enforce the law against rich criminals while it is rigidly enforced against petty offenders. But it is not sufficient to enforce existing laws. If ten corporations conspiring together in restraint of trade are threatened with punishment, all they have to do now is to dissolve their separate corporations and turn their property over to a new corporation. We need, therefore, new legislation.

"Recent investigations have brought to light the fact that nearly all the crookedness revealed in the management of our large corporations have been due largely to the duplication of directorates. A group of men organize, or obtain control of, several corporations doing business with each other and then proceed to swindle the stockholders of the various corporations for which they act. Many of the trusts control prices by the same methods. The same group of men secure control of several competing corporations and the management is thus consolidated. It is worth while to consider whether a blow may not be struck at the trusts by a law making it illegal for the same person to act as director or officer of two corporations which deal with each other or are engaged in the same general business.

"A still more far-reaching remedy was proposed by the Democratic platform of 1900, namely, the requiring of corporations to take out a federal license before engaging in interstate commerce. This remedy is simple, easily applied, and comprehensive. The requiring of a license would not embarrass legitimate corporations—it would scarcely inconvenience them—while it would confine the predatory corporations to the state of their origin.

"If corporations were required to take out a federal license the federal government could then issue the license upon the terms and conditions which would protect the public. A corporation differs from a human being in that it has no natural rights and as all of its rights are derived from the statutes it can be limited or restrained according as the public welfare may require. The control which Congress has over interstate commerce is complete and if Congress can prevent the transportation of a lottery ticket through the mails, by the express companies or by freight, it can certainly forbid the use of the mails, the railways, and the telegraph lines to any corporation which is endeavoring to monopolize an article of commerce, and no party can long be credited with sincerity if it condemns the trusts with words only and then permits the trusts to employ all the instrumentalities of interstate commerce in the carrying out of their nefarious plans.

"The tariff question is very closely allied to the trust question and the reduction of the tariff furnishes an easy means of limiting the extortion which the trusts can practise.

Tariff

While absolute free trade would not necessarily make a trust impossible, still it is probable that very few manufacturing establishments would dare to enter into a trust if the president were empowered to put upon the free list articles competing with those controlled by a trust. The protective tariff has been the fruitful source of a great deal of political corruption as well as the mother of many of our most iniquitous trusts.

"But one of the worst features of the tariff, levied not for revenue, but for the avowed purpose of protection, is that it fosters the idea that men should use their votes to advance their own financial interests. The manufacturer has been assured that it is legitimate for him to vote for congressmen who, whatever their opinions on other subjects may be, will legislate larger dividends into his pockets; sheep-growers have been encouraged to believe that they should have no higher aim in voting than to raise the price of wool; and laboring men have been urged to make their wages their only concern.

"There never was a time when tariff reform could be more easily entered upon, for the manufacturers by selling abroad cheaper than at home, as many of them do, have not only shown their ingratitude toward those who built the tariff wall for them, but they have demonstrated their ability to sell in competition with the world. The high tariff has long been a burden to the consumers in the U. S. and it is growing more and more a menace to our foreign commerce because it arouses resentment and provokes retaliation.

"The railroad question is also interwoven with the trust question. Nearly all the private monopolies have received rebates or secured other advantages over competitors. Absolute equality of treatment at the hands of the railroads would go far toward crippling the trusts, and I rejoice that the president has had the courage to press the question upon Congress. While the law, as it was finally distorted by the Senate, is not all that could be wished, it deserves a fair trial.

"Rate regulation was absolutely necessary and it furnishes some relief from the unbearable condition which previously existed, but we must not forget that the vesting of this enormous power in the hands of a commission appointed by the president introduces a new danger. If an appointive board has the power to fix rates and can, by the exercise of that power, increase or decrease by hundreds of millions of dollars the annual revenues of the railroads, will not the railroads feel that they have a large pecuniary interest in the election of a President friendly to the railroads? Experience has demonstrated that municipal corruption is largely traceable to the fact that franchised corporations desire to control the city council and thus increase dividends of the franchised corporations. If the railroad managers adopt the same policy, the sentiment in favor of the ownership of the railroads by the government is likely to increase as rapidly throughout the country as the sentiment in favor of municipal ownership has increased in the cities.

Railroad Question

"Railroads partake so much of the nature of a monopoly that they must ultimately become pub-

lic property and be managed by public officials in the interest of the whole community in accordance with the well-defined theory that public ownership is necessary where competition is impossible. I do not know that the country is ready for this change; I do not know that a majority of my own party favor it, but I believe that an increasing number of the members of all parties see in public ownership the only sure remedy for discrimination between persons and places and for extortionate rates for the carrying of freight and passengers.

"Believing, however, that the operation of all the railroads by the federal government would so centralize the government as to almost obliterate state lines, I prefer to see only the trunk lines operated by the federal government and the local lines by the several state governments. Some have opposed this dual ownership as impracticable, but investigation in Europe has convinced me that it is entirely practicable. Nearly all the railroads of Germany are owned by the several states, the empire not even owning trunk lines, and yet the interstate traffic is in no wise obstructed. The ownership and operation of the local lines by the several state governments is not only feasible but it suits itself to the conditions existing in the various states. In those states where the people are ripe for a change the local lines can be purchased or new lines be built at once, while private ownership can continue in those states in which the people still prefer private ownership. Some States have been more careful than others to prevent the watering of stock and in the acquiring of roads each state can act according to the situation which it has to meet.

"As to the right of the governments, federal and state, to own and operate railroads there can be no doubt. If we can deepen the water in the lakes and build connecting canals in order to cheapen railroad transportation during half of the year, we can build a railroad and cheapen rates the whole year; if we can spend several hundred millions on the Panama Canal to lower transcontinental rates, we can build a railroad from New York to San Francisco to lower both transcontinental and local rates. The U. S. mail is increasing so rapidly that we shall soon be able to pay the interest on the cost of trunk lines out of the money which we now pay to railroads for carrying through mails. If any of you question the propriety of my mentioning this subject I beg to remind you that the president could not have secured the passage of the rate bill had he not appealed to the fear of the more radical remedy of government ownership, and nothing will so restrain the railroad magnates from attempting to capture the Interstate Commerce Commission as the same fear. The high-handed manner in which they have violated law and ignored authority, together with the corruption discovered in high places, has done more to create sentiment in favor of public ownership than all the speeches and arguments of the opponents of private ownership.

"I have referred to the railroad question as a part of the trust question because they are so interwoven that it is difficult to consider one without the other.

"Political liberty could not long endure under an industrial system which permitted a few powerful magnates to control the means of livelihood of the rest of the people.

"Landlordism, the curse of Europe, is an innocent institution in comparison with the trust carried to its logical conclusion. The man who argues that there is an economic advantage in private monopoly is aiding socialism. The Socialist, asserting the economic superiority of the monopoly, insists that its benefits shall accrue to the whole people, and his conclusion cannot be denied if his assumption is admitted.

Socialism

The Democratic Party, if I understand its position, denies the economic as well as the political advantage of private monopoly and promises to oppose it wherever it manifests itself. It offers as an alternative competition where competition is possible and public monopoly wherever circumstances are such as to prevent competition.

"Socialism presents a consistent theory, but a theory which, in my judgment, does not take human nature into account. Its strength is in its attack upon evils the existence of which is confest; its weakness is that it would substitute a new disease—if not a worse one—for the disease from which we suffer. The Socialist is honest in the belief that he has found a remedy for human ills, and he must be answered with argument, not with abuse. The best way to oppose socialism is to remedy the abuses which have grown up under individualism but which are not a necessary part of individualism, and the sooner the remedy is applied the better.

"There is noticeable everywhere a distinct movement toward democracy in its broadest sense. In the U. S. this trend toward democracy has taken the form of a growing demand for the election of U. S. senators by a direct vote of the people. It would be difficult to overestimate the strategic advantages of this reform, for since every bill must receive the sanction of the Senate as well as the House of Representatives before it can become a law, no important remedial legislation of a national character is possible until the Senate is brought into harmony with the people.

"I am within the limits of the truth when I say that the Senate has been for years the bulwark of predatory wealth, and that it even now contains so many members who owe their election to favor-seeking corporations and are so subservient to their masters as to prevent needed legislation. The popular branch of Congress has four times declared in favor of this reform by a two-thirds vote and more than two thirds of the states have demanded it, and yet the Senate arrogantly and impudently blocks the way.

"The income tax, which some in our country have denounced as a socialistic attack upon wealth, has, I am pleased to report, the indorsement of the most conservative countries in the Old World. It is a permanent part of the fiscal system of most of the countries of Europe and in many places it is a graded tax, the rate being highest upon the largest incomes. England has long depended upon the income tax for a considerable part of her revenues and the English commission is now investigating the proposition to change from a uniform to a graded tax.

"It is little short of a disgrace to our country that while it is able to command the lives of its citizens in time of war, it cannot, even in the most extreme emergency, compel wealth to bear its share of the expenses of the government which protects it.

Labor and Capital

"Concerning disputes between labor and capital, arbitration, I believe, defends the highest interests of the three real parties to these disputes, viz., the employers, the employees, and the public.

"The question sometimes asked, 'Can I not conduct my business to suit myself?' is a plausible one, but when a man in conducting his business attempts to arbitrarily fix the conditions under which hundreds of employees are to live and to determine the future of thousands of human beings, I answer without hesitation that he has no right to conduct his own business in such a way as to deprive his employees of the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. To support this position, I need only refer to the laws regulating the safety of mines, the factory laws fixing the age at which children can be employed, and usury laws establishing the rate of interest.

"But if it is unwise to make the employer the sole custodian of the rights and interests of the employees, it is equally unwise to give the employees uncontrolled authority over the rights and interests of the employer. The employees are no more to be trusted to act unselfishly and disinterestedly than the employers.

"The strike, the only weapon of the employee at present, is a two-edged sword and may injure the workman as much as the employer, and even when wholly successful, is apt to leave a rankling in the bosom of the wage-earner that ought not to be. Society has, moreover, something at stake as well as the employer and employee, for there can be no considerable strike without considerable loss to the public. Society, therefore, is justified in demanding that the differences between capital and labor should be settled by peaceful means. If a permanent, impartial board is created to which either party of an industrial dispute may appeal, or which of its own motion can institute an inquiry, public opinion can be relied upon to enforce the finding. If there is compulsory submission to investigation it is not necessary that there shall be a compulsory acceptance of the decision, for a full and fair investigation will in every case bring about a settlement.

"No reference to the labor question is complete that does not include some mention of what is known as government by injunction. As the main purpose of the writ is to evade trial by jury, it is really an attack upon the jury system and ought to arouse a unanimous protest. However, as the writ is usually invoked in case of a strike the importance of the subject would be very much reduced by the adoption of a system of arbitration, because arbitration would very much reduce, even if it did not entirely remove, the probability of a strike.

"Another word in regard to the laboring man. The struggle to secure an eight-hour day is an international struggle and it is sure to be settled in favor of the workingman's contention. The benefits of the labor-saving machine have not been distributed with equity. The producer has enormously multiplied his capacity, but so far the owner of the machine has received too much of the increase and the laborer too little. Those who oppose the eight-hour day do it, I am convinced, more because of ignorance of conditions than because of lack of sympathy with those who toil. The removal of work from the house to the factory has separated the husband from his wife and the father from his children, while the growth of our cities has put an increasing distance between the home and the workshop. Then, too, more is demanded of the laboring man now than formerly. He is a citizen as well as a laborer, and must have time for the study of public questions if he is to be an intelligent sovereign. To drive him from his bed to his task and from his task to his bed is to deprive the family of his companionship, society of his service, and politics of his influence.

"Thus far I have dwelt upon subjects which may not be regarded as strictly partizan, but I am sure that you will pardon me if in this presence I betray my interest in those policies for which the Democratic Party stands. I have not had an opportunity to make a Democratic speech for almost a year, and no one—not even a political enemy—could be so cruel as to forbid me to speak of those policies on this occasion. Our opponents have derived not only partizan pleasure but partizan advantage as well from the division caused in our party by the money question. They ought not, therefore, begrudge us the satisfaction that we find in the fact that unexpected conditions have removed the cause of our differences and permitted us to present a united front on present issues. The unlooked-for and unprecedented increase in the production of gold has brought a victory to both the advocates of gold and the advocates of bimetalism—the former keeping the gold standard which they wanted and the latter securing the larger volume of money for which they contended. We who favor bimetalism are satisfied with our victory if the friends of monometalism are satisfied with theirs. And we can invite them to a contest of zeal and endurance in the effort to restore to the people the rights which have been gradually taken from them by the trusts.

Bimetalism

"The investigations which have been in progress during the past year have disclosed the business methods of those who a few years ago resented any inspection of their schemes and hid their rascality under high-sounding phrases. These investigations have also disclosed the source of enormous campaign funds which have been used to debauch elections and corrupt the ballot. The people see now what they should have seen before, namely, that no party can exterminate the trusts so long as it owes its political success to campaign contributions secured from the trusts. The great corporations do not contribute their money to any party except for immunity expressly promised or clearly implied. No party can afford to receive contributions even from individuals when the acceptance of those contributions secretly pledges the party to a course which it cannot openly avow. In other words, politics should be honest, and contributions public and not from corporations.

"In regard to international relations and imperialism the U. S. should lead in the movement for international arbitration. The cause of arbitration is making real progress. At the last session of the Interparliamentary Union which convened in London last July, twenty-six nations were represented. I believe that if our nation would propose to make with every other nation a treaty providing that all questions in dispute between the parties should be submitted to The Hague Court for in-

International Arbitration

vestigation and report before any declaration of war or commencement of hostilities, it would find many nations willing to enter into such a compact.

"Another subject connected with our foreign relations: I venture to suggest that we may not only promote peace but also advance our commercial interests by announcing as a national policy that our navy will not be used for the collection of private debts. While protecting the lives of our citizens everywhere and guaranteeing personal safety to all who owe allegiance to our flag, we should, in my judgment, announce that persons engaging in business and holding property in other lands for business purposes must be subject to the laws of the countries in which they engage in business enterprises.

"The growth of the principle of self-government, planted on American soil, has been the overshadowing political fact of the nineteenth century. It has made this nation conspicuous among the nations and given it a place in history such as no other nation has ever enjoyed. Nothing has been able to check the onward march of this idea. I am not willing that this nation shall cast aside the omnipotent weapon of truth to seize again the weapons of physical warfare. I would not exchange the glory of this republic for the glory of all the empires that have risen and fallen since time began.

"When Lord Howe asserted that the acts of Parliament which brought on the Revolution were necessary to prevent American trade from passing into foreign channels, Franklin replied:

"'To me it seems that neither the obtaining nor retaining of any trade, howsoever valuable, is an object for which men may justly spill each other's blood.'

"Lincoln said that the safety of this nation was not in its fleets, its armies, its forts, but in the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands, everywhere, and he warned his countrymen that they could not destroy this spirit without planting the seeds of despotism at their own doors.

"Even now we are beginning to see the paralyzing influence of imperialism.

"A colonial policy means that we shall send to the Philippine Islands a few traders, a few task-masters, and a few office-holders, and an army large enough to support the authority of a small fraction of the people while they rule the natives.

"That a large permanent increase in our regular army is intended by Republican leaders is not a matter of conjecture, but a matter of fact. In his message of Dec. 5, 1898, the president asked for authority to increase the standing army to 100,000. In 1896 the army contained about 25,000. Within two years the president asked for four times that many, and a Republican House of Representatives complied with the request after the Spanish treaty had been signed, and when no country was at war with the U. S.

"It is argued by some that the Filipinos are incapable of self-government and that, therefore, we owe it to the world to take control of them. Admiral Dewey, in an official report to the Navy Department, declared the Filipinos more capable of self-government than the Cubans, and said that he based his opinion upon a knowledge of both races. But I will not rest the case upon the relative advancement of the Filipinos. Henry Clay, in defending the right of the people of South America to self-government, said:

Imperialism

"'It is the doctrine of thrones that man is too ignorant to govern himself. Their partizans assert his incapacity in reference to all nations; if they cannot command universal assent to the proposition, it is then demanded to particular nations; and our pride and our presumption too often make converts of us. I contend that it is to arraign the disposition of Providence Himself to suppose that He has created beings incapable of governing themselves, and to be trampled on by kings. Self-government is the natural government of man.'

"The Republicans say that this nation is in the hands of destiny; Washington believed that not only the destiny of our own nation but the destiny of the republican form of government throughout the world was entrusted to American hands. Immeasurable responsibility! The destiny of this republic is in the hands of its own people, and upon the success of the experiment here rests the hope of humanity. No exterior force can disturb this republic, and no foreign influence should be permitted to change its course.

"Behold a republic, resting securely upon the foundation stones quarried by revolutionary patriots from the mountain of eternal truth—a republic applying in practise and proclaiming to the world the self-evident proposition that all men are created equal; that they are endowed with inalienable rights; that governments are instituted among men to secure these rights, and that governments derive their just rights from the consent of the governed. Behold a government standing erect while empires around are bowed beneath the weight of their own armaments—a republic whose flag is loved while other flags are only feared. Behold a republic increasing in population, in wealth, in strength, and in influence, solving the problems of civilization, and hastening the coming of a universal brotherhood—a republic which shakes thrones and dissolves aristocracies by its silent example and gives light and inspiration to those who sit in darkness. Behold a republic gradually but surely becoming a supreme moral factor in the world's progress and the accepted arbiter of the world's disputes—a republic whose history, like the path of the just, 'is as the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.'

WILLIAM J. BRYAN.

DEMOREST, W. JENNINGS: American publisher and prohibitionist; born in New York City, 1822; educated in the public schools. At the age of twenty he commenced business in the dry goods trade, and in 1860 began the publication of the New York *Illustrated News* in English and German, and also *Young America*. In 1864 these were merged into *Demorest's Family Magazine*. Mr. Demorest traveled extensively and wrote largely on ethics, especially against the evils of the liquor traffic. He distributed nearly 50,000,000 pages of tracts on this question.

Mr. Demorest was active in the great Washington movement, and was one of the originators of the Sons of Temperance. To test the question of the constitutionality of slavery he had a suit instituted and well on its way toward the supreme court when President Lincoln's emancipation proclamation was issued.

Actively identified with the Prohibition Party, Mr. Demorest, since 1884, was a tireless worker for its success. He established the National Prohibition Bureau for speakers and the distribution of literature, and, true to his early convictions, organized the National Constitutional

League, through which he was pressing a test suit up to the supreme court to establish the unconstitutionality of license to the liquor traffic, when his death occurred, April 9, 1895. He published a monthly periodical called *The Constitution*. He served the party as a candidate for mayor of New York City and for lieutenant-governor of the state. An interesting feature of Mr. Demorest's services for the cause of prohibition is the medal contest work for the education of the youth, and the creation of public sentiment in favor of the universal prohibition of the liquor traffic, which he originated and maintained.

DENIS, HECTOR: Belgian sociologist; born at Braine-le-Comte, 1842; doctor of law and natural science; advocate (1860); professor of philosophy at the University of Brussels, and instructor at the polytechnical school. He was rector of the University of Brussels, 1892–94, and resigned because of the suspension of Elisée Reclus. Denis is a member of the Royal Academy, and of the Superior Council of Labor. He was elected representative from Liège in 1894, 1898, and 1900, and is a leader in socialism. He is the author of "L'Alimentation et la Force du Travail." "De la Constitution de la Morale Positive."

DENISON, EDWARD: English founder of social settlements; born at Salisbury, 1840; son of Edward Denison, Bishop of Salisbury; graduated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford. From 1862 to 1866 he read law, in the spring of 1864 traveling through Southern Europe and Northern Africa. He became deeply interested in the condition of the poor, and in 1867 took a lodging among the tenements in Philpot Street, Mile End Road, East London. He resided there eight months, studying the conditions of life, building, endowing, and teaching in a school. He was one of the original members of the Society for Organizing Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicity in 1869, out of which has grown the Charity Organization Movement. He disbelieved in giving doles, and in 1868 went to Paris and Edinburgh to study the working of the poor-law. In November of that year he was returned to Parliament for Newark, but his failing health prevented his continued attendance, and after vainly seeking health in the Channel Islands, he went on a voyage to Australia, but died in Melbourne, Jan. 26, 1870, two weeks after his arrival. His letters and writings have been published, London, 1870.

DENMARK: A kingdom of northern Europe, on account of its former political associations with Sweden and Norway, customarily regarded as a unit of the Scandinavian peninsula. Its history has been closely united with that of Norway, and its language and literature are almost identical with Norway's, but on social reforms, Denmark has been the leader of her sister kingdoms.

I.—Statistics

Area and Population

Divisions	Area sq. m.	Population (1901)	Population per sq. m.
Copenhagen	21	378,235	17,909
Baltic Islands	5,062	1,007,513	199
Jutland	9,765	1,063,792	109
Faroe Islands	540	15,230	28
Total	15,388	2,464,770	160

General Statistics

At the latest official census (1901) the population of Denmark proper consisted of 1,193,448 males and 1,256,092 females, a total of 2,464,770; showing an increase of about 12 per cent since the census of 1890. While the town population has increased more than 29 per cent, the rural population has remained practically stationary, the increase being only slightly more than 4 per cent. The population is intermingled with a very small percentage of foreign blood; and the greater part of the foreign-born people come from Sweden and northern Germany (Sleswick-Holstein). According to the census of 1901, 948,997 persons were engaged in agriculture; 674,613 in industrial pursuits; 220,234 in commerce; 139,959 as domestic servants and other lower occupations; 114,100 in immaterial production; 72,072 in fishing and navigation; and 22,351 in inland transportation. There were 103,629 pensioners and capitalists, 48,678 public paupers, 5,623 persons in asylums for the abnormal, and 1,748 prisoners.

The principal cities of Denmark are: Copenhagen (the capital), with a population of 378,235; Aarhuus (Jutland), 51,814; Odense (Funen), 40,138; Aalborg (Jutland), 31,457. The birth-rate in 1904 was 29.89, the death-rate 14.57; 9.6 per cent of the births were illegitimate. There were in 1904 18,235 marriages and 473 divorces. Emigration, chiefly to the United States, was 9,034 in 1904.

Religion and Education

With regard to religion, Denmark maintains the Lutheran creed as her State religion, but no civil disabilities exist. In 1901 there were no 2,436,084 Protestants, 5,373 Roman Catholics, 3,476 Jews, and 4,501 of of other denominations. In an educational aspect Denmark ranks high. Compulsory education was introduced in 1814, all children being obliged to attend school between the ages of seven and fourteen. There are 28 elementary schools in Copenhagen, 132 in other towns, and 2,780 in rural districts, making a total of 2,940. The pupils numbered 326,268 in 1903. Copenhagen has a university, founded in 1479, which has five faculties, 85 professors and teachers, and an annual roll of about 400 students. There are, further, a veterinary college, 12 agricultural schools, 72 high schools, 130 real-schools which prepare pupils for academic courses, a college of pharmacy, a polytechnic institution, and several commercial, technical, and horticultural schools. The State makes annual grants to many of the technical and agricultural schools, as well as to some of the real-schools, which, in reality, are preparatory to the university.

In 1903 there were 3,851 persons convicted of crimes, and 42,083 of minor offenses. There were 796 persons in the penitentiaries on March 31, 1903.

Industry

Denmark is primarily an agricultural country. On account of a law which prohibits the merging of small holdings into large estates the soil is greatly subdivided into small farms. The main crops are beetroots, potatoes, oats, wheat, barley, and rye. In 1903 Denmark had 486,935 horses, 1,840,466 head of cattle; 876,830 sheep; 38,984 goats; and 1,456,699 swine. In 1904, 26,137 horses, 92,058 head of cattle, and 936 sheep and goats were exported. Denmark produced (1904) 22,366,516 gallons of excisable beer, and 33,395,-

344 gallons of non-excisable beer; also 7,427,570 gallons of corn-brandy (*brændevin*) reduced to an alcoholicity of 8°. The production of beet sugar amounted to 44,125 tons, and that of oleomargarin to 21,885 tons. The Danish fisheries yielded a catch valued at 9,950,287 kronen in 1903.

Commerce

Year by year the commerce of Denmark shows a healthy increase, the high standard of her agricultural and dairy products assuring her a steady market abroad. The total exports in 1904 amounted to 497,836,000 kronen, and the total imports to 599,244,000 kr. Of the exports 358,629,000 kr. were home produce. The chief exports (1904) were as follows: Colonial goods, 12,754,000 kronen (krone=twenty-seven cents); beverages, 3,374,000 kr.; textiles, 21,514,000 kr.; metals and hardware, 18,264,000 kr.; wood and manufactures, 1,687,000 kr.; coal, 3,995,000 kr.; animals, 37,469,000 kr.; provisions, eggs, etc., 321,234,000 kr.; cereals, etc., 13,986,000 kr. The principal imports were: From Germany, 214,236,000 kr.; from Great Britain, 90,172,000 kr.; from Sweden and Norway, 63,119,000 kr.; from the United States, 74,464,000 kr.; from Russia, 76,390,000 kr.; from Holland, 12,411,000 kr.; from Belgium, 10,770,000 kr.; from France, 16,235,000 kr.; and from the Danish colonies, 3,519,000 kr. The chief exports of home produce go to Great Britain, and consisted, in 1904, of butter to the value of £9,003,089; eggs, £1,461,459; bacon, £4,532,420; beef, £17,696; pork, £158,639; and fish, £70,307. Otherwise the value of exports was distributed as follows: To Germany, 105,401,000 kr.; to Great Britain, 282,816,000 kr.; to Sweden and Norway, 52,335,000 kr.; to the U. S., 16,326,000 kr.; to Russia, 26,592,000 kr.; to Holland, 519,000 kr.; to Belgium, 1,334,000 kr.; to France, 899,000 kr.; to Danish colonies, 4,624,000 kr.

II.—Constitution and Government

According to the Constitution of 1849, the crown of Denmark is hereditary; but the powers of government are divided between the king and the two houses of parliament: the Folkething and the Landsthing. The king holds the executive power, while the legislative rights are vested in the Rigsdag, which comprizes the two houses mentioned in the foregoing. The Landsthing, or Upper House, consists of sixty-six members, twelve of whom are elected by the crown, and the remaining fifty-four by electoral bodies composed of the largest taxpayers. The Folkething, or Lower House, counts 114 members, elected by universal suffrage for a term of three years. Every resident citizen above the age of twenty-five, and of good reputation, is eligible for election to either house.

The civil subdivisions of Denmark are called "amts" and are eighteen in number, each being governed by an "amtmand," or governor. The amts are again divided into "herreder" (hundreds), and these in turn into parishes. The city of Copenhagen constitutes an amt by itself. Iceland has a specific charter of its own, by virtue of which the legislative power of this colony is vested in a body (the Althing) which is partly elective by universal suffrage and partly appointive by the king.

The estimated revenue for 1905–6 was 79,441,467 kronen and the expenditures 81,334,265 kr. The main part of the revenues (56,499,245 kr. estimated for 1906–7) is derived from customs, excise, and other indirect taxation. The Danish debt (1905) amounted to 172,927,250 kr.

The Danish army numbers 824 officers and 8,945 men on a peace footing; 1,448 officers and 66,000 men on a war footing. Of this total war-strength, 115 officers and 4,400 men are members of a National Guard of Volunteers. The navy is maintained mainly for purposes of coast defense. It comprizes about twenty vessels in various stages of efficiency.

The mercantile fleet of Denmark numbers (1904) 4,048 vessels of about 473,409 tons gross capacity. Of these 592 are steamships. Of the railways, which aggregate 1,993 miles, about 1,138 miles belong to the State, and the rest, mainly little by-lines, to private companies. The total cost of construction, March 31, 1903, was 198,230,918 kr. There are 960 post-offices in the country; 2,367 miles of telegraph wires, and 107,952 miles of telephonic wires.

III.—Social Reform

Modern social reform may be said to have begun in Denmark in 1857 when a law was enacted abolishing the old trade-gilds. It was still some four or five years, however, before joint-stock companies began to assume supremacy in the financial world; but during the thirty years from 1870–1900 these increased in number from 52 to 600, and their combined capital from $20,000,000 to $125,000,000. Educational reforms inaugurated by Bishop N. F. Grundboig (1783–1872) led to the establishment of industrial and agricultural high schools, which at first were supported by private contributions, but since 1864 by the State. These schools are largely frequented by young men and women of the peasant class, and the education afforded them in these institutions has had a remarkable effect in producing a Danish peasantry of which any land might be justly proud.

Socialism

Socialism is now somewhat strong. The strength of the Socialist Party in Denmark is shown by the fact that at the latest popular election of members to the Folkething, twenty-four Socialists were returned. The Landsthing has but one Socialist member. The controller of Copenhagen and two out of the four city councilors are Socialists, and more than 500 members of that party hold minor public offices. In 1887 8,406 Socialist votes were cast; in 1898 31,872; in 1906, 76,566.

Socialism first became a factor in the reform movement in Denmark when Louis Pio, in 1871, published a pamphlet entitled "Essays on Socialism." This pamphlet produced a marked effect, especially on the skilled workers, and during the next year several socialistic societies were formed under the auspices of the International, led by Karl Marx. The leaders of the Danish movement were Pio, Brix, and Geleff. In 1871 the Socialists started their first organ, *Socialisten*, and in 1872 (May 5th) a public meeting was planned in order to promote the formation of local trade-unions. This meeting was prohibited by the authorities, and on account of alleged incendiary articles in the *Socialisten*, the three leaders were arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. In 1873 the Danish authorities prevented the International from making further propaganda in that country, and local activities

thence became centered on the organization of the various branches of labor.

In the course of the next four or five years many local trade-unions were organized, notably those of carpenters, bricklayers, shoe-workers, cigar-makers, etc. In 1871 there were three trade-unions with a total membership of 359; in 1877 there were thirty-one unions with a total of 3,189 members. In 1899 the membership had been swelled to 16,146. It soon became clear to the leaders of the movement that the interests of the different trade-unions would be greatly promoted if there were some central body in each town to exercise supervision in cases of disputes between employers and employees, and especially to see to it that no amount of effort was misdirected by unnecessary strikes, etc. Accordingly, in 1886, De Samvirkende Fagforeninger i Köbenhavn ("The United Trade-Unions in Copenhagen") was organized; and in the course of the next few years similar centrals were established in other large towns. In 1898 more than 400 delegates, who represented 70,000 organized workers, met in Copenhagen and organized "De Samvirkende Fagforbund i Danmark," a union which exercises powers analogous with those exercised by the American Federation of Labor in the United States. In 1904 local trade-unions in Denmark numbered 1,156, with 90,111 members. Railroad employees number 18,000, and general laborers in the unions 29,044.

United Trade-Unions

The material results of the organized labor movement in Denmark have been to procure shorter hours and better pay in many branches, principally among typographers, bricklayers, carpenters, plumbers, etc. The average working-day is nine hours. Great strides have also been made toward securing industrial betterments. The government inspects factories and workshops to make them conform to sanitary requirements, and also to see to it that the law regulating the hours of work for young persons under eighteen is not violated. Children under twelve are not allowed to work in factories or workshops. There is a pension law (enacted 1891) by which all working people are entitled to a pension after the age of sixty; and in 1903 the number of such pensioners was 60,484, the pensions aggregating $2,700,000. The trade-unions maintain sick-funds and friendly societies which receive subsidies from the state and from county councils, such subsidies amounting to $320,000 in 1903. Other charitable institutions are maintained by the state at an annual cost of about $12,000,000.

Results

There is no law in Denmark which provides for woman's participation in state or municipal politics, but measures to that effect are continually being introduced to the legislature, and there is an energetic movement on foot among Danish women to promote their claims for a franchise. The only organized women's society is "Dansk Kvindesamfund," which is affiliated with the International Council of Women.

Woman Suffrage

In 1906 a government committee was appointed for the purpose of making plans looking to the introduction of a system of state aid for the unemployed.

The poor-law of Denmark is especially famous.

Rev. Wilson Carlisle, founder of The Church Army in England, writes (in "The Nineteenth Century and After") about the Danish system of treating its poor, as follows:

> The aged poor of spotless character . . . do not, strictly speaking, come within the poor-law at all in Denmark. They are state pensioners, and their position is no more dishonorable and involves no more loss of civil rights, than in the case of one who receives a service pension in this country (England). Some of the pensioners live in their homes, others in special public institutions. The Alderdomshjem, the place where the aged pensioners of Copenhagen are housed, is a delightful haven for these old people after the storms of life. Some 500 dwell there, the married couples in separate quarters of their own, and the single in common, the men having separate smoking-rooms and the women sitting-rooms. The inmates are entirely their own masters, and go in and out at pleasure. The food is plentiful and appetizing, and it is even prepared in a separate establishment, in order to save the old folks from the annoyance of odors of cooking.
>
> For the old age of those that miss entering the circle (described above)—those who have once been convicted of crime, or whose poverty is due to drunkenness, vice, idleness, or improvidence—provision is made in Denmark by another class of institution . . . represented in Copenhagen by the Almindelig. This place is neither workhouse, almshouse, prison, nor reformatory, but rather a "hospital" in the old sense of the word, where the aged who have not passed through life without stain may spend their last days in comparative comfort. Among them are certain of the better class of able-bodied failures, who come here hoping to get a fresh start by industry. All the inmates are expected to work according to their powers, and they receive moderate pay, partly (threepence a week) in cash and the remainder being placed toward the cost of maintenance, which works out at seven shillings per head per week, including the sick and infirm. To those who are unable to work the threepence a week is paid as a gift. Most of the inmates remain in the institution for the rest of their lives. They lose the franchise and are subject to certain restraints on their liberty, such as going out at certain times only. Married couples are permitted to live together.

The Poor and Unemployed

The temperance movement is making great strides in Denmark, and local temperance societies as well as the Danish branch of the Good Templars count more than 100,000 members. The government grants monetary aid to the carrying on of temperance propaganda; and private enterprise provides coffee-houses, etc., to promote the cause.

Cooperation in Denmark in many lines is largely developed and mainly on the Rochdale plan. On the authority of M. P. Blem, the chairman of the Danish Cooperative Committee, it can be said that there are 1,000 societies with about 150,000 members, which do a total business of about £2,000,000 sterling. The Cooperative Wholesale Society of Copenhagen sells to 915 distributive stores. Cooperative creameries number 1,057, and the butter produced from milk delivered therefrom, during the last fiscal year, was valued at £8,400,000. The bulk of the agricultural exports from Denmark are of cooperative origin, the total production of the butter, bacon, and egg societies for export in 1903 being £11,414,000, while the total exports from the whole of the country were under £20,000,000.

There were, in 1902, twenty-seven cooperative bacon-curing factories. This cooperative movement in Denmark, however, is almost exclusively agricultural; the workers in cities and towns having taken comparatively little interest in this phase of social reform. In Copenhagen there are a few cooperative bakeries, notably "Arbejdernes Brödfabrikker" (the workmen's cooperative bakeries). There are also a brewery, a life-insurance company, and a clothing emporium which are partly operated under the auspices of the United Trade-Unions.

The foremost Danish social reform societies are:

Socialdemokratisk Forbund, 22 Römersgade, Copenhagen.

De Samvirkende Fagforbund i Danmark, 49 Nörre Farimagsgade, Copenhagen.

Dansk Forening for Arbejderbeskyttelse, 5 Højbroplads, Copenhagen.

FRANK F. H. CRAMER.

REFERENCES: *Statistisk Aarbog* (Annual), Copenhagen, 1906; *Foreign Office Reports on the Trade, etc., of Denmark* (Annual), London; *Statistisk Tabelværk*, Copenhagen; *Oversigt over Fagforeningsbevægelsen i Danmark i Tiden fra 1871 til 1900*, Copenhagen, 1901; *Protokol for den 11te Socialdemokratiske Partikongress i Köbenhavn den 12, 13, og 14, April*, 1906, Aarhuus, 1906; *The Danish Poor-Relief System*, by Edith Sellers, London, 1904; *Denmark, Past and Present*, by Margaret Thomas, ib. 1902; *Reports* of the United Danish Trade-Unions.

DENVER: The "Queen City of the Plains," with its phenomenal growth, restless enterprise, varied and, to some extent, chaotic social conditions, has been in many ways the typical Western city. But in some ways it has not been typical. On the one hand, the natural advantages of the city, with water, drainage, transit, unusually easily developed, have freed the city from any vast expensive municipal expenditures with their opportunities for large graft or corruption (except indeed for the $2,000,000 state capitol); but, on the other hand, political conditions have created party machines which have stuffed ballot-boxes and violated laws at least more openly and probably at times more flagrantly than in any other American city. But these political conditions, in almost all instances, have been due to state conditions rather than to municipal affairs. They have been due principally to the heated struggles in Colorado, first, between the Populists of the state and the Republican machine, and more recently between the Western Federation of Miners and the owners of the Telluride and Cripple Creek mines, and other corporate interests, largely using the political machines of all parties. To these struggles Denver has been but an incident, tho the unfortunate seat of many of the bitterest political battles.

This is true of the Bucklin amendment campaign of 1902, of the political reign of terror in 1893, of the heated struggle between the Populists and Republicans in the Waite campaign of 1894, and in the more recent sensational conflict to seat their respective candidates between the Democratic machine, which claimed the governorship for Alva Adams, and the Republican machine, which claimed it for James H. Peabody. In this campaign, at the polling-booths, in the law courts, and before the legislature, probably every kind of trickery was used by both parties. The ballot-stuffing was so open that finally forty ballot-box stuffers in Denver were sent to jail. But it was nevertheless a Colorado battle and not a Denver battle, and essentially a battle between the working miners and their political partizans and the corporations and their political partizans. Nevertheless Denver reaps the harvest of evil. Some one third of the voting population of the state is in Denver, and the city sees at election times a carnival of wholesale bribery and corruption.

Electoral Corruption

Back of this corruption, too, are undoubtedly, as in most cities (see CORRUPTION), the corporations which support the corrupt machines, because they can buy from them the franchises and legal immunities they desire. Among such corporations are said to be the Denver water, gas, and telephone companies, and not least the Denver Tramway Company, with such industrial corporations as the Smelter Trust, Sugar Trust, and the various mining companies. The economic struggle in Colorado will probably not be ended till these companies can be prevented from violating law in the courts and houses of legislature and the miners' unions be prevented from violating law on the streets.

Political reform in Denver began in 1889, when Mr. Pence succeeded in ousting from his seat a mayor fraudulently counted in. The Chamber of Commerce in 1892 appointed a committee to draft a new charter, which, after many defects, was finally adopted, substantially on the lines proposed by the Chamber of Commerce. In 1894 a Municipal Reform League was organized and did good work, tho to-day this movement is represented by the League for Honest Elections, organized in 1903. According to the present charter, the mayor has much power, appointing the health and park commissions, the superintendents of street-cleaning supplies, and the important boards of public works, fire, and police, but the treasurer, auditor, city clerk, besides the mayor himself, are elected by the people.

Political Reform

Denver with its wealth and energy has, in spite of its electoral corruption, good schools and institutions of higher learning, a library of 90,000 volumes, art museum, twelve public parks, fine clubs, and considerable admirable civic life. A large transient population and uncertain mining prospects often afford sudden need for help—but, generally speaking, there is not a great permanent need for relief, and little but the usual forms of charity are developed. The People's Tabernacle, under Rev. T. A. Uzzell, is prominent in institutional activities, but many churches and societies afford much relief.

Charities

The following are some of the more prominent reform and philanthropic societies:

League for Honest Elections, 709 Ernest Cranmer Building.
American Federation of Labor, Max Morris, vice-president, Sixteenth and Lawrence Streets.
Colorado State Federation of Labor, 532 Charles Building.
Western Federation of Miners, Pioneer Building.
Socialist Headquarters, 1842 Chamfa Street.
Charity Organization Society, 1420 Chamfa Street.
Young Men's Christian Association, 16 Lincoln Avenue.
Young Women's Christian Association, 125 East Eighteenth Avenue.
People's Tabernacle, Twentieth and Lawrence Streets.
Salvation Army Headquarters, 918 Lawrence Street.
Volunteers of America, 1759 Chamfa Street.
Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 918 Lorimer Street.
Women's Club, 1437 Glenward.

DENSITY OF POPULATION. See POPULATION; OVERCROWDING.

DEPARTMENTS OF U. S. GOVERNMENT. See CONSTITUTION.

DEPENDENTS. See CHILD-HELPING; PAUPERISM and POOR RELIEF.

DEVINE, EDWARD THOMAS: General Secretary of the Charity Organization Society of New York; born in Iowa, 1867; graduated at Albion Seminary and Cornell College, Iowa (1887); taught school in Iowa; studied at Halle, Germany, 1890–91; held fellowship in Walton School of Finance and Economy, University of Pennsyl-

vania, 1891–95; staff lecturer in University Extension, 1891–96; lectured at Oxford, England, summer of 1892 and 1894, and in Edinburgh (1897). Since 1896 General Secretary of the Charity Organization Society of New York City, taking an active part in housing reform legislation for the restriction of child labor, the movement for the prevention of tuberculosis, and emergency relief in disasters. Founded in 1898, *Charities*, a weekly periodical, and has since been its editor. Four periodicals, *Lend-a-Hand*, *The Charities Review*, the Chicago *Commons*, and *Jewish Charity* have been consolidated with it. Director of the School of Philanthropy established by the Charity Organization Society in 1904. In 1905, appointed Professor of Social Economy, Columbia University. In 1906 was appointed by Secretary Taft, to take charge of the emergency relief work for the San Francisco earthquake and fire, and was president of the Relief Commission. He is author of "Economics" (1889), "The Practice of Charity" (1901); "The Principles of Relief" (1904); "Efficiency and Relief" (1906); and of numerous reports and articles. *Address*: 501 West 113th Street, New York City.

DEWEY, DAVIS R.: American statistician; born at Burlington, Vt., 1858; educated at the University of Vermont and at Johns Hopkins University. In 1885 he became instructor in economics and statistics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and later professor of the same subjects. In 1886 he was appointed secretary of the American Statistical Association; and he was special expert agent on wages for the twelfth census. Dewey was chairman of the Massachusetts Commission to Investigate the Subject of the Unemployed (1894), and is one of the joint authors of the report. He has written "Syllabus on Political History since 1815" (1887); "Financial History of the United States" (1902), etc. *Address*: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass.

DICKENS, CHARLES: English novelist; born at Landport, Hampshire, 1812. Entering life as a parliamentary reporter and journalist, he early won that insight into life which enabled him to portray alike the sufferings and wrongs of the poor and the follies and shams of society. His "Pickwick Papers," published in 1837, exhibited almost for the first time the life and manners of the lower, middle, and working classes of London in the nineteenth century. "Nicholas Nickleby" attacked the wrongs and cruelties inflicted upon the wretched pupils of the cheap schools in Yorkshire; "Hard Times" mocked the commercialism of the day; all his novels, such as "Old Curiosity Shop," "Martin Chuzzlewit," "Dombey and Son," "Bleak House," "Little Dorrit," "Great Expectations," "Oliver Twist," and "David Copperfield" have served the cause of social reform by picturing, tho ever with good nature, and always with an eye for the ludicrous, the sufferings and wrongs of the poor, the foibles and delusions of society. Dickens, who visited America twice, died in June, 1870.

DIKE, SAMUEL WARREN: American Congregational minister and secretary of the National League for the Protection of the Family; born at Thompson, Conn., 1839; was graduated from Williams College, 1863; studied also at Hartford and Andover; ordained 1866; held ministries at West Randolph and Royalston, Vt. Mr. Dike had long given much thought to the family and its problems, and in 1881, when asked to deliver one of the Monday lectures in Boston, he took the ground that the divorce question is but a part of the larger problem of the family, and that this, in turn, is intimately related to the problems of property. That year a New England Divorce Reform League was organized, later changing its name to the National League for the Protection of the Family, and Mr. Dike became its corresponding secretary. He has been largely instrumental in securing reports of the Commission of Labor on marriage and divorce, and in the establishment of state commissions on uniform legislation. He also led in what has been known as the Religious Problem of the County Town, having proposed and assisted in the widely known statistical investigation of Rev. Henry Fairbanks, in Vermont; invented the Home Department of the Sunday-school, now extending over the country in many churches; and helped introduce the study of scientific sociology in higher educational institutions, where he is a frequent lecturer. *Address*: 113 Hancock Street, Auburndale, Mass.

DIRECT LEGISLATION (or THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM): Direct legislation in small communities is the New England town-meeting, the present Swiss and ancient Teutonic *Landesgemeinden*, the Anglo-Saxon folkmoot, the Russian *Mir*, the old Greek and Latin *agora* or market-place meeting, or any other meeting in which the people actually propose and vote on their own laws, in an orderly and deliberate manner.

In communities too large for the voters to assemble in one body and consider and pass on the laws by which they are to be governed, direct legislation is attained by an adaptation of the old, highly valued, and nearly useless right of petition in what is called the Initiative and Referendum. Petitions in the past to kings, governors, legislatures, etc., may have been influential, but have had no real power in determining laws; and when, as actually happened in the New Jersey legislature, a petition signed by several hundred thousand citizens is rumpled up by the legislators and tossed from one to the other in disdain, the people have absolutely no redress. The Initiative and Referendum infuses new life into the worn-out right of petition.

By the Referendum no law goes into effect until a reasonable time has elapsed. In a city this may be one month, in a state two or three, in the nation four to six months. From this are excepted a limited class of urgent measures usually defined as measures necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health, or safety. Generally these must be passed by a two thirds or three fourths majority of the legislature. If, during this reasonable time, a minority of the people, usually five per cent, sign and file a petition for the reference of any law, it is held from operation, till the next election when the people vote on it, a majority enacting or rejecting. This is the Optional Referendum, and is implied where the word "Referendum" is used alone. But there are several other varieties. The Obligatory Referendum, by which every law has to be referred to the people, is used on constitutional amendments in every state ex-

Definitions

cept Delaware. It is in use in some parts of Switzerland, but in the United States it is rarely advocated for all forms of legislation. The Executive Referendum is one by which the executive has the right to hold up a law and refer it to the people; while the Legislative Referendum is one by which a minority of the legislature has the same power. The Judicial Referendum gives a supreme court the right to declare a law unconstitutional, so that it is held from operation until the next election, when the people vote on it, a majority vote in its favor rendering it a law notwithstanding any constitutional infringements. This makes the people supreme over the supreme court.

The Referendum is negative or preventive; it gives the people the veto power over bad laws. The Initiative is positive and constructive. It makes it possible for the people to get what they want, and enables an active minority to educate the masses. By it, whenever a reasonable minority of the voters (sometimes five per cent, sometimes eight per cent) sign and file a petition for a law or ordinance, the measure goes to the legislature where it takes precedence over all other matters. The legislature can do anything it wishes with this measure: pass, amend, or reject. But if it does not pass it as petitioned for, the people vote on it at the next election, a majority vote deciding its rejection or enactment independently of legislature and governor.

The Initiative and Referendum together constitute Direct Legislation, or a simple method by which the people can control their own lawmaking all the time. It does not abolish legislatures; it does not mean that all laws will be submitted to the people, or even that many laws will be submitted. The fact that the people can use it at any time makes its frequent use unnecessary. It does not detract from the honor or dignity of the legislature; but instead, by taking away the final power of law-enacting, it removes the danger of bribery, lifts the legislators above suspicion, and makes them true to their old name, "Councilors to the People."

Advantages

De Tocqueville says that the only way to interest people in their government is to make them partake in it. Direct legislation makes every voter a potential legislator, and hence interests him. It allows one section of the people most interested in some law to propose that law, force a public discussion and consideration by every voter, not on the character and promises of some candidate for office, but on a definite and real measure. Thus it is a great educational scheme. Further, each law has either an actual or a silent majority behind it, and it can be enforced. The disgrace of non-enforced or unevenly enforced laws does not exist when Direct Legislation has long been used. As the people have to understand the laws, they are made short, simple, direct. Our laws, made hurriedly in unhomogeneous legislatures pulled this way and that by varied business interests, are complex, ambiguous, and multitudinous.

Direct Legislation is only a simple method of gaining popular government, or government by the people. As such its history goes back into the mists of antiquity. But the novel and ingenious adaptation of petitions to this end was begun in Switzerland about a century ago and has developed furthest there. Nearly three centuries ago the colonies of Plymouth and Rhode Island actually put into force for a while the use of petition almost exactly in the manner we now call the Initiative and Referendum, but there was no general necessity for it then, as legislators were seldom bribed; and so to Switzerland belongs the honor of developing the system of petitioning into that of the Initiative and Referendum.

In the United States the first organization to promote Direct Legislation was formed in New Jersey in 1891, and was known as The People's Power League. It was changed the next year into The Direct Legislation League of New Jersey.

In the United States

Since then state leagues have sprung up in twenty or thirty states, and are to-day active in fifteen to twenty. There are no exact statistics available, and from the nature of the case none are likely to become available. Each state must care for itself. If it does the rest are encouraged; if it does not it is its own fault or misfortune. In 1896 the National Direct Legislation League was founded, and later one or two other national organizations were formed with similar objects. The National League, however, is little more than a bureau of information, and a clearing-house for Direct Legislation news, carried by its president under his hat. In 1892 Sullivan's book on Direct Legislation was published, and in 1894 he began *The Direct Legislation Record*, which was carried on by Mr. Eltweed Pomeroy from 1895 to 1904. The book, this little paper, and some pamphlets were the slender means of propaganda used by this movement. But the very fact that there are no offices or jobs in Direct Legislation, and no strong organizations with hierarchy of officers to draw in large funds and spend them more or less ineffectively, making great noise before the public, has really been a source of strength among the quiet workers all over the country. Without much noise or newspaper notice, Direct Legislation has grown.

The South Dakota legislature passed a Direct Legislation constitutional amendment in 1897, which the people adopted by an overwhelming majority; and the laws to carry it into effect were passed later. Next Utah followed the example of South Dakota; but tho the people carried the Direct Legislation amendment by a large majority, they also changed the political complexion of the legislature, and the succeeding legislatures have not passed the necessary laws to carry the people's will into effect. Direct Legislation will therefore remain an unused and unusable part of the Utah Constitution till the legislature permits. This is a fine illustration of the need for Direct Legislation, when legislatures can thus thwart even the exprest will of the people. Oregon followed next with the best drawn amendment yet adopted, and so thoroughly were the people roused to its value that two measures were voted on and carried at the Congressional elections in June, 1904, and nine at the election in June, 1906. One of these extended Direct Legislation to all the cities of Oregon. It has worked a great change and improvement in the legislature, and the people could not now be persuaded to drop it.

Nevada got a constitutional amendment in 1904; while the people of Missouri rejected a very faulty one in the same year. The people of Montana will have, at their next election, the opportunity to pass on a fairly good one. One house of the legislatures of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, North

Dakota, Arkansas, Washington, and California, have passed constitutional amendments introducing Direct Legislation.

In city government Direct Legislation has made great progress. Almost every city of the Pacific Coast states has it. Denver has a badly drawn form. Minneapolis, Detroit, Nashville, and other cities have it on the granting of franchises. It is applied very widely to the liquor question, usually under the title of "Local Option"; and great states such as Georgia, Tennessee, and Arkansas are under a thoroughly enforced prohibition by local option or local Direct Legislation on the licensing of the sale of liquor. Every year the cities of Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Hampshire vote on the license question. Many other subjects are continually being referred to the people. No other reform has made the quiet, yet sturdy, rapid, and satisfactory progress that Direct Legislation has in the last ten or fifteen years, and the outlook is very encouraging.

Canada has shared in the movement, and progress has been made in cities so far apart as Victoria and Toronto. Abroad there is a faint movement in England. A much stronger one exists in France, particularly for municipal Direct Legislation, and substantial progress has already been made in embodying it into an institution. The same is true of Norway. In Switzerland, its home, it is more fully developed and applied than anywhere else on the globe, and only an act of extreme violence could tear it from the Swiss statute-books.

Foreign Countries

Australia has a genuine movement which as yet has not enacted any laws on the statute-books; but in New Zealand it is used on the liquor and taxing questions, and the signs point to the adopting of a general Direct Legislation law within the near future.

The arguments usually advanced against Direct Legislation are that the people will not vote on a dry measure; that they require a principle to be embodied in a personality to rouse them to vote. It is true that dry, unimportant measures do not call out a large vote. It is also true that important measures do interest the people. Thus, in many of the cities of Massachusetts there is often a larger vote on the annually submitted question of licensing saloons than is cast for governor of the state or president of the United States. It is an important question regularly submitted. But even supposing it to be true that fewer votes would be cast for measures than for men, as long as every voter was free to cast his vote, this would only be an automatic, self-disfranchisement of the ignorant and uninterested.

Some people speak of the great expense of Direct Legislation. It does not mean frequent votings. Switzerland has held less than one election a year on measures. Oregon has held two in five years; San Francisco only two or three in six years. South Dakota, as a state, has not yet used it a single time. The very fact that it can be used at any time prevents the frequent necessity for its use. But suppose it did cost double, treble, tenfold what our present system does, it would pay for itself if it saved one legislative job. Probably, if it was extensively used in every state, the total cost for its use for a score of years would not equal the expense to the state of one such lobbyist as Andy Hamilton, or Col. Bill Phelps, or many another.

Objections

Others say the people cannot understand these abstruse and complex legislative questions. True, and rarely do the lawyers, judges, and whatnots that we have to interpret them to us, understand them. A judge of the U. S. Supreme Court has been known within two weeks to change his opinion on the meaning of some phrase. But the people will see that the laws are simple and understandable; else they will vote them down. They have done this in Switzerland, where the laws are such that the ordinary man can comprehend them. Compare the more than 25,000 measures introduced in the last Congress, of which between 4,000 and 5,000 were passed, with the less than 100 introduced in the Swiss legislature, of which a little more than a score were passed! It were better to have no laws than to have laws the people cannot understand.

A few persons boldly say that the people cannot govern themselves; and with the man who believes that there is no use arguing. But inasmuch as our revolutionary fathers fought for the right to govern themselves, inasmuch as our Civil War was on this same great issue, it would be advisable for such a man either to keep quiet or to move out of this country to some more appropriate land. But the very man who wants to govern others is rarely willing that others shall govern him.

There are three classes of people who oppose Direct Legislation: (1) The few who really believe the people are not fit to govern themselves. These are comparatively unimportant save as they become honest tools for (2) the second class which is our predatory rich, who want franchises, special privileges, jobs, grafts, etc., etc., and who have fattened on these in the past. These people know that it is much easier to get such franchises, jobs, grafts, etc., from the representatives than from the people. They are a powerful class at present, but their power is decreasing. They have defeated Direct Legislation in many a legislature, and they will continue to do so for a time. But like the well-known little animal, drive them into the open and they can be beaten. (3) The third class is the lawyers, hangers-on, and dependents of the second class, and those who expect to get favors from them. This is a large class, larger than most people imagine. But with publicity this class will shrink like snow in summer.

The only other obstacle to the progress of Direct Legislation is the inertia of the people. Many have not felt that we needed it. But the insurance inquiry, and many other legislative investigations, are continually making converts; and we may expect an increasing strength to the Direct Legislation movement, and its rapid spread. Only one thing can hinder its advance, and that is that the people do not use it when it is adopted. Vigilance is the price of liberty, and no system can take the place of vigilance. We must use Direct Legislation when we have it, and use it wisely, or we will not be fit to extend its scope and strength.

With the continual spread and use of Direct Legislation there will come an education of the people on public questions little dreamed of now; there will come a sense of social solidarity and unity, a feeling that we are equals and brothers, a real birth of the social consciousness. And after we have become conscious that we each and all belong to a social organism that is far greater than all of us, and that can and will and must

create much of the environment on which we all depend for real living, then will come the social conscience which will use Direct Legislation as the powerful hand by which the now almost dormant and infantile, but then vivified and regnant, social organism can reach out and execute its will. Then will come a change in our civilization little dreamed of. A Referendum, as a Swiss statesman once said, is a real and vital communion or common action for the common benefit. And Direct Legislation is to be the communion stirring the social organism to a consciousness of its own existence, and again stirring it more and more by the value of these communions, till the social conscience is aroused, and then it will be the tool by which this social conscience can carry out its will, ever attempting and ever coming nearer to success in making a heaven on this earth. Such in the dream of democracy, for which those who believe in Direct Legislation work and wait.

ELTWEED POMEROY.

DIRECT NOMINATION: A system of nomination to public office which does away with the nominating convention. On the day fixt for registration of voters before an election, any voter may cast a ballot for the candidate of any political party he chooses, regardless of his previous party affiliation. The ballots are secret, as in elections, and are provided by the state. Any one who is eligible may be a candidate for any office if he file an affidavit declaring it to be his bona fide intention to run for the nomination to the office. The candidate receiving the highest number of party votes thus becomes the candidate of that party.

This system was adopted in 1899 for nominations to certain offices in Hennepin County, Minnesota, the county containing Minneapolis. It resulted in the election of a mayor whose administration was not considered a success. In 1902, however, it was tried for the whole state of Minnesota, excepting for such state officers as governor, secretary of state, etc. The result was eminently successful. Efforts to repeal the law have failed, and the idea is spreading to other states.

REFERENCES: *Nominating Systems*, by Meyer; *Detroit Conference for Good City Government*, 1903.

DISPENSARY SYSTEM, IN THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC (South Carolina): This system, inaugurated in South Carolina in 1873, in 1906 was, through political efforts, given up as a system conducted by the state, but is still in use, only now being conducted by counties.

It is a compromise between two conflicting remedies. What was intended to be a decisive battle between these two remedies was fought in this state in 1892. In that year the license system was in vogue in most of the counties of this state. In some few the liquor traffic was prohibited. It was sought to extend this prohibition to the entire state. The Democracy carries all elections in this state and its nominations are made primary elections. In 1892 the Prohibitionists were strong enough in South Carolina to force the State Democratic Executive Committee to provide special boxes in the primary held that year in which the Democratic voters could express a preference between license and prohibition. There were more votes for prohibition than for license, but the number of those who voted for prohibition was exceeded by the number of those who did not vote at all, thereby showing that neither solution was satisfactory to them.

B. R. Tillman, now United States senator, was at that time Governor of South Carolina. When the legislature met in the winter of 1892 a prohibition bill was introduced and its passage was urged on the ground that a majority had voted in the primary in favor of prohibition. All test votes showed that it had a majority in the legislature and would pass. While Mr. Tillman is by habit practically a teetotaler, he was opposed to the enactment of a prohibition statute for South Carolina, as he believed that it would aggravate rather than relieve the evils it was aimed at. His judgment was that no law can be enforced which is not believed in and supported by a majority of the people who must live under it. While a majority of those who voted had voted for prohibition, those who had so voted were not much more than a third of the white voters of the state. In this dilemma it was brought to his attention that the city of Athens, Ga., conducted a municipal dispensary for the sale of intoxicating liquors. He studied the Athens idea with the result that he broadened it out to fit a whole state.

The prohibition bill before the legislature was amended at his instance so that it became the dispensary law. Six months were given those in the liquor business in this state in which to dispose of their stocks, and the dispensary law went into effect on July 1, 1893.

It was an innovation, and met the usual fate of innovations, no matter how pregnant with promised benefit. It was fought with relentless fury. The ablest lawyers in the state were retained to fight it in the courts. Legal attack after legal attack was aimed at the dispensary law, to have the courts set it aside as unconstitutional. These fights were carried through all the courts, even the Supreme Court of the United States. The dispensary withstood all these fights, and now it is *res adjudicata* that the state has the right to sell liquor as an exercise of its police power. This principle has been affirmed by the highest legal tribunal of the land.

But it was not only in the courts that the dispensary law was fought. It had to meet political attacks no less fierce. The fire came from the two extremes which the dispensary sought to compromise. The liquor dealers did not relish being driven out of their profitable business. They and their friends sought to put out of office those who favored the dispensary law. They were too shrewd to make a direct fight. Until the dispensary law had a chance to prove its benefits by its operation, it was bitterly attacked by the prohibitionists. The element in favor of liquor selling by individuals backed the political fights of the prohibitionists, believing that if a prohibition law were enacted, its operation would be so unsatisfactory that the state would return to the license system of regulating the sale of liquor. The experience of some other states gave ground for this hope.

But the dispensary was as successful in meeting this fight as it had been in withstanding the legal attacks. It has been in operation thirteen years and has more than fulfilled the hopes of those who devised the experiment. It is no longer an experiment. Among its stoutest champions to-day are many prohibitionists who were once its deadliest enemies.

I have prepared a comparison which is instructive. Maine and Kansas have prohibition laws.

Massachusetts tried prohibition and then gave it up in favor of what is generally regarded as the best law for license regulation of the liquor traffic. It is a local-option law, with a license fee of not less than $1,000. The number of licenses that can be issued is limited to one to 1,000 inhabitants, except in Boston, where the limit is one to 500.

In the comparison I make, the figures of population are from the U. S. Census of 1900, while the revenue figures are from the report of the U. S. Commissioner of Internal Revenue, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903.

In Maine, with a population of 694,466, there were 958 retail liquor dealers, 14 wholesale liquor dealers, 408 retail dealers in malt liquors, and 37 wholesale dealers in malt liquors.

In Kansas, with a population of 1,470,495, there were 2,822 retail liquor dealers, 22 wholesale liquor dealers, 303 retail dealers in malt liquors, and 107 wholesale dealers in malt liquors.

In Massachusetts, with a population of 2,805,346, there were 4,898 retail liquor dealers, 215 wholesale liquor dealers, 194 retail dealers in malt liquors, and 402 wholesale dealers in malt liquors.

Compared with Prohibition

In South Carolina, with a population of 1,340,316, there were 490 retail liquor dealers, 3 wholesale liquor dealers, 44 retail dealers in malt liquors, and 10 wholesale dealers in malt liquors. In South Carolina, 113 of the retail liquor dealers, 2 of the wholesale liquor dealers, 33 of the retail malt liquor dealers, and all of the wholesale dealers in malt liquors were state officials, selling according to law. The others were illicit dealers.

To make the comparison more instructive, it must be remembered that the percentage of negroes who drink is greater than that of whites. The percentage of illiteracy among the negroes is also greater. The records of the criminal courts of South Carolina show that the negroes have much less regard for the laws of the land than the whites.

South Carolina has 782,321 negroes, while the total of the other three states cited is but 85,296, as follows: Kansas, 52,003; Maine, 1,319; Massachusetts, 31,974.

Prohibition Kansas, with 130,000 more population than South Carolina and less than one fifteenth as many negroes, had nearly six times as many retail liquor dealers, more than seven times as many wholesale liquor dealers, about seven times as many retail dealers in malt liquors, and nearly eleven times as many wholesale dealers in malt liquors.

Prohibition Maine, with about half the population of South Carolina and practically no negroes, had about twice as many retail liquor dealers, five times as many wholesale liquor dealers, nearly ten times as many retail dealers in malt liquors, and nearly four times as many wholesale dealers in malt liquors.

In the face of these official figures, how can it longer be contended that prohibition prohibits? The test of practical results is all in favor of the dispensary.

In South Carolina the state admits that men will drink and therefore it is best for the state to control the sale of liquor by its own officers. This control eliminates the selfish interest, for the liquor is sold by salaried officers, who have no incentive to increase the sale of liquor, such as saloon-keepers have. The liquor they sell is sold under the state's guaranty of proof and chemical purity. Whether a citizen buys fine or common liquors, he knows he is buying pure liquors. This minimizes the effect of liquor-drinking on his system. The case is otherwise in prohibition states. The risks of the business there are such that the liquor dealers handle largely the very cheapest, commonest liquors and the drinkers are willing to pay as high or higher prices therefor as drinkers in other states pay for pure liquors.

In South Carolina liquor can only be sold between sunrise and sunset. This eliminates night drinking. It can only be sold in sealed packages of not less than a half pint nor more than four and seven eighth gallons and cannot be drunk on the premises where sold. This goes a long way toward abolishing the treating system, which is generally regarded as one of the very worst features of the liquor business in license states and is principally responsible for over-indulgence in alcoholic beverages. There is no credit. Cash must be paid for the liquor. Consequently the workingman's wages are not dissipated by credit drinking at a saloon before pay day comes. Liquor cannot be sold to drunkards or minors. License laws ordinarily have such a restriction, but it is usually inoperative because it clashes with the selfish interest of the licensed liquor seller. In South Carolina it operates because increase of sales does not mean more profits to the salaried officer who conducts the sale of liquor. There is no inducement to drink liquor, no gilded bars and comfortable loafing-places where intoxicating beverages are sold. All the tinsel is torn away and a man buys liquor as he goes into a grocery store to buy bottled pickles or catchup to carry home for use. The consequence is that even those who had formed the habit of drinking before the dispensary law was passed drink much less than they did when the bars were in operation and the rising generation have no temptation to acquire the liquor-drinking habit. Sobriety steadily increases with the length of operation of the dispensary law.

Methods

Aside from its other good features, the dispensary law has especially commended itself to the women of the cities of South Carolina because it has done away with the saloons and their attendant crowd of loafers, who stood around the front doors and ogled women as they passed by. This is probably the first feature of the good work of the dispensary law to attract the attention of visitors from other states, especially women visitors. They never fail to comment upon it and praise the dispensary system.

All supplies for the dispensaries are under the supervision of county boards of three members, who elect the officers in charge of the retail sales thereat. The supplies are invoiced to the retail dispensaries at a price which nets about 6 per cent profit. Under the law it is not allowed to exceed 10 per cent. The revenue from this source is about $125,000 annually, which is covered into the state treasury for use for school purposes. The retail dispensaries sell at prices which net about 16 per cent profit. This revenue amounts for the entire state to about $500,000 annually. The profits of each county dispensary are divided equally between the county and the municipal corporation in which it is located. They are covered into the general funds in their treasuries. The governor of the state has charge

of the enforcement of the law against illicit liquor sellers. For this purpose a force of special constables is provided. Any county which does not want a retail dispensary within its limits can so declare by vote. In that case it does not share in the profits of the dispensary and must pay a small special tax for the expense of the enforcement of the dispensary law within its limits.

According to the U. S. Census of 1900, the amount of whisky drunk in the U. S. per capita is $17.33. In South Carolina, according to the same census it was only $4.47, under the dispensary law, giving the blind tigers credit for selling one third of the whisky drunk in South Carolina. By blind tigers is meant illicit sales.

W. O. Tatum,
Superintendent Dispensary Commission.

Ed.—This system is still opposed by most prohibitionists and others on principle. But many prohibitionists are inclined to accept the law as a stepping-stone to more rigid legislation.

In 1899 the directors of the Massachusetts Total Abstinence Society sent out a list of questions to responsible parties in South Carolina and some of the North Carolina and Georgia counties which have also tried the dispensary system, with the following results: *Question.*—What is your estimate of the value of the system? *Answer.*—18 in favor, 7 opposed. *Ques.*—Are the results growing better as the years advance? *Ans.*—17 favorable, 5 opposed. *Ques.*—Is there an apparent increase in the illicit traffic? *Ans.*—11 favorable, 6 otherwise. To these and some other questions there were in all eighty-five answers, 60 or 70 per cent favorable to the system, while some of the unfavorable ones had important qualifications. According to the investigation of Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell, as recorded in "The Temperance Problem and Social Reform," not only has the ordinary saloon been abolished, but the places for the sale of drink have been greatly reduced in number, the hours of sale have been shortened, sales to minors are not allowed, sales on credit have been done away with, and gambling and the immoral accessories of the public house no longer exist" (p. 425). In 1892 there were 613 bars in South Carolina; in 1899 there were 92 dispensaries. In 1892 there were 285 bars in Charleston; in 1899 there were 10 dispensaries. The arrests for drunkenness have diminished rapidly. In 1890 there were 14.57 for every 1,000 inhabitants in Charleston; in 1898 there were 5.11. Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell say: "Alike in South Carolina and in Scandinavia, the appropriation of the profits of the trade is open to objection." The prohibitionists point to the fact that there has been increase of sales of liquor in the dispensary system (which may simply be that the system is more widely adopted) and they claim that comparing the six years under license (1887–92) with six under the dispensary system (1895–1901) there has been an increase in assaults and homicides in the state. But this is also true in some other states and may be due to other reasons. See Temperance.

DISTRIBUTION: In political economy distribution refers to that large and important part of the subject which studies the division of products among the independent individuals, or classes of individuals, who compose the society. As the elements that contribute to production are usually classed as labor, capital, and natural objects or agencies, the fundamental formula of distribution is usually exprest thus:

Produce = Rent + Interest + Wages, where,
Produce = the increase made in material wealth, the net produce that remains after any auxiliary capital that may have been consumed is replaced;
Rent = the total amount received annually for the use of natural objects and agencies;
Interest = the total amount received annually for the use of capital;
Wages = the total amount received annually in remuneration for labor of whatever kind.

In the above equation we include under "wages" the remuneration of employers for the work of organizing, and supervising the labor of others; we include under "interest" what is usually called rent, so far as it is paid for anything that has been produced by labor; and we limit the word "rent" altogether to payments made for the use of land and other gifts of nature.

It is greatly to be regretted that in this, and other instances, we are compelled to use words in other than their ordinary meaning; but where ordinary parlance confuses things fundamentally different, such as the "rent" of a house, and the "rent" of land, things which depend on altogether different laws, our only alternative would be to invent new terms, the signification of which it would be still more difficult to understand.

The difficulty is perhaps most serious in the case of the word "wages." If the word "profits" could be taken to express the earnings of employers for the labor which they undergo, our equation might be put into the form Produce = Rent + Interest + Profits + Wages. For some purposes this would be the most convenient form of the equation. But the word "profits" is almost invariably used to include interest on capital, as well as remuneration for employer's labor, and if so used, the second form of the equation would count twice over one portion of interest. The balance of advantage seems therefore in favor of the earlier form of the equation.

In reference to distribution in general two questions may be, and in economic science have been, more or less carefully asked: What is the share, and what in equity should be the share of these various elements? As each question, however, in regard to each element demands in itself a long discussion, each is entitled to a separate article, and will be considered under the respective subjects of Rent, Interest, Profit, Wages. Thus far in political economy the question mainly asked as to distribution has been: What share, as a matter of fact, can rent, interest, and wages get, where each element is competing to get all it can? This was to Adam Smith and his followers the main question, because, experiencing the evils of the unwise state interference of the day, they believed that the best state of affairs for the public was where there was no interference, but where every one was left free to secure whatever share in the distribution he could. Believing also that every one was best able to look out for his own interests, they held that it was for the general good for each one to do this. They asked what share under this condition each one could get, believing that in the long run this was also the right share for him to get. More recently, and mainly beginning with Mill, men have asked more and more the ethical question, what share each should get. It has been seen that under the free play of private interests, persons monopolizing the ownership of natural agencies and opportunities, or abundant capital, were able to get a vastly larger share than those who had only their labor to dispose of. Men must live, and when they have only their labor to dispose of they must sell it day by day, as a rule, in order to earn a living. Those who have large capital or ownership of large natural opportunities to fall back upon, are, on the other hand, not compelled to sell until they can get good prices. Natural opportunities, again, cannot be indefinitely supplied, and can be and have become largely monopolized;

whereas, under the process of life, the supply of labor is much more abundant, and therefore the limited supply of natural opportunities enables rent to rise, while the large supply of labor tends to make wages fall; or, if other causes raise wages, to prevent wages from rising in proportion to rent. For these and other causes it is claimed by Socialists and others that the free play of private interest between rich capitalists and landlords and poor laborers is not fair play, and not truly free play, since the capitalist and landlord are comparatively free, but the laborer is often the slave of his circumstances. Hence the question is rising more and more as to what should be the basis of division, and many proposals have been made. It is proposed that laborers combine to get a larger share. Hence we have Trade-Unions, Knights of Labor, etc. It is proposed that capitalists and landlords give a larger proportion of the produce to the laborers than they are able to secure by mere private struggle. Hence we have proposals for profit-sharing and various charities. It is proposed that laborers combine to be their own capitalists and landlords; hence we have all sorts of cooperative and communistic experiments. It is asserted that the wealthy classes have so much power in their hands that private cooperation cannot succeed in competing against them, and hence it is proposed that all the people, through government (municipal, state, and national), secure all the means of production (capital and land, so far at least as land is used for production), and operate them collectively for the equitable good of all; the people thus being their own employers, capitalists, and landlords. Hence we have Municipalism, Nationalism, Socialism. It is claimed that capitalists and landlords have been able to secure, and are to-day able to maintain their large share in distribution, only through the favoritism of the government. Hence we have proposals for free trade, the single tax, or the freeing of competition after land has been removed from private appropriation, the extreme proposals of the very great minimizing of the state in individualism, or the abolition of government in anarchism. It will be thus seen how the large proportion of the social reforms proposed to-day are reforms either in distribution or proposed with the view of affecting distribution. Hence a large proportion of this volume may be said to be concerned with distribution, and for the various proposals the reader must look under the names given above.

It should be added that a few men, and some of them of great ability and even brilliancy, like Edward Atkinson, steadily refuse to recognize distribution as being a more important question to-day than formerly. They assert and undertake to prove that if labor to-day does not receive as large a share in distribution as it should, it is receiving at least a continually increasing share, and that the present so-called Labor Question is but the laborer striving for a still larger share because he has been lifted up to a plane of education and of conscious wants which he has never occupied till now. Hence they argue that all we have to do is to keep on in the operation of allowing the freest play to private interests, only aiming continually more and more at education in the broadest and deepest sense, and at increase and saving in production; so that there will be more to distribute. This position will be discust under the articles WAGES and SOCIALISM. Whether this position be right or not, however, the large majority of economists and workers for social reform believe that the problem of just distribution does press to-day as never before; their books, therefore, are filled with discussions of the various proposals to secure a juster distribution. It has been said that, comparatively speaking, economic thought has solved the problem of the production of wealth, and the question now is mainly how to distribute it. It should be added, however, that a growing number of Socialists argue that our present distribution is unjust because growing out of methods of production radically unjust, and that, therefore, the need is for a thorough change in industrial methods, both as to production and distribution, and beginning with the former. (See SOCIALISM; WEALTH; WAGES; etc.)

REFERENCES: *Distribution of Wealth*, by J. R. Common, 1893; *The Evolution of Capitalism*, by J. A. Hobson.

DIVISION OF LABOR: When a number of workmen are engaged in any work, we find that each man usually takes one part of the work and leaves other parts of the work to his mates. People by degrees arrange themselves into different trades, so that the whole work done in any place is divided into many employments or crafts. This is termed division of labor, and is found in all civilized countries, and more or less in all states of society which are not merely barbarous.

Such a condition of affairs naturally has both great advantages and disadvantages. Adam Smith's classic statement of the advantages of division of labor has been added to, but hardly surpassed. He found them mainly three:

(1) Increase of dexterity in every particular workman.

(2) Saving of the time which is commonly lost in passing from one kind of work to another.

(3) The invention of a great number of machines, which facilitate and abridge labor, and enable one man to do the work of many.

There can be no doubt as to the increase or dexterity which arises from practise. Any one who has tried to imitate a juggler, or to play the piano, without having learned to do it, knows how absurdly he fails. Adam Smith states that if a blacksmith had to make nails without having been accustomed to the work, he would not make above 200 or 300 bad nails in a day. With practise he might learn to make 800 or 1,000 nails in a day; but boys who are brought up to the nailer's trade can turn out 2,300 nails of the same kind in the same time.

Advantages

Secondly, division of labor saves time. Before one can make anything he must get the right tools and materials; when he has finished one box he is ready to make another with less trouble than the first; but if he must go off and do something quite different, such as to mend a pair of shoes or write a letter, a different set of implements has to be got ready. A man, as Adam Smith says, saunters a little in turning his hand from one kind of employment to another.

In the third place, Smith asserted that the division of labor leads to the invention of machines which abridge labor, because men, he thought, were much more likely to discover easy methods of attaining an object when their whole attention is directed to that object. Workmen invent modes of lessening their labor, and important inventions have been made in this way. Division of labor also leads to invention, because

it enables ingenious men to make invention their profession. The greatest inventors, such as James Watt, Fulton, Roberts, Nasmythe, Howe, Fairbairn, the Stephensons, Wheatstone, Bessemer, cultivated an original genius by careful study and long practise in mechanical construction. The division of labor also greatly assists invention, because it enables each factory to adopt particular kinds of machinery. The division of labor is continually becoming more and more minute, and it is not uncommon to find that the whole supply of some commodity is furnished from a single manufactory, which can then afford to have a set of machines invented on purpose to produce this one commodity.

The economy of inventions is best attained when it is the business of a certain set of people to study every new invention which bears on their particular trade; for each new leading idea with regard both to processes and machinery has many practical applications. Knowledge is acquired in working out one invention that is likely to be of use in seeking for others. If, however, the work of thinking is confined to a few, division of labor is carried too far.

There are other advantages. A deal of labor is often saved by arranging work so that a laborer may serve many persons as easily as one. If a messenger is going to carry a letter to the post-office, he can as readily carry a score. Instead of twenty people each carrying their own letters, one messenger can do the whole work without more trouble. This explains why the post-office is able to forward a letter from any part of the country to the other for two cents. Multiplying of copies is another great gain made possible by division of labor.

When the proper tools and models for making a thing are once provided, it is sometimes possible to go on multiplying copies with little further trouble. To cut the dies for striking a medal or coin is a very slow and costly work; but when once good dies are finished, it is easy to strike a great many coins with them, and the cost of the striking is very small. The printing-press, however, is the best case of multiplication of copies.

Almost all the common things we use now, such as ordinary chairs and tables, cups and saucers, teapots, spoons and forks, etc., are made by machinery, and are copies of an original pattern.

A further advantage of the division of labor is that, when there are many different trades, every person can choose that trade for which he is best suited. Each man will generally work at the trade in which he can get the best wages, and it is an evident loss of skill if the artizan should break stones or sweep the streets. Now, the greater the division of labor and the more extensive factories become, the better chance there is for finding an employment just suited to each person's powers; clever workmen do the work which no one else can do; they have unskilled laborers to help them in things which require no skill; foremen plan out the work and allot it to the artizans; clerks, who are quick at accounts, keep the books, and pay and receive money; the manager of the factory is an experienced man who can give his whole attention to directing the work, to making good bargains, or to inventing improvements in the business. Every one is thus occupied in the way in which his labor will be most productive and useful to other people, and at the same time most profitable to himself.

Lastly, the division of labor allows of local adaptation—that is, it allows every kind of work to be done in the place most suitable for it. Each kind of labor should be carried on where it is most productive; but this cannot be done unless there be division of labor; so that while the French grow wine, weave silk, or make *articles de Paris*, they buy the cottons of Manchester or the coals of Newcastle. When trade is free and the division of labor is perfect, each town or district learns to make some commodity better than other places. In England watches are made in Clerkenwell; steel pens in Birmingham; needles at Redditch; cutlery at Sheffield; pottery at Stoke; ribbons at Coventry; glass at St. Helen's; straw bonnets at Luton, etc.

The localization of industry promotes the education of skill and taste and the diffusion of technical knowledge.

Where large masses of people are working at the same kind of trade, they educate one another. The skill and the taste required for their work are in the air, and children breathe them as they grow up. This is seen particularly in such manufactures as those of glass and pottery.

Division of Industries

Again each man profits by the ideas of his neighbors; he is stimulated by contact with those who are interested in his own pursuit to make new experiments; and each successful invention, whether it be a new machine, a new process, or a new way of organizing the business, is likely when once started to spread and to be improved upon.

In a district in which an industry is localized a skilled workman is sure of finding work to suit him; a master can easily fill a vacancy among his foremen; and generally the economy of skill can be carried further than in an isolated factory, however large. Thus both large and small factories are benefited by the localization of industry and by the assistance of subsidiary trades. But these benefits are most important to the small factories, and free them from many of the disadvantages under which they would otherwise labor in competition with large factories.

Still a large factory has many special advantages.

First, greater economies can be attained by a large than by a small factory in such matters as the arrangement of buildings, steam-engines, and other machinery; and again in such work as that of clerks, doorkeepers, stokers, repairers of machines, etc. One high chimney can make a draft for a large furnace as well as for a small one; one doorkeeper can admit 500 men as easily as fifty.

Again, a large factory can often afford to buy a machine to do work that is done by hand in a small factory. It is true that a small factory devoted to one short stage of the process of manufacture may have the best and most highly specialized machinery. But such a factory would not come into existence until the advantage of having special machinery for this stage had become well established.

Perhaps the greatest economic advantage of large factories is that they can buy in large quantities, and thus both get better prices and save in transportation.

Whatever may be the result of the contest between large and small factories, it appears certain that the division of labor will continually increase. This increase is one of vital importance.

It adds to men's power over nature, and furthers social progress.

There are said to be about thirty-six distinct kinds of employment in making and putting together the parts of a piano; there are about forty trades engaged in watchmaking; in the cotton business there are more than 100 occupations. But new trades are frequently created, especially when any new discovery takes place; thus, there are at least sixteen different trades occupied in photography, or in making the things required by photographers; and railways have produced whole series of employments which did not exist fifty years ago. In the shoe trade, D. A. Wells states, in his "Recent Economic Changes," that there are really sixty-two distinct mechanical employments.

But we must now notice the disadvantages of division of labor. These may not be so numerous, but they are of the utmost seriousness.

Disadvantages

In the first place, division of labor tends to make a man's power narrow and restricted; he does one kind of work so constantly that he has no time to learn and practise other kinds of work. A man becomes, as it has been said, worth only the tenth part of a pin—that is, there are men who know only how to make, for instance, the head of a pin. "Think," says Dr. Josiah Strong, "of making pin-heads ten hours a day, every working day in the week for a year—twenty, forty, fifty years! A nailer . . . does his day's work by pressing into the jaws of an ever-ravenous machine a small bar of iron. . . Think of making that movement for a lifetime. . . . It admits of little interest and no enthusiasm in one's work; and, worst of all, it cramps the mind and belittles the man. Once the man who made the nail could make the iron fence also; now he cannot even make the nail, but only feed a machine that makes it."

A second disadvantage of the division of labor is that trade becomes very complicated, and when deranged the results are ruinous to many. Each person learns to supply only a particular kind of goods, and if change of fashion or any other cause leads to a falling off in the demand for that kind of goods, the producer is left in poverty until he can learn another trade. At one time the making of crinoline skirts for ladies was a large and profitable trade; now it has ceased almost entirely, and those who learned the business have had to seek other employments. But each trade is generally well supplied with hands perfectly trained to the work, and it is very difficult for fresh workmen, especially when old, to learn the new work, and compete with those who have long practised it. Even if he be fortunate enough to get work, it is humiliating and exasperating to a workman who, at the cost of years of toil and application, has acquired skill, which has become a source of independence and honest pride, to find himself suddenly superseded by a machine and compelled at reduced wages to stand and guide its movements—a service which can as well be, and soon is, performed by a girl. But the laborer not only suffers pecuniarily; he is socially and morally degraded. Division of labor contracts the sphere of the laborer, renders him more and more dependent upon others, dwarfs him mentally, and thus degrades him.

Is it any wonder that labor protests? To adopt a system of compulsory education, which enlarges working men's ideas of liberty, equality, and manhood, and at the same time reduces them to industrial machines, will inevitably result in social disturbances. It is certain that the subdivision of labor cheapens production, and is therefore an economic principle which will prevail more and more in the development of industry.

It is equally and lamentably certain that little or nothing has been done to counteract its baleful effect upon the character of laborers. They cannot afford to become mere automatons at the expense of their manhood. Because machinery can go on forever, it is forgotten that flesh and blood cannot do the same.

There are disadvantages to the community generally apart from those that affect the laborer. When, under the division of labor, a whole town becomes dependent upon one industry, or one branch of one industry, the whole town becomes too dependent upon the condition of that industry. When it is flourishing the town is unhealthily "boomed"; when its industry declines it is "swamped." The discovery of a new method or the invention of a new machine may ruin a whole town or circle of towns. Men become not the masters, but the slaves of machines. They do not possess their tools, but are possest by them.

Once again, division of industry, by developing machine work and transforming the artizan into a tool, displaces handwork and much of the freedom and individuality and beauty and variety and originality that make medieval art work so attractive. It lowers esthetic as well as moral ideas. Machine work becomes the rule.

However, these disadvantages of the division of labor are not arguments for its disuse, but for its modification. Undoubtedly the lowering of a man into a tool is too high a price to pay for advantages in quantity and ease of production of material things; but the question is, whether we may not have the advantages without the disadvantages. To this end various methods are proposed. The most important is perhaps the reduction of the hours of labor. (See Eight-Hour Movement.) This, by reducing the hours when men should do their routine work, would give them increased opportunity to develop and broaden in other ways. Again, nationalists and Socialists would so order society that every man should have the opportunity to labor, so that if demand for one kind of labor ceased he could be sure of being given work in another kind of labor. (See Unemployment.) To these should be added a reform in which all agree—the development of technical and industrial schools, where, if men choose specialties, they can also be broadened by study and development to some extent at least, in other lines. All progressive thought is agreed that stern protest by word and deed must be made against the tendency to reduce the man to a tool.

Difficulties Met

Reference: *The Evolution of Capitalism*, by J. A. Hobson.

DIVORCE: The dissolution of marriage is essentially a social problem; and it has been solved in many ways by the different peoples of the earth. The experience of backward races is especially enlightening. Recent research has disclosed an immense mass of custom relating to the subject.

Early History: Often among barbarous or even savage tribes are revealed a careful attention to detail, a stability,

and sometimes a respect for equity, in the rules relating to divorce, which Western prejudice is scarcely prepared to find; while other peoples commonly looked upon as civilized, but relatively non-progressive, such as the Chinese, are quite capable of teaching us useful lessons. In the disposal of the children or the division of the property after dissolution of marriage, for instance, principles of natural justice are frequently observed which constitute a rebuke to the laws sanctioned by some modern Christian societies. Thus among a great many people, in case of separation, the children follow the father or the mother according as mother-right or father-right prevails; and where a mixt or cognatic system exists they are divided between the parents or their kindred. The division is determined by a variety of rules among diverse peoples. Sometimes, as in Bulgaria, Burma, and among the Natchez Indians, the daughters follow the mother and the sons remain with the father. In other cases, as in Zara and in Bosnia, the father takes the adult children, while those of tender years are left in the mother's hands. Often the children belong to the innocent party; unless children are regarded as a burden, when the opposite rule prevails; or unless the system of kinship determines the disposition of the offspring, when an equitable adjustment is otherwise made.

Very similar in variety and character are the customs governing the disposition of the property when a marriage is dissolved. As a general rule among rude peoples the divorced man is free to marry again; but with regard to the second marriage of a divorced woman usage greatly varies. Often her freedom in this respect is restricted; and sometimes she is absolutely forbidden to remarry. In Samoa she may not rewed even after the husband's death; and among the ancient Aztecs the remarriage of a divorced couple with each other was strictly prohibited.

It appears to be practically a universal rule among uncivilized races that the repudiated wife or the woman who legally puts away her spouse shall return to her own family or clan, whose duty it is to receive her. In general, among backward peoples, even where great liberty of separation is allowed, divorce is far less frequent than is popularly believed. Their conservatism is surprizing. The American tribes, for example, are conspicuous in this regard. Very commonly among low races custom frowns upon divorce after children are born. Often the woman has as much liberty as the man in obtaining divorce. It needs but a glance at the usages of the American aborigines in this respect to perceive that among barbarous or savage tribes the lot of the married woman is not always so dark as it is frequently painted, and many similar proofs elsewhere exist. Indeed, a sound social policy regarding the problems of marriage, divorce, and the family cannot be formed without a careful study of comparative racial customs in this field. (Consult: Westermarck, "Human Marriage," ch. xxiii.; Post, "Entwicklungsgeschichte des Familienrechts," 1890; idem, "Afrikanische Jurisprudenz," 1887, vol. i.; Möllendorff, "Das Chinesische Familienrecht," 1895; Alabaster, "Notes and Commentaries on Chinese Criminal Law," 1899; Araki, "Japanisches Eheschliessungsrecht," 1893; Hozumi, "The New Japanese Civil Code," 1904; Munroe Smith, "The Japanese Code and the Family," in *Law Quarterly Review*, 1907; Howard, "History of Matrimonial Institutions," 1904, vol. i., ch. v., where the literature is cited.)

Origin of Modern Divorce Problem

To understand the influences which aided in molding the conceptions of the founders of the Christian church relative to marriage and divorce, it is needful to study the legal and social environment. By each of the three systems of law with which originally the Christians were most acquainted marriage was treated as a private or lay contract, and therefore its dissolution was allowed. Among the Greeks, at any rate subsequently to the Homeric age, divorce was practised. By the Athenian law, which probably was not entirely supplanted by the Roman until 212 A.D., it was freely granted to either spouse. The benefit, however, inured mainly to the husband, since to begin proceedings for a divorce the wife was required to present in person to the archon a written statement of her desire; and this, in a society where popular sentiment relegated woman to a seclusion truly Oriental, it was in practise exceedingly hard to do.

By the Jewish law, as it still existed at the dawn of the present era, divorce was the one-sided privilege of the man. At most there was only a faint trace of the woman's later right, sanctioned by the Talmud, of demanding a separation. Legally, for the slightest reason, as the school of Hillel maintained, the husband could put away the wife by simply handing her a "get" or bill of divorce. By the written law only in two cases for grave misconduct was he deprived of this power; tho in practise there were several ameliorating conditions which tended to put a check upon arbitrary action. Thus, while divorce was a private transaction, certain formalities had to be observed in connection with the "get" which secured the restraining influence of publicity; and in case the wife was unjustly repudiated the dower, representing the ancient *mohar*, or purchase price of the bride, had to be paid to her from the husband's property. Moreover, some of the limitations of the husband's despotic power recognized by the Mishnah or oral law may already have been in force; and the highest ethical sentiment among the Jews had long been decidedly against too great freedom of divorce. It was the rabbi's duty as much as possible to discourage it and to effect reconciliation between husband and wife.

Negatively, however, it was the later law of Rome which had most to do with shaping the ideas of the Christian fathers relative to the nature of marriage and the doctrine of divorce. By the beginning of our era all the older and stricter forms of marriage, under which divorce was solely the man's prerogative, had been practically superseded by free contract in which husband and wife were placed on an equal footing. Divorce became a formless private transaction to which the woman was as freely entitled as was the man. No intervention of court or magistrate was essential. So far, indeed, was carried the theory of absolute liberty of either spouse to dissolve the contract that, according to Cicero, the jurists in one case were in doubt whether a divorce did not legally arise *ipso facto* through the consummation of a second marriage by one of the parties during the lifetime of the other. Augustus introduced an important change in the interest of publicity, requiring the party wishing a divorce to declare to the other his purpose in the presence of seven witnesses who must be Roman citizens of full age; otherwise the divorce to be null and void. The general result was that during the later republic and the early empire the laxity of the nuptial bond became a notorious scandal. Wedlock was dissolved on purely selfish or absurdly trivial grounds. According to Seneca, in Rome divorce no longer brought with it any shame, and there were women "who reckoned their years rather by their husbands than by the consuls." Nevertheless, the abuse was more a result than a cause of the gradual decline of Roman morals during the two centuries following its conquest of Carthage. It is significant that the family life of the people at large, notably that of the middle classes in the provinces, was not seriously tainted by the social corruption of the capital where all the causes of moral degeneration were especially active. (Consult: Meier-Schömann, "Der attische Process" 1883–87, ii., 510; Hruza, "Polygamie und Pellikat," 1894; idem, "Ehebegründung nach att. Recht," 1892; Müller and Bauer, "Die griech. Privat- und Kriegsalterthümer," 1893, in Müller's "Handbuch"; on the Hebrew law, Mielziner, "The Jewish Law of Marriage and Divorce," 1884; Lichtschein, "Die Ehe nach mosaisch-talmudischer Auffassung," 1879; especially Amram, "Jewish Law of Divorce," 1896; for Rome, Wächter, "Ueber die Ehescheidungen," 1821;

Rein, "Das röm. Privatrecht," 1836; Esmein, "Mélanges," 1886; Jörs, "Die Ehegesetze des Augustus," 1894; Lecky, "History of European Morals," 3d ed., 1881, ii.; and the works of Freisen, Geffcken, Woolsey, and Howard elsewhere cited.)

Early Christian Teaching

It is not surprizing that the founders of the Christian Church should have regarded the laxity of the marriage bond as a sign, if not the primary cause, of the degeneration of Roman society. From the beginning an earnest effort was made so far as possible to restrict the liberty of separation and to prohibit the persons separated on proper grounds from contracting further marriage; but the various passages of the New Testament relating to the subject are disjointed and confusing in their details. Many vital questions are either completely ignored or else left in such obscurity as to open the way for the wide divergence of doctrine and the bitter controversies of future ages, especially those of the Reformation period. The final triumph of the canonical theory of the absolute indissolubility of a valid marriage was gained only after twelve centuries of conflict. For four centuries the Bible passages were debated by the fathers and the councils before the "strict construction" interpretation of Augustine and his followers clearly prevailed. Nearly all were agreed that divorce is forbidden except for the one cause mentioned by Matthew; but not all conceded the equal right of the sexes in this regard. There was a like want of harmony touching the lawfulness of remarriage after divorce. According to Augustine adultery is the only scriptural ground of separation; but even this does not dissolve the nuptial tie. Moreover, those who, following the letter of Matthew's text, would for this offense allow the man, but not the woman, the right of repudiation, he reproached with violating the great principle of Christian teaching: the equality of the wedded pair. These views were adopted by the Council of Carthage (407 A.D.) which thus anticipated the final settlement of the canon law. Before that settlement, however, centuries of compromise were to intervene. From Constantine to Justinian the divorce legislation of the Christian emperors was practically untouched by these doctrines of the Church, while in dealing with the newly converted Teutonic peoples the rigid Augustinian rules were relaxed in various ways. Ecclesiastical dogma and ecclesiastical practise were sadly out of joint.

Everywhere, at least among the newly converted peoples of Europe, as proved in the most convincing way by the penitentials, full divorce with remarriage was allowed on various grounds. During this period authority had perforce to yield to social expediency. Not until 1164, in the fourth book of Peter Lombard's "Sentences," is found the first clear recognition of the "seven sacraments," among which that of marriage appears. The theory of the sacramental nature of wedlock had two consequences which involved the whole medieval problem of separation and divorce. First is the dogma of the indissolubility of the marriage bond; and, second, the exclusive jurisdiction of the Church in matrimonial causes.

In theory divorce proper is entirely eliminated from the mature law of the Western Church. Inconsistently, however, in the canons the word "divorce" is used in two senses, neither of which harmonizes with its ancient and right meaning as a complete dissolution of the bond of true wedlock. First, the term *divortium a mensa et thoro* means a separation of husband and wife which does not touch the marriage tie. Secondly, the term *divortium a vinculo matrimonii* is commonly employed to designate, not the dissolution of a valid union, but the judicial declaration of nullity of a spurious marriage which on account of some impediment is void, or at least voidable, from the beginning. Yet it must not be assumed that in effect absolute divorce was not tolerated by the fully developed canon law, as that law existed on the eve of the Reformation. Theological subtlety had devised two exceptions to the rule that a genuine marriage could not be dissolved, thus opening the door to manifold hardship and corruption. First is the *casus apostoli* or *privilegium Paulinum*, by which the Christian convert, if abandoned by his infidel spouse, is permitted to contract a new marriage. By the second exception the Church violated the theory which she had sanctioned since Peter Lombard, that a contract *de præsenti*, or in words of the present tense, constitutes a valid marriage whether followed by actual wedded life or not; for the mature doctrine of the canon law, which in our own days is still obeyed by the Roman Church, allows the unconsummate marriage *de præsenti* to be dissolved through papal dispensation or ipso facto by taking holy orders. Thus, accepting the Church's own definition of marriage, divorce *a vinculo* did not quite disappear from the canon law; and in effect there was a far more prolific source of full divorce. To all intents and purposes, when judged from a rational modern standpoint, the decree of nullity was a divorce proper. It cannot be doubted that by this means there existed a wide liberty of divorce in the Middle Ages, altho it existed mainly for those who were able to pay the ecclesiastical courts for finding a way through the tortuous maze of forbidden degrees and other impediments. Moreover, in persistently sustaining the validity, tho not the legality, of clandestine pre-contracts *de præsenti* —contracts formed without witnesses, parental consent, official celebrant, or record—the Church was inviting social anarchy. In a divorce procedure masquerading under the guise of an action to nullify spurious marriages lurked the germs of perjury and fraud. Even in the days of Edward II., an English satirist complains of the "prodigious traffic" in divorces among husbands having false witnesses and "selver among the clerkes to send." Before the Reformation, the voidance of alleged false wedlock on the ground of pre-contract or forbidden degrees of affinity, spiritual relationship, consanguinity, or on some other canonical pretext, had become an intolerable scandal in Christendom. "Marriages have been brought into such an uncertainty thereby," justly complains a statute of Henry VIII., "that no marriage could be so surely knit or bounden but it should lie in either of the parties' power . . . to prove a pre-contract, a kindred and alliance, or a carnal knowledge to defeat the same." In short, bad marriage-law and bad marriages were the chief source of the divorce evil during the Middle Ages. (See Geffcken, "Ehescheidung vor Gratian," Leipsic, 1894; Esmein, "Le Mariage en Droit Canonique, 2 vols., Paris, 1891; Freisen, "Geschichte des Canonischen Eherechts, 2d ed., Paderborn, 1893; Howard, "Matrimonial Institu-

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tions," vol. ii., chap. 11, where the authorities are cited.)

With the rejection of the sacramental theory of marriage at the Reformation it was inevitable that more liberal ideas respecting divorce should arise. A great impulse was then given to the development of social control through the State. From the outset the continental reformers took a bold stand; for the Protestant doctrine of divorce, like the Protestant conception of the form and nature of marriage, was shaped mainly by the thought of Martin Luther. In his dictum, "marriage is a worldly thing," lay the germs of future civil marriage and its counterpart, civil divorce. Liberty of divorce is the fruit of the Reformation; and from the start it has been especially favored by the more extreme Protestant sects. At first full divorce was generally sanctioned for two or more causes; while the more radical theologians, like Lambert of Avignon and Martin Bucer, Milton's teacher, went almost as far as the modern statute-maker in multiplying the permissible grounds of divorce. Yet even the most advanced thinkers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to a large extent still appealed to authority rather than to reason and experience in their attempts to solve a great social problem. Only gradually, after three centuries of struggle, has civil divorce, on rational grounds sanctioned and regulated by the state, been almost universally established throughout the civilized world.

Civil Divorce

Hence it is not surprizing that the Puritan, the vanguard of Protestantism, should have taken the lead in instituting civil marriage and therefore civil divorce. The American type of divorce legislation has its origin in Puritan New England. In the five Southern provinces before the Revolution not a single instance of either full divorce or of separation from bed and board has been discovered. Courts with competent jurisdiction were not created. The statute-book is absolutely silent on the subject. A few marriages were dissolved by the legislature in Pennsylvania. In New York civil divorce existed during the Dutch régime; and after the English conquest in 1664 the magistrates may have granted decrees, doubtless under the supposed sanction of Dutch law. But, unless on this ground during the brief period of transition, judicial divorce *a vinculo* ceased in New York with the English conquest; and what has just been said of New York for the provincial era is true also for New Jersey. The case is very different for the Northern colonies. In most respects throughout New England from the outset the broad modern doctrines of the *Reformatio Legum* of Edward VI.'s commission, tho even now not fully accepted in the mother country, were put in practise by Puritan and Separatist alike. The most advanced ideals of Protestantism were realized. The American conception of divorce as belonging, not to the criminal, but exclusively to the civil jurisdiction, has its birth in the seventeenth century. For more than 100 years in the New England colonies the canonical decree of separation from bed and board—which the early reformers were inclined to reject as not consistent with the usage of the primitive Church—was practically, tho not wholly, abandoned; while, on the other hand, a dissolution of the bond of matrimony was freely granted for adultery, desertion, and even on other grounds. For Massachusetts the records are but partially preserved. Between 1639 and 1692 some forty actions for divorce or annulment have been discovered; while between 1739 and 1776 at least 147 such suits were tried by the courts. The complete record would doubtless disclose many more. From 1650 onward Rhode Island authorized divorce *a vinculo*. This colony was sadly afflicted by the evil of legislative divorce. During nearly the entire provincial period the assembly, side by side with the courts, acted on divorce petitions. The divorce legislation of Connecticut gained surprizingly early maturity. In the middle of the seventeenth century no society in the world, with the possible exception of Holland, possest a system so modern in character. Separation from bed and board was rejected. Reasonable grounds of absolute divorce were sanctioned. Husband and wife were treated with even justice; and, altho legislative divorce was permitted and liable to abuse, the greater part of the litigation seems always to have been entrusted to the regular courts.

During the seventeenth century, almost simultaneously in Holland and America, the foundation—the essential principles and the tendency—of modern divorce law was laid. Elsewhere the full and logical development of State control came several generations later. In its original form the law of 1792, instituting civil divorce in France, practically sanctioned free dissolution of marriage at the pleasure of the parties. A vast number of decrees was the natural result. Accordingly in 1803 the Code Napoleon substituted a more conservative provision, allowing absolute divorce for five causes. In turn the law of 1803 was abrogated in 1816, and civil divorce was restored only in 1884; but the liberal policy of France, as exprest in the Code Napoleon, undoubtedly has had a powerful influence on the extension of civil marriage and divorce throughout Europe. The act of 1884 sanctions absolute divorce, on the petition of either spouse, for adultery, cruelty, violence, and "injure." So wide is the interpretation of "injure" that it amounts almost to an "omnibus" clause. Separation or limited divorce is also sanctioned by the present law.

Secularization of Divorce Law in Europe

Previous to 1900 the laws of divorce in German lands were complex, obscure, and well-nigh past finding out. Prussia alone had three different systems; and Bavaria was in the same plight. The conditions were probably as unsatisfactory, so far as the character of the law was concerned, as they are in the United States. By the imperial code of 1900 absolute divorce is sanctioned for five causes: (1) adultery; (2) attempt on the life of either spouse by the other; (3) malicious desertion; (4) when either spouse has been guilty of grave violation of the obligations based on the marriage or of so deeply disturbing the marital relation through dishonorable or immoral behavior that the continuance of the marriage cannot be expected from the other; and (5) insanity (Geisteskrankheit) of three years' standing. It may reasonably be doubted whether any "omnibus" clause remaining in the laws of the American states gives wider discretion to the court than does the fourth of these grounds. The law, however, appears to be conservatively administered, for the number of divorces is rapidly decreasing. In 1899 9,563 decrees were granted; while in 1901, under the new code, the number had sunk to 8,037.

In England—more conservative than Protestant Germany—no immediate change in the canon law of divorce was effected by the Reformation, for the liberal provisions of Edward VI.'s commission failed of adoption. Even the Puritan Revolution, which produced the civil marriage ordinance of 1653, seems to have attempted no divorce legislation. Except by Parliament, full divorce was not granted until 1857; and the procedure in securing a legislative divorce was attended by manifold scandal and hardship. The privilege of divorce was thus in effect a monopoly of the rich and powerful. The sole relief obtainable in the courts was the ecclesiastical decree of separation from bed and board; and this was allowed only for two causes, adultery and cruelty.

By the existing law of England three forms of separation are recognized; and jurisdiction is vested wholly in the civil courts. Full divorce may be granted for the adultery of either spouse; but the woman is treated with grave injustice. For while the husband may secure an absolute divorce on account of the simple adultery of the wife, the wife is unable to free herself from an unfaithful husband unless his infidelity has been coupled with such cruelty as "would have entitled her to a divorce *a mensa et thoro*"; or "with desertion, without reasonable cause, for two years and upward"; or with certain other aggravating offenses. Since 1860 the decree *nisi* has been in force, with the right of the king's proctor to intervene. Secondly, the law allows a decree for "judicial separation" "with the same force and the same consequences" as the former ecclesiastical sentence *a mensa et thoro*, which was abolished in 1857. In the third place, the existing law provides for what is commonly called "magisterial separation" through which, by the issue of "protection," "maintenance," and "separation" orders, the court is able to secure a deserted wife the enjoyment of her own property, with a just share in the delinquent partner's goods, and to protect the woman against a brutal husband's violence. In England, as in European countries generally, few divorces are granted as compared with the United States; but the divorce-rate is rising. The number mounted from 127 in 1860 to 390 in 1887. In France, for each 1,000 marriages celebrated, 14 divorces were decreed in 1885 and 24 in 1891, the population showing a very small increase. A similar movement is shown by the statistics for Holland and Sweden; and even for Catholic states like Greece, Belgium, and Bavaria.

Present English Law

During the colonial era the foundation of American divorce-law had been laid. Its tendency and essential principles were determined. At the Revolution it seemed clear that a free and tolerant policy in this regard must prevail in the United States. Under the Federal Constitution the states within their respective borders have exclusive control of matrimonial and divorce legislation. Congress has conferred the same power upon the organized territories; but it legislates directly for the District of Columbia and Alaska. As a result there are (1907) fifty-one distinct divorce codes—counting those of Porto Rico and Hawaii—whose provisions are inharmonious or conflicting, altho in many of their vital features they are slowly approaching a common type. Jurisdiction belongs to the courts. Formerly the grant of divorces by the legislatures was a wide-spread evil. In nearly all the states, directly or indirectly, it is now prohibited by constitutional enactment; and since 1886 Congress has put a stop to it in the territories. Delaware discontinued the practise only under the constitution of 1897; while in Connecticut it still survives.

Legislation in the United States

At no time, except between 1872 and 1878, has divorce been provided for by law in South Carolina. In the other fifty-one states—using "states" to include the districts, territories, and insular possessions—full divorce is permitted; while in twenty-three states separation from bed and board is likewise allowed. Moreover, in seven jurisdictions the courts are authorized to decree separate maintenance which is practically the same as separation from bed and board. The number of legal causes of divorce *a vinculo* varies from one (adultery) in New York, District of Columbia, and, practically, in North Carolina (1905), to fourteen in New Hampshire. Several of these grounds reveal the tendency of modern thought to free itself from traditional authority in dealing with this social problem. Thus forty-two states have admitted drunkenness (intoxication, intemperance) as a sufficient cause for dissolving the marriage bond. Failure to provide for wife or family is recognized by twenty-one codes. Vagrancy of the husband is a cause in Missouri and Wyoming. By the statute of Rhode Island a marriage may be dissolved when either spouse is guilty of "habitual, excessive, and intemperate use of opium, morphin, or chloral"; and a similar law exists in Maine, Massachusetts, Mississippi, and Porto Rico.

Equally lacking in uniformity and even more confusing are the laws regarding remarriage after divorce. It eighteen states no restraint whatever is placed on the immediate remarriage of either party with another. Elsewhere restrictions are placed upon one or both of the persons either as a penalty or to allow time for proceedings in error or on appeal. Thus, in case of adultery, marriage with the accomplice during the life of the former spouse is forbidden in Louisiana, Pennsylvania, and Tennessee; while such a union is absolutely prohibited by the law of Delaware. In South Dakota and New York the defendant guilty of adultery may not marry any person during the life of the aggrieved; altho in New York, on certain conditions, the court may remove the restriction after five years. By the criminal code of Florida the guilty defendant may not marry anew. Under the Act of 1901, in the District of Columbia the defendant is absolutely restrained from remarriage, except with the former spouse. The wisdom of such severity in case of adultery will be questioned by the enlightened reformer. Exceptionally drastic treatment of this offense, as compared with other grounds of divorce, appears to arise in a traditional reverence for authority rather than in a thoroughly informed regard for the social welfare. In several states, under various conditions, the placing of a temporary or perpetual restraint on further wedlock is left to the court's discretion. Such is the case of Michigan, Mississippi, Virginia, and Alabama; while in Georgia the question is left to the jury, subject to the court's revision. Three of the New England states discriminate against the defendant. In Vermont, since 1878, the libelee may not marry any person other than the libelant for three years, unless the latter dies. Since 1883 the statute of

Remarriage

Maine forbids the party obtaining the decree to remarry in two years without the court's permission, while during that period the adverse party is absolutely restrained; nor at any later time may he remarry without the court's consent. In Massachusetts, since 1881, the offending person, without petition to the court, may remarry only after two years. Moreover, Massachusetts, following the English precedent, has adopted the decree nisi; and in principle her example has already been followed by Maine (1883), Oklahoma (1893), Rhode Island (1902), New York (1902), and California (1903). This device is a good one, giving the litigants time for second thought; and it should be carefully considered in future legislation. Nine states of the West, foregoing any attempt to impose a penalty, are content to fix a period within which neither person may marry again; and usually, if proceedings in error or on appeal be instituted, the restraint is extended to final judgment, or to thirty days beyond it as in Kansas and Oklahoma. This term of delay varies from three months in North Dakota to one year in Colorado and Wisconsin. On the other hand, two Western states are more stringent, discriminating against the guilty person. Thus Illinois (1905) requires such person to wait two years, and Montana (1895) three years; while in those commonwealths one year and two years respectively is the period for the aggrieved. An anomalous condition of the law should be noted. Owing to the want of precision and uniformity in the legislation of the states, the restraints placed on the marriage of divorced persons are practically futile. In 1829 the supreme court of Massachusetts (in Putnam *vs.* Putnam, 8 Pick., 433–35) decided that if a man, "being a resident in the state, for the sake of evading the law, goes into a neighboring state where such a marriage is valid, and is there married and immediately returns and continues to reside here, the marriage is valid here, and after his death his widow is entitled to dower in his estate." This precedent was followed by New York in 1881 (Van Voorhis *vs.* Brintnall, 86 N. Y., 18); Washington in 1900 (Willey *vs.* Willey, 22 Wash., 115–21); and California in 1903 (Estate of Wood, 137 Cal., 129). The prevailing doctrine of the courts appears to be that a marriage good where it is contracted is good everywhere; but there are opposing decisions.

Clandestine Divorces

The principal sources of clandestine divorces are the statutes relating to residence and notice. Notice to the defendant through publication in the newspapers, still quite generally permitted, is especially capable of abuse; but in recent years a number of states have enacted rigorous laws governing notice when personal service cannot be had. The provisions regarding residence are conflicting, lax, and wanting in precision. They invite migration for divorce. At present the term of previous residence for the plaintiff, or at least for one of the parties, varies from six months to five years; but the prevailing period is one year, at least twenty-eight commonwealths, under various conditions, having that requirement. Massachusetts, in particular, has a most stringent law. A divorce will be granted for any lawful cause, occurring in the state or elsewhere, when the libelant has lived for five years in the commonwealth; or, when the parties were inhabitants of the state at the time of the marriage, if the libelant has been such an inhabitant for three years before the libel was filed, provided neither came into the state for the purpose. With these exceptions, as expressly provided in the act, a divorce will not be granted for any cause, if the parties have never lived together as man and wife in the commonwealth; nor for any cause occurring in another state or country, unless, before it occurred, they had so lived together in the commonwealth, and one of them was there living at the time it took place. Moreover, Massachusetts, like Maine, Delaware, and Tennessee, has attempted to prevent clandestine divorce through the evasion of her laws. When an inhabitant of the commonwealth goes outside the state to obtain a divorce for a cause which occurred in the state while the parties there resided, or for a cause which would not be recognized as lawful therein, the "divorce so obtained shall be of no force or effect" in the commonwealth.

1867–86

The appearance in 1889 of the government report, compiled under the direction of Hon. Carroll D. Wright, disclosed something like the real facts regarding divorce in the United States. This report contains fairly complete statistics, drawn from a careful analysis of the manuscript court records in all the states and territories for the twenty years, 1867 to 1886, inclusive. The facts revealed are sufficiently startling. In the entire country during this time, 328,716 petitions for full or partial divorce were granted. From 9,937 decrees in 1867, the number rose to 11,586 in 1871; 14,800 in 1876; 20,762 in 1881; and to 25,535 in 1886; thus, comparing the last year with the first, showing an increase of 157 per cent, while the population grew but 60 per cent during the same two decades. Again—to express the result in terms of the divorce-rate—in 1867, it is estimated, there were 173 divorces to 100,000 married couples, while in 1886 the number had risen to 250. As a matter of fact, in the last-named year, the average divorce-rate in the U. S. was higher than for any other country collecting statistics, except Japan. In that country, according to Professor Willcox, there was "more than one divorce to every three marriages, and more than four and a half times as many divorces as there were in the U. S., altho the population of Japan was only about two thirds as great." Of the whole number of divorces during the period, 112,540 were granted to the husband, and 216,176 to the wife. Among the principal causes, at each stage of the wedded life, only for adultery were more decrees granted on the husband's petition than on those of the wife. But the relative numbers granted on the wife's petition vary greatly—from 39.3 per cent in North Carolina to 77.9 per cent in Nevada. These figures are one indication of the relative significance of the divorce problem for women.

Several important generalizations may be drawn from the available statistics. In the U. S., as in Europe, the divorce-rate is higher in the city than in the country. Again, Mill, Bodio, Farr, Bertillon, and other investigators have shown that in Europe the marriage-rate falls in hard times and rises again on the return of prosperity. According to Willcox ("A Study of Vital Statistics," in the *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. viii., pp. 76–77), this rule appears to hold good for the U. S. Furthermore, Willcox has demonstrated that the average divorce-rate for the whole country is affected in the same way, sinking in times of

war and industrial depression, and rising on the restoration of business. The report of 1889 enables us to determine pretty accurately what part of the vast number of decrees is due to lack of uniformity in the state laws. It shows that the evil of migration for divorce is greatly exaggerated by popular opinion. Twenty years ago it was commonly assumed that perhaps 90 or 95 per cent of divorces were obtained by migration to jurisdictions where decrees could be secured on easier terms than at home. The facts disclosed by the report were a great surprize. While it does not provide materials for an exact deduction, it was discovered that in over 231,000 divorces in twenty years where the place of marriage was known, more than 80 per cent were granted in the states where the marriages were celebrated. "Now," to quote Mr. Dike's summary, "as it was also shown that divorce on the average does not take place until more than nine years after the marriage, and as 23 per cent of the population of the country had moved from the state where born," it seems safe to say that not to exceed 2 or 3 per cent of divorces were secured by persons migrating to other jurisdictions for the purpose. At present the relative number of such clandestine divorces is doubtless much less than in 1886, for in many vital points the laws of the states then chiefly responsible for the evil have become more stringent. Indeed, already in 1889, the Rev. Samuel W. Dike, of Auburndale, Mass., the able secretary of the National League for the Protection of the Family—to whom is especially due the inception of the great government report just mentioned—was led to declare that "the establishment of uniform laws is not the central point" of the divorce problem. Moreover, since 1900, the action of the federal and certain state courts is significant. In a number of cases arising in various states they have declared null and void decrees secured in jurisdictions where the plaintiffs were not bona fide residents, even when they had dwelt in such jurisdictions for the statutory term prescribed as a condition for obtaining a divorce. Thus both the statutes and the courts are distinctly discouraging to the "divorce colony."

It appears, likewise, that to some extent the evil of lax administration of the divorce laws by the courts is exaggerated by popular opinion. The report shows that in seventy counties scattered over twelve states over 30 per cent of all petitions for divorce were rejected. There is a prevailing notion that a large number of persons who seek divorce do so in order at once to contract new marriages. Unfortunately there are no collected data adequate to settle this question for the U. S. Such foreign statistics as are available show that restrictions upon the remarriage of divorced persons would not affect in a large degree the divorce-rate. They indicate that within the first two or three years after dissolution of marriage divorced men are not much more inclined to remarry than are widowers, while during the same period a greater number of divorced women than widows renew the nuptial ties. Whether the number of divorces is greatly influenced by legislation is a question which has given rise to decided difference of opinion. In 1883 Bertillon took the position that statutes extending the causes of divorce or relaxing the procedure in divorce suits have little influence "upon the increase in the number of decrees." For the U. S., at any rate, this view cannot be entirely sustained. The divorce movement is indeed mainly dependent upon social forces which lie far beyond the reach of the legislator. Yet it seems almost certain that there is a margin, very important tho narrow, within which he may wisely exert a restraining influence. He can create a legal environment favorable to reform. Good divorce-laws—laws which are clear, certain, and simple, laws which cannot be evaded, which are not a "dead letter," laws which express the best results of social experience—constitute such an environment, and they may even lower the divorce-rate. They may check hasty impulse and force individuals to take time for reflection. They may also, by securing publicity, prevent manifold injustice in the granting of decrees.

In Europe the divorce-rate is rising, while the marriage-rate is falling. The same is doubtless true of the U. S., judging from the scanty materials available. It is by no means creditable to the American people that with eleven exceptions —the six commonwealths of New England, with Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, California, (1905), and Iowa (1906)—the states are making no effective provision for the collection of divorce statistics. At present there is no means of determining the average rate for the whole country; but every practical reformer and student of social ethics will rejoice that Congress has already provided for a second report on marriage and divorce, covering the period since 1886. The director of the census is already engaged on the work. The report, doubtless, will show substantial progress. Indeed, there is much hasty and misdirected criticism of American divorce-laws that ignores the remedial legislation of the last twenty years. Within that period the foundation of what may become a common and effective divorce-code for the whole union has slowly been laid. More and more in their essential features the divorce-laws of the states are duplicating each other, and they are becoming better. Little by little, as a detailed examination of the whole body of enactments reveals, more stringent provisions for notice to the defendant have been made, longer terms of previous residence for the parties required, and more satisfactory conditions of remarriage after the decree prescribed; while the more dangerous "omnibus" clauses in the list of statutory grounds have been repealed. At least eight states severely punish the soliciting of divorce business. Moreover, saner opinions regarding the true nature and the real source of the divorce evil are beginning to prevail.

Reform 1887–1906

First of all it is needful to free the mind from hampering traditions, and to accept the judgments of history. The guiding light will come, not from authority, but from a rational understanding of the existing facts. The appeal to theological criteria, born of primitive and very different conditions, is vain. The vast literature which seeks to solve social questions by juggling with ancient texts is largely a monument of wasted energy. Much of it is sterile, or it serves but to retard progress and to befog the issue.

The divorce movement is a portentous and almost universal incident of modern civilization. Doubtless it signifies underlying social evils vast and perilous. Yet to the student of history it is perfectly clear that this is but a part of the mighty movement for social liberation which has been gaining in volume and strength ever since the Reformation. According to the sixteenth century reformer, divorce is the "medicine" for the

disease of marriage. It is so to-day in a sense more real than Smith and Bullinger ever dreamed of. Certain it is that a detailed study of American legislation produces the conviction that, faulty as are our divorce-laws, our marriage-laws are far worse; while our apathy, carelessness, and levity touching the safeguards of the matrimonial institution are well-nigh incredible.

Ethical Aspect

Nowhere in the field of social ethics, perhaps, is there more confusion of thought than in dealing with the divorce question. Some people look upon divorce as an evil in itself; others regard it as a "remedy" for, or a "symptom" of, social disease. To the Roman Catholic, and to those who believe with him, divorce is a sin, the sanction of "successive polygamy," of "polygamy on the instalment plan." At the other extreme are those who, like Milton and Humboldt, would allow marriage to be dissolved freely by mutual consent, or even at the desire of either spouse. According to the prevailing opinion, however, as exprest in modern legislation, divorce should be allowed, with more or less freedom under careful state regulation. Yet divorce is sanctioned by the state as an individual right; and there may be occasions when the exercise of that right becomes a social duty. The right, of course, is capable of abuse. Loose divorce-laws may even invite crime. Nevertheless, it is fallacious to represent the institution of divorce as itself a menace to social morality. It is a result and not a cause; a remedy and not the disease.

This is the principle upon which rests the whole modern theory of social control. In the Western world the extension of the sphere of secular legislation practically to the whole province—the whole outward or legal province—of marriage and divorce is a fact of transcendent interest. In this regard the Reformation marks the beginning of a social revolution. Luther's dictum that "marriage is a worldly thing" contained within it the germ of more history than its author ever imagined. The real trend of evolution has not at all times been clearly seen or frankly admitted; but from the days of Luther, however concealed in theological garb or forced under theological sanctions, however opposed by reactionary dogma, public opinion has more and more decidedly recognized the right of the temporal lawmaker in this field. As a result, in the U. S., not less than elsewhere in countries of Western civilization, marriage, divorce, and all the institutions of the family are emerging as purely social institutions, to be dealt with according to human needs. Definitely the state seems to have gained control of matrimonial administration. Yet it must be conceded that the influence of legislation in curing social disease is very restricted. Apparently, if there is to be salvation, it must come through the vitalizing, regenerative power of a more efficient moral, physical, and social training of the young. The fundamental causes of divorce lie far beyond the reach of the statute-maker. They are rooted deeply in the imperfections of human nature and the social system, particularly in false sentiments regarding marriage and the family. Beyond question, as in the Middle Ages, the chief cause of divorce is bad marriage-laws and bad marriages. The conviction is deepening that for the wise reformer, who would elevate and protect the family, the center of the problem is marriage and not divorce. One Gretna Green for clandestine marriages, like that at St. Joseph, Mich., is the source of more harm to society than are a dozen divorce colonies, like that at Sioux Falls, S. D. Indeed, the "marriage resort" is the mother of the "colony." The wise reformer must deal with causes and not with effects. He will not waste his energy in punishing divorced people by refusing to solemnize their marriages. Rather he will strive to lessen the social evils of which the divorced man or woman is the victim. Let ecclesiastical conventions, if they would serve society, concern themselves with restraining the original marriages of the unfit. Let them reflect on the social wickedness of joining in wedlock the innocent girl with the rich or titled rake; or of uniting those who are tainted by inherited tendencies to disease and crime.

Uniform Divorce Law

Reform will come mainly, not through legislation, but through a new and more rational education which shall embrace the whole complex problem of sex, marriage, and the family. Still the legislator has important work to do. In particular it seems worth while to strive for more uniform laws in the states. Ideally, a common code embracing the entire body of matrimonial law is desirable, if it might be gained without too great a sacrifice of local control; for it would conduce in many ways to social order. Yet it seems inexpedient, perhaps undesirable, to strive for a uniform list of statutory causes of divorce. It is precisely with respect to the legal grounds of divorce that theological conservatism and social liberalism are in sharpest antagonism. From the scientific points of view, as already seen, divorce in itself is not immoral. On the contrary, it is quite probable that drastic, like negligent, legislation is sometimes immoral. It is not necessarily a virtue in a divorce-law, as often assumed, to restrict the application of the remedy, regardless of the sufferings of the social body. If it were, the only logical course would be to imitate South Carolina and prohibit divorce entirely. The most enlightened judgment of the age heartily approves of the policy of extending the legal causes so as to include offenses other than the one "scriptural" ground, such as intoxication from the habitual use of strong drinks or narcotics, as being equally destructive of connubial happiness and family well-being.

Accordingly, until recently (1906), practical workers have thought best to confine the movement to an effort to procure the adoption by the several states of a model statute designed to prevent clandestine divorce; that is, to a statute dealing mainly with procedure. Such is the character of the bill drafted in 1899–1900 by the Conference of State Commissions on Uniform Legislation. But a more comprehensive effort has just been started by the "National Congress on Uniform Divorce-Laws." At its Washington session (Feb. 19–22, 1906), after earnest and enlightening discussion, this body, composed of delegates from forty states, adopted a series of seventeen resolutions on which is based "An act regulating annulment of marriage and divorce," agreed upon by the congress at its Philadelphia session in November, 1906. The policy of the act is conservative. Both full and partial divorce are provided for. Divorce *a vinculo* is permitted for adultery, bigamy, conviction and sentence for crime followed by imprisonment, extreme cruelty, wilful desertion for two years, and habitual drunkenness for two years. Divorce *a mensa* may be

granted for the same six causes, and also for "hopeless insanity of the husband." The decree nisi, to become absolute after one year, is adopted; and there are careful provisions for residence, notice, and procedure. The congress also submitted draft-acts providing respectively for the "return of statistics relating to divorce proceedings" and for the "return of marriage statistics." In its first resolution the congress wisely declares that "no federal divorce-law is feasible." Moreover, it is significant of its right understanding of the problem, that the body urges a like effort to secure a uniform marriage-law.

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GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD.

DIVORCE STATISTICS: The sources are the registration or other reports of the ten states and eight or ten foreign countries making annual reports, the special report of the United States Department of Labor of 1889 on Marriage and Divorce in the U. S. and some European countries, a British House of Lords report, and the coming report of the Census Office, due early in 1908, if not sooner. The following summary is entirely from official sources. The tables show the movement of divorce in thirty-nine years:

	1867	1877	1887	1897	1905
Maine	408	495	...	...	848
New Hampshire	136	237	325	429	471
Vermont	157	178	186	233	272
Massachusetts	318	520	796	1,123	1,554
Rhode Island	195	197	248	372	382
Connecticut	500	412	387	413	491
New England	1,714	2,039	.....	.....	4,018

Three states in the middle West give the following:

	1867	1877	1887	1897	1905
Indiana	1,096	1,151	....	3,080	3,844
Michigan	449	927	....	....	2,800
Ohio	901	1,160	1,750	2,727	4,124
Totals	2,446	3,238	.....	.....	10,768

Totals for the nine states (California now reports statistics but the report is not available): In 1867—4,160. In 1877—5,277. In 1905—14,786. These nine states in 1886 had nearly 24 per cent of the divorces of the entire country. Divorces in Connecticut are practically stationary, tho population has nearly doubled in forty years. In Rhode Island divorces increase about as fast as population. In the other states the increase in divorces far exceeds the increase in population. In the entire country there were 9,937 divorces in 1867 and 25,535 in 1886.

United States

The statistics of the causes of divorce indicate only the technical grounds on which the divorces were granted and depend on the condition of the laws in the various states, ease or difficulty of proof, and the condition of public sentiment. Technically in the twenty years covered, 38 per cent were granted for desertion, 20 per cent for adultery, 16 per cent for cruelty, and 4 per cent for drunkenness. A special examination of nearly 30,000 cases in forty-five counties of twelve selected states showed that intemperance was "a direct or indirect cause in 20.1 per cent of the whole number." In 17.5 per cent of all the cases in the country the statement is positive that there were no children. In 43 per cent more no mention was made of children entering into the case. Where children do appear the average number is 2.07 to each couple.

Light is thrown on the extent of migration for divorce by comparison of the state of the divorce with the state where the parties were married. Of the 328,716 divorces in the years 1867–86 the place of marriage is known in 289,546 cases. Of the remaining 31,389 more than one fourth were in Connecticut, where this particular is not required in the petitions for divorce. And of these 289,546 cases, 80.1 per cent had been married in the very state where the divorce was granted. As 9.17 years on the average elapse between marriage and divorce, and more than 20 per cent of the population of the country was living in some state other than that where born, it is evident that the migration from one state to another for

the purpose of divorce is very small. Some recent figures from North Dakota, to which migration for quick divorce has been most marked in recent years, are suggestive on this point. Mr. J. L. Coulter reports in the *American Journal of Sociology* for most of the state. The excessive divorce-rates were confined almost wholly to four out of the thirty-nine counties, and the ratio of divorces to marriages or population for the entire state was smaller, even before recent improvements in the law of North Dakota, than in Massachusetts, which is the best of the New England States. It is probable that the census report will show that the restrictions several of the states have put on the ease with which these migratory divorces are obtained, in increasing the length of residence required before divorce, in making all divorces to take effect only after the lapse of six months or a year, and in requiring the defense of cases by the state, have borne fruit in the decrease of migratory divorces throughout the country. The effect of many of the restrictions is seen not so much in the absolute decrease of divorces as it is in a slackened rate of increase.

An increasing number of foreign countries, since the U. S. report of 1889, have begun to report divorce statistics annually. For Europe we give the following outline:

Europe

Austria granted 748 divorces and separations in 1882; 856 in 1894; and 1,864 in 1904. Belgium had 130 in 1867; 354 in 1886; 548 in 1896; 932 in 1904. In the last year the ratio to marriages was 1 to 61. Canada granted only 135 in all in the twenty years ending in 1888. Denmark granted 479 in 1871; 577 in 1881; 316 in 1896; and 549 in 1905, or 1 to 33.5 marriages. France under the old law had 2,181 in 1867. Under the law of 1884 they rose to 6,245 in 1885, and in 1904 were 9,860, or 1 to 30 marriages. England and Wales had 130 in 1867 and 727 in 1899. Scotland had 32 in 1867 and 96 in 1886. Ireland had 4 in 1871 and 7 in 1886. The German Empire had 5,342 in 1882 and 9,563 in 1899. Under the Uniform Law for the Empire, which went into effect at the beginning of the next year, there were 8,034 divorces in 1900 and 8,037 in 1901. Italy granted 723 separations in 1869 and 591 in 1890. The Netherlands granted 133 divorces in 1867, 438 in 1887, and 1,498 in 1905. Norway granted 33 in 1870, 71 in 1890, and 185 in 1903. Greece granted 88 in 1884 and 103 in 1892. Rumania had 276 in 1871, 403 in 1881 and 762 in 1890. In Russia all confessions granted 1,046 in 1867 and 1,388 in 1885. Finland had 55 in 1875 and 129 in 1904. Poland had 163 in 1867 and 345 in 1886. Sweden had 128 in 1867 and 316 in 1892. Switzerland had 190 in six cantons in 1867 and 1,102 in all in 1876, the first year under the Uniform Law, and 1,243 in 1904, or 1 to 20.4 marriages.

Australasia

Australasia, including Tasmania and New Zealand, granted 404 divorces and separations in 1896 and 485 in 1902. A new law went into effect in New South Wales in 1892, adding four or five causes for divorce to the single old one granting divorce to the husband for the adultery of the wife. Divorces increased from 102 in that year to 305 in 1893. A similar change took place in Victoria for a like reason. But the increase has been much less since. Japan has reported marriages and divorces since 1884, when there were 109,905 divorces. These rose to 117,964 in 1887 and in these years the ratio to marriages was 1 to 2.6. In 1897 there were 124,075, but the next year they fell to 99,465 and the following year to 66,626, and have been somewhat below the latter figure ever since, being 65,392 in 1903. The ratio to marriages is now somewhere about 1 to 5, which is a little higher than in one or two of our states at times. The sudden change since 1897 is probably due to the introduction of the regulation of divorce by public law after the manner of Western nations, divorce having formerly been the sole affair of the families immediately concerned. Perhaps a considerable number of divorces in Japan escape statistical record.

SAMUEL W. DIKE.

DOCK STRIKE OF LONDON, 1888, THE: In its importance to the labor question of England, this strike was perhaps of greater relative value than any other. The East End of London had for years been the despair of philanthropists and reformers. The work of unloading and carrying to the warehouse the cargoes of ships requires as little skill as any labor that one can do; and, for that reason, the dock-gates were practically the lowest rung in the ladder. The hopeless apathy which the men displayed to all attempts to organize them into unions made it seem that all efforts were wasted. When, however, the Gas Workers' Union was formed in 1888, and the gas men gained substantial improvements in their lot, the "dockers" began to pluck up courage, and the trade-union that Mr. TILLET was organizing grew rapidly. The strike itself broke out on Aug. 12th over a small dispute at the West-India Dock, South. The real grievances had long rankled in the minds of the men. Two days later, all the men from the West-India Dock, South, being out, they sent to Tom MANN asking his help in organizing, and in calling out the men working in the other docks, with which the banks of the Thames are dotted for miles.

Occasion

After two days' continual speechmaking outside the various dock-gates, nearly all the dockers responded to the call. John BURNS now volunteered his assistance, and from this time became the leading figure in the struggle. In ten days all the riverside workers, including stevedores, painters, scalers, corn porters, deal porters, coal heavers, seamen and firemen, carmen, lightermen, bargemen, and all whose work in any way affected that of the "docker," came out on strike; most of them without making any demand for themselves, but simply to show their sympathy with the dockers, and strengthen the claims they were making. Some 150,000 men were involved. Day after day during the whole of the five weeks that the strike lasted mass-meetings were held on Tower Hill, at which all the news and the orders of the day were given; the meetings then marching in procession with banners and emblems westward to the city and back. The leaders meantime worked night and day at the gigantic task of organizing and providing sustenance for the heterogeneous mass now depending on them. Stirred by the example of the riverside workmen, who had voluntarily made such sacrifices, all England was roused to sympathy with the men, and liberal subscriptions began to pour in. Clergymen and members of the nobility subscribed. At least $200,000 passed through the hands of the committee. Nor was this feeling confined to England

Extent

alone. In Australia their cause was taken up in an unprecedented manner, subscriptions being raised in all quarters; indeed, the generous support from Australia may be said to have insured the victory, for thousands of pounds were sent from thence during the last two weeks of the strike. From first to last the men held firm to their demands, which were: "No man to be taken on for less than four hours at a time; contract-work and piece-work to be abolished, and wages to be raised to sixpence (twelve cents) per hour, with eightpence (sixteen cents) per hour for overtime." All who knew the conditions of dock-work felt that the demands were so moderate that the men could not afford to accept less; while, on the other hand, the dock companies remained obdurate. The whole trade of the port of London was at a standstill; the effects began to be felt in every home, until the general public began to take a direct interest in the struggle, demanding that there should be an end to it. On Sept. 6th a conciliation committee met at the Mansion House to act as intermediaries between the directors and the men. To this committee, which consisted of Cardinal Manning, the Bishop of London, the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Andrew Lusk, Sir John Lubbock, and Mr. Sydney Buxton, most of the final negotiations were due. Finally, principally through the efforts of Cardinal Manning and Mr. Sydney Buxton, the strike was brought to a close on Sept. 14th, by the directors granting all the men's demands, which were to come into operation on Nov. 4th. The gaining of better conditions by the dockers is the least important of the results ensuing from this strike. It opened a new page in the history of English labor movements. Before then, with very few exceptions, each trade had been obliged to fight its own battle single-handed; in this case not only did all the kindred workers unite with them, undertaking all the hardship and misery that a strike means, with no other purpose in view than the betterment of their brothers, but all the other trades helped, too, by money and sympathy. Never before was the feeling of solidarity so greatly evinced. The chord so strongly struck also wakened into life the public conscience on other matters; and the influence of the strike is felt even at the present day.

Demands

Victory

ALFRED HICKS.

DOLLEANS, EDOUARD: French Professor in the Faculty of Law and Lecturer on Political Economy at Lille. Early in life in the office of the secretary of the zinc mines and foundries. He became deeply interested in the subject of social betterment, and was in 1898 and 1899 especially engaged in the cause of the day-laborers of the lower classes; and that he might be in closer touch with them he lived at that time in the Rue des Fouraceaux, near the night-workers of Montrench Sons Bois. He has written books and papers on very various economic subjects. He has been an active writer for the abolition of the State's regulation of prostitution. He is a member of the Union for Social Peace. *Address*: Rue de Médicis, Paris.

DOMESTIC SERVICE: The condition of domestic service in the United States has been affected by two historical facts. The first is the change made within a hundred years by the substitution of the factory system of manufactures for the previous domestic system. This change, involving a division of labor, has necessitated a readjustment of the work within the household. It has increased the demand for persons giving all of their time to household work, and it has limited the supply. The division of labor is not yet fully accomplished, and out of this fact grows a part of the friction found in domestic service. The second historical fact is the series of political revolutions of the century acting in connection with certain economic and social forces.

Development in the United States

Domestic service in America has had three distinct phases. During the early colonial period service of every kind was in general performed by "redemptioners." The colonization of the New World gave opportunity for the transportation and subsequent employment in the colonies of large numbers of persons who as a rule belonged to a low class in the social scale. These redemptioners, who paid their passage to this country by selling themselves into service, were found in all the colonies, tho more numerous in the Southern and Middle colonies than in New England. In Virginia and Maryland they apparently outnumbered negro servants until the latter part of the seventeenth century. Some of these redemptioners and many of their descendants became in time wealthy and prominent members of their communities, especially at the North, but for a long time they were generally considered the offscourings of English cities, and formed a distinct class in the social order lower than their masters or employers. In view of this fact, a reproach was of necessity attached to all belonging to the class and to the designation applied to them.

A second phase came about the time of the Revolution, when at the North the indented servants as a class were gradually supplanted by free laborers and at the South by negro slaves, who inherited with large interest the reproach attached to redemptioners. The social chasm that had existed at the North between employer and employee under the system of bond servants disappeared. The free laborers, whether employed in domestic service or otherwise, were socially the equal of their employers, especially in New England and in the smaller towns. They belonged by birth to the same section of the country, probably to the same community; they had the same religious belief, attended the same church, sat at the same fireside, ate at the same table, and had the same associates as their employers. They were in every sense of the word "help." A survival of this condition of affairs is seen to-day in farming communities, especially at the West. In the South, on the contrary, the social chasm became impassable, as negro slavery entirely displaced white labor.

This condition of democratic service at the North and slavery at the South continued in both sections from the time of the Revolution until about the middle of the last century. Between 1850 and 1870 four important political changes revolutionized the character of domestic service, and have introduced the third period in the history of the subject.

The first of these was the Irish famine in 1845. Previous to this time the emigration to this country from Ireland had been small, averaging not more than 20,000 annually between 1820 and 1846. In the decade previous to the famine the average number of arrivals had been less than

35,000 annually. In 1846 the number was 51,752, and this was more than doubled the following year, the reports showing 105,536 arrivals in 1847. In 1851 the number of arrivals from Ireland had risen to 221,253. Since that time the number has fluctuated, but between 50,000 and 75,000 persons annually come to this country from Ireland. A large proportion of these emigrants, 49 per cent during the last decade, have been women who were classed as "unskilled laborers." Two occupations were open to them. One was in factories, where, as manufacturing processes became more simple, unskilled labor could be utilized. The Irish emigrants soon displaced New England women, who found new opportunities for work of a higher grade. The second occupation open to the Irish was household service. Here physical strength formed a partial compensation for lack of skill and ignorance of American ways, and the Irish soon came to form a most numerous and important class engaged in domestic employments.

Emigration

A second important European change influencing the condition of domestic service was the German Revolution of 1848 with the events preceding and resulting from it. Before this period the emigration from Germany had been insignificant, fewer than 15,000 coming to this country annually between 1830 and 1840. In 1840, owing to political reasons, the number had risen to 29,704; but in 1841, after the accession of Frederick William IV., it fell to 15,291. It soon became evident that the hopes raised by the accession of the new monarch were without foundation, and emigration rapidly increased, until the number of emigrants coming to America reached nearly 75,000 in 1847. During the year of the Revolution the number decreased; but the failure of the cause of the revolutionary party and the political apathy that followed again increased the movement toward America. This reached its climax in 1854, when the number of Germans arriving in this country was 215,009—a number equaled but once since that time, altho the number has averaged nearly 150,000 annually during the last decade.

A large number of these emigrants have been women, the proportion of women emigrating from Germany being greater than from any other foreign country except Ireland. The ranks of domestic service have been recruited from their number also, the Germans being second only to the Irish as regards the number and proportion engaged in this occupation.

A third political influence affecting the question was the establishment of treaty relations between the U. S. and China in 1844. This fact, and the discovery of gold in California in 1848 and the building of the Union Pacific Railroad in 1867–69, opened the doors to the emigration of considerable numbers of Chinese. Many of these found their way into domestic service, and on the Pacific coast they have become formidable competitors of other nationalities in this occupation.

These political and economic conditions in Europe and the breaking down of long-established customs in Asia have thus, since 1850, brought to this country large numbers of men and women who have performed the household service previously given by native-born Americans. The presence of the Irish in the East, the Germans in the West, the Scandinavians in the Northwest, and the Chinese on the Pacific coast has thus introduced a new social as well as economic element at the North. It has led to a change in the relation of employer and employee; the class line that was only faintly drawn in the early part of the century between employer and "help" has been changed into a caste line, which many employers believe it to their interest to preserve. The native-born American fears to lose social position by coming into competition with foreign labor.

While this change has been taking place at the North in the character of the service owing to political conditions in the Old World, a similar change has taken place at the South, growing out of the abolition of slavery in 1863. The negroes who had previously performed all domestic service for their personal expenses have since then received for the same service a small remuneration in money. This fact prevents now as effectually as during the slavery period any competition in domestic service on the part of native-born white employees.

An indication of these various changes in the condition of domestic service is seen in the history of the word "servant." As used in England and in law at the time of the settlement of the American colonies, it signified an employee, and no odium was in any way attached to the word. This is indicated by the various definitions given in the early dictionaries, *servant* being defined as "a man or woman that serves another." But five things led to gradual disuse of the word: First, the reproach connected with the word through the character and social rank of the redemptioners; second, the fact that when the redemptioners gave place at the South to negro slaves the word "servant" was transferred to this class, and this alone was sufficient to prevent its application to whites; third, the leveling tendencies that always prevail in a new country; fourth, the literal interpretation of the preamble of the Declaration of Independence; and fifth, the new social and political theories resulting from the introduction of French philosophical ideas. At the North the word "help," as applied especially to women, superseded the word "servant," while at the South servant was applied only to the negro. From the time of the Revolution, therefore, until about 1850, the word "servant" does not seem to have been generally applied to white persons of American birth in either section. Since the introduction of foreign labor at the middle of the century, the word "servant" has again come into general use applied to white employees; not, however, as a survival of the old colonial word, but as a reintroduction from Europe of a term signifying one who performs so-called menial labor, and restricted in its use, except in a legal sense, to women who perform domestic service. The present use of the word has come not only from the almost exclusive employment of foreigners in domestic service, but also because of the increase of wealth, and consequent luxury, in this country, the growing class divisions, and the adoption of many European habits of living and thinking and speaking.

Use of Words

Domestic service has also been affected by the economic conditions of the century and it conforms to the general economic laws governing other industries. This is seen in the laws affecting wages. In domestic service, as in other occupations, wages tend to increase; wages are lowest in the South and highest on the Pacific

coast; skilled labor commands the highest wages. In many other ways the general conformity of domestic service to economic law could be shown.

Some of the difficulties presented to the employer of domestic service may be thus stated: The difficulty of assimilating into the family those who are of a different nationality, and consequently hold different industrial, social, religious, and political beliefs; the spirit of restlessness that everywhere prevails among the working classes, tho not peculiar to them, and the resulting brief terms of service; the necessity of engaging for skilled labor the assistance of unskilled laborers; the lack of reliable means of communication with those desiring employment; the prevailing indifference among employers to the action of economic law and the failure to realize that in domestic service as elsewhere the course followed by one employer has an appreciable effect on the condition of the service as a whole.

Difficulties

On the side of the employee the advantages in domestic service as an occupation are high wages, the healthfulness of the work, that it gives the externals of a home, training in household affairs, and congenial employment to those whose tastes lie in this direction. These advantages are offset by the disadvantages that lie in the fact that there is little or no opportunity for promotion in the service, the utter lack of organization in the occupation, the irregularity of working-hours, the lack of free time evenings and Sundays, the impossibility of having more than the externals of a home, and the absence of all opportunities for personal improvement and social advantages. The most serious disadvantage is the badge of social inferiority placed on the class of domestic employees. This badge consists in the use of the word "servant" and of the Christian name in address, the wearing of a livery, the enforced acknowledgment of social inferiority, and the giving of fees. The latter custom has perhaps done more than any other one thing to change what should be an honorable employment into a menial service.

The underlying difficulty in the present condition of domestic service is the almost universal failure to recognize it as a part of the great industrial question of the day. Domestic service is amenable to economic law in precisely the same manner as are other forms of labor, and until the study of the subject is made to begin at this point all plans to bring about a better condition of affairs must prove fruitless.

That a beginning has indeed already been made is clearly evident. There is a distinct, positive, and direct improvement in the literature of the subject.

The faultfinding, the sentimental, the goody-goody magazine article is gradually disappearing with the appearance in its place of genuine contributions to the subject. The attitude of the daily press toward the subject of domestic service also shows much improvement.

The historical investigations of the subject have been few in number, but of great value. Mr. Albert Matthews has placed all students of the subject under obligation to him by his exhaustive study, "The Terms Hired Man and Help," as Mr. James D. Butler had previously done by his investigations on "British Convicts Shipped to American Colonies," and Dr. Karl Frederick Geiser on "Redemptioners and Indented Servants in the Colony and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania."

The public library is always first to create as well as to satisfy a demand for literature on subjects of general interest. It is therefore not surprizing to find that the Providence Public Library as far back as 1893 issued a bibliography of all works and magazine articles on domestic service, which has been followed by the still more exhaustive reference list published in 1898 on the general subject of domestic science, and that the Salem Public Library has a similar list. The New York State Library has published a comprehensive bibliography of the whole subject of domestic economy, and it sends out, to all parts of the state, traveling libraries of the best volumes on the same subject—the list of the volumes included being in itself an excellent guide to the study of household economics. But the greatest of all steps in advance has been made by those libraries that have changed the classification of works attempting to treat scientifically the subject of domestic service, from the class of domestic economy to that of economics proper. The change seems slight, but it is a recognition of the intimate relation that exists between domestic service and other forms of industry.

Literature

Among the most thorough of the statistical investigations is that carried on by Miss Isabel Eaton—recently fellow of the College Settlements' Association—in regard to negro domestic service in the seventh ward of Philadelphia.

It was early recognized that some of the most difficult factors of the problem concerned the intelligence office, and investigations on a somewhat limited scale were carried on in several cities, but largely owing to political considerations it was not deemed advisable to publish the results. The most thorough and systematic investigation undertaken in this direction has been that of Miss Frances A. Kellor, whose "Out of Work," based on a study of more than 700 agencies, has laid bare the evils of the present system of securing new employees, as seen by employer, employee, and manager of the agency. A body of facts has thus been made available that must prove of the highest service in any attempt to cope with the notorious evils attending many agencies.

The state bureaus of labor have in several instances done valiant service to the cause through the official investigations carried on. As far back as 1872 the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor devoted four pages and a half of its annual report to domestic labor. But the first real investigation of the subject made by a state bureau of labor was probably that undertaken by the Minnesota Bureau in 1890. This has been followed by special investigations in other states—notably Kansas and Michigan—and in Canada. Most of all is encouragement to be found in the comprehensive investigation recently carried on under the direction of the Industrial Commission.

Domestic service has been until very recently a field untouched by the statistician and investigator. The studies already made show not so much what has been done, as how much yet remains to be done. But the territory is already being occupied.

Much has been done in the direction of introducing courses in household economics into the curricula of various state universities, while the

University of Chicago, Teachers' College, and Simmons College have done noteworthy work in this direction. Such courses naturally include a study of domestic service.

Study and investigations have led to organization, and the first association in the field was the National Household Economic Association, formed in 1893, with branches in many states, some of which did admirable work.

The Lake Placid conference that met first in 1899 is not strictly an organization, but an informal gathering of workers who have discust the subject particularly on its scientific side, since the attendance has been largely made up of those interested in the educational and scientific side of household economics. Its proceedings give an admirable summary of the latest scientific discussions of the subject.

Organizations

The most recent as well as the most important of all such organizations has been that of the Inter-Municipal Committee of Household Research, formed "for the purpose of studying existing phases of household work, to aid in securing fair conditions for employer and employee, and to place their relations on a sound business basis." Much has already been accomplished by it, especially in the direction of investigating employment agencies, establishing a bureau of information, and studying the conditions under which Southern colored girls are brought to the North to enter domestic service. Its program for the future lays out a constantly enlarging sphere of activities.

It is not surprizing, in view of all the agitation of the question in our own country, to find that a similar interest has been aroused elsewhere. In Germany, that home of conservatism in all domestic affairs, an elaborate statistical investigation has been carried on by Dr. Oscar Stillich, and its results published in an exhaustive work entitled "The Status of Women Domestics in Berlin." Nor again is it surprizing to find that neither official nor domestic Berlin has taken kindly to the investigation, since bureaucracy has in it no place for private initiative, and the *Kinder, Küchen, Kirchen* theory of domestic life has resented what has been deemed unwarranted interference in private affairs.

Only by the continuation of the method of investigation and by acting in accordance with the results of these investigations can permanent relief be found.

LUCY M. SALMON.

ED.—According to an investigation made by Professor Salmon, in 1895, the average weekly cash wage to domestic servants was for women, $3.23, and for men, $6.93 (tho 40 per cent of the men did not receive board and lodging besides and were largely on the Pacific coast). In 245 Massachusetts homes the servants' average daily time on call was twelve hours and a half, and on duty ten hours and a half.

The main difficulty of the servant question seems to many to lie in the fact that for young, intelligent, healthy women there is a steadily increasing demand in occupations more inviting than domestic service. Ordinary mistresses, therefore, under the present system, must increasingly look forward to obtaining as household servants only the inefficient or the old. It is inevitable. On domestic service as now conducted there is a stigma. Till people are willing to marry or receive cooks and housemaids on an equality with girls in offices, stores, and factories, girls will prefer such life to domestic service, even at lower pay. Domestic service, moreover, even in the best homes, usually implies constant submission to one person's will, and constant confinement, except, perhaps, for one "evening out" a week. In the store or the factory, girls almost always have all their evenings and Sundays perfectly free, and when at work are with others under fixt regulations rather than under a personal master. Almost anybody would prefer such a measure of freedom, even with low pay, to higher pay and less freedom.

The way out does not consist in trying to treat servants better or in training of servants. These are well but will not meet the real trouble. Professor Salmon, Miss Jane Addams, Mrs. Charlotte P. Gilman, and others are agreed that the way out is by putting housework on the professional basis of all other work done by persons living away from the house, thus avoiding restrictions, directing themselves, and working regular hours, as office cleaners now work. Mrs. Gilman points out also that if the 200 families which live in most city blocks could cooperate, they could hire thirty trained cooks who could serve the 1,000 people better than 200 cooks each working separately, and with vast saving of care, money, and time. Such arrangements would be more economical and free the home from the presence of inefficient and often ignorant strangers, and raise the whole status of household work.

Miss Jane Addams, in an article in *The American Journal of Sociology* for March, 1896, finds it perfectly natural that girls should prefer factory labor, with its social equality and industrial independence. She says:

> "If the 'servant' attitude were once eliminated from household industry, and the well-established one of employer and employee substituted, the first step would be taken toward overcoming many difficulties. . . . Most of the cooking and serving and cleaning of a household could be done by women living outside and coming into a house as a skilled workman does, having no 'personal service' relation to the employer. There is no reason why the woman who cleans windows in a house should not live as full a domestic and social life as the man who cleans windows in an office."

DONI, FRANCESCO: Italian communist; born in Florence, about 1503. In 1552 appeared at Venice his "I Mondi," and the year after his "I Inferni," in which he describes his ideals of a communistic state, where there is community both of property and of wives. The books were translated into French, and seem to have arrested some attention, but to have developed few thoughts that were new. Doni died in 1574.

DONISTHORPE, WORDSWORTH: English writer and lecturer; born in Yorkshire, England, 1847; educated at Leeds School and Trinity College, Cambridge. He traveled in Europe and was imprisoned in Strasburg in 1870 for taking part in a riotous republican demonstration, but was soon released. He was called to the bar in 1879. In 1880 he founded the State Resistance Union, of which he was the first president. In 1881 the basis of its operations was widened under the title of Liberty and Property Defense League, and the Earl of Wemyss became its president. During the years 1887–88 he edited *Jus*, the organ of individualism. In 1887 the Free Libraries Act was applied to Kensington, and he fought the question till 1890, when the vestry surrendered and paid his share of the rate, to-

gether with his costs. In 1887 Donisthorpe drew an Adulteration Bill, which was brought into the House of Lords by the Earl of Wemyss, and passed the first reading, but owing to the lateness of the session was dropt. He claims to belong to the individualist school, which he considers "Anarchist in principle and final aim, but opportunist in action. So long as we are unprepared for private enterprise in any department of activity, such as the enforcement of the fulfilment of contracts, let the State do such work as well as it possibly can." In politics he calls himself republican; in religion, atheist; in morals, egoistic hedonist. He is the author of "Principles of Plutology" (1876); "Serfdom, Wagedom, and Freedom" (1880); "Overlegislation" (1883); "Capitalization of Labor" (1887); "Individualism" (1889); "Plea for Liberty" (1891); "The Future of Marriage," in the *Fortnightly Review* (February, 1892); "Love and Law"; and "Bastardy," in the *Free Review*.

DONNELLY, IGNATIUS: American lawyer and editor; born in Philadelphia, 1831. His father, Dr. Philip Carroll Donnelly, was an eminent physician in that city. After graduation from the high school he entered upon the study of law, and in 1853 was admitted to the bar. Two years later he was nominated by the democrats for the House of Representatives, but declined the nomination. In 1856 he moved West, and in 1859 started the *Dakota County Sentinel*. In 1857 he was nominated for state senator by the republicans, but was defeated. He was the first to organize the Dakota County Agricultural Society. In 1859 he was elected Lieutenant-Governor of Minnesota, and since then took an active part in the political life of the West. In 1874 he started the Anti-Monopoly Party of Minnesota, and became a leader in the People's Party. For some years he edited *The Representative*, a leading People's Party organ published in Minneapolis. He died in 1901. Among his works may be mentioned: "The Great Cryptogram"; "Atlantis"; "Ragnarok"; "Doctor Huguet"; "Cæsar's Column"; and "The Golden Bottle."

DOUAI, DR. ADOLF: A German-American Socialist; born in Altenburg, 1819; studied philosophy and theology in Germany, and became a private tutor in Russia. Receiving the degree of Ph.D. at Dorpat, he returned to Altenburg and established a private school. Arrested and, after being once discharged, rearrested and imprisoned one year for his socialistic utterances and his part in the Revolution of 1848, he escaped to Texas in 1852, and as a journalist and teacher traveled through many of the states, carrying socialism with him. He took part in the early Socialist organizations in New York City, and was editor of the *Arbeiter Union*, established in 1871, and from 1878 to his death, in 1888, associate editor of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*.

DOUGLASS, FREDERICK: American anti-slavery orator and journalist; born at Tuckahoe, near Easton, Md., 1817. His father was white, his mother a negro slave, and he was reared as a slave on the plantation of Col. A. E. Lloyd until 1827, when he was transferred to a relative of Colonel Lloyd's in Baltimore. There he worked in a shipyard, and taught himself to read and write. In 1838 he escaped, disguised as a sailor. Coming to New York, and eventually to New Bedford, he married a negress there and worked as a day-laborer for several years. Taking part in anti-slavery meetings, he aroused great interest by his eloquence; and in 1841 he was sent out as a lecturer by the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. He lectured in the United States and in England, where money ($750) was raised to purchase his freedom. In 1847 he founded in Rochester a weekly (first called *Frederick Douglass's Paper*, and later *The North Star*) which was continued till 1860. During the Civil War he did much to promote negro enlistment, and three of his sons served in the Union Army. In 1870 he founded at Washington, D. C., *The New National Era*, which he turned over to his sons. From 1876 till 1881 he was U. S. Marshal for the District of Columbia; 1881–86, recorder of deeds; and 1889–91, U. S. Minister to Haiti. He died in 1895. He wrote "The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass" (1882.)

DOUKHOBORS. See Dukhobortsky.

DOVE, PATRICK EDWARD: Scottish land reformer; born at Lasswade, near Edinburgh, 1815. He studied in France and Germany, as well as Scotland, and in 1850 published "The Theory of Human Progression and Natural Probability of a Reign of Justice, the First Part of a Projected Treatise on the Science of Politics." It arrested attention of scholars like Hamilton and Charles Sumner. In it he comes to conclusions as to land very nearly similar to those of Henry George; and Mr. George, when lecturing in Edinburgh in 1884, praised his book very highly. Some have even claimed that it was from this book that Mr. George drew some of his ideas. Dove seems to have been a universal genius, writing alike on the sport of Scotland, theological discussions, and the science of government. He contributed the article on government for the "Encyclopædia Britannica," and won recognition by his books in various quarters. He died in Scotland in 1873.

DOW, NEAL: "Father of the Maine Law"; born in Portland, Me., March 20, 1804. His parents and all his ancestors for many generations were Friends, and he was brought up in that faith. He was educated in public and private schools, and later at the Friends' Academy, New Bedford, Mass.

In his youth he was a whig, but on the birth of republicanism he joined that party, and later became a member of the Prohibition Party as soon as he became satisfied that prohibition through the Republican Party was impossible. He was twice Mayor of Portland, and twice a member of the legislature. In his first mayoralty term, in 1851, he framed an anti-liquor bill and carried it to the legislature two days before its adjournment; the bill was reported the next day precisely as he had written it, was put through all its stages by a vote of eighty-six to forty in the House and eighteen to ten in the Senate, enacted on the same day, and took effect on its approval by Governor Hubbard (a Democrat) the next day. It is known in all the English-speaking world as "the Maine Law." Mr. Dow entered the army, September, 1861, as colonel of the Maine Volunteers, of 1,000 men, which he recruited. He also recruited the Second Maine Battery. In April, 1862, he was commissioned brigadier-general by Mr. Lincoln. He was twice wounded in battle, and was cap-

tured and taken to Libby Prison at Richmond, Va., where he was retained eight months and then exchanged for Fitz-Hugh Lee.

He visited England three times, delivering about 500 addresses under the auspices and as the guest of the United Kingdom Alliance. In 1880 he was the candidate of the Prohibition Party for president. In 1894 his completion of his ninetieth year was celebrated all over the world. He died Oct. 2, 1897.

DRAGE, GEOFFREY: English sociologist; born 1860; educated at Eton and Christ Church College, Oxford. He traveled for some years, studying at Berlin and Moscow, and later visited America, Africa, and Australia, attending nearly all the parliaments of the world, and taking great interest in political and social questions. In 1891 he was appointed secretary to the English Royal Commission on Labor, organized the office staff, and prepared the series of reports on foreign countries. He has written: "Criminal Code of Germany" (1885); "Cyril" (1889); "Eton and the Empire" (1890); "The Unemployed" (1894); "Eton and the Labor Question" (1894); "Old Age Pensions" (1895).

DRINK QUESTION. See Liquor Traffic; Temperance, etc.

DUKHOBORTSKY or DUKHOBORS: A religious communistic sect originating in Russia about the middle of the eighteenth century, many members of which, after repeated persecutions, removed to Canada (western Manitoba) in 1889. The Dukhobors owe their name (Russian, *spirit-wrestlers*) to the fact that they have combated the orthodox doctrine of the divinity of the Holy Spirit. This in itself shows that they began as one of the multitudinous sects which have broken away from time to time from the formalism of Russian orthodoxy in the direction of a simpler faith, with emphasis upon the humble brotherly social life inculcated in the Gospels. The Dukhobors seem to have held that Christ was merely a godlike man, and that His spirit has migrated into many persons. All people, they hold, are equal as children of God, and there is no need of there being any rulers. The only law is to do what is right. They accept the Ten Commandments and the "useful" portions of the Bible. All else is allegory, tho the Dukhobors have no symbols, forms, creed, or ecclesiastical organization. They have no marriage ceremonies, believing marriage to be a question of the inclination of the heart only. Wives and husbands are sisters and brothers, and are called "old man" and "old woman."

This short statement of their faith shows that they represent a reaction both from Russian governmentalism and ecclesiasticism, inevitable in an empire where absolutism, bureaucracy, and church formalism have been carried to the extreme, yet where the common people have always had traditions of a communal life and to a large extent of a Christianity applied in humble brotherly living. (See Mir; Russia; Tolstoy.) The Dukhobors have simply been one of the most enduring and, latterly, best known of many similar sects.

It is also evident how both the Russian Government and the Russian State Church would oppose such a sect. The sect seems to have been founded in Kharkov, tho all their early history is wrapped in uncertainty. They wrote no books partly because most of their members were illiterate and partly because secrecy compelled their propaganda to be carried on by word of mouth. The sect, however, spreading, in 1799 some of the Dukhobors were sent to the mines by the government. Alexander I., becoming Czar in 1801, favored toleration, but in 1826, under a new czar, persecution was renewed, and in 1837 the Dukhobors were banished to the Caucasus. Here, however, the Mohammedans treated them well, because it was evident that they were not Christians, since they would not fight. After years of quiet growth, persecution began again in 1897, upon the Dukhobors at first consenting to and then refusing army service. Peter Verigin was their leader in this, and has since continued leader. Pobiedonostseff, the ecclesiastical head of the Russian Church, also at this time undertook to bring all the religious elements of the empire into conformity with the Russian Church. A severe persecution resulted. Many of the Dukhobors were killed, imprisoned, banished, flogged, fined. Finally, tho the Russian press was forbidden to allude to the subject, the matter got out and through Leo Tolstoy, D. A. Hilkoff, Aylmer Maude, and others (mainly Friends) many thousand Dukhobors were enabled to emigrate to Canada (some of them at first to Cyprus). By 1900 some 7,000 Dukhobors were settled in three different colonies in Manitoba, on over 600 sq. m. provided on nominal terms by the Canadian Government. Settled here, tho with many hardships, the Dukhobors showed great ability at road-making, bridge-building, etc., but their peculiar ideas as to society and business got them into trouble with the Canadian authorities. In 1902 they suffered great hardships, and later many of them, including women and children, set out in winter to seek barefoot "the Christ," on a pilgrimage over the wastes of Manitoba snow, till they were turned back to their homes by the Canadian Government. The cause of their leaving their homes on this fanatical winter exodus—there were also "nudity processions"—seems to have been unwillingness to accept Canadian customs. Led by one Bodgánsky, they declared that they could not make private property of "God's cattle" nor use animals as beasts of burden. Returned to their homes, however, a statement from Verigin induced them to enter for their homesteads and conform to the Canadian law, and since this they have gone quietly on. Verigin himself came to Canada in 1903. The Dukhobors, tho thus in many ways fanatically religious and in their ignorance easily moved by advisers, work hard, and live quietly, men and women working in the fields. They work in shifts from five A.M. to eight P.M. Mr. Aylmer Maude says of them ("A Peculiar People," p. 231):

History

In Canada

Characteristics

> It would be hard to find a community consisting of an equal number of men among whom there is less crime, and more industry, honesty, and hospitality, or more personal attention by the hale adults to the needs of the old people and the children. They are sober, temperate, healthy, and there is no prostitution (and apparently little looseness in sexual matters) among them. Compared with the fancy pictures drawn by some enthusiasts they are disappointing, but compare well with ordinary human beings; they are a worthy and estimable folk in spite of their obstinacy, sectarian exclusiveness, and their too great dependence on a very fallible authority.

The Dukhobors have not always practised communism, and some of the Canadian colonies are much more communistic than others, but their thirty different villages are now largely and some of them almost wholly communistic. At least they buy and sell and conduct business collectively. The only power among them is vested in an assembly of the elders. The colony has brought many thousand acres under cultivation, has invested largely in farm machinery, with many steam-mills, sawmills, flour-mills, etc.

References: Aylmer Maude, *A Peculiar People, the Doukhobors*, 1904; some Russian literature; magazine articles.

DUMA. See Russia.

DUNCAN, C.: Labor Member of the British Parliament; born at Middlesborough, 1865; was apprenticed in the engineering trade after a short term of schooling. In 1890 he threw himself into the labor movement, and was elected to the town council. In 1895 he organized the unemployed in Middlesborough. Coming to London in 1898 he was chosen president, and (1900) secretary of the Workers' Union. He is also president of the Marylebone branch of engineers. In 1906 he was elected M.P. for Barrow-in-Furness. *Address*: 16 Agincourt Road, Hampstead, N. W., London, England.

DUNCAN, JAMES: American granite cutter; secretary of the Granite Cutters' International Association; born in Kincardine County, Scotland, 1857; educated in an Aberdeen night-school. Coming to America and entering his trade, he became secretary of the New York branch of the Granite Cutters' International Association in 1881, and national secretary and treasurer in 1895. In 1894 he was made vice-president of the American Federation of Labor. He led successfully the eight-hour contention of his craft in 1900; and he has adjusted many disputes, strikes, and lockouts. He is editor of the *Granite Cutters' Journal*. *Address*: Quincy, Mass.

DUNCKER, FRANZ: One of the founders of the Hirsch-Duncker trade-unions of Germany, born in Berlin, June 4, 1822. He studied philosophy and history at Berlin University, and entered the publishing business. In 1862 he bought Besser's publishing establishment and changed it to the Franz Duncker'sche Buchhandlung. In 1865 he became president of the Berlin Trade-Unions, and four years later he associated with Max Hirsch, the founder of the trade-union movement named after him. He was also one of the founders of the Progressive Party in the Reichstag. Died in 1888.

DUNKARDS, DUNKERS, or TUNKERS (from a dialectical form of German *Tunken*, "one who dips"): The name of a sect of American German Baptists who call themselves Brethren. The sect was founded in 1708 at Schwarzenau in Westphalia, as an outcome of the Pietist movement, under the lead of Alexander Mack, tho he is not held as its founder. Persecuted at home, between 1719 and 1729 the Dunkards came to America and settled in Pennsylvania, and subsequently in other states. In their early history the sexes dwelt apart, and marriage, tho not forbidden, was discouraged. A certain community of goods was also established. These features have now disappeared. The sect is marked by its simple life and dress. Dunkards refuse to take oaths or serve in war. They hold love-feasts and celebrate the ceremonial of feet-washing and the anointing of the sick with oil. Their creed is evangelical Christianity. Their ministers usually receive no salary. Most of the members are farmers. The first settlement was "Ephrata," near Lancaster, Pa., but this branch has nearly died out. In 1901 they had about 100,000 communicants in twenty-five states and five foreign countries, with 720 congregations, and 2,600 ministers serving mainly without salaries.

DUNOYER, CHARLES: French economist; born at Carennac, Lot, 1786; studied law at Paris. Together with Charles Comte he established, in 1814, *Le Censeur*, but was compelled to discontinue it in 1816. Eighteen months later, however, it was resumed under the title *Le Censeur Européen*, and continued until the assassination of the Duke of Berry, in 1820, and consequent troubles led to its entire suspension. After this Dunoyer devoted himself exclusively to economics. Appointed prefect of the department of the Allier and, in 1832, prefect of the Somme, he entered the Council of State in 1838. The Revolution of 1848 was a heavy blow to him, Royalist and Liberal as he was, but he remained on the Council of State until the *coup d'état* of 1851. Bitterly hostile to the Second Empire, he wrote a work directed against the new order of affairs. He died in Paris in 1862. Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy" says of him: "Dunoyer was one of the great economists of the nineteenth century. He was a warm supporter of the theories of Malthus on population; but he was no believer in the theory of rent, considering that there was only one factor in production—i. e., labor." His miscellaneous works ("Notices d'Économie Sociale"), and the second edition of his chief work, "La Liberté du Travail," were published in 1886.

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EASLEY, RALPH MONTGOMERY: Chairman of the Executive Council of the National Civic Federation; born in Schuyler County, Ill., 1858; educated in the public schools. He was proprietor and editor of the *Hutchinson* (Kan.) *Daily News* from 1883 to 1891, and postmaster of Hutchinson from 1882 to 1887. From 1887 to 1890 he edited the department of political economy for the *Chicago Inter Ocean*. In 1893 he organized and became secretary of the Civic Federation of Chicago; and in 1900 he organized the National Civic Federation, whose chairman he has since been.

ECONOMY. See Thrift.

ECONOMY, COLONY OF. See Harmonists.

EDEN, SIR FREDERICK MORTON: English writer on economy; born in 1766; a graduate of Oxford University; chairman and one of the founders of the Globe Insurance Company; wrote various statistical and other monographs, but is mainly known for his great work on the poor, which is described by its title, which is almost a catalog: "The State of the Poor, an history of the labouring classes in England from the Con-

quest to the present period, in which are particularly considered their domestic economy with respect to diet, dress, fuel, and habitation, and the various plans which from time to time have been proposed and adopted for the relief of the poor, together with Parochial Reports relative to the administration of Workhouses, and Houses of Industry; the state of Friendly Societies, and other public institutions, in several agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing districts" (1797). A storehouse of information, it ranks with the travels of Arthur Young as one of the first sources of economic information for its period. He died in 1809.

EDGAR, REV. ALEXANDER ROBERT: Superintendent of the Central Methodist mission (Wesleyan Church), Melbourne, Australia, since April, 1893; born in Tipperary County, Ireland, 1850; educated in national schools and theological institute. He was president of the Victorian and Tasmanian Wesleyan Conference in 1901, and has been associated with many of the principal social movements in Melbourne for the past twenty years. He was appointed by the governor in council chairman of the Wages Board in relation to the Factories and Shops Act of 1896, and was a member of the royal commission appointed to inquire into causes of unemployment in 1899. *Address*: Lonsdale Street, Melbourne, Australia.

EDGEWORTH, FRANCIS YSIDRO: Political economist; born in Edgeworthstown, Ireland, 1845. After several terms at Trinity College, Dublin, he entered Oxford in 1867, graduating with a "first class" in 1869. Devoting himself to mathematics, he published "Mathematical Physics" in 1881, and wrote numerous papers on statistical questions for the British Association and other bodies. He lectured on political economy at the Ladies' Department of King's College, London, and in 1888 was appointed to a professorship of political economy in that college, and in 1890, on the resignation of the late Prof. Thorold Rogers, to the Tooke Professorship of Economic Science and Statistics in the same college. In 1891 he was called to the chair of political economy at the University of Oxford, which position he still holds. Editor of the *Economic Journal*. *Address*: All Souls' College, Oxford, England.

EDGEWORTH, MARIA: English novelist; born at Blackbourton, Oxfordshire, England, 1767. An intimate friend of Malthus, Richard Jones, and Ricardo, her writings aim to popularize and inculcate, among children especially, the main points of the orthodox school of political economy with its worship of "self-help" and individualism. Her novels, "Belinda," "Parents' Assistant," "The Orphans," "Moral Tales," "Popular Tales," "Rosamond," "Egerton Abbey," "Castle Rackrent" (1800), "The Absentee," "Ennui," "Ormond," and "Helen" (1834), are not all concerned with economics directly, but point varied forms of the same general moral. She died in Edgeworthstown, Ireland, in 1849.

EDUCATION: Among the various definitions of the word "education," the following examples have been selected as being among the best:

"The purpose of education is to give to the body and to the soul all the beauty and all the perfection of which they are capable" (*Plato*).—"Education includes whatever we do for ourselves and whatever is done for us by others for the express purpose of bringing us nearer to the perfection of our nature" (*John Stuart Mill*).—"Education is the preparation for complete living" (*Herbert Spencer*).—"Education is the harmonious and equable evolution of the human faculties by a method based upon the nature of the mind for developing all the faculties of the soul, for stirring up and nourishing all the principles of life, while shunning all one-sided culture and taking account of the sentiments upon which the strength and worth of men depend" (*Stein*).—"Education is the sum of the reflective efforts by which we aid nature in the development of the physical, intellectual, and moral faculties of man in view of his perfection, his happiness, and his social destination" (*Compayré*).—"A gradual adjustment to the spiritual possessions of the race" (*Butler*).—"Education is the superior adjustment of a physically and mentally developed conscious human being to his intellectual, emotional, and volitional environment" (*Horne*).

Definition

Every civilized nation has had an educational aim peculiar to itself, and a criterion by which it has judged the product of its educational machinery. With the Spartans it was the production of the soldier. In Athens, a few centuries later, the stern, military aim had been superseded by one which included beauty and the sensuous delights of living. When the Roman arms were supreme there came another ideal: not radically different from the others, for it included physical strength to bear those arms, and intellectual power that peoples might be governed. Since the revival of learning, four centuries ago, educational aims have broadened, and can no longer be stated in narrow terms. It is not enough to train for war as in Sparta, nor for esthetic enjoyment as in Athens, nor for heaven, forgetting earth, as in medieval Europe, but for life in its best and broadest sense—life that is joyous through health, that reaches out into unexplored scientific fields, that sees beauty in right action, that rethinks and makes loftier the noble thoughts of all ages, that believes that what is best for earth is good enough for heaven, and that feels that not to leave the world better than it finds it is to be disgraced. Certainly this is no narrow and sordid educational creed.

The school is the institution through which the family or the people have attempted to realize in the child their educational aims and ambitions. In its inception, when the family was the supreme unit in social organization, the school was an instrument of its own construction, and the teacher a person with authority, delegated by the family to perform certain duties which it had long recognized as its own, but which were found to be better and more economically performed by proxy than otherwise. As time went on and state organization became powerful, its demands in many instances became so strong as to overrule the family in matters educational, and to establish a national aim which demanded state schools. This, however, has occurred more often under democratic forms of government in which the family has had a voice in the management of affairs, so that such schools are a result of a delegation of parental authority. In many instances, however, it has not been the State that has been constituted the family proxy in educational affairs, but the Church.

The School

The older nations were practically unanimous in not wanting to give girls any special opportunities to acquire knowledge, and the schools were therefore closed to them. With regard to the boys, however, they differed very widely, and the schools differed accordingly. Yet in one respect the schools of all countries and of all

times have had an element in common; that lies in the fact that each has been in a sense a macrocosm, of which the condition of the highest class of adult life are the microcosms. In other words, the school has even been a condensed sample out of the highest life of the people.

To consider the school as a preparation for life is a common figure of speech, and is in a sense true, yet only as life itself is its own preparation. John Dewey has made classic the expression "the school is life," and in so doing has done much to free us of the popular belief (and a natural one it is, too, when the word preparation is used) that life is something that may be gotten ready for and then entered upon much as one would make a suit of clothes, even to the sewing on of the last button, before wearing it. The very word "preparation," with its prefix *pre*, is suggestive of some initial step which is to be taken before one can proceed. And therein lies the danger. Not that it will lessen the care taken with the earlier steps, but that with the entrance upon active life the process of further adjustment and adaptation should cease. And that would mean stagnation. If, however, we adopt the figure of the school as a sample cut from the work and woof of life itself, there is no suggestion of limitation till the whole piece shall have been included within the sample. And we shall not be easily satisfied with the small sample which shows neither the pattern nor the dominant color, but shall go on weaving, until not only the figure in all its intricacies meets the eye, but every tint and shade and color which have given the whole web its beauty.

In its inception the school seems to have been a voluntary and sporadic affair springing up as occasion demanded to meet the requirements of the comparatively few who had the wealth and the interest to have their children educated. Of Egypt, in its earliest centuries, Sayce says: "There is evidence that if there were not numerous elementary schools scattered over the country, yet teachers might always be had, and that reading and writing and the elements of arithmetic were accessible to those who desired instruction." Among the Babylonians, too, such must have been the case for nearly 4,000 years before Christ. According to Sayce, "every great town had its library on brick tablets which were thrown open to the public," and certainly such would have been of but little use without a somewhat general knowledge of the written language.

History of Education

In China a considerable literature dates back to nearly 1,000 years before our Christian era; and in India, likewise, not only a literature, but relatively permanent institutions of learning, existed in very ancient times. It cannot be supposed, however, that these early schools benefited more than a comparatively small part of the people; nor that their influence was great. Yet in some nations either the State, or the religious organization, or both, recognized it or their own particular institutional needs, and met them through the establishment of schools. In Egypt both of these forces were at work in the educational field, and there were temple schools for the preparation of an esoteric priesthood, as well as military institutions to meet the needs of the army. Among the Hebrews the religious side alone was dominant in education, while in the Medo-Persian Empire the military forces were supreme.

It remained, however, for Sparta to organize herself into what was in some respects an immense educational institution, and to provide material which fulfilled its educational ideal. This ideal was purely and simply a military one, and its product was the soldier. At the birth of a child the State asserted its authority, and decided for life or death. Children with bodily defects were put out of existence. The rest were adopted by the State, which thus became an alma mater in the truest sense of the word. The first seven years of life were spent with the mother, tho under the strictest State surveillance, whereupon the boys were transferred to public barracks. Here they were divided into squads which were under the direction of special officers; yet each boy was expected to attach himself to some one man who became his special tutor or "inspirer." Education along literary lines was restricted to the mere rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic. To furnish a wider education would have been a source of danger to the State, since learning establishes quite other distinctions than those of military power. But nothing that could make for physical strength and endurance was omitted. Running, jumping, walking, and boxing performed in the open air in the presence of the public, was the daily program, and each boy was urged on to do his best by his inspirer, while the muscles were hardened by the most rigorous habits of life. A premium, too, was put upon theft, as being a most important accomplishment for prospective warriors in an army without a well-organized commissary department. At the age of eighteen the Spartan boy entered the *Ephebeum*, and for two years underwent a course of training more nearly resembling the conditions of actual warfare. But not until the age of twenty was he admitted to the soldier's rank and permitted to take the field against the enemy. At thirty he became a full citizen and was compelled to marry, tho still residing in the public barracks, and being allowed to visit his wife at infrequent intervals only.

Sparta

Since healthy motherhood was an essential to a healthy citizenship, some little attention was given to the physical training of the girls; but beyond that nothing was done for their instruction. Such was the first great State university.

When, with the march of time, the Athenian state arose, mere brute force had partly lost its supremacy, and the potency of appeal to the intellect was recognized. Such a recognition brought with it a new educational aim, that of making the orator. In providing the orator, however, the State took a much less important part than had been the case at Sparta. In fact, it seems probable that the State did no more than to provide suitable buildings which were let out to private teachers. On the side of physical education, however, the more active, feeling no doubt that in the last resort national safety depended upon strength at arms, demanded public provision for its development.

But the emotional and esthetic nature of man had altered, and the brutal criticism of the Spartans was being replaced by the sensualistic, beauty-loving characteristics of the later Athenians. And this change of hearts was soon reflected in the educational system. So we find the curriculum of the Athenian youth divided into two great groups of subjects: (1) Music, which included every discipline of mind which was presided over by a muse—seven in all—and (2) gymnastics, which included every activity leading to the perfection of physical health and strength.

Athens

During the first seven years of life the child was kept in the house; then he was sent to school, or rather to two schools: that of music, and that of physical culture. Half a day was spent in each. In the former the time was chiefly devoted to the study of poetry and music, tho the prose literature of history and politics found no unimportant place. The physical exercises were divided into five classes: leaping, running, javelin-casting, discus-throwing, and wrestling.

The children of nearly all the free citizens attended these earlier schools, but only those of the wealthier classes went further. The latter, however, at an age of from fourteen to sixteen years, entered the gymnasium and began the process of active preparation for the duties of citizenship under the direct surveillance of the State. Here only slight regard was paid to the intellectual side of education, altho instruction was given in the laws; but the physical and social sides received much attention. "He [the young Athenian] now learned to ride, to drive, to row, to swim, to attend banquets, to maintain a conversation, to discuss the weightiest questions of statesmanship, to sing and dance in public choruses, and to ride or walk in public processions. If he abused his liberty and behaved in a lawless or unseemly way, he was called to account by the severe discipline of the *Areopagus* which attended to public morals."

At the age of eighteen the youth's name was registered upon the record of the *demos* or commonwealth, and after passing an examination he entered the two-year period spent as an *ephebos* or citizen novice. The first of these years he passed in the vicinity of Athens in military drill and the study of tactics; the second on the frontiers in actual military operations, and at its end he became a full citizen of state. But such a graduation into the active affairs of the republic did not by any means mean the cessation of educational progress. Quite the reverse, for the State still maintained an individual control which influenced every sphere of action. But to use figures common to-day, tho unknown in those times, the change to citizenship was one from required courses to one of full electives. During the earlier training all were cast in the same mold, and there was little opportunity for individual merit to assert itself. Afterward the environment was wholly selective, and picked its leaders, promoting some to the highest positions of honor and authority, while others, through the stratification that always takes place in social and educational institutions, found themselves occupying subordinate places. Thus we find the Athenian republic to have been a "culture state" in the fullest sense of the word.

In Rome, for centuries after its foundation, the school was the home, the forum, and the army. Others there were none. Some few teachers there may have been, but they have left no record of themselves; and what little instruction in letters there may have been was had at the father's knee. The first school, so far as we know, was established in the year 250 B.C. From that time formal instruction gradually became

ommon, and schools available for those who cared to make se of them. They were not, at least until a comparatively late date in Roman history, in any way supported by the State. After the Roman conquest of Greece (146 B.C.) Greek scholars came in large numbers to the Roman territory, and the schools were dominated by their influence.

Rome

n the higher schools Greek was the sole language of instruction until the edict of 112 B.C. The emphasis, however, was placed on the grammatical and philosophical aspects of Greek literature; and gradually, when Greek was replaced by Latin, their aim centered in the production of the orator. The term *Ludus* was applied to the elementary school, and *schole* o that of higher grade. In the *schole*, rhetoric, oratory, grammar, some elements of geography, arithmetic, geometry, and music were taught, and if we may judge by Quintilian's "Institutes of Oratory," the famous educational classic of he time, some of those subjects were well taught.

Dancing was taught by private tutors, and physical exercises were practised in the Campus Martius, but neither found any place in the curricula of the schools. In the higher rhetorical schools some philosophy was added to the literary studies, and the course bore some resemblance to that of the New England college of a century ago.

The education of the earliest generation of Christians was obtained in the pagan schools, in those great imperial academies which existed in Europe, Asia, and Africa, even down to the fifth century, and which perhaps attained their highest development and efficiency in Gaul. The first attempt at a special education for Christians was made at Alexandria, developed by Clement and Origen. The later Latin fathers took a bolder stand, and rejected the suspicious aid of heathenism. Tertullian, Cyprian, and Jerome wished the antagonism to be recognized from the earliest years, and even Augustine condemned with harshness the culture to which he owed so much of his power. Yet the Church favored education, and instructed her parish priests to found and conduct schools. The stormy times of the early Middle Ages were little favorable to education. They were the Dark Ages. What intellectual light there was, was confined to the monasteries. Yet for the most part this was limited and fettered by ecclesiastical traditionalism, developing at best the philosophy of the schoolmen.

Early Christian

Throughout the medieval centuries it was not believed that intellectual development was conducive to the highest religious attainment; education therefore suffered, and the schools of the ancient type were allowed to go out of existence. With the exception of a few higher institutions of learning at Alexandria and some few great European centers of population, schools were maintained only in connection with cathedrals, monasteries, and other religious organizations. Aside from those destined for religious preferment, only a few found their way to these institutions, and learned only the rudiments of language, together with enough astronomy to be able to compute the church festivals, geometry to lay out the church lands, arithmetic to keep simple accounts, and music to carry on the religious services.

Medieval

A most important part of the monastery was the writing-room, where missals, psalters, and breviaries were copied and illuminated; and too often a masterpiece of classic literature was effaced to make room for a treatise of one of the fathers or the sermon of an abbot. Yet the monasteries of Monte Cassino, Fulda, or Tours did not a little to promote education and to preserve much that otherwise would have been lost. The seven arts of monkish training were grammar, logic, rhetoric, music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, the first three forming the *trivium*, and the four others the *quadrivium*. In the same period the Saracens in Spain and the Greeks in the Byzantine Empire at least preserved ancient learning, if their schools developed little new thought.

The ninth century saw the dawn of intellectual life; and in the twelfth century universities began to develop out of the schools attached to the cathedrals and monasteries. When a teacher of eminence—like Abelard or Peter the Lombard at Paris or Irenæus at Bologna—appeared, students flocked around him. The members of the *studium generale*, for mutual support, formed themselves into a corporation called a university. The University of Paris existed as a separate body as early as 1169; and toward the end of the thirteenth century Pope Nicholas I. granted it the right of endowing its graduates with the power of teaching everywhere. It had at first only a faculty of arts, divided into four nations, known as French, Picard, Norman, and German or English. Faculties of theology, medicine, and canon law were added in the seventeenth century. The college of the Sorbonne, founded in 1250, became identified with the faculty of theology. The University of Bologna devoted itself mainly to law, and numbered 12,000 students at the end of the twelfth century. It claims to be the oldest.

Older Universities

According to the "Minerva Jahrbuch der Gelehrten Welt," the following are the dates of origin of the older universities: Bologna, 1119; Montpellier, 1180; Paris, 1200; Oxford, 1200 or 1249; Valencia, 1209; Padua, 1222; Naples, 1224; Toulouse, 1229; Salamanca, 1239 or 1250; Cambridge, 1257; Ferrara, 1264; Coimbra, 1290; Lyons, before 1300; Rome, 1303; Perugia, 1307; Pisa, 1316; Grenoble, 1339; Valladolid, 1346; Prague, 1347 or 1348; Vienna 1365; Heidelberg, 1386; Würzburg, 1402; Turin, 1404; Aix, 1409; St. Andrew's, 1411; Rostock, 1419; Louvain, 1426; Poitiers, 1431; Caen, 1433; Florence, 1438; Catania, 1445; Barcelona, 1450; Glasgow, 1450 or 1451.

There was, too, at least one development of popular education. Among the Brethren of the Common Life, who were found in the Northern Netherlands, education was for all. The metropolis of their organization was Deventer, the best-known name among them that of Gerhard Groote. They devoted themselves with all humility and self-sacrifice to the education of children. Their schools were crowded. Bois-le-Duc had 1,200 pupils, Zwolle 1,500. For a whole century no part of Europe shone with a brighter luster.

Europe, however, was preparing for the revival of learning. Throughout the western part of the continent the "new learning" made schools popular. Vittorino da Feltre may be taken as a type of the teachers among the nobles of this era. He seems to have reached the highest point of excellence as a schoolmaster of the Italian Renaissance. The mind awoke to institutions concerning development according to natural laws, and to a conception and hope of independence and progress. Erasmus, Montaigne, Rabelais, Calvin, and Melanchthon did much to open long-blinded eyes. They brought the schoolmaster into the cottage, and laid the foundations of the system which is the chief honor and strength of modern Germany—a system by which the child of the peasant, by slow but certain graduations, receives the best education which the country can afford. Melanchthon, from his editions of school-books and his practical labors in education, earned the title of *Præceptor Germaniæ*. Aristotle had been dethroned from his preeminence in the schools, and Melanchthon essayed to fill his place. He wrote elementary books on each department of the *trivium*: grammar, logic, and rhetoric; and made some way also with the studies of the *quadrivium*, writing the "Initia doctrinæ Physicæ," a primer of physical science. He lectured at the University of Wittenberg, and for ten years (1519–29) kept a private school in his own house.

Reformation

The so-called Latin school, the parent of the gymnasium and the lyceum, spread all over Europe, and was especially flourishing in Germany. One school stands preeminent before the rest. Johann Sturm of Strasburg ("The German Cicero") was the friend of Ascham and the tutor of Queen Elizabeth. He attracted scholars from all Europe: Portugal, Poland, and England sent their contingent to his halls. In 1578 his school numbered several thousand students; he supplied at once the place of the cloister and the castle. His pupils wrote elegant letters, delivered fluent Latin speeches, and were familiar, if not with the thoughts, at least with the language of the ancients. The Public School Commission of 1862 found that the lines laid down by the great citizen of Strasburg, and copied by his admirers, had remained unchanged until within the memory of the present generation. John Amos Comenius was the antithesis of Sturm. Born a Moravian, he passed a wandering life in poverty and obscurity. But his ideas were accepted by the most advanced thinkers of the age. His school-books were spread throughout Europe. Progressive educators of our time echo the words of Comenius when he urges the instruction of the young, "not by beating into them a mass of words, sentences, and opinions gathered out of books, but by opening their understanding through things themselves."

The Protestant schools were now the best in Europe. Catholics would have remained behind in the race if it had not been for the Jesuits. Ignatius Loyola developed numerous schools through the order which he founded, and the program of studies, which dates from the end of the sixteenth century, is in use, with certain modifications, in English Jesuit schools at the present day. In 1550 the first Jesuit school was opened in Germany; in 1700 the order possest 612 colleges, 157 normal schools, 59 novitiates, 240 residences, 200 missions, 29 professed homes, and 24 universities. The College of Clermont had 3,000 students in 1695. Every Jesuit college was divided into two parts: the *studia superiora* for higher education, and the *studia inferiora* for lower education. The latter, corresponding to the modern gymnasium, was divided into five classes. The first three were classes of the rudiments, accidence, and syntax of grammar; the last two of humanity and rhetoric. The motto of the school was *lege, scribe, loquere*, "learn not only to read and write a dead language, but to talk it." Purism was even more exaggerated than by Sturm. No word might be used which did not rest upon a special authority. The order disdained history, science, and philosophy, its labors being wholly directed to the propagation of the Catholic faith, and the ability to write in Latin in the most approved way.

The Jesuits

It is impossible to estimate the influence of the Jesuits upon the world's civilization. During 200 years they controlled over 600 colleges and many universities, a control lasting till almost the end of the eighteenth century. They cared not so much for education as for the power to be gained by having the schools in their hands. In 1831 Roothar, the general of their order, somewhat improved their curriculums, but modern governments have on the whole done well to oppose these schools. They taught the accomplishments the polite world

wanted, but stifled thought and inquiry. Montaigne, Locke, and Milton all criticized this form of education, and gave us stimulating and suggestive thoughts. Milton's tractate "Of Education" is most important. Meanwhile at Port Royal, in France, the Jansenists Arnauld, Lancelot, and Nicoll taught with such success that they excited the jealousy of the Jesuits, and were suppressed.

Rousseau's "Émile," a treatise on education, was published in 1762. It produced a profound impression, and has affected teaching until very recent times. With him nature is supreme. He protests against the shams of government and civilization, and pities the sorrows of the poor. He lays great stress on the earliest education. The first year of life is in every respect the most important. Nature must be closely followed. The chief moral principle is: do no one harm. Émile is to be taught by the real things of life, by observation and experience. At the age of twelve he is scarcely to know what a book is; to be able to read and write at fifteen is quite enough. Then a new stage opens, when he is to learn history, science, and the machinery of society. Basedow founded a school somewhat on these principles at Dessau, and later Salzmann did the same at Schnepfenthal. It was the age of romanticism.

Great Educators

The end of the eighteenth century saw a great development given to classical studies. The names of Cellarius, Gesner, Ernesti, and Heyne are perhaps more celebrated as scholars than as schoolmasters. To them we owe the great importance attached to the study of the classics, both on the Continent and in England. They brought into the schools the philology which F. A. Wolf had organized for the universities. Johann Heinrich PESTALOZZI reverted to concrete education from objects. Born at Zurich in 1745, he converted his house into an orphan asylum; he saved from degradation over 100 children and issued volumes on education. He died in 1827 near Basle, overwhelmed with mortification; but to-day his ideas of training rather than instructing are accepted in elementary schools all over Europe. FROEBEL continued his work. He made many mistakes before fixing upon his final vocation, and even this proved a failure so far as he personally was concerned. A victim to great griefs, he died believing that his life had been lived wholly in vain. It is with the KINDERGARTEN that we associate the name of this benefactor of little children. To him the child was a plant and the school its nursery. Too much of the seed which he sowed fell in stony places, much also fell on good ground and has brought forth fruit abundantly. Among the modern contributors to the methods of education the names of Herbert Spencer and Alexander Bain hold a high place. Mr. Huxley did a great deal toward teaching exact science in a popular way; and the name of Arnold will always be remembered in England as the ideal of a great head-master.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

SUMMARY OF EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS

INSTITUTIONS.	Date of report	Registered students or pupils	Professors or teachers
England and Wales.			
Universities:			
Oxford (22 colleges, 5 halls, and non-collegiate students)	1903	3,570	.....
Cambridge (17 colleges, 1 hostel, and non-collegiate students)	1903	2,900	.....
Durham (1 college of arts, 1 medical college, 1 college of science)	1903	1,831	98
London [1]	1903	[2] 6,083	934
Victoria (2 colleges)	1903	1,914	123
Birmingham	1903	814	94
Liverpool	1903	667	115
University of Wales (3 colleges)	1903	1,495	155
University colleges	1903	[3] 6,871	259
University colleges for women	1903	468	.....
Elementary day schools	1903	5,975,127	.....
Night schools	1903	657,594	.....
Training colleges for elementary teachers	....	.....	.....
Scotland			
Universities:			
Aberdeen	1903	814	64
Edinburgh	1903	2,990	114

[1] London university includes 6 colleges of arts and science, 6 theological colleges, 1 college of agriculture, 1 technical college, 12 medical schools, and the London School of Economies.
[2] Also 443 evening students; the statistics of the medical schools included are incomplete.
[3] Day and evening.

SUMMARY OF EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS—*Continued.*

INSTITUTIONS.	Date of report	Registered students or pupils	Professors or teachers
Scotland			
Universities:			
Glasgow	1903	2,178	119
St. Andrew's (3 colleges)	1903	546	91
Glasgow Technical College	1903	374	.....
Elementary day schools	1903	785,473	20,166
Higher grade schools	1903	4,548	.....
Training colleges for elementary teachers	1903	1,385	.....
Ireland			
Universities:			
Dublin	1903	936	80
Belfast, Queen's College	1903	342	41
Cork, Queen's College	1903	199	24
Galway, Queen's College	1903	97	22
University College, Dublin	1903	180	20
Elementary day schools	1903	741,795	13,144
Training schools for elementary teachers	....	1,090	.....

The following list shows the principal dates in the history of the system of elementary education in England:

1833. First grant (£20,000) made by Parliament for elementary education in England and Wales to be administered by the national and British foreign school societies (annually renewed).
1838. Committee of House of Commons appointed to investigate the education of the poorer classes.
1839. Committee of council on education established; annual grant increased to £30,000.
1846. Minutes issued by council on education recognizing definitely denominational schools and denominational training colleges for teachers; pupil-teacher system recognized.
1847. Commission of inquiry into education in Wales.
1858–61. Duke of Newcastle's commission on state of popular education.
1861. Code (Lowe's) issued establishing system of payment by results (i. e., of examination of individual pupils).
1870. Elementary education act (Forster's) passed.
1876. Amending act passed establishing the compulsory principle and creating school attendance committees for its enforcement in districts having no school-board.
1880. Law obliging local educational authorities to make by-laws for the enforcement of compulsory school attendance.
1891. Law providing for an extra grant for schools remitting tuition fees.
1893. (1) Law making eleven years the minimum age for exemption from school attendance, and requiring an examination in a grade not lower than the fourth for every child seeking exemption from school attendance; (2) law authorizing school-boards to make special provision for the elementary instruction of blind children and of deaf-and-dumb children.
1897. Law providing a special grant for the benefit of "voluntary" (chiefly denominational) schools at the rate of five shillings per capita of average attendance; also authorizing the federation of voluntary schools and the allotment of the grant at the discretion of the governing bodies of the federations.
1899. (1) Law (Defective and Epileptic Children's Act) "empowering local educational authorities, at their discretion, to establish special schools or classes for mentally or physically defective children and special boarding institutions for juvenile epileptics"; (2) law raising the minimum age for exemption from school attendance from eleven to twelve years; (3) creating a board of education to replace "the education department and the science and art department, providing also for the transfer to the new board of certain powers exercised by the charity commissioners with respect to educational trusts and endowments, and for the transfer to the board of the educational functions of the board of agriculture." Further, the law authorizes "a consultative committee, to be constituted by an order in council, consisting of persons qualified to represent the views of universities and other bodies interested in education for the purpose of framing, with the approval of the board of education, a register of teachers and of advising the board of education on any matter referred to them by the

board." The law also authorizes the board "to inspect any school supplying secondary education and desiring to be so inspected."

1900. Law authorizing local authorities to extend the upper limit of compulsory attendance from the thirteenth to the fourteenth year of age.

1902. Law reorganizing the national system of education, abolishing elected school-boards, and transferring their duties to county and municipal councils. (London excepted.)

1903. Law reorganizing system of education in London on the lines of law of 1902.

Auxiliary Legislation.—1889–91: Technical instruction laws authorizing county councils to levy a tax not exceeding a penny in the pound for the support of technical schools. 1890: Local taxation, customs, and excise law, placing the surplus of the liquor duties at the disposal of county councils, with the privilege of applying the same to technical instruction.

Elementary Schools

The system of public elementary education in England is in the process of transition from the basis established by the law of 1870 to that of 1902, which went into operation March 26, 1903. The new conditions established by the latter law relate almost exclusively to the local administration of schools. The provisions of the law of 1870 and subsequent amending laws are continued in force, except such as are explicitly annulled by the law. The local authorities in charge of elementary schools are county and county borough councils, replacing the former elected school-boards, and having general charge of (1) board schools, henceforth to be known as council or provided schools, and (2) voluntary (i. e., chiefly church) schools, to be known as non-provided. The county and municipal councils become the local agents for the disbursement of the government grant for elementary education. The councils are further empowered to raise the additional moneys required for the maintenance of elementary schools by local taxes, which are henceforth to be applied to both the provided and the non-provided schools.

The educational functions of the councils, excepting that of raising school money by taxation, may be delegated to education committees constituted under schemes formed by the respective councils and approved by the board of education. Every scheme for the formation of an education committee must provide for the appointment by the council of a majority of the members of the committee and for the inclusion of women in the committee. Where the local education authority is a county council, all public elementary schools must have a body of managers, to be constituted by the local authority. In the case of non-provided (i. e., church) schools, these managers must include foundation managers, not exceeding four (excepting in special cases), and managers appointed by the local authority, in the proportion of two to every four foundation managers. The managers of the non-provided school must carry out the directions of the local education authority as to the secular instruction to be given in the school, including any directions with respect to the number and educational qualifications of the teachers to be employed for such instruction, and for the dismissal of any teacher on educational grounds. If the managers fail in these respects, then the local education authority itself shall have the power of carrying out the direction in question, but no direction given under this provision shall be such as to interfere with reasonable facilities for religious instruction during school hours. The managers of the school must also, without any charge to the local authority, provide the schoolhouse, keep it in good repair, and make such alterations and improvements in the buildings as may reasonably be required by the local education authority.

It is expressly provided that the local education authority shall have power to inspect non-provided schools, and that its consent shall be required to the appointment and dismissal of teachers, head-teachers excepted; but the councils may not withhold consent to the appointment nor interfere with the dismissal of teachers on religious grounds. Moreover, in non-provided schools "assistant teachers and pupil teachers may be appointed, if it is thought fit, without reference to religious creed and denomination. (Head-teachers appointed independently of the local authorities are chosen on denominational grounds.) In any case in which there are more candidates for the post of teacher than there are places to be filled, the appointment shall be made by the local education authority, which shall determine the respective qualifications of the candidates by examination or otherwise."

In provided schools no sectarian instruction is allowed. Non-provided or denominational schools are prohibited by a conscience clause from forcing religious instruction upon children whose parents object to the same. The provisions with respect to compulsory school attendance are unchanged. Every local authority is obliged to make by-laws under which the upper limit of age for compulsory attendance must not be less than twelve years, and at the discretion of the local authorities may be raised to fourteen years.

Sources of Support

The government grant, which furnishes at present very nearly half the support of elementary schools, is applied on the same conditions to provided and non-provided schools. The balance of the support for both classes of schools is provided by local taxes. In the case of a non-provided school in which fees have hitherto been charged, the local authority shall, "while continuing to allow fees to be charged in respect to that school, pay such proportion of those fees as may be agreed upon, or, in default of agreement, determined by the board of education and the managers."

In the third schedule of the law it is declared that the duty of a local education authority shall include the duty to provide a sufficient amount of public-school accommodation without payment of fees. The law declares that the designation "elementary school" shall not include any school carried on as an evening-school under the regulations of the board of education.

Higher elementary schools are organized to qualify the pupils to enter any of those callings in which scientific methods have to be employed. With this object in view, the course of instruction, tho not exclusively scientific, is based on science, and all the scholars are trained to make accurate measurements and to perform and record simple experiments. One foreign language and elementary mathematics are included in the curriculum, while careful attention is given to drawing. The course of instruction extends over four years. Government supervision of elementary schools is maintained by an inspectorial service.

Summarized Statistics of Elementary Schools

	1870 (Revised Code.)	1902
Schools (institutions) inspected by government inspectors	8,281	20,158
Voluntary schools	8,281	14,275
Board schools	.....	5,878
Departments under separate head teachers in those schools	12,061	31,372
Scholars for whom accommodation is provided	1,878,584	6.681,295
Percentage to estimated population	8.80	20.54
Scholars on the school registers	1,693,059	5,881,278
Percentage to estimated population	7.66	18.08
Scholars in actual average attendance	1,152,389	4,788,400
Percentage to estimated population	5.21	14.72
Percentage to scholars on the school registers	68.06	81.41
Average attendance for payment in infant schools and classes	.....	1,486,023
Average attendance for payment in schools for older scholars	.....	3,302,377
Average attendance of scholars who earned grants upon examination in class subjects	.....	.....
Scholars qualified for grant in specific subjects	.....	.....
Number of departments in which singing was taught:		
By ear	.....	2,290
By notes	.....	29,077
Number of schools in which were taught—		
Military drill	.....	6,437
Manual instruction	.....	1,749
Science	.....	.....
Physical exercises	.....	.....
Half-time scholars	.....	.....
School libraries	.....	8,504
Savings-banks	.....	7,071
Certificated and provisionally certificated teachers	12,467	67,813
Assistant teachers	1,262	36,265
Additional teachers	.....	17,588
Pupil teachers	14,304	29,218
"Annual grant"	£562,611	£5,275,883

The principal events in the movement for organizing secondary education in England may be seen in the following:

1835. Appointment of select committee to inquire into means of extending a knowledge of the arts and of the principles of design among the artizan classes.
1836. Grant of £1,500 for the establishment of a normal school of design.
1837. Normal school of design opened.
1852. Department of practical art constituted.
1853. Science department added to the department of art. Reorganized department empowered to maintain special schools of art and science, to draw up examination schemes and conduct examinations of schools and classes complying with specified conditions, and to distribute government grant to the same.
1853. Charity commission appointed to inquire into the condition and management of charities and to frame schemes for their administration; educational endowments thus brought under supervision.
1856. Control of the department of science and art transferred to the committee of council on education.
1861. Lord Clarendon's commission to inquire into the nine leading public schools (secondary).
1864. Lord Taunton's commission to inquire into the condition of additional secondary schools (endowed grammar, proprietary, etc.). Report of commission published in 1868.
1865. Endowed schools law passed.
1894. Commission appointed (Bryce's) to consider "What are the best methods for establishing a well-organized system of secondary education in England, taking into account existing deficiencies and having regard to such local sources of revenue from endowment or otherwise as are available or may be made available for this purpose?"
1895. Report of commission published.
1902. Education law passed authorizing local authorities to raise funds for and exercise a measure of control over secondary education.

Secondary Schools

In the regulations respecting secondary schools issued in 1903, the board of education were careful to define the limits of secondary education, and in so doing clearly recognized the distinction between secondary schools and technical institutes and classes; thus the authority of the government has been won for those who advocate an extended course of general education as a prerequisite to specialized training. The term "secondary" as defined by the board applies to "any day or boarding school which offers to each of its scholars, up to and beyond the age of sixteen, a general education, physical, mental, and moral, given through a complete graded course of instruction of wider scope and more advanced degree than that given in elementary schools."

The instruction must be general; that is, it must give a reasonable degree of exercise and development to the whole of the faculties, and not confine this development to a particular channel, whether that of pure and applied science, of literary and linguistic study, or of that kind of acquirement which is directed simply at fitting a boy or girl to enter business in a subordinate capacity with some previous knowledge of what he or she will be set to do. The course of instruction must be complete; i. e., must be so planned as to lead up to a definite standard of acquirement in the various branches of instruction indicated in the foregoing, and not stop short at a merely superficial introduction to any of them. Finally, the instruction must be graded in its various branches. The grants payable under the regulations are made in respect to a four years' course only.

A certain minimum number of hours in each week must be devoted to the group of subjects commonly classed as "English" (including the English language and literature, geography, and history), to ancient or modern languages, and to mathematics and science. Ample time is left to include provision for systematic physical exercises; for drawing, singing, and manual training; for the instruction of girls in the elements of housewifery, etc.

In addition to the general requirements, certain specific conditions are laid down by the education board, to which a secondary school must conform in order to share in the government grant. The most important of these conditions are as follows: The school must be efficient and must not compete unduly with a neighboring school; no religious test or requirement as to religious observances or attendance upon religious exercises shall be imposed upon day scholars; the curriculum and time-table of the school must be approved by the board of education; a full account of the income and expenditure of the school must be annually submitted to the board; the fees charged must be approved by that body; the school premises, equipments, and appliances must be satisfactory; the school must meet regularly during not less than thirty-six weeks in the course of the school year, and for not less than four hours each school day.

Statistics

The number of schools inspected under the board of education in the year ending Dec. 31, 1903, was 135, as compared with ninety-five in the preceding year. Twenty-five of these were inspected on the application of the county authorities aiding them. Twenty-three were proprie-

tary schools, and thirty-three were private schools. Seventy-five were for boys, forty-nine for girls, and eleven for both boys and girls. Sixty-one were schools receiving grants under the regulations of the board for secondary schools, and in the case of forty-one of these the inspection was required for compliance with the regulations.

In 1903 there were 31,090 scholars receiving organized day courses of instruction in 226 secondary day schools (Division A; offering extended courses in science), an average of 137 scholars in each school. Of these pupils 25,047 were taking elementary courses and 6,043 advanced courses of instruction. In 1903, 2,645 scholars were examined in science and 1,191 in art subjects. The grants paid amounted to £130,470 ($652,350), being an average payment per scholar under instruction of £4.19.0 (about $25). Up to Dec. 31, 1903, 142 schools in England and sixty-six in Wales and Monmouthshire were recognized as eligible for grants under the regulations for secondary day schools, Division B. Of the schools in England 114 were endowed schools, two were county or municipal schools, six were established by stock companies, ten were conducted by religious bodies, and ten by bodies of local managers. The number of pupils following approved courses of instruction in the schools of Division B during the school year 1902-3 was 10,094, and the grants paid amounted to 26,750 or an average payment of £2.13.0 for each scholar. For more recent educational statistics, see GREAT BRITAIN.

Scotland

Scotland has had a system of public schools dating from a law of 1696, which required that a school be established in every parish. The country was thus prepared for a system of universal school-boards as provided for by the law of 1872. The law differed also from the English law of 1870 in that, following the traditions of the old parish system, it made provision for both elementary and secondary schools. The latter did not share in the treasury grant, but by subsequent laws were allowed support from local taxes. Whereas compulsion has been gradually introduced into the English system, the Scotch law made education compulsory for all children between the ages of five and thirteen (raised to fourteen in 1883) or until a certificate of exemption should be secured.

Religious instruction in the schools of Scotland was left to local authorities, with the simple restriction of a conscience clause making the attendance of children at the religious exercises optional with the parents. A grant in lieu of fees (law of 1889) had the effect of making the schools practically free schools. By regulations of 1899–1900 a standard of attainment—that of the merit certificate—was fixed, which was regarded as the satisfactory outcome of an elementary school course. The merit certificate (called also the leaving certificate) of the elementary school entitled the holder to exemption from further attendance. Under these circumstances it was found desirable to increase the requirements for the certificate, and in 1903 a supplementary course was arranged, which candidates for the merit certificate were obliged to pursue at least one year. At the same time the requirements for transfer to a secondary school were arranged on a somewhat different basis. The supplementary course must provide for the instruction of the pupils in the following subjects according to a well-graduated scheme: English (including history and geography), mathematics (including arithmetic), at least one language other than English, and science and drawing, according to a scheme approved for the leaving-certificate examination in these subjects.

In 1885 the Scotch education department arranged for the inspection of endowed and other secondary schools applying for the service. Three years later the department established a leaving certificate for students who, on the completion of a course of secondary study, pass the certificate examination. The number of secondary schools inviting inspection in 1903 was ninety-four, of which thirty-two were higher class public schools, twenty-four endowed schools, and thirty-eight private schools. The number of candidates for the leaving certificate in 1888 was 972; in 1903 it was 19,509. A large number of university and professional authorities accept the certificate in lieu of such preliminary examinations as are held under their direction. Through the service of inspection and examination the secondary schools of Scotland have been brought into close relation with the education department.

Under the local taxation (customs and excise) act of 1890, and other acts providing for the application of public funds to secondary and technical education, the local authorities expended for these purposes in 1901–2 the sum of £58,407 ($292,035). On March 27, 1904, a bill to amend the education laws of Scotland was introduced into the House of Commons. Like the English law of 1902, it pertained chiefly to the local control of schools; in particular the bill proposed to make the county or county district the unit of local administration in place of the parish. The bill was, however, withdrawn at the close of the session.

STATISTICS OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND

	1872	1903
Estimated population	3,395,802	4,571,030
Number of schools	1,979	3,149
Departments:		
Day	2,133	.....
Higher grade	.....	.....
Evening continuation	68	.....
Accommodation:		
Day schools	281,688	938,009
Higher grade	.....	10,299
Evening continuation schools (not connected with day schools)	.....	.....
Number on the registers:		
Day schools	.....	780,818
Higher grade schools	.....	4,548
Evening continuation schools	.....	.....
Average attendance:		
Day scholars	213,549	664,741
Higher grade scholars	.....	4,548
Evening continuation scholars	3,653	.....
Number of teachers:		
Certificated	2,566	12,195
Assistant	.....	2,555
Pupil	3,642	4,165
Queen's scholars in training colleges	729	1,385
Queen's students	.....	193
Current expenditures	.....	$9,609,970

Ireland

The system of national education in Ireland dates from 1831, when a board of commissioners for education was created by the government. In 1845 the board was incorporated by royal charter, and in 1861 a supplemental charter was granted, under which ten members must be Ro-

man Catholics and ten Protestants. The board is always composed of representative men, who adhere to the policy of strict impartiality in religious matters. Only the resident commissioner is a salaried officer. He is the official head of the education department, with offices at Dublin. Upon him rests the responsibility for carrying out the details of the system of national education and also the administration of the government appropriations for the same. The schools under the supervision and fostering care of the board are supported by State and local funds. They may be denominational schools (i. e., Roman Catholic or Protestant) or mixed in respect to religion, but the rights of the parents in the matter are strictly guarded by a conscience clause in the school regulations, which provides that no child be allowed to attend a religious exercise of a denomination other than his own, except upon the written request of the parent.

Grants to aid in building schoolhouses are allowed by the commissioners, but must be proportioned to the amount raised locally. The State pays also the larger proportion of the salaries of teachers, requiring a minimum annual augmentation from local funds of £12 ($60). Altogether the State defrays about ninety-four per cent of the annual expenditure for the schools. In order to avoid religious complications the State provides the text-books for secular branches which are issued at a small cost to the pupils.

School Authorities

Local civil authorities have no control over the schools. The local managers of schools, who are generally clergymen, come into direct relations with the board of commissioners. They appoint and dismiss teachers, and arrange the details of the school work. Of a total of 2,936 managers in 1902, 2,363 were clerical. The commissioners have direct control of the special class of schools called "model schools," for which they provide the buildings. These schools, as their name indicates, are intended to afford models of the best methods of instruction and organization, and to serve as practise schools for students in training colleges or normal schools." They numbered thirty in 1902, with an enrolment of 8,969 day pupils, included in the statistics given in the following paragraph.

A compulsory school-law was passed in 1892, but it has been imperfectly enforced, and Ireland still stands below the other divisions of the United Kingdom in respect to school attendance, as is shown by the most recent statistics. These give the following rates of attendance to enrolment: England, 82.3 per cent; Wales, 77.9; Scotland, 85.2; Ireland, 70.8.

Convent and monastery schools afford a large part of the provision for elementary education, and receive, under certain conditions, aid from the government. The number of such schools fulfilling the conditions for aid in 1902 was 373, with an enrolment of 110,769. The schools of the Christian Brothers form a large part of the provision for elementary education, especially in the cities, where their schools are both numerous and flourishing. Their system of education has taken deep hold upon the people, and among their former pupils are some of the most influential men in every city and large town of Ireland.

For the training of teachers for the national schools there are one national and six denominational normal schools, which receive aid from the government. They report 1,090 students in training in 1903. Of the 13,144 teachers employed in the national schools in 1903, 57.2 per cent had received professional training. Provision for agricultural instruction is an important feature of the national system. Instruction in the theory of agriculture is compulsory in all rural schools for boys in the fourth, fifth, and sixth classes, and optional for girls. Complaint is made that the instruction in this branch has been altogether too bookish, and recent efforts have been directed to putting it on a practical basis.

The commissioners maintain also two model agricultural schools; and in 1897 they reported thirty-eight school-farms in connection with elementary schools, and 116 schools having gardens attached.

France

The French system of education is characterized by centralized control, through organization, and comprehensive scope. The executive chief is a cabinet officer, the minister of public instruction. The minister has extensive administrative power, and also takes the initiative in measures for the development of the system. The centralized control of the system is facilitated by its organization into academies or administrative divisions, seventeen in number. Each academy comprizes a university, one or more university faculties, a group of secondary schools (lycées and communal colleges), and its quota of primary schools. The chief officer of the academy is the university rector, who is appointed by the president of the republic, and subordinate only to the minister of public instruction. The authority of the rector extends to all grades of education, but the interests of higher and secondary education is relegated to academic inspectors, of whom there is one for each department comprized in the academy. The system of public instruction comprizes three departments—primary, secondary, and superior—each under its own chief or director. This division follows the lines of historic development. The secondary schools (lycées and communal colleges) form with the universities a system of liberal education, crowned by specialized training for the learned professions. In this respect they preserve something of the relations that existed before the Revolution between the University of Paris, the mother university, and the colleges that clustered around it. The separate administration of secondary and of higher education is a survival from the Imperial University. The work of the republic in these two provinces has been that of gradual transformation in the spirit of scholastic freedom and in accordance with modern demands. On the other hand, the system of State primary schools is almost wholly the creation of the republic. The work was begun in 1878 by the appropriation of a fund of $23,000,000 to be advanced to the communes, one half in subventions, the other half in loans, to aid them in building schoolhouses.

The first official school statistics published under the republic (1876–77) showed for the 36,097 communes 71,547 schools. Of these, 59,021 were classed as public schools, but of this number, 13,205, or 22 per cent, were schools belonging to religious orders. If instead of schools the number of classes be considered, it appears that 32 per cent were in charge of members of religious orders.

The measures by which the republic has freed

France

Statistical Summary of Education in France[1]

Classes of Institutions	Date	Enrolment			Professors and teachers			Total expenditure
		Male	Female	Total	Men	Women	Total	
Infant schools (écoles maternelles), public and private (ages 2 to 6)	1899–1900	(747,108)		747,108	.....	9,831	9,831	.....
Primary schools:								
Public	1899–1900	2,310,929	1,847,983	4,158,912	.....	.....	107,637	[2] $42,803,050
Private	1889–1900	455,339	915,981	1,371,320	.....	.....	48,988	.....
Total primary schools	1899–1900	2,766,268	2,763,964	5,530,232	.....	.....	156,625	.....
Primary normal schools (ages 16 to 19)	1897	[3] 3,865	[3] 3,871	[3] 7,736	897	852	1,749	.....
Secondary schools:								
Public (ages 8 to 20)	1900–1901	88,202	18,320	106,522	.....	.....	.....	7,262,823
Private (ages 8 to 20)	1900–1901	[4] 76,946	.....	76,946	.....	.....	.....	.....
Universities:								
Public	1900–1901	28,959	943	29,902	.....	.....	.....	.....
Private	1900–1901	1,487	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ecole normale supérieure	1901	.....	.....	110	.....	.....	.....	103,120

[1] With the exceptions indicated by foot-notes, these statistics are from the report of M. Maurice-Faure, chairman of the financial committee of the Chamber of Deputies. Budget for 1902 (session 1901).
[2] Expenditure for 1896–97, including all public primary schools and primary normal schools.
[3] *Statistique de l'enseignement primaire*, 1896–97.
[4] Excluding the clerical seminaries (petits séminaires) preparatory to the theological schools, enrolling about 23,000 young men.

the public schools from all relation to the Church were adopted under the direction of Jules Ferry, who was appointed minister of public instruction in 1879. Comparatively little is left to local initiative in respect to the support of public education. Even the local school-tax is levied by the State and collected by State officers. The mayor and civil councilors of every commune (city or rural) have the right to inspect the local schools in respect to the condition of school-buildings, furniture, and supplies, and the health and conduct of pupils; but they have no authority over the schools.

Primary Schools

The department of primary instruction, as organized by the law of Oct. 30, 1886, comprizes infant schools and classes, elementary primary schools, higher primary schools, schools of manual apprenticeship (authorized by law of Dec. 11, 1880, and eventually transformed into national training-schools, "écoles nationales professionnelles"). The departmental normal schools are also included in the category of primary schools. The line of separation between these different classes of schools and the division among them of the prescribed subjects of primary instruction are determined by special regulations elaborated in the superior council of public instruction. These schools are all free and secular, and the teachers in every case must be appointed from the laity. The law with respect to compulsory attendance applies only to the elementary primary schools.

In the infant schools, children of both sexes from two to six years of age receive together physical, moral, and intellectual training adapted to their tender years. These schools are wholly in the charge of women; the teaching force includes a directress, and an assistant, if the number of children is more than fifty. Communes are not obliged by law to found and maintain maternal schools, and it is only in communes having above 2,000 inhabitants, of which at least 1,200 are concentrated in one locality, that these schools are included in the number of public primary schools entitled to support by the commune and to State subventions. These schools have proved to be better adapted to cities than to rural districts. A little more than ten per cent of the communes report at least one infant school.

The elementary primary schools are for the instruction of children from six to twelve years of age; that is, the obligatory school period. In communes having neither infant schools nor infant classes, the age for admission to the elementary primary schools is lowered to five years, while it is raised to seven where there is an infant class. Children above thirteen years of age cannot be admitted to the elementary primaries without special permission. The elementary primary schools may be for boys only, in which case the instruction is given by men; for girls only, or mixed as to sex, in both of which cases the instruction is given by women.

According to the law of March 20, 1883, a commune is bound to provide a school not only in each chief town, but also in all villages or centers of population remote from towns or separated from each other by three kilometers, and containing at least twenty children of school age.

Advanced primary instruction is given either in higher primary schools or in "complementary courses." The establishment takes the latter name if it is annexed to an elementary primary school, and the former if it has a distinct location and is under a separate direction. The complementary courses comprize one or two years. The higher primary schools may comprize two or more years, and must be provided with as many rooms as there are classes. They are called full-course schools (écoles de plein exercise) when they comprize at least three years' study.

Pupils in the Primary Schools at Specified Dates

Year	Total number of pupils	Boys	Girls	In public schools	In private schools	In secular schools	In schools belonging to religious orders
1876–77	4,716,935	2,400,882	2,316,053	3,823,348	893,587	2,648,562	2,068,373
1881–82	5,341,211	2,708,510	2,632,701	4,359,256	981,955	3,567,861	1,773,350
1886–87	5,596,919	2,829,127	2,767,792	4,505,109	1,091,810	3,877,185	1,719,734
1888–89	5,623,401	2,833,218	2,790,183	4,446,851	1,176,550	3,915,915	1,707,486
1891–92	5,556,470	2,805,849	2,750,621	4,281,183	1,275,287	3,900,977	1,655,493
1896–97	5,531,418	2,782,547	2,748,871	4,190,320	1,341,098	3,911,806	1,618,612
1897–98	5,535,125	2,777,739	2,757,386	4,177,590	1,357,535	3,914,352	1,620,773
1898–99	5,539,299	2,774,195	2,765,104	4,169,578	1,369,721	3,938,842	1,600,457
1899–1900	5,530,232	2,766,268	2,763,964	4,158,912	1,371,320	3,953,742	1,576,490

Secondary Education

To the department of secondary instruction belong the lycées, or State classical colleges, for boys; the State lycées for girls; and the communal colleges established by the communal or local authorities and aided by the State. In 1901 the lycées for boys numbered 109 and enrolled 54,830 pupils. The communal colleges numbered 227, with an enrolment of 33,372. This gives a total of 88,202 boys in the public secondary schools. The church secondary schools for boys in 1899 enrolled 91,825 pupils (of these 23,000 in the "petit séminaires" for students intending to enter the priesthood), and private secular secondary establishments for boys, 10,182 pupils. The public lycées and colleges for girls had an enrolment in 1901 of 14,162 students, and there were also 4,158 girls pursuing courses of secondary instruction in classes under public auspices. The attendance upon convent and private secondary schools for girls is not known. The lycée is the typical secondary school. The local colleges have the same curriculum so far as circumstances permit, and students often pass from a college to a lycée for the completion of their studies.

Scope of Secondary Education

Secondary education, as the term is technically used in France, comprizes a complete scheme of education whose goal is the bachelor's degree. It is secondary, not in the sense of a second stage in a continuous process, as implied by the same term in the United States, but in the sense of a higher order of education than that which is technically termed "primary." The distinction between the two arises from the notion that the learned classes, those who are destined for professional careers and for leadership in the State, should be educated from their earlier years in a different manner and in a different class of subjects from the laboring masses. Under this conception the term "secondary education" carries the idea both of social and of scholastic distinction. The men trained in the secondary schools lead the councils of the nation, shape its policies, and form the enlightened opinion which is essential to its stability; hence the government is particularly concerned as to the influences which prevail in secondary education and as to its intellectual outcome. In both respects secondary education as organized in France has been unsatisfactory to the present republic. As regards curriculum and methods of instruction this dissatisfaction is part of that general unrest in secondary education which is manifest in all countries, and which in France, as elsewhere, has been of much longer duration than the republic itself. This unrest, which is conveniently tho inadequately summed up as the conflict between the classics and the sciences, is in fact an inheritance from the eighteenth century. The recent decree for the reorganization of the State secondary schools of France is the solution offered by the republic for a problem which has occupied every successive government from the Revolution to the present time.

But the existing government has a cause of anxiety with respect to secondary education quite apart from the question of studies and methods of instruction. The studies of the independent schools, like those of the State schools, are regulated by the requirements for the degree examination, which is a State function; but the spirit and general conduct of the former schools are very different from those of the State schools, and apparently more in consonance with the feelings of the higher classes of the country.

Enrolment in Secondary Schools for Boys

Classes of Institutions	1887[1]	1896[2]
State schools:		
Lycées	53,816	53,290
Colleges	36,086	32,224
Total	89,902	85,514
Schools of religious associations:		
Classical	50,085	58,506
Petits séminaires (preparatory to theological schools)	.....	21,737
Total	50,085	80,243
Private secular schools	20,174	13,599
Total non-State	70,259	93,842
Grand total	160,161	179,356

[1] From *Statistique de l'enseignement secondaire des garçons*, 1887, pp. lvi, lxxviii, xcviii.

[2] *Rapports faits au nom de la commission de budget*, etc.—*Service de l'Instruction Publique*, par M. Bouge, 1897, pp. 124, 125; also 1898, pp. 32, 33.

University Education

To the department of higher education belong the universities and the special schools of university rank which are under the minister of education. Paris is the seat of these special schools, and also of the principal university. Under the law of 1896, fifteen of the former faculty groups have been organized into independent universities. They registered 29,377 students in 1900, an increase of 11,772, or 68 per cent above the number enrolled in the faculties of 1888. The professors of the State universities are appointed by the president of the republic in advice with the minister of public instruction.

The following table shows the distribution of university students in the different faculties. For more recent statistics, see FRANCE.

Faculties	Number of University Students			
	Jan. 15, 1900		Jan. 15, 1901	
	State universities	Independent universities	State universities	Independent universities
Law	9,709	1,109	10,152	996
Medicine	8,781	151	8,627	139
Sciences	3,857	185	3,910	158
Letters	3,476	168	3,723	181
Pharmacy	3,395	16	3,347	14
Protestant theology	159	....	142	....
Total	29,377	1,629	29,901	1,488

GERMANY

Prussia is taken as a type of German school administration.

Administration

Education in Prussia is in the hands of the Minister of Ecclesiastical, Educational, and Medical Affairs. He is a member of the cabinet, and is responsible to the king for all educational matters.

The councilor at the head of the provincial education department is the provincial school councilor, and he is the official intermediary between the central and local authorities in Prussian education. The members of the provincial school board are appointed by the Minister of Education and confirmed by the king.

Further, each province is divided into "governments" (Regierungen), of which there are thirty-six. Each has a school board consisting of six officers, two appointed by the king and four by the provincial education department. These boards are appointed for six years, and their main duty is the supervision of the primary schools and the training and appointment of teachers.

Elementary Schools

The Kreise (or school districts) may be urban or rural. The head of the city administration is the mayor, or burgomaster, who is a paid official, and whose appointment must be approved by the king. The head of the rural Kreis is the Landrath. In cities a subcommittee of three or five members of the city council act as the local school board, while in villages and towns three or five leading citizens are nominated to act as the local board.

The drawing up and prescribing of courses of study, as well as the certification of all teachers, are retained entirely in its own hands by the State.

State inspection of primary schools is very irregular, as the teacher is so thoroughly well trained that frequent inspections are considered unnecessary. The State reserves to itself the power of a court of appeal in all cases of dispute between teachers and local managers. The actual local management is in the hands of the mayor or the priest. The power of the clergy, indeed, over the school is so great as to be one of the most serious grievances of the German teacher.

All German primary schools are denominational, but the greater part of the religion taught is non-sectarian and there is the right of withdrawal; there are a small number of little schools, called "Simultanenschulen," where children of mixed creeds are taught together, but, as a rule, each faith has its own school. In some towns, such as Krefeld and Cologne, these two separate schools, Catholic and Protestant, exist under the same roof and use the same playground, etc. Nevertheless, the two schools are perfectly independent of each other, with separate teachers and text-books, and with separate local managers.

School Laws.—Children under thirteen years of age cannot be employed in factories, and even those over thirteen only providing they have complied with certain school requirements. The age of compulsory attendance at school in Prussia is from six to thirteen in the country, and six to fourteen in the town. That is the law; but, as we shall see later on, certain exceptions are made in cases of extreme poverty, etc., and, as a rule, the law is less stringently applied in the case of girls than of boys. It has been in vogue so long, and has been so consistently enforced, that the habit of regular attendance has become automatic.

Statistics of the Public Elementary Schools, Prussia, 1891–2 and 1900–1

	1891–2	1900–1
1. Public elementary schools	56,563	58,164
2. Fully occupied teachers (male and female)	12,032	144,484
3. Pupils of elementary schools	7,925,688	8,829,812
4. Expenditure for elementary schools, marks	242,399,000	412,886,000
5. State contributions, mk.	69,310,000	120,357,000
6. Number of:		
a. Inhabitants to each elementary school	874	969
b. Pupils to every 100 inhabitants	16.03	15.66
c. Pupils to each fully occupied teacher	66	61
d. Cost of school maintenance for each pupil, mk.	31	47
e. State contribution for each pupil	8.75	13.63
f. Cost of school maintenance of each elementary school	4,285	7,159
g. State contribution for each elementary school	1,225	2,075

Secondary Schools

The name of "Higher Educational Institutions" is, in Prussia, bestowed on those schools that form the connecting link between the elementary schools on the one hand and the universities and other higher colleges on the other. In the south German states these institutions, corresponding to the French "écoles secondaires," are often called "middle-class schools," whereas in Prussia by middle-class schools are understood higher elementary schools. There are three kinds of complete higher educational institutions, viz., Gymnasia, Realgymnasia, and Higher Realschulen, and to these correspond three kinds of incomplete institutions, viz., Progymnasia, Realprogymnasia, and Realschulen. The complete institutions have nine classes, the Latin names of which—sexta, quinta, etc., up to prima—still recall the original existence of only six classes. But long before, the two

upper classes of the Gymnasia had a two years' course, and thus arose a lower and upper prima and a lower and upper secunda.

The Gymnasia owe their origin to the old Latin schools, and have gradually developed themselves, since the time of the Reformation, so as to acquire their present shape. Down to most recent times they were the only institutions that possessed the right of preparing for university studies.

In the second half of the eighteenth century there arose Realschulen or "Higher Burgherschools," as educational institutions originally not for the learned professions, but only for civil and commercial life. The classical languages were replaced in them by French and English, and special stress was laid on mathematics and natural science. The course was at first a much shorter one than that of the Gymnasium, but gradually institutions were developed with a larger number of classes, in which instruction was also given, to a moderate extent, in Latin, but not in Greek. These schools received in Prussia, in 1832, a more definite organization, and at the same time a leaving or final examination was introduced into them, by which admission to certain higher studies was obtained.

In 1882 the Realschulen of the first order, with teaching of Latin, received generally, in Prussia, the name of Realgymnasia, a designation that had already before occurred in other federal states.

The higher educational institutions are partly State, partly communal. Many of the latter, however, receive subsidies from the State treasury.

The permanently appointed, academically trained teachers are called "Oberlehrer" (senior masters); a number of them also have the title of "Professor."

The salary of the senior masters starts, in Prussia, at 2,700 marks, and rises, by seven three-yearly stages, to 6,000 mk. In addition, they receive an allowance for house rent, which in the larger towns amounts to 660 mk., and in Berlin to 900 mk. The salary of the rectors of institutions rises to 7,200 mk. Besides, they mostly have a free house or a corresponding compensation for rent.

The establishment and management of higher girls' schools, in Germany, was for a long time left exclusively to private enterprise, and in the Roman Catholic parts of the country they are still, as a rule, in the hands of conventual institutions. Not till the third decade of the last century were public higher girls' schools established as municipal institutions, but still in comparatively small numbers. State regulations as to the organization, course of instruction, and inspection of these schools have been issued in more recent times, and are in general less incisive than those applying to boys' schools. Three quarters of the higher girls' schools are still under private management. As a rule, the higher girls' schools that are not exclusively boarding-schools, supply also elementary education. The children enter the lowest class, or the lowest of the preparatory school, at their sixth year, and pass through a nine or ten years' course. In Prussia the normal duration of the course is nine years, but with the addition of an extra class with optional subjects.

Girls' Schools

German Secondary Schools

Kinds of Schools	No. of schools	No. of pupils	No. of teachers	Total expenditure in marks	State contribution to the total expenditure in marks
I. In the year 1885–1886.					
Gymnasia	7	3,376	159	317,503	128,260
Realgymnasia	4	2,823	122		
Higher realschulen	..	....	..	465,170	142,725
Progymnasia	2	1,647	98		
Realschulen	13				
Total	26	7,846	379	782,673	270,985
II. In the year 1902–1903.					
Gymnasia	12	2,876	242		
Realgymnasia	3	1,142	115		
Higher realschulen	4	2,015	27	1,977,979	859,220
Progymnasia	3	201	140		
Realschulen	12	2,229			
Total	34	8,463	524	1,977,979	859,220

Universities

The German universities are exclusively State institutions. As regards their origin, four somewhat distinct periods are noticeable.

First Period.—The Middle Ages. Growing up on the soil of the universal Church and its spiritual life, the universities, in this period, reduce the western world to the formative discipline of Greek philosophy and science, especially of the Aristotelian system. Further, they promote the thorough scientific organization of the church-doctrine and of the ecclesiastical law, and bring about a knowledge of Roman law and ancient medicine.

Second Period.—The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This is the period of transition between the Middle Ages and modern times; the sixteenth century, the time of the Renaissance and Reformation, the seventeenth century, that of the rise of the modern state and society, and at the same time of modern philosophy and natural science. In the movement of the sixteenth century the universities take a considerable part, not equally so in those of the seventeenth century: the new philosophy and natural science were not born within their walls. The result was that they remained behind the time and fell into discredit.

Universities

Third Period.—The eighteenth century. This is the period of the reception of modern philosophy and science by the German university, at the same time the period of transition from the old principle of the obligatory standard of instruction to the principle of liberty of thought and teaching. The German university, in this period, had obtained the lead, not only in the mental life of the nation, but at the same time in the development of university affairs of the whole European world.

Fourth Period.—The nineteenth century. This is the period of the advance of the single branches of learning, and of the organization of scientific research. The research in the field of natural science and of history is emancipated from all philosophical or theological dogmatism, so as to gather and work up facts by individual labor. In this the German university maintains the lead; it attracts investigators, disciplines the various forces, and organizes labor. In its teaching this change appears prominently in the development of the seminary system.

All the universities possess considerable assets, in the shape of buildings, collections, etc., besides endowments for the purpose of bursaries or for the provision of the families of deceased professors. But only a few, like that of Greifswald, possess property that yields considerable revenues, from which a large part of the costs of maintenance is defrayed. Others receive subsidies from independent public funds, that are devoted to special purposes, as, for example, Göttingen, from the Hanoverian monastic funds. As their own earnings we may also mention the proceeds arising from the clinical hospitals, and from certain fees or charges. By far the larger

portion, however, of the total university expenses is covered by direct State subsidies.

The chief representative of the university is the rector, or in some universities the prorector, especially where the reigning sovereign, or a prince of the royal house, is made rector magnificentissimus. The rector or managing prorector is elected, by a process differing in the various universities, by the total number of the ordinary professors (in Göttingen by a general meeting embracing also the extraordinary professors). He is chosen from their midst for one year, but the election requires to be confirmed by the ruling sovereign. In most universities the senate is composed, in addition to the rector, of the latter's immediate predecessor, of the deans of faculties, of the senators specially elected for one year by the ordinary professors, and of the university judge.

The teaching-staff of the university is composed of ordinary professors, honorary professors, extraordinary professors, "privat-docents," and lecturers (lectors), to whom must be added technical teachers and instructors of bodily exercises.

Only those persons who have matriculated are considered as students, properly so called, of the universities. In addition there are authorized hearers and temporary auditors, who have been admitted by the rector to attend lectures with the consent of the teacher. The normal qualification for immatriculation is the possession of a leaving-certificate of a higher educational institution with nine classes.

The obtaining of the academical degree constitutes the theoretical conclusion of the university course. In Germany such degrees have now a practical importance only for those who intend to devote themselves to an academical career. One can become a clergyman, a judge, a barrister, a physician, a higher-school teacher, without possessing an academical title. The large number of graduations, which still take place every year, is explained by the consideration which the title enjoys of old in public estimation, and by the wide-spread partiality in Germany for titles in general, among physicians also by the endeavor to be marked off from quacks.

Statistics of German Universities (1903–4).

	Total No. of students and hearers	No. of matriculated students	Students of theology
Berlin	14,007	7,774	335
Bonn	2,773	2,568	366
Breslau	2,096	1,870	301
Erlangen	971	942	150
Freiburg	1,626	1,501	224
Giessen	1,167	1,069	76
Göttingen	1,697	1,574	105
Greifswald	766	705	85
Halle-Wittenberg	2,080	1,881	309
Heidelberg	1,551	1,371	59
Jena	1,037	953	38
Kiel	805	745	32
Königsberg	1,099	932	53
Leipsic	4,630	3,880	293
Marburg	1,347	1,276	117
Munich	5,054	4,766	172
Münster	1,308	1,256	275
Rostock	592	556	37
Strassburg	1,714	1,395	249
Tübingen	1,470	1,407	426
Würzburg	1,326	1,298	112
Total	49,116	39,719	3,814

	Students of medicine	Students of philosophy and science	Students of law
Berlin	1,111	3,772	2,756
Bonn	157	1,257	788
Breslau	190	792	587
Erlangen	191	322	279
Freiburg	467	443	367
Giessen	328	502	163
Göttingen	159	886	424
Greifswald	151	254	215
Halle-Wittenberg	180	965	427
Heidelberg	261	652	399
Jena	179	548	190
Kiel	213	310	190
Königsberg	177	356	346
Leipsic	450	1,911	1,226
Marburg	158	679	322
Munich	985	1,856	1,753
Münster		586	395
Rostock	132	285	102
Strassburg	226	590	330
Tübingen	171	315	495
Würzburg	452	340	394
Total	6,338	17,419	12,148

The elementary teachers receive their professional education in preparatory institutions and seminaries. In some states there are only seminaries without separate preparatory schools, but in such the seminary course lasts all the longer, as a rule, six years.

There are in the German Empire 121 seminaries for the preparation of male teachers and twelve for females.

Technical Schools

The technical high schools of Germany deal with the four technical departments of training for architects, civil engineers, mechanical engineers, and technical chemists. Darmstadt and Karlsruhe have a special department for electro-technology, while in the other high schools, except in Hanover, this subject is combined with mechanical engineering, in the latter town with the chemical-technical branch. Besides, as technical departments, Berlin has a special division for ship-building and for marine-engine construction, Brunswick for pharmacy, Karlsruhe for forestry, Munich for agriculture.

In all the high schools the mathematical-physical subjects, and those of general education, have been combined into a "General Department," but in Stuttgart these form two separate branches.

The regular course of study in the separate departments has been laid down, in all the high schools, with due regard to their interdependence and to the necessity for keeping the aims of the various studies separate. Although these schemes are not actually prescribed, they nevertheless afford the students a sure guidance in conducting their studies in such a manner that, within a given time (usually four years), they may be enabled to acquire the scientific training necessary for their profession.

Sweden

The common schools in Sweden are primarily the concern of the parish. Nevertheless they receive considerable assistance from the State and are under the superintendence of State and ecclesiastical authorities. Every parish consti-

tutes a school district, the legislative authority of which is vested in the church assembly.

The school board performs the functions of preparatory and executive administration; it consists of the rector, who is ex-officio president, and of at least four other members (male or female), elected by the church assembly.

There must be at least one common school in every district. When possible, the school ought to be divided into two departments, viz., the infant school for new beginners and the common school proper for more advanced pupils. For those who have passed through the complete course at the common school, proper arrangements are made in many places for free continuation courses.

These courses have diverse names and organizations. For pupils who have been through the common school and entered some trade, a so-called continuation school is arranged. This school provides for a yearly instruction of at least 180 hours, distributed on certain evenings of the week, or often centered within one or two short terms. Pupils engaged in practical work may, on leaving the common school, continue in the higher division of that school, where extended instruction is afforded.

Besides these regular schools, there are others —a sort of provisional institution. When certain parts of a school district are so remote that the children belonging to it cannot readily avail themselves of the common school, it is allowable to establish in its place minor common schools with a weaker teaching staff and a more restricted course.

People's High Schools.—During the last decades numerous efforts have been made in Sweden for the promotion of knowledge also among the adult population of the lower classes of the community, or among others who either through their trade or profession are prevented from attending the regular schools. These efforts have taken form, partly in the so-called "People's High Schools" and in the kindred "Workmen's Institutes," both of which institutions have originated on Scandinavian or Swedish ground, and partly in the so-called "university extension" movement, according to a pattern received from England. To this has of late years been added a great activity in popular public lecturing, which is being embraced with a steadily growing interest, and is arranged for by associations specially formed for the purpose.

Elementary Schools

People's high schools (Folkhogskolor) are institutions which only exist in the three kingdoms of Scandinavia and also in Finland. Their purpose is to furnish adult members, especially of the peasantry, with an education at once civil, patriotic, and practical. There are now thirty of these schools.

People's high schools are all located in the country. Most of them now have buildings of their own, with residences for the teachers and a certain number of pupils, the rest of the pupils living in adjacent houses. Gymnastic halls are provided in some schools, and are also used by the people of the neighborhood for meetings.

Most of the schools were originally private enterprises, but nearly always supported by grants from the county councils and agricultural societies, as well as the State. No special courses of instruction are fixt, and there is no examination on leaving.

Under this head come the public schools for boys supported by the State, as well as the private schools of the same standing, and also the higher schools for girls, which in range of instruction closely approach the former.

Secondary Education

During the school year 1902–3 the entire number of public secondary schools as supported by the State amounted to 82.

During the school year 1900–1, 36 schools had nine classes, 1 six classes, 38 five classes, 1 four classes, 2 three classes, and 1 two classes.

Sweden has two State universities, viz., in Upsala, founded 1477 (the oldest in Scandinavia), and in Lund, founded 1668, chiefly with a view to promote a closer union of the provinces then newly acquired from Denmark with the rest of Sweden. To make up for the lack of a State university in Stockholm, the capital, private munificence has there established a private university; the same thing has been done also in Gottenborg, the second city of Sweden. Besides this there has existed in Stockholm since 1815 a medical faculty, the Caroline Institute, founded and supported by the State. There are two private universities, the University of Stockholm and the University of Gottenborg.

Universities

Italy

For administrative purposes the country is divided into communes and provinces. A commune is the smallest division of territory having a local government. A commune is governed by a "sindaco" (mayor) and a communal council (both elective). A province is governed by a "prefetto" (a kind of territorial governor) and a provincial council. The prefetto is appointed by the national government.

The education department is organized throughout the kingdom under one sole head and system, so that the grade of one student corresponds to the grade of another.

Elementary Instruction.—By "primary school" is meant a school having a five years' course of elementary studies. The course is divided into two sections. The first, named "inferior," is of three years and is obligatory by law upon every child after becoming six years of age. The second section is named "superior" and occupies two years. It is a progressive and complementary continuation of the former, but not compulsory.

The school program of the two sections embraces the rudiments of the Italian tongue, practical arithmetic, rudiments of Italian history, geography, reading and writing, first principles of the rights and duties of a citizen, the metric system, and elementary gymnastics.

Secondary Schools (Ginnasii and Licei).—The ginnasio has a five years' course, divided in two sections, the curriculum of studies including the Italian language and literature, Latin, history, geography, arithmetic, and gymnastics. The second or "superior" section occupies two years; the curriculum continues the above studies and adds Greek, French, and mathematics. Then follows the "liceo" with a two years' course, having a curriculum which completes the gymnasial instruction, and adds German or French, philosophy, physics, and natural history.

This is the routine of studies to be pursued in order to prepare for admission to the university;

in the aggregate it embraces a five years' elementary course, a five years' gymnasium course, and a two years' lyceum course—in all twelve years of continued study before a pupil becomes qualified to enter a university; this for every student in the whole kingdom.

In 1900–1 there were 269 "ginnasii governativi," so called, with an attendance of 31,668 males and 1,178 females, a total of 32,846. In the same year there were 150 "licei governativi," so called, with an attendance of 12,983 males and 287 females, a total of 13,270.

The above statistics of gymnasiums and lyceums for 1900–1 are incomplete. The latest figures which give the whole attendance are as follows:

Total gymnasiums in the kingdom, 708 in 1895–1896, divided into governativi 183, and non-governativi 525, with an attendance of 59,778 students, 25,444 belonging to the first class and 34,334 to the second.

Total lyceums in the same year 332, governativi 116, non-governativi 216, with an attendance of 17,689 students, 10,945 of whom were governativi and 6,744 non-governativi.

Universities

The term "university" is applied in Italy only to those schools of the highest grade in which the students are instructed in special branches for the profession of their choice, and after a four or five years' course, according to the requirements of the profession selected, they are prepared, graduate, and receive the diplomas of doctor of medicine, doctor of laws, etc. There are in Italy twenty-one universities, quite uniformly distributed throughout the kingdom, four of which are independent of government control.

There are also numerous Convitti or boarding-schools both for boys and for girls, agricultural schools, art schools, and various schools of technology.

For other countries, see each country.

United States

Early History

The first school to be established within the present boundaries of the United States was, so far as we have any record, in New Amsterdam, now New York, in the year 1633. Its first teacher was Adam Roelandsen. The work of the school was strictly elementary. Whereas the colonists in Virginia seemed to have been moved by the missionary spirit, establishing schools principally for Indians and orphans, and the Puritans in New England recognized at first only a need for higher education for the maintenance of a learned clergy, the Dutch began at the bottom, with their own children. In the matter of popular education they were leaders. Still earlier than this, in the year 1616, an attempt had been made to found a school in the Virginia Colony, but because of the Indian massacre of 1622 the movement failed.

With the failure of this attempt nothing more was done for a number of years. In fact there is no certainty that any schools were established in Virginia until nearly 1640, when schools began to be founded by private bequest. One Benjamin Symms left by will 200 acres of land and eight cows for a free school in Elizabeth County. The justices of the peace of the county, together with the minister and church wardens of the city parish, and their successors, were to be trustees of the funds. The school opened in 1636.

New England

Within the New England Colony, which figured much more prominently in educational matters than did any other, the first school was established at Boston in 1635. This was the famous Boston Latin School, first presided over by Philemon Parmount, later by Ezekiel Cheever. One year later Charleston arranged with William Witherell "to keep a school for twelve months, to begin the eighth of August, and to have £40 this year." Later schools were established at Salem, Dorchester, Cambridge, Roxbury, and Braintree. They were all in a sense secondary schools since admission to them presupposed at least some slight knowledge of the English language. Since even so much proficiency was not by any means the rule with the children of the colony, the general court in 1647 framed the most important school-law of our whole history. This law marks a tremendous step forward; so far forward in fact that its enforcement was practically impossible.

Yet has this law been the model for a vast amount of subsequent legislation, and may be taken as the mother of all our school-laws. It contained all the essentials of the purest democracy. The teacher was to be appointed by the people and paid by the people "to teach all such pupils as shall resort to him, to write and read," without a shadow of class distinction. Nor was the law simply permissive; it was mandatory as well, requiring that schools be established, and that a fine of £5 await those communities that failed to observe its edicts. There was to be an elementary school for towns of fifty families, and a grammar school for those of 100 families. But like so many laws enacted since its day, this one had its weak point, well-nigh ruining its usefulness. The fines were too small. The town disposed to do so could pay its fine much cheaper than it could keep its school, and many were disposed to do so. In fact, it has been said that Boston alone, of all the towns within the colony, complied fully with the law of 1647 during all the years that it was on the statute books.

Within the Connecticut Colony schools were established at Hartford as early as 1639, and it is even probable a year earlier at New Haven, and in other towns soon after. The other New England colonies were much later in the establishment of schools.

Central States

In the early days of the Middle West the settlers came from the Eastern States across the mountains, and those institutions which had taken long years to evolve in the older states were adopted, ready made, in the newer. The federal government encouraged this adoption, including in the official act which incorporated the Northwest Territory (from which the older states west of the Alleghanies were formed) the following clause: Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." These were no idle words. Altho not intended to be mandatory in any narrow sense, they were, nevertheless, prophetic. No newly occupied country in the whole world's history has ever seen schools established so nearly coincident with the first settlements, nor schools of so high an order in so short a time. In some respects it has even passed the earlier settled region to the East. Its schools contain a larger proportion of the children of school age, both in the elementary and secondary grades. It has, too, a larger total number of pupils in the schools, and makes a greater annual expenditure for school purposes.

Institutions for secondary and higher education flourish particularly in the Central States, which have also been preeminently the home of coeducation, the first college in the country admitting both sexes being that of Oberlin, while the lower schools, almost without exception, have been coeducational from the start.

The South

The South, altho in some parts settled early, has been slow in establishing an organized system of public schools. In the earlier years this was due largely to a prevailing sentiment in favor of private schools, or education within the family by means of tutors. As a consequence, the poorer classes were not educated, or were forced to attend the so-called "pauper school." There were, however, many private schools and academies of a high order throughout the South, and those who were able to pay found educational opportunities in abundance. Especially was this true of the girls, for the South was a leader in the founding of seminaries for them. It was not until the close of the Civil War that the states took up the problem of the education of the masses, but since then they have struggled with it most manfully in the face of odds not equaled in any other part of the country. Many conditions have made the problem difficult. First, the region, never a wealthy one, had been impoverished by the tremendous expense of a war fought within its own confines. Second, 6,000,000 of totally uneducated colored people were freed and left upon their hands for assimilation and some form of education. This involved the setting up of a double system, with all the extra expense which such a plan involves. Third, the population is largely rural, necessitating a greater outlay of money to bring the school to every child than is the case where the population is more urban. Fourth, no part of the country has so large a proportion of its population within the limits of school age as has the South—a most encouraging fact from some points of view, but perplexing to the financiers of public school problems.

Prior to 1870, however, every Southern state had made constitutional and legislative provisions for free schools and a general system of education. In twelve cities the schools were under some form of state control, eight had provided for county supervision, normal schools had been started in six, agricultural and industrial colleges in a still larger number, and in the large cities progress had been made in grading the schools. It is true that the North had helped in this work through the Peabody and other funds, and the federal government had extended its aid; but the great bulk of the labor and funds came from the South itself. Considering that but thirty years have elapsed since its educational machinery was

really started, magnificent progress has been made. The percentage of total population enrolled in the schools, as well as of children of school age, has doubled in that time; the actual number of pupils attending school more than quadrupled; ten days have been added to the school year; and the per capita expenditure for school purposes has been nearly doubled. In proportion to its wealth, the South to-day taxes itself more heavily for its schools than does the great western portion of the country, tho not as yet quite so heavily as the North and East. Yet, in spite of the rapid progress made, much is still to be done before the schools of the South are upon the same footing of general excellence as those of the other portions of the country.

The West

Unlike the great central portion of the U. S., the territory farther west was not occupied, altho admirably suited for agricultural purposes, and promising permanent homes from the very beginning. It was, rather, taken possession of by civilization, through a series of unrelated migrations to particular localities far removed from other settled territories, from which centers of population little frontiers were sent out, until the settlements have now little wholly unoccupied land between their borders. This peculiarity of occupation, and particularly, in some instances, the reasons underlying the special migrations, have influenced educational development to some extent; but in the end the result has been the same as in the Eastern portions of the country, and to-day we find the public school a flourishing institution, even in the remotest corners of this vast western domain. Its schools rank high. Altho but thinly settled, the region enrolls a greater percentage of its population (five to eighteen years) in its schools than does any other part of the country. In its expenditure for school purposes it is generous, exceeding any other portion of the country in per capita outlay.

As the grammar-schools throughout the early colonies declined in efficiency toward the latter part of the eighteenth century, a new institution was coming to the front, providing a means of education that was far-reaching. This was the academy, the successor of the old grammar-school, and the forerunner of the modern high school. From about the time of the Revolution until the middle of the nineteenth century, it was the undisputed leader in secondary education, and altho now in a sense deposed by the public high school, the academy has not outlived its usefulness. In their inception, academies were of two general classes: (1) The local academy, which aimed to do little more than to supply the educational needs of its immediate neighborhood; and (2) the academy of a more pretentious type, with a course of considerable breadth, drawing its students from a wide field. Those of the former class were frequently but ephemeral, while many of the latter possest considerable endowment, and were established upon a permanent basis. The academy was essentially a private institution, but as will be shown later in many instances received such substantial recognition from the state as to warrant its being included under the public school system. So closely did the early academies resemble their predecessors, the grammar-schools, that it is not easy to determine the first, either as to time or place. The first, however, to become incorporated was one which was founded in Philadelphia in 1753, through the efforts of Benjamin Franklin. In Massachusetts the first to incorporate was the Phillips Academy at Andover, started in 1778, tho not chartered until two years later. Phillips Academy at Exeter, N. H., was founded at about the same time. Dummer Academy was the third to be chartered in New England, being incorporated in 1782, tho its history begins in 1761, when Lieutenant-governor Dummer bequeathed his mansion and 330 acres of land for the establishment and support of a school. Two years later the school was opened at Byfield, Mass. Because of the celebrity of its first master, Samuel Moody, it may rightly be called the mother of the New England academy. For nineteen years Master Moody managed this school, and made it, says Charles Hammond, "the best type of an English grammar-school that had existed on American soil since the days of Ezekiel Cheever."

The common-school system of the U. S. is in most of the states organized under four different units of administration:

School Systems

1. The school district is the smallest unit in school administration and the most democratic feature in the entire political organization. Under the earlier colonial conditions it arose most naturally. In some form or other, the district-school system exists to-day in a great majority of the states. In Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Indiana, it has, however, been entirely superseded by the township system. In many other states (as, for instance, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, the Dakotas, and the upper peninsula of Michigan) it exists alongside of the township system. In some states the district is primarily a subdivision of the town or township; in others, of the county. In nearly all, the voters within the district elect the school officers and levy taxes, tho in some those functions are performed by the county.

2. The township and the incorporated city are the units in school organization which are fast superseding the district. Consolidation in school matters is as crying a question as it is in manufacture and finance, and will perhaps prove a greater blessing. The township organization is but a merger of districts with practically the same rights and privileges as were invested in each of the original districts. The officers are chosen at the annual town-meetings by all the electors, or, as is sometimes the case, the township is the unit of school government, and the schools are made uniform throughout its extent. It is less formally democratic and more fully centralized than the system which it is superseding, and has the advantage of forcing the wealthier portions of the township to contribute to the support of the schools in the poorer communities, thus bringing about a more uniform standard of excellence. But a comparatively few states, and those for the most part among the older ones (Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Indiana), have compulsory township organization by legislative enactment. Massachusetts was the first to abolish the district system (1882), and was followed by New Hampshire (1886), Vermont (1892), and Maine (1893).

In at least twenty other states—Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, and Wisconsin—there is permissive legislation looking toward some form of school centralization, tho in most of them it is as yet being carried out to only a slight extent.

3. Throughout the South, the county has been the general unit in all forms of government, and consequently the basis of school administration. As a result those functions which were in the earlier times in New England performed by the district school board, such as the examination and appointment of teachers, providing school buildings, and raising school-funds, etc., are the duties of the county officials.

4. The state is the supreme unit for general school legislation. Beyond this it hardly goes, tho where a state board of education, or its equivalent under any title, is maintained, it exercises some administrative powers. In no sense, however, does the state exercise supervisory powers over the actual work of instruction, since in many states it would be manifestly impossible for the state superintendent of instruction to pay even brief visits to all the schools within his jurisdiction in the course of his term of office.

Secondary Education

By the middle of the nineteenth century, public elementary education, supported by taxation, had been established in all parts of the country. The first city to establish a public high school with a two to four years' course of study was Boston, Mass., in 1821. Previous to 1840 six other cities, all but one in New England, had established similar schools: Portland (1821); Worcester (1824); New Bedford (1827); Cambridge and Taunton (1838); and Philadelphia (1839). Within the next decade seven more high schools had been added to the list in the North Atlantic States, one (New Orleans, 1843) in the South, and three (Cleveland, 1846; Cincinnati, 1847; and Toledo, 1849) in the North Central.

The number of students receiving secondary instruction (the ninth to the thirteenth year's

COMMON SCHOOL STATISTICS OF THE UNITED STATES

	1869–70	1879–80	1889–90	1899–1900	1902–3[1]	1903–4[1]
I.—General Statistics						
Total population	[2] 38,558,371	[2] 50,155,783	[2] 62,622,250	[2] 75,602,515	[3] 79,900,389	[3] 81,241,246
Persons 5 to 18 years of age	[2] 12,055,443	[2] 15,065,767	[2] 18,543,201	[2] 21,404,322	[3] 22,655,001	[3] 23,028,748
Pupils enrolled (duplicates excluded)	6,871,522	9,867,505	12,722,581	15,503,110	16,009,361	16,256,038
Per cent of total population enrolled	17.82	19.67	20.32	20.51	20.04	20.01
Per cent of persons 5 to 18 years of age enrolled	57.00	65.50	68.61	72.43	70.67	70.59
Average daily attendance	4,077,347	6,144,143	8,153,635	10,632,772	11,054,502	11,318,256
Relation of same to enrolment (per cent)	59.3	62.3	64.1	68.6	69.2	69.6
Average length of school term (days)	132.2	130.3	134.7	144.3	147.2	146.7
Total number of days attended by all pupils	539,053,423	800,719,970	1,098,232,725	1,534,822,633	1,627,405,037	1,660,507,716
Average number of days attended by each person 5 to 18	44.7	53.1	59.2	71.8	71.8	72.1
Average number attended by each pupil enrolled	78.4	81.1	86.3	99.0	101.7	102.1
Male teachers	77,529	122,795	125,525	126,588	117,035	113,744
Female teachers	122,986	163,798	238,397	296,474	332,252	341,498
Whole number of teachers	200,515	286,593	363,922	423,062	449,287	455,242
Per cent of male teachers	38.7	42.8	34.5	29.9	26.0	25.0
Average monthly wages of male teachers[4]	.....	.....	.....	$46.53	$49.98	$50.96
Average monthly wages of female teachers[4]	.....	.....	.....	38.93	40.51	41.54
Number of schoolhouses[5]	116,312	178,222	224,526	248,279	256,789	257,627
Value of all school property	$130,383,008	$209,571,718	$342,531,791	$550,069,217	$643,903,228	$685,101,343
II.—Financial Statistics						
Receipts:						
From income of permanent funds and rents	.....	.....	$7,744,765	$9,152,274	$12,102,581	$10,193,093
From state taxes	.....	.....	26,345,323	37,886,740	40,455,815	42,552,969
From local taxes	.....	.....	97,222,426	149,486,845	173,730,858	193,215,794
From all other sources	.....	.....	11,882,292	23,240,130	25,347,865	33,172,139
Total received	.....	.....	$143,194,806	$219,765,989	$251,637,119	$279,133,995
Per cent of total derived from—						
Income of permanent funds and rents	.....	.....	5.4	4.2	4.8	3.7
State taxes	.....	.....	18.4	17.2	16.1	15.2
Local taxes	.....	.....	67.9	68.0	69.0	69.2
All other sources	.....	.....	8.3	10.6	10.1	11.9
Expenditures:						
For sites, buildings, furniture, libraries, and apparatus	.....	.....	$26,207,041	$35,450,820	$46,289,074	$49,453,269
For salaries of superintendents and teachers	$37,832,566	$55,942,972	91,836,484	137,687,746	157,110,108	167,824,753
For all other purposes	.....	.....	22,463,190	41,826,052	48,058,443	55,938,205
Total expended	$63,396,666	$78,094,687	$140,506,715	$214,964,618	$251,457,625	$273,216,227
Expenditure per capita of population	1.64	1.56	2.24	2.84	3.15	3.36
Expenditure per pupil (of average attendance):						
For sites, buildings, etc.	.....	.....	$3.21	$3.33	$4.19	$4.37
For salaries	$9.28	$9.10	11.26	12.95	14.21	14.83
For all other purposes	.....	.....	2.76	3.93	4.35	4.94
Total expenditure per pupil	$15.55	$12.71	$17.23	$20.21	$22.75	$24.14
Per cent of expenditure devoted to—						
Sites, buildings, etc.	.....	.....	18.6	16.5	18.4	18.1
Salaries	59.7	71.6	65.4	64.0	62.5	61.4
All other purposes	.....	.....	16.0	19.5	19.1	20.5
Average expenditure per day for each pupil (cents):						
For salaries	7.0	7.0	8.4	9.0	9.7	10.1
For all purposes	11.8	9.7	12.8	14.0	15.5	16.5

[1] The figures for this year are subject to correction.
[2] United States census.
[3] Estimated.
[4] Several states are not included in this average.
[5] Including buildings rented.

STATISTICS OF SECONDARY EDUCATION, 1903–4

Instructors and students in public high schools and in private high schools and academies.

STATE OR TERRITORY	PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS					PRIVATE SECONDARY SCHOOLS				
	Number	Secondary teachers		Secondary students		Number	Secondary teachers		Secondary students	
		Male	Female	Male	Female		Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
United States	7,230	12,825	13,935	266,039	369,769	1,606	4,051	5,515	51,599	51,808
North Atlantic Division	1,635	3,467	5,141	88,690	118,320	589	1,837	2,351	21,658	18,634
South Atlantic Division	507	822	696	13,624	20,004	284	648	853	8,381	7,927
South Central Division	771	1,175	895	19,764	29,403	293	531	663	8,831	9,071
North Central Division	3,895	6,462	6,185	125,110	175,242	322	743	1,234	9,248	12,063
Western Division	422	899	1,018	18,851	26,800	118	292	414	3,481	4,113

Statistics of Secondary Education

work of the course of study) was 822,235 in 1904, as against 367,003 in 1890. The number has more than doubled in fourteen years. Of these pupils, 652,804 were enrolled in public institutions, and 169,431 in private institutions and in preparatory departments of institutions for higher education. The public high schools enrolled 77 per cent of the entire number of secondary students. Secondary students constituted a little more than one per cent of the entire population in 1904, having increased from 0.59 per cent in 1890. The number of teachers engaged in public high schools and in private schools of the same grade was 36,326.

The increase in public high schools has been very rapid in recent years. In 1890 there were 2,526 such schools, and in 1904, 7,230. Of the students in the public high schools 323,028 were studying Latin; 364,923, algebra; 11,158, Greek; 176,039, geometry; 251,397, history; and 43,052, chemistry. The number studying Latin in 1892 was 39 per cent of the entire number of students attending public high schools, and in 1904 the percentage had increased to 50.81. The value of the school property of the high schools of the U. S. amounts to nearly $158,000,000; that of private schools of the same grade amounts to about $70,000,000. About one half of the private schools are controlled by religious denominations.

The federal government at Washington has never attempted any control over public instruction in the several states, and in this respect offers a marked contrast to the continental countries of Europe. The need of some national agency which should act in an advisory relation to the schools of the country, collect statistics, and serve as an educational clearing-house, was early felt, however; and in 1867, upon motion by James A. Garfield, who delivered at the time an address which was a masterly review of American education and its needs, Congress passed a bill establishing a department of education, placing Henry Barnard at its head as commissioner. Since the establishment of the bureau, annual reports containing from 800 to 2,500 pages have been issued in addition to nearly 300 separate volumes and pamphlets of the greatest value upon a great variety of educational topics. The annual reports contain, besides detailed statistics covering all the educational institutions of the country, special chapters upon the history and philosophy of education in the U. S. and foreign countries, and other subjects invaluable to the student.

Colleges and Universities

Nine colleges were established during colonial times. These were: Harvard University, 1636; William and Mary College, 1693; Yale College, 1701; Princeton University, 1748; University of Pennsylvania, 1751; Columbia University, 1754; Brown University, 1764; Rutgers College, 1766; and Dartmouth College, 1769. Before the year 1800 no less than thirteen others were established, making a total of twenty-two at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The following table shows the number of colleges and universities established by decades for the various geographical divisions of the U. S.:

	N. Atlantic	S. Atlantic	S. Central	N. Central	Western	Total
1890–99	2	8	13	20	11	54
1880–89	6	14	11	37	6	74
1870–79	9	6	16	24	6	61
1860–69	13	9	13	31	7	73
1850–59	15	12	8	40	7	82
1840–49	7	2	8	18	1	36
1830–39	9	10	4	13	..	36
1820–29	3	3	5	9	..	20
1810–19	4	..	1	..	..	5
1800–9	5	3	..	..	..	8
Total	73	67	79	192	38	449[1]

[1] Thirty-four of these were maintained by the various states.

The following table shows the states and territories maintaining universities in 1903, together with the year of establishment, and the number of students in each for the years 1875 and 1903:

STATE UNIVERSITIES

	Date of Foundation	1875		1903
		Students	Faculty	Students
Alabama	1831	71	19	396
Arkansas	1872	62	8	1,080
California	1868	134	34	3,057
Colorado	1877	...	7	925
Georgia	1785	202	10	2,689
Idaho	1889	...	...	347
Illinois	1868	332	25	3,300
Indiana	1820	134	22	1,285
Iowa	1847	145	16	1,512
Kansas	1864	78	16	1,350

STATE UNIVERSITIES—*Continued*

	Date of Foundation	1875		1903
		Students	Faculty	Students
Louisiana	1860	8	4	400
Maine	1867	110	9	450
Michigan	1837	324	44	2,900
Minnesota	1868	83	30	3,700
Mississippi	1848	55	9	260
Missouri	1840	132	33	1,681
Montana	1895	...	...	300
Nebraska	1869	35	16	2,256
Nevada	1886	...	...	292
North Carolina	1789	67	16	651
North Dakota	1883	...	5	500
Ohio	1870	40	17	1,516
Oregon	1876	...	8	470
South Carolina	1801	86	13	215
South Dakota	1882	...	...	450
Tennessee	1794	...	11	618
Texas	1883	...	13	1,300
Utah	1850	...	...	643
Virginia	1825	326	28	600
Washington	1861	...	13	601
West Virginia	1867	...	...	900
Wisconsin	1848	216	44	2,810
Wyoming	1886	...	...	200
TERRITORIES				
Arizona	1891	...	...	215
New Mexico	1891	...	...	100
Oklahoma	1892	...	...	410
Total		2,340	470	41,369

Thus it will be seen that in a little more than twenty-five years the number of students in attendance at the state universities increased nearly twenty times (fourteen institutions added during the period). Six out of the ten largest universities in the country (1903) are upon the list, and more than that number which are doing work of as high a character as any.

schools of technology. Comparing 1904 with 1890, the total number of men had increased from 44,926 to 86,006, and the number of women from 10,761 to 32,023. Of the entire number (118,029), 52,131 were in classical courses and 13,009 in other courses for general culture; 9,540 in general science courses; and 2,196 in agriculture, excluding short-course students.

It is interesting to note that the total value of property possest by these institutions for higher education amounts to $465,216,545. Seven of these institutions have endowments of more than $5,000,000 each; and eight have from $2,000,000 to $5,000,000. The total amount of benefactions of all kinds for educational purposes, as well as for philanthropic purposes, for the year was, of course, very much larger than this.

Professional Education

For nearly two centuries after the establishment of the first college at Cambridge, Mass., only occasional and sporadic attempts at specialization in higher education had been made in America. It is true that, during the later years of that period, some few special schools for each of the so-called learned professions had been established, but the students in attendance were so few, and the successes so moderate, as to argue that the people, as a whole, had not as yet felt the need of special preparation on the part of their ministers, physicians, and lawyers, beyond what could be had in the academic institutions and, for the two latter professions, through apprentice work under some competent practitioner. The earlier colleges had courses especially arranged to meet the needs of the pulpit, and were in many cases primarily established as theological schools. The application of their courses to the demands of medical or legal practise was not so direct, tho furnishing a broad foundation. It is estimated that among the

STATISTICS OF HIGHER EDUCATION, 1903–4

State or Territory	Number of institutions	Professors and Instructors		Students						Total income
				Preparatory		Collegiate		Resident graduate		
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
United States	443	15,342	2,272	35,620	16,519	67,475	22,839	4,342	1,574	$29,278,516
North Atlantic Division	83	4,989	268	7,887	1,457	25,324	3,377	1,920	487	10,573,719
South Atlantic Division	70	1,576	202	3,965	1,869	6,792	1,016	447	19	2,675,067
South Central Division	69	1,601	372	6,094	3,227	6,584	2,260	150	51	2,201,150
North Central Division	184	5,915	1,282	14,571	7,685	23,800	12,941	1,499	813	10,816,717
Western Division	37	1,261	208	3,103	2,281	4,975	3,245	326	204	3,011,863

The total number of institutions for higher education reporting to the Commissioner of Education in 1904 is 607, of which 121 admit women only; 130 universities and colleges admit only men to the undergraduate department, and 313 admit both men and women. Of the 43 schools of technology, 24 report women among their undergraduates. The total number of students resident at these institutions in 1904 was reported at 118,029. Of these, 71,817 men and 24,413 women were in universities and colleges for men and for both sexes; 6,341 were in colleges for women; 14,189 men and 1,269 women were in

3,500 physicians in the country at the close of the Revolution, not more than 400 had received medical degrees, and it is doubtful if the number of lawyers having received legal instruction in an institution of learning was even as great as that. But as time went on, and the subject-matter to be covered in any adequate professional preparation was increased, the educational machinery adapted itself to the new demands, and special departments, or schools, sprang up wherever the need seemed to be the greatest, some in connection with colleges already founded, and some as separate institutions. Theology

was first to enter the field, with medicine second, and law the last among the three great professions. Pharmacy, dentistry, and veterinary practise followed in order, until we have to-day upward of 500 institutions preparing specialists in these various callings.

instruction (1782). Nine schools of medicine were in operation at the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century. In 1902 there were 154 such schools, of which 123 are "regular," 10 eclectic, and 21 homeopathic.

The number of professional schools, students,

Summary of Statistics of Professional Schools for 1903–4

State or Territory	Theological			Law			Medical		
	Schools	Instructors	Students	Schools	Instructors	Students	Schools	Instructors	Students
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
United States	153	1,055	7,392	95	1,167	14,306	152	5,252	26,949
North Atlantic Division	51	453	2,636	17	270	4,875	25	1,048	6,363
South Atlantic Division	21	122	822	20	170	2,133	24	602	3,868
South Central Division	14	70	626	15	97	834	28	644	5,320
North Central Division	61	381	3,195	37	558	5,937	63	2,577	10,386
Western Division	6	29	113	6	72	527	12	381	1,012

Theological Education

The first religious denomination to establish a theological school was the Dutch Reform Church in America. This was in 1784 under the direction of Dr. John H. Livingston, pastor of the Collegiate Church of New York City. Until 1810 Dr. Livingston taught gratuitously in connection with his pastoral work. In 1810 his work was transferred to Rutgers College. Two other theological schools were established before the nineteenth century, one by the Roman Catholic denomination at Baltimore, and another by the United Presbyterians at Service, Pa. From 1820 to 1902, 129 theological schools were founded in the U. S.

Legal Education

The first law-school in the U. S. was established at Litchfield, Conn., in 1784, by Judge Tappan Reeve, and was conducted there until 1833, when it was discontinued. Only two other definite attempts to establish schools of law were made in the eighteenth century. Both of these were in connection with colleges already established, and both were failures, if we may judge from the immediate discontinuance of the work. The first was at the University of Pennsylvania in 1791; and the second at Columbia in 1797. It remained for Harvard to establish the first law-school of permanency, with degree-granting privileges; and this she did in 1817. Previous to the establishment of a faculty of law at Harvard, the University of Maryland, in 1812, had formally established such a faculty comprising seven instructors. A law department was first established at Yale College in 1824, tho the LL.B. degree was not conferred until 1843. The University of Virginia established a department of law in 1826, and it has been in continuous operation ever since, even during the four years of civil war.

Medical Education

The first medical school in the country was established in 1765 as the chair of medicine of the University of Pennsylvania. In 1767 a second medical school was established. This was not in its origin a separate school, as its predecessor had been, but a medical department in connection with King's College, now Columbia, at New York City. Harvard was the second of the academic institutions to provide medical

and graduates in 1904 was distributed as follows: *Theological*, 153 schools, 7,392 students (187 of these were women), 1,620 graduates; *law*, 95 schools, 14,306 students (of these 163 were women), 3,288 graduates; *medical*, 152 schools, 26,949 students (including 1,188 women), 5,702 graduates; *dental*, 54 schools, 7,325 students, 2,192 graduates; *pharmaceutical*, 63 schools, 4,457 students, 1,308 graduates; *veterinary*, 11 schools, 795 students, 198 graduates.

Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges

There are in the U. S. sixty-six agricultural and mechanical colleges: fifty for white students, and sixteen for colored. Most of these are included in the list of universities and colleges already considered. A few are classed with secondary institutions or with state normal schools. These sixty-six institutions are endowed by the acts of Congress approved July 2, 1862, and Aug. 30, 1890. In 1904 they received in the aggregate: from the states and territories in which they are situated, $5,654,758; from the income derived from the land received under the grant of 1862, $730,004; and from later land and money grants $1,315,959. The federal government in 1904 contributed about 19 per cent of the income of these colleges, as compared with 21 per cent in 1903. The total number of students in the collegiate departments of the institutions for white students was 20,894 (18,743 men and 2,151 women).

In the institutions for colored students there were 2,228 men and 1,926 women in the preparatory departments, and only 372 men and 299 women in the collegiate departments. According to the provisions of the act of Congress of Aug. 30, 1890, no part of the money received from the endowment provided by that act ($25,000 a year to each state or territory) can be appropriated for foreign languages, whether modern or classic. This instruction is, however, provided for out of other funds. The total value of the property owned by these institutions is $74,564,424, of which $3,775,965 belong to the institutions for colored students.

In 1904 there were 269 public and private normal schools reporting to the Bureau of Education. There were 63,627 students in these institutions, 10,848 of whom graduated at the close of the scholastic year. In 1890 there were 178 in-

stitutions, 34,814 students, and 5,237 graduates. The total number of students has nearly doubled, while the number of graduates has more than doubled. Besides these, there were 23,612 students of pedagogics in universities, colleges, and high schools in 1904. State appropriations for public normal schools in 1890 amounted to $1,312,419. Current expenses had reached $3,927,808, and expenditures for buildings $915,443. One hundred and forty-nine public normal schools report an aggregate of $26,914,525 as the value of their school property.

Teachers' Training-Schools

In 1904, 149 manual and industrial training-schools reported to the Bureau of Education. The number of pupils for that year was 65,495 (35,327 boys and 30,168 girls), and the current expenses $1,480,685. EDWIN G. DEXTER.

REFERENCES: Much of the statistical material, especially that having to do with the present organization of foreign school systems, has been taken direct from the *Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Education*, for 1904. In the preparation of the material for the U. S., Dexter's *History of Education in the United States* has been largely drawn upon. Consult *The Making of the Middle Schools*, by Elmer E. Brown; *The Meaning of Education*, by Nicholas M. Butler; *Education of the Greek People*, and *A History of Education*, by Thomas Davidson; *Educational Reform*, by C. E. Eliot; *Education and the Larger Life*, by C. H. Henderson; *The Making of Citizens*, by R. E. Hughes; *Public School System of the United States*, by J. M. Rice; *German Higher Schools*, by James E. Russell; *Cyclopedia of Education*, by A. Sonnenschein; *Education*, by Herbert Spencer.

EDWARDS, ALLEN CLEMENT: Member of Parliament (Liberal and Labor); journalist; born 1868, E. Knighton, Radnorshire; became trade-union official, barrister-at-law, author, journalist. He has been labor editor of *The Sun*, and special commissioner for *The Daily News*; elected to Parliament, 1906, for Denbigh District (National Liberal). *Address*: 4 Pump Court Temple, London, E. C.

EDWARDS, ENOCH: Member of Parliament (Labor); president of the Miners' Federation, Great Britain; born 1852; became a collier and secretary of the N. Staffordshire Miners' Association in 1877. He went to Burslem in 1884, and became mayor and alderman. He has also been president of the Midland Miners' Association. Elected to Parliament for Hanley, 1906, as a representative of the Miners' Associations. *Address*: Miners' Offices, Burslem.

EIGHT-HOUR DAY, THE (see also EIGHT-HOUR PHILOSOPHY and EIGHT-HOUR DAY, PRACTICABILITY OF. For statements as to the working-hours of different countries, see HOURS OF LABOR): We consider in this article the movement to reduce the hours of work to eight, since in all countries the effort to shorten the hours of labor has held a day of eight hours to be at present the goal to be striven for.

I. History

The history of the short-hour movement begins in England. Thorold Rogers says ("Six Centuries of Work and Wages," pp. 327 and 542):

> It is plain that the day was one of eight hours. . . . The artizan who is demanding at this time an eight-hours' day in the building trades is simply striving to recover what his ancestor worked by four or five centuries ago.

Some writers deny this, but even according to the Statute of Apprentices (5 Eliz., c. 4), when the hours of labor were to be twelve in summer and during day-light in winter, two and a half hours were allowed for meals, while the law was notoriously not observed. In the seventeenth century there is good evidence that the hours were growing considerably longer. William Petty (*q. v.*), whom Karl Marx with no little reason calls "the father of political economy, and to some extent the founder of statistics," says that in the last third of the seventeenth century there was a ten-hour day. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries we come to more certain facts. From 1790 to 1820 the hours were practically unlimited, and often even for children fifteen hours and over. Those who would know the horrors perpetrated in England during this period of the triumph of absolute laissez-faire should read Karl Marx's sketch of the period, in the first volume of his "Capital," based on documentary evidence. Mills were often run day and night; children were obtained in gangs from the poor-law guardians and worked in two sets, lodged in sort of pens with one set of beds; one set of children occupying the beds while the other set worked, and vice versa. The children were carried from the beds to the mills and from the mills to the beds. Where this was not done hours were over twelve. Terrible evils resulted, and in 1796 a board of health in Manchester was appointed to investigate the conditions in the mills, the investigation being caused by the statements of a physician, Dr. Aikin. In 1802 the elder Sir Robert Peel brought in and carried a bill to allay the worst evils. It accomplished little, but furnished a precedent. It applied only to pauper apprentices and limited the hours of only the little children to twelve! The short-hour agitation, however, had commenced. Says Sidney Webb and Harold Cox's "The Eight-Hours' Day" (p. 15):

England

> At the beginning of the present century the ordinary working-day of the English artizan appears to have varied from eleven to fourteen hours. In the new industries, such as the textile manufactories, the employers, being free from traditions, often exacted a still longer day. The London bookbinders were working twelve and a half hours a day (fourteen less meal-times) in 1780, when a trade-union was formed to obtain a reduction of an hour a day.
>
> This movement became successful in 1786. King George III. was the first employer to accord the boon, which he did to the "finisher" in the Royal Library. The "second hour" was gained in 1794, and another half-hour about 1810, after an unsuccessful strike in 1806. Eighty years ago, therefore, the London bookbinders had won for themselves the ten-hour day.

In 1815 another parliamentary inquiry took place and an act of 1819 forbade the employment of children under nine, and fixt the hours of children of nine to sixteen at seventy-two hours per week exclusive of meal-times. In 1824 a bill was passed partially giving trade-unions the right to organize, and from this time agitation became more active. In 1825 Sir John Hobhouse carried through Parliament another bill, making legal provision for a Saturday half-holiday. Already, however, further progress was demanded. Says "The Eight-Hours' Day":

> The eight-hours' dream has certainly been in the minds of trade-unionists in England ever since the repeal of the Combination Laws in 1824, and has recurred at every season of reviving industrial prosperity since that time.
>
> And even before this date a serious proposal to reduce the hours of factory labor to eight hours was apparently made by Robert Owen in 1817. At that date, when even children were kept at work in the textile mills for fifteen or sixteen hours a day, the proposal of an eight-hour day must have

seemed simply absurd. Robert Owen instituted a regular working-day in his mills at New Lanark of ten and a half hours net, and he lived to see an even shorter day made universal in the textile industry.

Factory Legislation

In 1830 Richard Oastler (*q. v.*), "the Factory King," became converted to the labor movement, and commenced, and for eighteen years, through persecution and imprisonment, carried on his agitation for a ten-hour day. His motto was "ten hours and a time-book." He accomplished little, however, till Lord Ashley (the Earl of Shaftesbury, *q. v.*) took up his cause. In 1831 Sir John Hobhouse secured an act forbidding in the cotton trade the employment of persons under twenty-one by night, and all persons under eighteen over sixty-nine hours. In 1832 Tom Sadler, the factory representative, moved a ten-hour bill.

In 1833 an act mainly due to Lord Ashley limited the hours of children under thirteen to forty-eight, and enacted several advantageous subsidiary provisions. Agitation, however, went on.

The manufacturers, too, threw every obstacle in the way of the factory acts. Most of the provisions hitherto applied only to certain trades like the cotton trades; but in 1840 a commission found grievances very wide-spread, particularly in mining, where men, women, and children worked half-naked, eleven, twelve, and often sixteen hours. This produced the Mining Act, which forbade the employment underground of women and of boys under ten.

The Act of 1844, under Sir Robert Peel's government, classified adult women as "young persons," and extended the provisions of the Mining Act to the textile trades, yet left so many loopholes to the manufacturers that they scarcely opposed it, tho even Liberals like Cobden and Bright protested against most of the factory acts.

In 1847 was enacted the great ten-hour bill introduced by Mr. Fielden. It enacted a ten-hour day for both men and women. It was unquestionably a great advance, and yet its enactments were so often avoided that in 1850 another bill was passed to try and enforce its provisions. Agitation continued.

In 1860 there was a revival of the nine-hour movement, but industrial depression, later, made it cease. Beginning with 1871, however, there were numerous strikes for a nine-hour day, and by 1872 such demands had been granted to most skilled artizans. Legislation, too, went on. Omitting minor bills the Act of 1864 extended the factory acts to many trades, the Act of 1874 reduced the hours in the textile trades from sixty to fifty-six and a half a week, the Act of 1878 codified all the factory acts. In 1878 and 1879, however, many employers undertook to revive the ten-hour day, and there were many strikes (*q. v.*). In 1881 the present Socialist movement began in England, and by 1886 produced a strong agitation for an eight-hour day. Says "The Eight-Hours' Day" (pp. 21–33):

Recent History

During the year 1888 the movement received a very great impetus from the growth of the "New Unionism." The new sense of solidarity in the ranks of labor, which was so marked a feature of the matchmakers' strike in 1888, led to the formation and rapid extension of trade-unions among workers who were either unskilled or who had, for other reasons, hitherto been without organization. As these unions were formed usually under the prevailing Socialist influence, and especially through the exertions of Messrs. John Burns and Tom Mann, most of them adopted an eight-hours' bill as a part of their program. One of the most flourishing of these new unions, the "Gas-workers and General Laborers' Union," demanded, in Nov., 1888, a reduction of their hours from twelve to eight per day. In nearly all the gas-works in the United Kingdom this reduction was conceded without a strike, and in many cases was accompanied by a slight increase in wages. Such a signal success gave an immense impetus to the general eight-hours' movement.

The International Trade-Union Congress had appointed the 1st of May, 1890, for a simultaneous international demonstration in favor of an eight-hours' law. . . . It was decided to hold a London demonstration in Hyde Park on the first Sunday in May, and a similar decision was taken in other towns. No fewer than sixteen platforms had to be provided, and at least a quarter of a million persons were present. Experienced journalists agreed that no demonstration for twenty years had equaled it in magnitude.

Several prominent employers granted the eight-hour day. Mr. Rae's "Eight Hours for Work," published in 1894, collects much evidence. The author commenced his studies of the subject merely to get information. His conclusion he thus states:

All experience indorses the wisdom of reducing the hours of labor. . . . The available evidence is unexpectedly copious, and its teaching is unexpectedly plain and uniform. In the course of the investigation I have found it impossible, personally, not to grow a stronger and stronger believer in the eight-hour day. Shorter work-hours have left every nation that has chosen them at once healthier, wealthier, and wiser; and the shortening to eight seems, if I may say so, to be blessed above its predecessors. According to positive experiences of it, the eight-hour day has been almost invariably fair. . . .

One firm, Messrs. Watts & Manton, say: "The habits of the people are changing; there is a greater desire for home life and greater longing after the means by which it is to be rendered more agreeable." Mr. Johnston, flax-spinner and ex-Mayor of Belfast, says that under the long hours the boys used to lounge about the street corners and frequent the public houses, but since the hours were shortened they attended reading-rooms in large numbers, and when tired of reading would amuse themselves with games. Mr. C. Wilson, manufacturer, Hawick, told the labor commissioner that his men had been using their leisure wisely, and had improved during the years they have now enjoyed it.

Mond & Co. state explicitly of a small reduction made in their works: "To the men it has been the greatest boon. It has had the most material effect in improving their health and decreasing the amount of drunkenness, which before the adoption of the system was very great indeed. The interference of the police is not called for now as it used to be." Messrs. Johnson of Stratford, after four years' experience of the eight-hours' system, say that they have now a more intelligent set of men, and that the men and lads have come, in consequence of their greater leisure, to improve themselves by attending technical classes in the evening.

See Hours of Labor.

Australia

Next to England came Australia in agitating the short-hour movement, and with such success that Australia may be called an eight-hour country. Our account is abridged from Messrs. Webb and Cox's "The Eight-Hours' Day":

When the gold discoveries had given the first great impulse to the growth of industry in Australia, the usual working-day for artizans seems to have been ten hours. During the early prosperity of Victoria artizans' wages rose to a fabulous height, and the trade-unions, instituted on English models, were able practically to impose their own terms. The old ideal of an eight-hour day soon came to the front.

The record of the movement in Australia begins with a public meeting held by the stone-masons in Melbourne at the beginning of April, 1856. An "eight-hour league" was formed at a meeting of the united trades, and immediate notice was given by public announcement that, after the 21st of April, 1856, no man belonging to the unions represented would work for more than eight hours a day. The strength of the artizans,

position in the labor market at that time was such that no resistance was possible, and the eight-hour day, thus won by less than three weeks' agitation, has ever since been general among the artizans of Melbourne. The 22d of April has annually been kept by them as a public holiday, and is now known as the Eight-Hour Day.

From Melbourne the eight-hour movement quickly spread to the other parts of the colony, then very sparsely inhabited, and also to New South Wales. An eight-hour day was generally established in various skilled trades in Sydney, within a few years, but by no means universally adopted, especially in the smaller towns. Subsequently the movement spread to Brisbane, Adelaide, and most of the towns of New Zealand.

At the time when the Melbourne workmen obtained their eight-hour day there was neither need nor possibility of securing it by legal enactment. A royal commission, however, was appointed in 1882 to investigate the subject. The evidence taken revealed that the supposed universal sentiment in favor of an eight-hour day had not sufficed to protect various large classes of workers, such as bakers, shop assistants, and attendants in restaurants, from being kept at work for excessive hours.

As a result, in 1885 an act fixt an eight-hour day for all women and boys, and provided many other labor regulations.

Both in Queensland and New Zealand bills establishing a normal eight-hour day were passed by the Lower House of the legislature, which is elected by manhood suffrage, but were rejected by the Upper House, representing the propertied class.

The eight-hour movement on the Continent of Europe seems to have arisen first in Paris.

One of the first results of the revolution of 1848 was a decree limiting the hours of labor.

France

This decree (dated March, 1848) enacted that the hours of labor should not exceed ten per diem in Paris, and eleven per diem elsewhere in France. It was modified by the law of the 9th of Sept., 1848, which established twelve hours net as the maximum working-day. This hasty legislation was completely ineffective. No inspectors were appointed or other means taken to secure the enforcement of the law.

To the plutocratic Cæsarism which followed the republic, the law itself was altogether repugnant. It was not explicitly repealed; but it was ingeniously made inoperative by a series of decrees.

With the advent of the third republic, a change came over the attitude of the government. In May, 1874, fifteen inspectors were appointed to control the operation of the law of 1848 and its amendments. In the same year, and again in 1883, more stringent factory laws were enacted for women and children. On the other hand, in Nov., 1885, an administrative circular was issued, excluding from the operation of these laws all workshops where only human labor force was used, and where fewer than twenty workers were employed in one building.

The law of 1848 was, however, so far effective that it was thought necessary, by a decree of 1889, to exempt from its observance laborers employed on works executed by order of the government in the interest of the national safety and defense.

The German Empire

In Germany the demand for a law limiting the hours of labor has formed a part of the agitation of the Social Democratic Party. Meanwhile factory legislation, both imperial and State, has to some extent regulated the labor of women and children, and this has, as usual, tended to reduce the hours of men. The law of 1st of June, 1877, with the amendments of the 17th of June, 1887, prescribed a maximum day of ten hours for persons under sixteen. But the laws were very imperfectly enforced, and mills employing young persons often ran eighty-four hours a week. Artizans worked eleven and twelve hours a day. In Leipsic the masons, in 1889, carried a ten-hour day; but this was a local arrangement, not generally followed.

The movement for an eight-hour day exists chiefly among the Social Democrats, whatever their trade, and among the coal-miners. In 1888 the coal-miners in Westphalia struck for an eight-hour day, and secured the intervention of the young emperor in their favor. Accordingly, in Westphalia, Silesia, and Saxony the miners work only an eight-hour shift wherever a high temperature prevails; this limitation of the hours in unhealthy mines was adopted by the Berlin Labor Conference in May, 1890. Many of the workers in the mines, and other industrial establishments of the Prussian Government, have since received the boon of an eight-hour day. Other trades are moving in the same direction.

Switzerland enjoys the distinction of having been the first country to declare in its very constitution the legislative right of the nation, in its political organization, to limit the working-day even for male adults. Nor has this power been allowed to sleep. The Federal Factory Labor Law of 1877 limits the maximum hours of labor for all adult labor in factories or workshops to eleven per day, and to ten on Saturdays or public holidays.

During 1890 a law was passed limiting the hours of railway employees to ten.

Other European Countries

In Holland, Denmark, Austria, Italy, and Spain a large number of the labor organizations adopt an eight-hour day as a part of their program, and such a measure is frequently pressed upon the legislatures of some of these countries by the members representing the working classes. The international demonstration of the 1st of May, 1890, was largely participated in, not only in all these countries, but also by Poland. It may, indeed, be said generally, as regards the Continental nations, that wherever the wage-earners are organized at all, their organizations demand an eight-hour law. But labor organizations do not exist, for effective purposes, among any but a minority of the workers on the Continent.

Meanwhile, as if to stave off the demand for an eight-hour law, factory legislation of the ordinary type is being everywhere adopted or rendered more stringent. Belgium and Holland, long the fields of the most unrestrained exploitation of labor, have both enacted lengthy codes of labor regulations; in France, Germany, Spain, Italy, and Austria, the law is being strengthened; Russia and Denmark and Sweden have entered the same path. In some respects, indeed, such as the minimum age for children's work, the provisions relating to the employment of mothers at the time of childbirth, and the prevention of ex-

cessive overtime, England has already lost its honorable lead in factory legislation.

The short-hour movement early developed in the United States. As early as 1806 the organized ship-builders and calkers in New York City sought to obtain a reduction of hours to ten. By 1825 strikes for a ten-hour day were numerous.

The United States

The hours of labor at that time seem to have been about twelve per day for artizans. The textile workers were less fortunate. The working-day, even for women and children, often began at 4.30 A.M., and went on for fifteen hours. Most of the New England mills ran thirteen hours a day all the year round. It is not generally remembered that the factory girls of Lowell, in the classic days of the "Lowell Offering" (1832–40), worked seventy-eight hours per week. In 1831 an organization of working men was formed at Boston to secure, among other objects, a ten-hour day. A wide-spread agitation resulted in innumerable strikes, few of which were successful. The ten-hour day became, however, general in Baltimore between 1835 and 1840, as the result of a strike among the laborers. Shortly afterward President Martin Van Buren (April, 1840) proclaimed that the working-day in the navy yard at Washington and all other public establishments should be reduced to ten hours. This led to a general adoption of the ten-hour day in ship-building establishments which has been since maintained. In 1847, however, the masters made a determined but unsuccessful attempt to revert to longer hours.

On June 16, 1845, a large mass-meeting, attended by 5,000 persons, was held at Pittsburg, Pa., for the same purpose, and led to similar action elsewhere. In Oct., 1845, the first national industrial convention in this country was convened at New York, to organize concerted action toward the same end. Mass-meetings and strikes for the ten-hour system now became very frequent, and in many cases were successful.

In 1845 the textile workers of Massachusetts petitioned the legislature for a ten-hour bill. The first legislation on the subject that we have been able to trace is a law of 1849 of the State of Pennsylvania, providing that ten hours shall be a day's work in cotton, woolen, silk, paper, bagging, and flax factories, and masons had generally won the ten-hour day. The textile operatives were less fortunate. Some of the mills at Lowell adopted the new hours in 1853, but as late as 1865 the mills at Southbridge were still running thirteen hours.

In 1866 the National Labor Union was formed at Baltimore, and it was this body which gave the first great impulse to the movement.

The agitation thus set on foot received legislative recognition in Connecticut in 1867, when it was decreed that eight hours' work should be a day's lawful labor unless otherwise agreed.

On June 24, 1869, a bill for an eight-hour day was introduced into Congress by General Banks, whose wife was once a factory girl at Lowell. This passed the House and Senate, promptly received the signature of President Grant, and was enforced in the navy yard at Charlestown, Mass., July 6th of the same year, tho the employees were notified that the government would reduce wages one fifth; but that those who so desired could work ten hours at the old rates.

In 1869, however, the so-called eight-hour philosophy was formulated by two Boston men, Ira Steward and George E. McNeill. On account of the extent to which this philosophy has affected the American labor movement, we consider it in an especial article. A Grand Eight-Hour League had been formed previously, but had disappeared, when these two men, with a few friends, organized the small but influential Boston Eight-Hour League. With the aid of Wendell Phillips and others, they succeeded the same year in securing the establishment of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, the parent of all other labor bureaus. Mr. McNeill was deputy and chief manager. The Bureau's statistics largely aided the eight-hour movement. Agitation for shorter hours became general. There were numerous strikes, many of them successful. Eight-hour leagues were formed in many cities, and there were many strikes; 20,000 workmen paraded New York City demanding the eight-hour day. In 1874 Massachusetts enacted a ten-hour law for women and for children under the age of eighteen.

Eight-Hour League

The industrial depression which set in after 1873 throughout the U. S. caused the question of any further reduction of the hours of labor to fall temporarily into abeyance. The great railway strikes of 1877, and other labor disputes during this period, related mainly to proposed reductions in wages. This is probably the reason why the Knights of Labor did not make the eight-hour day at first an express demand. Even at the General Assembly in 1878, when a full "Declaration of Principles" was adopted, the eight-hour day was not expressly mentioned. The eight-hour clause, "To shorten the hours of labor by a general refusal to work for more than eight hours," was apparently added about 1883. However, a vigorous effort to institute an eight-hour day was made in many parts of the U. S. in the spring of 1886. *Bradstreet's* estimated the number of strikers for shorter hours in May, 1886, at 200,000, of whom 50,000 were granted their demands, while 150,000 secured shorter hours, generally with full pay, without a strike. But on June 12, 1886, the same paper estimated that one third of these had lost what had been conceded to them, and predicted that a still larger number would lose the advantage gained. The great meetings held at Chicago in May, 1886, in support of the movement were taken advantage of by the anarchists to spread their ideas, and this led to the so-called Haymarket riot.

During the years 1888 to 1890 numerous attempts were made to secure an eight-hour day in particular trades and particular localities, and at the convention of the Federation of Labor at St. Louis in 1888, it was decided to hold mass-meetings in every city on the eight-hour question on four days in the year, including July 4, 1889; Labor Day, Sept. 2, 1889; and Washington's birthday, Feb. 22, 1890.

It was also decided to strike, trade by trade, for the eight-hour day on each 1st of May, one trade at a time, all the other trades being pledged to support it all over the country. The carpenters were chosen to strike in 1890. To a large extent they did so, and in many cities won the eight-hour day, tho in some where they won the hours were subsequently lengthened. In 1891 the miners were to strike, and some did, but dissensions prevented a general movement. Since

then the movement has taken a more desultory form.

For more recent developments and the present conditions of the hours of labor, see HOURS OF LABOR.

EIGHT-HOUR PHILOSOPHY, THE (see also EIGHT-HOUR DAY, HISTORY OF, and PRACTICABILITY OF): In England, Australia, and Europe the eight-hour movement is not based upon any one particular economic view, but is favored by Socialists, individualists, and trade-unionists, on various lines of argument. In the United States, however, it has developed historically largely based upon a so-called "eight-hour philosophy," brilliantly stated and so impressed upon the leaders of the trade-union movement that it has colored their whole history to such a degree that it cannot be understood without a knowledge of this philosophy.

The philosophy was mainly developed by two men, leaders in the Eight-Hour League formed in Boston about 1869. Ira Steward (*q. v.*), the so-called "founder" of the philosophy, and George E. McNeill (*q. v.*), its brilliant spokesman, who, as first deputy and manager of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor, and also to a large extent the "father of the American Federation of Labor," impressed the philosophy, in innumerable labor addresses and articles upon the whole labor movement.

The philosophy, however, has been most extensively written out by Mr. George Gunton (*q. v.*), at one time a confidential coworker with Mr. Steward and Mr. McNeill, who received Mr. Steward's papers after his decease, and upon them largely based his book "Wealth and Progress," tho in the opinion of some he has somewhat misstated Mr. Steward's ideas and has certainly perverted them to an argument for protection, utterly foreign to the views of Mr. Steward and Mr. McNeill. In spite of the fact, however, that Mr. Gunton has lost the confidence of his former labor friends, we are still largely indebted to him for a summary of the philosophy.

It may be said in general that the eight-hour philosophy traces almost all economic ills to poverty, and claims that to gradually reduce the hours of labor, thus giving men opportunity to realize their wants, and therefore make efforts to gain higher advantages, is the one way to naturally and permanently relieve poverty.

Says Mr. Gunton in "Wealth and Progress," in stating the argument:

> The chief determining influence in the general rate of wages in any country, class, or industry is the standard of living of the most expensive families furnishing a necessary part of the supply of labor in that country, class, or industry. . . .
>
> The laborer cannot and will not work for less than that which will furnish him a living. He will, as experience shows, often work for less than what will supply him with exceptional comforts and luxuries, but he will not continuously work for less than will furnish him with that which, by constant repetition and force of habit, have become necessities. Before he will forego these he will refuse to work, and inaugurate strikes, riots, and other means of endangering the peace and prosperity of the community. . . .
>
> This explains why we always find that those whose families are largest, or those who have more cultivated tastes and wants, and, therefore, whose cost of living is higher than the great mass of their class, are constantly chafing under the pressure of their unsatisfied demands.

It being thus determined that wages cannot be much higher or lower than the standard of living, the eight-hour philosophy next asks, What determines the standard of living? This it answers, in Mr. Gunton's words, as follows:

> The standard of living in any community will be high or low according as the social life of the masses is simple or complex, or, in other words, as the number of the daily wants of the people is large or small. It is lower in Asia than in Europe, lower in Europe than America, lower at Five Points than on Fifth Avenue, for the reason that the wants of the people in the former places are fewer and simpler than those in the latter, . . .
>
> **Wants**
>
> But if the standard of living is governed by the wants, the question that next arises is, What determines the wants?
>
> Man is a twofold being. He has a physical and a social nature, and, consequently, he has social as well as physical wants. The latter arise from his animal existence, and the former from his social relations. Therefore, his physical wants, like those of the lower animals, are few, and mostly hereditary, while his social wants are acquired and have no conceivable limit. . . . If we examine the history of man, we shall find that his wants are few or many, and high or low, according to the quality of the habits and customs of the society in which he moves. . . .
>
> Therefore, how to increase the wants, develop the character, and consequently advance the wages of the laboring classes, ultimately resolves itself into the question, How can the social opportunities of the masses be enlarged?
>
> Now, so long as nearly all the laborer's time not occupied in eating and sleeping is devoted to the former, as at present, no commensurate development of the latter is possible. Therefore, the first condition for increasing the opportunity of the masses to develop their social character, and thereby increase their natural capacity to consume wealth, commensurate with their power to produce it, is more leisure. By leisure, however, we do not mean merely unoccupied time. Enforced idleness is unoccupied time, but it is not leisure. The masses the world over, have a great deal of unoccupied time, but it is mainly in the form of idleness, and not that of leisure. The idleness and leisure are both unoccupied time, the economic and social influence of the one is directly opposite to that of the other. Idleness tends to impoverish, dwarf, and degrade, while leisure tends to enrich, develop, and elevate character. It is very important, therefore, to distinguish clearly between leisure and idleness. Nor is this difficult to do if we observe their essential characteristics. . . .
>
> The immediate and most important question, the answer to which is necessary to enable us to take the first correct step toward preventing enforced idleness, is how to wisely and permanently increase the leisure time of the laboring classes. To this question we are now in a position, on the basis of sound economic principles, to give a definite and emphatic answer, which is—reduce the hours of labor.
>
> In proposing a reduction of the hours of labor as the indispensable first step toward promoting industrial and social reform, we do not say that it is the only means that will, under any and all conditions, tend to promote that end.
>
> But while there are other more or less effectual means of promoting the same end, such as education, free lectures, public libraries, parks, museums, and art-galleries, these are and must necessarily remain practically ineffectual, so far as lifting the community from its present industrial and social mire is concerned, unless the leisure time of the masses is increased.

It is thus that the eight-hour philosophy reaches its conclusion to concentrate all present economic effort on reducing the hours of labor. But this is by no means the whole of the philosophy. It goes on to show how a reduction in hours will also employ the unemployed, and by setting them to work, and giving them money to spend, increase their consumptive powers, and so still more raise the standard of living. Says Mr. Gunton on this point in a tract, "The Economic and Social Importance of the Eight-Hour Movement":

> The adoption of an eight-hour system would increase wages in two ways: first, by reducing the hours; second, by creating new wants and raising the standard of living. The immediate effect of the eight-hour system would be to employ over 8,000,000 adult laborers about [illegible] would withdraw about 16,000,000 hours [illegible] market without discharging a single laborer. The vacuum thus created would be equal to [illegible] made for labor nearly as we [illegible] increasing either our home or foreign trade, to support the present normal [illegible] employment for 4,000,000 [illegible] or per cent of the total number [illegible] unemployed laborers in [illegible] England and Germany. In this [illegible] remove the first great obstacle to industrial reform and real progress.

Again, the employment of 2,000,000 of new laborers would necessarily tend to increase the number of consumers, and thereby enlarge the market for commodities to that extent. That such a result would tend to increase wages is very clear. Altho wages would not necessarily rise in the same proportion that enforced idleness is reduced, all the influences would be in that direction. It is a law in all nature that the power of primary forces increases directly as the opposing forces are reduced. Since enforced idleness is the most powerful obstruction to a rise of wages, by removing the unemployed the direct influence of the social forces which tend to promote the rise of real wages would be increased.

Effects of Short Hours

Manifestly, therefore, the immediate effect of the adoption of this measure would be to remove the greatest obstacle to industrial peace and progress, and prepare the way for increasing the natural influences which tend to enlarge the general consumption of wealth and raise wages.

The second effect, which would be more gradual, permanent, and far-reaching in its nature than the first, would be the result of the increased leisure and social opportunity upon the social character and consumption of the masses. With the removal of enforced idleness, and its degrading influences, over 8,000,000 laborers would leave their work each day less exhausted, mentally and physically, and have two hours' more leisure. This would mean so much positive opportunity for family life and for general social intercourse, and in a much fresher and more cheerful mood. With increased leisure and less exhaustion, the laborer will be continually forced or attracted into new and more complex social relations, which is the first step toward education and culture in the broadest and deepest sense of the term. In short, it means his gradual introduction into a new social environment, the unconscious influence of which would necessarily awaken and develop new tastes and desires for more social comforts. He would naturally begin to desire more wholesome and better appointed homes, more literature, entertainment, and a greater amount of general social intercourse, not to speak of the intellectual, moral, and social improvement that would necessarily result from such conditions. The purely economic effect of this would be little short of revolution. In proportion to the frequency and extent with which the new desires were gratified, the development of which no power on earth could prevent, would they crystallize into urgent wants and necessities. The satisfaction of these would soon become an essential part of the standard of living demanded by the social character and habits of the people, and therefore would make a general rise of real wages inevitable. In fact, these are the only kind of influences which ever did, or ever can, permanently increase the general rate of real wages. This increased consumption and rise of wages means enlargement of the home market, and thereby making a greater concentration of capital and the use of wealth-cheapening machinery possible.

Such in brief are the main points of the eight-hour philosophy as far as its economics are concerned. As far as its practical program is concerned a few other points must still be noted:

1. The eight-hour philosophy claims that this method of raising wages, by shortening the hours of toil, is not only based on the laws of economics, but suited to the character of all abiding progress, in that it can be introduced without either overturning the present system or jeopardizing the reasonable interests of employers, until all working people be lifted up to a level where cooperative methods can be introduced and the wage system be gradually replaced by one where workmen shall be their own employers.

2. The eight-hour philosophy claims that it is suited to the political and ethical sense of working men, in that it teaches them to look for advance of wages, not to legislative enactment or any other form of paternalism, but by their own efforts in gaining the shorter day, and so lifting themselves up to a fuller manhood.

While it takes this position it recognizes the proper place of government, by asking, as the first step in securing the short-hour day, that government establish an eight-hour day, not indeed in all factories, but in all government works; thus showing what can be done, what an eight-hour day means; making it thus an object lesson both to employers and employees, and so leading the community, not by law, but by example.

3. The eight-hour philosophy recognizes that while industrial progress must come from the working classes lifting themselves up through combination to higher standards of living, the power to combine and agitate for shorter hours implies already a degree of development. Hence, by working along the lines of least resistance, and by following the deep principle that to those who have is given, it holds that the eight-hour movement will develop first among the higher paid artizans, and then, through their gaining higher standards of living, will reach down and lift up those at present unable to organize for themselves. Thus the eight-hour philosophy has always sought and found its chief home among the more intelligent and the better organized trade-unions.

Perhaps the whole of the philosophy may be best summed up in the resolutions passed by the Boston Eight-Hour League at its convention of 1872, drafted by Mr. Steward himself:

Resolved, That poverty is the great fact with which the labor movement deals;

That cooperation in labor is the final result to be obtained;

That a reduction in the hours of labor is the first step in labor reform; and that the emancipation of labor from the slavery and ignorance of poverty solves all of the problems that now most disturb and perplex mankind.

Resolved, That we demand legislation on the hours of labor, as follows:

1. An amendment to the patent laws of the United States, by which an exclusive right to make or sell shall be forfeited when persons are employed in manufacturing an article patented more than eight hours a day.

2. An amendment to the acts of incorporation of cities and towns, requiring them to adopt the eight-hour rule in the employment of all mechanics and day-laborers, and the same hours to apply to the same class of work for the state, whether directly or indirectly, through persons, firms, or corporations contracting with the state.

3. Manufacturing corporations to adopt the eight-hour system or surrender their charters.

4. All persons under twenty-one years of age to be employed not more than eight hours a day.

5. Eight hours to be made a legal day's work in the absence of a written agreement.

Resolved, That this legislation, tho affecting directly but a small per cent of the people, will establish the facts most important for the working classes to learn;

That eight hours do not mean less wages;

That men are never paid, as a rule, according to what they earn, but according to the average cost of living;

That in the long run—within certain limits—less hours means more pay, whether they work by the day or work by the piece;

That reducing the hours increases the purchasing power of wages as well as the amount of wealth produced;

That dear men mean cheap productions, and cheap men dear productions;

That six cents a day in China is dearest, $3 a day in America is cheapest;

That the moral causes that have made $3 a day cheaper than six cents a day will make higher wages still cheaper;

That less hours mean reducing the profits and fortunes that are made on labor or its results;

More knowledge and more capital for the laborer; the wage system gradually disappearing through higher wages;

Less poor people to borrow money, and less wealthy ones to lend it, and a natural decline in the rates of interest on money.

More idlers working, and more workers thinking; the motives to fraud reduced, and fewer calls for special legislation;

Woman's wages increased, her household labor reduced, better opportunities for thought and action, and the creation of motives strong enough to demand and secure the ballot;

Reaching the great causes of intemperance—extreme wealth and extreme poverty;

And the salvation of republican institutions.

REFERENCES: George A. Gunton, *Wealth and Progress* (1887) and *Principles of Social Economics* (1891); George E. McNeill, *The Labor Movement* (1886); The first *Reports of the Massachusetts Labor Bureau*. (See also article POVERTY.)

EIGHT-HOUR DAY: PRACTICABILITY OF (see also EIGHT-HOUR DAY; HISTORY OF, and PHILOSOPHY OF): It is necessary to distinguish at the outset between the *immediate* and *ultimate* effects. There are few branches of industry in the United States in which as much work can be immediately turned out in eight hours as in ten. It has indeed been done, by doing away with irregular attendance, frequent pauses, dawdling, etc., but the piece system of wage remuneration has had so extensive a sway in this country that it has squeezed out virtually all wasted time. If, however, we compare the per-capita product of an eight-hour day, after the lapse of several months or years, with that obtained at present, say, in a ten-hour day, may not the change stimulate production and yield even a larger quantum of material goods? Any person who has carefully studied the results of the historical tendency to shorten the hours of labor will be inclined to answer in the affirmative and

for the following reasons: Shorter hours in modern industry mean (1) increased physical efficiency, and (2) greater intelligence and inventiveness among the wage-workers, and (3) promote a purer family life, which in turn means better trained workmen and fewer paupers, tramps, and criminals, to be maintained out of the national product.

The fact, however, that numerous trades have succeeded in reducing the hours of work without suffering a corresponding reduction in compensation does not demonstrate that similar results would follow upon a general reduction of hours throughout all industry. For, in the first place, it is only too obvious that the advantage of a single trade in the way of high wages or short hours may be won at the expense of fellow workmen in other trades. In the case of the carpenters and masons it is clear that unless they did as much work in eight hours as formerly in ten the cost of buildings would be increased and laboring men would foot the bill by paying higher rents. If all trades should succeed in reducing hours, without increasing the average hourly output so as to maintain production, the result would be a general increase in prices; in other words a loss in real, effective income.

Nor is it clear that the particular trade that has won a shorter day has really improved its position even tho it may have succeeded in maintaining the daily rate of wages; for by such reduction in working-time it may have sacrificed an increase in earnings that it could otherwise have obtained. If it merely maintains wages at the prevailing rate in a period of rising prices and wages, it has suffered a loss in real income, since its earnings will buy less in the market.

Again, an increase in wages is often won at the expense of increased idleness in the trade, so that the support of unemployed members of the union may eat up the whole increase in earnings.

These considerations show that, in the long run and taking all industries in the aggregate, no general reduction in the hours of labor is possible without a resultant loss of real wages, unless production is maintained. If any one economic principle passes unquestioned, both among political economists and business men, it is the principle that wages in the aggregate and in the long run depend upon product.

There are, indeed, exceptions to this rule in industries affording monopoly profits. This class of industries is a very large one and is every day increasing in number. It embraces virtually all the industries classed under the head of transportation and communication, which by virtue of their exclusive sites or rights to land, public highways, etc., are natural monopolies. Another large class of industries possess special privileges in the way of patents, etc., which afford them monopoly profits. And lately there has come into prominence the immense interests enjoying profits beyond those prevailing under free competition, simply because they possess sufficient capital to destroy competition—the so-called capitalistic monopolies. Inasmuch as these monopoly profits exceed the normal or usual profits in industries where competition is free, they could be reduced without expelling capital and thus diminishing employment. If working men are strongly enough organized to enforce their demands, they can obtain a reduction in hours in these numerous industries without fearing an ultimate increase in prices to rob them of their gain.

But even in industries wherein free competition has restricted profits to the normal rate, it is entirely possible for working men to obtain an advance in wages or a reduction in hours without affecting prices. But it will be at the expense of the smaller employers, who are driven out of business as a consequence of their inability to pay increased wages out of their meager profits. The whole tendency of labor organization and higher wages has in fact been to favor the large and well-equipped establishment at the expense of small, inefficient employers, with the ultimate result of making profits bear the cost of higher wages. But it has also promoted the centralization of industry and the growth of capitalistic monopolies mentioned in a previous paragraph.

Reduction of Hours Need Not Reduce Production

In the third place, working-time may be shortened without causing higher prices or reductions in wages, by the adoption of improved machinery or processes. In fact, it is one of the glories of America that the high cost of labor has always stimulated the invention and adoption of labor-saving machinery; and it may be urged as an argument in favor of shorter hours that they would so promote the education and intelligent interest of wage-workers as to increase the number of useful inventions that enrich the community.

What has been the experience in the U. S., and particularly in Massachusetts, which has led the way in such state legislation?

The Massachusetts Act of 1874 provided a penalty of $50 for any owner or manager of a manufacturing establishment who "wilfully employed a woman or minor for more than ten hours a day, or sixty hours a week." The word "wilful" however, furnished employers with a convenient means of escape, which with other defects made it almost inoperative for several years. In 1879, however, the word "wilful" was struck out, and in 1880 additional amendments so strengthened the law as to make it fairly effective. Employers who had opposed the law from the outset now made strong efforts to secure its repeal, representing that their expenses of production were so greatly enhanced that they were unable to compete with rival factories in the neighboring commonwealths of New England and New York, which were operated eleven or eleven and a half hours a day. They submitted their books to show that the labor cost of their goods had increased almost proportionately with the forced reduction of hours. While they could not prevail upon the legislature to repeal the law, they succeeded in having an official investigation of the question made by the State Bureau of Statistics of Labor.

The report of Carroll D. Wright, then chief of the Massachusetts bureau, vindicated the ten-hour law. Colonel Wright's famous report of 1881 declared (p. 457) that "Massachusetts with ten hours produces as much per man or per loom or per spindle, equal grades being considered, as other states with eleven and more hours," and also that "wages here rule as high, if not higher, than in the states where the mills run longer time." He added: "So far as the tables show there is no reason why the mills in New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Maine should not be run on the ten-hour basis in harmony with the system in successful operation in Massachusetts." The result of this report was that opposition to the law died away for a time in Massachusetts, and that the neighboring states soon enacted similar laws.

Massachusetts' Experience

From that time to this, public opinion in Massachusetts has upheld the ten-hour law, and approved the extension of its principles despite the contention of Massachusetts manufacturers that it handicapped them in their competition with rival establishments in other states. Thus as late as 1895 the "Bulletin of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers" in a series of articles on "Factory Legislation in New England," which was subsequently reprinted by the Arkwright Club, affirmed that "vast sums of Massachusetts capital have gone into other New England states, driven away from home by the adverse conditions created by legislation."

Fortunately, statistics are at hand which afford simple but fairly effective tests of the assertion that Massachusetts' industries are threatened with ruin by restrictive labor legisla-

tion. In the first place, Massachusetts' cotton industry, the business chiefly affected by short-hour laws, has fully kept pace with that of rival states in the North. In 1870, four years before the enactment of the ten-hour law, Massachusetts had 39.5 per cent of all the cotton spindles in the North Atlantic states; six years after the passage of that law, Massachusetts' proportion was 45 per cent; in 1890 it was 47.5 per cent, and in 1900 53.5 per cent. It is difficult to see what clearer proof could be demanded of the beneficial results of the Massachusetts short-hour laws of 1874 (sixty hours a week) and 1892 (fifty-eight hours).

Again, that the maximum industrial efficiency of a community has been reached under the nine-and-a-half-hour day of England and Massachusetts may be questioned in view of numerous successful experiments with the eight-hour day. A record of these experiments will be found in the books devoted to this question. One of the most notable of these experiments was made by the large machinery manufacturers, Messrs. Mather & Platt, of Salford, England, who employed 1,200 workmen. Their reduction in hours from fifty-three to forty-eight per week resulted in so little diminution of the output that the British Government decided to make a similar reduction in the royal arsenals. But for the most convincing demonstration of the benefits of the eight-hour day one must go to the Australian colonies, where it is nearly universal.

Once more, at the present time there is a growing recognition of the destructive effects upon the life and health of wage-earners, of machine methods and processes of utilizing harmful materials.

It has rarely been so tersely stated as in these words of Professor Clark of Columbia University:

> If you want a man to work for you one day, and one day only, and secure the greatest possible amount of work which he is capable of performing, you must make him work for twenty-four hours. If you would have him work a week it will be necessary to reduce the time to twenty hours a day; if you want him to work for a month, a still further reduction to eighteen hours a day. For the year, fifteen hours a day will do; for several years, ten hours; but if you wish to get the most out of a man for a working lifetime, you will have to reduce his hours of labor to eight each day.

It is an absolute waste to have the workmen in our manufacturing and transport industries die as young as they do. The English mortality statistics (the only accurate figures that we possess of deaths by occupations) show that the death-rate of occupied males is almost twice as great in the industrial as in the agricultural districts. Taking 1,000 as the standard of measurement, we find the mortality among dock-laborers to be 1,829 as compared with 604 among schoolmasters. The enormous disparity points to a most unprofitable organization of industry. And in the U. S., according to the unanimous testimony of American and foreign observers, the working men are worn out at an even earlier age than in England or elsewhere.

A French authority was forced to the conclusion that the maximum working-time should be eight hours in all branches of industry wherein peculiar conditions exist, such as the employment of children or women, special risks of danger, particles of dust in the atmosphere, etc. "The limitation of hours to eight per day," he says, "would have the best effects upon the general health and mental activity of the working classes and would diminish their chronic sickness and mortality."

Dr. Ilia Sachnine after an exhaustive study (La Journée de Huit Heures au Point de vue de L'hygiene et de la Medicine, Lyon, 1900), concludes that the abnormal sickness and mortality among working people is due not simply to poisonous or noxious substances in the materials of work, but also to fatigue, which affects the nerves.

Health and vigor are of primary importance to any body of workers, and whatever policy will promote the health of the community will in the long run prove the best policy, even if its adoption may temporarily cut down profits. The Massachusetts cotton industry affords an excellent example of the wisdom of this policy, notwithstanding the dissatisfaction of a part of the employing classes. For as a result of Massachusetts labor legislation and the competition of Southern factories, Massachusetts factory owners have been obliged to seek the latest inventions and improved processes, to produce finer and more attractive goods. As the Southern mills have naturally begun with the production of coarse grades, the Massachusetts manufacturer has endeavored to avoid competition by confining himself to the higher grades. This has of course called for more and more skill on the part of Massachusetts operatives and has led to the establishment of textile schools. The grand result is that Massachusetts has a body of workmen who have leisure to appreciate the public libraries scattered throughout the state; to perfect their technical training as well as to acquire that degree of culture and knowledge which makes an intelligent citizenship and to discharge the duties imposed by that citizenship. What American would hesitate in choosing between this system and the system of the Southern factory villages, where men, women, and children can be regarded as little better than working animals? Even as regards the production of material goods, it is nothing but short-sightedness to regard the Southern industry with its eleven-hour day as superior to the Massachusetts industry with a fifty-eight-hour week.

The objection made to the higher system is that such progress has to be paid for out of the profits. Every capitalist would prefer to continue his machinery in use until it is entirely worn out, and with large profits such as are made now in the South he will do so. But diminished profits in Massachusetts have made the Massachusetts manufacturers the leaders in improving machinery and methods. It is not too high a price to pay for progress.

In discussions of the shorter-hours' question it is usual to refer to the moral aspects and to consider the effects of a shortening of the working-time upon the home life of wage-earners, their pleasures (and more particularly their use of liquor), and in general their disposition of the added hours of leisure. But as a matter of fact no well-grounded distinction can be made between the moral and economic effects, for any change that improves the morals of a community will in the end produce an increase in the amount of material goods made by that community. The family furnishes the really fundamental education of the growing generation—the education of character; and the family life thus really determines the quality of the rising generation as efficient or non-efficient wealth producers. If a reduction in the hours of labor does promote the growth of a purer and better family life, it will unquestionably result in the production of greater material wealth on the part of the generation trained under its influence; nothing else in fact will so effectively diminish the vast number of

criminals, paupers, and idlers, who, in the present generation, consume the people's substance.

Shorter hours improve the worker and therefore also increase product by increasing home life.

A very little observation serves to show that home life can scarcely exist in a family whose head must work twelve or thirteen hours a day. For two or three additional hours must be spent away from home in traveling to and from work and in eating luncheon, and that leaves the workman scarcely more than his sleeping-hours. He may as a result see his children once a week, if he does not have to work on Sunday. The wife's life is darkened even more by the long-hour day, especially if she also be a working woman. Even if the day be one of only ten hours, she must arise as early as five o'clock to prepare breakfast for her husband and herself so that they may be at their work places at seven. Beginning at that early hour her day will be a very long one.

Long hours of work exhaust the toiler and unfit him for reading or light social pleasures in the midst of his family in the evening. His body and mind crave excitement and drive him to the saloon, where he drinks heavily. And thus the very appetite for stimulants, created by exhausting hours of labor, is cited in certain quarters as a fatal objection to the shortening of working-hours. The assertion that additional leisure would be spent in drinking and carousals is frequently made the basis of argument against shortening the hours of work. And of course it is always possible to adduce numerous instances of such results. Unskilled and lowly paid laborers may find no other way of spending their leisure, but it is certainly not so among the skilled craftsmen. No complaint has been made that carpenters and masons are now more addicted to intoxicants than they were before they won the eight-hour day. On the contrary, the impression everywhere prevails that drunkenness has decreased in their ranks and in other classes where hours have been shortened. The phenomenal growth of university extension lectures, evening-schools, and public libraries can be explained in no other way than by the increasing participation therein of the wage-workers. The following quotation from a letter by John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers, testifies to the improvement in drinking-habits wrought by the shorter working-day:

Home Life

> You would be surprized to note the progress the coal-miners are making since the inauguration of the eight-hour day three years ago. In many places they are organizing libraries, they are taking a greater interest in public questions, and their family life has become much improved and sweetened. Formerly when they came home in the evening they were so exhausted that they felt crotchety and cross. Now they come home in better time and can always afford to give the "old woman" a smile. But above all, you would be surprized to note what this change has wrought in the mining regions in reducing drunkenness. The eight-hour day is the greatest temperance advocate I know of.

Outdoor recreation and sports have thriven wonderfully among the working people who enjoy short hours and have contributed much to the general improvement in health observed in recent years. An even more profitable way of spending their leisure has appeared among the English and Australian working classes, whose working-hours are shorter than those of American wage-earners, namely, home gardening. Sydney and Melbourne are metropolitan cities with the largest part of their population in suburban homes. The wage-earner by leaving his work early in the afternoon can easily manage to live in a cottage of his own out in the suburbs and can keep his own garden. It has been said that "the city of Melbourne has a wall of security in the belt of working-class cottages by which it is encircled; and the pride of the modest owners in their little home and garden diverts them not merely from political but from convivial temptations."

Thus far we have been discussing what may be called the immediate effects of the eight-hour day. Of greater importance are those more general and remote effects that will be manifested in the industrial success or failure of the next generation of workers whose training and education will be carried on under the shorter-day system.

There is a popular belief that reduction of hours, by diminishing the amount of work performed, would create a demand for additional workmen. Thus, the organ of one of the most enlightened and conservative trade-unions in the U. S. says of the eight-hour bill which has passed the House of Representatives:

> If we can succeed in passing this bill it will create such a demand for labor as was never experienced; it will raise wages and give a boost to the labor movement that will make it respected by those who are its antagonists.

Among working men, indeed, the favorite argument in favor of shorter hours is that more labor would then be required to accomplish equal results. It is believed that the eight-hour day would result in the absorption of the great mass of the unemployed, who are constantly tempted to underbid the employed, thereby keeping down wages, as well as using up large funds set aside by the labor-unions for the maintenance of their unemployed members. Most of the literature in the Eight-Hour Series published by the American Federation of Labor emphasizes this particular effect of a shorter working-day. (See Eight-Hour Philosophy.)

It looks plausible; but it must not be hastily accepted on account of mere plausibility.

Let us suppose that the daily working-time in bakeries is reduced to eight hours a day, and that in order to maintain the supply of bread employers must engage more workmen. The number of persons unemployed is by so much diminished and the number of consumers correspondingly increased. Other trades will therefore expect an increased demand for their goods, and more workmen will be employed to meet this demand, until the unemployed are all at work and everybody is happy. So easy a solution of the labor question is evidently based on a fallacy somewhere, else it would long since have met with general adoption. In the case of the bakers, it will be recognized that the employment of more men will increase the employers' wages bill, which must in the long run be made up by higher prices on account of the tendency of profits to uniformity in all industries. But if the price of bread is increased working men generally will have less money for other things; their purchases of clothing, furniture, books, etc., will dwindle and business in these industries will fall off until in the end many more workmen will be discharged than were originally taken on by the bakers. The number of unemployed will be greater than ever. This is because the aggregate product of the community has been diminished.

As a remedy for the problem of the unemployed the reduction of the hours of labor is therefore illusory. If any one is inclined to scout this conclusion as mere "theory," let him study the labor question in Australia. There the eight-hour day is universal, and yet nowhere else in the world has distress on account of unemployment been greater than it was in Australia in the long depression of the nineties.

Will Not, However, Employ the Unemployed

The effects of reducing the hours of work, therefore, may be summarized as follows:

1. Production, and therefore wages, may be maintained without the employment of additional laborers by: (*a*) "Hauling in slack rope," i. e., abolishing intervals of rest, dawdling, irregular attendance, etc. (*b*) More intense application to work, speeding of the machinery, etc. (*c*) The adoption of improved processes and labor-saving machinery.

2. Production may be maintained by the employment of additional workmen at the expense neither of the wage-earner nor of the consumer, by: (*a*) Eliminating the small employer and concentrating labor in large establishments which can flourish on lower rates of profit by reason of large returns. (*b*) Making monopoly gains pay the increased expenses of production.

3. From a social point of view, production will be increased by any change in industrial organization which diminishes the number of idlers, paupers, and criminals. Shorter hours of work, by allowing higher standards of comfort and purer family life, promise to enhance the industrial efficiency of the wage-working class (improved health, longer life, more content, and greater intelligence and inventiveness).

4. Reduction of the hours of labor will not abolish the problem of unemployment. (See HOURS OF LABOR.)

ADNA F. WEBER.

ELBERFELD SYSTEM: Attention has been widely attracted to the methods of poor relief adopted in Elberfeld, and copied in many German cities. In 1823 the Prussian Government authorized each commune in the Düsseldorf circle to take charge of its own poor relief, but until 1850 the old system, founded upon that of the French Empire, remained in vogue. A system in the charge of wealthy individuals was then tried, but proved very costly. At the instigation of Daniel von der Heydt, a banker of Elberfeld, the existing scheme was authorized.

For poor-law purposes the city is divided into 546 sections, each section consisting of about 300 people. Every fourteen sections constitute a district. Over each section is placed an almoner; and over each district, which has fourteen almoners, is appointed an overseer. All these officers are under the control of a central committee of nine, of which the mayor is ex-officio president, four members are town councilors, and the other four are ordinary citizens. The 546 almoners and thirty-nine overseers are unpaid, but all is under city control.

The duties of the almoners are extensive and precise. Every person needing relief makes application to the almoner of his own district. It is then the duty of the almoner to institute full and particular inquiries into all the circumstances of the case. He is also required to keep himself constantly informed so long as the applicant may continue to need relief. Every fortnight the fourteen almoners of each district meet under the presidency of the district overseer; the reports of each are then considered, and the minute-book prepared for the Central Committee. That committee also meets fortnightly on the day following the meetings of the almoners and overseers. The small size of the sections enables each almoner, without difficulty, to make himself thoroughly familiar with all the distress of his district, and with every exaggerating or favorably modifying circumstance connected with it. Being a citizen and not a paid official, he has no interest but to state the facts as plainly as may be, and to see to it that the relief shall be such as is best suited to the necessities of each case. Relief is granted according to a fixt and uniform scale, which is so framed as to secure that only the minimum necessary for bare subsistence is supplied to the applicant and his family. Any small sums he may earn are considered and deducted so as to bring his rate of relief to the standard minimum. One of the instructions of the almoner is that he is bound to use every possible effort to secure employment for those who may be in receipt of relief.

But while relief is thus strictly limited, much more is really done. For the almoner coming to know the comparatively small section over which he is assigned, and there being developed a civic interest in his work, he is able to help the needy in many ways before they come in need of money relief. He helps the unemployed to find work, the sick to obtain medical attendance; to the beginner in dissipation he gives the word of counsel which often rescues him from evil. He becomes a little father to his section. He is allowed by the city to loan tools, sewing-machines, etc. The best men take these positions. According to W. H. Dawson ("The German Workman," 1906), among 600 almoners recently in charge was 1 who had been in office forty-nine years; 19 in office over thirty years; 81 over twenty years, and 268 over ten years. They included 243 business men, 319 professional men, 9 farmers and landowners. Women aid through their *Frauenverein*, and are now beginning to be appointed as supplemental official almoners.

Little Fathers

The result is that tho the population has increased from 50,000 in 1852 to 162,000 in 1904, the number receiving either temporary or permanent help has only increased from 4,000 to 7,689, a decrease from 8 per cent in 1852 to 4.7 per cent in 1904, or nearly one half. The relief given in 1852 was $44,660, or eighty-nine cents per head of population, and in 1904 (including poorhouse, orphanage, etc.), $143,530, or eighty-eight cents per head, with far better results. Berlin, Cologne, Dresden, Stuttgart, and other German cities have adopted the same general system.

Results

REFERENCES: *Britain's Next Campaign*, Julie Sutter, and *The German Workman*, W. H. Dawson (1906).

ELECTIONS (see also AUSTRALIAN BALLOT PRIMARIES; CORRUPT PRACTISES ACTS; REFERENDUM): Elections seem to have originated in the general assemblies of citizens (or perhaps in the old labor-gilds (see GILDS), as in the Roman concilia (see ROME), the Athenian ecclesia (see ATHENS), or the Teutonic assemblages of freemen (see SWITZERLAND). When these passed away, first in fact and then in form, in the growth of despotism and autocracy, the custom of election was preserved in the monastic fraternities, ecclesiastical conventions, free cities, and trade-gilds. Favored electors, as in Germany, often elected emperors or even kings.

Election by popular vote is now becoming again the rule in all civilized countries, with a tendency everywhere to be by universal adult suffrage, tho to-day for the most part only by adult male suffrage (see SUFFRAGE). The United States was the first country to establish this in a large way in modern times, tho even in the states, when they became independent, the suffrage was limited in each one of the commonwealths by property and other qualifications.

THE UNITED STATES

Elections in the U. S. are numerous and frequent, and here is one of the main sources of their evil. Federal elections come every four years; state elections come usually every year; municipal elections come also yearly, sometimes on the same day and sometimes on different days from the other elections. In the case of each

Frequency

election (federal, state, and municipal) the voter has numerous candidates to vote for. In federal elections he votes for electors for president and vice-president; in state elections he votes for governor, lieutenant-governor, congressmen, representatives to the state legislatures, secretary of state, attorney-general, sometimes judges, and several other officers. In city elections he usually votes for mayor, aldermen, common councilors, school board, commissioners of various departments. Besides this he is usually called upon to vote yea or nay on various questions of granting license or no. For each office three or four parties each nominate different candidates. The result is that frequently the voter has to have before him several hundred names. The ballot upon which the average city voter has to record his choice is often a blanket sheet covered with confusing names. Under the present system, then, the first characteristic of American elections is that even the voter who desires to be honest cannot go by his own personal knowledge of the candidates. It is impossible for him to know personally and to judge between the claims of the different men. He, therefore, is compelled to be guided in his choice by his party, by hearsay, or by the press. Here comes in the opportunity of the professional politician.

For the misuse of elections, see CORRUPTION.

Primaries

The machine controls elections mainly through the primary. The primary is determined by its roll of ward voters entitled to vote in it. This roll is prepared by the ward committee. It knows its own men. Others are admitted to the primaries on the votes of those already admitted. To gain admission, one often has to give a pledge to support the committee. Independent men are gotten rid of or refused admission. Subservient primaries are thus easily gotten. Honest men object to such measures, and either stay away or give up in disgust after fruitless efforts to capture the primary.

Bogus lists of voters are often made. Men are brought in from other districts to vote for the machine.

When the primary meets a "slate" is brought in, and usually the names on it receive the nomination from the subservient primary. If a few opponents are present, they are usually allowed to make opposing but fruitless nominations, the committee being sure of the result. The chairman appointed by the meeting is almost always the tool of the committee. If there should be a split or division, sometimes a disturbance is purposely created, and in the confusion the chairman can declare the nominations carried. Often shouters and roughs are brought in to shout down all opposition. Usually when there is a division, it is merely a fight within the party, between two ward or city cliques, for offices, both of which are subservient to the machine. Honest battles in the primaries are almost unknown, and "reformers" have almost given up in despair attempting to capture the primaries of the old parties under the present system. Their only hope seems to be to make independent nominations of their own. They sometimes win, in cases of the uprisings of indignant citizens, but the indignation does not last, and pretty soon the regular work of the old party machine wins again. Nor is there usually much hope in playing corrupt Republican primary against corrupt Democratic primary, especially in city politics, because the machine which once gets hold of a city usually gets such complete hold of it that in that city there is little rivalry between the two parties. With the rarest of exceptions, New York City is always Democratic and Philadelphia always Republican. So even with many smaller cities. Even where the cities are uncertain, certain wards in each city can always be counted on for a certain party. Sometimes, too, the same municipal ring controls the primaries of both parties. Such are some of the difficulties of reaching the primaries.

Above the primary is the convention. The convention is usually safe for the machine, because the machine has already captured the primaries that send the delegates. The machine nominates a temporary chairman, and he is elected usually by subservient delegates; if not, roughs and shouters are brought in. He names the committee on contested seats, which committee, passing on the titles of delegates, can admit the friends and refuse admission to the opponents of the machine. In all doubtful cases the machine favors itself. It then gets the chairman of the convention, and has practically all power in its hands. Such are some of the methods of American electioneering.

Campaigns

When it comes to the voting, the ward and county committees are instructed to see that the full party vote is polled and that all the doubtful are canvassed. Money is sent to the different committees to buy those who can be bought. Men are hired to go among the trade-unions and secure the labor vote. Papers are bought up or filled with paid editorials and paid "news." The papers of the foreign populations are subsidized. Campaign circulars are prepared suited for special classes and addrest to clergymen, to merchants, to "the American working men." "Orators" are put upon the stump and sent to every district. National orators are carried in special trains from city to city. Carefully prepared reports of extempore speeches by the rival candidates are put in the daily press. Mud, if necessary, is slyly thrown. Sometimes lies are circulated at the last minute when it is too late for the opposing party to refute them. "Claims" are made showing that all the country is going one way. Processions and monster parades are formed. Those away from home get their railway fare paid if they will go home and vote for a certain party. The railroads grant free passage to those who will vote in their interest. Taxes are paid for votes. Minor forms of corruption are resorted to. Such are some of the elements of American elections.

It is to be noted, however, that in a few states reform methods as to primaries and elections have been instituted and are being agitated in almost all states. See article PRIMARIES.

GREAT BRITAIN

The English election system is in many ways different. Corruption is very rare. After the general election of 1906 there were only five election petition trials. In Worcester, which has had the reputation of having the most electoral corruption, a ward committee chairman stated that out of more than 7,600 voters at the polls less than 300 were bribable.

The fact that elections do not all come at the same time attracts general attention to each separate election, and makes dishonesty more difficult, while extending the interest of all classes.

The English system of "heckling," or of having the candidate appear before his constituents with any one free to question him, is often only a farce, but some consider that it interests and educates the separate voters. The main reason, however, for purer elections is the important Corrupt Practises Act (*q. v.*), which limits the amount of campaign expenses that may be incurred, and compels the candidate to have his expenditures all go through the hands of one man, who must make a rigid report, to be scrutinized by members of the other party. This and the ease of nominations, with the irregularity and comparative infrequency of elections, presents the development of the party machine system.

Mr. Albert Shaw thus briefly describes the nominating and polling machinery after the election writs have been made out:

"The names of candidates must be left at the clerk's office, inscribed upon official blanks, a week before the election. Accompanying each name must be the signature of a 'proposer,' a 'seconder,' and eight other citizens. Only such persons as have been nominated in this way may be voted for. Nominations being all in, the list is at once printed and conspicuously bulletined. The announcement contains the full names, residences (street and number), and occupations of the nominees, and the names of the proposer and seconder in each case. If only one nomination has been made in any ward, the nomination is itself the election, and the polls will not be opened in that ward."

Nominations

France

The French electoral system is quite different from either that of the U. S. or Great Britain. Here, again, we do not have the appearance of the party machine, as in the U. S., tho the government often plays an unfortunate part through its use of secret service money in aiding candidates favorable to the administration. There is not much direct bribery, on account of the strictness of the law; but the candidate who can spend for campaign posters, meetings, or sometimes for bodies of supporters, who will keep his meetings in order and disturb or break up the meetings of his rival, has an undue advantage. One reason, perhaps, that the party machine has not developed is that the French governments have been so unstable and parties broken into so many groups that there has been small chance for strong parties to develop. A more effectual reason, however, is the use of the second ballot, in use in France and several European countries. According to the law, there is no election unless some candidate has secured at least one quarter of the registered voters, or at least a half plus one of the votes cast. If no candidate has received this another polling must be held a fortnight later, when a simple majority of the ballots cast suffice for a choice. The result of this is that on the first election day votes may be scattered among different candidates without risk, for they all tell against the common enemy, and on the second election they can all be rallied for that candidate of a party who has received the highest vote. The first ballot thus serves as a democratic way of nominating candidates, with little need of conventions, campaign committees, etc. Elections were formerly by the *scrutin de liste*, or the voting for all the deputies allotted to a department by all in the department. Now, however, some elections are universal, or the election of one candidate by each district.

Second Ballot

ELECTORAL COLLEGE, THE: The Constitution of the United States (see President) calls for the election of the president by electors chosen by the people of each state. This body of electors is called the Electoral College. Each state chooses a number of presidential electors equal to the number of its representatives in both houses of Congress. These electors meet in each state on a day fixt by law and give their votes in writing for president and vice-president. The votes are transmitted, sealed, to the capitol, and there opened by the president of the Senate in the presence of both houses and counted. The electors cannot be members of Congress nor holders of any federal office.

The aim of this law was to secure the election of the president in a quiet, deliberate way by trusted representatives of the people. It was feared that the masses might not elect the best men if left wholly to themselves, and that popular direct elections might lead to disturbances. It was thought, too, that as the electors' votes are counted promiscuously, and not by states, each elector's voice would have its weight. He might be in a minority in his own state, but his vote would, nevertheless, tell, because it would be added to those given by electors in other states for the same candidate.

No part of their scheme seems to have been regarded by the constitution-makers of 1787 with more complacency than this, altho no part had caused them so much perplexity. No part has so utterly belied their expectations. The presidential electors have become a mere cog-wheel in the machine. They have no discretion, but are chosen under a pledge to vote for certain men—a pledge of honor merely, but a pledge which has never (since 1796) been violated. The plan, too, has done positive harm. It has made the election virtually an election by states, for the present system of choosing electors by "general ticket" over the whole state causes the whole weight of a state to be thrown into the scale of one candidate and party. Hence in a presidential election the struggle concentrates itself in the doubtful states, where the parties are nearly equally divided, and is languid in states where a distinct majority either way may be anticipated, because, since it makes no difference whether a minority be large or small, it is not worth while to struggle hard to increase a minority which cannot be turned into a majority. Hence also a man may be, and has been, elected president by a minority of popular votes. (See President.)

ELECTORAL REFORMS. See Australian Ballot; Corrupt Practises Acts; Direct Legislation; Primaries; Proportional Representation.

ELECTRICITY: (For Electric Lighting, see Lighting; for Electric Railways, see Railroads and Street Railroads.) It is a common thought that we are passing out of the age of steam into the age of electricity, and this is affecting social problems in many ways. It is not affecting social problems in one way, however, in which it was widely claimed that it would a score of years ago. It was widely urged at that time

(see D. A. Wells's "Recent Economic Changes," 1889) that the introduction of electric power, with its ease of transmission and dispersion, would render unnecessary the concentration of production in great factories and industrial centers, would bring back the era of home manufactures and the small producer, increase the possibilities of competition, and arrest many industrial evils, and especially those of monopoly and its resultant ills. Twenty years ago this was a stock argument against socialism. To-day this argument is little heard. It is more than a question of motive power that produces the economy of the factory and the tendency to combination. The latter especially is a question of the market rather than of the means of material production. Electric plants themselves are developing monster factories, and combination is if anything more developed under electricity than under steam. Especially has the use of electric motor power, widely transmitted, aided in the connecting of towns and cities by electric car lines, and the combination of these into gigantic systems. The sale again of electric power by one company to different companies tends to bring them sooner or later into one general combination. Electricity certainly thus far has not prevented the steady disappearing of competition. It is on the other hand believed by many that the use of electricity will aid the advance of many reforms in the line of socialism.

When the telephone can enter every home and electric power be furnished every house, many domestic operations, like sewing, can be managed by electricity, and meals be ordered at cooperative ovens by telephone. It is in such ways that many believe that our "domestic problem" is to be largely worked out. When one realizes how far the weather signal service has affected and may affect agriculture and navigation, how commerce to-day is dependent upon the telegraph and telephone, how easily power can be sold from one center to widely distributed factories, it means such a development of combination (rather than competition) that communities will not long like to be dependent on private companies for the power of so many activities, but will come to own and operate the centers of power, allowing with this of great freedom of individual operation.

How far industry is being revolutionized to-day by electricity is not always realized. Yet the value of electrical apparatus manufactured in the United States in 1906 was estimated at $260,800,000. In Great Britain the growth of electrical industries is seen that in 1895 there were thirty-eight such companies and thirty-three municipalities, with electric plants, and in 1905 187 companies and 237 municipalities. Yet the use of electricity seems but in its beginnings. Electric railways (not street-railways) were scarcely used in commerce in 1904. Electric motor-cars, the electric cab service, electric elevators are commercially but little older. Electro-metallurgy and electric chemistry were only beginning in 1900. Wireless telegraphy was not commercially used before 1901. The New York Edison Co., for selling electric power, only completed its plant in New York City in 1901. The electrical transference of music, the telharmonium, dates from 1907. Yet the possibilities of electricity seem inexhaustible. It has been calculated that 7,000,000 of horsepower can be generated and electrically transmitted almost any distance by the Niagara Falls alone. Electric power in California is now transmitted 230 miles. In Africa it is seriously proposed to work the South African mines with power from the Victoria Falls. It is believed that steamers will before many years cross the Atlantic with stored electric power, instead of having to carry enormously expensive and bulky tonnage of coal. It is probable that goods will be carried in electric trains of some nature which already have run some distance at the rate of 140 miles per hour. Electric motors, many believe, will make air locomotion practicable. The use of electricity is the physical industrial question of the day.

ELECTRIC LIGHTING. See LIGHTING.

ELLIOT, EBENEZER: English poet, called the "Corn-Law Rhymer"; born at Marlborough, near Sheffield, 1781. The son of a manufacturer of the somewhat rough early type, he received little education, but read widely and early wrote verse. Entering business himself, he met with some success, but also with losses, which he laid to the Corn Laws. He developed a fierce indignation against the law that had kept him poor as an employer, and that prest so hardly on the workers whom he wished to benefit. In "The Splendid Village," "The Village Patriarch," and, above all, in "The Ranter," the reader feels the depth of his feeling for the poor and his hatred of the landlord class. In the "Corn-Law Rhymes" (1831) the whole of his bitter anger breaks out, and the famous rimes play no small part in the agitation which finally abolished the Corn Laws. He died soon after seeing their abolition in 1849.

ELLIS, HENRY HAVELOCK: English physician and author; born at Croydon, Surrey, 1859; educated in private schools and St. Thomas's Hospital, London. From 1875 to 1879 he was engaged in teaching in New South Wales; and on his return to England he qualified as a medical practitioner, but soon gave up his practise to devote himself to scientific and literary work. He is fellow of the Medico-Legal Society of New York and of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain, and honorary fellow of the Chicago Academy of Medicine. He edited the "Contemporary Science Series" (1889) and Vizetelly's "Mermaid Series of Old Dramatists" (1887–89). Among his works are: "The Criminal" (1890); "Studies in the Psychology of Sex" (5 vols., 1897–1906); "Affirmations" (1897), etc. *Address*: Carbis Water, Lelant, Cornwall, England.

ELMIRA REFORMATORY, NEW YORK: The sociological experiments and results arrived at in Elmira Reformatory, N. Y., entitle it to an article by itself. (See PENOLOGY.)

The Elmira Reformatory was opened in 1876, when the first inmates were received. The institution, however, did not take its distinctive position until 1877, when the bill providing for the "indeterminate" sentence was incorporated in the statutes.

System

According to this bill, convicts sent to Elmira cannot be sentenced for any definite term, altho a maximum term can be given. The length of residence of the convict is left wholly to the decision of the management, and this gives the key to the whole institution. On his arrival the con-

vict is carefully examined as to his history, mental and physical characteristics, and all circumstances of his case, and is then treated as a moral patient, built up into self-supporting character as rapidly as possible, and only allowed to go out (unless the maximum term intervenes) when in the opinion of the management he is capable of self-supporting citizenship. He is, however, even then only allowed to go out for the first six months on parole, being kept in close correspondence with the management until he has proved himself worthy of absolute freedom.

Such is, in brief, the thought of the reformatory. But the way the convicts are built up into character is by teaching them how to work. In 1888 the New York Legislature passed the Yates Bill, practically prohibiting the industries then being carried on at Elmira by the convicts, and absolutely forbidding the application of power machinery to prison labor, to prevent its competition with outside labor. It forced the prisoners into immediate idleness, and the management scarcely knew what to do. But in a few hours the whole industrial life of the institution was revolutionized. All thought of making profit was given up and industrial classes were commenced simply for the good of the men. The whole mass of convicts, too, for sake of exercise, were brought out and drilled in military exercise. The result of both measures has been good beyond all expectation. The military exercise gives the convicts a carriage and bearing, both mental and physical, that makes them wholly different. To-day they form a notable regiment of men, organized, officered, and commanded by those convicts proving themselves the most worthy, and with their own band, and all appointments of a regiment.

The reformatory population is divided into three grades: first, second, and third. Each man upon admission to the institution is placed in the second grade, from which, by making a good record in demeanor, school of letters, and trades-school, he may rise to the first grade or, by failure to do this, may drop to the third. Six months of proper institutional record in the second grade insures promotion to the first grade; a like six months in the first grade entitles the prisoner to consideration by the board of managers for parole. For improper demeanor, if sufficiently serious, reduction in grade is possible at any time. Poor school work, if below certain prescribed standards, and persisted in for a month or more, also necessitates grade reduction. After reduction to the third grade, at least one month of proper record is required before eligibility for promotion can be considered.

Grades and Wages

Under the Elmira Reformatory system it is designed that each prisoner, from the date of his admission until granted his absolute release, shall be taught the value of self-support and to this end his personal account is credited with a small daily amount, intended to represent wages, and is debited with the cost of all he receives, be it for meals, lodging, clothing, medical attendance, or fines incurred; nothing being furnished gratis with the exception of his first outfit of clothing, and a few other necessary articles of like character. It is possible for a prisoner of average health and intelligence to defray all his institutional expenses, as enumerated above, and still have remaining to his credit, when released, a small balance, sufficient to pay for his transportation to place of employment, and temporary subsistence until he receives his first wages in free life.

The prisoners take their meals in dining-rooms, to which they are assigned according to grade. The food supplied to the three grades is uniform in quality, but the ration of the first grade admits of a somewhat greater variety than does that issued to the second and third grades.

First-grade prisoners who have been economical in their various expenditures, and have thus obtained a certain credit balance, showing a specified sum saved, occupy a separate dining-room and are allowed a more extended dietary than their fellows, their accounts being duly debited with the cost of the additional items received. These prisoners are also permitted to converse while at table, another privilege not accorded to inmates using the other dining-rooms.

The engagements of each inmate are intended to absorb his thoughts completely during most of his waking moments, and they are sufficiently varied, tho systematized. The program is varied for individuals. There are those who are employed at productive labor or in domestic service.

Classes

A majority of the trades-school pupils spend a portion of two days a week in the drawing-class room. Wednesday and Saturday afternoons work is suspended in the shops and trades-class rooms and the four hours are devoted to drilling and military ceremonies. There are evening-class meetings for every man as often as twice a week, and for those most nearly illiterate and those taking special courses as often as four times a week. On Sundays there are classes in ethics. There are kindergarten classes for the under-witted, classes for the others in all branches of study, from elementary subjects to the higher sciences and philosophy. The elementary classes are usually taught by advanced convicts. The main classes are, however, industrial.

At the present time twenty-nine trades, as enumerated in the following list, are taught in the trades-school: Barber, bookbinder, brass-smith, bricklayer, cabinet-maker, carpenter, clothing cutter, electrician, frescoer, hardwood finisher, horseshoer, house-painter, iron-forger, machine-wood-worker, machinist, molder, paint mixer, plasterer, plumber, printer, shoemaker, sign-painter, steam-fitter, stenographer and typewriter, stone-cutter, stone-mason, tailor, tinsmith, and upholsterer.

In many workshops containing scores or even hundreds of workers, convicts are the only teachers and convicts the only watch on guard. Much attention is given to physical training. Every convict, on coming in, is physically examined, and then the endeavor is made to develop to the norm that which is abnormal.

The principal regulations governing paroled men, which are printed on the certificates issued to each, are these:

1. The graduate shall proceed directly to the place of employment provided for him and there remain, if practicable, for at least six months from date.

2. In case he finds it desirable to change his employment or residence, he shall first get the consent of the managers through the general superintendent.

3. He shall on the first of every month, for the period of six months or more, and until absolutely released by the managers, forward to the general superintendent a report of himself certified by his employer or an agent of the managers, which report shall state whether he has been constantly under pay during the month and if not, why not, and how much

money he has expended and saved, together with a general and full statement of himself and surroundings.

4. He shall in all respects conduct himself honestly, avoid low and evil associations, and shall abstain from intoxicating drinks.

Each man is advised, prior to his departure, that he need not fear to communicate with the management in case he loses his situation or becomes unable to labor by reason of sickness. He is assured that he may at all times rely upon the aid and counsel of the managers and superintendent, and that, in case of disaster, he may find the reformatory a desirable retreat. If the terms of the conditional release are faithfully complied with for a period of six months, the board of managers, by vote at one of their monthly meetings, grant absolute release, which operates the same as a pardon by the governor.

The results of the plan are the most favorable. According to the report for 1906, there had been received on the indeterminate term (1876–1906) 15,107 prisoners (besides 709 on definite term from U. S. federal courts). Of these 33 had been absolutely released, 10,216 paroled; 1,347 had had their maximum sentence expire; 48 had been pardoned; 31 had escaped; 248 had died; 1,963 had been transferred to other prisons; hospitals, etc.; 1,221 were in prison. Of the 1,016 who had been paroled the year ending Sept. 30, 1906, 348 had served well and earned absolute release, and 530 were serving well, tho their time of parole had not expired, indicating a probable reformation of 86.4 per cent.

Results

The gross cost of maintenance for 1906 was $237,059. Income from sales, etc., was $8,209. The per diem cost of maintenance per capita was .44 cents. The *Year Book* of the reformatory, bound, printed, and, in part, written by the convicts, can be had ordinarily on application. The closing sentence of one *Year Book* says: "The time will come when every punitive institution in the civilized world will be destroyed, and all places for the treatment of crime be hospitals, schools, workshops, and reformatories." (See also Penology; Crime.)

ELY, RICHARD THEODORE: American economist, educator, and writer on social and economic questions; born in Ripley, N.Y., 1854. Until the age of eighteen he lived in the country, working on a farm of which, for a time, he had entire control. His father was a civil engineer, and for some time he was employed on his engineering corps in laying out a railroad. After completing the course of the State Normal School he entered Dartmouth College, going from there to Columbia College, where he was graduated in 1876. Afterward he continued his studies in German universities, receiving the degree of Ph.D. from Heidelberg in 1879. A year after his return to America he was called to Johns Hopkins University, where he was professor of political economy until 1892, when he resigned to take the professorship of that science at the University of Wisconsin.

Professor Ely has made a record of incessant activity as university professor and lecturer. More than any other man he was identified with the formation of the American Economic Association. In Baltimore he was for one year (1885–86) a member of the city tax commission and for two years (1886–88) a member of the State Tax Commission. He has taken an active part in the Chautauqua movement, has lectured for several years at the annual summer assemblies, and is a member of several societies, notably the Christian Social Union, of which he was the first secretary. Dr. Ely has written numerous works and contributed largely to the leading periodicals and papers; and he has become a recognized leader of American public opinion in matters of economics and applied ethics. He has devoted particular attention to the study of taxation, socialism, the labor question, and municipal government. His "Taxation in American States and Cities" and the "Labor Movement in America" represent pioneer work in their respective fields. Among other works of his may be mentioned: "French and German Socialism in Modern Times" (1883); "The Past and Present of Political Economy" (1884); "Problems of To-Day" (1888); "Social Aspects of Christianity" and "An Introduction to Political Economy" (1889); "Outlines of Economics" (1894); "Socialism and Social Reform" (1894); "The Coming City" (1902); and "Studies in the Evolution of Industrial Society" (1903). He edited the "Citizen's Library of Economics, Politics, and Sociology."

Professor Ely has been called a Socialist, and altho he has steadfastly denied this, he has continued none the less earnestly to write and speak against monopolies and in favor of the public ownership of natural monopolies, of trade-unions, and of other progressive measures, when the circumstances make them practicable.

ELY, ROBERT ERSKINE: American economist; born at Binghamton, N. Y., 1861; educated at public schools and Amherst College; studied divinity at Union Theological Seminary, graduating in 1888. From 1891 to 1901 he was president of the Prospect Union of Cambridge, Mass., and in the latter year became director of the League for Political Education, of New York City. In social reform Mr. Ely is an opportunist. He believes in the gradual extension of public ownership as experience shows it to be best for the common welfare. *Address*: Care of City Club, 55 West Forty-fourth Street, New York City.

EMERSON, RALPH WALDO: American poet, essayist, and philosopher; born in Boston, 1803; studied at Harvard University (1817–21), and became pastor of a Unitarian church in Boston in 1829. He resigned in 1832, owing to differences in thought and opinion. After that he lived a retired life, chiefly in Concord, becoming eminent as an author and lecturer. In the midst of his literary labors he found time to manifest his interest in great public questions as they arose. He was deeply interested in Brook Farm, tho he never resided there. He was earnest and outspoken in his views against slavery. At Waltham, in 1845, Emerson attacked slavery with no feeble weapon:

> It is certain that, if it should come to question, all just men, all intelligent agents, must take the part of the black against the white man. Then, I say, "Never is the planter safe; his house is a den; a just man cannot go there except to tell him so." Nature fights on the other side; and as power is always stealing from the idle to the busy hand, it seems inevitable that a revolution is preparing, at no distant day, to set these disjointed matters right.

In 1844 he had touched upon another crying evil, the seizure of colored sailors of Massachusetts when they went into the ports of Carolina:

> Gentlemen, I thought the deck of a Massachusetts ship was as much the territory of Massachusetts as the floor on which

we stand. It should be as sacred as the temple of God. If such a damnable outrage can be committed on the person of a citizen with impunity, let the governor break the broad seal of the state; he bears the sword in vain. The great-hearted Puritans have left no posterity. The rich men may walk in State Street, but they walk without honor; and the farmers may brag their democracy in the country, but they are disgraced men.

As early as 1838 he addrest a letter to President Van Buren protesting against the wrongs then endured by the Cherokee Indians at the hands of the government. His antislavery speeches, his remarks on the attack made upon Charles Sumner in 1856, his speech in behalf of the Kansas farmers in the same year, his eulogies of John Brown in 1859, his speech of welcome to Kossuth at Concord Bridge in 1852, his speech at the centennial celebration of Concord Fight in 1875, and many other brief addresses, are the fearless utterances of the reformer. He was an active citizen in practical ways, and was punctual in his attendance at the town meetings, where he often took part in debates; yet he sympathized to some extent in the no-government theories of his friends Alcott and Thoreau, influenced by his partly socialistic, partly individualistic philosophy. He died at Concord in 1882.

EMINENT DOMAIN: The right of eminent domain is the right to take private property for public uses. It is a common phrase in America, tho until recently little used in England, and seems to be derived from a phrase of Grotius ("De Jure Belli ac Pacis," l. 1, chap. iii. vi. sec. 2). The Fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution provides that it must always be used with just compensation to the owners of the property taken.

EMPLOYERS. See PROFITS.

EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS (see also CITIZENS' INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION): Employers' associations, of one kind or another, have existed from the days of the medieval gilds (see GILDS) or even earlier, but for the most part, except for the gilds, have been short-lived, and often only temporary agreements, or combinations formed to accomplish certain common ends, or the defeat of striking unions, etc. More recently, however, in the United States, in England, and Germany, these agreements are developing into permanent organizations. For Germany (where they are called Cartels), see article TRUSTS. In Great Britain there were reported in 1903 thirty-eight national associations and federations and 727 local associations, formed largely to affect legislation. In the U. S. the Citizens' Industrial Association (*q. v.*), a federation of such associations formed in 1903, claims from 400 to 500 local associations affiliated with it in forty-three states of the union and there must be some not affiliated with it. The first president of the association, Mr. Parry, is quoted by Professor Adams ("Labor Problems," 1905) as characterizing trade-unionism as a "system that coerces and impoverishes the worker, ruins the capitalist, demoralizes our politicians, and destroys our trade—a system which seems hopelessly and irremediably bad, a bar to all true progress, a danger to the state, and a menace to civilization." The National Association of Manufacturers, with 500 local associations, is a distinct but somewhat similar organization. Professor Adams makes the following quotations from its circulars, indicating plainly enough its animus and methods:

"The National Trade Association of Manufacturers is the largest and strongest trade organization in the world—whether one considers capital invested, hands employed, or output. . . . The association concerns itself with national and state legislation, publicly and powerfully if required, secretly and just as powerfully if that seems best. It knows what its own members and all manufacturers desire; it knows what they want antagonized. It pushes wise legislation; it defeats unwise legislation." In another publication, says Professor Adams, the association announced its deep hostility to the Hoar Anti-Injunction Bill, and to the bill limiting the working-day upon all materials manufactured for the government to eight hours, and then continued: "The determination is that, unless the business interests have lost their intelligence and their fighting spirit, these unwise or dangerous tendencies shall be combated; and all of the persistence and ingenuity at the command of the greatest trade body in the world, and of all its members, are brought to bear in exactly the right way at exactly the right time, and in exactly the right place. . . . At Washington the association is not represented too much either directly or indirectly. Sometimes it is known in a most powerful way that it is represented vigorously and unitedly. Sometimes it is not known that it is represented at all. It is easy to see that in the advocacy of public measures certain methods are most effective and most proper to be pursued. It is also true that this continuous effort is sometimes most successful when it is not known exactly whence the pressure comes."

Professor Adams also quotes the following from the declaration of principles of the National Metal Trades Association:

After "disavowing any intention to interfere with the proper functions of labor organizations," and announcing their intention not to discriminate "against any man because of his membership in any society or organization," the employers further declare:

(4) The number of apprentices, helpers, and handy men to be employed will be determined solely by the employer. (5) Employers shall be free to employ their work people at wages mutually satisfactory. We will not permit employees to place any restriction on the management, methods, or production of our shops, and will require a fair day's work for a fair day's pay. Employees will be paid by the hourly rate, by premium system, piece work, or contract, as the employers may elect. (6) It is the privilege of the employee to leave our employ whenever he sees fit and it is the privilege of the employer to discharge any workman when he sees fit. (7) The above principles being absolutely essential to the successful conduct of our business, they are not subject to arbitration. In case of disagreement concerning matters not covered by the foregoing declaration, we advise our members to meet their employees, either individually or collectively, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty on a fair and equitable basis.

By no means, however, do all employers feel this way. Nor do all employers act on these lines. The Mason Builders' Association of Boston has long been favorable to trade-unions, and very many associations of employers are coming to find that to treat with organized labor, in collective bargaining, is the easiest, best, and safest way. In fact one of the distinct dangers of the future is said by many to lie in the danger of combinations between organizations of capital with organizations of labor, to raise prices, limit output, etc., contrary to the interests of the public. (See TRADE-UNIONS.)

Almost all economists and thoughtful trade-unionists welcome the formation of employers' associations, because tho in the formative and transitive period they may lead to heated and prolonged conflicts with labor-unions, especially when the employers' associations are newly formed like newly formed trade-unions, in the long run it must work for organized peace. Indeed, trade agreements and collective bargaining, which almost all economists are agreed to be the main hope of industrial peace, are almost impossible without employers' associations on the one hand which can enter into agreements with the trade-unions on the other. There have been strikes of employees to try to force their employers into an

employers' association and so carry out certain contracts.

Such associations, tho sometimes, like foolish trade-unions, doing temporary harm, are undoubtedly on the line of progress, to that organized peace which is slowly replacing unregulated competition.

REFERENCES: *Labor Problems*, T. S. Adams and H. L. Sumner, 1905; *Getting a Living*, G. L. Bolen, 1903; *Industrial Democracy*, S. and B. Webb, 1902.

EMPLOYER'S LIABILITY: Among the many problems which the modern industrial system offers for solution is that of securing to the workingman a just compensation for the accidental injuries incident to his employment. The common laws of England and the United States offer only such protection as is afforded by the rules of what is briefly known as the "employer's liability." It is axiomatic that each man is accountable for his own acts, voluntarily performed; but it is a further well-established principle that an employer is responsible for the acts done by his employee within the scope of his employment. This rule inures, not only to the benefit of outside parties, but also, within certain limits, to that of employees; so that where an injury to an employee is chargeable to the negligence of the employer or of his personal representative, an action may be brought for the recovery of damages. In reading the following summary of the employer's duty, it must constantly be borne in mind that each statement is subject to qualifications and refinements, differing locally, and that the employer may be found to be not liable for his apparent negligence because of the defenses of assumption of risk, contributory negligence, or fellow-service.

Common Law

The briefest statement of the rule of the employer's duty is that he is required to use due care for the safety of his employees while they are engaged in the performance of their work. This is taken to include the use of all reasonable means and precautions, the facts in each particular case being taken into consideration. If such provisions have been made as a reasonably prudent man would supply if he were himself to be exposed to the dangers of the employee's position, the charge of negligence will not be sustained. In the case of corporations, the supreme court has said that that degree of caution and foresight is required which a corporation controlled by careful and prudent officers would be expected to exercise.

The required degree of care is not capable of absolute determination, but is proportioned to the dangers which the employee must face. The ordinary incidents of railroading, mining, and of certain classes of manufacturing are, in themselves, in comparison with many other employments, unusually dangerous. In such cases the measure for ordinary care is advanced beyond the requirements resting on the employer under less dangerous conditions. Excepted from this rule is the position of the employee who is engaged expressly for the purpose of making repairs or of remedying known conditions of danger. Place, materials, tools, and appliances are all subjected to the same test of reasonable safety and an adequate adaptation for the work in view. The employer cannot be made an insurer, nor is he bound to experiment with every invention that promises a greater degree of safety. He will not be allowed to disregard them entirely, however, and particularly where a device is shown to be of marked value. The law of general usage largely controls, and this may at one time compel the adoption of what, at an earlier day, would not have been considered an essential. The duty of keeping places and appliances in repair devolves on the employer, but under limitations that are not at all agreed upon by the courts. In general, the care of simple tools and the avoidance of obvious dangers may be left to the employee at his peril, while conditions demanding closer examination or greater skill for their discovery and remedy are chargeable to the employer.

Ordinary Care

Springing out of the duty of maintenance and repair is that of inspection. The measure of this duty varies with the nature of the circumstances, as of simple or complex machinery, stable or rapidly deteriorating instrumentalities, etc. Nothing more is to be required in any case than a reasonably careful inspection, both as to thoroughness and frequency. Passing from the inanimate and irresponsible instrumentalities, we find the rule that the employer must be reasonably and properly careful and diligent to secure employees of such qualifications and in such numbers as will enable his business to be carried on without unnecessary risk to those engaged in it. This involves proper care in the original hiring, due diligence in subsequent inquiry, and the maintenance of a suitable system of conducting business and in the organization of the working force. Related to these duties is that of making and enforcing proper rules and the giving of suitable instructions, where the business is such as to warrant them.

Duties of Organization

The duties above enumerated are generally considered as being matters of personal obligation, of which the employer can relieve himself only by their performance; or in other words, they are non-delegable, and must be performed, if not by the employer, then by his personal representative, for whose acts he is responsible. It is for negligence of one or another of these duties, resulting in injury to an employee, that actions for damages may be brought under the common law liability of the employer. As already mentioned, certain defenses are open to the employer, which will now be noticed in the order named above.

According to the doctrine of assumption of risks, a workman of mature years and ordinary intelligence, offering himself for employment, is presumed to know and appreciate the conditions and to assume the risks ordinarily incident to the undertaking; or, as is often said, the law imports into his contract of employment an agreement to assume the ordinary risks of the service, and such other risks as may be known to and appreciated by him; and if the accident occasioning an injury is traceable to causes embraced within this description, the employer will not be held liable therefor. Risks which may be obviated by the exercise of reasonable care on the part of the employer are to be classed as extraordinary, and these the employee is held not to have assumed unless he knows and comprehends the dangers arising from the employer's negligence. If the dangers are open or are duly brought to his knowledge, an employee entering upon or remaining in service is presumed to have

Assumption of Risks

waived his claim against his employer for resulting damages. If a complaint is made, however, and is answered by a promise to repair, the employee will be relieved of the risk for a reasonable time, after which it will again devolve upon him if he continues to work without the repair actually having been made.

When a risk involves such a degree of danger that a man of ordinary prudence would not assume it, the employer's defense would be, not that the employee assumed the risk, but that he was negligent in engaging in work under such circumstances, and that by such contributory negligence he is debarred from any recovery of damages. The doctrine of comparative negligence, according to which the court weighs the negligent acts of the two parties and attempts to apportion the fault, has been followed in some jurisdictions; but it is commonly said that in cases of mutual fault the courts will neither cast all the consequences on the employer, nor attempt any apportionment thereof. Statutes have been enacted in some jurisdictions, however, and notably by the Congress of the U. S., requiring the courts to take notice of the comparative negligence of the employer and the injured employee, and to render judgment accordingly.

The remaining defense of the employer is what is known as the fellow-servant rule, or the doctrine of common employment. This rule has been stated thus: "A master is not bound to indemnify one servant for injuries caused by the negligence of another servant in the same common employment as himself, unless the negligent servant was the master's representative." This doctrine was enunciated in England in 1837, and independently the next year in this country; and as a result of the growth of the number of employees in large undertakings and the consequent lack of immediate supervision by the employer, its application has come to be of the utmost importance. What constitutes common service is impossible to determine by fixt rule; and various tests, as of departments of work and of contemplated risks, questions of rank, and whether the same person may not be as to certain acts a vice-principal and as to others a coservant, have been propounded and discust more or less favorably in various jurisdictions. The courts of different states contradict each other in their rulings on these points, while within the same state, and even in the Supreme Court of the U. S., opinions have shifted from time to time so as to effect practical reversals of former positions. It was said in an opinion from that court a few years ago that "there is perhaps no one matter upon which there are more conflicting and irreconcilable decisions in the various courts of the land than the one as to what is the test of common service so as to relieve the master from liability for the injury of one servant through the negligence of another." And it may also be said that the stream of litigation on this point shows no signs of diminution.

Fellow-Servant Rule

Reasons for the doctrine are hardly better fixt than are the rulings under it, and it seems quite within bounds to say that none of them justifies the exclusion of employees from the benefit of the rule of *respondeat superior*, that makes the principal responsible for the acts of his agent. As to the defense of the assumption of risks the inquiry may equally be raised as to why the laborer should be compelled to bear the burden of pure accidents or of the results of the so-called "act of God"—the *vis major* of the Roman law—which befall in the prosecution of undertakings the benefits of which are to be reaped by the employer, while as to the plea of contributory negligence, it would seem to suffice as a reason why such a plea should not be accepted as a complete defense when we observe that it is in itself a confession of negligence on the part of the employer, to the consequences of which the employee is only a contributor.

Each of these defenses has been the subject of legislation looking toward definition and restriction. Thus, in Colorado the doctrine of common employment as a defense is practically abolished, while several states eliminate or restrict it in connection with railway labor. State mining regulations and laws requiring safety appliances on railways and in factories frequently contain provisions excluding the defense of assumed risks and contributory negligence where the injury results from the employer's failure to conform to the requirements of the statute. The results of such legislation are, however, only the securing of a partial relief, at best. The real difficulty is to be found in the principle of the law, and is well exprest in the following statement contained in the preamble of a German accident-insurance bill of 1881. Speaking of the employer's liability law then in force, it was said: "To burden the person injured with the requirement of furnishing proof of negligence on the part of the employer or his agents transforms the beneficence of the law for the workingman into an illusion in the majority of cases. The procurement of such evidence, sufficiently difficult in any event, is not seldom rendered impossible as respects some of the most severe injuries brought about by natural forces, such as happen in mines, establishments with steam boilers, and factories for the manufacture of explosives. Herein the condition of the work place, the implements and appliances, upon which the whole case of the workman really turns, are so altered by the accident itself as to be unrecognizable; while those persons through whose testimony alone negligence in many cases can be proven have been killed or injured in the accident."

Legislation and its Difficulties

In continental Europe, as in England and America, the idea of the employer's liability was at first embodied in the general law of negligence and employees were under no special rule. The Code Napoleon presented a development closely resembling that of our own common law, except for its omission of the doctrine of common employment, and its recognition of a doctrine of comparative liability. It is said that the law was in general interpreted more favorably to the workingman by the continental courts than was the case in England. The German common law restricted the employer's liability to cases of defective machinery or appliances, and those of the employment of incompetent superintendents. In 1871 the empire adopted a statute on the subject, with the intention of extending the employee's rights and of simplifying procedure in the recovery of damages. That the law was not satisfactory is indicated in the quotation given in the foregoing, as well as by the fact that Germany was the first country to adopt the principle of insurance as opposed to the older one of individual liability.

Europe

In all countries it was necessary to prove the default of the employer or his agent before an injured employee could recover damages for injuries. In other words, the trade risk or *risque professionnel* rested on the employee. Legislation to fix more exactly the relative rights and liabilities of the two parties was enacted by various countries in the early part of the last century, and such laws are still generally in force; tho there is in every European country of industrial importance, unless Switzerland be excepted, some provision for the insurance of working men against accident, or for workmen's compensation, which has for most purposes superseded the earlier type of law. It can hardly be denied that the adoption of one or other of these plans, or of some other provision by which the burden of the industrial risk would be shifted from the shoulders of the worker and made a proper charge against the industry, and the right of his recovery of damages made more secure, would mark a great advance over present conditions in the United States.

LINDLEY D. CLARK.

REFERENCES: *Commentaries on the Law of Master and Servant*, vols. i. and ii. (*Employers' Liability*), by C. B. Labatt, 1904; *The Legal Relations Between the Employed and their Employers in Pennsylvania, Compared with the Relations Existing between Them in Other States*, by Albert S. Bolles, 1901; *Four Lectures on the Law of Employers' Liability at Home and Abroad*, by Augustine Birrell, 1897; *Employer and Employee under the Common Law*, by the U. S. Bureau of Labor, 1901; *Industrial Accidents and Employers' Responsibility for their Compensation*, in the *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the State of New York*, 1899. All enactments by the state and federal legislatures of the U. S. relative to *employers' liability*, and a selected list of *current decisions on the subject*, are published in the *Tenth Special Report* (1904), and the bimonthly *Bulletins of the U. S. Bureau of Labor*.

The following summary or digest, prepared and published by the U. S. Bureau of Labor, is based on its compilation of the labor laws in 1903, revised to include the legislation of 1904:

The legislation enacted in the various states with regard to the liability of employers for injuries sustained by employees may be grouped as follows: (1) Statutes declaratory of the common-law doctrine with regard to the liability of employers, their duty toward employees, etc.; (2) statutes modifying the fellow-servants doctrine by adopting the theory (*a*) that all superior employees are vice-principals as regards their subordinates, and (*b*) that co-service is not a bar to an action for injuries caused by the negligence of an employee in a different department; (3) statutes by which employers have been, either entirely or in regard to certain classes of injuries, deprived of the protection afforded by the defense of common employment; (4) statutes holding employers liable in damages for injuries caused by reason of employers' failure to comply with specific provisions of law concerning conditions of ways, machinery, appliances, and plants, hours of labor, or other statutory regulations for the protection and safety of employees; (5) statutes concerning the right to recover damages for injuries resulting in death; (6) statutes concerning accident insurance, relief associations, etc.

Common-Law Liability

The States of California, Montana, North Dakota, and South Dakota have enacted statutes stating the common-law doctrine by declaring employers liable for injuries sustained by employees in consequence of the discharge of duty, or in obedience to the employers' directions, or on account of the want of ordinary care on the part of the employers, exceptions being made in the case of losses suffered in consequence of the ordinary risks of business or of the negligence of fellow servants. Statutes passed in Connecticut and in Minnesota define the term "vice-principal," and require employers to provide their employees with a safe place to work and to furnish reasonably safe tools, machinery, etc. A Georgia statute provides that "except in the case of railroad companies, the master is not liable to one servant for injuries arising from the negligence or misconduct of other servants about the same business." Statutes providing that persons who are in a position to give orders or directions, or who have supervision over work, are vice-principals, have been enacted in Arkansas, Connecticut, Indiana, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Porto Rico, South Carolina, Texas, Utah, and Virginia. Statutes providing that co-service is not a bar to an action for injuries caused by the negligence of an employee in a different department have been enacted in Arkansas, Indiana, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Ohio, Oregon, Porto Rico, South Carolina, Texas, Utah, and Virginia. These statutes in most states apply only to the railroad service.

Modifications

Statutes by which employers have been either entirely or in regard to certain classes of injuries deprived of the protection afforded by the defense of common employment have been enacted in thirteen states and territories. In Colorado the statute applies to all industries, and thus practically abolishes the fellow-servant doctrine. In Arizona, where the statute applies to all corporations, there is a proviso that the corporation must have had previous notice of the incompetence, carelessness, or negligence of the fellow servant in order to become liable. In Maryland the statute applies to steam and street railroads, mines, quarries, excavations, etc. In Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, and Wisconsin these statutes abrogate the fellow-servant doctrine in the railway service only.

Twenty-eight states and territories have statutes and one state has a constitutional provision holding employers liable in damages for injuries sustained by employees by reason of the failure of employers to comply with specific provisions of law concerning condition of ways, machinery, appliances, plants, etc., hours of labor, or other statutory regulations designed for the protection and safety of employees. In Indiana, Kansas, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, and Porto Rico these statutes apply to industries generally; in Arkansas and North Carolina, to railroads and mines; in Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, Vermont, Virginia, and Wisconsin, to railroads only; in California, Colorado, Illinois, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, Pennsylvania, and Utah, the statutes, and in Wyoming, a constitutional provision apply to mines only; in Washington the statutes apply to sawmills; in the District of Columbia, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island employers are liable for damages to their employees for injuries due to failure to provide fire-escapes on factories, workshops, or other places of work; in Rhode Island, for failure to provide proper protection on elevator shafts, and in Illinois for failure to provide guards on the thrashing machines, corn-shellers, or other machines run by horse-power. A federal statute provides that any employee of a railroad company engaged in interstate commerce who may be injured by any locomotive, car, or train by reason of the company's failure to comply with the provisions of the law requiring the placing of safety couplers and power brakes on engines and cars, "shall not be deemed thereby to have assumed the risk thereby occasioned, altho continuing in the employment of such carrier after the unlawful use of such locomotive, car, or train had been brought to his knowledge."

Nearly all the states and territories have enacted laws changing either wholly or in part the common-law rule that no action for damages caused by the killing of a human being can be maintained, namely: Alabama, Arizona, California, Colorado, Delaware, District of Columbia, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Porto Rico, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming. These statutes usually give the widows, dependents, executors, etc., the same right to recover damages as if death had not resulted from the accident. In a number of these states the statutes fix the maximum amount that may be recovered in such cases. In Utah the constitution provides that the right of action to recover damages for injuries resulting in death shall never be abrogated, and the amount recoverable shall not be subject to any statutory limitation.[1]

The following states have included in their statutes regulating the liability of the employer, provisions to the effect that no contract restricting the liability imposed by the statutes or waiving the benefit of the same shall be legal and binding: Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Iowa, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia, Wisconsin.[2] In Wyoming this is provided for in the constitution.

Relief and Insurance Institutions

The States of Indiana, Iowa, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Montana, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina, and also Porto Rico, have statutory provisions concerning relief or insurance funds or associations for the compensation of injured workmen. These laws differ greatly in their scope and purpose. An Ohio statute prohibits railroad corporations from compelling employees to join relief organizations or entering into contracts with the employees whereby the latter waive or surrender their right to damages. In Michigan it is unlawful for a company or corporation to require employees to take out life or accident

[1] An identical provision exists in the Constitution of New York (Art. I., sec. 18).—ED.

[2] In New York such waivers or releases are void at common law (Johnson *vs.* Fargo, 98 App. Div. 436).—ED.

policies in any particular insurance organization, and all contracts requiring or stipulating that employees should procure such policies are void. Employees may, however, contribute toward voluntary mutual benefit funds and have the amount of the contributions deducted from their wages. In Iowa, Montana, and South Carolina statutes provide that contracts of insurance, relief, benefit, or indemnity in case of injury or death between employees and employers in the railway service, or the acceptance of such relief, etc., do not constitute a bar or defense to a cause of action for injury. The Indiana statute provides, however, that a settlement may be made after the injury. In Indiana the law declaring contracts releasing employers from liability void does not apply to voluntary relief departments or associations organized for the purpose of insuring employees. The South Carolina law authorizes manufacturing companies to become members of mutual companies or associations for insurance against accidents to their employees. Railroad companies having relief departments for which members are required or permitted to pay dues are required to pay persons entitled to the benefits the amounts agreed upon, the law providing that the acceptance of such relief does not estop an employee or his representatives from recovering damages for injury or death caused by the negligence of the employer. In Massachusetts, New York, and Porto Rico the statutes provide that employers who contribute toward insurance funds or relief societies or have insured employees in insurance companies may prove in mitigation of the damages recoverable by an employee, such proportion of the pecuniary benefit received by the employee from such fund or society as the contribution of the employer bears to the whole contribution to the same. A Massachusetts statute expressly authorizes the organization of railway relief associations and permits steam and street railway companies to associate themselves with such organizations. Such associations must report their membership, financial operations, etc., to the board of railroad commissioners, who have authority to inspect their books and papers. The by-laws of such associations must be approved by the railroad commissioners before they can conduct their operations.

The Maryland statute[1] differs from all other laws passed in this country in that it provides for a form of cooperative insurance under the immediate control of the state. It provides that any corporation, partnership, or individual engaged in operating any coal or clay mine, quarry, steam, or street railroad in Maryland, and any incorporated town, city, or county engaged in constructing a sewer, excavation, or other physical structure, or the contractor for such town, city, or county, shall be liable for damages flowing from an injury to or the accidental death of an employee or servant. If the injury was caused by the joint neglect of the employer or his servant on the one hand, and the injured or deceased person on the other, then the employer is liable for one half the damages sustained by the injury or death.

The employers above mentioned may, however, be relieved of this liability if they pay the following annual sums for each employee into the hands of the state insurance commissioner: Operators of coal- or clay-mining or quarrying, $1.80; operators of steam railways, $3; operators of street or trolley railways, sixty cents; cities, towns, counties, or contractors, such sum as the insurance commissioner may deem necessary. The employers, etc., may deduct a sum not exceeding one half the amount payable to the insurance commissioner from the wages of employees. The insurance commissioner may extend the benefits of this insurance scheme to other occupations than those indicated. The only indemnity provided for under this scheme is the payment, in case of death by accident as above mentioned, of $1,000 to the administrator or executor of the deceased or to the widow, husband, or children. The insurance commissioner has the custody of the funds and is required to invest them in safe securities.

Any party subject to the provisions of this act who is making better provision, either by way of payment in case of death, injury, sickness, or old age, or all combined, than he would be obliged to do under this scheme may be absolutely released by the commissioner from the liability imposed by virtue of this act, but the legal effect of the act may be revived whenever the party fails to continue the scheme or system on account of which the order of release was granted.

EMPLOYMENT. See OCCUPATION and UNEMPLOYMENT.

EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS. See PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS.

ENFANTIN, PROSPER: French communist; born in Paris, 1796. Coming under the influence of St. Simon, he acted with Bazard as leader of the movement after St. Simon's death in 1825. The two leaders attracted a considerable following. In 1831 the school attempted communism on some property of Enfantin's at Menilmontant. But commencing as a devotee of mysticism, Enfantin finally adopted the doctrine of "free love"; this brought him into trouble with most of his fellow religionists. Bazard differed from Enfantin, who became, after Bazard retired, the sole chief of the St. Simonians, called "the supreme father" in their somewhat fantastic religious forms. But their practises produced troubles. Enfantin was condemned on Aug. 28, 1832, in company with Charles Duveyrier and Michel Chevalier, to a year's imprisonment and a fine of 100 francs for having assisted, without previously obtaining permission, in the formation of an association consisting of more than twenty members, and in the promulgation of articles injurious to public morality. The penalty was before long commuted, and Enfantin made his way to Egypt, where he studied the question of piercing the Isthmus of Suez. Subsequently he returned to Paris, and was appointed, in 1845, a director of the first company for constructing a railway from Paris to Lyons.

After the Revolution of 1848 Enfantin founded, in conjunction with Charles Duveyrier, the journal *Le Crédit*, which continued to appear till 1850. Finally he became the administrator of the second Paris, Lyons and Mediterranean Railway Company, a post which he continued to hold till his death, at Paris, in 1864. Before the fall of the St. Simonian school, Enfantin published, in conjunction with others, "Doctrine de St. Simon, Exposition," 2 vols., 1830–32; afterward, in his own name, "Economie politique et Politique," "Morale," etc.

ENGEL, ERNST: German statistician; born in Dresden in 1821. After completing his studies and traveling extensively, he became, in 1850, manager of the recently founded Royal Saxon Statistical Bureau. In 1858, on account of attacks from the Saxon Chamber, which his official activity had called out, he resigned this position and founded a mortgage insurance company at Dresden, but in 1860 was appointed director of the Prussian Statistical Bureau at Berlin, where he remained twenty-two years, earning the position of one of the leading statisticians of Europe, and issuing many private as well as official works. In 1882 he retired to private life, residing near Dresden until his death in 1896. From 1860 until 1882 he was editor-in-chief of the "Jahrbuch für amtliche Statistik des Preussischen Staates," and from 1875 of the "Statistische Korrespondenz." He was the author of many works, mostly statistical, and some of great human interest. Among these may be mentioned "Der Preis der Arbeit" (1872) and "Der Wert des Menschen" (1883).

ENGELS, FRIEDRICH: German socialist; born at Barmen, Rhenish Prussia, 1820. A clerk from 1837–41, he discharged his military duties and then entered his father's cotton business at Manchester, England. Visiting Paris in 1844, he met Karl Marx and became his lifelong friend. In 1847 he went with Marx to Brussels. Banished from Paris and Brussels, Marx and Engels published the famous communist manifesto. (See SOCIALISM.) From 1848 to May, 1849, he was with Marx on the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, published at Cologne. He took part in the South-German uprising of 1849. On the suppression of the revolution he returned to England and re-

[1] Held unconstitutional by the Baltimore Court of Common Pleas, April 27, 1904.

entered his father's business, remaining in it till 1869; after this he resided in London. He wrote numerous German works, but is best known as the editor of the second and third volumes of Karl Marx's works, published after Marx's death. Engels spoke ten languages, and wrote in English the "Condition of the Working Classes in England in 1848." Among his German works are "Die Entwickelung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft" and "Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigenthums, und des Staats." He died in London, 1895.

ENGINEERS, AMALGAMATED (marine and general): One of the largest and strongest of English trade-unions, organized in 1851, as an amalgamation of several societies, and mainly through the efforts of William Newton and William Allan. Allan was elected the first secretary, and annually reelected till he died in office in 1874, making his union a model of the trade-unions of his day. In 1892 it elected seventeen salaried officers. It has become one of the more conservative of the English unions. In 1904 it had 660 local branches with 89,403 members in the United Kingdom and 6,703 in other countries. Their funds at end of 1904 were £605,981, and their income during the year £371,730. Of this £120,580 was spent in unemployed and emigration benefits, £111,368 in superannuation benefits, £53,884 in sick and accident benefits, £41,735 in working expenses, £11,496 in strike benefits, £10,423 in grants to other societies.

ENTAIL: The legal meaning of "entail" is "the act or custom of limiting inheritance of land to a particular class of heirs," or "an estate settled with regard to the rule of its descent" (Wharton's "Law Lexicon"). The origin of entail is to be looked for in feudalism under which system each man's rights, duties, and social consideration depended on his relation to the land, and therefore it seemed well to try and fix the tenure of land and permit its disposition. Entails were thus a political and social institution, and were found in all countries where feudalism existed. In most countries, however, they have disappeared in the course of the political changes of the latter part of the eighteenth century. In England they have survived, tho greatly changed by many and complicated laws.

ENTREPRENEUR: This is a French word, to-day frequently used in English to designate the person who organizes and directs the productive factors. The English words formerly used for this, *undertaker* and *adventurer*, are now used in other senses. The true meaning of this word in French is contractor.

EPILEPTICS. See HOSPITALS.

ESSENES: A Jewish sect of mystic ascetics, who combined Jewish, Greek, and Oriental doctrines with communistic and ritualistic modes of life. They are not spoken of in the Bible, probably because they dwelt in retired communities. They represent the mystic and ascetic forms of Judaism, as opposed to the orthodox Pharisees and rationalistic Sadducees. Neither their name nor origin has been satisfactorily explained. They left no writings themselves, and Philo and Josephus are our only authorities as to their habits and beliefs. They appear to have separated themselves from the commercial and political life of the cities and towns, and to have dwelt in small and isolated villages. Most of them were not far from the Dead Sea. Their most distinctive characteristic was *ascetic communism.* They literally had all things in common. Philo says:

> There is no one who has a house so absolutely his own private property that it does not in some sense also belong to every one; for besides that they all dwell together in companies, the house is open to all those of the same notions who come to them from other quarters. There is one storehouse among them all; their expenses are all in common, as are their garments and food. They do not retain their wages as their own, but bring it into the common stock. They take care of their sick and honor their elders.

Every Essene rose before sunrise, and with his face turned toward the east, repeated his morning prayer. As soon as the light permitted they commenced their daily labors, farming, bee-keeping, cattle-raising, and such-like humble occupations. Each little colony had in its midst a room or hall where the members met at regular hours daily. They kept apart from commerce, war, and trade. Their dress was as plain and simple as possible—a light, sleeveless garment in summer, and in winter a warm hairy mantle. They cared only for decency and a moderate degree of comfort; luxury and show were unknown among them. Both during winter and summer they wore leathern aprons. At 11 A.M. they ceased work, bathed, drest themselves in spotless white linen, and assembled for their simple meal. A blessing was asked before the meal, and thanks returned after by a priest. They were both vegetarians and total abstainers. At the close of the meal they sung a hymn, and then worked again until sunset. The seventh day was one of perfect rest. On it they read and expounded the Law and their own peculiar writings. As their asceticism prohibited them from partaking of the feasts held at Jerusalem, and their mode of worship interfered with their entering the Temple, they broke the Law in one important point—they did not attend the regular feasts at Jerusalem. They forwarded their gifts instead. The majority of them were celibates, and they kept up their numbers by adopting children, whom they taught with great care and patience. If a man wished to join them, he was obliged to submit to a three years' novitiate, being rigidly excluded from their gatherings. At the end of each year he was advanced by ceremonies and privileges, and after three years became a full member. The only time oaths or vows were allowed was during the initiation into full membership. The candidate was bound by tremendous oaths to be worthy of the order and obedient to its rules. The Essenes were never very numerous. Philo gives their number as 4,000. After the destruction of Jerusalem they disappear from history.

They believed in the immortality of the soul, in a fixt Providence, in the future rewards of the righteous, and punishment of the wicked. They did not believe in the resurrection of the body. They were said to practise magic, and were believed by all Jews to have prophets among their members. It is probable that they derived from the Zoroastrian religion their celibacy, sun homage, abstinence from sacrifice, magical rites, and intense striving after purity. They were everywhere known for their kindness to the sick and poor. Their knowledge of roots and herbs enabled them to perform many acts of healing that to spectators seemed miraculous. They were greatly averse to slavery, and always opposed it.

With few exceptions they abstained from all public affairs, being invariably modest and retiring. Philo gives the three chief rules of their conduct as follows: "The love of God, the love of virtue, and the love of man." It has been the theory of some rationalists that Jesus spent some time among the Essenes, and sought to widen and propagate their theology and communism. (See De Quincey's "Essays on the Essenes.")

ESTATES: Term used in political history for classes or orders in society. Since the earliest civilizations the tendency to make distinctions in the relative position of one set of people toward others has appeared. Plato, in his "Republic," divides men into three classes: philosophers or magistrates, warriors or gymnasts, and laborers or artizans. The first are the wise thinkers, who are fit to rule; the second the fighters—men of force and action; the third are the bulk of the common people, whose first care is the supplying of every-day necessities; and as the one or other element predominated in the nature of the individual, so he became either philosopher, warrior, or artizan. What was first, however, the natural selection of ability soon becomes a matter of inheritance; and after a time the distinction was looked upon as a direct act of Deity. The castes of India, tho part and parcel of the Brahman religion, are unmistakably of such origin. According to Brahman theology, Brahma created three different men: one, the *Brahman*, emanated from his head, and was endowed with all knowledge of science and art; he has all wisdom and is king and head of all the earth. The second, the *Kohatriya*, came from Brahma's arms, and it was his right and duty, under the control of the Brahman, to make war and peace, to make laws and execute them, and to maintain social order and the division of the castes. The *Vaisyas* sprang from Brahma's feet, and were the tillers of the soil, the artizans, upon whom devolved the supplying of all the physical needs of humanity.

The development of the modern "estates of the realm" was brought about originally by the same natural selection of the fittest leaders of thought and the strongest protectors. In France, before the Revolution of 1789, the three estates were king, nobles, and clergy; while the three estates in England were king, lords, and commons. The substitution of commons for clergy in England was the direct result of the Reformation, and of the more independent thought of the English people. The conditions which M. Taine speaks of as being the reason of the power of the clergy undoubtedly still held good to some extent in England till Henry VIII. confiscated all their property. The English clergy, like their brethren in other new civilizations, were not only the most learned men, but also by their tact became powerful in the affairs of the nation. When, however, the Reformation swept away their monopoly of power over men's consciences, and when they lost their enormous estates, a new element began to arise. From early times the system of gilds had developed a certain amount of local self-government among the commoners, who had thereby gained confidence in their own judgment; and now a wish to act for themselves in matters concerning the whole nation grew up, which finally led to the execution of Charles I. and founding the Commonwealth. From that time the clergy ceased to have an independent standing of their own; and tho to-day the bishops have seats in the House of Lords by right of their office, they are practically no more than a section of the privileged class. Their place as rulers was taken by the wealthy commoners.

In France the "three estates" continued to hold sway long after their beneficial effects had ceased; until, indeed, the load of oppression had become more than could be borne. As there was not even a nominal representation of the people, the evils continued until the volcanic wrath of the people swept away all three estates, and put the management entirely into the hands of the bourgeois commoners. They, however, were not yet equal to the task, and the warrior had again to be looked up to. The bourgeois were called the fourth estate; but the great mass of the people—the working people—are not of any estate as yet, tho the lesson of history goes to show that in due season there will be no distinctions of estates or classes. Modern socialism is sometimes considered the rising of the fourth estate, which shall abolish all estate and introduce equality.

EVANS, FREDERICK WILLIAM: American Shaker; born at Bromyard, England, 1808; came to America in 1820. Apprenticed to a hatter, he managed to educate himself, and later traveled to New Orleans, also paying a visit to England. In 1830 he joined the Shakers at Mount Lebanon, N. Y., and in 1838 became assistant elder in the "North Family," and in 1858 elder of three families. From 1873 to 1875 he edited a little paper, *The Shaker and Shakeress*. Among his works are: "Autobiography of a Shaker" (1869); "Religious Communism" (1872); "The Second Appearing of Christ" (1873). He died in 1893.

EVANS, GEORGE HENRY: American editor; born at Bromyard, England, 1805; came to America in 1820. He edited and published the first labor papers in America: *The Man*, at Ithaca, N. Y., about 1822; "*The Working Man's Advocate*, New York, a part of the time 1825–30; *The Daily Sentinel* in 1837 in New York, and *Young America* in New York and Rahway, N. J., 1853. The demands advocated by Evans and printed at the head of *Young America* were: 1. The right of man to the soil. "Vote yourself a farm." 2. Down with monopolies, especially the United States Bank. 3. Freedom of public lands. 4. Homesteads made inalienable. 5. Abolition of all laws for the collection of debts. 6. A general bankrupt law. 7. A lien of the laborer upon his own work for his wages. 8. Abolition of imprisonment for debt. 9. Equal rights for women with men in all respects. 10. Abolition of chattel slavery and of wages slavery. 11. Land limitation to 160 acres. 12. Mails in the U. S. to run on the Sabbath. Evans became a friend of Horace Greeley, and followed the political movements of the time with interest. He died in 1855.

EVENING-SCHOOLS: The evening- or night-schools are supplementary to the day-schools. They may be either elementary, high, or professional. In countries where education is compulsory the evening-school usually has a professional character, and becomes a trade-school, combining, however, general information with professional instruction. Germany alone has about 750,000 pupils in these schools. The evening-schools of France are mostly professional (*écoles professionnelles*), and have a very high standing—giving both theoretical instruction and

practical training. Sweden, Norway, Holland, Belgium, Austria-Hungary, Spain, Portugal, Italy Russia, Switzerland, Rumania, have introduced schools of this character; and in most of these countries attendance is compulsory. Boys and girls are usually separate where the object is professional instruction. The expenses are borne by the municipality and the state or province conjointly; in some cases by private or professional organizations. Attendance is compulsory in all cases where the community supports the school. The period lasts from two to four years; i. e., from the fourteenth to sixteenth or eighteenth year. The law of Sweden (1898) provides that religion, Swedish language and literature, arithmetic, geometry, drawing, botany, and history should be taught as general branches; professional branches separately to girls and boys.

Great Britain has an extensive system of evening schools. In 1903–4 the government granted aid to 5,579 schools in England and Wales alone to the amount of £304,962. The enrolment was 469,686. They were partly of a professional, partly of a general character; in many cases both features were combined.

As in other instances, the United States have taken up the system of supplementary instruction by evening-schools extensively. This has become an absolute necessity in many large cities of the East and North, since the influx of adult foreigners has been so great during the last few years that something had to be done to initiate them into the language, history, and politics of the country. Accordingly, systematic attempts have been made to organize the evening-schools in such a manner that adults can attend without embarrassment. The evening-schools have, consequently, a double aspect: 1. They are to serve as an agency of general education, both elementary and higher, for all those who are able to understand English sufficiently well to profit by such instruction. The branches taught are those of the corresponding grades in the municipal schools. 2. The evening-schools are to make provision for the instruction in the English language, in civics, in American history, arithmetic, and other branches profitable to adult foreigners. These classes are arranged chiefly in national groups, i. e., German, Italian, French, Russian, Yiddish, etc. The Educational Alliance (*q. v.*) is doing excellent work in New York City along this line, particularly for the Jews from different countries.

In many of these schools instruction is given in free-hand and mechanical drawing, and other professional branches. Nevertheless, there is a great need for professional evening trade-schools where instruction is systematic for each profession on European models. The city of Berlin alone has twenty-five evening trade-schools, with an enrolment of over 25,000. While this system of trade-schools would add considerably to the school budget, the expenditure would be amply returned by superior work in craftsmanship, as is witnessed in all manufacturing centers of western Europe.

In addition to regular class instruction, New York City and other cities have introduced *free lecture courses* in the evening. These courses are of a scientific character on certain evenings and in certain localities; but more frequently they are of a popular, altho instructive character—dealing with literature, travel, history, etc. New York City began this system tentatively in 1890 with six centers. In 1904 there were 140 centers, 4,200 lectures with about 1,200,000 attendants. The city expended $545,000 for evening-school instruction during 1905.

EVOLUTION AND SOCIAL REFORM: That biological principles and the teachings of the evolutionary philosophy have an important bearing on social reform is to-day all but universally admitted; yet, strange to say, even the best writers and authorities are utterly disagreed as to the reform position to which these principles lead. Mr. Herbert Spencer and some other writers use the theory of evolution as an argument against state interference with private property and the necessity of industrial competition to human progress. Mr. Benjamin Kidd is equally clear that evolution teaches the necessity of a great expansion of state interference, tho it must be an interference which shall preserve and not destroy competition. Professor Huxley uses biology to ridicule Spencer's position, while Professor Ritchie and most Socialists make biology prove the necessity and practicability of an organic social life, where industrial competition shall disappear. Finally Prof. S. N. Patten, in his "Theory of Social Forces," a work published in January, 1896, says (p. 5): "Even the theory of evolution has had as yet but little influence on the social concepts and ideals of the race"; and he argues that economics are psychological quite as truly as biological. To understand this confusion it is necessary to ask what evolution is.

Definitions of Evolution

"Evolution," says Professor Huxley ("Evolution in Biology") "is at present employed in biology as a general name for the history of the steps by which any living being has acquired the morphological and the physiological characters which distinguish it." He says again ("American Addresses," p. 10): "The hypothesis of evolution supposes that in all this vast progression there is no breach of continuity, . . . but that the whole might be compared to that wonderful process of development which may be seen going on every day under our eyes, in virtue of which there arises out of the semifluid, comparatively homogeneous substance, which we call an egg, the complicated organization of one of the higher animals."

But we can be more definite than this. Says Spencer ("First Principles," § 145):

"Evolution is an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion, during which the matter passes from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite, coherent heterogeneity, and during which the retained motion undergoes a parallel transformation." But the word is often used in a still narrower sense than this, a sense which identifies it with some form of what is often also called Darwinism, and which makes it the theory of "the derivation or descent, with modification, of all existing species, genera, orders, classes, etc., of animals and plants from a few simple forms of life, if not from one" ("Century Dictionary").

Thus far all authorities are practically agreed. But when we come to ask how this evolution has taken place we find more disagreement. We do not here refer to the fundamental questions of how evolution started; whether it is teleological; what it teaches concerning the existing of a divine power in or above nature. With these questions we are not here concerned. But the authorities differ even as to the ways in which evolution works wholly apart from the question of its origination or any divine element in it. There may be more agreement than first appears, but it is necessary to refer to the different views of evolution in order to understand their bearing on social reform.

The evolutionary hypothesis did not originate with Charles Darwin. The general thought of evolution is as old indeed

as the Indian mystics and the Greek physicists. It finds a comparatively clear expression in Leibnitz's principle of continuity, and plays no small part in all German philosophy.

Various Forms of the Theory

Even in its Darwinian form it appears quite explicitly in the writings of Lamarck (Paris, 1809–22), of Dr. W. C. Wells, of Charleston, S. C. (1813), and of Sir Charles Lyell (1850). Lamarck taught, among other things, that the production of a new organ in an animal body results from the supervention of a new want (*besoin*) continuing to make itself felt, and a new movement which this want gives birth to and encourages. It is this law which has been principally associated with Lamarck's name, and is often referred to as his hypothesis of the evolution of organs in animals by appetence or longing, although he did not teach that the animal's desires affect its conformation directly, but that altered wants lead to altered habits, which result in the formation of new organs, as well as in modification, growth, or dwindling of those previously existing.

Mr. Alfred Wallace, as early as 1855 ("Ann. and Mag. Nat. Hist.," 1855), formally announced his belief in the theory of descent of species; and intimated that the manifest adaptation of certain varieties to their surroundings secured them the best chances of perpetuation. Later records show that Mr. Wallace did not stop at this stage of development.

But it was Charles Darwin who, in his great book, "The Origin of Species," first placed the idea of evolution clearly before the world and gained the gradual assent of almost the whole thinking world to his argument in general, if not in detail. Darwin's theory has as its special points the inherent susceptibility and tendency to variation according to conditions of environment; the preservation and perfection of organs best suited to the individual in its struggle for existence; the perpetuation of the more favorably organized beings, and the destruction of those less fitted to service; the operation of natural selection, in which sexual selection is an important factor; and the general proposition that at any given time any given organism represents the result of the foregoing factors, acting in opposition to the hereditary tendency to adhere to the type or "breed true." Since Darwin's day two main schools have arisen. One school, sometimes called the Lamarckian, holds to the distinguishing principle of Lamarck, that acquired variations can be transmitted, and that since these variations are and must be adapted to external agencies and surroundings, and hence of greater value to the individual and the race, such variations are most important in the differentiation of new forms of life. The other school, following Weismann in Germany, has in the name of pure Darwinism or neo-Darwinism claimed that there is no satisfactory evidence that those variations which are the result of mechanical causes (acquired variations) can be inherited, that every instance in which the effects of use and disuse, of mutilations and prenatal influences and the like are supposed to be shown are capable of another explanation.

Most embryologists to-day probably incline to the school of Weismann; but the other side is ably supported, nor must it be forgotten that both sides admit that some variations at least can be transmitted.

Nor must the agreement of the two schools and the general acceptance by all biologists of the principle of evolution by the struggle for life and the survival of the fittest be forgotten. Says Mr. Benjamin Kidd ("Social Evolution," p. 34):

> Progress everywhere from the beginning of life has been effected in the same way, and it is possible in no other way. It is the result of selection and rejection. In the human species, as in every other species which has ever existed, no two individuals of a generation are alike in all respects. There is infinite variation within certain limits. Some are slightly above the average in a particular direction as others are below it, and it is only when conditions prevail which are favorable to a preponderating reproduction of the former that advance in any direction becomes possible. To formulate this as the immutable law of progress since the beginning of life has been one of the principal results of the biological science of the century, and recent work, including the remarkable contributions of Professor Weismann in Germany, has all tended to establish it on foundations which are not now likely to be shaken.

With such a succinct statement as to the views of various schools of biologists as to evolution, we are now able to better understand the bearings of their views on social reform. That such a view must have deep bearing on social reform is obvious. That man's development is subject, in part at least, to the same laws which govern the development of plants and brute animal life no thinking man to-day denies, tho, as we shall see, good authority questions whether these are the only laws which control human progress. We pass, therefore, to consider the different applications of evolutionary thought to social reform.

Herbert Spencer

The leadership in the application of the doctrine of evolution to social science belongs undoubtedly to Herbert Spencer, tho by no means all scientists follow his conclusions. Comte had already prepared the way by treating of human history as a natural process of continuous development, and much German philosophy tends the same way. But Herbert Spencer's "First Principles" (1862) first developed this thought into a connected system (*Synthetic Philosophy*), while his other works apply the thought to psychologic religion, ethics, sociology, education, etc. Bagehot's "Physics and Politics" applies the thought to politics. John Fiske's "Cosmic Philosophy" applies it still more to man's origin and development.

Herbert Spencer makes biology teach the folly of state intervention and the necessity of industrial competition. He argues that it is absolutely necessary to human progress that each individual should stand on his own legs, and that the "fittest" should survive. The struggle, he says, should go on "without violence" ("The Sins of Legislators" in "The Man versus The State"), but government should not interfere. He believes this process to be really benevolent, and says, "the poverty of the incapable, the distresses that come upon the imprudent, the starvation of the idle, and those shoulderings aside of the weak by the strong, which leave so many in shallows and in miseries, are decrees of a large, far-seeing benevolence" (quoted by Mr. William M. Salter in "Anarchy or Government" from "Social Statics"). Mr. Spencer also believes this competition to be just. Each one should gain "neither more nor less of benefit than his activities normally bring" ("Sociology," vol. ii, § 575). "The superior," he says, should "have the good of his superiority, and the evil of his inferiority," and he would put a veto "on all public action which abstracts from some men part of the advantages they have earned, and awards to other men advantages they have not earned" (ibid., vol. ii., § 567).

Mr. Spencer gives particular instances of what he means—he condemns public libraries, public museums, and public schools, since these mean the taxation of the more well-to-do for the benefit of the less well-to-do, and every one, he maintains, should have all the benefits of his exertions to himself, and none should have more benefits than his own exertions entitle him to ("The Sins of Legislators" and the "Great Political Superstition," in "The Man versus The State." Cf. "Sociology," vol. ii., § 569). This gives Mr. Spencer's general position, which he has developed at length in his "Social Statics," "Man versus The State," etc. (For a fuller statement of his view, see SPENCER.)

On questions of the method in evolution, Mr. Spencer follows the Lamarckian view. Mr. Benjamin Kidd, however (in his "Social Evolution"), takes Weismann's theory. Of the bearing of this difference on social reform, Mr. Kidd says (p. 191):

> "If the old view is correct and the effects of use and education are transmitted by inheritance, then the Utopian dreams of philosophy in the past are undoubtedly possible of realization. If we tend to inherit in our own persons the result of

the education and mental and moral culture of past generations, then we may venture to anticipate a future society which will not deteriorate, but which may continue to make progress, even tho the struggle for existence be suspended, the population regulated exactly to the means of subsistence, and the antagonism between the individual and the social organism extinguished, even as Mr. Herbert Spencer has anticipated" ("Data of Ethics," ch. xiv.). But if, as the writer believes, the views of the Weismann party are in the main correct; if there can be no progress except by the accumulation of congenital variations above the average to the exclusion of others below; if without the constant stress of selection which this involves, the tendency of every higher form of life is actually retrograde; then is the whole human race caught in the toils of that struggle and rivalry of life which has been in progress from the beginning. Then must the rivalry of existence continue, humanized as to conditions, it may be, but immutable and inevitable to the end.

Benjamin Kidd

Mr. Kidd argues that this is the law of all progress. He says (pp. 35–37):

Looking back through the history of life anterior to man, we find it to be a record of ceaseless progress, on the one hand, and ceaseless stress and competition, on the other. This orderly and beautiful world which we see around us is now and always has been the scene of incessant rivalry between all the forms of life inhabiting it—rivalry, too, not chiefly conducted between different species, but between members of the same species. The plants in the greensward beneath our feet are engaged in silent rivalry with each other, a rivalry which if allowed to proceed without outside interference would know no pause until the weaker were exterminated. . . . The trees of the forest which clothe and beautify the landscape are in a state of nature engaged in the same rivalry with each other. Left to themselves, they fight out, as unmistakable records have shown, a stubborn struggle extending over centuries, in which at last only those forms most suitable to the conditions of the locality retain their places.

But so far we view the rivalry under simple conditions; it is among the forms of animal life as we begin to watch the gradual progress upward to higher types that it becomes many-sided and complex. It is at this point that we encounter a feature of the struggle which recent developments of biological science tend to bring into ever-increasing prominence. The first necessity for every successful form engaged in this struggle is the capacity for reproduction beyond the limits which the conditions of life for the time being comfortably provide for. . . . Recent biological researches, and more particularly the investigations and conclusions of Professor Weismann, have tended to greatly develop Darwin's original hypothesis as to the conditions under which progress has been made in the various forms of life. It is now coming to be recognized as a necessarily inherent part of the doctrine of evolution, that if the continual selection which is always going on among the higher forms of life were to be suspended, these forms would not only possess no tendency to make progress forward, but must actually go backward. That is to say, if all the individuals of every generation in any species were allowed to actually propagate their kind, the average of each generation would continually tend to fall below the average of each generation which preceded it, and a process of slow but steady degeneration would ensue.

Natural Selection

Mr. Kidd applies this principle to man, and says (pp. 31–34):

These laws, the observer soon convinces himself, have not been suspended in human society. On the contrary, he sees that they must have their most important seat of action there. To recognize this truth, one has only to remember that the discovery which in our time has raised biology from a mere record of isolated facts to a majestic story of orderly progress was not suggested by the study of life among the lower animals. The law, by the enunciation of which Darwin most advanced the science of the nineteenth century, took shape in the mind of the great biologist, after observation of human society—that society in particular which we see around us at the present day. Speaking of the workings of his mind before the "Origin of Species" was begun, Darwin says: "In October, 1838—that is, fifteen months after I had begun my systematic inquiry—I happened to read for amusement Malthus on population; and being well prepared to appreciate the struggle for existence which everywhere goes on, from long-continued observation of the habits of animals and plants, it at once struck me that under these circumstances favorable variations would tend to be preserved and unfavorable ones to be destroyed. The result of this would be the foundation of a new species. Here, then, I had at last got a theory by which to work" ("The Life and Letters of Darwin," by his son, autobiographical chapter, vol. i.) . . . Looking around at the lowest existing types of humanity, and comparing them with the highest, one feels immediately constrained to ask, Do we ever fully realize how this advance of which we are so proud, and which is represented by the intellectual social distance between these two extremes, has been brought about. We talk vaguely about it, and take for granted many things in connection with it; but the number of those who have grasped certain elementary biological laws of which it is the result, and which have controlled and directed it as rigidly as the law of gravity controls and directs a body falling to the earth, is surprisingly small. . . .

Applied to Man

At the outset we find man to be in one respect exactly like all the creatures which have come before him. He reproduces his kind from generation to generation. In doing so, he is subject to a law which must never be lost sight of. Left to himself, this high-born creature, whose progress we seem to take for granted, has not the slightest innate tendency to make any onward progress whatever. It may appear strange, but it is strictly true, that if each of us were allowed by the conditions of life to follow his own inclinations, the average of one generation would have no tendency whatever to rise beyond the average of the preceding one, but distinctly the reverse. This is not a peculiarity of man; it has been a law of life from the beginning, and it continues to be a universal law, which we have no power to alter.

As a result of this view, Mr. Kidd believes that to insure progress society must insure the perpetuation of competition. This, he says, is against the immediate interests of the industrially weaker classes, and therefore they are advocating socialism, the essence of which Mr. Kidd finds to consist in the elimination of competition. But Mr. Kidd says this cannot prevail, because it would mean biological deterioration and death. Through all our Western civilization Mr. Kidd finds a process going on born of the superrational sanctions of Christianity, tending to altruism, lifting up the lower classes, by an ever-widening democracy not toward socialism, but toward a condition where all classes can compete on planes of more perfect equality. He says (pp. 154–65):

The Reformation liberated, as it were, into the practical life of the peoples affected by it that immense body of altruistic feeling which had been from the beginning the distinctive social product of the Christian religion (p. 154). The clue to modern history, he says, lies "in the fact that it has consisted essentially in the gradual breaking down of that military organization of society which had previously prevailed and in the emancipation and enfranchisement of the great body of the people hitherto universally excluded under that constitution of society from all participation on equal terms in the rivalry of existence. . . . And it tends to culminate in a condition of society in which there shall be no privileged classes, and in which all the excluded people shall be at last brought into the rivalry of life on a footing of equality, of opportunity, the significance of the whole process consisting in its tendency to raise the rivalry of existence to the highest degree of efficiency as a cause of progress, to which it has ever attained in the history of life.

Mr. Kidd thus formulates his conclusions as to social reform (pp. 237, 238):

In the era upon which we are entering, the long, uphill effort to secure equality of opportunity, as well as equality of political rights, will of necessity involve not the restriction of the interference of the State, but the progressive extension of its sphere of action to almost every department of our social life. The movement in the direction of the regulation, control, and restriction of the rights of wealth and capital must be expected to continue, even to the extent of the State itself assuming these rights in cases where it is clearly proved that their retention in private hands must unduly interfere with the rights and opportunities of the body of the people. But the continuity of principle may be expected to remain evident under the new appearances. Even in such cases, the State will, in reality, assume such functions *in order to preserve or secure* free competition rather than to suspend it. Hence, the general tendency must be expected to be toward State interference and State control, on a greatly extended scale, rather than toward State management. It may, perhaps, be inferred from this that the development of society in the direction indicated will itself be a movement toward socialism. This is not so. The gulf between the state of society—toward which it is the tendency of the process of evolution now in progress to carry us—and socialism is wide and deep. The avowed aim of socialism is to suspend that personal rivalry and competition of life, which not only is now, but has been from the beginning

Not Socialism

of life, the fundamental impetus behind all progress. The inherent tendency of the process of social development now taking place among us is (as it has been from the beginning of our civilization) to raise this rivalry to the very highest degree of efficiency as a condition of progress, by bringing all the people into it on a footing of equality, and by allowing the freest possible play of forces within the community, and the widest possible opportunities for the development of every individual's faculties and personality. This is the meaning of that evolutional process which has been slowly proceeding through the history of the Western peoples.

Contrary both to Mr. Spencer and to Mr. Kidd are the views of Professor Huxley. Of Mr. Spencer's view, Professor Huxley says ("Administrative Nihilism," an address delivered to the Midland Institute, Oct. 9, 1871):

One of the profoundest of living English philosophers, who is at the same time the most thoroughgoing and consistent of the champions of astynomocracy, has devoted a very able and ingenious essay to the drawing out of a comparison between the process by which men have advanced from the savage state to the highest civilization, and that by which an animal passes from the condition of an almost shapeless and structureless germ to that in which it exhibits a highly complicated structure and a corresponding diversity of powers. . . . All this appears to be very just. But if the resemblance between the body physiological and the body politic is any indication not only of what the latter is, and how it has become what it is, but of what it ought to be, and what it is tending to become, I cannot but think that the real force of the analogy is totally opposed to the negative view of State function.

Suppose that, in accordance with this view, each muscle were to maintain that the nervous system had no right to interfere with its contraction, except to prevent it from hindering the contraction of another muscle; or each gland, that it had a right to secrete, so long as its secretion interfered with no other; suppose every separate cell left free to follow its own "interests," and *laissez faire* lord of all, what would become of the body physiological?

The fact is, that the sovereign power of the body thinks for the physiological organism, acts for it, and rules the individual components with a rod of iron. . . . Hence, if the analogy of the body politic with the body physiological counts for anything, it seems to me to be in favor of a much larger amount of governmental interference than exists at present, or than I, for one, at all desire to see. But, tempting as the opportunity is, I am not disposed to build up any argument in favor of my own case upon this analogy, curious, interesting, and in many respects close as it is, for it takes no cognizance of certain profound and essential differences between the physiological and the political bodies.

Huxley Opposed to Spencer's View

Professor Huxley then goes on to state his own views, and says:

When men living in society have once become aware that their welfare depends upon two opposing tendencies of equal importance—the one restraining, the other encouraging, individual freedom—the question, "What are the functions of government?" is translated into another—namely, What ought we men, in our corporate capacity, to do, not only in the way of restraining that free individuality which is inconsistent with the existence of society, but in encouraging that free individuality which is essential to the evolution of the social organization? The formula which truly defines the function of government must contain the solution of both the problems involved, and not merely of one of them.

Locke has furnished us with such a formula, in the noblest, and at the same time briefest, statement of the purpose of government known to me:

"THE END OF GOVERNMENT IS THE GOOD OF MANKIND" ("Of Civil Government," § 229).

But the good of mankind is not a something which is absolute and fixt for all men, whatever their capacities or state of civilization. Doubtless it is possible to imagine a true "Civitas Dei," in which every man's moral faculty shall be such as leads him to control all those desires which run counter to the good of mankind, and to cherish only those which conduce to the welfare of society; and in which every man's native intellect shall be sufficiently strong, and his culture sufficiently extensive, to enable him to know what he ought to do and to seek after. And in that blessed state police will be as much a superfluity as every other kind of government.

But the eye of man has not beheld that state, and is not likely to behold it for some time to come. What we do see, in fact, is that states are made up of a considerable number of the ignorant and foolish, a small proportion of genuine knaves, and a sprinkling of capable and honest men, by whose efforts the former are kept in a reasonable state of guidance, and the latter of repression. And such being the case, I do not see how any limit whatever can be laid down as to the extent to which, under some circumstances, the action of government may be rightfully carried. . . . The question when to draw the line between those things with which the State ought, and those with which it ought not, to interfere, then, is one which must be left to be decided separately for each individual case. The difficulty which meets the statesman is the same as that which meets us all in individual life, in which our abstract rights are generally clear enough, tho it is frequently extremely hard to say at what point it is wise to cease our attempts to enforce them.

Professor Huxley wrote before Mr. Kidd's "Social Evolution" appeared; but among his latest utterances he showed that there was a deep division to be drawn between the biological laws which govern the development of the lower forms of creation and those which govern man. He says ("The Struggle for Existence," in the *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1888, pp. 165, 166):

Society, like art, is a part of nature. But it is convenient to distinguish those parts of nature in which man plays the part of immediate cause as something apart; and, therefore, society, like art, is usefully to be considered as distinct from nature. It is the more desirable, and even necessary, to make this distinction, since society differs from nature in having a definite moral object; whence it comes about that the course shaped by the ethical man—the member of society or citizen—necessarily runs counter to that which the non-ethical man—the primitive savage, or man as a mere member of the animal kingdom—tends to adopt. The latter fights out the struggle for existence to the bitter end, like any other animal; the former devotes his best energies to the object of setting limits to the struggle.

The history of civilization—that is, of society—is the record of the attempts which the human race has made to escape from this position (i. e., the struggle for existence in which those who were best fitted to cope with their circumstances, but not the best in any other sense, survived). The first men who substituted the state of mutual peace for that of mutual war, whatever the motive which impelled them to take that step, created society. But in establishing peace, they obviously put a limit upon the struggle for existence. Between the members of that society, at any rate, it was not to be pursued *à outrance*. And of all the successive shapes which society has taken, that most nearly approaches perfection in which war of individual against individual is most strictly limited.

Prof. D. G. Ritchie, in his "Darwinism and Politics," carries the argument still further, and shows, in the first place, that "the survival of the fittest" does not necessarily mean the survival of the best. He says:

The phrase "survival of the fittest" is very apt to mislead, for it suggests the fittest or best in every sense or in the highest sense, whereas it only means, as Professor Huxley has pointed out, "those best fitted to cope with their circumstances" (article "The Struggle for Existence," in *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1888, p. 165), in order to survive and transmit offspring. Now when we come to consider society, we have to deal with a very complex set of phenomena, and what is fittest in one aspect may not be fittest in another. But natural selection implies no further morality than "nothing succeeds like success." If the struggle for food and mates be carried on on its lowest terms, the strongest and the strongest only would be selected. But cunning can do a great deal against strength. Now we cannot be sure that a good combination of strength and cunning will be selected: strength in some cases, cunning in others, is what we find by comparing different species of animals and different races of men. Again, the strongest and largest, and in many ways finest animals are not necessarily those most capable of adapting themselves to changed circumstances. The insignificant may more easily find food and escape enemies. We cannot be sure that evolution will always lead to what we should regard as the greatest perfection of any species. Degeneration enters in as well as progress. The latest theory about the Aryan race makes the Aryans come from the north of Europe, conquer the feebler races of the south, and, having proved its fitness in this way, prove its unfitness in another by being less capable of surviving in a warm climate than they; so that an Aryan language may be spoken where there remains little or no Aryan blood. Are we entitled to maintain, with regard to human races and human individuals, that the fittest always survive, except in the sense in which the proposition is a truism, that those survive who are most capable of surviving?

"Survival of the Fittest" Not the Best

Further, we must emphasize the fact that the struggle goes

on not merely between individual and individual, but between race and race. The struggle among plants and the lower animals is mainly between members of the same species; and the individual competition between human beings, which is so much admired by Mr. Herbert Spencer, is of this primitive kind. When we come to the struggle between kinds, it is to be noticed that it is fiercest between allied kinds; and so, as has been pointed out, the economic struggle between Great Britain and the United States is fiercer than elsewhere between nations. But so soon as we pass to the struggle between race and race, we find new elements coming in. The race which is fittest to survive, i. e., most capable of surviving, will survive; but it does not therefore follow that the individuals thereby preserved will be the fittest, either in the sense of being those who in a struggle between individual and individual would have survived, or in the sense of being those whom we should regard as the finest specimens of their kind. . . . Admirable, doubtless—this scheme of salvation for the elect by the damnation of the vast majority; but, pray, do not let us hear anything more about its "beneficence."

I am not speaking at random about these ethical applications of the conception of struggle for existence. Darwin himself, as always, is most cautious and guarded in his reference to anything that lies outside his own special sphere of observation. He looks forward to the elimination of the lower races by the higher civilized races throughout the world ("Life and Letters," i., p. 316). He points out how "a struggle for existence, consequent on his rapid multiplication," has advanced man to his present high condition; "and if he is to advance still higher, it is to be feared that he must remain subject to a severe struggle. Otherwise he would sink into indolence, and the more gifted men would not be more successful in the battle of life than the less gifted" ("Descent of Man," p. 319). This, doubtless, includes the old objection which Aristotle brought against Plato's communism, that man needs a stimulus to exertion and industry. But there is no jubilation, no exaltation of a natural law into an ethical ideal. And let us know how Darwin modifies this very statement in the words that follow:

"Important as the struggle for existence has been and even still is, yet as far as the highest part of man's nature is concerned there are other agencies more important. For the moral qualities are advanced, either directly or indirectly, much more through the effects of habit, the reasoning powers, instruction, religion, etc., than through natural selection; tho to this latter agency may be safely attributed the social instincts which afforded the basis for the development of the moral sense."

Socialists, however, usually go further than any of the above writers, and argue from evolution not only that the struggle for existence is not the only law of human progress, but that it teaches the development and survival of combination over competition. Says a recent writer (anonymously):

Society an Organism

This law of organic evolution does not stop with the development of the physical. It is the same throughout the entire realm of phenomena. It passes over into the immaterial and builds up political, social, and moral institutions in almost precisely the same manner as physical organisms are formed. In the political aspect of the world the start is also had with the individual or unit. Then follows a community of units, the town, for instance. The same law of development or community of vital interests results in the organization of counties, states, and nations, each a political organism, with functions peculiar to its specific plane of being or place in the body politic; but all, when perfected, working harmoniously together for the common good and equal rights of the units, the individual men and women that form the organism or political body. This same law of progressive development also foreshadows the time when there will be a confederacy of nations, a political world organism, a race unity, the highest functions of which will be to secure to the race—unit—man the freedom of a fair chance in the exercise of his inalienable right to preserve and enhance his inherent individuality.

Socialists believe in the evolution of competition. Says W. D. P. Bliss ("Handbook of Socialism," p. 21):

Competition was once mainly physical; this produced the survival of the fittest to survive in *physical strife*. "There were giants in those days," the Nimrods, the Goliaths, the Agamemnons, "kings of men." Organized society gradually restrained that physical strife, and competition became chiefly military between states. This was the distinguishing feature of the Greek State and of the Roman civilization. It produced an Alexander, a Hannibal, a Cæsar, and continued to the time of Napoleon, and is not yet dead. But gradually advancing fraternalism has replaced military by industrial competition. To-day men strive neither with guns nor with poisoned arrows, so much as with cornerings of the market and with poisoned groceries. It has produced the survival of the fittest to survive in such a strife—the Rothschilds, the Jay Goulds, the Vanderbilts, the Pullmans, the Napoleons of finance. Therefore, Socialists do not urge the abolition of competition. They simply say that it is time to lift competition to a higher level, and make it intellectual, and not industrial. As organized fraternalism has to a large measure put down physical strife, and is putting down militarism, so Socialists would have it gradually supplant industrial competion by industrial cooperation.

A recent work, however, on social evolution is Prof. S. N. Patten's "Theory of the Social Forces" (January, 1896). He says (p. 7): "Evolution has thus far been studied as a problem of biology. This has been due more to what I would call a happy accident than to any necessity of the situation. Darwin admits that he obtained the clue to his theory through reading Malthus's 'Essay on Population,' and in many respects the attitude of the author of the 'Origin of Species' is that of an economist. It is only by later writers that the economic elements in the problem are neglected, and that the theory is based solely upon biologic evidence. The happy accident to which I have referred is the fact that the history of past organic life is so plainly recorded in the various organisms of the present and in the fossil remains of earlier forms."

Professor Patten then goes on to argue that evolution is the result of the action of environment upon organism; that biology has studied organism (because of the "happy accident" that this is what could be best historically studied), but has neglected environment. He quotes Spencer as saying ("Psychology," vol. i., p. 134): "Throughout biology proper the environment and its correlated phenomena are either but tacitly recognized, or overtly and definitely recognized, are so but occasionally, while the organism and its correlated phenomena practically monopolize the attention." Here Professor Patten finds the weak point in current economic discussions. They have overlooked environment, and, says Professor Patten (p. 5), "the present environment of the race is so different from its predecessors that a new social philosophy is demanded to explain its effects." Hence Professor Patten's essay is "an attempt to recast current social philosophy and to introduce into it elements which thus far have been overlooked." These elements are largely psychologic, and, according to Professor Patten, deserve to rank equally with the biologic factors. By such an analysis of man's present environment Professor Patten forecasts "a social commonwealth," based upon a pure pleasure economy, even as state socialism, according to him, is the ideal of those suffering from the evils of a fair economy. This social commonwealth, however, he says, must not be assumed to be the highest or final state. "If a progressive evolution continues," he tells us (p. 6), "other societies will be possible, each of which will differ from its predecessor as radically as the society I describe differs from our present society." See also the article on BIOLOGY.

EXCISE DUTIES (from Latin *ex-cide*, cut off) are duties laid upon any commodity produced within a country in distinction from those custom duties which are levied upon imports. The derivation implies that the excise is something cut off from the price for the benefit of the State. It is an indirect tax, because, tho levied on the product, it falls on the consumer. Excise duties are an old form of duty, begun in England under this

name as early as 1643, being laid on ale and all forms of intoxicating drinks, and later on a long list of articles of food and clothing. The necessities of life were later excepted. Excise duties were at first duties on commodities produced in or out of a country. Robert Walpole, in 1733, introduced a famous excise scheme, whereby tobacco and, later, wine paid no duty, but were warehoused under the control of excise officers, and paid excise duties only as sold within the country. It produced a great excitement, and was abandoned. To-day excise duties are paid in England on many things, like beer, wine, spirits, tobacco, dogs, gun and game licenses, carriages, male servants, armorial bearings, railway tickets, by auctioneers, pedlers, farm brokers, tavern-keepers, etc.

In the United States excise duties were disliked as inheritances from the English Government, and an effort was early made to enact a constitutional amendment forbidding excise duties; but in 1790 Hamilton proposed and got passed an excise duty on spirits. In 1792 it was lowered, and under Jefferson abolished. The War of 1812 led to an excise duty on distilled spirits, domestic refined sugar, salt, carriages, etc. But in 1817 these were abolished, and no excise duty was levied till the internal tax of 1862. (For a discussion of excise duties, see TAXATION.)

EXNER, WILHELM FRANZ: Austrian technologist; born in Gaenserdorf, Lower Austria, 1840; frequented the polytechnic in Vienna; became teacher in the real-school in Elbogen, Bohemia, 1862, and in that of Krems in 1865. In 1869 he was appointed lecturer on engineering and mechanic technology at the forestry academy at Mariabrunn, and in 1875 professor of forestry, forestry-engineering, etc., at the agricultural college at Vienna. Since 1874 he has been inspector of trade schools for the ministry of commerce. In 1879 he founded the Technologische Gewerbemuseum (industrial museum) in Vienna, and has been its director ever since. Since 1882 he has been a member of the chamber of deputies of the Reichsrat, where he identifies himself with the German liberals. Since 1905 Exner has been a member of the Austrian Upper House. Among his works may be mentioned: "Holzhandel und Holzindustrie der Ostseeländer" (1876); "Das Moderne Transportwesen im Dienste der Land- und Forstwirtschaft" (1877); "Die Hausindustrie Oesterreichs" (1890). He has edited "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Gewerbe und Erfindungen Oesterreichs" (1873), and the "Mitteilungen des Technologischen Gewerbemuseums" (1880, sqq). *Address*: Technologische Gewerbemuseum, Vienna, Austria.

EXPENDITURES (Family. See also PRICES): According to the well-known laws formulated by Dr. Engels, head of the Prussian Royal Bureau of the Statistics of Labor, expenditures in different families conform to the following principles:

1. That the greater the income, the smaller the relative percentage of outlay for subsistence.

2. That the percentage of outlay for clothing is approximately the same, whatever the income.

3. That the percentage of the outlay for lodging or rent, and for fuel and light, is invariably the same, whatever the income.

4. That as the income increases in amount the percentage of outlay for sundries becomes greater.

These principles seem in the main substantiated by the most careful investigation.

THE UNITED STATES

The latest and most careful statement of the cost of living in the U. S. is the report by Mr. G. W. W. Hanger of the U. S. Bureau of Labor, from facts secured by the bureau as to 25,440 families in principal industrial localities in thirty-three localities, and comprizing the families of mechanics of all kinds, railroad employees, common laborers, and clerks earning less than $1,200 per year. The following are some of the tables:

GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISION AND GENERAL NATIVITY OF HEAD OF FAMILY.	PER CENT OF TOTAL EXPENDITURE MADE FOR—					
	Food	Rent	Clothing	Fuel	Lighting	Sundries
North Atlantic States:						
Native	42.26	19.97	13.04	4.55	1.15	19.03
Foreign	44.45	19.33	12.30	4.53	1.21	18.18
Total	43.17	19.70	12.73	4.54	1.18	18.68
South Atlantic States:						
Native	43.39	16.56	12.69	4.96	.97	21.43
Foreign	46.77	16.35	12.28	4.50	.91	19.19
Total	43.64	16.54	12.67	4.93	.96	21.26
North Central States:						
Native	42.33	15.15	13.04	4.23	1.08	24.17
Foreign	46.17	15.46	12.99	5.51	1.09	18.78
Total	43.47	15.25	13.02	4.61	1.08	22.57
South Central States:						
Native	41.48	16.29	13.19	3.89	.82	24.33
Foreign	43.09	17.38	12.45	3.94	.74	22.40
Total	41.67	16.41	13.11	3.89	.81	24.11
Western States:						
Native	40.38	20.29	15.65	4.66	1.06	17.96
Foreign	41.87	19.62	15.44	4.63	1.08	17.36
Total	40.85	20.08	15.58	4.65	1.07	17.77

PER CENT OF TOTAL EXPENDITURE MADE FOR VARIOUS PURPOSES IN NORMAL FAMILIES, BY SIZE OF FAMILY

FAMILIES WITH—	PER CENT OF TOTAL EXPENDITURE MADE FOR—					
	Food	Rent	Clothing	Fuel	Lighting	Sundries
No children	40.33	20.23	12.43	4.76	1.14	21.11
One child	41.74	18.48	12.64	4.67	1.14	21.33
Two children	43.21	17.81	13.03	4.59	1.13	20.23
Three children	44.56	17.44	13.17	4.45	1.10	19.28
Four children	45.69	16.76	13.36	4.23	1.08	18.88
Five children	47.24	16.54	13.85	4.52	1.04	16.81
All families	43.13	18.12	12.95	4.57	1.12	20.11

Prof. John A. Ryan ("A Living Wage," p. 150, 1906) after a careful study of the evidence says:

"The conclusions that seem to be abundantly justified by the facts . . . may therefore be stated as follows: *First:* Anything less than $600 per year is *not* a living wage in any of the cities of the U. S."

Mr. Britt, of the *Railroad Man's Journal*, former editor of *Public Opinion*, contributed the following suggestive statements in *The Independent*, Aug., 1907:

Not long ago the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor statistics reported that in 797 stores in Boston the number of debtors on the hopeless list was 45,482, about 7½ per cent of the population of the city, with a total indebtedness of $570,912. In the list of non-payers 2.32 per cent, or a little over 1,000, were classed as moneyed people. Therefore more

[The average shown for each item of expenditure relates to those families only that reported expenditures for such items; the total expenditure per family is for all families.]

Geographical Division and General Nativity of Head of Family	Families		Total income per family	Average Expenditure of Families Having an Expenditure for—						Total expenditure per family.	Per cent of total income expended
	Total	Average size		Rent	Fuel	Lighting	Clothing	Food	Other purposes		
North Atlantic States:											
Native	7,359	4.53	$748.81	$130.73	$30.66	$7.79	$93.08	$306.31	$135.47	$696.44	93.01
Foreign	6,423	5.11	763.15	123.93	30.33	8.17	94.20	327.49	136.27	713.01	93.43
Total	13,782	4.80	755.49	127.63	30.51	7.97	93.60	316.18	135.84	704.16	93.21
South Atlantic States:											
Native	1,995	5.11	683.06	97.95	30.54	6.12	86.08	289.09	142.42	641.80	93.96
Foreign	198	5.68	768.75	107.20	31.12	6.85	103.11	354.07	152.11	734.55	95.55
Total	2,193	5.16	690.80	98.68	30.60	6.19	87.62	294.96	143.30	650.18	94.12
North Central States:											
Native	4,227	4.68	756.82	107.62	30.48	7.50	96.81	308.09	171.28	713.63	94.29
Foreign	3,113	5.39	744.55	100.23	36.30	7.45	99.36	328.90	149.28	702.42	94.34
Total	7,340	4.98	751.62	105.02	32.95	7.48	97.89	316.92	161.95	708.88	94.31
South Central States;											
Native	1,027	5.21	670.64	94.21	23.86	4.96	87.11	278.33	153.45	635.74	94.80
Foreign	194	5.26	700.73	103.19	24.95	5.05	93.98	294.76	172.19	665.33	94.95
Total	1,221	5.22	675.42	95.38	24.04	4.97	88.20	280.94	156.43	640.44	94.82
Western States:											
Native	553	3.96	883.14	148.86	34.69	8.07	118.21	311.18	142.30	741.75	83.99
Foreign	351	4.42	883.78	144.78	35.09	8.25	121.95	327.77	152.20	748.59	84.70
Total	904	4.14	883.39	147.48	34.84	8.14	119.66	317.62	146.14	744.41	84.27

Average Expenditure Per Family for Various Purposes in 1901, by Geographical Divisions and for the United States

Expenditure for—	North Atlantic States		South Atlantic States		North Central States		South Central States		Western States		United States	
	Per cent of families having an expenditure	Average per family, based on families having an expenditure	Per cent of families having an expenditure	Average per family, based on families having an expenditure	Per cent of families having an expenditure	Average per family, based on families having an expenditure	Per cent of families having an expenditure	Average per family, based on families having an expenditure	Per cent of families having an expenditure	Average per family, based on families having an expenditure	Per cent of families having an expenditure	Average per family, based on families having an expenditure
Food	100.00	$338.10	100.00	$298.64	100.00	$321.60	100.00	$292.68	100.00	$308.53	100.00	$326.90
Rent	87.70	131.34	75.80	98.03	70.18	114.16	79.51	91.51	73.33	143.55	80.87	122.92
Mortgage:												
Principal	3.18	[1] 145.89	6.85	110.88	9.71	[1] 152.10	4.10	[1] 182.50	7.78	141.86	5.53	[2] 145.82
Interest	5.51	[1] 75.02	9.59	36.50	13.31	[1] 43.57	.82	(1)	7.78	17.14	7.91	[2] 53.73
Fuel	100.00	31.79	100.00	32.52	100.00	33.98	99.18	24.64	100.00	35.05	99.96	32.24
Lighting	100.00	8.81	100.00	6.41	100.00	8.01	100.00	4.77	100.00	7.71	100.00	8.15
Clothing:												
Husband	98.37	34.18	95.43	31.79	98.61	35.99	96.72	29.60	98.89	37.07	98.13	34.38
Wife	98.52	27.18	98.63	22.79	99.17	25.73	97.54	19.51	100.00	36.53	98.71	26.37
Children	86.64	51.86	85.84	51.94	93.62	58.04	90.98	52.53	87.78	64.11	88.78	54.15
Taxes	32.44	15.14	37.44	16.22	35.51	21.75	44.26	13.74	33.33	8.88	34.32	16.86
Insurance:												
Property	29.12	4.16	27.40	4.62	36.34	5.63	22.95	7.35	48.89	6.11	31.40	4.89
Life	67.21	29.74	68.49	32.00	66.44	28.94	63.93	26.06	34.44	30.35	65.80	29.55
Organizations:												
Labor	39.15	9.55	19.63	8.75	37.45	10.22	24.59	10.50	52.22	25.39	36.77	10.52
Other	51.59	11.90	36.53	11.43	34.40	11.91	29.51	10.08	32.22	13.00	43.75	11.84
Religion	82.97	9.81	77.17	8.55	77.39	8.83	77.05	9.05	74.44	12.24	80.33	9.49
Charity	44.95	4.61	56.62	4.30	57.84	4.53	57.38	4.34	71.11	7.48	51.07	4.68
Furniture and utensils	87.92	34.44	69.41	30.74	83.91	26.90	64.75	30.75	100.00	14.64	84.53	31.13
Books and newspapers	96.89	8.45	79.45	6.87	96.26	9.69	84.43	6.49	100.00	14.02	94.74	8.82
Amusements and vacation	77.46	14.96	54.79	14.58	63.66	24.99	34.43	13.47	100.00	14.79	70.39	17.44
Intoxicating liquors	53.50	23.72	46.58	19.48	49.38	30.38	52.46	14.09	25.56	11.91	50.72	24.53
Tobacco	81.48	12.34	79.00	11.79	76.42	18.19	75.41	11.04	71.11	11.63	79.20	13.80
Sickness and death	74.42	25.77	83.11	28.83	81.41	28.27	93.44	25.63	36.67	25.17	76.70	26.78
Other purposes	99.43	32.15	93.15	63.28	99.45	61.08	99.18	84.51	100.00	40.79	98.91	45.63

[1] Not including payments made by six families, in which principal and interest were combined.
[2] Not including interest paid by six families, included in principal.

than 7 per cent of the inhabitants of the entire city were unable through lack of funds to meet the current expenses of living.

To charge 45,000 people with extravagance or downright dishonesty is too wholesale an indictment. Was it not rather a failure in the hopeless struggle to make both ends meet and to maintain a decent standard of living at the same time? Have not these people been caught in a maelstrom of high prices and, in order to live in the present, been forced to neglect the obligations of the past and discount the possibilities of the future? In other words, are they not paying the cost of prosperity?

Rise of Prices

In two bulletins issued last year by the Bureau of Labor of the Department of Commerce and Labor statistics were presented showing the relation of the cost of living to average annual incomes in the year 1905 as contrasted with the ten-year period 1890 to 1899. In the first of these two bulletins wholesale prices of 259 articles of common consumption were tabulated for sixteen years with the following result:

The 1905 average contrasted with the year of lowest average prices during the sixteen years from 1890 to 1905, in each of the general groups of commodities, shows farm products 58.6 per cent higher than in 1896; food, etc., 29.7 per cent higher than in 1896; cloths and clothing, 22.9 higher than in 1897; fuel and lighting, 39.4 per cent higher than in 1894; metals and implements, 41.8 per cent higher than in 1898; lumber and building materials, 41.4 per cent higher than in 1897; drugs and chemicals, 24.1 per cent higher than in 1895; house-furnishing goods, 21.5 higher than in 1897, and the materials included in the miscellaneous group, 23.4 higher than in 1896.

Summing up these statistics it is seen that the average cost of these articles was 15.9 per cent higher than the average for the ten-year period. In the later bulletin, which deals with wages and hours of labor from 1890 to 1905, it is shown that average earnings per week in the latter year were only 14 per cent higher than the average from 1890 to 1899, leaving cost of living, according to these statistics, 2 per cent in the lead.

But these statistics do not bring the facts home to us with sufficient force. . . . Here again the tireless Bureau of Labor at Washington comes to our aid with statistics showing the incomes and the expenditures of a large number of families.

Households to the number of 25,446 in all parts of the United States, averaging approximately five persons to the family, have been canvassed with the following result: The average annual income per family is $751.34; the average annual expenditure is $689.61, leaving a margin between income and expenditure of $61.73 on the profit side.

Food, the basis of the physical life, constitutes by far the larger part of this expenditure, or 42.54 per cent; rent eats up 12.95 per cent; clothing takes 14.04 per cent; fuel and lighting account for 5.25 per cent; taxes and principal and interest on mortgages, which together with rent must cover the cost of lumber and building materials as well as ground rent, amount to 2.33 per cent; furniture and household utensils are answerable for 3.42 per cent, and sickness and death, no small part of the expense of which is chargeable to drugs and chemicals, demand 2.67 per cent.

The remainder is divided in small portions among insurance, labor, and other organization fees, religious purposes, charity, books and newspapers, amusements and vacations, intoxicating liquors, tobacco and "other purposes." Religion claims only .99 per cent; charity fares even worse with .31 per cent; while 1.62 per cent is dissolved in alcohol and 1.42 per cent goes up in tobacco smoke. Amusements and vacations are responsible for 1.60 per cent, and 1.09 per cent are devoted to the alleged improvement of the mind in the purchase of books and newspapers.

To make the matter still more concrete, the average family spends each year $114.83 for rent; $37.53 for fuel and lighting; $97.39 for clothing; $305.32 for food, and $148.73 for all other purposes. In the year 1905, therefore, this same family spent for food $71.28 more than in 1896; for clothing $18.32 more than in 1897, and for fuel and lighting $7.88 more than in 1894.

Dun's index figure of wholesale prices gives the best available basis of comparison, year by year. This shows that the average actual cost of commodities per individual in the U. S. on July 1, 1906, had increased over 1905 to a marked degree. Food of all kinds had risen from $47.399 to $49.385; clothing from $17.986 to $19.177; metals from $15.916 to $16.649, and miscellaneous articles of general use from $17.061 to $19.555. The total cost had risen from $98.312 to $105.216, the greatest increase that has taken place in any year for the last decade except from 1901 to 1902.

As compared with 1896 the total cost has increased from $74.317 to $107.516, a rise of more than 41¼ per cent.

In order to find the actual cost per family from these figures, it is necessary to multiply the statistics for individuals by 4.7, the average number of persons per family according to the census of 1900, and to add to that the retailer's profit. Rent is not included in Dun's index, nor are taxes or principal and interest on mortgages. For purposes of comparison between various years, however, no better basis can be found.

This means the need of higher wages. Dr. Edward T. Devine, general secretary of the Charity Organization Society of New York, some time ago made an estimate which showed that:

"In New York, where rentals and provisions are, perhaps, more expensive than in any other large city, for an average family of five persons the minimum income on which it is practicable to remain self-supporting and to maintain any approach to a decent standard of living is $600 a year."

Latest Estimates

In 1907 he says that this estimate is without doubt now far too low. Prof. Albion W. Small, of the University of Chicago, is quoted as saying: "No man can live, bring up a family, and enjoy the ordinary human happiness on a wage of less than $1,000 a year." John Mitchell estimates the minimum wages that will maintain a workingman and his family in the coal region, according to the so-called "American standard," at $600 a year.

In 1906 five prominent social workers came together in New York, and, after fixing on a typical family of a man, his wife, and three children under earning age, the result of their calculations was that $931 was the minimum wages that such a man must earn to support his family decently; $3.10 a day for 300 working days.

The question was then submitted to sixteen other social workers in close touch with actual cheap living conditions. One group of six combined in averaging their estimates, and the result was placing the figure at $942 a year. The other estimates were $768 (two estimates), $879, $900, $901, $986, $1,078, $1,394, $1,403, and $1,449. It will readily be seen that a reasonable average of these estimates is $950 a year as the cost of a normal standard of living of such a family in New York City.

It has been calculated for Chicago by investigators at $900, by New Orleans investigators at $1,000, and by Philadelphia investigators as low as $600, the difference arising through the inclusion of items like insurance, savings, vacations, reading, and other "cultural" expenses in the higher estimates and not in the lower. The standard of living fixt in Philadelphia was an exceptionally low standard and one probably more closely resembling a subnormal standard than any of the others. These were all for families of six persons.

One of the latest of these investigations is that of Baltimore, which has resulted in the conclusion that $750 a year is the minimum amount required by a family of six persons. This investigation was made by the Maryland Bureau of Statistics, which has just issued a report.

Other Countries

The most extensive investigation thus far made in regard to different countries is probably that reported by the U. S. Commissioner of Labor for 1891. Tho now somewhat out of date, it is approximately equally so for all countries, and can be brought up to date by noting the changes in prices. (See Prices.) It is based on investigations in the iron, coal, glass, cotton, and woolen industries. The following tables are abridged from the report (vol. ii., pp 864, 865):

Countries	Income	Average Expenditures			
		Rent	Fuel	Food	Other
United States	$657.39	$76.03	$26.67	$250.62	$305
Great Britain	502.76	47.21	20.47	232.61	202
France	413.80	32.99	13.44	182.21	185
Belgium	433.27	29.93	15.99	200.64	187
Germany	320.02	27.07	10.59	168.82	123
Switzerland	358.56	25.44	23.48	179.28	130

Countries	Amusements and vacations	Intoxicating liquors	Tobacco	Books and newspapers	Religion	Charity
United States	$13.38	$22.82	$10.66	$6.41	$7.99	$3.93
Great Britain	23.55	23.22	11.43	4.95	6.74	3.08
France	17.43	25.77	6.29	2.33	0.96	1.83
Belgium	13.38	31.84	6.60	3.35	3.00	3.47
Germany	7.97	12.50	3.87	2.11	1.17	0.78
Switzerland	20.57	15.97	3.25	1.77	1.76	.....

Countries	Clothing			Taxes	Insurance	Societies	
	Husband	Wife	Children			Labor	Other
United States..	$33.68	$23.72	$54.83	$7.37	$24.84	$7.33	$8.64
Great Britain..	22.15	20.50	37.94	8.44	15.60	7.34	7.93
France.....	19.49	14.76	38.35	2.47	4.34	3.79	3.78
Belgium.....	23.98	12.38	48.25	4.69	2.75	3.23	5.08
Germany.....	20.04	11.29	25.88	3.54	10.34	1.36	3.15
Switzerland....	22.68	11.78	30.92	2.07	8.89	.39	3.35

These statistics for the U. S. are based on the expenditures of 487 families in the pig-iron industry, 293 in the bar iron, 70 in the steel, 309 in the bituminous coal, 104 in the coke, 66 in the iron ore, 639 in the cotton, 323 in the woolen, 773 in the glass. Each industry was averaged separately, and the above averages are the average of the industry averages.

For Great Britain, the statistics are based on the expenditures of thirty-nine families in the pig-iron industry, 73 in the bar iron, 72 in the steel, 137 in the bituminous coal, 11 in the coke, 164 in the cotton, 59 in the wool, and 22 in the glass. For France: 40 in the bar iron, 61 in the cotton, 128 in the wool. For Belgium: 7 in the pig iron, 45 in the bar iron, 9 in the bituminous coal, 4 in the coke, 24 in the glass. For Germany: 22 in the bar iron, 35 in the steel, 16 in the bituminous coal, 10 in the coke, 17 in the iron ore, 70 in the cotton, 23 in the woolen. For Switzerland: 46 in the cotton industry.

Great Britain

The following tables are compiled from reports of the English Board of Trade for 1903 and 1904:

Changes of Workmen's Expenditures in Cost of Living in London and Large Towns in Great Britain 1878–1903

Cost in the Year 1900 = 100
(From "Report of Board of Trade," 1904)

Average of Quinquennial Period, of which Middle Year is—	Food	Rent[1]	Clothing	Fuel and light	Total average weighted[3]
1880.....	139.7	86.6	108.5[2]	77.3	120.5
1885.....	119.8	90.1	102.9	74.1	108.2
1890.....	107.4	89.9	101.2	76.5	100.9
1895.....	97.3	96.3	98.8	74.8	95.5
1900.....	101.8	100.0	98.7	86.0	99.7

[1] The figures for rent apply to the years stated.
[2] Figures for the year 1881.
[3] The report allows food the weight of 7 out of 12; rent 2 out of 12; clothing 2, and fuel and light 1.

Budgets of Working Men's Family

Weekly expenditures of—	No. of budgets reported	Average size of family	Food	Rent	Fuel and light	Clothing	Insurance tax, doctors	Sundries	Total
Germany			$	$	$	$	$	$	$
Under $5..	6	5.8	2.46	.43	.22	.66	.16	.45	4.38
$5–$6.25...	4	7.5	3.16	.64	.25	.79	.20	.45	5.49
$6.25-$7.50	3	6.3	3.62	1.20	.39	.87	.22	.70	7.00
$7.50–$8.75	1	4.0	4.00	1.33	.37	.81	.22	1.00	7.73
$8.75–$10..	2	6.0	4.18	1.52	.39	1.06	.32	1.43	8.90
France[1] 1901									
$5–$6.....	.....	2.	2.81	.33	.29	.89	.31	.64	5.27
$6–$10....	.....	4.	3.41	.43	.39	1.10	.45	.93	6.71

[1] Budgets of French schoolmasters with same income as working men.

The English working men of the Mosley Commission which visited the U. S. reported answers to the Board of Trade, saying most of them (not all) that American working men were better fed than English working men, that their houses were more roomy, tho perhaps not more comfortable, that American rents were nearly double English rents, and that the cost of food and good clothing did not materially differ.

London Rents Paid by the Poor

(Compiled from "Board of Trade Report," 1904, and based on records of district committees of the Charity Organization Society.)

Year	Average Weekly Rent for Tenement		Mean per cent of rent in 1899
	One room	Two rooms	
1880.....	$0.78	$1.25	89.3
1890.....	.80	1.31	92.7
1899.....	.86	1.41	100.0

Paris XIII Arrondissement

329 one-room tenements averaged forty-five cents per week.
337 two-room tenements averaged sixty-two cents per week.
359 three-room tenements averaged eighty-seven cents per week.

Germany

(From U. S. Special Consular Report, XXXIII (1905)

A Prussian town working men's room (not poor) averaged fifty-one cents.
A Saxon town working men's room (not poor) averaged thirty-five cents.

Comparing German and English working men's expenditures, U. S. Consul Meyer (U. S. Special Consular Report XXXIII, 1905) finds that well-paid German and especially Saxon working men are more overcrowded and pay in Prussia fifty cents, and in Saxony thirty-five cents per week per room, where English working men of the same grade usually live in separate houses with not less than four rooms, and pay twenty-eight cents per week per room. Eggs are cheaper in Germany, wheat flour and butter are about the same, sugar is about double, and beef and mutton are considerably dearer than the cheapest quality in England, which is little, if at all, inferior. He says:

"Having closely observed many thousands of German workmen in and out of the workshop, I can say with conviction that they are hearty, well-nourished men, and that their children are well kept and well cared for. Parents are very seldom wasteful or self-indulgent. The mothers have the knowledge and the will to make money go as far as possible. The condition of the working classes in respect to food has greatly improved during the last half century, and particularly during the last twenty years; for, while wages have increased steadily, the cost of food has not."

Dr. Arthur Shadwell ("Industrial Efficiency"; a comparative study of industrial life in England, Germany, and America, 1906) finds that the cost of living in America (especially rent) is enough above English prices to neutralize the difference in wages in the case of skilled workmen in large industrial centers, tho he is not able to say this for all workmen and in all places. Between Germany and America he thinks this not true because the difference in wages is greater and the cost of living less.

See also Food; Prices; Wages.

F

FABIAN SOCIETY, THE (ENGLISH): A society which, as its basis states, consists of Socialists, and no one who cannot sign the basis is admitted to membership. It was founded in 1884 by a group of young people who were attracted by the teachings of the late Prof. Thomas Davidson of New York, then an occasional visitor to London. He advocated the formation of communities to live "the higher life," but his English disciples quickly adopted another line. The Socialist movement in England was just then beginning with Marxian ideas imported from Germany, and the Fabians resolved to adapt the German principles to English political conditions. They considered that the Kingdom of Heaven was within us, in the sense that it must be evolved out of the old system, by reforms, petty in themselves, but all making to one end.

Aims

To this general idea the Fabian Society has kept. Its basis states that the members aim at the reorganization of society by the emancipation of land and industrial capital from individual and class ownership, and the vesting of them in the community for the general benefit. In this way only can the natural and acquired advantages of the country be equitably shared by the whole people. The society accordingly works for the extinction of private property in land and of the consequent individual appropriation, in the form of rent, of the price paid for permission to use the earth, as well as for the advantages of superior soils and sites. The society, further, works for the transfer to the community of the administration of such industrial capital as can conveniently be managed socially. For, owing to the monopoly of the means of production in the past, industrial inventions and the transformation of surplus income into capital have mainly enriched the proprietary class, the worker being now dependent on that class for leave to earn a living.

If these measures be carried out, without compensation (tho not without such relief to expropriated individuals as may seem fit to the community), rent and interest will be added to the reward of labor, the idle class now living on the labor of others will necessarily disappear, and practical equality of opportunity will be maintained by the spontaneous action of economic forces with much less interference with personal liberty than the present system entails. For the attainment of these ends the Fabian Society looks to the spread of Socialist opinions, and the social and political changes consequent thereon. It seeks to promote these by the general dissemination of knowledge as to the relation between the individual and society in its economic, ethical, and political aspects.

The policy of the society has always been opportunist. It has endeavored to educate all classes and to gain something from all parties. To achieve its ends it uses whatever means are nearest to hand. It seeks to instruct its own members by the careful investigation of social and political problems, and having formulated a remedy for any particular evil, it tries to induce other Socialists and politicians to carry out its plans. Its members believe that there is evolution of ideas as well as of society. They decline to attach any sanctity to the doctrines of Marx, and they do not purpose to set up any other prophet in his place. They place the Golden Age in the future, and look to the young as those most likely first to perceive its dawn. Consequently their creed is always held open to revision, and their principles are maintained only as long as they withstand criticism.

Municipal Ownership

Perhaps the most important social theory which the society has advocated, is the recognition of municipal ownership of monopolies and municipal trading as a practical embodiment of the Socialist idea. The municipal movement in England sprang up spontaneously apart from any social theory. Fabian writers interpreted its meaning and advocated its extension in every direction. This harmonized with their view that the people already possess wide powers, local as well as central, of which insufficient use was being made. Since the formation of the society Parliament has reconstituted a large part of the local government of England, by the creation of county, district, and parish councils, the reorganization of the government of London, and the recent great reform in the system of national education. In these changes the society found its opportunity, both for improving the laws as they were in preparation, and in directing toward social reform the newly constituted authorities.

The Fabian Society holds fortnightly lectures and meetings at which papers on some social subject are read and discust. A few of these lectures and other papers specially prepared are published as *Fabian Tracts*, of which 133 have been issued. These deal with socialism in its various aspects and with proposed social and political reforms, while some explain the powers of local authorities which may be used to improve the condition of the people. Besides the tracts the principal publication issued by the society is "Fabian Essays in Socialism" (1889), several editions of which have been printed in America.

Educational Work

The society carries on educational work in different ways at different times. In some years a great deal of lecturing has been done by its members at meetings of other organizations, political associations, clubs, cooperative societies, and debating and mutual improvement societies connected with churches and other bodies. Sometimes it employs professional lecturers for these purposes, these lecturers being assisted by unpaid members. It has about 180 circulating library boxes, each containing about twenty-five books on political and social subjects, which are lent to any trade-union or other association on payment of a small annual fee. For these libraries there is a constantly growing demand.

The society has never attempted to form a political party, but it took part in founding, and is affiliated to, the Labor Party which at the election of 1906 returned twenty-nine members to Parliament. With the Socialist society called the "Independent Labor Party," which was formed largely as the result of Fabian agitation in the provinces, the society has always been closely allied. Its relations with the Social-Democratic Federation, though less intimate, have always been friendly. At the present time there are ten Fabians in the House of Commons, of whom five belong to the Labor Party and five to the Liberal Party. Among the former are J. Keir Hardie, the Chairman, and Will Crooks, the well-known member for Woolwich.

Prominent Members

The society has now about 1,300 members residing chiefly in the London district, but also throughout Great Britain, with a few in America and other countries. Most of the English universities have affiliated societies of undergraduates, and there are a few other societies in provincial towns. The influence of the society has always been out of proportion to its numbers, because some of those who have inspired it from the first are men of exceptional

ability. George Bernard Shaw, the dramatist, and Sidney Webb, the author, have been members of its executive board from the earliest days; and among other well-known persons who have been active Fabians are the Rev. Stewart Headlam and Graham Wallas (educationalists), Richard Whiteing (novelist), Mrs. Sidney Webb, Mrs. Annie Besant (up to 1890), Mr. and Mrs. Bland (the latter best known as "E. Nesbit"), the late William Clarke, and in recent years Percy Alden, M.P., Dr. Stanton Coit, and Mr. H. G. Wells. One of the oldest and most active members, Mr. Sydney Olivier, has just been appointed Governor of Jamaica.

The best exposition of socialism, as understood by the society, is Mr. Wells's book "New Utopia," tho the society is in no way committed to the views therein exprest. The offices of the society are at 3 Clements Inn, Strand, London, W. C., and the secretary is Edward R. Pease, one of the original members. EDWARD R. PEASE.

FACTORY LEGISLATION: The body of laws which has come into existence since the opening of the last century relating to the regulation of factories, workshops, and all places where industry is carried on, comes under the general title of "factory legislation," and it has stamped itself most emphatically upon the written law of all countries where the factory system has taken root, and also upon the social and moral laws which lie at the bottom of the forces which make written law what it is. The establishment of the factory system of labor, resulting in the congregation of large bodies of people working in the same branches of labor, called attention to industrial conditions, and while prior to the establishment of the factory system industrial conditions were apparently much worse than after its establishment, the workers under the old system were so distributed that their surroundings did not attract public attention, or, at least, the attention of legislators; but when great bodies were brought under one roof or into one community, whatever evils existed became noticeable, and the attention of the legislator was called to them. The factory system was first instituted in England. At the time there were few laws relating to master and man upon the statute-books of England, and those which did exist bore mostly upon criminal matters. There was one law, however, in force which had been considered by many as an obstruction to advancement in the mechanic arts, but which, with the establishment of the factory system, was to become the only point upon which labor legislation could turn. This old law was known as "The Apprenticeship Act," and was passed in 1562, during the reign of Elizabeth. It is to be found in 5 Elizabeth, c. 4. It provided that no one should work in certain trades as journeymen until after an apprenticeship of seven years. It was under this act that the custom of apprenticing pauper children by parish officers grew up, and under it there grew also the very worst practises, for the act allowed apprentices to be worked from 5 A.M. until between 7 and 8 P.M., from March to September; and, as the law expresses it, from September to March, from the "spring of the day until the night closed in." When the first cotton factories were erected in England, necessarily where watercourses were found sufficient to supply power, they became so numerous in such localities that the supply of children from the immediate neighborhoods was found to fall far short of the demand. The reverse of this condition prevailed in the agricultural counties, where general misery existed on every hand. The unprincipled poor-law guardians in the latter counties, being anxious to rid their parishes as speedily as possible of pauper children, were very eager to meet the requirements of the industrial communities where the factory system had been established for cheap labor. Children were, therefore, transferred in large numbers to the north, where they were housed in pent-up buildings adjoining the factories, and were kept to long hours of labor. These primary facts soon drew attention to the evils of the factory system as they appeared at its inception, and for the first time the consequences of congregated labor were made clearly apparent. A generation of operatives was growing up under conditions of comparative physical degeneracy, of mental ignorance, and of moral corruption; and it was then that the great questions began to be asked: Has the nation any right to interfere? Shall society suffer that individuals may profit? Shall the next and succeeding generations be weakened morally and intellectually that estates may be enlarged? These great questions forced themselves upon the public mind, and the fact that pauper apprentices might be better off under such apprenticeship than in the workhouse had no great weight under the influence of the religious and moral waves which affected England in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

In England

The Nineteenth Century

The first man to ask such powerful questions of Parliament was Sir Robert Peel, in the year 1802. Sir Robert was a master manufacturer, to whom the new system of labor had brought wealth and power and station, but he sought to remedy the evils which, from his own personal experience, he knew had grown with the factory system; so in 1802 he introduced a bill, the object of which was to interfere by law with the natural tendencies of unrestricted competition in the labor of human beings; but he could not, under the sentiment of the English legislature that precedent must be sacred, go very far beyond the regulation of the labor of parish apprentices. His bill was therefore entitled "An act for the preservation of the health and morals of apprentices and others employed in the cotton and other mills and in cotton and other factories." The whole notion of Peel's measure was that as apprentices were already under statutory provisions, and were subjects of a legal contract, it was permissible that their hours of labor should be regulated by positive enactment; but Parliament, which was familiar with restrictions on the products of labor, and with restrictions of monopoly on labor itself, would not listen to any proposal to regulate what was called "free" labor for the purpose of avoiding even the most frightful moral evils. In the case of apprentices, however, it was conceded that restriction might be tolerated. Such a concession came under the power of precedent, and the Act of 1562, which had theretofore been an obstacle, became the very legal precedent the lawmakers of England must have before they could consent to protect human rights, and as that law had regulated the hours of labor of apprentices, Parliament crept through this narrow door, and allowed Sir Robert Peel's bill to restrict the hours of labor of parish apprentices at work in the factories; and so the first factory act known

in legislation was passed. This act is known as 42 and 43 George III., cap. 73, and while it was of no great value to the operatives themselves, it has been of the greatest value to the world, for it made the assertion, which has never yet been retracted, that the nation did have the right to check not only open evils, but those which grow individually through the nature of employment. It dealt simply with the unregulated employment of apprentices. By the provisions of the law the employer was compelled to clothe his apprentices, whose work was limited then to twelve hours a day, night-work being prohibited. Every apprentice was to receive daily instruction during the first four years of his time, school attendance to be reckoned as working-time. There were many other regulations embodied in the act, stimulated by Sir Robert Peel. The law was substantially repealed in 1814, but in 1815 Sir Robert Peel came back to Parliament, told it that the act of 1802 "had become useless, that apprentices had been given up, but that the same exhausting condition, from which, Parliament had intended to relieve apprentices, was the lot of thousands and thousands of the children of the free poor,"

Progress

and in the following year (1816) Parliament instituted a great inquiry into the condition of the factory population, tho it did not enact a new law until 1819. Under this act the right of the nation to limit the age at which children might be admitted to the factories was established. From 1816 to the present time there has been no cessation in the attempts to regulate by law some of the conditions of labor; and in all countries where the factory system has taken any hold, as already stated, factory acts are to be found. Such legislation has had for its chief object the regulation of the labor of women and children, but its scope has been constantly enlarged by successive and progressive amendments until law has attempted to secure the physical and moral well-being of the workingman in all trades and to give him every condition of salubrity and of personal safety in the workshops.

The most elaborate code of factory laws is that of Great Britain, the present act being a consolidation of all the acts since Sir Robert Peel's law of 1802. In that country the law makes provision for sanitary conditions, for safety from accidents occurring from machinery, regulating employment and meal hours and the employment of young persons and women and children, providing for holidays, for the education of children, for certificates of fitness for employment, regulating overtime and night-work, and embodying a great many minor provisions, all looking to the well-being of the operative.

In France, the factory laws relate to the hours of labor and regulate some of the conditions. Female labor underground is forbidden, and boys below the age of sixteen are not allowed in such work.

Germany has a fair factory code, and is now in the experimental years of a great system of legal and compulsory insurance of work people, the results of which the empire and the governments of other continental countries are watching with great interest.

In this country nearly every state in which textile factories are found has factory laws of some kind, and many of them provide, as does Great Britain, a body of factory inspectors for the enforcement of legislation. Several states have regulated the age at which children can be employed in any manufacturing, mechanical, or mercantile establishment, for the attendance upon schools, and such matters; and they are following rapidly in the footsteps of Great Britain in providing that proprietors of factories shall make specific provision against accidents from dangerous machinery, providing penalties for the cleaning of machinery while running, etc.; and also providing that factories shall be well ventilated and kept clean; that hoistways, hatchways, elevators, and well-holes shall be protected by good and sufficient trap-doors or other appliances; that establishments of certain height shall be provided with sufficient fire-escapes, practically constructed, and that they shall be kept in good repair and free from obstruction. Factory acts, varying in their provisions, have been placed upon the statute-books of nearly every state of the union. To summarize these into a digest would require a volume by itself, but the principles involved in the factory legislation are those indicated, and they relate to the personal well-being and safety of the operatives employed. The effect of the laws everywhere has been to elevate the standard of employment, to improve the health and increase the longevity of operatives, to reduce their hours of labor from thirteen or fourteen per day to nine or ten, and to surround them with good sanitary, healthful conditions. Very many factory and workshop people in different countries find themselves in better surroundings, as to air and general sanitary conditions, while at work than in their homes. The improvement in the moral tone has been sufficient to warrant the existence of factory legislation, but the constant elimination of children from factory labor is one of its most beneficent results. CARROLL D. WRIGHT.

The United States

FACTORY LEGISLATION, DIGEST OF: (See also CHILD LABOR; INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE; RAILWAY LAWS; SUNDAY REST; SWEAT SHOPS). The subject is here limited for lack of space to the United States, Great Britain, and Germany. (For other countries, see those countries.) Free use has been made of the articles in the Bulletins of the U. S. Bureau of Labor on "Labor Legislation in the U. S.," by G. A. Weber, "Foreign Labor Laws," by W. F. Willoughby.

UNITED STATES

In factory legislation, the various states of the union have generally followed the precedent of the early English factory acts, and all this class of legislation has been restricted to the action of individual states. The right of a state of the union or of the federal government to enact such legislation rests upon the police power, that is, the right to pass any laws which, tho regulating or limiting property, contract or personal rights, are necessary to the safety, health, comfort, morals or well-being of society.

Factories and Workshops

What are usually known as factory acts relate to (1) the protection of the health of the employees, such as regulations requiring the proper ventilation, lighting, and heating of factories and workshops, the provision of exhaust fans to prevent dust or other deleterious products from being inhaled by the operatives, the lime-washing or painting of walls, the provision of seats and separate toilet facilities for females, and the prohibition of overcrowding; (2) the prevention of accidents, such as regulations prohibiting the employment of women and children to clean machinery in motion or operate dan-

gerous machinery, or of children to run elevators, requiring that machinery and vats containing molten metal or hot liquids be properly guarded, that mechanical belt and gearing shifters, means of communication between the engineer's room and rooms where machinery is used, and safety appliances on elevators be provided, that hoistway openings be properly railed off, that sides or railings be placed on stairways, that special precautions be taken in cases of dangerous or injurious occupations, or where explosive or highly inflammable compounds are handled, that fire escapes be provided, and that doors in factories and workshops be so hung as to open outward, and that they be kept unlocked; and (3) the conditions of employment of women and children, such as regulations restricting the hours of labor, prohibiting night work, and requiring intervals of rest during the working day. As nearly all the states have some form of factory regulation it would require too much space to discuss, at any length, the legislative enactments of each state on this subject. The present article will show therefore only the principal objects of factory legislation and the names of the states in which the legislation was enacted.

Provisions for protecting the health of employees apply in some cases to all factories and workshops, and in others to only those factories and workshops in which women and children are employed

Protection of Health

Ventilation.—A common provision of law concerning ventilation requires that every factory in which five or more persons are employed shall be so ventilated while work is carried on therein that the air shall not become so exhausted as to be injurious to the health of persons employed therein, and shall also be so ventilated as to render harmless, so far as is practicable, all gases, vapors, dust, or other impurities generated in the course of the manufacturing process or handicraft carried on therein that may be injurious to health. The states which have enacted laws requiring ventilation of factories and workshops are California, Connecticut, Indiana, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Washington, and Wisconsin.

Heating and Lighting.—The provisions relating to heating and lighting leave it to the factory inspector to determine whether they are sufficient for the health and safety of employees and to issue orders accordingly. The states having such provisions are Connecticut, Delaware, Indiana, Kansas, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island.

Exhaust Fans, etc.—These provisions usually prescribe that exhaust fans of sufficient power, or other sufficient devices, shall be provided for the purpose of carrying off poisonous fumes and gases, and dust from emery wheels, grindstones, and other machinery creating dust. The states making such provisions are California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Washington, and Wisconsin.

Walls, etc.—Provisions of law requiring the lime-washing or painting of walls and ceilings at certain intervals, apply in some cases to all factories and workshops, and in others to bakeries only. The following states have such provisions: Indiana, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin.

Overcrowding.—In some states the laws provide that the minimum air space per employee in a factory or workshop shall be 250 cubic feet in the daytime and 400 at night, while in others the amount of air space per person to be required is left to the judgment of the factory inspector. The states making such provisions are Indiana, Maryland, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin.

Toilet Facilities.—These provisions of law usually take the form of requiring separate water-closets, wash-rooms or dressing-rooms for the two sexes. A number of states have laws requiring the provision of wash-rooms in foundries. The following states have laws concerning toilet facilities in factories and workshops: California, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Indiana, Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

Prevention of Accidents

Laws for the prevention of accidents usually apply to all factories and workshops in which machinery is used, altho some of the provisions relate only to places where women and children are employed.

Cleaning Machinery.—The laws concerning the cleaning of machinery while in motion usually relate only to young persons and women. They have been enacted in Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and West Virginia.

Guards on Machinery.—Laws for the guarding of dangerous machinery, etc., usually provide that all vats, pans, saws, planers, cogs, gearing, belting, shafting, set-screws and machinery of every description shall be properly guarded. Such laws have been enacted in Connecticut, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nevada, New Jersey, New York.

Mechanical Belt-gearing Shifters.—Where these provisions of law have been enacted it has usually been left to the discretion of the factory inspector to determine in what measure belt-shifters or other mechanical contrivances for the purpose of throwing on or off belts on pulleys should be installed. The states which have enacted such regulations are Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Washington.

Guards on Elevators and Hoistways.—Laws concerning the guarding of elevators, hoisting shafts, well-holes, hatchways, etc., usually provide that these openings should be protected by sufficient trap-doors or self-closing hatches, and be enclosed. In some cases the installing of these safeguards is left to the discretion of the factory inspectors. The following states have provisions of this kind: Connecticut, Indiana, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Washington, West Virginia, and Wyoming.

Explosives.—Laws requiring certain precautions to be taken in establishments where explosives are made or handled, have been enacted in Iowa, Maryland, Massachusetts, Missouri, and New Jersey.

Doors.—Important provisions of law concerning factories and workshops are those requiring doors to swing outward, and requiring them to be unlocked while persons are employed in the rooms. Such laws have been enacted in Georgia, Indiana, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin.

Fire-escapes.—Laws concerning the installation of fire-escapes on factories have been enacted in Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

Other provisions for the safety of employees enacted in some of the states are such as require the placing of hand-rails on stairways, and the marking of dangerous machinery, provide that a certain distance must be left between fixt structures and the traversing parts of machinery, prohibit the operation of dangerous machinery by children, etc., etc.

Hours of Labor

The limitation of hours of labor of adult males is confined to employees in certain specified industries, such as drug-stores, bakeries, mines, railways, and on public works. Thus, the hours of labor of drug clerks are limited to sixty per week in California, and to seventy per week in New York; the hours of labor of employees in bakeries to sixty per week in New Jersey, and to six days per week in Pennsylvania. A New York statute limiting the hours of labor of bakery employees to sixty per week was declared unconstitutional.

Mercantile Establishments

Laws concerning the regulation and inspection of mercantile establishments relate chiefly to the hours of labor and the conditions of employment of women and children, and include provisions prohibiting night work, requiring intervals of rest, fixing an age limit for the employment of children, requiring suitable and sufficient wash-rooms and water-closets, lunch-rooms, seats for females, etc. These laws are considered elsewhere. They are usually enforced by the factory inspectors.

Bakeries and confectioneries have likewise been made the objects of special regulation in a number of states.

Laws have been enacted, in twelve states, for the purpose of protecting the health of employees and of the public, by requiring cleanliness, proper plumbing and draining, and other sanitary arrangements, and regulating certain conditions of labor in establishments used for the manufacture of bread, cakes, biscuits, pies, pretzels, macaroni, confectionery, etc.

Tennessee has a law simply providing that whenever the

word "workshop" appears in the law relating to factories, etc., it should include bakeries, whether run by machinery or not. The laws of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, and Washington relate only to bakeries; those of Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, and Wisconsin relate also to confectioneries. In Pennsylvania the law relates to bakeries, pretzel, and macaroni establishments, and in Indiana to bakeries, confectioneries, canning, packing, pickling, preserving, and all other establishments for the manufacture of food products. In all these states the laws require that the buildings occupied should be properly drained and plumbed, seven states requiring also that they be ventilated by air-shafts, windows, or ventilating pipes. In four of the states the rooms used for the manufacture of flour or meal foods are required to have impermeable floors, constructed of hard wood saturated with linseed oil, or of cement or tiles laid in cement. In three other states this requirement is made optional with the factory inspectors. Ten states require the walls to be plastered and either painted or whitewashed, and in some cases the ceilings must be ceiled with either wood or metal. When whitewashed, the wash must usually be renewed every three months, this requirement being in some cases optional with the inspector. In ten states it is required that furniture and utensils be so arranged that they and the floor may always be easily kept clean and in a sanitary condition.

In all the states having bake-shop regulations, wash-rooms and water-closets must be provided with ventilation separate and apart from rooms where food products are manufactured, and no water-closet, earth-closet, privy, or ash pit may be within or communicate directly with such rooms. In New Jersey and New York this applies also to bake shops in hotels and restaurants. Sleeping places must in all cases be separate and distinct from rooms where food products are manufactured or stored, and in four states if the sleeping rooms are on the same floor they are subject to inspection by the factory inspectors. In Minnesota and Wisconsin workmen in bakeries and confectioneries must be furnished with caps and slippers, or shoes, and an external suit of coarse linen, to be used only while at work, and these garments must be kept in a clean condition. For this change of clothes separate dressing-rooms must be provided.

In five states the use of cellars or basements for bake shops is prohibited unless they are put in the sanitary condition required by law. In four of these states the cellars must be at least eight feet high. In Connecticut and Washington no cellar or basement may be used as a bakery, and those used at the time of the passage of the act cannot be reopened for use as bakeries when once closed. A similar restriction exists in Minnesota in the case of any room the floor of which is more than two feet below, and in Wisconsin five feet below, the street or adjacent ground.

Six states prohibit the employment in bake shops of persons who are affected with consumption of the lungs or with scrofulous or venereal diseases or with any communicable skin affection, and employers are required to maintain themselves and their employees in a clean condition while manufacturing or handling food. In Indiana cuspidors must be provided, and no person is permitted to spit upon the floor or walls of any place where food products are manufactured. Notices to this effect must be posted in all such places.

In four states provision is made restricting the hours of labor of children or of adults in bake shops.

In Connecticut, Indiana, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, and Ohio the bake-shop laws are enforced and the bakery inspections made by the factory inspectors, and in Washington by the Commissioner of Labor. In Pennsylvania the provisions regarding employees affected with diseases are enforced by the health board, but all other provisions are enforced by the factory inspectors. In Minnesota and Wisconsin the state bureau of labor and the state and local health boards are charged with the enforcement of these laws. In Massachusetts this duty devolves upon the local boards of health only. In Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, and Ohio the inspectors, and in Washington the Commissioner of Labor, are required to inspect all bake shops and to issue certificates of inspection to all bakeries which have complied with the requirements of the bake-shop acts. In Minnesota and Wisconsin the common councils in cities of 5,000 population and over may by ordinance provide for licensing bakeries.

In nearly all the states that have enacted bake-shop laws a time limit of thirty or sixty days is fixt within which owners, lessees, etc., of such shops must make such alterations or installations as the factory inspectors or health boards may require in accordance with the provisions of the bake-shop acts. Failure to comply with these orders, or other violations of the bake-shop acts, are punishable by fines, usually from $20 to $50 for the first offense, and by higher fines or imprisonment for subsequent offenses.

Laundries

Eight states have statutes regulating work in laundries. New York and Hawaii have special legislation concerning labor in laundries. In the other six states laundries are simply included in the number of industries covered by the factory regulations.

The New York law, besides providing that the factory regulations should apply to laundries, prohibits sleeping in rooms used for public laundries, and requires all such laundries to be kept in a clean condition and free from vermin and all impurities of an infectious or contagious nature. The law does not apply to females engaged in doing custom laundry work at home for regular family trade.

The Hawaiian law provides for the erection of laundries and wash-houses by the government, to be rented to private persons, and prohibits any one from carrying on the business of laundry keeping or washing for hire within the limits of the city of Honolulu except in such buildings. Special permits may be granted for the erection of steam laundries by private persons.

Building Construction

A number of states have laws relating to the protection of employees on buildings, which may well be considered in this connection.

The states having such laws are California, Indiana, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. These laws are sometimes enforced by factory inspectors, but usually by building inspectors or other local authorities. The regulations relate to the safety of the scaffolding, ropes, blocks, or pulleys used, the provision of floors in unfinished buildings, etc.

Inspection of Factories

In twenty-seven states the laws provide for the appointment of inspectors of factories and workshops, whose duties consist of visiting and inspecting factories, workshops, mills, and, in some cases, mercantile establishments, sweat-shops, bakeries, laundries, and building construction work, and enforcing the laws concerning the same. In ten of these states the inspectors are required to prepare statistics of accidents, the owners of factories and workshops in these states being required to report all accidents occurring in their establishments.

Factory inspectors in some states have, in addition to the enforcement of factory laws, duties other than those indicated above. Thus, in some states they are entrusted with the duties of inspecting buildings, boilers, elevators, mines, etc., which functions are usually exercised by special officers appointed for those purposes.

In California, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New York, Oregon, Washington, West Virginia, and Wisconsin the duties of factory inspection are combined with those of the bureaus of labor statistics.

Great Britain

The first factories act in England and in all Europe was passed in 1802 (42 Geo. III., c. 72). It was entitled "An act for the preservation of the health and morals of apprentices and others," but was generally known as the elder Sir Robert Peel's act. Its principal provisions were that apprentices should not work more than twelve hours a day exclusive of meal time, nor at night; that they should receive instruction, the first four years of their apprenticeship, in reading, writing, and arithmetic, or either of them, and in the principles of the Christian religion; that they should be supplied with sufficient and suitable clothing by their masters; that factories should have two washings with quicklime each year and be ventilated by a sufficient number of windows.

In 1819 another step was taken for the protection of factory labor by the enactment of a law relating exclusively to cotton mills, and which fixt a minimum age limit of nine years for children employed in factories, restricted the hours of labor to twelve a day in the case of children from nine to sixteen years of age, and fixt an hour and a half as the minimum time to be allowed them for meals.

Supplementary acts were passed in 1820, 1829, 1831, and 1833. The act of 1833 (3 and 4 Will. IV., c. 103) replaced the previous acts, and for the first time made a distinction between "children" and "young persons," a distinction which is still maintained. It defined a child as a person under thirteen years of age, and a "young person" as one under eighteen years of age. It forbade night work for children and young persons. Daily attendance at school for children, and holidays and half-holidays were provided for. It also made provision for the appointment of four factory inspectors. While the preceding act related only to cotton and woolen mills, the present act applied to "any cotton, woolen, worsted, hemp, flax, tow, linen, or silk mill or factory wherein steam or water or any other mechanical power is, or shall be, used to propel or work the machinery."

Development

As a result of the report of a Royal Commission appointed in 1840 to inquire into the labor of children, a new factories act was passed in 1844 (7 and 8 Vict., c. 15), which likewise applied to the textile industries. This act lowered the minimum age limit from nine to eight years—a step backward. On the other hand, it reduced the hours of labor per day to six and a half, prescribed the period of employment of children between 5.30 A.M. and 8.30 P.M., and prohibited the employment after 1 P.M. of any child working during the morning. Where young persons were employed ten hours per day, children were allowed to work ten hours on alternate days. This act was the origin of what has since come to be known as the half-time system. For the first time adult women were placed under legal protection, the provisions concerning young persons being made to apply to all adult women. Another very important innovation was a provision requiring the fencing of dangerous machinery operated by children and young persons, and prohibiting their employment in the work of cleaning machinery while in motion. The system of factory inspection was made more efficient by the creation of a department of factory inspection, with a central office in London.

The next step of importance in factory regulation was the passage in 1847 of what was known as the Ten Hours Act (10 and 11 Vict., c. 29). This was the result of a twenty years' agitation of the advocates of the ten-hour movement. It limited the hours of all women and young persons in factories to ten per day and fifty-eight per week. Other acts of minor importance were passed in 1850, 1853, 1856, and 1860.

Up to the year 1864 the factory acts related only to the textile industries. In that year, however, an act (27 and 28 Vict., c. 48) extended the factory act to practically all kinds of industrial work, thus bringing under the factory regulations non-textile as well as textile industries and also certain other employments.

In 1867 two acts were passed which marked a decided advance in factory regulation. The one (30 and 31 Vict., c. 103) was known as the Factory Acts Extension Act, and the other (30 and 31 Vict., c. 106), the Workshops Regulation Act. The first act extended the principle of legal regulation by defining the word "factory," as regulated by the act, to any place where manufacturing was carried on and where fifty or more persons were employed. The second act extended the legal regulation of labor to smaller places of work where children, young persons, or women were employed, and to which or over which the employer of the persons working therein had the right of access and control. It limited the hours of labor in workshops, but allowed greater latitude as to periods of employment and overtime than was permitted in factories. As the enforcement of the provisions of the Workshops Act was left to the local authorities the act was largely disregarded.

In 1871 a Factory and Workshop Act (34 and 35 Vict., c. 104) was passed placing all factories and workshops under the control of the factory inspectors, and bringing government factories and workshops under the Factory and Workshops Act.

In 1874 an act (37 and 38 Vict., c. 44) was passed raising the minimum age limit of children in textile factories from eight to nine, and the next year to ten years, and further restricting the hours of their employment.

The multiplicity of the various factory and workshops acts induced the appointment of a royal commission, whose report resulted in the passage of the "Factory and Workshops Act, 1878" (41 Vict., c. 16). It not only consolidated the provisions of all previous factory acts, but brought together the two classes of factory and workshop regulations which had hitherto been kept separate. It classified the establishments as "factories" and "workshops" and the industries as "textile" and "non-textile." This act, with its subsequent amendments in 1883, 1889, 1891, 1895, and 1897, was in force, when, in 1901, the present Factory and Workshops Act (1 Edw. VII., c. 22) was passed. The latter consolidated all these enactments and made many new and important provisions.

The Factory and Workshop Act of 1901 retained the classification of establishments into "factories" and "workshops." The factories are again divided into textile and non-textile factories, tenement factories, and domestic factories. Workshops are divided into men's workshops, women's workshops, and domestic workshops. To define these various terms would require more space than can be given in this article, but their names give a fair idea of their meaning.

Act of 1901

The main difference between a factory and workshop as defined in this act is that the former is a place where any article is made, altered, repaired, ornamented, finished, or adapted for sale, and where steam, water, or other mechanical power is used in aid of such process, except that for special reasons some non-textile work places are included, even tho mechanical power may not be used. Workshops include all other work places which come within the scope of the law.

The law first deals with the health and safety of employees in factories and workshops. The health provisions relate to cleanliness and sanitation, overcrowding, temperature, ventilation, drainage of floors, and sanitary conveniences. The health regulations, as far as they concern factories, are contained in the act itself; but as regards workshops, the act applies the provisions of the various public health acts. Hence the provisions as to health are enforced by factory inspectors in factories, and by local sanitary authorities in workshops.

Protection of Health of Employees

Sanitation.—The regulations regarding cleanliness provide that a factory must be kept in a cleanly state and free from effluvia arising from any drain, water-closet, earth-closet, privy, urinal, or other nuisance. For the purpose of securing cleanliness, all inside walls and the ceilings or tops of the rooms of a factory, and all passages and staircases of a factory, if they have not been painted with oil or varnish once at least within seven years, must be lime-washed once at least every fourteen months; and if they have been so painted or varnished, must be washed with hot water and soap once at least every fourteen months. In every factory or workshop in which a process is carried on which renders the floor liable to be wet, adequate means must be provided for draining off the wet.

Toilet Facilities.—Every factory and workshop must be provided with sufficient and suitable accommodations in the way of sanitary conveniences, regard being had to the number of persons employed, and proper separate accommodations must be provided for persons of each sex. The secretary of state determines by special order what should be considered as sufficient and suitable accommodation.

Temperature.—The provision regarding temperature requires that a reasonable temperature must be maintained in each room, in every factory and workshop in which any person is employed, without interfering with the purity of the air.

Ventilation.—Sufficient means of ventilation must be provided, and sufficient ventilation must be maintained in every factory and workshop. The standard of sufficient ventilation for any class of factories or workshops is prescribed by the secretary of state.

Overcrowding.—The act provides that the amount of air space in any room must be not less than 250 cubic feet for each person employed therein, or 400 cubic feet during a period of overtime. These requirements may be modified by special order of the secretary of state. The employer must affix in every factory and workshop a notice specifying the number of persons who may be employed in each room by virtue of this provision.

The provisions of the Factory and Workshops Act having for their purpose the safety of employees, are considered under six heads, namely, the fencing of machinery, steam boilers, the use of self-acting machines, the cleaning of machinery in motion, the provision of fire-escapes, and special regulations regarding dangerous machinery and unhealthy or dangerous buildings. These safety provisions apply not only to factories and workshops, but also to docks, wharves, quays, warehouses, to certain

Prevention of Accidents

buildings, and to any machinery used in the process of loading or unloading or coaling any ship in any dock, harbor, or canal.

Guards on Machinery.—The provisions for the fencing of machinery are as follows:

1. Every hoist or teagle, and every fly-wheel directly connected with steam, water, or other mechanical power, whether in the engine-house or not, and every part of any water-wheel or engine worked by such power shall be securely fenced.

2. Every wheel-race not otherwise secured shall be securely fenced close to the edge of the wheel-race.

3. All dangerous parts of the machinery and every part of the mill-gearing must be either securely fenced or be in such position or of such construction as to be equally safe to every person at work in the factory as if it were securely fenced.

4. All fencing must be constantly maintained in an efficient state while the parts required to be fenced are in motion or in use, except when they are under repair or examination or are necessarily exposed for the purpose of cleaning or lubricating, or for altering the gearing or arrangements of the parts of the machinery.

Steam-boilers.—The provisions of the act concerning steam-boilers are entirely new. They direct that:

1. Every steam-boiler used for generating steam in a factory or workshop or in any other place to which the act applies: (*a*) must have a proper safety-valve, steam-gage, and water-gage to show the pressure of steam and the height of water in the boiler; (*b*) must be examined thoroughly by a competent person at least once in every fourteen months.

2. Every such boiler, safety-valve, steam-gage, and water-gage must be maintained in proper condition.

3. A report of the result of every such examination in the prescribed form must within fourteen days be entered into or attached to the general register of the factory or workshop, signed by the person making the examination.

Self-acting Machines.—The provisions for the use of self-acting machines are as follows:

1. In a factory erected on or after the first day of January, 1896, the traversing carriage of any self-acting machine shall not be allowed to run out within a distance of eighteen inches from any fixt structure not being part of the machine, if the space over which it so runs out is a space over which any person is liable to pass, whether in the course of his employment or otherwise.

2. A person employed in a factory must not be allowed to be in the space between the fixt and the traversing parts of a self-acting machine unless the machine is stopt with the traversing parts on the outward run, but for the purpose of this provision the space in front of a self-acting machine shall not be included in the space aforesaid.

3. A woman, young person, or child shall not be allowed to work between the fixt and traversing part of any self-acting machine while the machine is in motion by the action of steam, water, or other mechanical power.

Cleaning Machinery.—The regulations with regard to the cleaning of machinery in motion are as follows:

1. A child must not be allowed to clean in any factory, (*a*) any part of any machinery; or (*b*) any place under any machinery other than overhead mill-gearing, while the machinery is in motion, by the aid of steam, water, or other mechanical power.

2. This provision also applies to young persons, so far as the dangerous parts of machinery are concerned. It is presumed, until the contrary is proved, that those parts of machinery are dangerous that are so notified by the inspector to the occupier.

3. A young person or woman must not be allowed to clean such part of the machinery of a factory as is mill-gearing (that is, the means by which power is transmitted as distinguished from the manufacturing operations) while the same is in motion for the purpose of propelling any part of the manufacturing machinery.

Fire-escapes.—In the provisions of the factory act requiring precautions to be taken against fire in factories and workshops, and the provision of means of escape, a distinction is made between old and new buildings. Following are the provisions:

1. Every factory of which the construction was not commenced on or before Jan. 1, 1892, and in which more than forty persons are employed, and every workshop of which the construction was not commenced before Jan. 1, 1896, and in which more than forty persons are employed, must be furnished with a certificate from the district council of the district in which the factory or workshop is situated, that the factory or workshop is provided with such means of escape in case of fire for the persons employed therein as can reasonably be required under the circumstances in each case; and it shall be the duty of the council to examine every such factory and workshop; and, on being satisfied that the factory or workshop is so provided, to give such certificate.

2. With respect to all factories and workshops to which the foregoing provisions do not apply and in which more than forty persons are employed, it shall be the duty of the district council of every district from time to time to ascertain whether all such factories and workshops within their district are provided with such means of escape as aforesaid, and, in the case of any factory or workshop which is not so provided, to serve on the owner of the factory or workshop a notice in writing specifying the measures necessary for providing such means of escape, and requiring him to carry them out before a specified date, and thereupon the owner shall, notwithstanding any agreement with the occupier, have power to take such steps as are necessary for complying with the requirements, and unless the requirements are complied with, the owner shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £1 ($4.87) for every day that the non-compliance continues. In case of a difference of opinion between the owner of the factory or workshop and the council this difference must, on the application of either party, within one month, be referred to arbitration, this arbitration to be had in conformity with a scheme provided in this act. The award on the arbitration is binding on the parties. If the owner alleges that the occupier of the factory or workshop ought to bear or contribute to the expenses of complying with the requirements, he may apply to the county court having jurisdiction; and this court, after hearing the occupier, may make such order as appears to the court just and equitable.

Fire-escapes

For the purpose of enforcing the provisions concerning means of escape in case of fire, an inspector may give the like notice and take like proceedings as in other provisions under this act with respect to matters punishable or remedial under the law relating to public health but not under this act, and those provisions shall apply accordingly.

The means of escape in case of fire provided in any factory or workshop must be maintained in good condition and free from obstruction.

3. While any person employed in a factory or workshop is within the factory or workshop for the purpose of employment or meals, the doors of the factory or workshop and of any room therein in which any such person is shall not be locked or bolted or fastened in such a manner that they cannot be easily and immediately opened from the inside.

4. In every factory or workshop, the construction of which was commenced after Jan. 1, 1896, the doors of each room in which more than ten persons are employed shall, except in the case of sliding doors, be constructed so as to open outward.

The regulations concerning the use of dangerous buildings or machinery provide that whenever an inspector believes that any place used as a factory or workshop is in such a condition that any manufacturing process or handicraft carried on therein cannot be so carried on without danger to health or to life or limb, or that any part of the ways, works, machinery, or plant used in a factory or workshop is in such a condition that it cannot be used without danger to life or limb, he can make complaint to a court of summary jurisdiction, and this court can, upon being satisfied of the justness of the complaint, prohibit the use of the place or machine until such works have been executed as, in the opinion of the court, are necessary to remove the danger. A fine of not exceeding 40s. ($9.73) a day may be imposed for failure to comply with this order.

When a complaint has been made as above, the court or a justice may, on application *ex parte* by the inspector, and on receiving evidence that the use of any machine involves imminent danger to life, make an interim order prohibiting, either absolutely or subject to conditions, the use of the machine until the earliest opportunity for hearing and determining the complaint.

The British law makes careful provision for the investigation of all serious accidents and their recording, with a view of determining the responsibility and cause of their occurrence. Where there occurs in any factory or workshop any accident which either causes loss of life to a person employed in the factory or workshop, or causes to any person therein employed such bodily injury as to prevent him on any one of the three working days next after the occurrence of the accident from being employed for five hours on his ordinary work, written notice must be immediately sent to the inspector of the district.

Reporting and Investigation of Accidents

If the accident causes loss of life, or is produced either by machinery moved by steam, water, or other mechanical power, or through a vat, pan, or other structure filled with hot liquid or molten metal or other substance, or by explosion or escape of gas, steam, or metal, then, unless notice thereof

is required by the Explosives Act of 1875 to be sent to a government inspector, notice must immediately be sent to the certifying surgeon of the district. The notice must state the residence of the person killed or injured, and the place to which he has been removed. If notice as above required is not sent, the occupier of the factory is liable to a fine not exceeding £5 ($24.33). If the accident occurs to a person employed in an iron mill or blast furnace, or other factory or workshop, where the occupier is not the actual employer of the person killed or injured, the actual employer must immediately report the same to the occupier, and in default shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £5 ($24.33).

When a certifying surgeon, as before mentioned, receives notice of an accident, he shall, with the least possible delay, proceed to the factory or workshop, and make a full examination as to the nature and cause of the death or injury caused by the accident, and make a report thereof to the inspector within the next twenty-four hours. In making this investigation he has the same powers as an inspector, and can enter any room in a building to which the person killed or injured has been removed.

Where a death has been caused by accident, the coroner must immediately advise the district inspector of the time and place of holding the inquest. Unless an inspector or some person on behalf of the secretary of state is present to watch the proceedings, the coroner must adjourn the inquest, and must in writing give the inspector at least four days' notice of the time and place of holding the adjourned inquest. At such inquest any relative of any person whose death may have been caused by the accident, and any inspector, and the occupier of the factory or workshop in which the accident occurred, and any person appointed by the order in writing of the majority of the work people employed in the factory or workshop shall be at liberty to attend and examine any witness, either in person or by counsel, solicitor, or agent, subject to the order of the coroner.

Employment

With regard to the conditions of employment in factories and workshops, adult male labor is subjected to no regulations except in the case of dangerous occupations, the theory being that this class is competent to look after its own welfare. In the case of women, young persons, and children, however, the conditions are different, their natural weakness being such that the intervention of the State in their behalf is held to be fully justified.

In the Factory Act, therefore, the numerous regulations concerning hours of labor, time of employment, Sunday and holiday labor, fitness for employment, education, etc., relate only to women, young persons, and children, and as they are considered elsewhere, they will not be treated in this place.

Dangerous Occupations

Altho the regulations for health and safety prescribed by the Factory Act are considered sufficient for factories and workshops generally, there are some industries that are unusually dangerous to life and health for which additional rules and regulations are provided.

Every medical practitioner attending on or called in to visit a patient whom he believes to be suffering from lead, phosphorus, arsenic, or mercurial poisoning, or anthrax, or any other disease designated in a special order by the secretary of state, contracted in any factory or workshop, must send to the Chief Inspector of Factories at the Home Office, London, a notice stating the name and full postal address of the patient and the disease from which he is suffering, for which he receives a fee of 2s. 6d. (61 cents) from the State. If he fails to send such a notice he is liable to a fine of 40s. ($9.73).

Written notice of every case of lead, phosphorus, or arsenic or mercurial poisoning, or anthrax, or other disease designated by special order by the secretary of state, occurring in a factory or workshop, must be sent to the inspector and to the certifying surgeon for the district, the same provisions applying in this case as in that of accidents.

If in any factory or workshop where grinding, glazing, or polishing on a wheel, or any process is carried on by which dust, gas, vapor, or other impurity is generated and inhaled to an injurious extent, the inspector may direct that a fan or other mechanical means of construction for preventing such inhalation be provided within a reasonable time.

In every factory where lead, arsenic, or any other poisonous substance is used, suitable washing conveniences must be provided; and in any such factory where dust or fumes are generated a person is not allowed to take a meal or remain during meal time. In such cases provision must be made for enabling persons to take their meals elsewhere.

Special provisions also exist concerning women, young persons, and children, restricting their employment in wet-spinning; prohibiting their employment in certain factories and workshops; and prohibiting their taking meals in certain parts of factories and workshops.

Where the secretary of state is satisfied that any manufacture, machinery, plant, process, or description of manual labor, used in factories or workshops, is dangerous or injurious to health, life, or limb, either generally or in the case of women, children, or any other class of persons, he may certify the same to be dangerous and make such regulations, under this act, as appear to him to be reasonably practicable and meet the necessities of the case. Before making such regulations he must publish a notice of the same and allow not less than twenty-one days for the receipt of objections from those affected. These regulations may, among other things:

1. Prohibit the employment of, or modify or limit the period of employment of all persons or any class of persons in any such manufacture, etc.
2. Prohibit, limit, or control the use of any material or process; and
3. Modify or extend any special regulations for any class of factories or workshops contained in the factory act.

A breach of the above-mentioned regulations incurs a fine not exceeding £10 ($48.66), and in case of a continuing offense, not exceeding £2 ($9.73) for every day during its continuance after conviction therefor. The act also prescribes the manner in which the regulations made by the secretary of state should be published.

In addition to the provisions of the Factory Act above described, there are many special modifications and extensions which apply to tenement factories, cotton-cloth and other humid factories, bakehouses, laundries, docks, buildings, and railways, and to home work, but which space will not permit us to consider here.

Administration

The administration of the factory laws and the enforcement of their provisions are entrusted to the Secretary of State for the Home Department. The law, instead of creating an inspection service and specifying the number of officials, leaves to this officer the determination of the number of inspectors that may be required, their salaries, official designation, etc. The law reads that the secretary of state from time to time, with the approval of the treasury as to numbers and salaries, may appoint such inspectors under whatever title he may from time to time fix, and such clerks and servants as he may think necessary for the execution of this act, and may assign to them their duties and award them their salaries, and may constitute a principal inspector with an office in London, and may regulate the cases and manner in which the inspectors, or any of them, are to execute and perform the powers and duties of inspectors under this act, and may remove such inspectors, clerks, and servants.

Besides the enumerated general powers and duties, the inspectors have others of importance which are mentioned in connection with the statement of the special provisions of the acts. Such, for example, are those of taking action when the sanitary authorities are in default; of taking part in proceedings at inquests; of enforcing the truck acts, etc.

Prosecutions

All offenses under the factory acts are prosecuted and all fines recorded before a court of summary jurisdiction in the manner provided by the summary jurisdiction acts. The attempt to reproduce the provisions of the acts regarding the methods of procedure, admissibility of evidence, etc., would necessitate the statement of details to a greater extent than is warranted by the scope of this article.

Germany

The first important step in the direction of factory regulation in Germany was made by Prussia, through the act (*Regulativ*) of March 9, 1839, which prohibited the regular employment of children under nine years of age in mines, factories, stamping-mills, blast-furnaces, etc.; limited the maximum working day for young persons under sixteen years of age to ten hours, and prohibited their employment at night or on Sundays and holidays. There were also a number of provisions making it obligatory upon employers to take certain precautions for the maintenance of the health and morality of the employees. It thus contained many of the features of the modern factory act.

In 1845 a very decided advance was made in the enactment of a general labor law, bearing date of Jan. 17th of that year, which made further provisions for the benefit of employees. Feb. 9, 1849, other important changes were introduced by an order in council. This order declared that no person should be compelled to work on Sundays or holidays, provided for the establishment of industrial councils, and ordered that the hours of labor for journeymen, helpers, apprentices, and factory employees should be fixt by these councils. It also prohibited the truck system and required wages to be paid in cash.

A further advance was made by the law of May 16, 1853. The minimum age at which children could be employed in factories was raised to twelve years, and the hours of labor of children under fourteen years of age were limited to six per day. Other provisions of the law regulated the granting of periods of rest, the times of beginning and ending work, school attendance, etc. Finally, power was given to the authorities to appoint factory inspectors to enforce the law, if they deemed it advisable to do so.

In the following fifteen years but little or no change was made in the labor legislation of Prussia. After the founding of the North German Confederation, however, a general labor code, embodying, with some changes, the then existing Prussian legislation, was enacted June 21, 1869. Upon the creation of the German empire this law was gradually extended to the other states of the empire, and remains today, though with important amendments, the fundamental law regulating labor in Germany.

The first of these amendments introducing other than minor modifications was the law of July 17, 1878. This law made a number of radical changes, the most important of which were those in relation to the employment of women and the protection of the health and lives of factory employees. For the first time the labor of women was subjected to special conditions, through the provision that women could not be employed for the three weeks after their confinement, and through the large powers given to the Bundesrat to regulate or prohibit their employment in industries detrimental to their health, or at night in certain trades.

In 1884 a special law was passed to regulate match factories, and in the same year the duties of employers with regard to the provision of safety appliances and the prevention of accidents were further defined by the accident insurance law of that year.

In 1890 was held the famous International Congress in Relation to Labor Legislation, summoned at Berlin by the emperor for the purpose of considering the whole question of protective labor legislation. The work of this congress led to the enactment of the law of June 1, 1891. This law, which embodies most of the changes recommended by the German representatives at this congress, subjects the employment of women and children to a far more rigid regulation than ever before attempted; lays down in a definite manner the conditions under which Sunday labor is permissible; contains provisions concerning the framing of factory regulations, the making and breaking of the labor contract, and the payment of wages, and generally revises the whole labor code in the direction of subjecting labor to a more rigid legislative control.

Other important acts, apart from those relating to insurance, were those of July 29, 1890, and June 30, 1901, concerning the creation of tribunals for the arbitration of labor disputes; the Act of June 30, 1900, making certain changes in and additions to the industrial code; the Act of March 30, 1903, regulating the employment of children and the Act of May 10, 1903, prohibiting the use of yellow sulphur in the manufacture of matches or other inflammable materials.

The changes effected by the Act of June 30, 1900, affect the provisions of the industrial code governing establishments requiring special authorization; the fees charged by employment agencies; Sunday and holiday labor; workingmen's pass-books; labor contracts, and rest periods for young persons. An important addition to the industrial code consists of regulations governing employment in stores and shops for the sale of merchandise. They limit the hours when such establishments may be open for traffic; require employers to compel assistants and apprentices under eighteen years of age to attend continuation schools, and to establish working regulations to be approved by the authorities; regulate the infliction of fines upon employees, etc.

Before entering upon a statement of the provisions of the industrial code regarding particular subjects regulated, some explanation should be given of the general scope of that part of it now to be considered which constitutes factory legislation proper. The labor code, as a whole, relates to almost all kinds of industrial work with the exception of transportation, agriculture, the fisheries, and mining; and different parts of the code relate to different categories of work. The regulations concerning such subjects as the employment of women and children, the making of shop regulations, etc., are restricted to a definite class of factories (*Fabriken*). Whether a particular establishment will be deemed to be a factory must be determined in each case according to the particular circumstances, such as the number of persons employed, the importance of the work carried on, the use of machinery, etc. In case of dispute the matter is decided by the courts.

Factories and Workshops

The term factory, moreover, is used with a different signification in different parts of the code treating of factory regulations. Thus the provisions concerning the framing and posting of shop rules apply only to factories employing at least twenty persons. On the other hand, the provisions regarding the employment of women and children are made to apply to "employers and employees in all work places (*Werkstätten*) in which mechanical power (steam, wind, water, gas, electricity, etc.) is employed otherwise than temporarily," subject to the power of the Bundesrat to make exceptions in certain cases. It is also expressly provided that an imperial decree can extend these provisions to classes of work which are not carried on in places which can be called factories, as well as to building operations, with the exception that they cannot be made to relate to a person employing only members of his or her own family. In point of fact, this power has been exercised but once, when the industry of clothing and underwear making was subjected to these provisions of the code.

An exceedingly broad application has been ordered of those sections relating to the protection of the lives and health of employees. They are made to relate to practically all kinds of industrial work, whether carried on in factories or not, and

thus embrace places in which the handicraft trades are prosecuted. They do not refer, however, to such industries as mining and transportation, for which special regulations are provided by other laws.

Each factory law enacted has required the taking of more stringent precautions for the prevention of accidents and the protection of the health of employees than its predecessors. Prior to 1891 these requirements were for the most part exprest in general terms, that all needful precautions should be taken. The law of 1891 reproduces these provisions, but also mentions more specifically the measures that must be observed.

Employers must so install and maintain their machinery and appliances that the lives and health of employees are protected as far as possible. They must in particular see that there are provided sufficient light and air; that injurious dust and gases are removed; that dangerous machinery is properly guarded; that precautions are taken against fire, and that regulations to this effect are prepared and enforced.

Employers must also see that all needful precautions are taken, when both men and women are employed, to protect the morality and good conduct of employees. They must, as far as possible, separate the two sexes; provide separate lavatories and dressing-rooms for the two sexes when the nature of the work requires the employees to change their clothes after finishing their work, and provide a sufficient number of water-closets, so arranged that they can in no way lead to improper conduct on the part of the employees.

Prevention of Accidents and Protection of Health of Employees

Where persons under eighteen years of age are employed, special precautions must be taken for their protection. In the case of industries presenting unusual danger to life or health, or of such a nature as to make them nuisances to their neighbors, special permission for their operation must be obtained from the authorities, and these officers can make such regulations regarding their location and methods of work as they deem proper.

To insure compliance with these provisions, the police authorities have the power to order such changes in the methods of work in individual establishments as they deem proper. An appeal from these orders can be made, first, to the superior administrative authorities, and then to the central government. The police authorities can also require employers to provide, without expense to the employees, suitable places, properly heated during cold weather, and apart from the workrooms, where the latter can eat their meals.

Unless the orders issued refer to some imminent danger to life or health, time must be allowed to employers in which to comply with the orders. In the case of establishments existing at the time of the passage of this law, orders for considerable alterations cannot be issued, unless they are necessary for the removal of a serious menace to life, health, or morality, except in the case of rebuilding or the making of extensive additions to the establishment.

Finally, and most important of all, the Bundesrat is given the power to draw up detailed regulations, setting forth the manner in which particular industries must be carried on. In the case of those industries where the Bundesrat does not make use of this power, the central authorities of each state (*Landes-Centralbehörde*) can take action, and in case of non-action by them the police authorities can prepare such regulations. Before doing so, however, they must give the trade associations (*Berufsgenossenschaften*) interested an opportunity to express their opinion regarding the proposed action.

The Bundesrat has also the power of prescribing the duration and time of beginning and ending work in establishments where the working of long hours is believed to be injurious to the health of the employees.

At the present time orders have been issued by the Bundesrat in respect to the following industries: Match factories, July 8, 1893; lead-paint and sugar-of-lead works, July 8, 1893, May 26, 1903, August 24, 1903; cigar factories, July 8, 1893, August 24, 1903, April 9, 1905; alkali chrome works, Feb. 2, 1897; printing-offices and type-foundries, July 31, 1897; establishments for the manufacture of electrical accumulators by means of lead or lead compounds, May 11, 1898; the hair-goods industry, Jan. 28, 1899, and Oct. 22, 1902; slag-crushing establishments, April 25, 1899, and Nov. 15, 1903; zinc-smelting works, Feb. 13, 1900, and July 5, 1901; establishments for vulcanizing india-rubber, March 1, 1902; quarries and stone-cutting establishments, March 20, 1902; lead-smelting works, June 16, 1905; manufacture of paints, varnishes, etc., June 27, 1905.

The number of hours per day that an adult may work is not limited by law, but the Bundesrat has power to fix the time that work shall begin and end and the maximum duration of a day's labor in industries in which long hours are deemed especially injurious to the health of employees. Orders fixing hours of labor for adult labor by virtue of this power have been issued by the Bundesrat in respect to bakeries and confectioneries, lead paint and sugar-of-lead works, the manufacture of electrical accumulators, slag-crushing establishments, establishments for vulcanizing india-rubber, and lead-smelting works.

The hours of labor of women and children are considered elsewhere.

The question of shop rules or regulations received considerable attention by those having charge of the framing of the Law of 1891, and important provisions concerning it were incorporated in the law. Prior to the passage of this act great complaint was made by the employees that not only were the regulations governing the conduct of work in each establishment framed by the employer in an arbitrary manner, but that, owing to the fact that they were often not reduced to writing, the employees had no way of knowing exactly what the regulations were, nor when they would be changed.

Factory and Workshop Rules

To remedy this the Law of June 1, 1891, provided that in every industrial establishment in which twenty or more persons were employed a set of shop rules or regulations should be prepared, and that these regulations, as far as they were not contrary to law, should constitute an integral part of the labor contract. These regulations must be dated, signed, and posted where they can easily be seen by the employees, and a copy must be given to each employee upon his entering the service of the establishment. Special regulations can be prepared for particular branches of the work. The regulations do not enter into force until two weeks after they are posted.

Tho the main purpose of this law is to make the conditions of labor certain and generally known, the law also specifies the essential points that must be covered by the regulations. They must contain provisions concerning the hours of

beginning and stopping work and the intervals allowed adult employees for rest; the manner of fixing wages and the times of their payment; the notice required in terminating the labor contract and the grounds upon which it can be dispensed with; the kinds and amount of fines, the manner in which they are levied, and when they are money fines, the method of their collection and the purpose for which they are employed; and the disposition that will be made of money retained on account of the improper breaking of the labor contract.

The law limits the amount of fines that can be levied to not more than one half the average daily earnings of the employee, except that, in cases relating to the punishment of acts of violence toward fellow-workers, serious transgressions against good morals, or against the orders of the establishment for insuring the safety of the establishment or for the enforcement of the regulations enacted for the carrying out of the provisions of the industrial code, the fines may equal the full amount of the average daily earnings. No fines or penalties can be imposed which are hurtful to the sense of honor or good morals of the employees. In all cases the proceeds from fines must be expended for the benefit of the employees of the establishment in which they are levied. This provision of course does not refer to compensation obtained by employers on account of damages sustained.

The fines levied must be entered in a register kept for that purpose. The entry must show the name of the person fined, the date, cause, and amount of the fine, and the register must be open at all times to the inspection of the proper authorities. The penalties must be fixt without delay and must be made known to the employee.

Causes for dismissal or giving up of work other than those specified in the factory regulations or in the law cannot be agreed upon in the labor contract, nor can penalties other than those provided for in those regulations be imposed.

It will be observed from the foregoing that, with the exception of the matter of fines, the law merely fixes the points to be covered, but leaves the parties quite free in determining their exact nature. The Law of 1891, however, contains a very important provision in its requirement that the working men shall be given an opportunity to be heard in the framing of the regulations or of supplements thereto. The law thus provides that before the regulations are promulgated the adult working men of the establishment shall be given an opportunity to make known their wishes regarding them.

In a considerable number of the more important industrial establishments permanent working men's committees (*ständige Arbeiterausschüsse*) had been voluntarily created by the employers for the purpose of having a body which could represent the collective interests of employees. The law recognized the utility of these institutions, and provided that where they were in existence their advice should be taken in the formulation of the regulations. In their absence certain other working men's organizations, such as the committees for the management of the sick funds, when the majority of their members were elected from among the working men, could act in this capacity as the representatives of the employees.

Working men's Committees

If there is a permanent working-men's committee, and its consent is obtained, provisions can be introduced in the regulations concerning the operation of factory institutions created for the benefit of the employees and the conduct of minors outside of the establishment.

Though the employers must thus afford their employees an opportunity to be heard in regard to the framing of the factory rules, they are not bound to conform to their wishes in any respect. Experience, however, has demonstrated that the opportunity to be heard is nevertheless a valuable one for both parties. Conditions that would lead to trouble are often foreseen and modified, and points of little moment to the employers, and yet objectionable to the employees, are frequently eliminated.

Inspection of Factories

The duty of creating a service for the inspection of factories and the enforcement of the law in relation to them is left to the individual states. Formerly each state was left free to determine whether the execution of the factory laws should be left to the ordinary police or local administrative authorities, or special officials should be appointed for that purpose. The Law of 1891 changed this and made it obligatory upon the states to appoint special industrial councilors and inspectors (*Gewerbeaufsichtsbeamten*). Each state thus possesses its own particular service, and fixes the powers and duties of its inspectors and their relation to the local police authorities. The general law of the empire, however, provides that these officials shall have the right to enter and inspect all industrial establishments at any time, and the employers are bound to furnish them such statistical information as the Bundesrat or provincial authorities may require.

The inspectors must furnish annually to their governments reports setting forth the manner in which they have performed their duties. These reports must be transmitted in their entirety or in abstract to the Bundesrat and Reichstag. From the information contained in them the central government prepares and publishes an annual report under the title of "Amtliche Mittheilungen aus den Jahresberichten der Gewerbeaufsichtsbeamten." A number of the individual states also publish the reports of their inspectors independently.

In addition to this regular service for the inspection of factories the accident insurance institutions can appoint special officers to oversee the observance of those provisions having for their object the prevention of accidents.

France

If exception be made to certain decrees and ordinances concerning dangerous and unhealthy establishments, made in the interest of the public health, the first act passed by France in relation to the conditions of labor in factories was that of March 22, 1841. This law, entitled "An act in relation to the employment of children in factories, mills, and workshops," was an advanced measure for that period. In it were embraced, at least in principle, most of the features contained in modern factory legislation. It, however, was never enforced except in the feeblest manner. With the exception of one or two departments, its provisions were almost wholly disregarded.

The Republic of 1848 was marked by renewed activity in the enactment of social legislation. Its most important action in the direction of the regulation of industrial work was the decree of March 2, 1848, by which the radical step was taken of limiting the hours of labor of adult males. By it the maximum duration of a day's labor was fixt at ten hours for Paris and eleven hours elsewhere in France. This decree was succeeded by the Law of Sept. 9, 1848, which is still in force. By it, tho the principle of the regulation of adult labor was left untouched, its application was limited to factories and workshops, as regulated by the Factory Act of 1841. The maximum hours of labor that could be worked by employees in these establishments was changed to twelve for all France. This law, like that of 1841, remained practically a dead letter for want of offi-

cials to supervise its execution until 1883, when a law, passed Feb. 16th of that year, made its enforcement a part of the duties of the factory inspectors.

In the meantime the Factory Act of 1841 remained unchanged, and was seldom enforced during a period of over thirty years. The Third Republic, however, as one of its first measures of labor legislation, enacted the Law of May 19, 1874, by which the system of factory legislation was thoroughly reorganized, and means, tho inadequate, provided for its enforcement.

Altho this law constituted a great advance over the one it replaced, it presented defects and omissions that became more prominent as production upon a large scale developed. The constantly growing demand for the further restriction of the employment of women and children, the maintenance of better hygienic conditions in factories, and the provision of more effective means for preventing accidents, led finally to its repeal and the enactment in its place of the Law of Nov. 2, 1892, which, as amended by the Law of July 11, 1903, is now in force. The Law of Nov. 2, 1892, was supplemented in the following year by the Act of June 12, 1893, which relates to the hygiene and security of workers in industrial establishments.

This act was also amended by the Act of July 11, 1903, which added a number of other classes of establishments, which now come within the scope of the law.

Factories and Workshops

The Act of Nov. 2, 1892, with its amendment, relates to the employment of women and children and to the inspection of factories. As the employment of women and children is treated elsewhere, it will not be considered here. The paragraphs which follow will deal, therefore, with the Law of 1848 as amended by the Act of March 30, 1900, concerning the hours of labor of adult males; the Act of Nov. 2, 1892, as amended by the Act of July 11, 1903, as far as it relates to the inspection of factories, etc.; and the Act of June 12, 1893, as amended by the Act of July 11, 1903, relating to hygiene and security.

Hours of Labor

The Act of Sept. 9, 1848, as amended by the Act of March 30, 1900, provides that the hours of labor of male adults must not exceed twelve per day in establishments employing male adults only. In factories and workshops employing also women and children the hours of labor at present must not exceed ten per day. The administration has power to designate by order these industries which by reason of the nature of the industry, or causes beyond control, should be exempt from the provisions of this act. The penalty for violating the act is a fine of from 5 to 100 francs ($0.97 to $19.30). By virtue of the power given to it as above indicated, the government has issued various decrees from time to time enumerating industries and kinds of work which are exempt from the provisions of this law. These orders have all been replaced by a decree issued March 28, 1902, which is now in force, which indicates the industries in which exceptions may be made and the extent to which the daily hours of labor may be increased.

The Act of June 12, 1893, as amended by the Act of July 11, 1903, for the protection of the health and the safety of employees applies to mills, factories, and workshops of all kinds, laboratories, kitchens, wine-cellars, warehouses, mercantile establishments, offices, and enterprises for the loading and unloading of merchandise, and their dependencies, both public and private, religious or secular, including educational and benevolent institutions. The single exception is that of establishments where only members of the same family work under the direction of the father, mother, or guardian. If, however, any such domestic workshop makes use of a steam-engine or mechanical motor, or the work there carried on is classed among the list of dangerous and unhealthy industries, the inspectors of factories can prescribe the measures of health and security that must be observed in conformity with the provisions of this act. A statement of the main provisions of the act follows:

Prevention of Accidents and Protection of Health

All establishments comprehended under the act must be maintained in a constant state of cleanliness, be properly lighted and ventilated, and present all the conditions of safety and salubrity necessary for the health of the employees.

In all establishments containing mechanical apparatus the wheels, belts, gearing, or other machinery that may be a source of danger must be guarded in such a manner that access to them by the employees shall be impossible except for the needs of the service. Shafts, trap-doors, and openings must be railed in. Machines, engines, tools, and means for transmitting power must be installed and maintained in such a way as to afford every possible protection against accidents. All of these foregoing provisions are applicable to theaters and other similar establishments where use is made of mechanical apparatus.

The government shall, upon the advice of the consulting committee of arts and manufactures, determine by special orders (1) the general measures of hygiene and protection that must be taken by all establishments, and notably in regard to lighting, ventilation, drinking water, privies, removal of dust and vapors, precautions against fire, etc.; (2) special provisions that may be necessary regarding certain industries or certain methods of work.

The consulting committee of public hygiene must be called upon for its advice in regard to all orders respecting establishments generally.

The inspectors of factories are given the same power for enforcing this act as they have in regard to the Act of 1892. In all cases, however, where they find that the provisions of the law or government orders are not complied with, they must first notify the proprietor of this non-observance of law by entering the fact upon the register of the establishment, make such order as is required, and fix the time, not less than one month, within which it must be complied with. The proprietor can appeal against this order to the minister of commerce during the next fifteen days after the receipt of the notice. If the change necessitates important modifications, the latter can, after having taken the advice of the committee of arts and manufactures, permit a delay in making the change, which, however, can in no case exceed eighteen months. When this is done the inspector must be duly notified.

The method of enforcing this law is much the same as that of the Law of 1892. Infractions of the law are prosecuted before the police court and are punished by fines of from 5 to 15 francs ($0.97 to $2.90). The judgment must also indicate the time within which its order must be complied with. In case the judgment is not obeyed, the correctional tribunal can order the closing of the establishments. For a second offense fines of from 50 to 500 francs ($9.65 to $96.50) can be imposed for each infraction of the law, or a total of 2,000 francs ($386).

The above provisions for the inspection of establishments do not apply to establishments conducted by the State, for which special regulations are made by the Government.

The inspectors are required to make detailed annual reports concerning the application of the law in their districts. The reports must make mention of all accidents to working men and their causes, and contain recommendations for such new regulations as they deem to be desirable. The minister of commerce and industry is directed to make an annual general report, giving a summary of their contents.

Every accident occurring in an establishment subject to the Law of 1893 which results in an injury to one or more working men must be reported by the employer within the next forty-eight hours to the mayor of the commune. This notice must contain the names and addresses of the witnesses to the accident, and have attached to it a certificate of a physician, to be procured

by the employer, showing the nature and probable effects of the injury and the time when it will be possible to know the definite results.

Reporting and Investigation of Accidents

Upon the receipt of this notice the mayor must make an investigation of the accident in a manner to be determined by an order of the government. The mayor must also acknowledge the receipt of the notice, and likewise inform the divisional or departmental inspector of the occurrence of the accident.

Undoubtedly one of the most important features of the Act of 1893 was that whereby provision was made for the first time for an effective system of factory and workshop inspection. Under the Law of 1874 the division inspectors were appointed by the central government, the selection of the departmental inspectors being left to the departments, which might or might not make such provision as they deemed desirable. This defective system was radically changed by the Law of 1893. Provision is there made for a corps of factory inspectors, wholly dependent upon the central government, consisting of division and departmental inspectors appointed by the minister of commerce and industry. Their number, salaries, and districts are determined by decrees issued upon the recommendation of the committee of arts and manufactures and the superior council of labor—a body created by this act.

The departmental inspectors are under the authority of the division inspectors and can be either male or female. All inspectors must make oath that they will not reveal any secrets of manufacture or, in general, any operations that may come to their notice in the exercise of their functions.

No person can be appointed an inspector until he has successfully passed the competitive examination held for that purpose by the superior council of labor. Definite appointment is not made until after a probationary period of one year has been served.

Inspection of Factories

The inspectors are specifically given the duty of enforcing not only the Act of 1892, providing for their appointment, but also the Act of Sept. 9, 1848, in relation to the hours of labor of adults, and the Act of Dec. 7, 1874, in relation to the employment of children in traveling shows. When the Act of June 12, 1893, was passed in relation to the hygiene and security of working men, its enforcement was likewise entrusted to these officials. In all matters, however, that concern mines and quarries the execution of the laws is entrusted exclusively to the corps of mining engineers, who for this service are placed under the authority of the minister of commerce and industry.

In the performance of their duties inspectors have the right to enter all establishments coming under the provisions of the Law of 1892, and to inspect the different registers, shop regulations, and employees' pass-books and certificates of physical fitness. All contraventions of the law reported by the inspectors shall be considered as proved until the contrary is shown. These reports of infractions of the law must be made in duplicate, one copy being sent to the prefect of the department and the other filed in the office of the public prosecutor. The above provisions do not modify in any way the common law regarding accusations and prosecutions for violations of the law.

The inspectors are also given the duty of preparing statistics showing the condition of industrial labor in their districts. A general report giving a summary of the reports of inspectors must be published annually under the direction of the minister of commerce and industry.

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FACTORY SYSTEM, THE: Altho what is called "the factory system" is a product mainly of the close of the eighteenth century, and of the application of machinery and steam-power to industry, factories existed in Greece and Rome and in the older civilizations of Egypt, Assyria, India, and China. In the later Middle Ages they developed in all the industrial cities in connection with the Gilds. In the Elizabethan Age they are said to have multiplied in England. But these establishments were not factories in the modern sense. In ancient civilizations they were slave shops, where the slaves worked under a taskmaster; in medieval days they were shops where the master workman labored with his apprentices and his journeymen.

The first factory in the modern sense seems to have been a silk factory, built by Sir Thomas Lombe, in Derbyshire, in 1719. Through all the eighteenth century factories multiplied in England as industries became localized in certain localities or sections. The main cause, however, of the development of the present factory system was the invention of machines and the application of steam-power in production, necessitating the carrying on of industry in buildings especially adapted to the purpose and in connection with an ever-increasing plant. A realization of what a change this meant in production can be seen by the following picture of the woolen trade before the development of the factory system:

> The work was entirely domestic, and its different branches widely scattered over the country. First, the manufacturer had to travel on horseback to purchase his raw material among the farmers, or at the great fairs held in those old towns that had formerly been the exclusive markets, or, as they were called, "staples" of wool. The wool, safely received, was handed over to the sorters, who rigorously applied their gage of required length of staple and mercilessly chopped off by shears or hatchet what did not reach the standard as wool fit for the clothing trade. The long wool thus passed into the hands of the combers, and, having been brought back to them into the combed state, was again carefully packed and strapped on the back of the sturdy horse, to be taken into the country to be spun. . . . Here, in each village, he had his agents, who received the wool, distributed it among the peasantry, and received it back as yarn. The machine employed was still the old one-thread wheel, and in summer weather on many a village green might be seen the housewives plying their busy trade, and furnishing to the poet the vision of contentment spinning at the cottage-door. Returning in safety with his yarn, the manufacturer had now to seek out his

weavers, who ultimately delivered to him his camblets or russels, or serges, or tammies, or calimancoes (such were the leading names of the fibers) ready for sale to the merchant or delivery to the dyer (James, "History of the Worsted Manufacture," p. 323; quoted by R. Whately Cooke Taylor, "The Modern Factory System," pp. 61, 62).

With the use of machinery this was all changed. All the processes were gradually brought together in factories, and men, women, and very soon children were gathered together to tend the machines. The first factories were of the rudest description, and the employees were worked the longest hours and without the least regard to health or morality. It was the day of absolute *laissez faire*. There were no factory laws and experience had not taught that it pays the employer to consider the needs and health of his employees. Men and women were worked like cattle and housed worse than the cattle. Women, since they would work cheaper, displaced men, and children soon displaced women. The horrors of the early factory system to-day can scarcely be credited. Yet the facts are proved by the unquestioned evidence of parliamentary commissions and English Blue-Books. See FACTORY LEGISLATION.

In the United States the factory system was not developed till the nineteenth century. It was the policy of England to prevent her American colonies from having machinery, in order to keep them dependent upon the trade of the mother country. The first spinning-jenny seen in America was exhibited in Philadelphia in 1775. Efforts at a factory were made at Worcester, Mass., in 1780. Parliament, however, enacted strict laws, forbidding, under severe penalties, the export of machinery from England. After the War of Independence machinery was rapidly developed. The first textile factory was erected at Beverly, Mass., in 1787. Samuel Slater, whom President Jackson called "the father of American manufactures," erected the first factory with power machinery at all adequate in Pawtucket, R. I., in 1790. In 1794 Eli Whitney, of Massachusetts, invented in Georgia the cotton-gin. Only gradually, however, did the factory system replace home industries. Women preferred to work in their homes, and reluctantly entered the factories. The early factory employees were drawn from the American families in the neighborhood, and from the most intelligent homes. The spirit and intelligence of the factory girls of Lowell and other New England towns are well known. But gradually conditions changed. Factories grew larger and larger. The duties of the employees grew more and more merely technical. Immigration set in. Factory populations developed. The moral tone of the factory was lowered. Uneducated girls and families, being able to do the merely manual work of tending the machines, were employed. Gradually the factory system, as we know it to-day, was developed.

United States

Whether the factory system has been a step forward or backward is hotly argued. To many earnest reformers the factory is "the factory hell." Says Robert Blatchford, the socialistic author of "Merrye Englande":

What are the invariable accompaniments of the factory system?

Foul air, foul water, adulterated foods, dirt, long hours of sedentary labor, and continual anxiety as to wages and employment in the present, added to a terrible uncertainty as to existence in the future.

Look through any great industrial town in the colliery, the iron, the silk, the cotton, or the woolen industries, and you will find hard work, unhealthy work, vile air, overcrowding, disease, ugliness, drunkenness, and a high death-rate.

Even Mr. Hobson ("Evolution of Modern Capitalism") argues that the factory system breaks up family life. He says (pp. 319, 320):

Before the industrial revolution women were quite as busily and numerously engaged in industry as now, and the children employed in textile and other work were often worked in their own homes with more cruel disregard to health and happiness than is now the case. Even now the longest hours, the worst sanitary conditions, the lowest pay, are in the domestic industries of towns which still survive under modern industry. But tho the regular factory women and the half-timers are generally better off in all the terms of their industry than the uninspected women and children who still slave in such domestic industries as the trimmings and match-box trades, the growing tendency of modern industry to engage women and children away from their homes is fraught with certain indirect important consequences. Home work is consciously slighted as secondary in importance and inferior because it brings no wages, and if not neglected, is performed in a perfunctory manner, which robs it of its grace and value. This narrowing of the home into a place of hurried meals and sleep is, on the whole, the worst injury modern industry has inflicted on our lives, and it is difficult to see how it can be compensated by any increase of material products.

Evils of the System

There is, however, another view, the contrary of this. Mr. Carroll D. Wright argues in the American supplement to the "Encyclopædia Britannica" (article "Factory") that the system, tho by no means perfect, is far in advance of previous methods of production. He says:

As to the assumption that the factory tends to destroy domestic ties and habits, it may be said that this charge against the factory grows out of another assumption: that the cottage of the domestic worker was the ideal home. It is poetry which calls such home a cottage; history rather calls it a hut. The home of the worker of old was the workshop also, and the wheels or looms disputed with the inmates for the room. Small, close, crowded, with bad air and bad surroundings, the hut was occupied day and night by a class which cannot find its kin under the factory system, for the operative of to-day, as a rule, occupies a home, even in the factory, tenement, or boarding-house, superior in every sense to the home of the domestic worker. The morals in all respects under the individual system were greatly below those of the factory operatives of to-day. The evils which became apparent during the early days of the factory system were simply the results of bringing together the labor which had become pauperized under the domestic system, and in agricultural districts. The employment of young children is now forbidden by law wherever the factory has gained a strong foothold. The factory has not so much destroyed the home as it has enabled members of broken families to earn a livelihood. If it has at times taken the mother from the care of her young children—the worst feature of the employment of married women—it has enabled more who had no home to become self-supporting. . . . If it could be shown that the factory leads to intemperate habits, it would follow conclusively that it is productive of unthrift and poverty—the sure conditions resulting from intemperance. It is true that a great deal of drunkenness exists in factory towns and among factory operatives; it is not true that the factory is the creator of this.

The Favorable View

The charge that the factory feeds prostitution and swells the criminal lists is absolutely unfounded. This impression first grew from the condition of Manchester, England, where a large cellarage population, which has entirely disappeared, was attributed to the factory. It has been shown by the returns from the penitentiary of Manchester that the ranks of prostitution were not fed from the factory, eight only out of fifty coming from the factory, and twenty-nine out of fifty from domestic service.

The impression that the factory tends to intellectual degeneracy is a greater fallacy than the preceding. Through the simplification of mechanical processes ignorant labor is congregated in factory centers, but, as we have said, it is not created nor induced by the factory. The fact that ignorant masses are enabled by the factory to engage in what it once took skilled labor to perform has given the wide-spread impression that the factory has degraded the skilled, when the truth is, it has lifted the unskilled; and this is the inevitable result of the factory everywhere. Certainly it is better for the persons engaged than the filthy little shop, occupied by a few foul-talking people, which characterized the domestic system. Instead of dwarfing the minds and the skill of the skilful, as is often alleged, the factory enlarges the minds and increases the power of the unskilful. That some factory employments are injurious to health is true, but it is not true

that factory employment as such, in comparison with any other mechanical employment, is unhealthy. The first requisites of a watch-factory are neatness and abundance of light. It is now recognized that no man can do his best work unless he is physically comfortable.

Modern Tendencies

In truth, a very widely extended movement has set in, wholly apart from legislation, for the improvement of the factory system (see INDUSTRIAL BETTERMENT). A few wise, far-seeing successful employers have seen that the dictates both of humanity and of practical business enterprise call for healthful, convenient, and agreeable conditions for the workers if they are to do their best work; and they have therefore undertaken to create such conditions. Such a factory as Mr. Cadbury's at Bourneville, near Birmingham, England, may be said to be a home in a park. The factory of the Natural Food Company at Niagara, N. Y., is almost an industrial palace. The work in this line of the National Cash Register Company at Dayton, Ohio, is well known. Improvements are being introduced by leading manufacturers in all countries, and a large number, tho by no means all, of the lesser manufacturers are being compelled more or less to follow their example. Many manufacturers are moving their works into the country or into model villages more or less surrounded by a park and model workmen's homes and gardens. (See GARDEN CITY MOVEMENT.) The factories themselves are being made safe, hygienic, convenient, and attractive. Bare workrooms are being decorated and made homelike. Rooms for rest and recreation are frequently provided. All sorts of cooperative, educational, and recreative clubs are organized for the benefit of the employees. Cheap, warm, and wholesome lunches are frequently provided in attractive eating-rooms. Nevertheless it must not be forgotten that these improvements are yet the exception and confined to a few trades. The sweated trades, driven out from sweating dens, are still for the most part in sweated factories. The result is that the factory, like all else, in all countries is in a state of evolution, while examples can still be found of almost every stage. Generally speaking, the smaller the factory the worse the conditions, tho the worst of all are the large factories which are bad. (See also CHILD LABOR; EMPLOYER'S LIABILITY; FACTORY LEGISLATION; HOURS OF LABOR; LABOR LAWS; MANUFACTURES; WAGES; WOMAN'S WORK, etc.)

REFERENCES: *The Modern Factory System*, by R. Whately Cooke Taylor, 1891; *Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, by J. A. Hobson, 1894; *Report on the Factory System of the United States*, by Carroll D. Wright, in the *Tenth Census*, vol. ii.; *Model Factories and Villages*, by Budgett Meakin, 1905; *Industrial Evolution of the U. S.*, Carrol D. Wright, 1897; *The Effect of the Factory System*, Allen Clarke, 1907; *Industrial Efficiency* (a comparative study of industrial life in England, Germany, and America), A. Shadwell, M.D., 1906.

FAILURES AND BANKRUPTCIES: The following tables present the statistics of failures and bankruptcies in the U. S., Great Britain, and Germany:

UNITED STATES

(From *Dun's Review*, New York.)

CALENDAR YEAR	TOTAL FOR THE YEAR				
	Number of failures	Number of business concerns	Per cent of failures	Amount of liabilities	Average liabilities
1882...	6,738	822,256	0.82	$101,547,564	$15,070
1883...	9,184	863,993	1.06	172,874,172	18,823
1884...	10,968	904,759	1.21	226,343,427	20,632
1885...	10,637	919,990	1.16	124,220,321	11,678
1886...	9,834	969,841	1.01	114,644,119	11,651
1887...	9,634	994,281	.90	167,560,944	17,392
1888...	10,679	1,046,662	1.02	123,829,973	11,595
1889...	10,882	1,051,140	1.04	148,784,337	13,672
1890...	10,907	1,110,590	.98	189,856,964	17,406
1891...	12,273	1,142,951	1.07	189,868,638	15,471
1892...	10,344	1,172,705	.88	114,044,167	11,025
1893...	15,242	1,193,113	1.28	346,779,889	22,751
1894...	13,885	1,114,174	1.25	172,992,856	12,458
1895...	13,197	1,209,282	1.09	173,196,060	13,124
1896...	15,088	1,151,579	1.31	226,096,834	14,992
1897...	13,351	1,058,521	1.26	154,332,071	11,559
1898...	12,186	1,105,830	1.10	130,662,899	10,722
1899...	9,337	1,147,595	.81	90,879,889	9,733
1900...	10,774	1,174,300	.92	138,495,673	12,854
1901...	11,002	1,219,242	.90	113,092,376	10,279
1902...	11,615	1,253,172	.93	117,476,769	10,114
1903...	12,069	1,281,481	.94	155,444,185	12,879
1904...	12,199	1,320,172	.92	144,202,311	11,820
1905...	11,520	1,356,217	.85	102,676,172	8,913

GERMANY

(From *Vierteljahrshefte zur Statistik des Deutschen Reiches*, 1905, IV.)

YEAR	New failures reported	Failures adjudicated	AMOUNTS DUE TO		ASSETS
			Privileged creditors	Non-privileged creditors	
			Marks	*Marks*	*Marks*
1900.....	8,558	6,292	3,354,000	184,719,200	52,695,300
1901.....	10,569	7,490	3,850,400	220,649,500	59,452,500
1902.....	9,826	8,572	4,960,000	387,387,300	118,546,200
1903.....	9,627	8,363	5,088,800	313,825,400	81,503,100
1904.....	9,511	7,993	5,517,200	392,239,000	139,219,100

GREAT BRITAIN

(From *Statistical Abstract.*)

	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905
ENGLAND AND WALES	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Number of debtors adjudicated bankrupts	4,247	4,045	4,343	4,176	4,145	4,243	4,481	4,700
Amount of liabilities as estimated by debtors	6,685,748	5,784,043	6,325,243	6,512,917	5,434,594	5,255,040	6,800,683	5,784,643
SCOTLAND								
Amount of assets as estimated by debtors	2,450,853	1,894,980	2,554,503	3,110,881	2,729,388	2,505,769	2,756,778	2,286,510
Number of bankruptcies awarded during the year	282	297	341	312	294	302	317	278
Amount of debts in bankruptcies concluded as ascertained by trustees	873,026	1,572,034	662,244	1,008,020	1,917,573	1,472,535	692,772	821,092
Gross value of estates per inventory and valuation by trustees	787,651	391,117	322,230	325,603	470,129	610,910	310,387	407,031

FAIRHOPE COLONY: A colony founded in 1895 on the eastern shore of Mobile Bay, in Baldwin County, Ala., by believers in the theories of Henry George, and therefore known as "The Single Tax Colony"—the only colony of the kind in the world.

It is founded on the belief that land (which as here used means all natural resources) is of right common property; and that all men have an equal right to its use. Hence, the land and the ground rent, that which one pays for the privilege to use land, are treated as common property and used for the common good. All the public utilities are also owned and operated by the public, because they are, in the last analysis, founded upon land grants.

The colony had its inception at Des Moines, Ia., in 1894. Prominent in perfecting its constitution were E. B. Gaston, then on the staff of the *Farmers' Tribune*, and James Bellangee, a leader in reform politics.

The location was selected after much investigation, the deciding considerations being its healthfulness, mild climate, pleasantness of situation, opportunities for water transportation, and cheapness of land.

Funds for meeting initial expenses and the purchase of land were raised by a membership fee of $200 (reduced after the colony was located to $100), and mostly paid in installments of $5 monthly.

The handful of first settlers included only ten adults who actually took up their residence upon the land. The first purchase of land was 140 acres, costing about $800 and exhausting the treasury. For several years practically all of the small salary of the secretary was paid in corporation certificates, redeemable in rent and membership fees, and colonists working on roads or other public work were paid in the same way.

Starting in this humble way and overcoming many difficulties, the colony has grown steadily, attracting many sympathizers as residents and others as contributors to its progress. There are to-day about 160 residences and business buildings on the ground, with a population of about 500.

There are four general merchandise stores, drug store, millinery and ladies' furnishing store, butcher shop, two restaurants and bakeries, café and amusement pavilion, two resident practising physicians, sawmill, blacksmith shop, merchant tailor, four hotels, free public library of about 3,000 volumes, etc. An excellent free school is maintained for eight months, with an enrollment last year of over 100.

The Corporation now owns absolutely unencumbered nearly 4,000 acres of land. It has a frontage on Mobile Bay of about three fourths of a mile, and extends back about four miles. It owns an excellent school building, telephone system with twenty-two subscribers, waterworks with steam pumping plant, and a mile and a half of mains. It did own a wharf 1,800 feet long, with commodious warehouses at either end, and a large public hall; but the hall was blown down and the wharf demolished in a great storm in Sept., 1906. Most of the money to build a much better hall and library building combined has been subscribed, and the wharf has been rebuilt in much better shape than ever by a company of citizens, who will return it to the colony when paid for out of its earnings, which is expected to take from three to four years.

The city of Mobile is about fifteen miles distant across the bay. Communication with the city is by water. A fine iron-hulled steamer, the *Fairhope*, owned by the Fairhope Improvement Co., organized separate from the colony company, but whose stockholders are all members or friends, makes the trip daily in an hour and a quarter, and two other steamers at present give daily service between Fairhope and other nearby points and Mobile. The fare on the *Fairhope* is only 25 cents, and rates on freight are very low.

The land back from the bay lays exceedingly well, with a bluff about 40 feet high, and a half mile back reaches a height of 120 feet. It is said to be the highest land immediately on salt water between New Jersey and the Rio Grande. It is particularly adapted to trucking, as well as general farming and stock-raising. The agricultural development has been somewhat backward, but encouraging results are now being achieved, and agriculture is expected to become the main resource of the people.

The affairs of the colony are managed ordinarily by an executive council of five members, elected by majority vote, women having an equal vote with the men. Under the provisions of the constitution, however, on petition of 10 per cent of the members on the ground, any act of the council or any measure proposed by the petitioners must be submitted to vote of the members, and a majority governs. The rents are determined annually by the executive council subject to the provision just cited.

The colony has had dissensions—at times acute and threatening. Friction has been largely due to the fact that non-members are allowed to lease land on exactly the same terms as to rents and enjoyment of colony benefits as members, but without a vote on the election of officers, fixing of rents, or expending of revenues. A very considerable portion of the lessees are non-members. Many of these have a more or less imperfect understanding of the single-tax philosophy. Strenuous objection has been made to increase of rents, with increasing population and land values, and the corporation has been forced to sue some of its tenants—winning its cases in the courts. Some friends have severely criticized the withholding of the voting privilege from any as "undemocratic," and have charged the colony with imposing "taxation without representation" upon non-member lessees who were not given a voice in determining the rents.

The answer is that the colony is not a civil government at all, but a purely voluntary association —The Fairhope Single-Tax Corporation; that it has a perfect moral as well as legal right to fix the terms upon which others will be permitted to share in its benefits; that in contracting with non-members that they shall pay exactly the same rents as members for land of equal value, and share exactly the same in the benefits secured by the expenditure of the rent funds, it makes a proposition of unexampled liberality; and finally, that it is absolutely necessary to the existence of Fairhope as a "single-tax colony," that its final authority shall be kept in the hands of single-taxers and single-taxers who are interested enough to comply with the easy conditions of membership. Despite its differences of opinion the community is an unusually homogeneous one, displaying an ability to work together and hang together upon occasions, which is the admiration of all neighboring communities. The av-

erage of intelligence is unusual, and the reputation of the community for culture and enterprise is very high. The revenue from rents for 1906 amounted to $2,142.16, of which $937.72 was paid out for taxes, leaving the balance for local expenses. Rent of land for the current year ranges from thirty-five cents an acre per annum for much of the farm land to a little over $50 for business lots in the center of town. Fairhope is distancing all neighboring towns in rate of growth, and is generally recognized as one of the brightest, cleanest, and most prosperous towns in the South. It is thought to be the only village in the world that provides a public water supply and a public telephone system free of charge, the telephone service reaching throughout the county, which is nearly as large as the State of Delaware.

Many and varied are the effects that this policy is having upon the people and especially upon so-called well-established ideas and institutions. To illustrate: No law or rule has been adopted prohibiting the manufacture or sale of liquor, or any other objectionable business except a clause in the lease contracts which provides "that no business shall be conducted upon the premises herein leased that is objectionable to a majority of the residents on colony lands." But no one has ever even proposed to establish a saloon. No rule or law has been promulgated to the effect that men shall not buy and sell lands, but the fact that all colony lands are offered free of charge to any one who wishes to settle upon them, and the agreement in the lease which provides that all the rent shall be used for public purposes, make it next to impossible for any one to sell lands alongside colony lands at any price. This village levies no taxes and has no public debts, and yet has more public improvements and public utilities than can be found in any similar village in the whole country.

FAIR TRADE: During the period of industrial and commercial depression that prevailed in England as well as the United States from 1873–79, the idea became somewhat popular in England that the cause in the case of that country was the *unfair* condition which characterized British international exchanges; Great Britain admitting into her own ports without duty nearly all the products of foreign nations, while these same nations at the same time not only imposed heavy and often prohibitory duties on the importation into their territory of British products, but also in some instances, as in the case of the beet-root sugar of France, subsidized competition to make it possible to undersell British products in England's own market by the granting of bounties on exports.

It was therefore proposed to institute a system of *fair* trade by having England affix to each country a tariff as nearly as possible corresponding to the tariff which such country enforced against English products. The proposition gained some passing favor, but made no serious impression on England's settled policy and conviction that free trade is best. (See, however, TARIFF REFORM OF GREAT BRITAIN.) The same idea has to some extent been agitated in this country under the name of RECIPROCITY.

FALKNER, ROLAND POST: American educator; born in 1860 at Bridgeport, Conn; graduated at the Philadelphia Central High School (A.B., 1879). Entering the Wharton School of Finance and Economy of the University of Pennsylvania, he received the degree of Ph.B. in 1885. Later he studied at Paris, Berlin, Leipzig, and Halle, receiving, in 1888, the degree of Ph.D. at Halle. Becoming an instructor in the Wharton School of Finance and Economy, he was elected to the associate professorship of statistics in the same institution in 1891. The same year he was chosen statistician of the Senate subcommittee on the tariff. He was the first corresponding secretary, and is now vice-president of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and from 1890 to 1900 he was editor of the *Annals* of the academy. He is a member of various learned societies, among them the American Economic Association and the American Statistical Association. From 1900 to 1904 he was chief of the division of documents in the congressional library; and in the latter year was appointed Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, which position he still holds (1907). His writings are, besides numerous monographs: "Prison Statistics of the United States" (1889); "Statistics of Prisoners" (1890, 1892); a translation of Meitzen's "Geschichte, Theorie und Technique der Statistik" (1891); "The Theory and Practice of Price Statistics" (1892), etc.

FAMILISTÈRE: See GUISE; also, FOURIER.

FAMILY: By the word *family*, in sociology, is usually meant the small community formed by the permanent union of one man and one woman, or of one or more men with one or more women, together with the children born to such unions, either living in one house or forming one domestic group. This word is sometimes, however, used to include the servants or slaves belonging to the family proper, and living immediately with the family proper. Again, going to the opposite extreme, and putting the emphasis, not upon the living together, but upon the legal or the blood relation, the word is used to denote the unity of those related by legal blood relation, primarily parents and their children alone, no matter where they reside, but sometimes made to include parents, children, uncles, aunts, cousins, sons-in-law, daughters-in-law, and even still more remote connections.

Etymologically, the word, by most authorities, is derived through the Latin *familia*, from the Oscan *famel* (servus), originally signifying the servile property, the thrall of a master, and later used for all domestic property, things as well as persons, bearing only too plain impress of what we shall find to be the Roman conception of the family relation.

I.—The Origin of the Family

All sociologists find the origin of the family in general in the sexual relation, but as to the more exact form of its origin there is diversity of opinion, and we trace a development of view. Before the discussion of the question in the scientific spirit, it was generally held by orthodox tradition that the family arose by the ordering of God in the union of the first man and the first woman. When science began to study the question, and the hypothesis of evolution became prevalent, the earlier writers—McLennan, L. H. Morgan, Bachofen, Lubbock—generally taught that the sexual relation of men and women was at first one of promiscuous union, from whence the family

was a comparatively late evolution in the process of civilization, through the survival of the fittest—that is, in this case the institution or custom best fitted to preserve life. Later and more careful study by such men as Sir Henry Maine, Herbert Spencer, Charles Darwin, Peschel, Starcke, Letourneau, and Westermarck, finds that the theory of promiscuity is, to say the least, not proved, tho these writers disagree as to what to put in its place. Sir Henry Maine holds that the original communities of men may have taken "all sorts of forms" ("Dissertations on Early Law and Custom," p. 281). Darwin says:

> If we look far enough back on the stream of time, it is exceedingly improbable that primeval men and women lived promiscuously together. Judging from the social habits of man as he now exists, and from most savages being polygamists, the most probable view is that primeval man aboriginally lived in communities, each with as many wives as he could support and obtain, whom he would have jealously guarded against all other men ("Descent of Man," ii., p. 346).

Spencer holds that the family relation evolved itself through being the relation best fitted to produce and rear children ("Principles of Sociology," vol. i., part 3, chap. 9).

Various Theories

Starcke finds the evolution of the family the best means of enjoying property. De Coulanges finds the family, at least in Aryan races, forming around the religious worship of ancestors. The theories of Westermarck and Letourneau we shall consider later. Yet, however the authorities differ, in much they are agreed. They all hold that out of very various beginnings, more or less loose, the monogamic family has been evolved as, for one reason or another, the best (altho that this is a finality they are not agreed). They all hold that monogamy was not, as a rule, the first form. Among animals different forms of the family exist, yet the family has certainly been evolved on the plane of evolution that they have reached; why not, then, among the earliest and lowest men? Among only a few wild animals does promiscuity prevail. Strict pairing is the rule among some monkeys, ruminants, ungulates, and predatory animals; other monkeys are polygamous, but still in families. Moreover, the male animals are jealous over the possession of females. It is also well known that promiscuity tends to infecundity. Yet a study of all the facts will warn one from dogmatism as to the origin of the family, and show the variety of forms which the family relation has taken among men.

Of the arguments for the origin of the family in promiscuous union, Mr. Andrew Lang has made, perhaps, the best summary in his article in the "Encyclopædia Britannica." He says in brief:

> At whatever epoch civilized travelers have visited peoples of less cultivation, they have noted, with unconcealed surprize, not the family, but promiscuity and polyandry. They have found men and women living together in what seemed unregulated community, or they have found that the woman had several husbands, and often that these husbands were brothers. . . . If we can trust the traditions of Indo-European and other polite peoples, they, too, once lived in a stage which can hardly be discerned from promiscuity. . . . If the practises which make kindred through males difficult or impossible to recognize were ever universally prevalent, they will have left vestiges of their existence in the custom of tracing descent through females. (Mr. Lang goes on to show such vestiges.) . . . It has been shown that the actual practises of many barbarous races make the existence of the patriarchal, and still more of the monogamous family impossible, and that the traditions of the races called Aryan, with many fragments of their customs, testify to a similar state of things in the past experiences of nations now organized on the basis of the family. . . . The Australian black fellows and the red men of North America are grouped in *local tribes*. . . . Within these local tribes there are smaller associations, variously called "clans," "families," "septs," "tribes," by travelers. They are, as a rule, governed on this principle in Australia—"All the children take after the clan of their mother, and no man can marry a woman of the same clan, altho the parties be born of parents in no way related, according to our ideas." These smaller associations which may not intermarry are named after some animal, vegetable, or other natural object. . . . The animal or plant from which each association takes its name is sacred; in America it is called the totem. . . . The question now rises, Do we meet similar associations among civilized peoples who now possess the family? (and Mr. Lang answers that we do).

Evidences of Promiscuity

For the argument for the origin of the family in other than promiscuous union we may turn to many authors, but best to Westermarck, who, in his "History of Human Marriage," has treated this portion of the subject the most fully.

He argues that the family has probably existed from the beginning of the human race, because (1), accepting the evolutionary hypothesis of the ascent of man from the lower animals, the family is found among many of the higher animals. It is here evidently an evolution; among the lower animals it has not been found. Marriage is thus rooted in family, and not the family in marriage (p. 22). Coming now to man, he finds the family existing from the start, as among the higher animals, tho more developed. He says that the asserted promiscuity of certain tribes is a mistake, and does not exist, while among the lowest tribes we find abundant proof of rude family life. If the father does nothing else, he builds the hut. The development of separate families among man and the higher animals is said to be due in part to the difficulty in getting food. They must separate to range and get food, just as later they come together in tribes for defense. Westermarck believes that the theory of promiscuity has arisen from mistakes of travelers not understanding family customs, and says that sometimes unchastity has been increased by contact with civilization. Westermarck says: "We may perhaps say that irregular connections between the sexes have, on the whole, exhibited a tendency to increase along with the progress of civilization" (p. 69). Among many savage tribes intercourse is very free among the young, but after pregnancy there is great strictness. Even in Scotland, before the Reformation, the practise of "hand-fastening" was common, whereby at the public fairs men selected female companions with whom to cohabit for a year, at the end of which period they could either leave or marry. The very extended if not almost universal custom of lending wives and sometimes children and servants among savages, Westermarck refers not to primitive promiscuous customs, but to conceptions of hospitality, the father looking upon his wife and children as property at his disposal. So too with the *jus primæ nocies*, which has so generally existed in fact if not in law; it was held as a property right belonging to the strong. The weaker families felt honored if their kings, priests, or rulers made use of their wives. This custom is very common, and has existed very recently in Russia.

Arguments against Promiscuity

Separate Families

As for the fact that relationship is usually traced through the females, Westermarck gives a long list of tribes where it is traced through the males, and says that even where it is traced through the females, there are a good many reasons that may be given for it other than that of uncertainty of the paternity. He says, for one reason, that in polygamous families, tho paternity be certain, the relation is naturally traced through the mother, to distinguish the one wife's offspring from another's. Woman has usually been considered man's property by capture or purchase. The price is often one of service, as with Jacob. Sometimes a kinswoman is given in exchange. The most common compensation is property. Among the Californian Karoks a wife was bought, unless unusually pretty and aristocratic, for half a string of dentalium shell. In British Columbia and Vancouver Island the prices range from £20 to £40; among the Kafirs, from five to thirty cows. The Damaras will give a girl for one cow. In Uganda a wife can be bought for three bullocks, or six sewing needles, or a pair of shoes. Among the Fijians the usual price is a whale's tooth or a musket. In Japan and China the bridegroom gives presents to the bride, and this is sometimes stipulated for. Among early Aryan races the bride was usually bought. In the Homeric age a maid was called *ἀλφεσίβοια*, one "who yields her parents many oxen." Aristotle says that the ancient Greeks bought their wives. In Germany, the expression "to buy a wife" was in use till the end of the Middle Ages. The giving of the ring in the English wedding service is said to be a relic of the same custom. In Servia, in the beginning of the present century, Black George limited the price of a girl to one ducat. Presents to the bride during courtship are said to come from the same custom. In many tribes the adulterer simply pays the husband a fine for stolen

property. Women are bought for what they can do. The Fuegians buy as many wives as possible to row their canoes.

Wives by Purchase

The purchase, by marriage, however, among all peoples has more or less disappeared. In many the price paid for the bride came to be given by the father, after he had received it, to the bride, and hence rose the custom of the dower, or settling of a "portion" by the father upon the bride. With this conception of marriage as a purchase of the wife, it is easy to see how those who could afford it should buy many wives, and polygamy became common tho not universal among savage tribes. Many North American tribes are strictly monogamic. Many Asiatic and African tribes are the same, including some of the lowest, as the Veddahs of Ceylon. But in almost all tribes it seems to be mainly a matter of money and power, since most princes have many wives. In China and most Mohammedan countries, while there may be only one wife, the law allows concubines. Polyandry is much rarer, but exists among the Aleuts, sometimes among the Eskimos. Polyandry is not unknown to the *Rig Vedas*. It seems to have existed among the Picts, and to have developed mainly in mountainous or rude climates, where women were few, and men would combine to own a wife, the one staying with her, while others would be away on excursions of chase or war. Divorce seems almost tho not quite universal. A wife that is bought can be sold, exchanged, or discarded. Such, then, according to one of the best modern authorities, is the origin of the family: *First*, the union of male and female, animal or man, to care for and defend the young—a union easily broken, where the woman, however, has considerable freedom; *second*, a union where the man rules the wife, and she is considered his property, with her children, he having obtained her, at first by capture, and later by service, exchange, or purchase, and where she is his servant, he going on to buy as many wives as he can afford to maintain; and, *thirdly*, a union rising from this into monogany, and with more liberty for woman.

M. Letourneau, in his "Evolution of Marriage," takes substantially the same ground as Westermarck in his view of the origin of the family. In the system of *totems* found in Australia, and essentially, tho under other forms, in most uncivilized communities, he sees no remnant of a time of promiscuous intercourse, or trace of descent through the mother, but rather a property institution, which in general he believes marriage to be, marrying together in general, a large number of men and women connected by one *totem*. M. Letourneau believes that evolution has proved the enduring monogamic marriage to have been thus far the most fitted to survive, but holds all evidence to-day to indicate that the marital relation is now evolving still further into one of monogamic marriage; not of enduring monogamy, but rather of easy divorce and "free-love."

II.—The Prehistoric Family

Passing, then, from the question of the origin of the family, we come next upon the question of its form in civilized society as it exists when fully developed, tho not yet in the clear light of certain history. Here we are met with two clear types, the Semitic and the Aryan.

Semitic and Aryan

The Semitic family is patriarchal and polygamous. Semitic races know little of individual liberty. They have given the world its religion; above all, its conception of a one supreme and all-powerful ruler. The family has partaken of this conception. It is founded upon obedience to one head. The wives and children are slaves; their duty is to serve and obey. Love has not been wanting, yet obedience is the fundamental relation. Yet the family is strongly developed. It is the social unit. Family relationship and descent is carefully maintained. When a man dies childless it is his brother's duty to raise children for him. (See the Levirate in Bible customs.) Land is held by families.

The Aryan family is monogamic. It is also the social unit. The family lives separately. It possesses rights and never dies. The principle and purpose for which the family is founded is the performance of the *sacra* or worship of ancestry. Personal immortality is the common faith. Ancestor worship they put first. In India Agni, in Italy Vesta meant the sacred fire burned to ancestors. Prayers to Agni and to Vesta came always *first*. There was in every home the sacred fire, never allowed to go out, always kept pure, and burning only certain woods. Near the home of the living was the home of the ancestral dead. It was one home; in one part lived the living, and in one part "lived" the dead. Around this center grew the family. Only relatives could be buried in the ancestral home. When a woman married, she left her home and her gods and joined the home and gods of her husband. Generation was not the center of the family, but the fire. The daughter was not equal to the son. The object of marriage was to bear a son who could keep up the family fire. If sterile, a man could divorce his wife and marry again; or, in Sparta and other places, introduce some one else to give conception to the wife. No woman could perform the *sacra*.

Such is the Aryan conception of the family, perhaps best given in Fustel de Coulanges's "Ancient City." This ancestral worship seems to have existed with more or less distinctness among the Hindus, Iranians, Slavonians, Greeks, and Romans.

III.—The Family in Classic Times

In classic times the family is still a religious institution, but this is not made so prominent. In the Homeric type there is great delicacy, dignity, tenderness, simplicity, love. No trace of polygamy appears. Concubinage is practised only by a few. Of domestic concubinage there is no trace. The essence of marriage lies in cohabitation, with a solemn public acknowledgment. Death alone dissolves the conjugal relation. The love of Penelope for Ulysses, the tenderness of Hector and Andromache, the heroic love of Alcester, the filial piety of Antigone, the majestic grandeur of Polyxena, the resignation of Iphigenia, the joyous, modest, and loving Nausicaa—these, says Lecky, are "pictures of perennial beauty, which Rome and Christendom, chivalry and modern civilization have neither eclipsed nor surpassed" ("History of European Morals," Am. ed., ii., p. 296). Women, however, are servants. They perform indoor work, fetch water, and grind flour. Telemachus bids his mother mind her spindle and loom and not interfere in the debates of men.

The family of the classical period proper of Greece is more religious in form and less pure in fact. Concubinage and intercourse with *hetæræ* are not only allowed by the State, but publicly favored. The wife is kept well at home. She is married by her parents. Sophocles makes a woman describe the lot of her sex by saying: "When we are grown up we are driven away from our parents and paternal gods" (*Frag. Terms*). Athenians marry Athenians. The wife cares for the house and does not share the intellectual life of her husband. For this the husband goes to *hetæræ*. Demosthenes says frankly: "We have *hetæræ* for our pleasure, wives to bear us children and to care for our households" (*κατα Νεαιρας*). Socrates asks: "Is there a human being with whom you talk less than with your wife?" (Xenophon, "Economics," iii., 12). Fidelity is required of the wife. Still the wife has some rights. She can bring action against her husband.

Greece

The Roman family was at first like the Homeric. Marriage was of three kinds: *Confarreatio*, the religious; *coemptio*, the civil; *usus*, effected by a man and woman living together for one year. The husband is the priest of the domestic altar. He is responsible for the perpetuity of the family. If his wife is sterile he can divorce her. He has the right to reject or accept the child at birth. He has the right to join his daughter in wedlock and to compel the wedlock of his son. He has the right to exclude the son from the family hearth and to introduce a stranger. He is the

Rome

judicial authority in the household, the judge of his wife. If she commit adultery he can put her to death. Over his children his power is the same. In the laws of Manu we read:

> Woman during her infancy depends upon her father; during her youth upon her husband; when her husband is dead, upon her sons; if she has no son, on the nearest relative of her husband, for a woman ought never to govern herself according to her own will (v., 147, 148).

This was true in Rome as well as India. A mother need not be asked to consent to the marriage of her only daughter. This position was true only of marriage by *confarreatio*. In *usus* and *coemptio* she had more rights; it was more of a bargain. The Roman matron, however, had dignity if not power. She was addressed as *materfamilias*, as her husband *paterfamilias*. She pronounced to her husband on entering his household "*Ubi tu Caius, ego Caia*," implying equality in dignity. She was the object of veneration. She had her place near the sacred fire. It was said to be 500 years after the foundation of the city before the first divorce occurred. The disintegration and immorality that set in under the empire are well known. Seneca says that marriage was contracted to give piquancy to adultery (*De Benef.*, iii., 16, 2, 3).

IV.—The Family in Early Christianity

The conception of marriage as a lifelong union of one man with one woman, and that outside of this any sexual relation is sinful, came in with Christianity. Christianity knows but one wife for one husband, and that while life lasts, save for the one cause of fornication. Purity is to be of the heart. He "who looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart" (Mt. v. 28). Christianity does not give detailed enactment. It elevates the whole conception of woman and of marriage to a spiritual plane. Christ gives the same authority and power to the mother as the father. The two are equal and the two are one. St. Paul seems to have had a lower idea of woman. He says more than once, "For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the Church" (Eph. v. 23). He commands wives to be subject "to their own husbands in everything" (Eph. v. 24). Celibacy is held to be better than marriage, tho marriage may be allowed to prevent fornication (1 Cor. vii. 2). Yet he and all the writers of the Epistles and Revelation elevate marriage by making it the symbol of the relation of Christ to the Church. Celibacy is held very high through all the early Christian centuries. (See CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM.) Bishops, presbyters, and deacons are forbidden marriage. They need not repudiate wives, but they must not marry. Deaconesses are to be virgins or widows. The reason for this is plain—licentiousness was the prevailing sin of the times.

The New Testament

In one respect only was woman's liberty narrowed by early Christianity. Under Rome woman had gained some freedom by relinquishing religious marriage and bargaining for freedom in the civil marriage. Christianity, by making marriage again religious and not civil, brought her legal position back to being under her husband again. The old law proclaimed liberty of divorce; the Christian declared marriage indissoluble. The Christian idea of the family pervaded later legislation. (See CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM.) It restrained the power of the parent, putting love in place of law. The freedom of the Roman matron was bought by her disgrace. If Christianity took away some of this freedom, it was by taking away her disgrace.

V.—The Medieval Family

The barbarians who invaded the empire honored woman. The family was pure. Domestic virtues prevailed. Salvian wrote in the fifth century (*De Gubernatione Dei*) of the Romans and the Christians, at this time largely infected by Roman impurity:

> You, Romans and Christians and Catholics, are defrauding your brethren, are grinding the faces of the poor, are frittering away your lives over the impure and heathenish spectacles of the amphitheater; you are wallowing in licentiousness and inebriety. The barbarians, meanwhile, heathens and heretics tho they may be, and however fierce toward us, are just and fair in their dealings with one another. The men of the same clan and following the same king love one another with true affection. The impurities of the theater are unknown among them. Many of their tribes are free from the taint of drunkenness, and among all, except the Slavs and the Huns, chastity is the rule.

Monogamy was universal save among the princes. Divorce was uncommon. Adultery was punished with great severity. Women accompanied their husbands on campaigns. The great invasions were migrations of families. The German family was a republic. Legally the position of woman, in the Germanic states, as they began to crystallize, was a mass of contradictions. One code grants her the right of inheritance; another denies it. One causes the wife practically to be sold to the husband; another causes her to come to him bringing a dowry. But however it was legally, morally woman was ever regarded as man's equal or superior. She was not confined to household cares. In battle she stood in the rear to inspire the warriors. In worship she stood near the priest, examined the entrails, and pronounced the verdict. In Iceland, which was never touched by Roman influence, a kiss forced upon woman was, in the twelfth century, punished with exile. Yet in other Germanic races woman was virtually a slave. In some she was immolated on the pyre of her husband.

As royal power arose and civilization became a war between robber barons, woman needed a protector. She was more and more placed under tutelage. Yet as feudalism became settled it tended to develop the family. The lord, marked off from his dependents, was more forced to seek equal comradeship with the few who were his feudal equals—his family. It tended to develop the individual family. The children, and especially the eldest son, were more honored. This developed pride of family, but lowered the condition of the dependent family. The lord often lorded it over the family of his serf. The legal recognition of the *jus primæ noctis* has been denied; but in practise the lord undoubtedly, by might, if not by right, claimed the body of the female serf. His serfs could not marry without his will.

Feudalism

When feudalism gradually disappeared the tutelage of woman was continued by habit and legal custom. Chivalry, however, honored the woman as a jewel to be guarded, and a queen to be served. Knights swore "to fear, revere, and serve God religiously; to forward the faith with all their strength, and to die a thousand deaths rather than renounce Christianity; to maintain the just cause of the weak, such as of widows,

orphans, and maidens, in a good quarrel; to expose themselves for them according as necessity required, provided it was not against their own honor, or against their king, or natural prince; that avarice, recompense, gain, or profit should never oblige them to do any action, but only glory and virtue; that they would hold themselves bound to conduct a lady or maiden; that they would serve her, protect her, and save her from all danger and all insult, or die in the attempt; that they would never do violence to ladies or maidens, altho they had gained them by arms, without their will or consent; that, above all things, they would be faithful, humble, and would never fail in their word, for any ill or loss that might thence happen to them" (Guizot's "History of Civilization," iv., 22–24). In Southern Europe the vices of the Roman Empire had more endurance. The home was degraded; woman an inferior. This was encouraged and woman corrupted by the growing licentiousness of the priests with their enforced celibacy. The Church praised first purity, then virginity, then celibacy. Marriage was a concession to the flesh. The Manichean doctrine spread that the body was evil. Eustathius, before the close of the fourth century, asserted that the married cannot be saved, and that prayers must not be offered in their houses (Lea's "Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy," p. 61). About the year 385 the first definite rule was issued commanding perpetual celibacy for the clergy. Down to the Protestant Reformation the monk and the nun were held up as "the religious." Every kind of concubinage was practised, tho the councils thundered against it. Occasionally the Church in despair seemed to surrender and allow concubinage. Convents became brothels. The love of Abelard and Heloise is indicative:

Asceticism

> In a worldly point of view, it was better for him, as a churchman, to have the reputation of shameless immorality than that of a loving and pious husband; and this was so evidently a matter of course, that she willingly sacrificed everything, and practised every deceit, that he might be considered a reckless libertine, who had refused her the only reparation in his power (Lea, p. 283).

The Church, with exceptions, yet too few, became grossly corrupt. Cardinal Hugo said to the people of Lyons, on the occasion of the departure of Innocent IV. (1251), after a residence of eight years:

> Friends, since our arrival here we have done much for your city. When we came, we found here three or four brothels. We leave behind us but one. We must own, however, that it extends without interruption from the eastern to the western gate (Lea, p. 356).

Marriage was regarded as a sacrament, but the degradation of marriage as a carnal indulgence was more potent. The degradation of marriage led to a degraded sense of woman. This was voiced in the canon law. Woman was regarded as the means of man's fall. Man is above her, between her and God. In all respects relative to the condition of woman, the canon law copied Roman law.

VI.—The Family in Modern Times

It has been a favorite charge of Roman Catholics that the Protestant Church was founded upon lust: in England, upon the unholy passion of the king; on the Continent, upon the broken vows of a monk and nun. The truth is that one of the first blows struck by the Reformers was against the enforced celibacy of the clergy; a rule which Luther characterized as angelic in appearance, but devilish in reality. The importance of this step was enormous. The enthusiasm with which the common people greeted it was a proof of the evil of an unmarried clergy. The Romish Church, while not allowing divorce, reserved for itself the right of pronouncing marriages between relatives, within a marvelously ingenious and complicated system of prohibited decrees, as null and void from the beginning. Dispensations, too, were allowed princes and nobles. The mass of the people were left to endure the burden of evils growing out of the sacramental theory of marriage. In demanding impossible virtues, the Church opened wide the doors for all possible vices. Luther allowed divorce on the ground of adultery only; Zwingli and the Zurich ordinances for other grave reasons. Calvin took substantially the same position as Luther. Luther even allowed Philip the Magnanimous, of Hesse, for political reasons, to marry two women. The English Church, which had never been wholly under the control of Rome, was less changed, there being less to change. Enforced celibacy, however, was voted down in convocation by a vote of 53 to 22 in 1547, and marriage as a sacrament was rejected. The Puritans, revolting against the Established Church, denounced the right of the priest to marry, and declared marriage a civil contract. This was confirmed by the New England Puritans. John Robinson says: "We cannot assent to the received opinion and practise answerable in the reformed churches by which the pastors thereof do celebrate marriage publicly and by virtue of their office" ("Apology," 45). A law of Plymouth Colony (1633) required magistrates to legalize marriages. It was doubtful, however, how far the people approved of this. In 1692 the Massachusetts laws provided that marriage ceremonies might be performed by ministers, and this has become the rule in New England; but the minister performs the marriage as far as the State is concerned, not in his capacity as a minister, but as a civil officer. The Church of England, as well as that of Rome, is averse to this theory—that marriage is a civil contract—and has thus far successfully resisted the tendency to the complete secularization of marriage in England; but on the Continent it has grown rapidly with the waning power of Rome. All Protestant sects tend to look upon adultery as the only cause for divorce, while Rome allows separation, but holds that the bond, once formed, is dissoluble only by death.

Protestantism

Other influences have been at work in modern times upon the family. The Protestant Reformation, with its emphasis upon individualism, has tended to exalt the individual above the family. Says Sir Henry Maine ("Ancient Law," pp. 163, 165):

> The movement of the progressive societies has been uniform in one respect. Through all its course it has been distinguished by the gradual dissolution of family dependency and the growth of individual obligation in its place. The individual is steadily substituted for the family, as the unit of which civil laws take account. . . . We may say that the movement of the progressive societies has hitherto been a movement from status to contract.

Says President Thwing of the Western Reserve University, himself a Protestant: "The cause underlying, and in a sense all other causes [of the decay of the modern family] is that growth of in-

dividualism which is itself the direct product of the Reformation."

Such has been the legal effect of the Reformation upon the family. The family is less the social unit, and less and less so as liberalism prevails. In England the Conservative Party is said to be made up of those who have strong "family" affiliations. In regard to property, the old common law gave all property to the husband, and tho this has been steadily modified, great injustices are yet done to woman in the name of law. (See WOMAN'S RIGHTS.) Protestantism, however, while it has tended to exalt the individual over the family, and to give the woman a standing at least more equal with the man, cannot as yet be accused of having hurt the family life. Nowhere in the world has there been purer family life than in Protestant Germany, England, Scotland, and America. The Protestant home has been its proudest gem. Yet equally undoubtedly a change has come. The increase of DIVORCE is one of the best recognized, because most apparent of modern facts. And this is perhaps quite as much a symptom as the cause of the decay of the family. A publication of the National Divorce Reform League for 1893 says:

Divorce

We might spend much of our time on the evils that beset the family, for they are many and serious. But brief mention of a few is enough. Some destroy the very constitution of the family; others impair its environment. We name the enormous number and increase of divorces; the apparent decrease of marriages and the haste and ignorance that mark many unions; the prevalence of sexual vice, with the low ideals of sex that lead to it; and insensibility to the sacred obligations of paternity. Then there are the open or more subtle influences that make our civilization almost the direct foe of the home. We point to the methods of business involving absence from home, the system of commercial travelers and the operation of the industrial system as a whole, which tends to separate the household in both business and labor into its constituent individuals. These have greatly disturbed the relation of the centripetal and centrifugal forces of the home and society. Then, again, the solidarity of domestic interest is weakened by other competitions. There are the fascinations of "shopping," the waste of time over mere social "fads," and the increasing resort on the part of women to clubs and social frivolities among themselves, for which the neglect and absence of men are in great degree responsible; and even the noble desire for honest intellectual improvement and for charitable work have made inroads upon the home.

More open evidences of social corruption exist. (See PROSTITUTION.) Evidence is not wanting of the increase of impurity in the sexual relation among factory populations. The development of the tenement population is itself an indication of the decay of the family. In New York City 80 per cent of the population are said to live in tenements. (See TENEMENTS.)

The evidences exist on every hand that the preservation of the family is a most pressing, if not the most pressing, problem in modern practical sociology.

VII.—The Sociologic Function of the Family

Save for a few extreme radicals, who would abolish the family, and whose position we shall consider later, all sociologists find in the family the social unit, the keystone of society. Says Dr. S. W. Dike:

I do not fear contradiction from any competent scholar in political science when I say that the study of the single family on its homestead would yield richer scientific knowledge and more practical results in the great social sciences than almost any other single object in the social world. Pursued historically the student would find himself at the roots of property, separate ownership of land, inheritance, rent, taxation, free trade, and tariff, and discover the germs of international law and the State. The great questions of the day, as we call them, are little more than incidents to the working of the great social institutions; and these, we have already seen, are the expansions and modified forms of the family, amid its unceasing support and activity. "Sociology," the late Dr. Mulford used to say, "is the coming science, and the family holds the key to it." "The family," he also wrote, "is the most important question that has come before the American people since the war."

Mr. Gladstone wrote in the *Nineteenth Century* for February, 1889:

The greatest and deepest of all human controversies is the marriage controversy. It appears to be surging up on all sides around us. . . . It is in America that, from whatever cause, this controversy has reached a stage of development more advanced than elsewhere.

What, then, is definitely the sociologic function of the family which gives it such extreme importance?

1. It furnishes the two elements which undoubtedly contribute more than any other to the development of all human life—viz., heredity and environment during the formative period of life. The family controls or may control both. "The best way to become good," it has been well said, "is to be born good." Out of 5,511 convicts at Elmira Reformatory 38 per cent had parents known to be intemperate, and 13 per cent more of doubtful habits; 81 per cent had parents not possessing property; 44 per cent had parents of little or no education. The power of home in childhood is equally evident. Of these same 5,511 convicts, 54 per cent came from bad homes, 38 per cent more from homes only "fair"; not more than 6 per cent came from homes that were good; 42 per cent were homeless when committed; 97 per cent came from bad associations. "As the twig is bent the tree inclines." "A child's first teacher is the one who first loves it"; and usually this is the mother. It is, then, the first duty of the family to see that the child is well born, and, secondly, well nurtured. These conditions are largely personal and individual, moral and physiological, rather than sociological, and so do not fall within our province in this article. Who does not know that pure parents, pure generation, pure conception, pure pregnancy are of infinite importance to pure birth? So with mental, moral, and physical health in every form. To see that the child that is born has this is, then, the first sociological function of the family. This, however, implies and necessitates pure marriage: so that the marriage of those mentally, morally, or physically incapacitated to beget healthy children is a sociologic sin. Says Professor Jowett, in his introduction to Plato's "Republic" (1st ed., vol. ii., 130–132):

The Home

The late Dr. Combe is said by his biographer to have resisted the temptation to marriage, because he knew that he was subject to hereditary consumption. This little fact suggests the reflection that one person in a thousand did from a sense of duty what the other nine hundred and ninety-nine ought to have done.

2. But purely and healthfully born, it is, second, the function of the family to see that the child is rightly reared. Its first duty in this line is undoubtedly to see that it is reared in an atmosphere of love. The first duty of parents is to love each other and their offspring. Here most literally love is life. Who can deny or doubt the infinite and irreparable loss of a childhood reared in an atmosphere without love? It is this loss which, as we shall say, is sociologically the unanswerable argument for all social schemes, that

would take away the child from the mother or father. Of the nurture of the child in health and in education, ethical and moral, as well as intellectual and physical, we cannot here speak, but it suggests itself. The truest education a child receives is in its home, whether that home be a palace or a city alley. Therefore, as for other reasons, the frightful significance of the disappearance of the real home in large sections of our cities and growing portions of our population.

3. But this is by no means the only function of the family. It is, thirdly, the function of the family to furnish all through life the necessary atmosphere of love and peace to the individual. It is not necessary that every one should be married. It is necessary to the highest life that every one should have at some portion at least of adult life, as well as in childhood, the joy and peace of life in the family. "It is not good that the man should be alone" is the voice of sociology as well as of God. Man is born sexed. Man is created male and female. This is the fact, whoever and whatever is the creator. And the law of sex runs through all the universe, mental and moral, as well as physical. For the development of this, see MARRIAGE; we simply state it here. It is the function of the family to furnish men and women with the opportunity for the carrying out of this sex life, mental and moral, even more than physical. Man without woman, or woman without man, is a biological and sociological abnormity. It indicates an abnormal condition in society when it is found that 20 per cent of the women of England and 44 per cent of the population of Belgium, with about 33 per cent in Europe, in 1875, are unwedded; and when we read the startling statistics of the decrease of marriages in modern civilization. (See MARRIAGE.) It is to the shame of modern science that thus far this subject has been left almost completely untreated from the standpoint of science, and that the careful literature of the subject is so meager.

Law of Sex

VIII.—Various Theories of the Family

The form of the family where marriage is between one man and one woman, and indissoluble until death, save for cause of adultery or similar aggravated causes, is by many considered the only form of the family really worthy of the name. It is declared to be the best form, for the following, among other reasons:

1. That history proves it to be that form of the family best productive of the highest character, individual and national. The supporters of this argument point to the Aryan civilization; to Greece in her pure days; to Rome when she had the monogamic family and rare divorce; to the early Christian centuries, before false theories of celibacy and virginity broke up the married life; to Germany, England, Scotland, Ireland, and America, and to the individuals produced by such civilizations as compared with the polygamic civilizations of Asia and Africa.

Permanent Monogamy

2. It is argued that monogamic marriage without easy divorce is far better for child nurture. Easy divorce, they say, leads to broken homes and changing, shifting relations that break up the peace and quiet and love necessary to child nurture.

3. It is argued that the possibility of easy divorce suggests its adoption; that the men or women who know they can easily obtain divorce and marry again are led to think of it, and then seek it on any occasion when fancy prompts, or when passing displeasure with their married partner causes a desire to change. In nine cases out of ten it is claimed that the trouble lies at least in part with both parties, and that to make a change in the marital relation would not afford relief, since one cannot obtain divorce from oneself, and that often at least one would thus seek change without finding relief; thus, to say the least, needlessly causing the breaking up of homes and perhaps the breaking of many hearts.

4. It is claimed that easy divorce makes marriage a light affair, hence lowering the sense of both its solemn responsibilities and its possibilities of unchanging and unequaled mutual confidence and joy and love. This, it is said, would make men and women enter the state of matrimony more carelessly than they do now, instead of "reverently, discreetly, advisedly, soberly, and in the fear of God."

5. It is claimed that, since sensual desire is more liable to change its object than is love, a system allowing of easy divorce and change would tend to elevate the lower elements in marriage and the family, making them matters of bodily sexual relations rather than of moral and spiritual relations.

6. It is claimed that easy divorce and change are repugnant and contrary to the highest ethical and moral sentiment, which demands love that does not end nor change, and that recognizes one supreme object of its love, a love which can brook no rival.

7. Lastly, but for Christians first, it is argued that any relation other than that of the union of one man with one woman, indissoluble until death save for cause of fornication, is directly contrary to the revealed will and law of God in Christ, who declares positively of the sexual relation that "for this cause shall a man leave father and mother and shall cleave to his wife, and they twain shall be one flesh"; and again, "Whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery, and whoso marrieth her which is put away doth commit adultery."

Orthodox View

Such are some, tho by no means all, of the main arguments for enduring monogamic marriage. It is summed up for Christians in the appeal to the Christian ideal and the stern testimony of fact; and to non-Christians in the testimony of fact alone, that easy divorce has always resulted in a corrupt, sensualized society; while enduring monogamy has given the world the highest civilization, the happiest home, the purest family the world has known.

The argument for easy divorce claims that it meets the above contention at every point. It says, admitting that thus far enduring monogamy has been best for the race, and has thus far produced the highest civilization on account of the lower elements in man's nature, which marriage laws and difficult divorce have done something to restrain, does it follow that it must always be so? Is love never to be trusted except under lock and key? Have we such reason to be satisfied with our present system? Defenders of easy divorce are never weary of calling attention to the heart-burnings, and quarrels, and dissensions of those who find themselves tied together for life, altho love may have turned to

hate. They say that what they argue against is not enduring monogamic love, but against an enduring monogamic *law* compelling men and women to live together after love has fled. They argue that in the very name of love this is an outrage upon love. They say that all marriage, except marriage for love, is an acted farce, and that when love ends, the pretense of love should end. Enforced pretense of love, they say, when love is really gone, is the fruitful parent of innumerable ills, quarrels, hatred, cruelty, refinements of mental and moral torture, desertion, unfaithfulness, adultery, prostitution, murder. They say that, instead of being good for childhood, *enforced* monogamy, compelling children to live where only the pretense of love exists, with a reality of hatred—a condition of affairs discovered by children only too easily—is really the worst atmosphere in which childhood can be reared. They argue that, in fact, if love be left free it would be much more likely to endure than when attempted to be enforced by law, so that easy divorce would really give us more enduring true love, and only break up those sham relations which do more harm than good. They argue that it is absurd that the most solemn relations of life should be irretrievably fixt, too often and perhaps usually, by the uneducated and inexperienced fancy of a young man for a young woman, sometimes of an irresponsible boy for an inexperienced girl. As for reference to facts, they argue that if corruption in Greece and Rome did accompany the development of divorce, it is not proved that divorce was the cause. They say that it is far more likely that the breaking up of faith in false gods, with no higher faith taking its place, at least till Christianity came, did, in a society resting on a material and slave basis, cause the outbreak of corruption, which to an extent made use of divorce, but which marriage was equally powerless to restrain. The evidence they claim is that corrupt marriage is worse than corrupt divorce. They say that in our own times the cause of growing profligacy is not growing divorce, but growing materialism and omnipresent commercialism. They point to such women as George Eliot and such men as Goethe to show that to break away from legalized relations to freer love does not weaken or debase character. Such is the main argument for easy divorce.

Theory of Easy Divorce

Free love, it must be stated at the outset, is by no means of necessity material and animal in its motives or its character. Free love has been defended by some of the most spiritual and noble of mankind. Plato and Campanella, St. Simon and Fourier, Shelley and William Morris cannot be set aside as in their ideals "material," "animal," or "low." Professor Jowett, of Oxford, says of Plato, in his introduction to Plato's "Republic" (1st ed., vol. ii., pp. 145–147):

Free Love

> First, we may observe that the relations of the sexes supposed by him are the reverse of licentious; they seem rather to aim at an impossible strictness. . . . We may allow that his conception of the relation of the sexes takes rank among the great original thoughts of mankind.

The ethical standing of free love depends on what you mean by free love. When the anarchist Spies, lecturing before the Chicago ministers, was asked if he believed in free love, he answered, "As opposed to bought love, I do." We must understand what is meant by free love before we can discuss it, and, as a matter of fact, very different and even opposing theories of the family relation have been classed indiscriminately under this phrase. Some of these are indeed ignoble and base; others may be mistaken, but are not intentionally ignoble. The first duty, then, is to distinguish between theories. Plato, Campanella, and some extreme State Socialists (tho by no means the majority of Socialists) have argued that the whole matter of the begetting and rearing of children should be left in the hands of the State. The large majority of Socialists do not, as we say, accept this form of free love, but it is proposed by a few extreme worshipers of the State; and by Plato first and foremost. In a sense it is not free love, but, as Dr. Jowett has pointed out, is its opposite. Its advocates, following Plato, would have the State or community allow or control the sexual intercourse of men and women, only within certain limits of age and certain mental, physical, and moral qualifications. They would have children thus generated, and reared by the State, no father or mother being allowed to know their own children, that thus children may be educated equally and wisely to live for the State and not for the disrupting ties of family. Horrible as this may seem to many, it is well at least to notice that grave thinkers have found some good in it. Professor Jowett says:

Plato's View

> No one can have observed the first rising flood of the passions of youth, the difficulty of regulating them, and the effects of the whole mind and nature which follow them, the stimulus which the mere imagination gives to them, without feeling that there is something unsatisfactory in our method of treating them. That the most important influences on human life should be wholly left to chance or shrouded in mystery, and instead of being disciplined or understood, should be required to conform only to an external standard of propriety, cannot be regarded by the philosopher as a safe or satisfactory condition of human things. Nor is Plato wrong in asserting that family attachments may interfere with higher aims. If there have been those who "to party gave up what was meant for mankind," there have been those who to family gave up what was meant for mankind, or for their country. The cares of children, the necessity of procuring money for their support, the flatteries of the rich by the poor, the exclusiveness of caste, the pride of birth or wealth, the tendency of family life to divert men from the pursuit of the ideal or the heroic, are as lowering in our own age as in that of Plato. And if we prefer to look at the gentle influences of home, the devotion of one member of a family for the good of others, which form one side of the picture, we must not quarrel with him, or perhaps ought rather to be grateful to him, for having presented to us the reverse.
>
> We start back horrified from this Platonic ideal in the belief, first, that the instincts of human nature are far too strong to be crushed out in this way; secondly, that if the plan could be carried out, we should be poorly recompensed by improvements in the breed for the loss of the best things in life. . . . There is no sentiment or imagination in the connections which they [Plato's men and women] are supposed to form; human nature is reduced as nearly as possible to the level of the animals, neither exalting to heaven nor yet abusing and overindulging the natural instincts. All that world of poetry and fancy which the passion of love has called forth in modern literature and romance would have been banished by Plato.

Another form of free love, adopted not by Socialists, but by some sects of so-called Christian communism, in place of the monogamic family, would have a family more or less polygamic, and with the sexual relations not left to promiscuous and thoughtless desire, but restrained, guided, and sanctified by religious precepts, instincts, and life. Such have been the proposals and attempts of some of the older Anabaptists in Germany, the Perfectionists of Noyes's Oneida Community, and the Mormons, with other kindred religious and semicommunistic sects. (See ANABAPTISTS; MORMONISM; ONEIDA COMMUNITY.) However opposed these may be in the moral sense, and however we may dissent from

"Perfectionists"

them, it is to be said that they are not at least outwardly moved by licentious notions. The Anabaptists of Germany certainly commenced with most religious feelings. The Oneida Community claimed to be one of spiritual perfectionists. They declared again and again that neither their notions nor their practises were licentious. Noyes, their leader, said:

> Free love with us does *not* mean freedom to love to-day and leave to-morrow. Our communities are families as distinctly founded and separated from promiscuous society as ordinary households. The tie that binds us together is as permanent and sacred, to say the least, as that of marriage, for it is our religion. . . . Every man's care and every man's dollar of the common property is pledged for the maintenance and protection of the women and the education of the children of the community. . . . Whoever will take the trouble to follow our track from the beginning will find no forsaken women or children by the way. In this respect we claim to be in advance of marriage and common civilization. . . . We are not free-lovers in any sense that makes love less binding or responsible than it is in marriage ("History of American Socialism," pp. 639, 640).

Their practise was to religiously marry all the men in their "families" or communities to all the women, and then to allow sexual intercourse between any, *but not without due consideration and consultation as to the wisdom and ethical character of the relation.* Ordinary marriage and the family led, they argued, to family selfishness, family quarrels, and hypocrisy. Love for one wife no more interferes, according to their argument, with love of another wife than love for one sister interferes with love of another.

To these religious forms of free love, perhaps, should be added the forms proposed by St. Simon and Fourier and other doctrinaires, which, altho, especially with Fourier, opposed to religion in the ordinary sense, and designed to be simply humanitarian, were advocated with a spirit virtually religious. Their theories will be found under the respective articles St. Simon and Fourier; but they must be at least mentioned here.

Elective Affinities

They would have society in some form regulate marriage, and within these restrictions have wives in common, and children reared together in the most approved way. The modern religious sense, when once it begins to wander into new ways, seems to be easily led, as among many spirtualists, to conceiving new marital relations of "elective affinities," "spiritual wives," "heavenly marriages," etc. How far their theories are put into practise cannot be said, but undoubtedly they are penetrating society very fast. Mormonism is not the only *ism* in America that has given up belief in strict monogamic marriage. Yet many claim that the result is good. A daughter of Brigham Young has recently, in a leading magazine, described the happy homes and happy childhood of polygamous Mormons. But this is exactly where the strongest argument arises against all forms of polygamous marriage. Admitting possible exceptions, the notorious fact remains that no polygamous country or polygamous sect has begun to develop the character produced in monogamic homes. It is to England and not to Turkey, to America and not to Asia, to Kansas and not to Utah, to Brook Farm and not to Oneida, to Christianity and not to Mormonism, that one looks for the leaders of the world.

We then come to the *third* form of free love, the free-love theory par excellence, which is held to-day by many Socialists, by more individualists, and by all anarchists, and an increasing number of radical men and women of various schools of thought. According to these, neither the State nor organized religion should have aught to do with control of the family or of the sexual relation. They would make love supreme. They would have it unfettered by any tie whatsoever. They argue that compulsory love is not love; that all marriage save from love is sin; that when love ends marriage ends. They would have (Socialists by collectivism, and anarchists by free competition or cooperation) each man and each woman free to support himself or herself without any dependence upon any other individual. Then, they say, when a woman gave herself in love, it would not be for reason of family, or position, or custom, or support, or help in any way, but simply because she loved. They hold that this would produce the purest, and highest, and the most enduring love. Some of these free-lovers would have the State guarantee to every woman during pregnancy an income to keep her independent, so that she should never have to sell herself in any form or be unable to care in the most hygienic way for her child. In this way they claim that every child would have at least the opportunity of careful nurture without the loss of parental love. Most parents, it is thought, when economic difficulties were out of the way, would *prefer* to rear their own children; only they would not be compelled to. Thus, without losing pure parental love, we should be rid of that monstrosity, compulsory love. Marriage, they claim, thus freed from control of either priest or town clerk, would be pure, and noble, and abiding. Prostitution would disappear.

Modern Free Love

That this system would work for the majority of the population under the present industrial system, the more thoughtful supporters of this view do not claim. They would have it only in connection with economic reforms that would give financial independence to every man and woman. They would also urge along with it such physical, mental, moral, and ethical education as would prevent humanity from sinking into material and animal misuse of its liberties. But they believe that humanity, once free from dependence upon priest and policeman, would rapidly prove itself capable of pure free love. At least this is the ideal toward which they believe that law and practise should tend; and for themselves and those sufficiently "advanced" they think it perfectly safe to try free love now. Whatever be their theory, the practise is certainly on the increase. The last law that they would take from love would be the law forbidding marriage below a proper age. Only when society can be trusted to prevent this without law would they remove this law. Such is the theory of free love that is to-day most rapidly spreading. A *fourth* form of free love should be possibly also mentioned which has nothing ethical or pure about it, which is simple libertinism and worse than animalism, since no brutes would fall so low. But this, tho too much in practise, has no defenders to whom any honest mind need listen, and therefore needs no discussion here. The only thing is the question whether other forms of free love, however differently they may mean and may aim, would not lead to this form of free love, a fear which is answered on the part of defenders of pure free love by the question whether

Animalism

our present monogamic system has not already led to it, by requiring an impossible and mistaken system, the parent of vice and secret corruption. (See PROSTITUTION.)

IX.—Recent Advance Steps

The last report of the National League for the Protection of the Family (1907) says in brief:

Within the last twenty-five years there has come to be recognized a problem of the family. Twenty-five years ago there was no study of the family in any of our educational institutions. Indeed, there was not then a single course of lectures given on the subject anywhere in the entire country. Now such courses of lectures or of study are frequent. Perhaps it may already be said that the higher educational institution that does nothing with the family has become the exception rather than the rule. The colleges for women have opened this important line of study to their students. And the study is taking on more practical form in what is now known as domestic science, but which, as pursued, is confined pretty closely to the study of housekeeping in its practical aspects, but along scientific lines. Domestic science has also become a department in some of our best secondary schools and is rapidly growing in public favor. There has been, too, a marked increase of attention to the home in the periodical press. Departments or pages for the home have taken the place of the old single column and are of a much more scientific character and more valuable as a whole.

Domestic Science

I am speaking of the United States. Perhaps more has been done in parts of Europe. Within the last twenty-five years attention has been given in new ways to the practical value of the home in a number of directions, that is full of promise for the future.

Interest has been awakened in the home as a factor in public school education. Under the lead of our national superintendent of education our people are beginning to see that there is more than one social institution at work in education; that, as he puts it, the great educational factors are the school, the church, the home, and the vocation; and the problem is to get each of these to do its share in the common task, and that in intelligent cooperation with each other. While the public school has as yet nothing like the home department of the Sunday-school, unless it be its required home study, it is having more aid than formerly in progressive communities from parental associations.

In philanthropy we may note a steadily growing recognition of the place of the home in social reform. In Massachusetts and perhaps elsewhere, the charitable institution where large numbers of children have been gathered for care has given place to the single home. Indeed, it is almost a first principle of all expert charitable work now to make respect for the home and all possible use of its resources a cardinal principle of all philanthropic effort. The vigorous attack on the tenement-house problem proceeds on the assumption that the single home is the goal of its efforts and is already doing much to demonstrate the social and moral value of the home. Those who are dealing with the criminal are more and more impressed with the need of a better home life as the greatest single aid to the relief of society from the burdens of crime, and the surest protection against the beginnings of a criminal career. And the students of the evils of intemperance and licentiousness have of late come to see that the home, in its moral training, its cooking, and social activities, is, after all, one of the most important objects of their concern. Some go as far as to say that it is the most important of all.

The Home in Social Reform

REFERENCES: *The History of Human Marriage*, by Westermarck; *The Primitive Family*, by C. N. Starcke; *The Evolution of Marriage*, by Letourneau; *The Ancient City*, by Foustel de Coulange; *The Family*, by C. F. Thwing; *History of Matrimonial Institutions*, by G. E. Howard, 1904; *Love's Coming of Age*, by Ed. Carpenter; *Reports on Marriages and Divorce*, by the U. S. Bureau of Labor, 1887; *Census Report*, 1907; *Publications of the National League for the Protection of the Family.*

FARMERS' ALLIANCE AND KINDRED ORDERS, THE: Various orders of somewhat similar names and almost absolutely similar character have sprung up at various times among the farmers of the United States. The largest, best known, and politically the most active of these, tho often called The Farmers' Alliance, had as its exact title The National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union. In a sense, the parent of all these orders was the Grange, or Order of Patrons of Husbandry, founded in 1867; but as this is a much older organization, and has pursued a wholly different policy, we consider it separately. (See GRANGE.)

The first organization bearing the name Farmers' Alliance seems to have been organized by W. T. Baggett in Lampasas County, Texas, in 1876, for the purpose of opposing the spoliation of the public lands and the bringing to justice of land and cattle thieves. It did not endure, but the idea spread, and in 1879 a State Farmers' Alliance was effected. In 1887 a meeting was held at Waco for the purpose of effecting a union with the Farmers' Union, an association of Louisiana farmers. The union was accomplished, and the new organization bore the name of the Farmers' Alliance and Cooperative Union of America, with C. W. McCune at its head. This new order spread rapidly in the States of Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi.

At that time another famous organization was operating in the States of Arkansas, Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee, known as the Agricultural Wheel, which began under the leadership of W. W. Tedford, at Des Arc, Prairie County, Ark., 1882. At a meeting held at Shreveport, La., 1887, a union of the Wheel and Alliance was effected which was completed at Meridian, Miss., 1888, the organization being called the Farmers' and Laborers' Union of America.

Up to this time the Farmers' Alliance was almost exclusively a Southern institution, a secret order with grips and passwords, but it had taken no action whatever in politics except to impress its tenets in the minds of public men. In the spring of 1877 there had been organized by Milton George, at Chicago, an organization called the National Farmers' Alliance, which in a little while had extended into the States of Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, and Dakota. The objects of the National Farmers' Alliance were to unite farmers for the promotion of their interests, socially, politically, and financially; to secure a just representation of the agricultural interests of the country in Congress and state legislatures; to demand the prohibition of alien cattle and land syndicates; to oppose all forms of monopoly; to demand of representatives in Congress their votes and active influence in favor of the prompt passage of such laws as will protect live-stock interests from contagious diseases; and to demand that agricultural interests shall be represented by a cabinet officer.

This organization is sometimes called the Northern Alliance. Meanwhile, still another organization, the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, had been organized in southern Illinois in 1887, and had extended over Illinois, Kentucky, Missouri, and Kansas. Its chief object was to resist the encroachments of monopoly.

The problem now was to unite these movements. The first meeting of the Farmers' and Laborers' Union of America was appointed for December, 1889, at St. Louis. The National Farmers' Alliance appointed the same time and place for its general session, and negotiations were undertaken for the still further strengthening of the movement by the blending of the two great orders now remaining. The net outcome of the conference was a failure to unite, and for this failure the question of secrecy was the sole cause. Kansas, North Dakota, and South Dakota, however, deserted the "Northern" alliance and went over to the Southern and secret order.

A union platform was, however, adopted, and in this the order of the KNIGHTS OF LABOR also united.

Organization, however, still went on. The Southern Farmers' Alliance was mainly made up of the middle class, composed of small farmers and mechanics. It claimed, in 1890, 3,000,000 members, men and women. The colored farmers were organized under the name of The Colored Farmers' National Alliance and Cooperative Union. The first colored alliance was founded in Houston County, Texas, in 1886. In January, 1891, the estimated membership was 1,250,000, of which number 700,000 were adult males, and 150,000 more were males between eighteen and twenty-one years of age. A national organization was effected in 1888, and as the organization owed its existence largely to one man —R. M. Humphrey, a white man, formerly a Baptist preacher —he was put at the head of the alliance.

All these various alliances met at Ocala, Fla., December, 1890, and adopted the so-called Ocala Platform, not materially different from the St. Louis platform. At this convention a strong effort was made to form a new political party. The alliance voted not to do so as an alliance, but

to allow its members who wished to do so as individuals. As the result a convention was called at Cincinnati, May 20, 1891, the People's Party formed, and a platform drawn and nominations made at St. Louis, July 4, 1892.

After the Ocala convention the Farmers' alliances became virtually identified with the People's Party, but kept up separate organizations, and different organizations among them voted to favor various cooperative educational and industrial schemes, such as cooperative railroads, etc. Little, however, was accomplished in this line; but an enormous amount of political agitation was carried on. Since the practical ending of the People's Party, the movement has nearly disappeared. It has passed into an as yet very vaguely organized cooperative and educational movement. (See COOPERATION.)

REFERENCES: *The Farmers' Movement*, by C. S. Walker, in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (vol. iv., p. 790); *The Embattled Farmers*, by Rev. Washington Gladden, D.D. (*The Forum*, vol. x., p. 315); *Bondholders and Bread-Winners*, by S. S. King; and *Jason Edwards*, by Hamlin Garland. See also SILVER.

FARMERS' NATIONAL CONGRESS, THE: Organized in 1880. The congress is composed of delegates from the different states, appointed by governors or departments of agriculture. It confines itself to discussions and resolutions on broad national problems. Local issues are avoided, and speakers are expected to treat the subjects they discuss in a national manner. The congress is non-partizan, but is free to take up any politico-economic or other question of importance to agriculture.

The president is J. M. Stahl, of Chicago, editor of *The Farmers' Call*. Secretary, G. M. Whitaker, 1404 Harvard Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

FARMS AND FARMERS: See AGRICULTURE; LAND; HOMES, OWNERSHIP OF; WAGES.

FAUCHET, CLAUDE: French Christian Socialist; born at Dornes, Nièvre, France, 1744. For a while court preacher for the Louis, he lost his position owing to his radical views. At the storming of the Bastille he took an active part, was requested to prepare a eulogy over those who fell in the attack, and produced his "Discourse upon French Liberty," in which the central idea was the union of the gospel of love with the program of the Revolution. In 1790 he was instrumental in establishing a society or circle of the Friends of Truth and, as an organ of the club, the *Bouche de Fer* (the Iron Mouth), a paper in which he developed his religious ideas in union with the theories of Rousseau's social contract. "Unite the Gospel of Christ with the spirit of freedom," was Fauchet's pregnant utterance, "and our joy shall be complete." In 1791 Fauchet was elected constitutional Bishop of Calvados, and sent as a representative to the Legislative Assembly of 1792. He voted against the guillotining of the king, and on account of taking this position, and because of his landed property, he was brought before the revolutionary tribunal and guillotined with the Girondists, Oct. 31, 1793. An account of his life and views can be found in Stegmann and Hugo's "Handbuch des Socialismus."

FAWCETT, HENRY: English political economist; born in 1833; educated at a school near Salisbury, at Queenwood College, at King's College School, London, and at Trinity Hall, Cambridge; was graduated at Cambridge in 1856, and chosen a fellow. He practised law in London, but soon left this for political activity. In 1858 an accident, while shooting, left him totally blind for life. He nevertheless lectured on finance at Oxford and Glasgow, and elicited general attention. In 1863 he published his chief work, "A Manual of Political Economy," which has been much used as a text-book of economics of the orthodox school. He was immediately elected to the chair of political economy at Cambridge. In 1865 he was elected M.P. for Brighton, which he continued to represent till 1874. He was a radical of the old school, but made his mark standing for woman suffrage, refusing on principle to pay any but the merest official expenses of his election, advocating the abolition of university tests, investigating the miseries of the agricultural laborer, etc. In 1874 he was defeated for Brighton, but returned for Hackney, and again in 1880. The same year he became postmaster-general in Mr. Gladstone's second administration, and would have been a member of the Cabinet but for a conscientious scruple. He introduced many reforms into the postal system. In 1883 he was elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University, and received the titles of D.C.L. and LL.D. A strong individualist with little originality or genius, he influenced men by the force of his personality. In addition to his "Manual" he wrote "The Economic Position of the London Laborer" (1865); "Free Trade and Protection" (1878); "Essays and Lectures" (1879). His life was written by Leslie Stephen (1885). Fawcett died in 1884.

FAWCETT, MILLICENT (née GARRETT): English political economist and author; born at Aldeburgh, Suffolk, 1847; married to Henry Fawcett in 1867. She assisted her husband in all his studies, and became a leader in the woman suffrage movement. She has written "Political Economy for Beginners" (1870); "Tales in Political Economy" (1875); "Life of Queen Victoria" (1895); etc. *Address*: 2 Gower Street, W. C., London, England.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT: "Stated broadly," says John Fiske ("American Political Ideas," p. 133), "the principle of federalism is just this: That the people of a State shall have full and entire control of their own domestic affairs, which directly concern them only, and which they will naturally manage with more intelligence and with more zeal than any distinct governing body could possibly exercise; but that, as regards matters of common concern between a group of States, a decision shall in every case be reached, not by brutal warfare or by weary diplomacy, but by the systematic legislation of a central government which represents both States and people, and whose decisions can always be enforced, if necessary, by the combined physical forces of all the States."

Federalism has been practised from the earliest times among certain savage races, as among some of the North American Indians, in more developed form among the ancient German tribes, and for certain purposes among the Greek States, the English heptarchy, and other peoples. It reached a still fuller development in the old German Empire, but has been principally developed in modern republics.

Says Mr. E. V. Robinson ("Annals of the American Academy," vol. iii., p. 786):

There can be no security against despotism but limitations upon the government; and no effective limitations upon the government but such as are imposed by a higher power, the State, and enforced by separate and coordinate organs of government created by the State and participating in the action of the general government. But this is the Federal State, a form long considered a transition stage between the league of States and the simple State, but now recognized—in other countries at least—as the most interesting and significant product of institutional development.

History of Federalism

Its importance is proved by its success. In a century the new form has overspread the earth: 1787 in the United States; 1848 and 1874 in Switzerland; 1866 to 1870 in Germany; 1867 in Canada and Mexico; 1889 in Brazil; 1891 in Australasia—these dates record a progress unchecked by reverse, unparalleled in rapidity and extent. Federalism has succeeded in conditions the most diverse; here knitting scattered colonies of a kindred race into a nation equally strong and free; there forming hostile races, tongues, and creeds into compact and vigorous States. It is strong and flexible. No shock has severed its well-knit meshes, and nations the most unlike move with equal freedom in its enveloping folds. The whole drift of the political world is toward federalism to-day, as it was toward feudalism in the tenth century, and centralism in the fifteenth. The time may not be far distant when a centralized simple State will be as great an anachronism as a mail-clad knight in a modern army.

Of the nature and development of the chief modern federal governments, Mr. Robinson says (idem, pp. 787–790):

The Canadian Union was the work of one external sovereignty. A congress of delegates appointed by the provincial legislatures framed the desired constitution, which was then (1867) enacted *en bloc*, as an ordinary statute, by the British Parliament.

In Switzerland and the United States the ordaining sovereignty was one and internal. Previous to 1848 the cantons are said to have been separately sovereign. The only central authority was the Diet, consisting of one instructed vote from each canton. But unanimity was not required for decision, consequently a canton could be bound against its will, and coerced by arms if it resisted—as occurred in the Sonderbund war in 1847. Thus Laband's conception of the German Empire exactly fits the Switzerland of that date; sovereignty rested in the cantons not individually, but collectively. There were not as many sovereignties as cantons, but one sovereignty, of which the cantons were cobearers (*Mitträger*). To the cantons collectively the cantons individually were subject; just as each Roman senator was subject as an individual to the Senate as a whole. Following the Sonderbund war a committee of the Diet drafted the new constitution; the Diet itself then revised and passed it. When submitted to the cantons for approval, 15½ cantons accepted, 6½ rejected it. The constitution thereupon went into effect for all alike. The sovereignty in the old confederation, therefore, decreed the new Federal organization. No absolutely new State was created, but a rudimentary exchanged for a well-developed form.

The same was true in America, but is not so easily seen. The traditional view regards the individual States as separately sovereign under the confederation. Article 2 declares: "Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence." . . . But words cannot obliterate facts. The States could not "retain" what they had never possest. They had always been subject to a political superior. First to England; secondly to the Continental Congress, a revolutionary body; hence *de facto* sovereign; and thirdly, under the Confederation each State individually was subject to the States collectively. In the American, as in the Swiss Confederation, sovereignty was one and the States were its cobearers; each as an individual was subject to the States collectively.

Modern Federalism

This, however, is a disputed point. See CONSTITUTION; STATE RIGHTS, etc. Mr. Robinson continues:

In Germany, the situation was different in that the contracting States had been and still were separately sovereign. Aug. 18, 1866, the North German States provided by treaty for the founding of a Federal State within one year, the constitution to be drafted by a conference of Envoys at Berlin, and passed upon by a Reichstag elected on the basis of the Frankfort election law. These provisions of the treaty were then enacted by the State legislatures as State law. State law they would have been without special enactment, since the August treaties rested upon State authority. State law they had to be, if law at all, since law requires a lawgiver, and only the States then legally existed. Both Reichstag and Conference therefore rested equally on State authority. The Conference sat Dec. 15, 1866, to Feb. 7, 1867. Its draft was submitted to the Reichstag February 24th by the King of Prussia, in the name of the associated governments. The Reichstag proposed amendments; these were accepted by the Conference. Both then dissolved and disappeared. The bodies created by State authorities had done their work, but the States were not legally bound by it, any more than the British Parliament was legally bound by the recommendations of the Canadian Constitutional Congress. The States did ratify the report of their agents, and fixt July 1, 1867, as the day for it to go into operation. But legally they could as well have rejected it. The lapse of the specified year would then have restored the *status quo ante* Aug. 18, 1866. If, therefore, the criterion of the existence of a new State be the existence of a new political authority, setting a limit to older authorities, then no new State existed prior to the ratification of the constitution by all the States.

It is indeed unquestionable that the German nation already existed, i. e., that the German people were conscious of common interests, feelings, and aspirations. It is equally unquestionable that such feelings could not but result in new political relations, and that in an historical and dynamical sense, the nation did, as a matter of fact, employ the States as instruments in the creation of a new State. But it is generally agreed that a nation is not a State politically organized, and a State cannot be said to give it political organization, because such organization is prerequisite to its being a State.

Mr. James Bryce ("The American Commonwealth," chaps. xxix., xxx.) sums up the faults generally charged against federal forms of government as:

(1) Weakness in the conduct of foreign affairs.
(2) Weakness in home government—that is to say, deficient authority over the component States and the individual citizens.
(3) Liability to dissolution by the secession or rebellion of States.
(4) Liability to division into groups and factions by the formation of separate combinations of the component States.
(5) Want of uniformity among the States in legislation and administration.
(6) Trouble, expense, and delay due to the complexity of a double system of legislation and administration.

Few of these dangers he thinks, however, have developed in the United States. He says:

All that can fairly be concluded from the history of the American Union is that federalism is obliged by the law of its nature to leave in the hands of States powers whose exercise may give to political controversy a peculiarly dangerous form, may impede the assertion of national authority, may even, when long-continued exasperation has suspended or destroyed the feeling of a common patriotism, threaten national unity itself. Against this danger is to be set the fact that the looser structure of a federal government and the scope it gives for diversities of legislation in different parts of a country may avert sources of discord, or prevent local discord from growing into a contest of national magnitude.

The merits of the federal form of government he considers to be: (1) That federalism can unite States into one government without extinguishing local governments, legislatures, and patriotism; (2) that it supplies the best means of developing a vast country; (3) it prevents the development of overcentralization; (4) it interests people in local self-government; (5) it secures the good administration of local affairs; (6) it allows of experiments in legislation; (7) it diminishes the risk which comes from size and diversity in the structure of a nation; (8) it relieves the national legislature of burdens which might prove too heavy. All these advantages Mr. Bryce holds true of the U. S. (But see DEMOCRACY.) For other countries, see under the different headings.

REFERENCES: Besides the books quoted, see *The State*, by Woodrow Wilson. See also POLITICAL SCIENCE.

FEDERAL PARTY, THE: The name given, at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, to those who favored the Constitution as framed by the convention at Philadelphia in 1787. The name was later adopted by the party developed under the lead of Alexander HAMILTON,

which favored a strong central national government, friendly relations with Great Britain rather than with France, the fostering of commercial interests, the assumption of the State debts, and the chartering of a national bank, etc. It controlled the general government till 1801. Says Schouler ("History of the United States," vol. i., p. 54): "To speak logically, it was the anti-federal party that sustained a federal plan, while the Federalist contended for one more nearly national." (For a discussion of the views of the party, see CENTRALIZATION; CONSTITUTION; HAMILTON; STATE RIGHTS.)

FEDERATION OF CHURCHES, THE: A movement toward practical church unity and cooperation in the carrying on of church evangelical and social work, begun in New York City in 1905, largely through the efforts of the Rev. J. W. Hegeman, Ph.D., and having as its essential principle the federating of the various religious bodies, for practical work, while allowing each body perfect liberty to fashion its own life independently in its own way. The New York City Federation, of which the Rev. Walter Laidlaw, Ph.D., is secretary, has been by far the most active federation resulting from the movement, especially in social investigation and work (see below), but various state and city federations have been organized in New York state, Massachusetts, and elsewhere, and have led to considerable thought and to some united and social work, particularly in Providence, Toledo, Syracuse, and Utica. In 1900 a National Federation of Churches and Christian Workers was formed, with E. B. Sanford, D.D., as general secretary (90 Bible House, New York City). This has created some general thought and held an important interchurch conference in New York in 1905. Concerning the very active New York City Federation, its secretary contributes the following:

FEDERATION OF CHURCHES AND CHRISTIAN ORGANIZATIONS IN NEW YORK CITY, THE: Organized 1895, incorporated 1901. Purpose: To organize and assist the churches and Christian organizations of New York City for cooperative work in behalf of the spiritual, physical, educational, economic, and social interests of its family life, and to represent the Christian sentiment of the city in regard to moral issues. It began its work by a sociological investigation, including nationality, housing, wages, and public-school attendance with religious conditions in an upper West side district of New York. It found a district denser than the densest ward of London, England. It secured DeWitt Clinton Park by united petition of Catholic and Protestant churches; succeeded in having Episcopalian and Lutheran communions erect needed churches; located two settlement houses and several kindergartens, and brought churches of district into permanent cooperation. All succeeding investigations have been conducted on the same principles. It has instituted a model tenement for negroes to atone for racial injustice of charging blacks extra rent, has located a Moravian negro church to care for the West Indian immigration, and several churches for whites. It has discovered most populous blocks in New York City, and led the way to the formation of the Tenement House Department of the city. Its work of eleven years has resulted in over twenty-five institutions with aggregate value of over $3,000,000, and shaped the policies of sixty-five other institutions with value of over $10,000,000. Sub-federations have started cooperative work for neighborhood welfare. The first summer playground in New York, leading to the vacation playgrounds of the city, was conducted by a sub-federation. The organization of summer vacation Bible schools that include the first aid to the injured in their curriculum have led the city to include the same in the curriculum of their schools. The organization has also assisted the city in locating public baths. Federal and state statistics concerning population, overcrowding, etc., in New York City are interpreted, reedited, and reissued in *Federation*, the quarterly of the organization ($1 per annum). Here and here only the distribution of nationalities, the congestion of the city, and much kindred information can be obtained. The publications are used as text-books in sociological departments of many colleges and seminaries. The society has taken religious censuses of over one million people. It has lists of all institutions in each of the seventy-seven subdivisions of Greater New York; has in operation a cooperative church parish system covering 450,000 of the population; and has reduced, by the district plan, the churchless Protestants, in one neighborhood, from 48 to 28 per cent. It has the support of twenty-five religious communions, and was the cause of the formation of the National Federation of Churches. Studio 119 E. 119th St.

WALTER LAIDLAW.

FEDERATION OF LABOR. See AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

FEEDING OF SCHOOL CHILDREN, THE: Owing to the fact that proof has been given by experts to the underfeeding of children among the poorer classes, and to the consequent retarding of their mental development, a number of communities have undertaken the feeding of school children. The practise is a development of a Swiss custom that newly married couples give a present of money to the school as a thanksgiving for their education. The mayor of Paris introduced this custom in 1849; in 1867 the Chamber of Deputies passed a law *permitting* any municipality to create a school fund, *caisse des Écoles*, by voluntary contributions and subventions of the city or the state. This was employed in buying shoes and clothes for poor children. In 1882 a law was passed *compelling* the creation of school funds in all parts of France. The district of Montmartre, Paris, was first in using its fund for the feeding of children. The idea soon spread over Paris, and other large cities of France, under the name *cantines scolaires*.

France

The plan as now practised in France usually involves: (1) Free meals, or meals provided at cost; (2) provision of shoes and clothing when necessary; (3) free medical attendance; and (4) in some localities the sending of weak and sick children to the seaside or the mountains, under the name of "school colonies." For the treatment of topics under (4) see article FRESH AIR WORK.

I. At first only poor children were fed, free of cost, later any child who was willing to pay. In 1882 there were fifteen *cantines scolaires* in Paris, which served in all 1,110,827 *portions*, as the lunches were called. One third of these "orders" were for meat, one third for bowls of soup; the remainder for vegetables; 374,301 orders were

given free; 736,526 paid for. The total cost of the lunches was 59,264 francs, of which the children paid 36,776 fr. Later experience proved the "orders" could be made larger, and the price reduced nearly 50 per cent. Nowadays the cost of a meal—consisting of a bowl of good soup, a plate of meat, two kinds of vegetables, and bread *ad libitum*—is fifteen centimes, or about three cents. The managers say that this small sum more than covers the cost. If all children paid, there might be some profit. Poorer children pay part, very poor ones nothing. In the district of Eppinette, a poor quarter, the children pay about 20 per cent of the total cost; in ordinary districts, e. g., Batignolles, from 45 to 50; in wealthy ones, 75 to 85. In order to make up the deficit the Municipal Council of Paris grants a subsidy. The total amount of this for the three years 1901–3 was 1,000,000 fr. The city is, however, largely compensated for this subsidy by the consequent reduction of the poor relief funds. Another item to be noticed is the falling off of private subscriptions to the *cantines scolaires* since the city has made the feeding of school children a municipal duty. Two features deserve special mention: (1) The prevention of fraud. When a child claims to be unable to pay even part of the 15 centimes, he or she is given a ticket at once; but within twenty-four hours an investigation is made at the home to find out the facts. If the statement is true, the child receives free meals as long as necessary; if not, the parents must pay the arrears. (2) The discretion maintained about poor children. Tickets of the same color are issued to all children, whether they pay or not; so that no child need exhibit its poverty by a special ticket. In order to prevent the overhearing of applications for free tickets, each child is compelled to go through a little box-office singly and receives his ticket for or without pay there. Thus the taint of pauperism is removed, and the self-respect of the children preserved. The teachers, too, generally take their meals at the *cantines*, pay the same price, and receive the same ticket. About 90 per cent of them take their lunches with the children, altho there is no compulsion about it. The meals are tasty, served neatly, and paper napkins are provided.

In several German cities, particularly in Berlin, the plan for feeding school children is very similar to that of Paris, the *Schul-Küche* is connected, as a rule, only with schools in poor districts. Brussels, Belgium, likewise follows the model of Paris; so do several cities in Switzerland. Italy has adopted the same system widely, but that of Vercelli, in the province of Piedmont, is unique in that it provides free meals to all children, and makes attendance at the meals as compulsory as that at school. Trondhjem, Norway, offers free meals to all school children who desire to avail themselves of the opportunity. Birmingham, England, feeds very poor or starving children with very scanty food as a matter of charity free of cost. About 2.5 per cent of all the city's children take these meals. The cost to the city is less than a halfpenny a meal, including the managers and helpers' salaries of £100 in all a year.

Elsewhere in Europe

In the U. S. the Oliver Goldsmith school in Chicago has for several years furnished free meals to a large number of children.

II. In nearly all European cities poor children are provided with shoes and clothing. District visitors look up the poorly dressed children's homes, and provide these articles at the expense of the municipality. Details differ, but the plan is, in the main, the same.

III. Free medical attendance is a feature of the scheme of many schools in Europe. Brussels has a compulsory system of free medical examination for all school children at least every ten days. The eyes, ears, teeth, general physical condition are overhauled. Tonics are given to weak or puny children; eye-glasses to those of defective sight; if need be, children are sent to the country or seaside. France, Switzerland, and Norway have less systematic medical examination.

Several cities in the U. S., e. g., New York, Chicago, have introduced medical inspection. But it is perfunctory. Yet even these examinations have revealed the alarming fact that in New York 17 per cent out of 10,000 children examined, suffered from serious defects of eyesight; and fully one third with less serious ones. An examination in Minnesota proved 70,000 children to have very defective eyesight, less than 10 per cent of whom were provided with glasses.

The result of the experiments in feeding and inspecting children have proved that poor scholarship is often due to underfeeding, or some defect of eye, ear, etc. Better physical, mental, and moral development has attended the efforts of looking after the needs of poor children systematically.

References: John Spargo, *Underfed School Children*, and *The Bitter Cry of the Children* (1906); R. Hunter, *Poverty*.

FELS, JOSEPH: Of the Fels Naphtha Soap Company of Philadelphia, Pa., mainly resident in England (Elmwood Bickley, Kent). Interested in the Vacant Lot Gardening in Pennsylvania, and in Labor colonies in England. (See Labor Colonies; Unemployment; Vacant Lot Gardening.)

FENWICK, C.: Member British Parliament, of Labor Party for Wansbeck, Northumberland. Born 1850, began work at age of nine in a mine. He has been prominent in all endeavors for improving the condition of miners, altho he is opposed to the Eight Hours Bill for miners. Is a member of the Royal Commissions on Mine Explosions and on Secondary Education; was Parliamentary Secretary of the Trades Union Congress from 1890–94. Has been a member of Parliament since 1885, elected chiefly by the votes of the Miners' Association, altho the Liberals assisted him. *Address*: 14, Tankerville Terrace, Newcastle-on-Tyne, England.

FERRARA, FRANCESCO: Italian economist; born in Palermo, Sicily, 1810. In 1834 he became chief of the statistical bureau of Sicily, and founded the *Giornale di Statistica*. In 1847 he was active in a movement aiming at the political independence of Sicily, and was imprisoned. Released in the following year, he was sent to Turin on a special mission, and during his sojourn there was offered the chair of national economy at the University of Turin, which he accepted. Later he held a similar chair at Pisa. In 1867 he was appointed minister of finance, and in 1868 became director of a mercantile school in Venice, where he remained until his death in 1900. He has written: "Importanza dell' Economia Politica" (1849); "Memorie di Statistica" (1890), etc.

FERRARIS, CARLO FRANCESCO: Italian scientist; born at Moncalvo, 1850; educated at the University of Turin (LL.D., 1870). He was a member of the Italian bureau of statistics from 1874 to 1876, and in 1878 became extraordinary professor at the University of Pavia, and in 1883 a director in the Italian ministry of agriculture, industry, and commerce. In 1885 he was called to the chair of administrative science and law and statistics in the University of Padua, which he still holds. He was a member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies during 1886–87, and since 1904. He is a member of many academies and institutes of art and science and statistics. He is also an honorary member of the Swiss statistical society and of the English royal statistical society. Among his works may be mentioned: "La Statistica è la Scienza dell' Amministrazione nelle Facultà Giuridiche" (1878); "Moneta e Corso Forzoso" (1879); "Principii di Scienza Bancaria"; "Socialismo e Reforma Sociale" (1900), etc. *Address*: University of Padua, Italy.

FERRI, ENRICO: Italian sociologist and politician; born at San Benedetto-Po, Mantua, 1856; studied at Mantua, Bologna, and Pisa. In 1880 he was appointed professor of criminal law at the University of Bologna; from 1882–85 he officiated in a similar capacity at Siena; and in 1892 he was called to Pisa. Since 1895 he has been an attorney at Rome. In 1886 Ferri became a member of the Chamber of Deputies as a Socialist, and he has become a leading member of the party. He is the founder and editor of the Socialist organ *Avanti*, and has written various works on sociological questions.

FEUDALISM: A social system prevalent in one form or another in northern and western Europe, through all the Middle Ages, according to which land was held by its owners as *feuds* or *feifs* on condition of paying service to a superior lord.

The origin of the system is uncertain. It seems, however, to have been first developed in Germany. Some find its origin in the Roman custom of making grants of land to tribes on condition of paying certain tribute or military service. It is certainly not very different from certain Roman forms of land ownership. (See LAND.) Most authorities, however, trace it to older and more fully Germanic and perhaps Asiatic origin—a development, it may be, of the early forms of land tenure. (See PRIMITIVE PROPERTY.) German chiefs had their *comitatus* or retinue of "freemen" surrounding and serving them in peace, and especially in war. Beneath these were the serfs or tillers of the soil, dependent on the freemen. It was a system of society partly separate from and eventually largely replacing the relation of the individual to the State. Under feudalism the individual placed himself or was placed as a vassal (a word probably of Celtic origin, at first meaning servant) under a superior. He was said to be under *commendation* to him, and for the protection given by the lord he owed him *obsequium*, or willingness to serve. Feudalism was connected with the older Roman system of *beneficia*, or the giving of property for use, but with responsibility to the donor or heirs. From this system grew up the ecclesiastical benefices. Feudalism changed the *beneficia* into *feuda*—property held under personal allegiance, *allodia* being property held in fee simple. The service paid by the vassal was service in war (*service d'hoste*), the obligation to appear at his lord's courts (*justitia*), money payments (*auxilia*), and homage. The "Treatise of Tenures" says: "Homage is the most honorable service and most humble service of reverence that a frank tenant may do to his lord, for when the tenant shall make homage to his lord, he shall be ungirt and his head uncovered, and his lord shall sit and the tenant shall kneel before him on both his knees and hold his hands jointly together between the hands of his lord, and shall say this: 'I become your man from this day forward, of life and limb, and of earthly worship, and unto you shall be true and faithful, and bear you faith for the tenements that I claim to hold of you, saving the faith that I owe to our sovereign lord, the king'; and then the lord, so sitting, shall kiss him." The tie of feudalism was thus essentially a personal tie for the use of land.

Origin

Feudalism grew up from the fifth to the ninth century, when it is found somewhat fully developed in Germany, and developing in the adjacent countries. In Germany, however, the different chiefs were so independent that a centralized feudalism never appeared. It is among the Normans, in Gaul, in Aragon, through large portions of Italy, and, after the Conquest, in England, that we find its fully developed and centralized form.

Here all land is held as belonging to the king, representing the whole people. He divides the realm among his barons, to rule over and defend. For this they pay tribute to the king and receive tribute from their retainers or vassals—the tribute in time of war being military service. They in turn divide their baronies among the lesser nobility, and they among the freemen, each paying tribute to his superior. The serfs, finally, live on the domain of the lord of the manor (the freeman), cultivate it, and have certain rights of domicile and pasturage, for receipt of which they pay service to the lord. The serf pays no tribute to the king, only to his liege lord; the liege lord pays to his superior, and so on up to the king. This is the feudal *idea* modified in history in a thousand ways and by a thousand special grants and privileges. The basis of the whole system is the land tenure, which is "the sacramental tie of all public relations."

The Feudal Principle

Once developed, however, the system immediately began to change. When the English kings began to fight in France it became more convenient for the northern barons to give payments of money instead of military service; and the king preferred this, since it enabled him to hire troops who would serve him more unquestioningly. Gradually the system of paying money instead of service developed into the rule. Out of this came PARLIAMENTS, first called together to vote supplies for the king. But out of this came also other institutions. Under feudalism proper the serf paid nothing to the king directly, but only to his superior lord. When the king wanted money it occurred to his councilors that he might get money by taxing the serf as well as the lords. The early poll taxes were resisted (see PEASANTS' REVOLT), but they were collected. It was forgotten or ignored that the serf already paid the king *through the lord*; that the serf only paid the lord because the lord paid the king. The lords were quite willing to have the serfs pay the king because then they could claim that the king was paid, and keep what they received *as their own*. This developed the landlord system of England. Hitherto the lords had ruled their lands, not as owners, but as representatives of the king, and what they received from their vassals they paid over to the king, at least in part. They now claimed to own the land, and kept the tribute as *rent*. The king, they said, was paid through *taxes*. Out of this has developed modern England.

Developments

It is not claimed that the development took this simple and conscious form; but it explains a large portion of what actually occurred. Under feudalism the vassal did not pay both tax and rent. His rent or service was his tax. Says Rogers ("Six Centuries of Work and Wages," p. 56): "There was in the thirteenth century no rent paid in the ordinary sense of that word." Such conditions have led to two extreme views

of feudalism: the one too favorable, the other too severe. According to one view, to which conservatives and some Socialists are inclined, the laborer under feudalism was better off than to-day. Every man was entitled to the use of a little land, with perhaps a cottage and the right of pasturage and of getting fuel in the manorial woods, all on the one condition of paying a little service or work to his lord. Each man had a place, a lowly place indeed—a cottage, rough and dark, with few comforts. But then the lord did not have modern comforts, and at least the serf was sure of his living and related by ties often of personal regard to the lord on whose estate he lived, and whom he could occasionally see and know. There was no landless class, and there was not the modern impersonal "cash nexus" and freedom, which is often a freedom to starve.

The other view to which liberals and individualists are inclined, goes to the other extreme. It dwells upon the rough home and food of the medieval serf, above all upon his oppression by his lord. He had a place, it is true, but a dog's place and a dog's life. How vastly better off, it is said, is the workingman of to-day. Feudalism has gone. Serfdom disappears in England after the PEASANTS' REVOLT. Feudal tenures were abolished by act of Parliament in England in 1660; in Scotland in 1747. In France they disappeared in the Revolution of 1789; in Germany and Austria, in the Revolution of 1848–50. In each country, however, the system had long been modified by political and social changes. A feudal system is said to have early developed in China and Japan, but to have disappeared in the former country as early as 220 B.C., on the conquest of the country by Siang Wang, of Tsin, or Tsin-shi-Hwang-ti. In Japan, it endured till 1871, when the *daimios* or barons surrendered their lands to the Mikado.

FICHTE, JOHANN GOTTLIEB: German philosopher; born at Rammenau, Lusatia, 1762; studied theology and philosophy at the University of Jena. On leaving college he earned a precarious support as an itinerant tutor. In 1791 he became a zealous follower of Kant, and in the following year wrote his "Critique of All Revelation," which Kant highly commended. For a time he lived under pecuniary difficulties, but in 1794 was appointed to the chair of philosophy at Jena. He soon broke loose from Kant, whose philosophy was not sufficiently idealistic. He said to a friend, "Kant has only *indicated* the truth, but neither unfolded nor proved it." In 1799 a groundless charge of atheism removed him from the college; and he took up his residence in Berlin. Six years later he was called to the chair of philosophy at Erlangen. It was here that his famous lectures on "The Nature of the Scholar" were delivered. Later he was elected rector of the University of Berlin, where he remained until his death in 1814.

Fichte united the qualities of the philosopher, the prophet, the patriot, and the saint. The fundamental notion of his philosophy is the reality of the ego, which posits both itself and the non-ego. As to his social views, the following quotations speak for themselves:

In his "Materials for the Justification of the French Revolution," he writes: "Property can have no other origin than labor. Whosoever does not work has no right to obtain the means of existence from society." In 1796 he proclaimed "the right to property." He says in his "Principles of Natural Right": "Whoso has not the means of living is not bound to recognize or respect the property of others, seeing that, as regards him, the principles of the social contract have been violated. Every one should have some property; society owes to all the means of work, and all should work in order to live." In his book on "The State in Accordance with Right" ("Rechtstaat") he foreshadows a collective organization which would realize what he understands by right: "Labor and distribution should be collectively organized; every one should receive for a fixt amount of labor a fixt amount of capital which would constitute his property, according to right. Property will thus be made universal. No person should enjoy superfluities as long as anybody lacks necessaries; for the right of property in objects of luxury can have no foundation until each citizen has his share in the necessaries of life. Farmers and laborers should form partnerships, so as to produce the most with the least possible exertion." The essential ideas of the socialism of to-day, as regards both the notion of right and its realization, are contained in embryo in the foregoing lines, which were manifestly occasioned by Rousseau and the eighteenth-century philosophers, tho modified by his deep and pietistic Christianity. Among Fichte's works may be mentioned: "The Destination of Man"; "The Vocation of the Scholar"; "The Nature of the Scholar"; "The Way to the Blessed Life"; and "The Characteristics of the Present Age." His "Rechtstaat" was translated by A. E. Kroeger.

FINANCE, THE SCIENCE OF: (from medieval Latin, *finis*, an end, or payment in settlement), is correctly used in economics for the science of the raising, administration, and expenditure of the revenues of a nation, state, or city. The word finance is popularly but incorrectly used for the discussion of the subject of money; perhaps because, in the United States, especially, questions of revenue have been so intimately connected with those of money.

In classic times, while there was often wise management of the public finances, there was little development of theory or principles of finance. The work of Xenophon on the revenues of Athens was simply a discussion as to how the city might derive sufficient revenue from its own territory. He recommends a state monopoly of silver mining. The Romans developed still less theory.

Development

The first modern development of the science was by the German cameralists (q. v.). These often gave good, practical advice, but still with little system or theory. From the seventeenth century the school of the mercantilists (q. v.) began to have weight, and in the eighteenth century the school of the physiocrats (q. v.). The German cameralists discust finance largely as a matter of the management of domains and monopolies. The mercantilists were more for duties, customs, and bounties. Under the influence of the physiocrats we have the development of the idea of the *impôt unique*, the single tax on land. Under Adam Smith and his followers we have the development of the ideas of free trade and the substitution of other taxes for customs duties. In the development of the modern science of finance the Germans lead. They divide the science into

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three parts: 1. The organization of the financial economy; 2. public expenditure and the purposes for which it may be made; 3. public revenue and the sources from which it may be derived. The ordinary sources of revenues are divided into three kinds. (1) From agricultural, industrial, or commercial enterprises (see NATIONALISM; MUNICIPALISM; RAILROADS; POSTAL SYSTEM; TELEGRAPH); (2) from fees; (3) from taxation (q. v.).

In the conduct of a State's financial system, Prof. E. J. James (article "Finance," "Lalor's Cyclopedia of Political Science") finds four main systems: 1. The German, where all public offices are filled from the ranks of persons who have shown their fitness by prescribed tests, and after a period of probation are appointed with a right to the office and a salary as long as its duties are properly performed. 2. The French system, where the salaried officer, tho professionally educated, may be removed at pleasure. 3. The American system, in which the salaried officer may be removed for political reasons without any question of fitness. 4. The voluntary system, where offices are filled by those able and willing to act without salary. Professor James considers the German system, tho nominally the most expensive, in reality the cheapest and the best. (See TAXATION.)

REFERENCES: Adolph Wagner's *Finanzwissenschaft* (1877–1882); C. F. Bastable's *Public Finance* (1892); T. G. Bowles's *National Finance* (London, 1904); H. C. Adams's *Finance* (1899); D. R. Dewey's *Financial History of the U. S.* (1903); A. D. Noyes's *Thirty Years of American Finance* (1903). (See also TAXATION.)

FINANCES OF THE WORLD

(From the Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1905*)

COUNTRY	Year	Revenue	Expenditure	Year	Debt			Rates of interest
					Funded		Total in United States currency	*Per cent*
Argentina	[a]1901	$62,723,000	$60,757,000	1902	$	[i]477,888,035	$479,765,265	4½ – 6
Australasia:								
Commonwealth	[a]1902–3	140,755,000	142,148,000	1903	£	212,028,414	1,084,605,444	3 – 5
New Zealand	[a]1902–3	31,376,000	30,241,000	1903	£	55 899,019	275,439,126	3 – 5
Austria-Hungary	[b]1902–3	75,896,000	75,896,000	1903	Crowns	5,359,326,917	1,107,464,025	3 – 4
Austria	[b]1903	350,509,000	350,424,000	1903	Crowns	3,626,180,223	739,020,208	3 – 5½
Hungary	[b]1902	220,072,000	221,649,000	1902	Crowns	4,449,360,000	1,038,585,000	3 – 4
Belgium	[a]1901	122,657,000	116,500,000	1902	Francs	2,778,051,351	544,052,979	2½ – 3
Bolivia	[b]1902	3,614,000	3,663,000	1901	Bolivianos	[k]6,551,831	6,180,602	4 – 5
Brazil	[a]1901	137,295,000	99,366,000	1902	£	42,423,817	540,693,936	4 – 6
British colonies, not elsewhere specified	[a]1902–3	121,885,000	117,381,000	1902–3	£	73,906,192	368,763,125	3 – 6
Bulgaria	[b]1903	18,917,000	18,853,000	1902	Francs	[l]323,462,000	62,428,200	5 – 6
Canada	[a]1902	[c]58,051,000	[c]50,759,000	1902	$	[m]271,829,090	271,829,090	2½ – 5
Central America:								
Costa Rica	[b]1902–3	2,820,000	2,812,000	1903	£	2,185,250	14,603,556	2½ – 3
Guatemala	[a]1902	2,046,000	2,169,000	1903	£	1,749,704	12,142,334	4 – 8
Honduras	[a]1902	1,373,000	1,264,000	1903	£	[n]19,688,353	96,249,771	5 –10
Nicaragua	[a]1901	2,403,000	2,393,000	1902–3	£	264,665	5,590,636	4 – 6
San Salvador	[a]1902	3,281,000	3,274,000	1903		(o)	3,696,472	4 – 5
Chile	[a]1901	38,684,000	44,001,000	1902	£	[k]17,012,580	107,304,151	4½ – 5
China	[a]1901	62,710,000	71,896,000	1902	£	125,991,960	613,140,000	4 – 8
Cuba	[a]1902	18,791,000	19,515,000	....				
Denmark	[a]1902–3	20,306,000	20,792,000	1903	Kroner	[k]176,327,250	[p]66,033,849	3 – 4
Ecuador	[a]1901	5,208,000	4,540,000	1903	Sucres	8,534,560	5,746,628	3½ – 5
Egypt	[a]1902	60,051,000	56,511,000	1903	£	102,896,100	[q]500.743,871	3 – 4½
Finland	[a]1901	25,555,000	24,993,000	1903	Francs	134,182,784	25,897,277	3 – 3½
France	[a]1902	695,276,000	695,250,000	1903	Francs	29,225,099,629	5,856,706,403	3 – 3½
Algeria	[a]1902	[d]10,899,000	[d]10,496,000	1902	Francs	157,688,000	30,433,784	3
Tunis	[a]1901	6,158,000	6,481,000	....				
French colonies, not elsewhere specified	[b]1901–2	[ed]17,100,000	[ed]17,100,000	....				
French East Indies	[b]1902	[d]12,037,000	[d]12,031,000	....				
German Empire	[a]1901	495,853,000	553,222,000	1902	Marks	2,811,517,700	698,849,400	3 – 3½
German States	[a]1901–2	[f]904,287,000	[g]902,990,000	1902	Marks	11,246,400,100	2,687,621,000	3 – 4
German colonies	[b]1902–3	[h]2,227,000	[h]2,227,000	....				
Greece	[b]1903	14,664,000	14,327,000	1903	Francs	715,000,000	159,787,136	2½ – 5
Haiti	[b]1901–2	[i]7,327,000	[i]7,341,000	1902	$	12,567,964	27,961,249	5 – 6
India, British	[a]1902	371,531,000	346,440,000	1902	£	[r]207,768,012	1,102,905,139	3 – 4½
Italy	[a]1902–3	375,000,000	356,492,000	1902	Lire	[t]12,615,394,000	[y]2,560,605,000	3 – 5
Japan	[a]1901–2	133,039,000	132,895,000	1902	Yen	502,226,140	261,857,143	4 – 5
Formosa	[a]1901–2	9,844,000	9,643,000	....				
Korea	[b]1903	5,362,000	5,361,000	....				
Mexico	[a]1901–2	29,171,000	27,819,000	1902	$	175,353,345	175,945,345	3 – 5
Netherlands	[a]1901	61,526,000	61,468,000	1903	Florins	1,137,116,676	463,150,904	2½ – 3
Dutch East Indies	[b]1903	61,934,000	66,750,000	....				
Norway	[a]1901–2	27,000.000	27,259,000	1902	Kroner	262,598,341	70,376,355	3 – 3½
Paraguay	[b]1902	11,007,000	11,007,000	1903	£	[u]2,034,936	[v]11,223,805	3 – 4½
Persia	1898–99	[c]7,300,000	[c]7,300,000	1903	Rubles	32,500,000	16,737,500	5
Peru	[a]1901	7,533,000	7,016,000	1902	£	(w)	23,159,700	
Portugal	[a]1901–2	57,336,000	62,170,000	1903	£	[x]153,708,445	819,886,580	3 – 4½
Rumania	[a]1901–2	42,114,000	38,906,000	1902	Francs	1,238,339,384	272,774,501	4 – 5
Russia	[a]1902	1,101,107,000	1,116,095,000	1903	Rubles	[y]6,629,246,086	3,414,061,734	3 – 5

FINANCES OF THE WORLD—*Continued*

COUNTRY	Year	Revenue	Expenditure	Year	Debt			Rates of interest
					Funded		Total in United States currency	*Per cent*
Santo Domingo	[b]1902–3	1,910,000	1,722,000	1903	£	[z]3,885,350	26,219,449	2½ – 4
Servia	[b]1902	13,619,000	14,086,000	1902	Francs	418,685,093	80,806,223	4 – 5
Siam	[b]1902–3	13,823,000	13,640,000	....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Spain	[a]1902	197,077,000	187,846,000	1903	Pesetas	[aa]10,680,777,056	2,061,389,972	4 – 5
Sweden	[a]1901	49,712,000	49,593,000	1903	Kroner	[bb]346,693,044	92,833,336	3 – 4
Switzerland	[a]1902	20,691,000	20,563,000	1903	Francs	[cc]90,158,376	17,400,567	3½
Turkey	[b]1897–8	81,450,000	81,089,000	1903	£ Turkish	139,510,187	723,125,400	3½ – 5
United Kingdom	[a]1902–3	737,526,000	897,790,000	1903	£	[dd]695,645,762	3,885,166,333	2½ – 2¾
United States	[a]1905	697,101,000	720,105,000	1905	$	895,158,340	[ee]989,866,772	2 – 4
Philippine Islands	[a]1903	15,326,000	14,263,000	1903	$	.....	6,000,000	4
Uruguay	[a]1902	16,703,000	15,032,000	1903	Pesos	101,945,979	127,362,827	3½ – 5
Venezuela	[a]1902	4,818,000	5,026,000	1903	Bolivars	[ff]143,383,716	49,335,647	3 – 5
Total	.....	7,903,966,000	8,060,638,000	....	.....	.....	43,698,029,541	.....

* For latest figures, see under the principal countries.
[a] Actual receipts and expenditures.
[b] Budget estimate.
[c] From and on account of the consolidated fund.
[d] Local budget only, exclusive of subsidies and other expenditures of home government in interests of colony.
[e] Estimated.
[f] Exclusive of transfers from the imperial treasury, appearing in the budget of the empire.
[g] Exclusive of contributions to imperial treasury, appearing in budget of Empire.
[h] Exclusive of subventions paid by the imperial government to the extent of $6,443,000.
[i] Largely in depreciated paper.
[j] Of which $54,347,834 constituted the internal debt.
[k] External debt.
[l] Exclusive of the East Rumelian tribute of 2,951,000 francs per year, for which no capital value has yet been fixt.
[m] Net gross debt June 30, 1902, $366,358,477, of which $129,392,026 was not funded. Against gross debt there were $94,529,387 of assets, $50,874,000 constituting sinking-fund.
[n] Including arrears of interest amounting to £14,289,783.
[o] Converted into securities of the Salvador Railway Company in consideration of an annual subsidy of £24,000.
[p] Total gross debt, against which assets amounting to $27,962,901 were held by the treasury.
[q] Against which reserve funds amounting to $40,221,000 were held in beginning of 1903.
[r] Of this total, 1,161,913,883 rupees represent the permanent debt in India, and £130,307,090 the permanent debt in England.
[t] Against this total the treasury held bonds and securities valued at 166,039,000 lire, making the net debt = $2,528,559,000.
[u] Of which £1,116,686 were arrears guaranty payments due Paraguayan Central Railway.
[v] There are besides outstanding the debts due to Brazil, 9,876,500 pesos, and to Argentina, 12,393,600 pesos.
[w] The foreign debt, amounting to £31,579,080, exclusive of arrears of interest of £22,998,651, was assumed in 1890 by the Grace-Donohue Company on concession of the railways, and certain rights over guano deposits, mines, and lands in Peru for sixty-six years.
[x] Of which £41,568,645 are reported to be in the hands of the government.
[y] Of which 3,049,522,636 was in gold rubles or in terms of foreign currency, and 3,579,723,450 rubles in terms of Russian currency. This total does not include about 550,000,000 rubles of credit notes in circulation, more than fully covered by the metallic reserve of the Bank of Russia.
[z] Secured by customs duties and specially assigned revenues, the collection of which is controlled by the Santo Domingo Improvement Company, of New York.
[aa] Of which 9,664,484,956 pesetas were classed as "internal" debt.
[bb] Practically all contracted for the purpose of construction of railways.
[cc] Total liabilities of the Federation, exclusive of the railway debt.
[dd] Represents the funded debt proper and the estimated capital liability in respect to terminable annuities.
[ee] The item in the column "Funded debt" is total interest-bearing debt of United States.
[ff] External debt, including arrears.

FIRE DEPARTMENTS: The earliest fire companies were composed of volunteers, tho sometimes inducements to join were held out by exempting them from jury duty. They were sometimes like social and sometimes political clubs.

FIRE DEPARTMENTS OF TEN LARGEST CITIES, U. S. (1903)

CITY	Paid Firemen	Engines	Property Loss from Fires	Expenditure 1904
New York, N. Y.	3,359	170	$7,082,439	$6,438,426
Chicago, Ill.	1,297	123	3,062,931	1,878,308
Philadelphia, Pa.	854	66	2,326,528	1,377,247
St. Louis, Mo.	510	52	1,203,929	882,508
Boston, Mass.	891	65	1,674,333	1,333,087
Baltimore, Md.	444	34	670,615	548,550
Cleveland, Ohio.	424	33	824,062	606,071
Buffalo, N. Y.	570	38	932,240	751,200
San Francisco, Cal.	647	60	1,211,816	743,603
Pittsburg, Pa.	451	36	553,324	599,802

In New York, the firemen became a power in ward politics. The paid fire department of New York City was organized May 4, 1865. Since then the system has spread to all the large cities and attained remarkable efficiency, organized usually under fire commissioners. Fires are much more frequent in America than in Europe, because of poorly constructed houses and lack of construction laws in America. This, however, is being changed. Partly as a result, the American fire departments are generally thought to be much more efficiently developed.

In London, the force of the fire-brigade is 1,313, men and officers; land-engines, 82; fire-floats, tugs, etc., 15; expenditure (1904–5), £247,974. The fire-brigade of Berlin had a total strength of 847 men and officers in 1900; 10 steam-engines, 18 hand-engines, etc.; expenditure, 1,661,611 marks. That of Hamburg, 551 men and officers, 32 steam-engines, 8 gas-engines, 11 hand-engines; expenditure, 1,264,830 mks. The force of Vienna amounted

to 461 men and officers, 7 steam-engines, 30 gas-engines. Besides the professionals Vienna has a voluntary force of 1,028 men, with engines and apparatus of their own; expenditure for both, 1.226,323 kronen. Germany has 50 professional fire-brigades. The fire-fighting forces of Germany have formed a union which consisted in 1898 of over 26,061 brigades with 1,451,123 men. Austria has a similar union numbering in 1901 9,849 brigades, mostly voluntary, with 441,925 men. The fire-brigade of Paris consisted in 1900 of 1,753 men and officers; it had 25 steam-engines, etc.; expenditure, 2,620,727 francs.

FIRE-DRILLS: It is usually assumed that where fire-extinguishing apparatus has been installed in a building and fire-escapes provided, everything necessary for a fire emergency has been arranged for.

Experience does not bear out this assumption. People not being accustomed to them, are afraid to use them at the critical time, or if many try to use them at the same time, get jammed on them and injured.

The only way that these results can be obtained in the case of fire appurtenances is through an occasional fire-drill. The effectiveness of this institution has long been proven in the public schools. Boys drilled in it are now men, and, appreciating the soundness of its principles, are putting it into effect in factories and in other places where people congregate for any length of time.

A fire-drill is now considered an essential part of every up-to-date, well-organized business enterprise. It is recommended by the city fire departments in order that the firemen on their arrival may give their immediate attention to putting out fire and preserving property instead of to saving lives.

For the working of Fire-drills, address H. F. J. Porter, Industrial Engineer, 1 Madison Avenue, New York.

FIRE INSURANCE. See Insurance.

FISHERIES: A system of profit-sharing was introduced into the cod and mackerel fisheries of the United States about 1730.

When a ship was built the builders would take shares in it—painter, sail-maker, rigger, captain, and all who were to man it. The ship was divided into sixty-four shares. The builder would take a large part, the captain and mate each one share or one half share, and so on down through the entire crew. The chief owner was known as "the ship's husband." He determined the plans of the voyage. In fisheries, a ship would be held in five shares. The owner held two fifths and the crew (captain, mates, and men) held three fifths. Profits were divided among these conjoint owners according to the shares held. The owner kept the ship in repairs and the whole company paid the expenses. This custom has only in small part been kept up—longest in the Maine fishing smacks. To-day the fishers are poorly paid, and for the most part work for wholesale dealers.

This change in fisheries has destroyed its romance. That is bad enough, but the indirect loss of having a considerably smaller number of competent seamen to recruit our navy from, is more serious, and affects the whole country.

United States

(Compiled by the U. S. Bureau of Fisheries.)

Sections	Vessels employed	Persons employed	Value of products
South Atlantic States (1902)	526	23,452	$2,839,633
Gulf States (1902)	714	18,029	3,494,196
Middle Atlantic States (1904)	3,583	83,103	18,963,976
New England States (1902)	1,479	39,250	12,406,284
Great Lakes (1903)	206	9,333	2,745,501
Mississippi River and Tributaries (1903)	5	13,377	1,841,168
Minor Interior Waters (chiefly for 1900, 1902, and 1903)	1	2,491	425,929
Pacific Coast States (1904)	226	19,658	6,680,866
Alaska Territory (1905)	170	10,866	7,330,224
Total	6,910	219,559	$56,727,777

The total capital invested is $88,349,563.

Great Britain

(Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, 1905.)

	Regular fishermen employed	Fishermen occasionally employed	Fishing boats	Value of products
England and Wales	34,318	8,132	9,131	£7,502,768
Scotland	29,064	10,487	10,581	2,719,810
Ireland	8,744	17,079	6,221	393,630
Isle of Man	637	240	.....	.....
Channel Islands	530	193	.....	.....
Total	73,293	36,131	25,933	£10,616,208

Fish imported were valued at £3,224,402.

Other Countries

In Germany (1895), 32,199 persons were employed in fisheries; in France (1905), 20,272 men (in cod and herring fisheries); Italy (1905) 94,684 men in 24,264 boats; Spain, 14,700 men; Norway, 93,169 men; Holland, 20,141 men.

FLOWER, BENJAMIN ORANGE: American editor and author; born at Albion, Ill., 1858; educated in public schools and Kentucky University. Until 1880 he edited *The American Sentinel* at Albion, Ill., and then went to Boston, where he established *The American Spectator*. In 1889 he founded *The Arena*, of which he was editor until 1896. For a short time he edited *The New Time* in Chicago, and later *The Coming Age* until that magazine was merged into *The Arena*, of which he (1904) became sole editor. A firm believer in pure democracy, he holds that the most important immediate step is the introduction of the initiative, referendum, and right of recall. He also favors proportional representation and direct primaries, believes in public ownership of all natural monopolies, and holds that the single tax would do much toward establishing equality of rights and opportunities. In view of the great inequalities of wealth he believes that a graduated income tax and an inheritance tax should be introduced for a term of years, as an equalizing factor. He is the author of: "Lessons Learned from Other Lives" (1891); "Civilization's Inferno" (1893); "The New Time, Essays on Social Problems" (1894); "Whittier, Prophet, Seer, and Man" (1895); "The Century of Sir Thomas

More" (1896); "Persons, Places, and Ideas" (1896); and "How England Averted a Revolution of Force" (1901), etc. *Address*: 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

FLÜRSCHEIM, MICHAEL: German social reformer; born in Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1844. From 1860 to 1867 he worked in banks in Frankfort, Berlin, and Paris. In 1867 he went to the United States, where he was an importer, manufacturer, and inventor—first in New York, and from 1870–72 in Virginia. In 1872 he returned to Germany, first engaged in a journalistic enterprise (*The American News*), and in 1873 purchased the Gaggenau Iron Works, which he conducted for fifteen years with great success. He introduced new industries into Germany, and at one time he had taken out over one hundred patents. In 1883 he began to devote a part of his time to social reform. In 1884 his first book, "Auf Friedlichem Wege," appeared. In 1886 he published "Deutschland in 100 Jahren," a precursor of Bellamy's "Looking Backward," and the flood of similar writings following in its wake. In 1889 he completed and soon published "Der Einzige Rettungsweg," and in 1890 he wrote in English, "Rent, Interest, and Wages," which appeared in London in 1891. In 1894 he published "Bausteine für Social Reform." In 1893 he went to the U. S. and Mexico, to assist in the foundation of a cooperative colony on land nationalization principles. Tho a follower of Henry George in the general idea that common land ownership is the foundation-stone of social reform, Flürscheim differs from him in most other theories, and also in regard to George's proposal of the single tax, which he calls confiscation. He prefers full land nationalization, with compensation of landowners. He considers his most important discovery is his crisis theory. It was in 1888 that he completed this theory. He holds that the cause of commercial depression, of scarcity of work—in fact, of the modern social problem—is that the very rich neither consume the total of their incomes nor do they invest a great part of their savings in products of work (machines, houses, steamers, etc.). They mostly invest in spurious capital, consisting of nothing but tribute claims that give no opportunity for work, but, on the contrary, by increasing the debts of the people, keep back their purchasing power, and thus prevent this power from keeping pace with the increasing productive power of the world, without which it must be impossible to keep at work all producers, for we cannot produce if we do not consume.

This spurious capital, these tribute claims, have their foundation mainly in private land ownership; for rent is the mother of interest and compound interest. As long as capital can invest in land and thus obtain rent, it will claim interest, wherever otherwise invested. When capital can no more purchase rent, it will be offered free of interest (of interest proper—i. e., of interest less risk premium) to labor, as the production of capital, when unhampered by the effects of private land ownership, will exceed the demand, and all who save for a rainy day and for old age will be glad to obtain the advantage of having their savings preserved intact for the day when they need them.

One other reform he proposed lately, which, tho he does not think it a fundamental one, he judges of great importance. This is the nationalization of commerce, the doing away with all middlemen, and effecting direct exchange of products through a State department, that monopolizes it just as letter delivery is monopolized by another department. He desires to restrict individualism to production where competition is a stimulating element, whereas it only produces waste in distribution. This system would allow the introduction of another reform which is possible in this way—a money reform. Exchange could take place through warrants issued by the commercial department, or checks drawn on the same, which warrants are redeemable only in goods or services. Metal money would become unnecessary or could be restricted to small coins.

He has introduced the above three reform principles into the by-laws of the Mexican colony, Freeland—i. e., common land ownership, monopolization of commerce (distribution) by the community, and warrant money.

FOLKS, HOMER: Secretary of the State Charities Aid Association, New York. Was born Feb. 18, 1867, at Hanover, Mich. Graduated from Albion College in 1889, from Harvard in 1890. He was secretary of the Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania from 1890–93, and was appointed secretary of the State Charities Aid Association of New York in Feb., 1893, which position he has held continuously since with the exception of three years—1901–4—when he was Commissioner of Public Charities of New York City. He has been on numerous committees, both for the state, city, and the U. S. Government. Author: "A History of the Care of Destitute, Neglected, and Delinquent Children in the U. S." (1902); "Family Life for Delinquent Children" (1893); "Reform and Public Charities" (1895); "Problems in the Administration of Municipal Charities" (1901); and other papers on similar topics. *Address*: 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York, N. Y.

FOOD VALUES: The science of nutrition, tho a comparatively new science, has recently made rapid progress. The chemical standards of nutrition have been mainly investigated by Professor Voit and others in Germany, by Sir Lyon Playfair in England, by Prof. W. O. Atwater, Mrs. Ellen H. Richards, Edward Atkinson, and now to a large extent and very effectually by the Department of Agriculture in the United States. Statistics of the nutritive values of food have been clearly presented by Professor Atwater and others.

The animal body is a living machine, and, like any machine, needs fuel—i. e., food—to enable it to work, and also, as a machine does not, it needs fuel to keep it alive even without work. About one third of the food eaten goes to maintain life. The main nutriments of the body are protein, fats, and carbohydrates, mineral matter and water. What is called protein forms tissue (muscles, tendon, fat, etc.), and serves as fuel. Fats form fatty tissue and serve as fuel. Carbohydrates are transformed into fat, and serve as fuel. Water forms 60 per cent of the weight of the body and is an important constituent of food. Mineral matters form only 5 or 6 per cent of the body by weight, but are important. The standard of nutrition for a man at active but not excessive work is 700 grams of actual nutritive and digestible material free of water, 450 of carbohydrates or starch, 150 of fats, 150 of

protein, with such mineral ingredients as will be found in any miscellaneous dietary in sufficient measure. These elements will yield 3,520 calories, the calory being the amount of heat necessary to raise one kilo or 1,000 grams of water 1° C. In order to make allowances for inevitable waste, we may safely adopt 4,000 calories as the average units of nutrition for a man at active but not excessive work for one day; 2,700 calories is, however, perhaps enough to nourish a man at sedentary employment. The U. S. Department of Agriculture, "Farmers' Bulletin 142" (1902), publishes the following table of food values:

Kind of Food	Protein		Fat		Carbohydrates	
	Digestibility	Fuel value per pound	Digestibility	Fuel value per pound	Digestibility	Fuel value per pound
	Per ct.	Calories	Per ct.	Calories	Per ct.	Calories
Meats and fish	97	1,940	95	4,040	98	1,730
Eggs	97	1,980	95	4,090	98	1,730
Dairy products	97	1,940	95	3,990	98	1,730
Animal food (of mixed diet)	97	1,940	95	4,050	98	1,730
Cereals	85	1,750	90	3,800	98	1,860
Legumes (dried)	78	1,570	90	3,800	97	1,840
Sugars	....	.....	....	.....	98	1,750
Starches	....	.....	....	.....	98	1,860
Vegetables	83	1,410	90	3,800	95	1,800
Fruits	85	1,520	90	3,800	90	1,630
Vegetable foods (of mixed diet)	84	1,840	90	3,800	97	1,820
Total food (of mixed diet)	92	1,820	95	4,050	97	1,820

The department also makes the following statements of food values. ("Year Book, 1902"):

FOODS GROUPED ACCORDING TO THEIR VALUE AS A SOURCE OF ENERGY OR FUEL

Cheap.—Furnishing more than 1,900 calories energy for ten cents at ordinary prices: All cereal products; sugars, starches, etc.; lard; dried beans and peas; cheap fat cuts of meat, such as beef, plate and brisket, and mutton neck, fat salt pork and bacon; potatoes and sweet potatoes.

Medium.—Furnishing 800 to 1,900 calories energy for ten cents at ordinary prices: Such cuts of meat as beef flank, neck, shank, and shoulder, veal flank and knuckle, mutton chuck, rib, and loin, and the cuts of pork with the exception of bacon and fat salt pork; such vegetables as green peas and beans, parsnips, beets, and turnips; dried fruits; butter, cream, condensed milk, whole and skimmed milk; salt mackerel; a few fruits, such as apples, pears, and grapes.

Expensive.—Furnishing less than 800 calories energy for ten cents at ordinary prices: The leaner and the more expensive cuts of meat, such as beef chuck, rib, round, and loin, mutton leg and most cuts of veal; chicken and turkey; eggs, when costing over twenty-five cents a dozen; fresh and preserved fish and shellfish; green vegetables, such as cabbage, lettuce, cucumbers, tomatoes, celery, greens, etc.; fresh fruits, except those enumerated above; canned vegetables and fruits.

Concerning the food eaten by different nationalities, Mulhall ("Dictionary of Statistics") gives the following table, except that the figures for Australasia are taken from Coglan's "Year Book":

Country	Lb. per Inhabitant					Tea and coffee, ounces
	Grain	Meat	Sugar	Butter and cheese	Potatoes	
United Kingdom	378	109	75	19	380	91
France	540	77	20	8	570	66
Germany	550	64	18	8	1,020	78
Russia	635	51	11	5	180	6
Austria	460	61	18	7	560	28
Italy	400	26	8	4	50	20
Spain	480	71	6	3	20	6
Portugal	500	49	12	3	40	18
Sweden	560	62	22	11	500	112
Norway	440	78	13	14	500	144
Denmark	560	64	22	22	410	140
Holland	560	57	35	15	820	240
Belgium	590	65	27	15	1,050	142
Switzerland	440	62	26	11	140	110
Rumania	400	82	4	9	80	8
Servia	400	84	4	9	80	8
United States	370	150	53	20	170	162
Canada	400	90	45	22	600	72
Australasia	377	233	105	21	268	123

This question of food has a very direct and practical bearing on wages and productivity. Workmen ill paid are ill fed, and workmen ill fed cannot do work equally valuable to the work of well-fed men. European manufacturers continually marvel that American producers (e. g., in the steel mills) can sell their produce so cheaply and yet pay such high wages. But as proven in Schoenhof's "Economy of High Wages," high wages are really cheap wages, because the high-grade workman produces so much more. And a large part of the reason for this is that he is better fed. The well-fed workman has in the first place more vital power and endurance; and secondly, he has better quality of brawn and mind; he works less on a strain and nervous stimulus. His hand is steadier, his eye clearer, his brain more alert. He needs less minute direction and overseeing, which is expensive and rarely satisfactory. He needs also less stimulants, so much so that many temperance experts declare that good food is one of the best cures for the liquor habit. That American skilled workmen drink less beer and any alcoholic drink than their English or European competitors is probably one of the reasons for their higher productivity. All this is, in fact, a matter of food. A few English manufacturers (among them Chamberlain of Birmingham) have within recent years voluntarily raised their wages, being convinced that they would be more than repaid in increase of production. (See Production; Prices; Wages.)

References: W. G. Thompson, *Practical Dietetics* (1901); Howell's *An American Text-book of Physiology* (1897); Chittenden, *Nutrition of Man* (1907); Various *Farmers' Bulletins of U. S. Department of Agriculture*, especially No. 142, by Professor Atwater (1902).

FOREIGN BORN. See Population.

FORESTRY: Practical forestry, tho comparatively new to America, is, historically, quite old. In earliest times the forest was reserved for the game it contained, and was closed to the poorer people. In this era, when a man's life was worth less than that of the hare which he attempted to trap, forest reservation was exceedingly unpopular, and the feeling is even now not altogether outgrown.

China, of all the great nations, has wholly neglected its forests, and as a consequence suffers more from the effects of deforestation than any other country. The great floods which annually roll down the Yang-tse carry destruction in their path and cause the loss of thousands of lives. These floods are due wholly to the fact that the watersheds are absolutely treeless. Germany, France, and Switzerland have brought forestry to its highest development, and these three countries derive a large revenue from the administration of their forest estates. Forestry was practised in Italy long before Milton's time, because his famous line "thick as leaves in Vallambrosa," referred to a planted forest—the work of Italian monks.

Forestry in the United States, in spite of the great strides which it has made in the last few years, is still very much in its infancy. In the early days of the colonies the value of the forests was at first recognized, and the colonial governors promulgated laws for forest preservation. But the forest had to be cleared to make way for fields and gardens. It was a place where Indians and wild animals lurked, and as such was to be got rid of. This feeling grew, and the "westward course of empire" meant the downfall of the trees before the settler's ax. There was inaugurated a period of waste, which was kept up until the present time. Lumbermen now say that the best part of the forest was thrown away.

Recent investigations have shown that, at the present rate of cutting, the timber supply of the U. S. will not last out the first half of the twentieth century. It became imperative that steps should be taken to preserve those forests which were not yet taken up, and out of this need grew the National Forest Service and the present system of national forests.

United States

Altho American forestry is not confined to the government's activities, by far the most important work is that which is being done by the Forest Service of the Department of Agriculture. The principal business of the Forest Service is the administration of the national forests. These lie wholly within the West, where the only remaining forests on public lands were to be found. The present area of the national forests is about 160,000,000 acres, an area equal to the New England and Middle Atlantic States. The objects of the administration of this domain are three-fold: first, to preserve the forests to future generations; second, to give them the highest use in the present; and third, to make them self-sustaining. To accomplish these ends, the first care is to see that fire and waste are eliminated.

The national forests are used in several ways: as a source of timber supply, as grazing areas, and as conservers of water. In some places, particularly in connection with the development of irrigation under the Reclamation Service, their principal use is as a protection cover. In such places they will not be touched except where their chief purpose will be subserved by the cutting. In enclosing large areas of forest it is impossible not to include certain grazing or agricultural land. In the case of agricultural land it is as freely open for homestead entry as when a part of the open public domain. Moreover, there are certain advantages to be had in connection with settlements on the national forests, such as: the land can be selected by metes and bounds to include only good areas, instead of having to take all the land that falls within a rectangular quarter section, as is the usual case; the free use of timber and stone and of the range, where such use is for private purposes.

Timber is cut and sold from the national forests where the cutting means an improvement, or where the forest crop is ripe. In these cases the land is not skinned, proper precautionary measures are taken against the ravages of fire, which almost invariably follow lumbering operations, and seed trees are always left so that natural reproduction will follow. In most cases this is all that is necessary to secure a future stand of timber, but for the purpose of reforesting burned areas, or where natural reproduction is insufficient, planting operations are carried on in connection with the forests, and rangers' nurseries are fixed institutions.

National Forests

The two principal sources of revenue from the national forests are, therefore, the fees which are received for the grazing privileges, and the stumpage price obtained by the government for its lumber. The grazing privileges are eagerly sought for by stockmen throughout the West, because the forest administration insures to them an equitable allotment, makes the range permanent by preventing overgrazing, and obviates difficulties between the conflicting interests of sheep and cattle, by absolutely segregating different parts of the range for these two industries. Indeed, so highly is the grazing administration held that stockmen's associations have advocated that a similar plan be put in operation for all the public range in the West, whether it lies within or without the national forests.

The timber sales are conducted with the idea of giving the best service to the immediate locality served by any particular national forest. They are not conducted with the idea of keeping lumber prices down, or coming in competition with private commercial interests. The settler and small dealer are, if anything, favored above large interests, and the whole policy is summed up in the idea that the forests shall be for the use of the greatest number of people over the greatest possible period of time.

The national forests must be maintained to supply the future. If they did only this, there would be a sufficient excuse for their existence. But to be truly successful, they must be a help now and all the time, and must be so conducted that they will "pay as they go." The U. S. Government now controls approximately 148,000,000 acres of land in its national forests. Some of this area does not bear merchantable timber, yet the total stand is estimated to be approximately 425,000,000,000 feet, log scale. No one of the largest timberland owners in the country holds more than 4,000,000 acres, nor does any one control more than 50,000,000,000 feet.

Statistics

With the possible exception of Russia, the U. S. is by far the largest owner of stumpage in the world. From now on there will be no such extensive additions as those made by the proclamation of March 2, 1907, which added more than 15,000,000 acres to the national forests.

Outside the western reserves the principal interest in national forest areas is in connection with the proposed White Mountains and Southern Appalachian forests. Bills for the creation of these forests have passed the U. S. Senate and

have received the approval of the proper committees in the House, and it is understood they had practically the unanimous sentiment of the House of Representatives back of them. At the last moment they failed to pass the House. It is very likely that the American Forestry Association and the other interests which are back of the bills will see that they are reintroduced at another session, when they will likely be passed.

The importance of government administration of the Appalachian forests cannot be overestimated. The slopes of these mountains contain a large proportion of the remaining supply of hardwoods, and this supply should be made to go as far as possible. The forests of the Appalachians are, however, more important as a protective cover than for any other purpose. The industrial development of the South will depend in a great measure on the sustained water power of the streams which flow from the Appalachian Mountains. These rivers will be intermittent in character and will go from extremes of flood in one season to drouth in another and become sources of damage and danger if the mountain sides are denuded. Through the forests the perpetual flow of the streams will be maintained, and a specific amount of water power can be depended upon. The southern rivers and harbors will not be silted up, nor will fertile fields and valleys be washed away by the action of floods.

Two names will go down in history in connection with the preservation of the forest resources of the U. S. One of them is that of Theodore Roosevelt, the president under whom the forest policy of the nation has received its greatest impetus. In spite of the fact that his greatest popularity lies in the West, he has deliberately espoused a policy contrary to many powerful influences there in order to keep the people's property in the people's hands. At a time when the most determined opposition was being made to his policy, and when legislation was pending that would make it almost impossible for him to further enlarge the national forests, he had the courage to make large additions to the existing reserves.

Mr. Gifford Pinchot, the U. S. Forester, is the one other man whose name will shine with equal splendor in connection with the cause of forestry. He is an example of the best in American citizenship. Rich by inheritance, and with no other incentive to the work than his love for it, he has thrown himself into the cause of furthering forestry in the U. S. with a zeal and industry that are stupendous. Every other interest in his life has been made subservient to this, his one great purpose. He and President Roosevelt have worked hand in hand, and to neither of them will future years bring any greater monument than that which they themselves have created in the national forests and the forest policy of this government.

State	Number of national forests	Total area
Arizona	13	9,463,725
Colorado	18	15,748,722
California	20	21,849,171
Idaho	20	20,336,427
Nebraska	3	556,072
Nevada	5	1,391,999
New Mexico	13	7,007,644
Oklahoma	1	60,000
Kansas	1	97,280
Montana	23	20,528,263
Oregon	13	16,463,253
South Dakota	4	1,263,720
Utah	18	7,119,472
Washington	6	12,065,500
Wyoming	9	9,020,475
Alaska	2	4,909,880
Porto Rico	1	65,950
Total	..	147,948,685

To April 20, 1907.

Foreign Forests

Country	States	Towns, etc.	Institutions	Private	Total
	Acres				
Alsace-Lorraine	343,545	40,630	544,670	221,965	1,150,810
Austria	2,573,940	3,456,782	800,000	16,754,290	23,993,442
Baden	248,000	555,069	.....	466,770	1,269,839
Bavaria	2,150,000	800,000	.....	3,149,400	6,099,400
Denmark	142,140	2,962	.....	505,900	651,002
France	2,800,000	4,800,000	.....	16,000,000	23,600,000
Hesse	177,880	234,955	.....	199,185	612,020
Italy	128,960	.....	.....	7,000,000	7,128,960
Norway	2,130,948	.....	.....	7,000,000?	9,130,948
Prussia	6,955,227	2,563,812	763,652	10,828,730	21,111,421
Russia	640,000,000		Not given		640,000,000
Saxe-Meiningen	106,530	84,460	1,480	71,850	264,310
Saxony	442,000	.....	.....	520,000	962,000
Saxe-Weimar	110,910	.....	.....	120,510	231,420
Sweden	18,080,753	.....	.....	58,715,135	76,795,888
Switzerland	96,497	1,414,677	.....	604,014	2,115,188
Wurtemberg	420,000	.....	.....	537,000	957,000
Total	.....	.....	.....	.....	816,031,648

In Great Britain, according to report in 1903 of a departmental committee the area of waste, heather, and rough pasture or land out of cultivation in the United Kingdom on which afforestation could be profitably undertaken is 21,000,000 acres, and that afforestation would furnish remunerative labor to an increased rural population, land under forests requiring more labor than the same area under sheep. The world is approaching a dearth in its supply of coniferous timber, which constitutes between 80 and 90 per cent of the total British timber imports, and which can be grown in these islands, and the question is therefore a matter of grave national concern.

The figures for woodlands, as given in "Agricultural Statistics, 1905," are:

	England	Scotland	Wales	Great Britain
	Acres	*Acres*	*Acres*	*Acres*
Coppice	538,123	23,015	15,733	576,871
Plantations (since 1895)	59,647	35,407	8,629	103,683
Other woods	1,117,703	809,987	159,999	2,087,689
Total woodlands	1,715,473	868,409	184,361	2,768,243

In the German Empire some 13,995,859 acres were estimated to be in forests, or 25 per cent of the empire. They are cared for by the State on scientific methods. Prussia alone receives from forests and domains a revenue of some $20,000,000. In France about 15 per cent is under forests; in Norway, 22 per cent; in Russia, 64 per cent of the forests (in European Russia) belong to the State. The revenue from the State forests in 1904 was 50,452,000 rubles, and the expenses 11,142,000. BRISTOW ADAMS.

FOUNDLING HOSPITALS: In ancient times infanticide, at least by exposure, was frequent. Aristotle and Pliny the Elder defended it. Institutions for the rescuing of exposed children do not seem to have been wholly unknown, and the Christian Church early condemned such exposure and rescued infants; but the first foundling hospital for the receipt of infants abandoned by their parents appears to have been established by the Bishop of Treves in the sixth century. The first authenticated one is that at Milan. This was copied elsewhere, the usual way being to receive the infants in a marble basin in front of the cathedral. In the Middle Ages, foundling hospitals existed in all the large Continental cities, tho the system was early abolished in Germany. In France it was early condemned as leading to vice, but defended as preventing infanticide, and continued. The revolutionary government of France in 1790 called such children *enfants de la patrie*, and decreed that every pregnant girl should receive a premium of $24. This was abolished in 1811, but foundling hospitals were maintained. They exist still in large numbers in France and Spain, and to a less extent in other countries. Those in Russia are the largest. The medieval device long used in France, and perhaps still used there in some parts of the country, consists of a double cradle. When the child has been placed in the cradle on the outside of the building, the contrivance is revolved, ringing a bell as it turns. The purpose of these "*tours*" is to make it easy to get rid of babies, that there may be no temptation to infanticide. The agitation for the abolition of this system was bitterly resisted. When the *tours* had been suppressed in some places attention was called to the fact that infanticide increased thereafter. But further examination of the statistics showed that infanticide had also increased in those departments where the *tours* were still in operation; in fact, it had increased faster in the latter than in the former. From 1869–73 there were received in France 5,076 infants, of whom 2,037 died.

At present in France the foundling hospitals are merely for the temporary care of infants. In Vienna mothers who bring infants to the foundling hospitals must nurse them three months. In London foundlings and illegitimate infants are received only after careful investigation. In the United States foundlings are usually received in poorhouses; the foundling hospitals exist in all the larger cities. Infants, however, are now increasingly boarded out under the supervision of the State, the result being that the death-rate of foundlings, which in hospitals is very high, has been much reduced. Massachusetts has abolished foundling hospitals by law, and the tendency everywhere is in that direction. (See CHILD-HELPING.)

FOURIER AND FOURIERISM: François Charles Marie Fourier was born at Besançon in 1772. Well educated and much traveled, but losing his property in the Revolution, he served two years in the army, and later entered business in Lyons. In 1803 he published an article on European politics. Becoming interested in social questions, he published anonymously his "Théorie des Quatre Mouvements" (2 vols., 1808). He believed that the full indulgence of human nature, with all its passions, would produce happiness and virtue. Society he would harmoniously organize in groups (phalanxes) of 1,600 persons, to inhabit a phalanstery, a certain proportion to do one kind of work, others other kinds, and to regulate their time so as to harmoniously develop all sides of life. In 1812 the death of his mother put him in possession of a small sum of money, with which he retired to Bellay in order to perfect his second work. The "Traité de l'Association Agricole Domestique" was published in two volumes at Paris in 1822, and a summary appeared in the following year. After its publication, the author proceeded to Paris in the hope that some wealthy capitalist might be induced to attempt the realization of the projected scheme. Later he became a clerk in an American firm in Paris. In 1829 he published "Le Nouveau Monde Industriel." In 1831 he attacked the school of ST. SIMON. He now began to gain followers, particularly Victor CONSIDÉRANT, who in 1834 published his "Destinée Sociale," the most important work of this school. In 1832 a newspaper was attempted, and, with many interruptions, published, till it was suppressed in 1850. In 1832 Baudet Dulary became a convert, and proceeded to establish a phalanstery at Condé sur Vesgre, but it soon failed.

Not discouraged, Fourier lived in the expectation that some rich man would appear and carry out his ideas. He announced that he would be at home every day at a certain hour to receive the rich man, and is said to have done so each day till his death in 1837.

Fourierism has been frequently described, sometimes in ridicule, sometimes in admiration. Henry James, Sr., says of Fourier's writings:

> Every one who trusts in a living and therefore active God, in that God who is quite as active and original in our day as He was 6,000 years ago—in short, every one whose hope for humanity is alert, behooves to acquaint himself forthwith with the marvelous literature of socialism. You will doubtless find things of an apostolic hardness to the understanding; you will find many things to startle, many things perhaps to disgust you; but you will find vastly more, both in the way of criticism and of constructive science, to satisfy and invigorate your understanding, while such glimpses will open on every hand of God's ravishing harmonies yet to ensue on earth, that your imagination will fairly ache with contentment and plead to be let off.

John Stuart Mill says ("Political Economy," Book II., chap. i., sec. 4):

> The most skilfully combined, and with the greatest foresight of objections, of all the forms of socialism, is that commonly known as Fourierism. This system does not contemplate the abolition of private property, nor even of inheritance;

on the contrary, it avowedly takes into consideration, as an element in the distribution of the produce, capital as well as labor. It proposes that the operations of industry should be carried on by associations of about 2,000 members, combining their labor on a district of about a square league in extent, under the guidance of chiefs selected by themselves. In the distribution, a certain minimum is first assigned for the subsistence of every member of the community, whether capable or not of labor. The remainder of the produce is shared in certain proportions, to be determined beforehand among the three elements, labor, capital, and talent. The capital of the community may be owned in unequal shares by different members, who would in that case receive, as in any other joint-stock company, the proportional dividends. The claim of each person on the share of the produce apportioned to talent is estimated by the grade or rank which the individual occupies in the several groups of laborers to which he or she belongs, these grades being in all cases conferred by the choice of his or her companions. The remuneration, when received, would not of necessity be expended or enjoyed in common; there would be separate *ménages* for all who preferred them, and no other community of living is contemplated than that all the members of the association should reside in the same pile of buildings for saving of labor and expense, not only in building, but in every branch of domestic economy; and in order that, the whole of the buying and selling operations of the community being performed by a single agent, the enormous portion of the produce of industry now carried off by the profits of mere distributers might be reduced to the smallest amount possible. . . .

Fourierism

According to the Fourierists, scarcely any kind of useful labor is naturally and necessarily disagreeable, unless it is either regarded as dishonorable, or is immoderate in degree, or destitute of the stimulus of sympathy and emulation. Excessive toil need not, they contend, be undergone by any one, in a society in which there would be no idle class and no labor wasted, as so enormous an amount of labor is now wasted in useless things, and where full advantage would be taken of the power of association, both in increasing the efficiency of production and in economizing consumption. The other requisites for rendering labor attractive would, they think, be found in the execution of all labor by social groups, to any number of which the same individual might simultaneously belong, at his or her own choice; their grade in each being determined by the degree of service which they were found capable of rendering, as appreciated by the suffrages of their comrades. It is inferred, from the diversity of tastes and talents, that every member of the community would be attached to several groups, employing themselves in various kinds of occupation, some bodily, others mental, and would be capable of occupying a high place in some one or more; so that a real equality, or something more nearly approaching to it than might at first be supposed, would practically result; not from the compression, but, on the contrary, from the largest possible development, of the various natural superiorities residing in each individual.

Even from so brief an outline, it must be evident that this system does no violence to any of the general laws by which human action even in the present imperfect state of moral and intellectual cultivation, is influenced, and that it would be extremely rash to pronounce it incapable of success, or unfitted to realize a great part of the hopes founded on it by its partizans.

Says Prof. R. T. Ely ("French and German Socialism," pp. 91–94):

The central idea of Fourier's social scheme is association. The all-pervading attraction which he discovered draws man to man and reveals the will of God. It is passionate attraction—*attraction passionnelle*. It urges men to union. This law of attraction is universal and eternal, but men have thrown obstacles in its way so that it has not had free course. Consequently, we have been driven into wrong and abnormal paths. When we return to right ways—when we follow the direction, given us by attraction, as indicated in our twelve passions or desires—universal harmony will again reign. Economic goods—an indispensable condition of human development—will be obtained in abundance. Products will be increased manifold, owing, first, to the operation of the passion to labor and to benefit society; secondly, to the economy of associated effort. . . .

His System

A social organization must be formed which will allow free play to our passions, so that they may combine harmoniously. Our present society, called civilization, does not, and cannot, do this. It is a system of oppression and repression, and is necessarily a frightful discord. Harmony can only be found in combinations of suitable numbers in communities known as phalanxes, and occupying buildings called phalansteries. Each phalanx is a unit, a great family, and dwells in a single building, a phalanstery. What is it that determines the proper number for a single phalanx? It is again the twelve passions of man. These can be combined in 820 different ways in as many individuals, and no possible combination ought to be unrepresented in the workers of any phalanx, or there will be a lack of perfect harmony. But in every community there will be found old men, infants, and those disabled on account of illness or accident. Provision must also be made for absences. There ought not, then, to be less than 1,500 or 1,600 members in a phalanx, tho 400 is mentioned as a possible but undesirable minimum; 1,800 to 2,000 members are recommended. A larger number would produce discord, and is, therefore, inadmissible. But a further arrangement is necessary. These different characters thrown together helter-skelter would no more produce harmony than it would for one blindfolded to draw from a bag 2,000 combinations of notes for the piano and play them in the order in which they were drawn. On the contrary, they must be ordered intelligently in series, the series combined into groups, and the groups into the phalanx.

But when Fourier fell to arranging his phalanx he let his ideas run away with him into amusing absurdities. He maintained that if England would introduce his phalanxes her labor would become so productive that she could pay off her national debt in six months by the sale of hens' eggs. He would divide the time in his phalanxes into fixt mathematical divisions, allotting certain periods for study, for work, for amusements, for love-making, etc. He thought that his mathematical harmonies enabled him to understand the world and the universe. The chief of a phalanx is a unarch. The next highest officer is at the head of three or four phalanxes, and is called a duarch. Triarchs, tetrarchs, pentarchs, etc., follow; while the highest officer of the world is the omniarch, who dwells at Constantinople, the capital of the world.

The duration of the human race on earth, he held, would be 80,000 years, divided into two periods of ascending and two of descending vibrations. Lions would be taught to draw wagons, as a symbol of the victory of man over nature. His conception of the relation of the sexes, altho giving vent to some noble thoughts about the freedom of woman, was, to say the least, contrary to conventional views, and, according to some, utterly gross and immoral. Such are some of the fantasies that mingled with Fourier's profound thoughts. On his tombstone were inscribed words which were considered to give the key to his whole system:

Les attractions sont proportionelles aux destinées,
La série distribue les harmonies.

Fourierism had little practical application in France. Only two French phalanxes were ever started and both soon failed. For the efforts of Fourier's leading disciple, see CONSIDERANT. The most permanent result of Fourierism in France is the Familistère at Guise which Godet began as a Fourierite colony, tho it only finally followed Fourier's thought in a very general way. (See GUISE.)

In the United States, however, Fourierism swept in a wave from 1840 to 1850. Brisbane (q. v.) presented its ideas in his "Social Destiny of Man." Horace Greeley opened the columns of the New York *Tribune* to its teachings. Prominent men took it up. Brook Farm (*q. v.*) in 1844 became a Fourierite phalanx, and its paper, the *Dial*, was converted into the *Harbinger*, a weekly Fourierite organ, which endured four years (1844–1848). In 1843 Brisbane had started a monthly organ, the *Phalanx*, which was discontinued when the *Harbinger* began. The largest Fourierite colony was, however, the North American Phalanx, established in 1843 at Red Bank, Monmouth County, N. J., with a capital of $8,000. It endured over twelve years. In all Noyes tells us of forty-one Fourierite phalanxes, and there were doubtless more, tho many of them were very small and weak, and most of them started

prematurely with insufficient capital against the judgment of prominent Fourieirtes.

REFERENCES: Ch. Pellarin, *Fourier, sa Vie et sa Théorie* (5th ed., 1872); R. T. Ely, *French and German Socialism* (pp. 91–99); John H. Noyes, *History of American Socialisms* (1879); Morris Hillquit, *History of Socialism in the U. S.* (1896).

FOXWELL, HERBERT SOMERTON: English professor of political economy; born at Shepton Mallet, Somersetshire, 1849; educated at Queen's College, Taunton, and at St. John's College, Cambridge (M.A., 1872). In 1881 he was elected professor of political economy at University College, London, which chair he still occupies. Mr. Foxwell is a fellow of, St. John's College, Cambridge. He early devoted himself to the collection of works on social and political economy, and succeeded in gathering together a library of more than 30,000 books and tracts, some of them very rare. It was bought in 1901 by the Goldsmith's Company, and presented to the University of London. Professor Foxwell was editor of "Jevons's Investigations in Currency and Finance," and of Menger's "Right to the Produce of Labor." He has himself written various papers, chiefly upon monetary questions. *Address*: 1 Harvey Road, Cambridge, England.

FRANCE: A republic since 1870. The constitution of 1871 has been revised in 1875, 1884, 1885, and 1889.

I. Statistics

Area, 207,218 sq. m. Population (1906, almost stationary for a number of years), 39,252,267. The census is taken every five years. In 1901 there were 18,916,889 males and 19,533,899 females. The population per sq. m. was 190.9. Foreign population (1901), 1,033,871, of which the most numerous were 193,178 Italians and 168,539 Belgians.

VITAL STATISTICS

(From the "Annuaire Statistique de la France, 1904," per 1,000 inhabitants.)

	1873 to 1877	1878 to 1882	1883 to 1887	1888 to 1892	1893 to 1897	1898 to 1902	1901[1] to 1905
Marriages	8.2	7.5	7.4	7.3	7.5	7.6	7.6
Births	26.0	25.0	24.2	22.5	22.3	21.7	21.3
Deaths	22.5	22.5	12.3	22.2	21.1	20.7	19.6
Divorces	....	....	0.10	0.17	0.20	0.23	0.24
Suicides	0.16	0.18	0.21	0.22	0.24	0.23	....

[1] Compiled from the "Annuaire."

Principal Cities (1901 census).—Paris, 2,714,068 inhabitants; Marseilles, 491,161; Lyons, 459,099; Bordeaux, 257,638; Lille, 210,696; Toulouse, 149,841; St. Etienne, 146,559; Roubaix, 142,365; Nantes, 132,990; Le Havre, 130,196.

Religious Statistics.—Nominally, the vast majority of Frenchmen are Roman Catholics; practically, there are many unbelievers. Up to Jan. 1, 1906, the Roman Catholic Church, the Reformed Church, the Augsburg Confession, and the Jewish Religious Community were recognized by the State, altho the Roman Catholic Church was considered the State church, according to the Concordat of 1801 and the Organic Articles of 1802. The ministers of these creeds also received their salaries from the State. In 1892, when the last religious census was taken, there were: Roman Catholics, 35,387,000; Protestants, 580,000; Jews, 49,000; other religions, 2,995,995. In 1905 the recognized creeds received from the State 37,528,800 francs, and from departments and communes, 7,555,042 fr.; making 47,083,842 fr. By the law of separation of Church and State, which went into effect Jan. 1, 1906 (the government claiming that the Church of Rome had already violated the Concordat), ecclesiastics over 60 years of age and 30 years of service, formerly recognized by the State, are entitled to a pension of three fourths of their salary, and those over 45 years and 25 of service to one half of their salary. Other ecclesiastics formerly recognized by the State were to receive grants for four years, and in very small communes for eight years. The total amount of pensions and grants in the first year is 29,563,871 francs descending to 20,018,326 in the fourth year. This is for 38,093 Roman Catholic ecclesiastics (including 17 archbishops and 67 bishops), 686 Protestants and 54 Jews. Church buildings and dwellings in actual use were to be made over to associations of citizens, for public worship (*associations cultuelles*) under civil law. This law was bitterly opposed by the Church of Rome as taking away its power of ecclesiastical rule, and very few associations have been formed. The State has granted minor concessions, but the main law is maintained with the general support of the country. A law of 1901 required all religious associations and establishments to be authorized by the State, but many declining to apply for authorization dissolved themselves, and the Chambers refusing to authorize the great majority of the others, they were closed in 1902.

Church and State

Education is absolutely free and obligatory from six to thirteen years. Teachers must be lay, and all teaching by monks and nuns is suppressed, tho Catholics may have their parochial schools. The number of pupils in "Infant Schools" in 1904–5 was 670,687, that of teachers 8,838; in "Primary and Higher" schools there were 5,568,030 pupils—2,802,599 boys and 2,765,431 girls—and 150,867 teachers. The *public* schools had 4,513,214 pupils of the primary and higher grades; and the private *lay* schools had 1,054,816 pupils. The maximum of pupils in primary and higher schools was reached in 1888–89, with the number of 5,623,401; since that time there has been a decrease. (See article EDUCATION.)

Education

In 1905 there were 24,743 miles of first-class railways in operation, and 3,345 miles of local lines. The State has made large advances to the railroads, which will eventually revert to the State without compensation (1950–60). (See RAILROADS.) There are 3,012 miles of canals and 4,665 miles of river used for internal navigation. The French mercantile fleet consisted—Dec. 31, 1904—of 15,057 sailing vessels of 653,268 tons, with crews 74,348; and 1,457 steamers of 696,059 tons, with crews numbering 16,133. The State granted subsidies to the extent of 40,770,000 francs.

Communication

In 1904 France had 11,869 post-offices with total postal receipts of 246,238,651 fr. and expenditures—for both posts and telegraphs—of 245,862,911 fr. The length of telegraphic lines was

98,890 miles with 369,630 miles of wire. The telegraph receipts were 43,932,706 fr. The telephone had 3,999 urban systems with 15,580 miles of line and 300,800 miles of wire; also 6,882 interurban circuits with 35,300 miles of line and 160,200 miles of wire.

The commerce of France consisted (1906) of 5,229,400,000 francs imports and 5,043,600,000 exports. The latter were made up chiefly of textiles, wines, silks, wool, leather, furs, perfumeries.

Commerce

The principal countries for exports were, in francs (1905): United Kingdom, 1,256,000,000; Belgium, 764,000,000; Germany, 629,000,000; United States, 295,000,000; Switzerland, 303,000,000; Italy, 213,000,000; Algeria, 327,000,000; Spain, 111,000,000; Russia, 58,000,000. Imports were from: United Kingdom, 593,000,000; Belgium, 313,000,000; Spain, 180,000,000; U. S., 512,000,000; Germany, 477,000,000; Italy, 154,000,000; British India, 246,000,000; Argentine Republic, 260,000,000; Russia, 275,000,000; Algeria, 216,000,000. Marseilles is the chief port with a total of imports and exports of 2,220,000,000 fr.

Agriculture is the chief occupation, employing 6,000,000 people; 84 per cent of the land is productive. The holdings are mainly small. In 1892 more than 85 per cent of the farms were of less than 25 acres, tho farms of over 100 acres had 45 per cent of the farm area. Less than 15 per cent of the owners possess 74 per cent of the land. Much is done to benefit agriculture; 57 per cent of the land under cultivation is devoted to cereals, mainly wheat. There are 36,637,517 acres, surpassed in Europe only by Russia; 4,324,250 acres are directed to grape culture, producing (1900) 1,784,854,500 gallons of wine.

In manufactures France suffers through lack of cheap natural resources, but excels in artistic finish. Textile industries are the most important, wool employing about 160,000 people; cotton, 150,000; silk, 123,761 (1905). The metal industry is next. In mining, the coal-fields are the most important national resource.

Fisheries employ 155,000 persons.

The mines employed 193,365 workers, producing minerals worth 528,673,362 fr.; the output of the quarries was valued at 228,029,712 fr. Manufactures employed (1901) 5,819,855 people; agriculture and forestry, 8,176,569; commerce, 1,822,620; transport, etc., 830,643; liberal professions, 399,839; personal service, 1,015,037; public service, 1,297,569; extractive industries, 266,351. Including other occupations not mentioned, the total number of people engaged in various kinds of profitable work was 19,715,075—12,910,565 males, and 6,804,510 females.

II. Constitution and Government

France is governed by a president elected for seven years, and a ministry selected by him from the Senate or the Chamber of Deputies. He promulgates the laws voted by both Chambers, and insures their execution. He appoints to all civil and military posts, has the prerogative of pardon, and is amenable to punishment only in case of high treason. The president has the right to convoke special sessions of the two chambers, and to conclude treaties with foreign powers; but cannot declare war without the consent of both chambers. Every act of the president has to be countersigned by a minister or secretary of state. M. Armand Fallières was elected president Jan. 17, 1906.

The ministry consists of twelve portfolios, viz.: president of the council and minister of the interior; ministers of finance, war, justice, marine, colonies, public instruction, foreign affairs, commerce, agriculture, public works, labor.

The *Conseil d'État* is a special body composed of councilors, maîtres de requêtes, and auditors —all appointed by the president. Its function is to advise the government in legal aspects and on new bills.

The present ministry, with M. Georges Clemenceau (Radical) as Premier, consists of a *bloc* of Radicals, Progressists, and Independent Socialists. The legislative power is vested in two Chambers, Deputies and Senate. The Chamber of Deputies is elected for four years by universal (male) suffrage. Each citizen of twenty-one years, who can prove six months' residence in a town or *commune*, and not actually in military or naval service, has the right to vote—if not otherwise disqualified. *Deputies* must be citizens and at least twenty-five years old. A candidate must declare his intention of seeking election in a given district at least two weeks preceding election day. The Chamber is composed at present (1907) of 584 deputies. Each *arrondissement*—a district containing not over 100,000 inhabitants—elects one deputy. In 1901 there were 10,863,421 inscribed voters. The Chamber is divided into parties: Socialist Radicals, 246; Republicans of the Left, 77; Dissident Radicals, 7; Independent Socialists, 22; Unified Socialists, 53; Progressists, 64. These parties form the working or government majority. The "opposition" numbers 117 members of the Royalist, Bonapartist, Liberal, and Nationalist parties.

Legislature

The *Senate* is composed of 300 members who must be forty years old, elected by Senatorial Colleges throughout the country, which are elected by the inscribed voters according to municipalities and departments. The function of the Senate is to steady, not to oppose the deputies.

The Senate and Chamber of Deputies assemble every year in January, and remain in session at least five months out of the twelve. They can compel the president to convoke them if the demand is made by one half the number of members of each chamber. The two Chambers, sitting as one body (National Assembly), elect the president. The Chamber of Deputies may impeach the president and the ministers for high treason, and the Senate acts as High Court of Justice in such a case.

Senators and Deputies receive an honorarium of 15,000 francs a year; they travel practically free on all railroads. The presidents of the two Chambers receive 72,000 fr. in addition for entertaining. The president of the Republic receives 600,000 fr., and an allowance of 600,000 fr. for entertainment.

In all cases the preliminary inquiry is made in secresy, tho the accused may have counsel and witnesses, by an examining magistrate (*juge d'instruction*) who, with the consent of the *Procureur*—State or public attorney—may dismiss the case or send it up for trial. The *Court of Assizes* is assisted by twelve jurors, who decide by a simple majority. There are twenty-six courts of appeal, composed each of a president and four councilors, for all criminal cases which have been tried without a jury. The *Court of Cassation* is the highest judiciary body in France. It consists of a first president, three presidents of sections,

Judiciary

and forty-five councilors. It sits in Paris, and deals with all criminal cases tried by jury.

All judges are appointed by the president for life, and can be removed only by the Court of Cassation.

France is divided into eighty-six departments for administrative purposes. Each department is placed under a prefect who has wide and undefined functions. He is appointed by the government, and is assisted by representatives of each one of the ministries and by a *prefectorial council*. He is the representative of the president, and sees to the execution of all laws, the supervision of government officials, supplies the central government with information, etc. He, in turn, is represented in every *arrondissement* by a subprefect.

The *unit of local* government is the *commune*, varying in size and population. There are 36,210 of them; the majority (31,690) have less than 1,500 inhabitants. The affairs of the communes are under a municipal council, composed of from ten to thirty-six members, elected by all legal voters within the commune, tho the prefect, sometimes even the president of the Republic, has the right of vote over the commune. The head of the commune is the *maire*, who is both representative of his commune and of the central government, and directs the police, etc.

The next division is the *canton*, consisting on an average of twelve *communes*. It is not an administrative unit, but a judicial one with a justice of the peace.

The *arrondissements*, or districts (362 in France), have a subprefect as a representative of the central government, and an elected *conseil d'arrondissement* as an advisory body. It is composed of one representative from each *canton*, and is concerned chiefly with the allotting of the quota of direct taxes among the *communes*, assigned by general council to each *arrondissement*. Members of the Chamber of Deputies are elected from the *arrondissements*.

A varying number of *arrondissements* form a *department* which—headed by a prefect—has a *conseil général*. This general council is renewed to the extent of one half every three years, and consists of one member for each *canton*. The council direct all economical affairs of the department, partition taxes, look after roads, schools, poor relief, etc. Their decisions are controlled by the prefect, and may be, but very rarely are, annulled by the president of the Republic.

Large cities like Paris form both *communes*, *arrondissements*, and a *department*. Paris has a municipal council of eighty members; is divided into twenty *arrondissements*, each with its own mayor. Over the council, however, is the prefect of the department of the Seine, appointed by the president.

The French army is administered by the Minister of War, assisted by a *Military Cabinet* and the *General Staff*.

Army and Navy

The army, including Algiers and Tunis, and combining the various arms, numbers 576,000 men and 129,511 horses on a peace footing. The colonial army numbers 86,000 men—making a total 662,000 (1906).

The navy is under the Minister of Marine, who has different staffs and councilors. The number of officers and men on the active list of the French navy was (1906) 53,247, and that of the reserve 49,340. There are 31 battle-ships of the first class, 9 of the second; 19 armored cruisers, 255 torpedo boats, etc.

Finance

The revenues of France are raised chiefly from direct and indirect taxes, and from State factories and monopolies. The total budget for 1906 was 3,709,241,503 francs; for 1907 (estimated), 3,831,222,273. The expenditure for the two years respectively is in francs: (1906) 3,709,192,067; (1907) 3,833,825,305.

Colonies

The colonies and dependencies of France include 4,089,076 sq. m., with 56,826,410 people; in Asia, 256,096 sq. m., and 21,471,300 population; Africa, 3,792,150 sq. m., and 34,849,380 population; America, 31,660 sq. m., and 425,050 population; Oceanica, 9,170 sq. m., and 80,410 population. The estimated colonial revenue (1905) was 17,937,500 francs, and the expenditures 111,292,700 fr.

The Minister of Colonies controls their administration with the assistance of the *Conseil Supérieur des Colonies*. The trade of France with her colonies, except Algiers and Tunis, was in 1904: Imports, 487,857,000 francs; exports, 557,872,000. 1905: Imports, 452,861,000; exports, 585,628,000.

III. Social Reform

Social reform in France, as elsewhere, rests upon the past.

History

Ancient Gaul, more thoroughly Latinized than any other Roman province outside of Italy, fell a rich prize to the Gothic invaders, and they here developed some of their richest cities and strongest states. Only gradually did Paris raise herself above other cities and develop in France a strongly centralized government, a process largely necessary to rescue France from the weakness in which she was left by the long English wars. Yet all through the country lay the traditions of much independence for the communes or townships and local divisions. These communes, especially those of the larger cities, stood repeatedly for their rights, and treated with the king sometimes as all but equals. But the process of centralization went on apace. When, in 1358, the Jacquerie rose, under Étienne Marcel, to battle for constitutional liberty, they were mercilessly put down. The Reformation was suppressed in France for political reasons, and the suppression aided the central government. The court of the Louis became more brilliant, more despotic, more corrupt than any other court in Europe. The result could be but a revolution. The French Revolution (*q. v.*) did only what has been done in all other Western countries—it freed the bourgeoisie. The French Revolution was largely produced by English ideas. The philosophy of Rousseau and still more of the Encyclopedists came from the school of Locke. But it took in France, perhaps because of the logical French mind, a more revolutionary and more radical form. The genius of Rousseau, the writings of Mably, of Morelly, of Boissel, of Brissot de Warville, even the land views of the Physiocrats, filled France with new ideals of the rights of man, and with the conception of government as only just when resting upon the consent of the governed. It is doubtful if the French masses at the time of the Revolution were suffering more than the dwellers in England's manufacturing centers and in her agricul-

tural hamlets during the same period. But the despotism of the Louis gave to the Revolution a violent form. Nowhere else could a Louis say, "I am the State"; nowhere else did absolute monarchy go down in such a whirlpool of passion. The suppression, too, of the French Reformation, the infidelity of the Encyclopedists, the wit of Voltaire, had deprived France of faith. The Revolution came "a truth clad in hell fire," yet a truth, and a necessary one. Napoleon's cannon put down the Revolution, but could not put down ideas. It could only make France long the scene of constant revolution and insurrection.

With Louis XVI. guillotined in 1793, the house of Bourbon, which had ruled since 1589, met its fall, and we have the First Republic. From 1793–1795 the Convention ruled; from 1795–99 the Directory; from 1799–1804 Napoleon as Consul. Then came the First Empire, from 1804–14, under Napoleon I. (died 1821). In 1814 the house of Bourbon was restored, with Louis XVIII., 1814–24, and Charles X., 1824–30. After the Revolution of 1830 we have the rule of the house of Bourbon-Orleans under Louis Philippe (1830–48). Then comes the Revolution of 1848, and the Second Republic, from Feb. to Dec., 1848, under the Provisional Government; from 1848–52 under Louis Napoleon. In 1852 the Empire was restored under Napoleon III., who died in 1873. In 1870 we have the declaration of the Third Republic and the Government of National Defense, in 1871 the uprising of the Commune, and the presidents Louis A. Thiers (1871–73), Marshal MacMahon (1873–79), F. J. P. Jules Grévy (1879–87), M. F. Sadi Carnot (assassinated June 24, 1894), Casimir Périer (1893–95, resigned), Felix F. Faure (1895, died 1899); Émile Loubet (1899–1906); Armand Fallières elected Jan. 17, 1906.

Constitutional Changes

Such is the bare chronicle of the constitutional changes that have swept over France. There have been continual smaller changes and uprisings and ministerial crises. Through them all has gone the struggle for a republicanism more or less modified by the communal ideas connected with the old communes.

Sixty years before Proudhon, Brissot de Warville, in 1776, the year of Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," the year of American independence, had declared that property (as ordinarily understood) was theft. Babœuf was the first to battle for communism, in his attempted insurrection of 1797, but held as his ideal an utterly artificial dead equality to be rigidly enforced by the State. Insurrection crusht, thought was the only outlet. We come, therefore, to a long period of utopian socialism. Details of each author and school will be found under their separate names; we chronicle them here, to bring out the continuity. Fourier in 1808 published his "Théorie des Quatre Mouvements," with its strange blending of mathematical formulas, far-reaching thought, and impractical suggestions for artificial association and forced harmonies. It produced in 1834 Considérant's "Destinée Sociale," and his attempted phalansteries in France and far away in Texas; besides this, it led to Godin's famous Familistère at Guise (1859). Meanwhile Saint-Simon, an aristocrat, became revolutionary, dreamed in 1817 of an industrial scientific collectivist State, and in 1825 of a Neo-Christianity, a church which should introduce social reform. Calling upon the pope to lead in this, on his refusal Saint-Simon attempted a "religion" of his own, which Bazard and Enfantin developed into brief popularity and still briefer experiment from 1830–33. In 1840 Cabet published his "Voyage en Icarie," and the colony to Icaria in America was started in 1848. Meanwhile, Colins, Huet, and others were writing, while from England came the theories of Owen and the reports of Chartism. This long period of utopian socialism was broken by the July Revolution of 1830, and the almost constant attempts of radicals and revolutionists like Blanqui (*q. v.*) to rouse the Paris Commune.

In 1848 the Revolution of that year and the declaration of the Republic gave great hopes to the radicals, and the Socialists, mainly under the lead of Louis Blanc, demanded government shops for the unemployed. The provisional government nominally yielded, but appointed a committee constructed to procure the mismanagement of the plan. (See Ateliers Nationaux.) The election of Louis Napoleon to the presidency and the *coup d'état* of Dec. 2, 1851, whereby the Empire was declared, put an end to the hopes of the Socialists till the overthrow of the emperor in 1870, the declaration of the third and present Republic. Conceiving it but a sham bourgeois republic, the Commune of Paris rose March 18, 1871, but were eventually defeated by the armies of the national government. (See Paris Commune.) Meanwhile the International had been planted in France, and under the influence of Bakounin, and influenced by the traditions of the old communes, had developed an anarchistic communism. The communards of Paris, scattered after the Commune, declared mainly for anarchism. But after a season some of the leaders became convinced of the impracticability of anarchism, and advocated socialism of the Marxist types. In 1879 amnesty was granted to communards, and Guesde, Brousse, Malon, and others returned Marxist Socialists. A storng party was developed for collectivism. The *Égalité*, the *Prolétaire*, the *Droits de l'Homme*, more or less formally committed to collectivism, spread the thought. The *Cri du Peuple*, founded and edited by Jules Vallès, had, since 1876, favored socialism. Collectivist ideas began to dominate the trade-unions. General congresses of working men were held at Paris in 1876 and Lyons in 1878, and were largely socialistic. The Congress of 1879 at Marseilles was Socialist in everything except name.

Revolution of 1848

But collectivism was not easily to triumph. French communist anarchism was still strong, and represented by men of ability and standing, like Kropotkin and Reclus, and still more by an intense and fanatic devotion, such as has furnished the modern dynamiters, a Vaillant and a Henry. It had an organ of marked literary ability, *La Révolte*, founded by Kropotkin in Geneva and transferred to Paris; it had a paper, *Le Père Péinard*, written in Parisian *argot*, and appealing to the workmen of the streets. The Socialist movement became divided. The right wing was for bargaining with the political radicals and for practising cooperation, and was hence called Opportunist or Cooperatist; the left wing worked with the anarchists; only the center was for Marxist collectivism. In 1880, at the Congress at Havre, division became open. The majority favoring independent political collectivist agitation, the right wing, which desired to work

Socialism

through existing political groups, defected, and formed the Alliance Socialiste Républicaine, and held congresses of its own at Paris in 1881 and Bordeaux in 1882. The anarchist wing renounced socialism altogether. The great majority, the center, declared for Marxist socialism, and formed the Parti Ouvrier Socialiste Révolutionnaire de France. This organization held a congress at Rheims, 1881, and declared *Le Prolétaire* its organ.

But even this organization divided. The question was whether to agitate for a complete Socialist program at once, or for portions of it, as might seem at the time possible. Those accepting the latter policy were called Possibilists, the former Guesdists, from their leader, Jules Guesde. Still another division took place. M. Brousse split the Congress of 1882, at St. Étienne, on a vote indorsing, instead of a centralized collectivism, a decentralized one based on the communes. He carried his point, 36 to 27, and formed the Broussist group, which soon became one of the largest, and in 1889 elected M. Joffrin to the Chamber of Deputies, while it frequently had nine members in the Municipal Council of Paris. Besides these groups there was in the Chamber of Deputies still another group, founded by followers of the old communist Blanqui, and hence called Blanquists.

Too much emphasis, however, must not be put upon French political groups. They continually change, and the French system of the second ballot (see ELECTIONS) allows its various groups to vote for their respective group candidates separately and then unite at the second ballot on the candidate of that particular Socialist group there seems the most chance of electing. Thus, in spite of divisions they have already increased the French Socialist vote from 47,000 in 1887 to 120,000 in 1889; 305,000 in 1892; 440,000 in 1893; 790,000 in 1898; 863,159 in 1902, and 1,120,000 in 1906. The main endeavor, indeed, of the French Socialists of recent years has been to develop a party unity. In 1899 M. Millerand, as leader of the French Opportunist Socialist deputies, accepted the portfolio of commerce in the Waldeck-Rousseau ministry, and the French Socialists became largely split on the question of indorsing this or not, the leaders of the government Socialists being M. Jaurés and M. Millerand and the leader of the revolutionary and irreconcilable party being M. Jules Guesde.

A motion to expel M. Millerand from the party was hotly debated in 1903, but finally defeated by a vote of 100 to 89. A new division and grouping, however, followed. M. Millerand was expelled from one party; and dissension was continued till 1906, when, under the influence of the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam, and largely led by M. Jaurés, unity was at last attained and all the prominent Socialist groups united under the name of *Le Parti Socialiste*. This strengthens a political position already strong: for outside of the Chamber the French Socialists have elected sixty-eight mayors, and a representation in 111 communal councils, with the majority in sixty-eight.

The party has some forty-five journals, including three dailies. Leading papers are *L'Humanité*, the organ of M. Jaurés, and *Le Socialiste*, tho other papers like the *Petit République* are out and out in their socialism. Besides, too, the fifty-five party Socialists in the Chamber there are twenty-two independent Socialists and 246 so-called Socialist Radicals, largely favorable to many Socialist measures. In the cabinet are two Independent Socialists, M. Viviani, Minister of Labor and Hygiene, and M. Briand, Minister of Public Instruction, the able leader of the government in the matter of the separation of Church and State. Roman Catholic Christian Socialism, largely led by the Count de Mun (*q. v.*), has played a considerable part in France, but to a less extent now with the decrease of the influence of the Church. (See CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.)

Socialist Influence

This Socialist influence in recent years is largely responsible for the fact that the government has increasingly introduced and enacted legislation favorable to the interests of labor. In 1887 there was founded in Paris a Bourse du Travail (Labor Exchange) with an annual subsidy (later) of 3,000,000 francs and in 1892 a fine building provided in the Rue Château d'Eau. This became the headquarters of some 200 trade-unions and a center of the labor movement. In 1894 it was closed for a while as having become too much of a Socialist headquarters, but was again opened and has since been copied by 111 other French municipalities which have provided Bourses du Travail. Connected with this was begun a public employment bureau, which has now sixteen branches in Paris, and finds places for thousands of operatives and others. This, too, has been copied and there were in 1904 twelve municipal employment bureaus. These French Bourses du Travail received in 1904 215,030 francs in subventions from the municipalities and 45,600 from the departments. There were affiliated in them 2,121 unions with a membership of 335,201. Through these employment agencies, 122,065 situations were sought. (See PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS.) The government has also enacted much labor legislation. (See FACTORY LEGISLATION, DIGEST OF, section FRANCE; RAILROAD LAWS; SUNDAY REST.) An Old Age Pensions Bill has been enacted. (See OLD AGE PENSIONS.)

The trade-union movement of France, tho largely identified with the political movement, is not wholly so. The old gild system was overthrown in 1791, and working men's organizations placed under a ban. Napoleon I. undertook to establish compulsory organizations of employers and employees, with the employers in control, but with little success. Gradually, however, working men's unions developed. They won partially legal recognition in 1864, and complete freedom of organization in 1884. Strikes have been of late years somewhat numerous and often bitterly waged, especially in the mining districts. (For statistics, see STRIKES.)

Trade-Unions

In 1905 there were reported 3,102 employees' unions with 252,036 members; 4,625 labor-unions with 781,344 members; 144 employees' and workmen's unions with 25,863 members; 3,116 agricultural unions with 657,953 members.

These agricultural unions have largely lent themselves to the French cooperative movement. This began in 1848 when the government appropriated 3,000,000 francs as a loan to cooperators. Two hundred societies were started, but soon failed, and by 1852 the movement was over. It began again, however, in 1863, in the formation of several working men's cooperative banking associations. These, however, mainly disappeared with the failure of the Crédit au Travail in 1868.

In 1879 a cooperative movement was restarted with new demand for government aid. M. Benjamin Ranopel made a bequest of 1,500,000 fr. to the city of Paris to aid cooperation. In 1883 the first instalment of 400,000 fr. was loaned out, but resulted in little. The movement, however, has recently grown and is now very strong. (For statistics, see COOPERATION, section FRANCE.)

More peculiar to France is the movement for profit-sharing, begun in France, 1842, by M. Leclaire (*q. v.*), and brilliantly carried out (1877) by M. Godin in his Familistère at Guise (*q. v.*) and (1876) at the Bon Marché (*q. v.*) in Paris. There are at present some ninety-three firms practising profit-sharing in France, sixteen of which began doing so before 1865. Some 100 cooperative societies also practise profit-sharing. In 1879 a *Société pour l'Étude Pratique de la Participation du Personnel dans les Bénéfices* was founded to guide the movement. (See PROFIT-SHARING.)

Philanthropies

There has been also much activity in France in the way of practical philanthropies. The *Musée Social* (*q. v.*) in Paris was founded in 1894 as a center for social studies. The same year there was organized the *Société Française des Habitations à Bon Marché*. This society was simply for education and propaganda, but largely as a result of its work there are to-day in France some sixty societies engaged in erecting cheap but good houses in some way for working men, whereas before 1889 there were only a few societies, tho the *Société Mulhousienne des cités ouvrières* dates from 1851. Of these earlier societies the important *Société Philanthropique*, founded in 1780, is wholly philanthropic and its works are numerous. The more modern building societies are partly commercial and partly philanthropic, like our American societies of philanthropy plus 5 per cent. The largest of these is at Lyons. A few more recent societies are working men's cooperative building societies, like *La Pierre du Foyer* (1891). A law has been passed by which any department can create a Superior Council on Working Men's Homes. (See HOUSING.) Some societies, like the *Société anonyme des Habitations ouvrières* of Passy-Auteuil, endeavor to create working men's model villages. The English Garden City movement has now a French representative in the *L'association des cités Jardins de France*, which is agitating for that ideal. Besides this the *Ligue du Coin de Terre et du Foyer*, founded in 1896 by M. L'abbé Lemire, agitates for working men's gardens (jardins ouvriers).

Many French employers, too, are active in industrial betterment (*q. v.*). (See also MODEL VILLAGES.)

Private charities have a large and varied development and cooperate with the State. The *Société Philanthropique* (1780) had, in 1900, 30 soup kitchens, 30 dispensaries, 4 for children; 1 hospital, 3 night refuges, homes for the aged, for mothers, for women enceinte, improved dwellings, etc. Twelve thousand children are cared for each year. At its refuges 12,000 women are admitted, and work found for about 25 per cent. Five thousand fr. a year are given in rewards to honest and industrious workers. The *Œuvre de Bienfaisance*, founded by Miss de Broen (1871), is notable. The *Œuvre de la Chaussée du Maine*, the *Société française de Bienfaisance de Tunis*, the *Hospitalité Universelle à Nantes et à Paris* are also important. Ecclesiastical charities are numerous, tho secular institutions are growing. Catholic societies relieved in 1901 107,400 persons, and numbered 4,000, according to abbé Gayraud. Protestant societies are proportionally strong, the *Institution des Diaconesses des Églises évangéliques de France* (1841) deserving especial mention. There is no charity organization society, but 15,827 *Bureaux de Bienfaisance*, in the communes, control private societies, and in a way unite them as well as administer outdoor relief. Indoor relief, only given when imperative, is well developed. There were in 1898 in France 1,708 hospitals, at a cost of 133,914,343 fr. Most of them have free dispensaries and many free clinics. There are in Paris 28 *Consultations de Nourrissons* and many in the country. Asylums and schools for the blind and deaf-mutes were developed in France earlier than in any other country, and in many similar ways France still leads. The national lunatic asylum at Charenton is a model, and Ainay is a colony for insane men, and at Dun-sur-Auron for insane women. Institutions for dependent children are various. The first crèche was opened at Paris, 1844. *La Maison Maternelle, L'Hôpital des Enfants Malades, la Ligue Fraternelle des Enfants de France, L'Œuvre laique du bon Pasteur*, are typical. The State has established State savings-banks, pawnshops. (See PAUPERISM AND RELIEF INSTITUTIONS; PAWN-SHOPS, SAVINGS-BANKS, LABOR COLONIES, etc.) For the temperance movement, women's movements, and activities for social purity, see articles TEMPERANCE; WOMAN'S ADVANCE, RESCUE WORK.

Charities

Important French social reform societies are:

Alliance d'Hygiène Sociale. 23 Rue Las Cases, Paris.
Bourse du Travail. Rue Château d'Eau.
Cercle Amicitia. (Women's Christian Society.) 12 Rue du Parc Royal, Paris.
Comité permanent du Congrés international des accidents du travail et des assurances sociales. 20 Rue Louis-le-Grand, Paris.
Confédération Générale du Travail, 10 Rue du Château d'Eau, Paris.
Conseil National des Femmes françaises. (1901.) 1 Avenue de Malakoff, Paris.
École des Hautes Études Sociales. (1900.) 16 Rue de la Sarbonne, Paris.
La Mutuelle-Habitation. 2 quai de Jemmapes, Paris.
La Croix-Bleu (Temperance). Rue Secrétan, Paris.
Ligue anti-alcoolique. (1896.) 107 Boulevard Magenta.
Ligue contre la Misère. (1894.) 22 Rue Orfila, Paris.
Ligue du Coin de Terre et du Foyer. (Homes and gardens for the working classes.) President and founder, l'abbé Lemire. 26 Rue Lhomond.
Ligue de Protection de l'Enfance. 122 Rue la Louvière, Lille.
Ligue Nationale contre l'Alcoolisme. 50 Rue des Écoles, Paris.
Ligue Nationale de la Prévoyance et de la Mutualité. (Savings-bank societies.) (1890.) Sec., Le Pasteur Arboux, 78 Rue Bonaparte.
Musée Social. 5 Rue Las Cases, Paris.
Office Central des Œuvres de Bienfaisance. 175 Boulevard, St. Germain, Paris.
Société des Crèches. (1846.) 15 Avenue d'Iena, Paris.
Société française des Habitations à bon Marché. Sec., Jules Challamel, 4 Rue Lavoisier, Paris.
Société française de Temperance. (1870.) Sec., Frederic Riemain, 50 Rue des Écoles, Paris.
Société pour l'Étude de la Participation aux Bénéfices. 20 Rue Bergère, Paris.
Société Philanthropique. (1780.) 15 Rue de Bellechasse, Paris.
Société de préservation contre la tuberculose par l'éducation populaire. 33 Rue Lafayette, Paris.
Société générale des Prisons. Sec., Albert Rivière, 14 Place Dauphine, Paris.
Union Chrétienne de jeunes gens. (Evangelical.) 14 Rue de Trevise, Paris.

L'Union française anti-alcoolique. (1896.) 5 Rue de Latran, Paris.

Union française pour le sauvetage de l'enfance. 108 Rue de Richelieu, Paris.

REFERENCES: *Almanach National*, Paris; *Annuaire Statistique de la France*; *Economie rurale de la France*, by L. de Lavergne, 4th ed. (1878); *France*, by J. E. C. Bodley (2 vols.), 2d ed. (1902); *La France et le Marché du Monde*, by Blondel (1901); *Evolution of France under the Third Republic*, by Pierre de Coubertin (1897); *Comparative Administrative Law*, by F. J. Goodnow (1903); *Modern Methods of Charity*, by C. R. Henderson, chap. ix., France (1904).

FRANCHISE. See SUFFRAGE; WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.

FRANCHISES, in social science, means a privilege or grant of a public or semipublic nature conferred on individuals or corporations by governments (municipal, state, or national).

According to the common law, the franchise implies a mutual obligation between the government and the party holding the franchise. The government guarantees to strictly carry out the grant of the franchise (the franchise, however, always being strictly construed against the grantee), and the grantee agreeing to furnish the public all the facilities for which the nature of the franchise calls. The owner of a ferry franchise thus can be compelled to continue to run his boats, the failure to do this by common law forfeiting his grants. It is asserted that the government cannot repudiate or withdraw its franchise, once granted. (But see EMINENT DOMAIN.) Where the charter conferring the franchise, however, contains a clause reserving to the legislature the right to annul or vary the franchise granted, or where the charter is granted subject to a constitutional provision or general act reserving to the legislature such a power, it may constitutionally be exercised.

Franchises are not alienable by the owner or owners thereof without express legislative authority. They cannot, therefore, be conveyed or mortgaged of common right. They cannot be taken in execution and sold so as to convey any title to the purchaser.

The conditions upon which franchises are granted are among the subjects which need the most reform in the United States, and have produced the greatest scandals and corruptions, especially in our municipal governments. (See CORRUPTION.) Important and valuable franchises are again and again given away for a song to private corporations by corrupt aldermen, bought up by these corporations. European cities, on the other hand, rarely grant a franchise unless the corporation receiving the franchise gives the city high and adequate returns of various kinds. In Berlin, for example, a private company has the franchise to operate street-railways, but it only received the franchise on agreeing to pave the streets on which its tracks lie, from curb to curb; to pay a portion of its receipts to the city, amounting to some $250,000 annually, and in the year 1911 to turn its whole plant over to the city.

Professor Bemis, in a paper on "Some Essentials in the Way of Granting Municipal Franchises," read at the Minneapolis Conference for Good City Government, 1894 (see Proceedings, p. 123), makes the following points as requisites of a good franchise:

1. The mayor should have the right of absolute veto upon any proposed franchise,

2. Constitutional, or, if that is not possible, a legislative, limitation to the length of time for which future franchises can be given, such term not to exceed thirty years with elevated roads, twenty years with gas works or surface street-car lines, and a much less period for electric-light and telephone companies.

3. The prohibition of renewing franchises until within a year of its expiration, otherwise companies may secure a renewal from a corrupt council before the people are aware of it.

4. The expiration of all franchises for extensions to new streets with the expiration of the franchise on the main system; otherwise the city is prevented from entering on any broad policy.

5. Extensions on new streets made subject to order of the city, with appeal possibly to some court of arbitration.

6. Complete publicity of accounts, with the power and duty vested in the city auditor to prescribe methods of bookkeeping.

7. In case of transportation lines, the right of the city to require increase of cars to the capacity of the road when traffic demands it.

8. The express condition that the company receiving the franchise must, at its expiration, if not securing a renewal, sell out to the city or another company that may receive the franchise, at the cost of duplicating the physical plant, independent of any value based on earning power.

9. The sale of the franchise to the bidder offering the cheapest and best service or largest revenue to the city, emphasis being laid on cheap and good service.

10. Two years before the expiration of every franchise the citizens should have the opportunity to vote on city ownership, and if the latter is carried, the city to own and operate after the expiration of the franchise, with the provision for the merit system in the civil service, and with the further provision that every five years thereafter for ten or fifteen years, on petition of a certain number of citizens, another popular vote should be had on the question of continuing city management. (See MUNICIPALISM.)

FRANCKE, ERNST: Editor of *Soziale Praxis*; director of the *Bureau für Sozialpolitik*, Berlin; general secretary of the *Gesellschaft für Soziale Reform*. Born Nov. 10, 1852, in Coburg; studied in the Gymnasium of his native city, and several universities. Received the degree of Ph.D., and later the title of professor. He was editor of newspapers in Nürnberg, 1877–81; Münich, 1881–1892; Hamburg, 1893–97, when he was called to Berlin. He considers the necessity of elevating the working classes by means of legal reforms and by the organization of self-help as imperative, so as to avoid both socialism and the pauperization of the working men. Author of numerous papers and essays on social reform and the best industrial policy. *Address*: Nollendorf Strasse, 29 and 30, Berlin, W. 30, Germany.

FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN: American philosopher and diplomat; born in Boston, Mass., 1706, of poor parents, the fifteenth of seventeen children. Taken from school in his tenth year, he became two years later an apprentice in the printing-shop of his brother, who published the *New England Courant*, and for which Franklin early wrote. Owing to difficulties with his brother, he went to Philadelphia in his seventeenth year, almost destitute. After a series of difficulties and adventures, including a trip to England, he gradually, by hard work and ability, met success. He became the editor and proprietor of a paper, *The Gazette*, and in 1732 of "Poor Richard's Almanac." He became Clerk of the General Assembly in 1736, postmaster in 1737, and representative in 1747. In 1753 he was made deputy postmaster-general for the colonies. In 1757 he went to England, representing Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Maryland, and Georgia with great success. He addrest Parliament, opposing the Stamp Act, and was consequently deposed from the postmastership. Returning to America, he was a delegate to the Congress of 1775, and signed the Declaration of Independence. In 1776 he was sent as

Minister to France, with which country he succeeded in securing an alliance. He raised loans, and in 1782 signed the treaty of peace with England. Returning to Philadelphia, he became president of the Supreme Council of the city and member of the Convention for Revising the Articles of Union. He died April 17, 1790, and Congress appointed a mourning of two months through the states.

Franklin founded the first public library in Philadelphia in 1732, "the mother of American libraries," and led in innumerable municipal improvements. In 1752 he discovered the idea of lighting with electricity, and by his electrical and other scientific discoveries became recognized by and intimate with the scientists of all Europe, and received degrees and honors from numerous English and European universities. In 1752 he organized a scientific society which became the American Academy of Science. Turgot said of him: *Eripuit cælo fulmen, sceptrumque tyrannis.*

FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS: In England these are usually called friendly societies (*q. v.*). In the United States they are very numerous and play an important part in economic and social development. They are also very largely fraternal benefit and insurance societies. They are opposed by a small and demonstrative but earnest minority who oppose all secret societies. Many believe they are only needed to-day because the Church and the State do not perform their full duties.

According to the *World Almanac* (1907), the membership of the principal fraternal organizations in the U. S. and Canada is as follows:

Odd Fellows	1,521,095
Freemasons	1,229,001
Modern Woodmen of America	813,642
Knights of Pythias	622,466
Independent Order of Rechabites	488,000
Woodmen of the World	459,211
Improved Order of Red Men	406,774
Knights of the Maccabees	325,000
Royal Arcanum	288,011
Ancient Order of United Workmen	275,603
Independent Order of Foresters	250,000
Order of Eagles	250,000
Foresters of America	241,110
Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks	225,000
Ancient Order of Hibernians	210,000
Knights of Columbus	166,494
Junior Order of United American Mechanics	163,205
Ladies of the Maccabees	145,293
Knights of the Modern Maccabees	125,000
Ladies' Catholic Benevolent Association	95,500
Tribe of Ben Hur	92,500
Knights and Ladies of Honor	92,000
Improved Order of Heptasophs	70,439
Knights of the Golden Eagle	70,431
National Union	62,444
Brotherhood of American Yeomen	61,671
Protected Home Circle	59,981
Catholic Mutual Benefit Association	57,672
Order of Gleaners	56,000
Court of Honor	55,392
Brith Abraham Order	53,853
New England Order of Protection	43,167
Knights of Honor	40,126
Ancient Order of Foresters	38,898
United Order of American Mechanics	36,554
Sons of Temperance	34,789
Independent Order of B'nai B'rith	28,539
Knights of Malta	27,000
Smaller organizations	379,819
Total	9,656,280

(See also A. C. Stevens's "Encyclopedia of Fraternities.")

FREE CHURCHES (OF GREAT BRITAIN) AND SOCIAL REFORM: Until very recent times the Free Churches have shared largely the conception of the Church which was embodied in all Protestant symbols, according to which the Church was an institution whose chief object was to promote and insure the spiritual interests of its members, by the sound doctrine preached and by the sacraments administered.

In recent times, however, two currents of thought have pervaded the mind of the Church in Great Britain and elsewhere, and have illumined and enlarged in the minds of men their conception of the essential nature of the Church and of her mission in the world.

1. The revival and concentration of interest in the life and teaching of our Lord Himself was begun by Strauss's "Leben Jesu" and Renan's "Vie de Jesus." Ever since a growing splendor of light has been poured out upon the Gospel histories, and upon Him—the Light of the World, whose glory fills their pages. Hence it is that the gospel of the kingdom which He preached, which had been somewhat obscured by the gospel of salvation as it had been called, meaning thereby personal salvation, is now restored to its true place in the ministry of the Church. And that gospel sets forth not only the laws and beatitudes of the kingdom of God, but describes the manner and conditions of its gradual growth, till in all human society the healthful order of the kingdom of God be established.

2. Also there has been a deeper study of the life and organization and object of the Church. Especially has this been the case in the Free Churches, which renounce at once the Erastian doctrine of a Church which is upheld and regulated by the State, and the sacerdotal doctrine that the Church is constituted by a priestly caste which is self-replenished. If the Church be a living organism, its life must be within itself, possessing and quickening each member and uniting them by the one spirit which gives life to each. But such an organism it is now seen cannot exist merely to maintain and edify itself. The Church exists to fulfil by great and gracious activities the object for which she was founded, and for which she is continually upheld and inspired by the living Spirit of her Lord. This object is the same as that for which Christ came into this world, and which He proclaimed in His gospel of the kingdom, viz., that the whole of our humanity may be redeemed, and that the kingdoms of this world may become in truth the kingdom of God.

New Currents of Thought

A few words will show how these currents have gradually pervaded the Free Churches, and have thus led them to apprehend their social redemptive mission. In the beginning of last century the evangelical revival awoke the social conscience of England. It was the moral sense of England quickened by the evangelic faith which not only gave birth to the great missionary societies founded at that time, but also to the mighty movement led by Wilberforce and Clarkson, which abolished slavery in every colony and dependency of Britain. Then a new spirit was breathed upon the middle of the century which also awoke a new social and humane spirit, Frederick Denison Maurice and Charles Kingsley, leaders of the "Broad Church," wing of the Church of England, emphasizing the Incarnation, and teaching that all human relations and human society were brought under a new and divine law, and under the obligation of the universal brotherhood of men which was God's family on earth, of

which Christ is the Eternal Head. This doctrine, enforced by other leading divines, such as Bishop Westcott, has influenced large numbers not only in the Church of England, but in the Free Churches. Also in the middle of last century much interest in Britain was awakened in the Inner Mission of Germany, especially under its great representatives, Dr. Wichern of the Rauhe Haus, near Hamburg, and Pastor Fleidner, the founder of the great Deaconesses' Institution at Kaiserwerth, near Dusseldorf, as in later years Germany has again stimulated the social mission of the Church by the Colonies of Mercy which have been established in that country by Pastor Bodelschwing, near Bielefeld, and under his influence in twenty-five other provinces.

The result of these different forces so far as organizations and activities in the Free Churches are concerned has so far exprest and fulfilled itself as follows:

1. The National Free Church Council, which represents all the Free Churches of England and Wales, and represents, therefore, probably more than one half the people of these countries who are members or adherents of the various branches of the Christian Church, has created a Social Questions Committee with three duties:

National Free Church Council

1. The study of Christ's teaching and of the fundamental principles of the Christian faith in relation to the social problems of our time.
2. The upholding of Christ's authority as the Lord and Redeemer of human society as well as of individuals.
3. The wise direction of Christian redemptive efforts so as to abate and remedy great social evils which degrade human life.

This Social Questions Committee has published a "Manifesto on the Social Redemptive Work of the Free Churches," which has been largely circulated, and it has, now (1906), drawn up a program of social work, to be presented and urged upon the local Free Church Councils, which have been formed in every part of the country, and in which all Free Churches are practically united and represented.

In addition to this the Presbyterian, the Wesleyan Methodist, the Primitive Methodist, and the New Connection Methodist churches have each of them formed a special Social Service Committee, the objects of which are almost identical. They are exprest in the following statement, which sets forth the objects of the Social Service Union of the Wesleyan Church:

"The collection and study of social facts, the pursuit of social service, and the discussion of social problems and theories from the Christian standpoint, with the view to educate public opinion and secure improvement in the conditions of life."

2. Soon after Toynbee Hall was established in Whitechapel, a settlement was founded in one of the poorest districts in the extreme east of London, called the Mansfield Settlement, established by Mr. Percy Alden, M.P., then a student at Mansfield College, Oxford, and who gave the name "Mansfield" to this new settlement in the hope that the students of Mansfield College might specially cooperate in its varied work. Following upon this, the Robert Browning Settlement was founded in Walworth, of which the Rev. F. Herbert Stead is warden. The Nonconformists' Students' Union of the University of Cambridge takes an active part in many of the departments of this settlement. In addition there are six other settlements which have been established—more or less in connection with Free Churches—one in Canning Town, for women workers; the Ipswich Social Settlement, Lancashire College; the Settlement, Manchester Women's Settlement, Middlesboro; Croft House Settlement, Sheffield, and the United College Settlement in Bradford. The Wesleyan Methodist Church established some fifteen years ago a strong settlement which has been one of the most prosperous in our country, in Bermondsey—a large and poor district in the east of London. This settlement was founded by the Rev. Scott Lidgett, president of the Free Church Council for 1906. It has two branches, one for men and the other for women.

Settlements

3. The Wesleyan Methodist Church, which has not done much in the formation of settlements, has set a great example to other churches in what has been called its "Forward Movement," which has led to the formation of forty-five missions, established in the heart of the most populous districts in London, and of other great cities of the United Kingdom. Many of these missions are practically settlements, but their work centers in the popular evangelistic services which are held on Sunday and week-days, and in which the preaching of the Gospel is made at once attractive and impressive by song, and choral and orchestral music. Of the two best-known missions, one is the West London Mission, founded by the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes. In it the Sunday services have been held for years in St. James's Hall and in three other halls. Surrounding these, and in a sense emanating from these, there are the ministries of a band of sisters and of brothers for whom a home is provided as in a settlement, but instead of giving only part of their time, the whole time of many of these sisters and brothers is devoted to the various kinds of social ministry. The other is the great Central Mission, founded by the Rev. S. F. Collier in Manchester. In this mission, the two largest halls of Manchester, and many chapels in the poorest districts from which the congregations had ebbed away, are now filled by 16,000 people every Sunday evening, and each of these congregations is organized for various forms of useful social work. But the whole mission finds its center and crown of work in institutions which are founded: (1) to aid men who have fallen out of work, giving them employment which pays their board and lodging, and helping them again to find employment; (2) for fallen women and for women who are in peril, and (3) for the great army of crippled children found in the City of Manchester. The other missions of the Methodist Church do not equal these two in compass and varied organization, but all have the same impress, and have achieved a striking success.

Institutional Churches

4. In other Free Churches a similar movement to the Forward movement in the Wesleyan Church has led to the establishment of Institutional Churches. Three of these have been founded by the London Congregational Union: (1) Whitefield's Tabernacle, in Tottenham Court Road, over which the Rev. Silvester Horne and Rev. James Holmes preside; (2) in Claremont Hall, in the northwest of London, of which the Rev. W. F. Newlands, M.A., is president, and (3) in the south of London, of which the Rev. Herbert Kenward is superintendent. One has been established by the London Baptist Union, of

which the Rev. Thomas Philipps is the superintendent.

The Westminster Church, under the Rev. Campbell Morgan, is also forming itself into a great institutional church, in connection with which a number of social agencies are being organized in the poorest neighborhoods of Westminster. In other towns and cities several church buildings which had become almost derelict because deserted by their former congregations, are now being occupied and used as institutional churches in which large congregations are gathered, and by which many social agencies are carried on in the poorest districts. In every case the members of suburban churches are given efficient help.

But apart from special missions, and institutional churches, there is being widely diffused among a multitude of churches the same social spirit and activity. So in connection with them there are formed Week Evening Institutes for the elder scholars of our Sunday-schools, and the younger people of the church, in which recreation and bright educational classes are provided for the young: Boys' Brigades, Girls' Life Brigades, Leagues of Honor and of Service are also formed in them for the physical and moral training of boys and girls. And in addition to these Week Evening Institutes for the young, there are also being formed in many churches social institutes for the adults, not only for those who are members of the congregation, but for working men and women in the neighborhood. The object of these institutes is thus defined: "To supply the great social need of working men and women of our country—viz., to provide for them rest and recreation in the evening that will be bright and attractive, and give opportunities for social intercourse and pleasure. It is desired that everywhere these institutes be so conducted that the social and recreative attractions shall awaken the desire for higher interests."

5. During the last few years two great religious and social movements have arisen among the working people of Great Britain, and they are chiefly associated with the Free Churches. One is the Adult Sunday-School Movement. For some years this was largely confined to Birmingham and the neighborhood. It was initiated there by Mr. Alderman White, a "Friend." The movement has been from its origin very largely maintained and associated with the Friends. Mr. Cadbury, of Bournville, has, throughout his whole life, presided at an adult Sunday-morning school regularly attended by some 700 or 800 working men. During the last ten years this movement has spread over the country in a remarkable way, and there are now over 100,000 working men assembling in these schools in different parts of the country. In these schools half an hour is devoted to the reading and study of the Bible, half an hour to some educational subject, which may be very elementary, or may open up social and literary studies, and another half hour is devoted to the enrolment of members, the payment of a small weekly fee, and to a bright, hortatory religious service. Five or six years ago a National Council was formed in order to extend and develop these Sunday-morning schools, and with amazing success. This council issues a monthly organ entitled *One and All*; the head offices are in Birmingham, where the organ is published, and the secretary is Mr. E. Gilbert, Bournville, Birmingham.

Adult Sunday-Schools

The second movement is still more remarkable. During Mr. Moody's first visit to Great Britain Mr. Blackham, of West Bromwich, caught the idea of having, on the Sunday afternoon, a service for working men which should be, in his terse phrase, "bright, brief, and brotherly." He called it a Pleasant Sunday-Afternoon Class. This class started in the chapel with which he was connected, and immediately filled the chapel. Mr. Blackham, a business man of consecrated energy, then devoted much of his time to the establishment of these classes throughout the country; and others followed him. There are now 600 of these P. S. A. Brotherhoods, as they are called, tho they also bear other names, such as "Men's Own," or "Men's Brotherhood," established throughout the length and breadth of the land. On the very day on which this article is being written, a National Council has been formed at a great representative assembly, attended by delegates appointed by 500 Brotherhoods, held in London; the Rev. F. B. Meyer has been chosen its first president, and Mr. Ebenezer Goold, who through many years has devoted himself to form these P. S. A. Brotherhoods, is appointed honorary secretary. He is the editor of the *P. S. A. Leader* which is the organ of this movement.

Pleasant Sunday-Afternoon Movement

6. Besides these distinctively church movements, there was early formed a Christian Social Brotherhood, of members of the Free Churches of England, somewhat similar to the Christian Social Union of the Church of England. It had a somewhat limited influence, but there has been developed since an active Scottish Christian Social Union, and in England a Christian Union for Social Service, largely supported by the Free Churches, which has one colony at Lingfield and one in Westmoreland (see LABOR COLONIES), patterned somewhat after Bielefeld, and has been active in other ways, publishing also a monthly *Social Science*.

JOHN B. PATON.

FREELAND is the English name of a German book, "Freiland ein sociales Zukunftsbild," written by the eminent Austrian economist and statesman, Dr. T. Hertzka (*q. v.*), advocating socialistic principles, and outlining an imaginary free socialistic state founded in Central Africa. It aroused very general attention, and committees were formed in various countries to raise money and establish such a state. Pioneers started to found the state, which eventually wholly failed.

FREE SOIL PARTY, THE: This was the name of a political party that appeared in the United States about 1846 in the course of the abolitionist movement. (See ABOLITIONIST.) Its standpoint was "the Wilmot proviso," offered by David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, to amend a bill making an appropriation to negotiate peace with Mexico. It read: "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any territory on the continent of America which shall be hereafter acquired by or annexed to the U. S. by virtue of this appropriation or in any manner whatsoever, except for crime."

It created great excitement. Calhoun had declared that the annexation of Mexico was necessary to protect slavery, which was an in-

stitution placed under the guaranty of the Constitution and necessary to the peace and prosperity of the slave states. The proviso was defeated in the Senate, but taken up in the North. A convention met at Buffalo, Aug. 9, 1848, and formed the Free Soil Party. It was composed of the old Liberty Party (*q. v.*), seceders from the Democrats and Whigs, and a faction of the Democrats called Barn-burners. Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts, were nominated for president and vice-president. The platform disavowed attacking slavery in the South, but simply stood for the above principle. The party polled over 300,000 votes and elected several congressmen, among them Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, and Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio. The conflict then came over the admission of California, and when it was admitted with a constitution prohibiting slavery, the Free Soil Party lost its main need of existence. Agitation, however, sprung up over the Fugitive Slave Law (*q. v.*), and the Free Soilers met in 1852 and nominated John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, and George W. Julian, of Indiana, and polled 151,000 votes. But the aggressive policy of the South roused the North to a more general policy, and the Free Soil Party was merged, in 1856, in the Republican Party (*q. v.*). Its cry had been "Free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men."

FREE SPEECH LEAGUE, THE: Organized in 1902, the league demands freedom of peaceable assembly, of discussion and propaganda; an uncensored press, telegraph, and telephone; an uninspected express; an inviolable mail. It works by means of the press, the platform, and the courts; by persuasion, argument, petition, protest, and demand; through the agencies of election and rejection, but believes that the education of brains and quickening of consciences are first in order of time and effect. *Secretary*: A. C. Pleydell, 175 Broadway, New York.

FREE TRADE IN THE U. S. (See also Tariff Reform in Great Britain. For other countries see Tariff.) As here used free trade means commerce unfettered by law, whether for taxation (support of government) or protection (monopoly of home producers). Again, free trade is here considered only as opposed to taxation (or obstruction) by tariff duties—this because in practice our policy has long been that of free trade throughout the United States; so that we have in fact to deal only with international commerce.

Even as to tariff taxation; it is frequently attempted to distinguish between the ends for which it may be framed—taxation on the one hand, or protection on the other, or both combined. This distinction is ignored, *first*, because any effective taxation of commerce is, in fact, an obstruction—a shackle—of commerce, and therefore inevitably destructive of free trade and its benefits; *second*, because—while there have been examples elsewhere of revenue tariffs as distinguished from protective ones, and some items of our own tariff can be analyzed into revenue and tariff factors—with us political necessities have so far compelled protection to disguise itself as revenue taxation that we have to deal with a system purposely so framed as not merely to include both revenue and protective factors, but so to combine them as to magnify and conceal the extent to which protection results.

I. Tariffs for Revenue

As to even a strictly revenue tariff—that is, one in which the protection feature is so far lacking that the total amount by which the consumer is mulcted, less the expense of collecting it, goes to the government: To be a trustworthy support of government it must be levied upon the necessaries of life. For otherwise, government revenue would be uncertain and shrinking just when most needed.

But this is simply another way of stating that revenue taxation must be upon want rather than wealth—upon need to consume rather than ability to contribute. It stands vigilant and pitiless by the side of the cradle in every wage-earner's home. As each babe is added to that family the revenue tariff adds to the proportion of taxes the father of that babe has to pay—this, while the contribution of wealth is not increased as bond is added to bond in its strong box and acres to acres outside.

We, therefore, find as the most successful and prominent examples of revenue taxation just those most oppressive to the masses of the people and of least concern to the well-to-do—the salt tariff of India, the sugar and salt tariffs of Italy, and the sugar tariffs of France, Germany, and the U. S.—the revenue features of which are thus worked out at the disproportionate expense of the very citizens of those countries who are compelled to work most and permitted to enjoy least.

As to labor: Take a ship arriving at one of our docks from Europe, laden, as it commonly is, with labor in the steerage and goods on their middle decks. If the wage-earner goes to the dock to buy any of these goods he is met by a customs officer —paid by the government, but serving his "protected" fellow citizens—and forbidden to purchase those goods, or fined if he dare do it—in order to compel him to pay a higher price for the necessaries of life. But his employer can go to that very dock and buy the cheap labor imported by the same ship just as fast as it steps from the gangplank. No customs officer touches him; for our tariff was not made that way.

As to "American standards of living." Granted that American standards are comparatively high, and that this is as it should be: To the precise extent that the cost of necessaries is raised by tariff taxation—even tho only for revenue—the wage-earner—having a given amount of money to live on—can buy less; that is, is forced to adopt a lower standard of living.

The method of taxation thus involved is practically indirect; that is, it is not collected from the one who ultimately pays the tax. For example, the wholesale importer pays to the government the duties upon the goods he brings in. He, however, does this not as a tax, but simply as a business investment upon which he realizes from the retailer, who, in turn, does so from the ultimate consumer, who, tho he pays a higher price on account of the tariff, may be utterly ignorant of this, and generally is so as to the extent he is mulcted.

For example, suppose a town meeting held to raise money to repair roads, build bridges, or support the county poor. The almost invariable

way in which this is done is to calculate the total amount required, and then, after practical calculation, to levy upon the gross amount of the assessed property in the town a tax of as many mills on the dollar as will raise the amount required and pay for its collection. The tariff way would be—omitting the complicated machinery actually required to appraise merchandise and allot duties—to provide that the storekeepers should charge two cents a pound more for each pound of sugar, 50 per cent above the ordinary price for each yard of woolen cloth, twice as much for window-glass, 20 per cent more for every stove, etc., and keeping account of the extra amount thus charged by them, turn it into the public treasury until the money was raised. The objection would be instantly made that the wealth of the town would thereby escape taxation, and that the greater part of it would be saddled upon poor men with large families. But that is precisely the "tariff for revenue" system, and such is precisely its effect.

Concealed Taxation

It has been the aim of all governments, most eagerly sought by the most tyrannical, to escape responsibility to the public. A direct tax—that is, one levied upon the individual and paid by him to the collector—is a constant reminder to him of the burden of government, and constantly stirs him to watch and criticize its expenditures, and to insist upon an economical policy in government affairs. In cases of indirect taxation, such as a tariff paid by the wholesale importer, to be repaid, after sundry profits of middlemen are added, by the increased price at which the retail merchant sells it to the final consumer, it is a tax as to which no one knows either how much he pays or even when he pays it; and justifies Turgot's commendation of indirect taxation as the one best means "So to pick the geese as to get the most feathers with the least squawking." A system of direct taxation would practically call for the annual judgment of the masses of the voters upon the policy of the government; but with a revenue tariff once in operation, a government can undertake the most extravagant measures, until, by the slow process of popular education, the public can be educated.

Again: The characteristic of an indirect tax is that it is a tax upon consumption as distinguished from a tax upon wealth. It is obvious that such a tax leaves wealth to escape the burdens of government which it puts upon the shoulders of the masses. For in proportion as a man's income is absolutely required for the sustenance, shelter, and comfort of himself and his family, to that extent is this indirect taxation levied upon the whole of it; while, to the extent that the income of the more fortunate citizen is so large as to enable him to amass wealth by laying aside a part of it, to that extent he escapes indirect taxation.

Again, indirect taxation—especially tariff taxation—is generally levied, not merely upon consumption as such, but disproportionately upon the necessity of the poor rather than upon that of those who have large incomes. There are many ways in which it is perfectly practicable to tax indirectly the income and the property of well-to-do citizens. Many of these ways have indeed been tried—some of them by ourselves in late years. It is not suggested that any of them is free from objection; no tax is so.

Rests on the Poor

But none, either of these, or numerous others which we exploited during our Civil War, were discontinued on account of practical or moral objections. But the income tax, the tax on corporate receipts, the tax on watches, carriages and articles of special luxury, the tax on bank checks, were abolished with a haste that contrasted with the deliberation with which the tariff was even touched, and the obstinacy with which it was meddled with only to increase its burdens.

There is a reason for this: In all governments, from the beginning of time to the present, the laws have been made, if not by the wealthiest men in the country, at least by those a vast majority of whom are in personal or social touch with the more well-to-do few. In other words, taxes have been so adjusted as to bear upon the poor, because taxes were imposed by others than they. This does not apply misanthropy on the part of our legislators. A large proportion of them would, indeed, consider themselves as poverty-stricken toilers compared with those whom they regard as possest of wealth. But between them and the masses of the population even in our own day there is a gulf so great as to class them rather with the money power above than the muscle power below; while in every other country the contrast is still more marked and the natural tendency just described more nearly the inevitable one.

In connection with indirect as compared with direct taxation, it may be remarked here that "protection" has another incident even less capable of defense than the indirectness of the tax levied; and that is the indirectness of the use of the tax. For not merely is it so levied that no one can tell when it is being paid—tho he is none the less mulcted of his money; but it is so applied as not to disclose how much any favored individual gets—tho he none the less lives at the public expense. For example, a plated-ware manufacturer being favored by a duty of 35 per cent knows—as does no one else—the amount of bonus he can therefore exact, and the circumstances of his trade determine the amount of his profits. As to the method and extent by which he is to benefit the community he thus mulcts he is not held to account. He can—as he generally does—hire his labor at the cheapest rate he can get it. In case he wishes to give a present to the public in the shape of a church or a library, he can do so, or he can—as he more frequently does—spend the round amount annually in good living for himself and family, or sink it in speculative business ventures, or leave it at his death to dribble back into circulation again through spendthrift heirs.

Just as in the case of indirect taxation, one motive for it was to avoid the publicity of direct taxation; so the strongest motive for the indirect method of distributing the bonus raised by a protective tariff, except the desire to escape accountability. For it is perfectly easy for government that dares be "above board" to reward a manufacturer who has been a benefactor to the community, by voting him a lump sum out of the public treasury; or to promote the carrying on of any special industry by voting, as Congress lately did in the case of the sugar planters, a bounty for a certain amount of a given quality of product.

A tariff is therefore a tax system so adjusted that the one who pays the tax neither knows how much he is mulcted nor when it is taken from his

pockets; nor who gets the proceeds; nor what is done with them—the perfection of crookedness.

Finally, if the question is one of a revenue tariff such as admittedly have been those imposed by the U. S.—so framed as to raise somewhat of revenue while giving incidental "protection"—the problem of intelligible, not to say equitable, adjustment becomes complicated beyond expression. It involves reliance upon data, the only experts as to which are interested to deceive the lawmaking power in order that they may thrive at their neighbors' expense, and whose willingness thus to thrive insures that they will stickle at no means to do so. It offers the same inducements to falsification, the same opportunities for bribery, the same use of political corruption.

II. Protectionism

But our system is not one of revenue tariff. It rests upon the influence—political, economic, industrial — that protectionism has acquired among us; so that for the purposes of this discussion the terms "protection" and "free trade" are used as the opposite of the other. And since the burden is upon him who defends governmental interference with private business, therefore free-trade argument is most conveniently stated as an answer to protectionist claims.

The first step toward understanding this question is to define "protection" as here practised.

It consists in obstructing imports by the imposition of a fine, proportioned to the extent of his trespass, upon any one who shall bring into this country the goods upon which a tariff is laid —the object being to make those who desire such goods pay one of our own citizens a bonus, equal to a part or the whole of the fine thus provided, above the price they would otherwise have to pay for the foreign goods—and thus to enable the home manufacturer or producer to charge a higher price for his goods than he would otherwise be able to do. The home producer is in that case said to be "protected" from competition and assured control of the market here for goods such as he supplies. This, however, simply means that certain producers are favored —as was intended. Protectionists and free traders would, however, alike protest against stopping here, and say that a national policy should be defined with respect, not to the few individuals whose ends it subserves, but to the general public, whose weal alone justifies legislative interference.

In this light, what is protection? As to the few who are "protected," it is favoritism. What is it to the people at large?

The articles the import of which into this country are to be thus obstructed are not claimed to be harmful in themselves. They are, on the contrary, the very things we want, the possession of which makes a nation rich and its people comfortable—such things as clothes, food, crockery, glassware, and the raw materials we need for our manufactures.

Again, the fines imposed by tariff laws are not levied upon those who are attempting to do something to which we are opposed. They operate alike upon the foreigner who brings his goods here, and the American who, having purchased them abroad, attempts to bring them home. And so far as they operate upon the foreigner, they simply prevent him from doing something that we want him to do. No "protection" is needed to enable us to avoid buying anything we do not want. It is needed only to keep us from getting something we do want to buy—to prevent us from doing what we want to do—self-denial by law.

What are the grounds upon which it is attempted to justify the interference with trade involved in "protection"? The following are some of those urged:

Justification Offered

"*Trade is War.*"—The idea that trade is war, and that, as between the buyer and the seller, if one gains the other one must lose, seems ineradicable from the uneducated mind. Discredited as is the suggestion by the whole theory of our civilization, nothing is more common than to hear suggested, as a conclusive argument of beneficial results to our people, that we have rendered miserable some village in England, or of misfortune to us, that the peasants of Germany expect to prosper from our trade. That this argument is so generally used shows how thin is the skin of culture that covers the savage within us. From its very nature, trade is a benefit to both parties to it. If I do not prefer what my neighbor has I will not trade with him. If he does not prefer my present possession to his, he will not exchange with me. The fact of voluntary trade is of itself a demonstration that, so far as the participants to it can judge—and no one else is competent to do so—they are both benefited by the exchange. So far from the prosperity of the nation with which we trade and the high value it places upon our trade being a proof that we are the losers thereby, it is the most nearly conclusive one possible that we are great gainers, so that no experience is more universal than that the mercantile connection which is valued by one country is equally esteemed by the country with which it trades.

But the suggestion that trade is war may mean that it is a war between the two merchants who are competing for the trade. But the foreign and the home producer are simply struggling to see which can offer the greatest inducements to customers—by offering a better quality of goods, by offering them at a cheaper price, or by supplying them in better assortment. In other words, this war is as to who shall serve best the general public—the consumers. Is it to the interest of this public to put an end to this kind of a war? Is not the climax of assurance capped when the home manufacturer asks that the general public be taxed to put an end to this rivalry to serve it?

"*Protection Lessens the Number of Traders.*"—Scarcely less inherent in the notions of uneducated people is the idea that the trader is a non-producer, and, as a consequence, the corollary that it would be a good thing to obstruct trade and abolish traders.

In the *first* place, to get goods cheap is precisely the problem upon which the most intense application of the brightest and shrewdest men of the world has been devoted for thousands of years; and *second*, at no time has progress in this direction been more marked and its results more beneficent than during the past few years, when governments have interfered less and less, and left their citizens more and more freedom to do as they pleased.

In other words, the very reasons why trade ex-

ists are such as demonstrate that it is a saving to the consumer in the labor requisite to enable him to get the property he wishes to use; and the whole world of trade has always been, and is now more than ever, working with the most intense application upon the problem of reducing to him the cost of this advantage—the success of every trader depending upon the extent to which he can offer greater inducements than his neighbor to the consumer to whom he wishes to sell.

To sum up, an article is finally produced only when it is put into the hands of the final consumer at the place he wishes to use it. The trader is as essential a producer as the manufacturer or the farmer. To discourage him is to increase the cost of the only production in which the consumer is interested—that of furnishing him the article when and where he wants it.

"*Protection Encourages Home Trade.*"—This claim may be stated thus:

"Free traders claim that trade is an advantage —that it is so to both parties to the trade—that the greater the advantage to the one, the greater it is also to the other. Now if that be so, it is more advantageous to a nation to have its citizens trade with each other, and thus have both ends of the bargains they make, than it is for them to trade with foreigners, in which case the latter will, of course, get half the profits, and thereby enrich their own country rather than ourselves."

The fallacy of considering this an argument against foreign as distinguished from domestic trade lies in forgetting to apportion profit to capital and effort. The efforts and the capital of two men produce two profits in the one case, and the same in the other. In the one case, the U. S. furnished both efforts and both capital, and it, therefore, got both profits. In the other case, the U. S. furnished but one effort and one capital and got but one profit. But it had the other effort and the other capital still free for equally remunerative trade at home or abroad; and so, employing it, would still make two profits. If, for example, both Americans traded with Canadians instead of with each other, the U. S. would get two profits. In other words, to get the greatest *number* of profits by trading, it is only necessary that the greatest number of men and capitals be employed in profitable trade. And to get the greatest *amount* of profits it is only necessary that each shall trade with the one from whom he can make the most.

Home Trade

"*Protection Brings Producer and Consumer Together.*"—The comical thing about this argument is that it is precisely what, with all the ingenuity that self-interest, experience, and business training can devise, the producer and consumer are always trying to do with the least trouble and most profit to themselves, and precisely the thing that, whenever a national boundary happens to lie between them, the protectionist attempts to thwart. But the latter will protest that that is not what he means; that his idea is rather to prevent the consumer from being obliged to go so far for his goods, and the purchaser from being forced to seek so distant a market. Here again, that is precisely what each is working at, and precisely the matter as to which each is an infinitely better judge in his own business, and as to his own wants, than his neighbor can possibly be for him. To say that I shall not trade with another man 1,000 miles off, because there is another one 100 miles distant, if, in the end, I can get my goods cheaper of the first than of the second, is most impertinent tyranny. To insist upon it that I ought to go the shorter way when I find it cheaper or easier to go the longer way, is not less so. To insist that I do not know my own business, and that you will attend to it for me, is intolerable.

"*Protection Defends Us from Foreign Monopoly.*"—In one sense this is true. It "preserves" us—for home monopoly. The horror of American monopolists for foreign ones is easily understood. But why the American people should build up home monopoly, in order to avoid a possible world combine, is as hard to understand as it is why, in terror at St. Patrick, "the snakes committed suicide to save themselves from slaughter."

"*Protection Promotes Trade Between Dissimilar Nations.*"—This is a *reductio ad absurdum*, rather than an argument. It assumes that in the intense development of civilization by subdivision of labor we shall require less of the services of those about us, and more of those who, by race and by habitation, are the farthest removed from us.

On lines of travel eastward and westward, tho the measured miles indicate distance, they bring us in great degree continually in contact with civilization similar to our own, in the same zone as to climate, with similar facilities of transport and similar trade and social customs; but from the very relations of the earth to the sun, a journey northward or southward plunges us promptly into a different climate, among people of different associations and different habits. To favor commerce between countries that have least in common is at once to ignore the facts of subdivision of labor and interdependence of individual upon individual, community upon community, nation upon nation, and also to adopt the theory that the farther off in effective distance, and the harder to reach and to deal with a nation is, the more profitable it is to have commerce with it.

Carried to its legitimate result, it would insist upon tearing down the railways between New York and Chicago and subsidizing lines to the poles and to the equator—in discouraging the greater part of our existing commerce, the development of which has shown it to be natural and legitimate, and encouraging a novel sort, the lack of which shows that it is comparatively unprofitable.

"*Protection Secures Us a Favorable Balance of Trade.*"—Few arguments for "protection" are brought to a close without the attempt to conjure acquiescence by flourishing the term "balance of trade." We are told that unless we hamper foreign trade the result will be to make our imports so much greater than our exports that the balance of trade will be against us.

It is hard to realize the extent to which it is actually argued that commercial prosperity consists in exporting more than one imports. The farce broadens when we see that the nations which, on the protectionist theory, have the most favorable balance of trade are such as Turkey, Persia, and Spain, which for generations have been drained by more fortunate countries of the wealth produced or accumulated in them; and that the countries that have continually been menaced with "the advance balance of trade," involved in continually receiving more than they send out, are precisely those countries that profit the most by their foreign commerce—Great Britain lead-

ing. Elaborately to refute the balance-of-trade bogy is to waste time in a world where life is already too short.

To give but one example: If a New York merchant loads a ship with 50,000 bushels of wheat worth $1 a bushel, and sells it in Europe for $60,000 over and above the expense of getting it there, and buys and expends that money in goods which he thinks he can dispose of profitably here, buying them so cheaply that when they arrive here they are worth and appraised at $75,000, the "protection" idea is that by this nefarious proceeding the U. S. has lost $25,000. On the other hand, if the same merchant, sending the same cargo, had so miscalculated that his wheat at Antwerp netted him but $40,000, and then if he had made so bad an investment or had so disastrous a voyage that the goods brought back in return were worth and appraised at only $25,000 when they passed our wharves, the balance-of-trade theory is that the country would have gained $25,000.

Taking the enormous commerce of England; since her capitalists own the ships that carry the most of it both ways, it is perfectly plain that over and above the amount of profits and interest her merchants realize, her imports ought to average an amount above her exports sufficient to pay for both inward and outward carriage. And yet, on the balance-of-trade theory, this essential of prosperity is an index of disaster.

"*Protection Prepares a Nation for Self-defense.*"—In the first place it does not. There was a time in the history of nations when *export* duties upon articles used in war were prevalent, and may have been efficient in keeping within the country the munitions of self-defense. The tendency, however, of import duties is to make the country poor in everything that is best produced or found in its best shape abroad. The only exceptions are the cases of establishments of industries for the express purposes of manufacturing war material. To the extent that these are thought proper this discussion has nothing to do with them. It is not actual self-defense, but interference with business, that is here under consideration.

So far as concerns the idea that the country would be in a general way better prepared for self-defense by cutting off trade with others, it is not true—and especially a mistake when applied to this country. The two great necessities for successful war are men and money. Our men can best be developed by leaving each man to work out his own prosperity in the calling which he finds to offer most inducements, and not by taxing him to hire some one else to attempt unprofitable business.

Again, the U. S. is in a peculiarly favorable position. Our great exports are more and more relied upon by other nations, and more and more a necessity to them. In proportion as we shall accept of their manufactures, they will be able to buy and will purchase more and more of our food products and cotton and become more and more dependent upon us. Free trade, therefore, so far as the U. S. are concerned, makes the world more and more dependent upon us, and a greater number of its principal nations more and more under bonds to keep peace with us.

"*Protection Diversifies Industry.*"—There has never been an inhabited country of the varied natural features of ours in which industry has not been naturally and of necessity most diversified; that is to say, in which the arts and manufactures, and mining, if minerals are at hand, do not follow close upon the heels of agricultural settlement; or where, on the other hand, in case mining and manufactures have prospered and there is land which can be utilized for agriculture, that land is not cultivated by a rural population. To insure this result "protection" has never been found necessary. If, therefore, the claim means anything, it means that "protection" will increase the variety of industries by encouraging some that would otherwise not be carried on. Whether this is a benefit or not depends entirely upon whether the aided industries are such as are then or there legitimate and profitable. In so far as industries become more diversified, because with advancing settlement and civilization a greater variety of them can be advantageously carried on, that diversity supplies the inhabitants of the country in question with a greater amount of the comforts and necessities they wish. But in that case "protection" is not needed. If, on the other hand, the industries of the country are diversified by turning capital and labor into occupations that for any reason are not self-sustaining—the only excuse for "protection"—then the result is to have wasted capital and labor, and to compel the people of that country to be satisfied with fewer of the products of these new industries than they could otherwise have afforded had they been permitted to purchase these where they could get them cheapest.

Diversified Industry

Instead of diversifying industries, "protection" multiplies the leeches upon industry.

"*Protection Builds Up Infant Industries.*"—Here is the one tenet of "protection" that can be logically sustained in hypothesis, but as to which experiments have been grotesque failure—for the simple reason that the hypothetical status does not exist. The theory is that disinterested statesmen with broad views may discern certain classes of business not then developed in their country which it would be obviously to the advantage of that country to have developed, but which for one or other reason it is improbable will be naturally developed there in the immediate future. It is self-evident that in most cases some one can be hired to undertake the business in question; and that—*provided* those thus induced to carry on the business for the benefit of their fellow citizens shall apply to that business the intense application and energy, the tact and the ingenuity which in other business would make them succeed without government aid—an industry thus fostered might grow into a self-supporting one. Such were the arguments of Hamilton and Clay, and indeed nearly every leading advocate of "protection" before the Republican convention of 1884. The trouble here is, however, that for a hundred years we have been trying a series of experiments in this line, which in extent, variety, number, and absurdity have covered the whole field; and all this with the result that to-day the industries that are most dependent upon "protection," and most successful in their late appeals for additional "protection," are the "infants" of one, two, and three generations ago.

Instances might be multiplied indefinitely. Our experience has been that the more an infant is protected the more infantile it grows. The reason is, of course, not far to seek. In the first place, even well-meaning statesmen are generally

mistaken in giving hothouse development to an industry with the natural conditions of which they are not familiar; and in the next place, the fact is that "protection" to an infant industry never has been arranged by disinterested statesmen. There was, to be sure, one tariff drafted by such a man with such an intent—by Hamilton in 1791. But that was never enacted, and from the free-trade argument with which it opens, to the limitations by which it was drafted, it is as antagonistic as would be free trade itself to our tariff of to-day. As a matter of fact, the "protection" to infant industries has been adjusted at the suggestion of gentlemen who either wanted to be hired to carry on an unfamiliar or unsuccessful business, or who wanted government to give them increased profits upon an industry which without "protection" had demonstrated its success.

Tariff and Industries

Again, the system being one that impels those who avail themselves of it to depend even more upon government aid and success in lobbying for it, than upon making their industry a self-supporting one, the economy and enterprise are lacking which alone enable an industry to secure legitimate success. The result is that our protected industries have not merely failed to be self-supporting, but that they have become more and more dependent upon government aid. Indeed, under protection the infant industry which is best protected, and which grows into most obstreperous manhood, is the oldest "industry" of all—human greed—thus encouraged to manipulate Congress and debauch elections.

"*Protection Encourages Industry.*"—A "protected" manufacturer takes me to look over his plant—a great factory, expensive machinery, well-kept grounds, and, incidentally, his own most comfortable and costly home with its surroundings, and says, "Behold the benefits of protection; listen to the machinery humming in that mill; see the scores of operatives to whom I give labor; see the prosperity all about us here." And all the while he not merely admits but argues that the business would not be a profitable one were it not for the protective bonus—that all about him, and his own snug wealth to boot, is but the surplus of a tax in which he has procured his fellow citizens to be mulcted to pay him for carrying on an unprofitable business.

If an industry does not depend upon "protection" then it is no argument for it. If it does, to precisely that extent it is not an industry but a nuisance. It is not legitimately classed with factories, but with the poorhouses of our own country, and the beggars and idle aristocracy of others—with the vermin that infest and drain, rather than the blood which circulates and nourishes the body politic.

In this connection there is another consideration to be kept in mind—that every attempt specially to encourage one industry by tariff taxation is *discouragement* to every other industry directly or indirectly affected by it.

For example: The combined effect of the German and U. S. bounties on the export of sugar was so excessive that for a period of years the German manufacturer could and did deliver raw sugar to the American refiner more cheaply than to the wholesale dealer at home, and the American dealer could and did refine the raw sugar and pay the freight to England by the excess of the U. S. rebate; so that every English citizen was able to buy refined sugar produced in Germany, transshipped to America, refined there, and reshipped to England, at a cheaper rate than the German could get raw sugar. This, of course, made sugar cheap in Great Britain, which promptly became by far the greatest consumer on the globe, not merely in the aggregate, but per inhabitant. Here was a genuine case of a deluge of cheap foreign goods. The continental sugar bounty nations got the "protection" and England got the sugar.

Great Britain's course shows the difference between the way our tariff is made and that in which such questions should be treated. The English Government set on foot an investigation that amounted to something—not merely of sugar-refining at home and sugar-planting in her colonies; *but of those other interests which, prosperous under cheap sugar, would be hurt should sugar be made more dear.* It was found that there were only 4,000 persons—engaged in sugar-refining—who were prejudiced by the deluge of cheap sugar complained of, and, on the other hand, that there were at least 12,000 people employed in the jam and confectionery industries which, through cheap sugar, had lately sprung up in England, and in which she supplied the world. It was found in addition that the *profits* from these industries were *more than all the wages paid* in sugar-refining; while refined sugar was a raw material in the biscuit industry and mineral- and soda-water bottling, and used to the extent of 50,000 tons in brewing and distilling, all of which were dependent upon the cheap sugar thus secured for their prosperity and enormous export trade. As far as colonial planters were concerned it was shown that the loss to the general consumers—mainly the working men of Great Britain—by the attempt to "protect" sugar growing in the colonies, would be greater each year than the whole amount of capital employed in that business.

Here is the fatal weakness of the claim that "protection" encourages industries. In pointing to the one favored industry he proposes to favor, the protectionist forgets the myriad of legitimate industries which this favoritism will injure or destroy. Like a bad physician, the very "protection" which thus blasts the industries of a nation buries its malpractice below the sight of criticism.

Fatal Weakness

Again, the claim that the tariff encourages industry is nowhere more conclusively exploded than in the numerous and flagrant instances in which we impose tariffs upon the raw materials of our manufacturers. The tariff on raw materials—coal, iron, copper, tin, lead, lumber, wool—is not merely (1) a tax on the laboring man, making his fuel and clothing, as well as his tools and every article of furniture, cost him more than it otherwise would, but (2) directly reduces the profitable opportunity and demand for labor.

As to (1) it is so well understood that it needs but a word. The tariff enables the owners of raw materials to charge more than they otherwise could. If it did not, there would be no use for a tariff. The manufacturer having to pay more for his materials, his manufactured goods cost him more than they otherwise would, and he has to sell them for more to make a profit. Every suit of clothes costs the buyer more because of the duty on wool. Every tin roof increases the rent of the victims that are under it,

every can of tomatoes or oysters costs more because of the tax on tin plates. Every yard of calico costs the woman that wears it more because of the tax on dyestuffs; every pound of paint costs more because of the tax on lead; every house costs more because of the tax that is levied on the materials of which it is composed. The result of this is that the wages of the workman are diminished—that is, the same wages will buy less goods.

But the second effect of the tariff on raw materials is still more serious. Even if our people alone were to be considered, it is plain that the higher the price of any article the fewer will be sold—fewer people can afford to buy it. And since the demand for labor depends upon how many goods are to be made (and not on how much profit the manufacturer makes on each piece), it is easy to see that taxed raw materials make the product dearer and reduce the number of men employed and the demand for labor, and thus reduce in the most effectual way the rate of wages the workman can get.

But this is not the worst. In proportion to its product American labor is the cheapest in the world. But the high price of raw materials caused by the tariff (25 per cent on coal, 40 per cent on iron ore, 75 per cent on tinned plates, 40 per cent on copper, 20 per cent on lumber, 50 to 100 per cent on wool) makes them cost more to our manufacturers, who therefore cannot make goods as cheaply as they otherwise could; and hence cannot afford to sell them as cheaply as do the English and the Germans, who get their raw materials free. It, therefore, is the English and Germans, and not ourselves, who largely supply the rest of the world with manufactured goods, and it is American workmen whom our tariff thus deprives of the job of making goods for the rest of the world.

And this dearness of raw materials arises not from their scarcity, but from their abundance, which has tempted their owners to get laws compelling their countrymen to buy of them, but not compelling them to sell reasonably to their countrymen. The owners of iron ore and coal, of lumber forests, or copper and nickel and lead and salt mines, that God put in the ground for all, thus make them a curse instead of a blessing to the land. Given free raw materials, and there would be no limit to the possible expansion of our export trade in American manufactures; to the steady increase in the demand for American labor to make them, and to the steady increase both in the nominal rate of the wages paid and in the purchasing power of every dollar of such higher wages.

"*Protection Preserves Our Manufactures.*"—How does it do so? By far the greater proportion of them are now independent of "protection." Free trade would immediately relieve these of the taxes levied upon them, especially in the materials they use and the increased costs of living of all employed in them, and give them greater prosperity then they now have.

Not merely this, but by releasing a great portion of the remainder from similar exactions, it would render them the gainers rather than the losers. There would practically remain only a few cases in which experiments of a generation or more had demonstrated that the industry could not be made self-supporting here. As to these few thus discredited by experiment, the quicker we stop paying taxes to support them, and get their product more cheaply from others, who are willing to furnish it, the better for us.

As Adam Smith said, a century ago:

"Neither the public nor individuals will suffer any more from the occasional disbanding of some particular classes of manufacturers than from that of soldiers at the close of a war. Our manufacturers have no doubt great merit with their country, but they cannot have more than those who defend it with their blood, nor deserve to be treated with more delicacy."

But this is not all. Just as cheap sugar and free ores developed in England the multitude of industries dependent upon them that have brought her wealth from all portions of the globe; so with the withdrawal of that "protection" by which our industries are obstructed, there would immediately spring into being a myriad of new ones; those now self-supporting would develop to supply the new demand which their cheaper product would create; and there would be thrown open to American industry the world-wide field to which the unparalleled abundance and natural cheapness of our raw materials, the energy, ingenuity, and effectiveness of our labor, entitle us as the chosen people of the century.

"*Protection Furnishes Work.*"—The Almighty's curse furnished Adam with work when it "protected" him from Eden by the flaming sword, and "protection" increases the amount of work which the citizen of a country must do to secure a given amount of the rewards of labor. It diverts capital and labor from occupations in which, because they were profitable, citizens had invested them, into channels so unnatural that a dead loss is incurred, to recoup which government aid is asked; it diverts the labor of a country from the lines in which it can produce what is or would exchange for most of the good things that its people want, into directions where the production will be or will procure less; it diminishes the amount of good things that each shall receive as the reward of a given amount of labor.

Protection and Labor

The conditions of land tenure in Europe are doubtless accountable for the assumption on the part of protectionists that laborers as a class are indebted to employers for giving them work. This is due to a simple cause—that for centuries in most of the civilized nations of the world their lands have been closed to their laborers. Accepting the theory that they are entitled to breathe Heaven's air only so long as some other man permits them to stand upon his possession, they are not less grateful to their landlord than their Maker.

There is happily no need to argue with American working men upon this point. The natural resources of this country are so boundless, the use of them has produced so self-asserting and handy a mass of laborers, that the real conviction of American wage-earners is in accord with the truth—that non-workers, and not themselves, constitute the "dependent" class.

"*Protection Is Needed to Equalize Labor Cost.*"—This is, after all, the most stoutly contested position of latter-day protectionists, tho it was not so of their great predecessors. Hamilton showed that we could already afford to pay higher wages, and that in any case we could import pauper labor. Clay explained that the question was one of effectiveness and not of rate of wages at all, and that immigration would

doubtless bring wages to a level—all things considered.

But our present protective tariff, originating in war time, was defended, not upon the normal cost of production, but upon the plea that it was needed to equalize, first, the increased cost of production caused by internal-revenue taxes, and second, the increased cost of labor caused by the insufficient supply on account of enlistment in the army. The internal-revenue taxes have been abolished, except those on spirits and tobacco; not merely have the armies disbanded, but foreign labor is coming in at the rate of over a million of immigrants each year. The wealthy are no longer taxed on their income; bankers are no longer bothered by a two-cent stamp on their checks; but employers still find a tariff bonus not less pleasant than ever. And so because it is the "last ditch" of their position, they have rallied about the labor cost of production. This question is one of fact. The claim is baseless; the allegations upon which it is based are simply not true. In the nature of things the evidence should be endless—and it is. The issue is not as to the wage per diem the domestic laborer gets as compared with the foreign one, but as to the labor cost in a given product.

In basing their claim for a government bonus upon the fact that they pay higher wages, our manufacturers are guilty of pleading poverty—on the ground that their working partner gets more profits—while suppressing the fact that he is getting less than *his share* of the greater profits his more effective labor has assured for the common business.

"*Protection's Aim Is to Increase Wages.*"—When it is recalled that the advocates of "protection" are not wage-earners, but employers; that the tariff schedules are fixt, not upon any investigation of wages paid or desirable, or even upon evidence as to the profits actual or to be secured, but upon the suggestion of each knot of manufacturers engaged in any particular branch as to the rate at which they should be hired to conduct their business—When it is noted that the claim involves the assumption that labor is best off when left at the mercy of its employers; and that, in order to secure the greater welfare of their employees, our manufacturers should be given a tariff bonus of hundreds of millions per annum—with no security to the employees that they shall share it—it is seen how innocent in more senses than one must be the voter who listens to such a suggestion. But we need not rely upon the American contempt for cant to refute them. The history of our country is an open book, and no one will question that Hamilton and Clay of the dead, and Justin S. Morrill and John Sherman of the living, are qualified to speak for "protection."

Wages

Alexander Hamilton was the Secretary of the Treasury and the head of the party of which the present high protectionists are the successors—an honest aristocrat, who was as far from professing a particular regard for wage-earners as he was from bothering his head about their condition. Not merely in his general writings and speeches, but in his great "Report on Manufactures," which is the Koran of the protectionist faith, did he urge as the main ground for "protection" the necessity of offering temporary inducement to capital; but, in support of his claim that he was thus but accelerating our natural development, he explained that wages were not so much higher in this country than in Europe as generally supposed, and that the high wages here were paid not to the manufacturing employees, but to agricultural laborers; and that in any case we could safely rely upon the importation hither of the cheap labor that European manufacturers had. He mentioned as an additional advantage the probability that the importation of foreign labor by manufacturers would lead to the same process for farm labor; and he urged as a great advantage, if only sufficient factories were established, that women could be more frequently worked, and thus be made to help support the family, and that children might be utilized and worked at an earlier age than that at which they would be good for anything in agriculture.

After Hamilton came Clay, who from 1810 was the high priest of our ante-bellum "protection," the author of most of the tariff bills, their defender in Congress, and the presidential candidate who asked for the suffrages of the people in their behalf. He, in turn, asked for a tariff, not in the interest of labor in general, but in that of manufacturing employers. Adopting and amplifying Hamilton's arguments, he urged that "women and children who would be comparatively idle if manufactures did not exist, may be profitably employed in them," and that ingenuity in the construction and adroitness in the use of machinery, and the possession of raw materials, existed in our country in an immense degree, and more than counterbalanced the lower wages of labor in Great Britain "if they really existed."

In 1846 the U. S. abandoned the theory of "protection," and reduced duties toward a revenue basis, and in 1857 removed most of the "protection" that remained; so that our present tariff dates back only to the Morrill acts of 1861 and later years. As to the objects of these, the records are open to any one who will read. In order to raise revenues for the conduct of the war, a system was adopted of internal-revenue taxation upon the manufacturing employers, wealthy citizens, and great corporations of the country. Each manufacturer paid a tax on his product, each man of wealth was taxed a large proportion of his income; railroads, telegraph, express, and insurance companies, were taxed a large per cent of their gross receipts, and a stamp duty was levied on every contract and on every bank check. These taxes simply called on the wealth of the country to contribute to the common defense. The acts imposing these tariffs were, however, only allowed to pass accompanied by tariff bills, the effect of which was, as says Mr. Blaine, in his "Twenty Years of Congress," "to shut out still more conclusively all competition from foreign fabrics," and "to charge the increased cost to the consumer." The object and effect of the protective tariff was, therefore, *to enable the manufacturers of the country to get back from the people at large such taxes as the former had been compelled to pay for the support of government.*

But that was not all. In his speech of June 2, 1864, Mr. Morrill, of Vermont, called the attention of Congress to the fact that the presence in the army of a large number of working men left the supply short and wages high at home. It was in view of this that there had been progressed under Mr. Sherman's care in the Senate, and Mr. Morrill's protection in the House, another measure demanded by the manufacturers as the price of their contribution to support government, name-

ly, "An Act to Encourage Immigration," better known as the Contract Labor Law of 1864. There was no concealment about it in Congress, tho its promoters naturally avoided such debate as would call it to the attention of the country. The attention of the public was kept tickled with the patriotism of capitalists in submitting to the internal-revenue act, the tariff act was suppressed from prominence and mainly adjusted in committee; while the Contract Labor Law was whipt through both houses and signed by the president, July 4th, Independence Day, 1864. It provided for a U. S. commissioner to advertise throughout Europe the high wages paid in the U. S., and to cooperate with the American employers in contracting for labor abroad. A first lien was given employers who imported labor, for the cost of so doing, upon its wages for the first year, and also "until liquidated by the immigrant," upon any land, whether homestead or otherwise, or personal property, that he might acquire; and the faith of the government was pledged not to call upon immigrants for military service within a certain number of years after they arrived.

Our present tariff was, therefore, a twin of the Contract Labor Law of 1864. It was passed by the same Congress and advocated by the same men who procured government to advertise in Europe to induce foreigners to come over to reduce wages here, and to take the place in our factories of American working men who were fighting in the field, and who, when they returned, found their jobs gone and themselves forced to compete with the contract labor thus imported.

"*Protection Does Increase Wages.*"—To increase the wages of labor sums up the greater part of the expedients by which the best and wisest of our race have attempted to benefit humanity. An overwhelmingly great majority are laborers. The wage of labor, counted tho it may be in money, is really the proportion of its product which it receives. To increase this proportion is to direct more and more of this product into the hands of those who have thus deserved to enjoy it. To increase the absolute amount represented by this portion is to give more of comfort to each dweller on earth, except those who, objects of charity or restraint, would still remain dependent as now, and those others who are possest of such accumulations of either their own or other men's work that they already subsist comfortably without effort.

The test thus offered is a crucial one, politically as well as morally. Not merely is that system most just which insures to labor the largest proportion of its product; not merely is that plan most inspiring that offers the greatest rewards for exertion; but, in a land where government is based on manhood suffrage, increase of the compensation of wage-earners is at once beneficent in principle and the one object to which, as intelligence directs votes, the policy of government must tend.

As already noted, wages are *not* high here when product is taken into account. To stop here, however, would be begging the question, since ability to earn and demand good wages is a blessing in itself. The real question is, "Why are wages high here?"

This is not a new query. In 1773 Adam Smith stated as to America that in the Province of New York the wages of common laborers were 3*s.* 6*d.* or 2*s.* sterling, of ship carpenters 10*s.* 6*d.* and a pint of rum, or 6*s.* 6*d.* sterling per day; house carpenters and bricklayers, 8*s.* or 4*s.* 6*d.* sterling; tailors, 5*s.* or 2*s.* 10*d.* sterling; and that the price of provisions was everywhere much lower than in Great Britain, where wages ranged for common laborers from 1*s.* 6*d.* sterling in London to 10*d.* in Edinburgh, and 8*d.* the usual price throughout the greater part of the low country of Scotland—which latter figures are those most nearly comparable with the American rates—there being then no large cities here like London. Inquiring into the cause of this, he concluded that "plenty of good land, and liberty to manage their own affairs in their own way, seemed to be the two great causes of the prosperity of all new countries. . . . Every colonist has more land than he can possibly cultivate. He is, therefore, eager to secure laborers from all quarters, and to reward them with the most liberal wages. But these liberal wages, joined to the plenty and cheapness of the land, soon make these laborers leave him in order to become landowners themselves, and to reward with equal liberality other laborers, who soon leave *them* for the same reason *they* left their first masters."

Alexander Hamilton, in discussing comparative wages in Europe and this country, noted the same fact, especially that the difference in wages in regard to artificers and manufacturers was much less "than in regard to country laborers," and gave the same reason adduced by Adam Smith—adding the suggestion that laborers who might be imported for manufacturers would doubtless soon find out this state of things, and help furnish a better supply of laborers for agriculture; while Clay, reasoning on the same lines, argued that tho wages might fall on account of the importation of foreign labor, yet that "the extent and fertility of our lands constitute an adequate security against an excess in manufactures, and also against oppression on the part of capitalists toward the laboring portions of the community"—in other words, that our *unprotected* industries would always be a protection to labor against the oppression of protected capital.

Since the settlement of this country agricultural labor has received an average wage, approximately equivalent to its product, without deduction for hire of the land—in bad times the fact being notorious that it is our laborers and not our landowners, as such, who realize the greater part of the product of agriculture. Again, as an increasing proportion of the world's working men are weakened neither by hunger nor the diseases of want and squalor, hands and head become alike more efficient in product, and wage-earners more plucky to insist upon an equitable share of it. With this "protection" has had nothing to do. In this country—whose men have never been hungry, whose children have never been wretched, whose women have never sunk under unwomanly labor—the result—the greatest prosperity since the sun shone upon Eden—is due to our free soil and the blessing of Providence—neither of which came through the custom house.

"*Protection Keeps Our Home Market for Us.*"—If by this were meant what is the fact, that protection shuts us all up, and thus tends to make *us* a market for the protected few who have procured us to be thus fenced in, there could be no objection to the statement, or to any argument legitimately drawn therefrom. But such is not its intended application. Speaking

Home Market

on the assumption that a nation may be regarded as a single individual, it is urged that its markets should be reserved for its own supply; and that, rather than permit foreigners to let us have what it would take us three days to make, in return for something else we can make in two days, we had better work the three days ourselves. It is precisely analogous to the resolve of a tired man, offered a ride, to keep his traveling for his own legs.

"*Protection Increases Population.*"—In proportion as a population becomes dense, in precisely that proportion is the extent of the demand for manufactures such as to make economical the production in the community of the products which that community can use. To the extent that there is capital and brains there, to that extent the development of all manufactures which can legitimately flourish there will follow upon the population that justifies them.

It is only in the same way that manufactures increase the value of land, if we except the infinitely small proportion of the land they occupy. That their establishment is coincident and somewhat in proportion to the rise of land, is simply a result of the fact that it is the consequence of the same development that increases the price of land—the increase in number of those who want to use it.

And the establishment of a village of manufacturing operatives may help raise the price of the land about it. The most ardent protectionist, however, will stop short of the suggestion that the citizens of any village can enrich themselves and increase the value of the land in their village by taxing themselves to pay the profits of an unprofitable industry. If that were the case, the shortest road to wealth for every farmer would be to increase the value of his farm by hiring hands till he had enough to eat all he could raise.

Here, let us say, is a farmer located on a bit of land a hundred miles away from the nearest city. That city is his market. The cost of transportation is so much taken from his profits.

Here steps in the protectionist. There is in this region, say, a stream capable of abundant water-power. "Let us put up a woolen-mill here," the protectionist urges. "Let us agree to pay something more than we pay now for woolen stuffs, and so make it an object for some one to come here and start a manufactory. Hundreds of hands will be employed; the railway will be put through. We will build up a town right in the midst of our farms, and have a market at our very doors. Good prices then for everything." It is done. The mill is built; the railway is laid; the town grows up. And the farmer—what of him? Strange to say, we presently find him getting poorer!

Where is the mistake? It is just here—in the agreement to "pay something more than we pay now" for manufactured goods. If the farmers of *this* locality want a woolen-mill, those in *that* locality want a cotton-mill, and those in the next county an iron-furnace, and so on. The result is that the farmers everywhere pay "something more" for everything they buy.

This, however, is not the worst. Nowadays there is no such thing as a "home market" for any considerable portion of their produce. The farmer in the Genesee Valley not merely sees the trains run past him to Rochester, laden with flour, rolled in Minneapolis, from Dakota wheat, but uses the same flour in his own household, and his village butcher sells fresh meat from beeves killed at Kansas City. No manufacturing town dreams nowadays of looking to the locality about it for any supplies, except only the cheapest part of its "garden truck." The American manufacturer has free trade in the one thing he buys the most of—labor. He lives in a land where transport facilities are so developed that he need not depend upon the locality about him—and he does not; in a country whose surplus of food products is so great that their first price-fixing markets are found at Liverpool, a free-trade city—and so he gets them, too, at free-trade rates. The American farmer has sold his birthright and has lost his pottage to boot.

There is another aspect of the relations between American mill owners and American farmers. All international commerce is practically barter—that is, exchange of goods for goods. The necessity of paying in money for any considerable part of the imports of a commercial country for a single year would require such an amount of our money as is absolutely unattainable, and the attempt to get it would so derange the financial status as to cripple all business, international commerce first of all. This does not mean that our exports must be directly to countries from which we import. With the development of financial communication throughout the world the effect upon us is the same as tho the exchange were direct, provided we export somewhither an amount of goods approximately sufficient to pay for those we import from anywhere.

Now, generally speaking, the two great items of trade are food products and manufactured goods. As compared with Europe, to which most of our exports go, we export food products and import manufactured goods. The extent to which we can export is closely dependent upon the extent to which we can import. We can sell anywhere only in proportion to what we buy somewhere. Our supply of goods is, therefore, furnished in part by our home manufacturers, and in part (indirectly) by our farmers in the shape of goods which are imported to pay for their produce. The competition fostered by our tariff is, therefore, between the home manufacturer and the American farmer.

In this competition, therefore, to supply the American market with manufactured goods, a high tariff not merely enables the manufacturer to avoid competition from the goods which, as pay for his produce, the American farmer would bring into this country, and to secure the home market for himself at a higher rate; but it compels the American farmer, thus obstructed in export trade, to sell farm produce here cheaper than he would otherwise have had to do.

Of late years increasing facilities of communication and the accelerated progress of invention have promised mankind such a reduction in prices as should result from the fact that the whole world has become, as it were, a single locality, and that the tact, ingenuity, and enterprise of the captains of industry in every part of it would naturally be enlisted in rivalry to secure the advantages of wider markets and greater sales.

Trusts

But the world has been disappointed. The railroad, the telephone, and the telegraph, by making the world but a single locality, have not merely inaugurated world-wide competition, but they have awakened producers to the greater intensity of rivalry thus made possible, and facilitated the formation of trusts, or industrial

combines. Not all of them are consequences of the tariff any more than all crime is a result of drink. It is as plain, however, that our tariff promotes trusts as that drunkenness breeds crime.

For, in any industry whose product our government "protects" by a tariff upon similar articles made abroad, it is in the power of home manufacturers to extort from our people the full tariff rate as a bonus for their own pockets; whereas if it were not for the tariff, no combine would "work" unless it included the whole world. As to a protected industry, therefore, the tariff makes it as much easier to form trusts than it otherwise would be, as it is easier successfully to combine the few manufacturers of a single nation than it is to get and keep together in harmony many times as many manufacturers, scattered all over the world.

Monopoly once secured, the results are:

First.—These combines, covering, as they do, many great branches of protected manufacture, and affecting many others, raise the price of manufactured goods, so that the consumer gets less for the same amount of money. It is generally the case also that a large proportion of the concerns which have combined together are those which cannot manufacture the manufactured goods as economically as the others. The ordinary course has been to pay such for remaining idle, leaving all of the product to be made at the manufactories which can produce it most cheaply, while the combine keeps up the price not merely to afford exorbitant profit to the plants still kept at work, but to pay to idle manufactories the bonus agreed upon for their remaining non-productive.

Second.—The object of a trust combine is to make large profits on a limited product. If successful, therefore, a trust makes up by the high rate of its profits what it loses by the smallness of its sales; and it is, therefore, just as well off as tho, by selling goods more cheaply, it made larger sales. But it is the amount of goods to be manufactured, and not the profit that the employer is to make out of each item, that determines the demand for labor and the wages he must pay. Trusts, therefore, enable manufacturers to make more money by employing less labor.

Shipping

It is evident that there are two industries involved in the general term "shipping"—one, that of shipbuilding, the other, that of the carrying trade; also that of these two the carrying trade is the principal one and the other simply incidental—that is, that we build ships in order to carry goods and passengers, instead of carry goods and passengers in order to employ ships. In our shipping industries the principles of "protection" have been most thoroughly applied, and have produced their legitimate results. But for a consideration of this, see Ship Subsidies.

Just Protection Impossible

There are practically no articles to which protection can be applied which are not directly a factor in a myriad of other industries and indirectly so in all the countless branches of industry. Even to secure the data upon which an estimate can be made of what is or is not fair protection, and whether its burdens and benefits are equally distributed, presupposes an accurate knowledge on the part of the framers of a tariff bill of every conceivable branch of every imaginable industry in all of its infinitely varied relations. It is, therefore, not merely impossible for a just tariff to be framed, but impossible—except by the disastrous result of experiment—even to guess at the wide-spread effects of any provision. And even this guesswork is vitiated by the impossibility of estimating alternate developments which such provision has made impossible.

Again, recalling the complexity and the importance of the task thus assigned legislators, who are the men who undertake it—and by what are their deliberations guided? They are Congressmen—a body of gentlemen of whom it is not belittling them to say that on an average they know somewhat more about politics and somewhat less about business than do their fellow citizens who are engaged in non-political business. Neither in capacity nor in opportunity would their most complimentary friends for a moment claim them to be endowed with a tithe of the omniscience necessary. They must depend upon somebody. And they do—upon those who are sufficiently interested to go to Washington or to employ others to go there to argue with congressional committees as to the fairness of what each asks for himself. Bearing in mind that in each case the legislators are and must be largely ignorant of the main considerations—much more so of their practical application—by which any proposed tariff item should be judged; and that the men whose interest is to have the law give them as much as is possible are generally of the few, and often the only ones competent to judge as to the fairness of their own statements; remembering that each is careless of the effect upon others of the particular provision which will benefit him, and that each is jealous of the effect upon him of any provision that will help others; remembering that the most practical, and, indeed, the most common way of settling these differences is not by fighting it out before the congressional committee but by a friendly arrangement by which each abandons opposition to the other in consideration of the other agreeing to stand aside from additional benefit to himself; remembering that a tariff bill is the one measure of legislation that it is impracticable to debate even in Committee of the Whole, and one recognizes at once how apt is the simile in which a well-known author described the effect of pending tariff legislation in Congress upon the swarm of protected—or would-be protected—or prefer not to be obstructed—industries as comparable only to that effect of throwing a banana into a cage of monkeys.

The simile, however, is not a complete one. The real process of tariff construction is that of first throwing the banana to a half dozen who have been gathered, and then attempting to allay the consequent scrimmage by flinging in further bananas until not merely the monkeys originally on hand, but all those from the woods about, who have been attracted by the chatter, shall have had their share in the mêlée and gorged themselves with bananas—all of which have been taken from the hard-working natives to whom they belong.

III. Free Trade

We are told that if we permit free trade, we shall be "deluged with foreign goods." On reflection, few of us can be thus frightened. The more goods we have the better we are off; the

cheaper we can get them the better we like it; the more we are inundated with them the better we are suited. The protectionist says, however, that it is not fair to make him ridiculous. So let him state soberly what is the reason of his fright at this deluge of prosperity. He will probably tell you that the result of it will be to deprive our own people of the labor of producing it.

Now, there may be people of such peculiar taste as to like work in and for itself. Individual protectionists are not generally such, however, and the majority of us rack our wits as to how we can get the most goods for the least work. "But," the protectionist says, "you are still laughing at me. Nobody supposes foreigners will let us have these goods for nothing. No? What will they do then?" "We shall have to pay for them." Exactly, and with what? What have we been paying for them? What are the terms of all international trade? We pay for them by exports of the produce of this country. So this deluge of foreign goods is simply an exchange for goods that have been manufactured here. Such being the case, why is not our labor just as well employed in making here the goods that are sent abroad, as it would be in making the foreign goods imported? "Oh, but," the protectionist says, "there is not as much labor employed." But does not that prove that the importation of foreign goods is a good thing? If two days' work here can make what we send abroad and get back what would take three days' work to do, have we not gained the product of a day's work by the exchange? And if there was any loss; if, for example, we had to work three days to make the goods for which foreigners would give us others which would take us but two days to make, would we need government aid to stop us in our mad career? The protectionist again says we do not understand him, and that what we want to do is to keep our workmen employed. Not unless we pay them. And if they are not to be paupers, they ought to be employed in some business that pays. That business is one of those in which two days' work will buy from somebody else what would have cost three days' labor to make here, and not a business that spends three days' work upon something that it could get in trade by working two days. The workmen should, therefore, go into some of the great industries that do not need "protection." And, in fact, such are the industries in which are engaged nine tenths of the working men in this country, and in which the highest wages are paid.

Does any one claim that trade between men of different nations is a bad thing in itself? The experience of the world to date is directly to the contrary. It is as natural for men to trade as for blood to circulate. In direct proportion as man rises from a savage state, he trades with his neighbors. In direct proportion to the extent civilization develops, the neighbors he trades with are more numerous and more widely scattered. It was about the centers of trade between different races and nations and in the persons of those who carried it on, and through intercourse of which trade was the object and the opportunity, that the great advances of civilization have been made. Down at the bottom of every prospect of increasing earnings of labor and comfort for the race are—division of labor so that to each shall be allotted what he can do best—the development of processes of production, so that the product of a day's work shall be greater and greater—and the perfecting of facilities of transportation, so that the product of any day's work may be everywhere most easily supplied; and all this to the end that, all workers making the most goods possible, each may receive as his share an ever greater amount in proportion to his exertion. To the extent to which trade is facilitated, this result is advanced. But on the protective theory every reduction in the cost of freight, every increase in the facilities of communication, every addition to the ease with which we can trade with foreigners raises a new evil to be met by increase of tariffs.

Benefits of Trade

In olden times each tribe was separated from its neighbor by a belt of waste land never crossed except at risk of death. Exchange of goods was effected by the battle or the foray in which the warrior spoiled his slain foe, or ravaged the home of the absent one. To-day nations eagerly join in opening new facilities for mutual intercourse, and each uses the arts and the products of all; while "On earth peace, good-will toward men" —the common fatherhood of God and the common brotherhood of man—are preached from every pulpit.

"Protection" or free trade? Which faces backward?

On the whole our people are intelligent and conscientious, and habitually do neither what they know to be foolish nor what they feel to be wrong. And yet most of us have not the least hesitation in bringing from foreign countries everything that we imagine we can get abroad cheaper than here. Rather than make false oaths some American citizens pay many duties they otherwise might avoid. But the fact remains that returning ships are loaded with the baggage, purchased abroad, of protectionist statesmen; and that the woman has not yet gone abroad who has hesitated for a moment to avoid the tariff upon everything she could smuggle; conspicuous cases of unsuccessful smuggling are those of millionaire protectionist manufacturers; and one of the most flagrant cases ever known was that where a communion service of massive silver plate was smuggled by a reputable banker as a present to the church of which he was an ornament. Either we are degenerates or else we know better than to respect a tariff.

Whether a country is rich or poor it will be benefited by free trade with its neighbors. For in either case the result is to give its citizens so many more chances to trade. If they cannot profit by them they will not trade; if they can, then they and through them their country will be richer for their having them. No country is either so rich or so poor that it is not to its advantage to have its citizens better off than they are.

By permitting us to obtain each what things we need from the locality that has the greatest facilities for their production, trade increases enormously the sum of things which a given quantity of labor can secure. Men of all nations trade with each other, for the same reason that men of the same nation and the same village do, because they find it profitable; because they get what they want with less labor than they otherwise could. To this motive we owe civilization and the progress the world has so far made. It involves considerations far too complex for the omniscience of a Congress or the omnipotence of a Parliament. It can safely be left only to those

instincts which are to society what the vital instincts are to the body; which have brought us thus far from savagery; and which have established free trade as "the international law of God."

JOHN DE WITT WARNER.

THE TARIFF AND TRUSTS. STATISTICAL ILLUSTRATIONS

The largest and most typical of tariff trusts is the U. S. Steel Corporation. Its outstanding capital was $1,439,055,864 in 1905.

Its controlled and "community-of-interest" companies bring its capitalization up to about $1,700,000,000.

It owns or controls about 80 per cent of the Lake Superior iron ore mines, the Connellsville coking coal mines, operates 1,200 miles of railroads, and mines over 20,000,000 tons of iron ore a year, mainly transported on its more than one hundred vessels. It produces two thirds of our steel products, or more than does any other country than the U. S.

In 1905 its gross sales and earnings were, as reported, $585,331,736; its net earnings $119,787,658. It paid $128,052,955 in wages and salaries to its 180,158 employees—an average of $710.75 each.

Its owners thus got about as much in net profits as its 180,000 employees got in wages. In 1902 net profits exceeded wages and salaries by $20,000,000. In 1906 the net profits are $156,619,111. The total of wages was probably about $136,000,000. Since this trust was born, in 1901, its total net earnings has about equaled its total wages and salaries paid.

This trust exports goods to all parts of the world and sells them abroad at "very much lower rates than those here," as testified its first president, Mr. Charles M. Schwab. This difference has probably averaged about $10 per ton.

United States Steel Corporation Profits

In 1905 the U. S. Steel Corporation sold 9,226,386 tons of "rolled and other finished products." The average selling price was probably less than $40 a ton, making the total receipts from this source about $370,000,000. Other receipts, from freight and passenger rates, sales of cement, spelter, copperas, etc., may have amounted to $20,000,000 or $25,000,000. Thus the total of "gross sales and earnings" probably amounted to less than $400,000,000. The "gross sales and earnings" of $585,331,736, in 1905, undoubtedly included sales between the subsidiary companies. This fact was so stated in the 1902 report.

Deducting net earnings—roughly $120,000,000—we get $280,000,000 as the total cost of production, including all administrative, selling, and general expenses, employees' bonus funds, taxes, etc. The rate of profit was, therefore, about 43 per cent. As this rate would look very high, the officials report fictitious gross sales and cost of production, the latter as $440,013,432. But even on this cost, the rate of profit is over 23 per cent.

Deducting $5,000,000 as the estimated profits on everything else, we get $115,000,000 as the net profits on the sale of 9,226,386 tons of steel. The profits then average $12.50 a ton. The profits on goods sold here average about $14, and on the goods exported about $4 a ton. Ten or 12 per cent of all goods sold were for export. *All* goods for export are sold to and through the U. S. Steel Products Export Company, whose stock is owned by the Federal Steel Company of the U. S. Steel Corporation. This selling device, like the fictitious gross sales and costs, helps conceal export prices and tariff profits. *Prices* are quoted delivered in foreign ports. This selling company contracts in advance for tonnage to different foreign countries and can then quote relatively lower prices, delivered in foreign ports, than for export from New York.

But often the selling company has agreements with foreign steel producers as to prices at which each can sell certain products and as to territory in which each producer can or cannot sell. Thus there is an "International Rail Syndicate" of manufacturers of steel rails in the U. S., Great Britain, Germany, France, and Belgium, which practically reserves the two American continents to our manufacturers. So there is to-day little or no competition as to rails. Thus the *Iron Age* of Jan. 21, 1907, says:

"Whatever understanding has been maintained between the largest German and American steel interests in the past year respecting exported material has been facilitated by an unprecedented condition of activity. The falling off in rails (exported from Great Britain), as has been claimed on behalf of British rail-mills, is due to their unfortunate experience under the international rail syndicate's allotment of business."

Since the formation of these international syndicates, and probably largely because of them, there has been less difference between export and home prices than formerly. Thus, at the end of 1906, the average difference was estimated at $5 or $6 a ton. Previous to 1906 the average difference was, perhaps, $10 or $12 a ton. On many products, however, such as wire nails, most wire and wire products, and tin plates, the average difference is still about one half cent a pound, or over $10 a ton.

Previous to the international agreements of 1905 and 1906 the difference between the export and home prices may be said to have measured roughly the tariff profits of the Steel Trust. Since 1905 the tariff profits undoubtedly exceed this difference. The number of tons of steel sold by the trust in 1906 is not as yet known. It may be estimated at 11,000,000. Taking the amounts exported for each year and estimating the tariff profits—after making allowance for goods exported without tariff profit—as indicated in the table, we get the following as the

TARIFF PROFITS OF THE UNITED STATES STEEL CORPORATION

YEAR	Finished products, Tons	Tariff per ton	Profits, amount	Total net profits
1901....	6,000,000[1]	9	$54,000,000	$84,787,596
1902....	8,197,232	10	81,972,320	133,308,764
1903....	7,635,690	8	61,085,520	109,171,152
1904....	6,792,780	7	47,549,460	73,176,522
1905....	9,226,386	9	83,037,474	119,787,658
1906....	10,578,433	8	88,000,000	156,619,111
Totals.	48,852,088	Av..8.50	$415,644,774	$676,850,803
Deduct tariff profits.....				415,644,774
Net profits less tariff profits.....				$261,206,029

[1] Estimated for nine months in 1901.

Thus during the five years and nine months of its existence the Steel Trust reports net profits of $676,000,000, or an average of $118,000,000 a year. This is an average of over 8 per cent, even on the nominal capital of the trust. As the actual value of all property taken over by the trust probably did not exceed $400,000,000 in 1901, and as less than $200,000,000—perhaps not $100,000,000—has been added for new properties since, it is evident that the actual capital necessarily invested has averaged only about $500,000,000. On this the profits have averaged 23.5 per cent (?). Taking out the estimated tariff profits of $415,000,000, there would still be left an average profit of about 9 per cent (?) on all actual necessary capital. The industry would thus thrive if all protection was removed.

As the Steel Trust makes about two thirds of the steel made in this country, the total tariff tax on this class of steel products is about $177,000,000. Besides, we imported in 1903 $52,456,840 of iron and steel on which $16,865,971 of duty was collected. The tariff tax at wholesale, then, amounted to about $200,000,000. At retail, and after the iron and steel had been worked into machinery, tools, implements, etc., the tariff tax was, perhaps, twice this amount, or $400,000,000.

The trust has lately utilized only about half of its protection. On some products less, on others more. That no duty whatever is needed, except for purposes of plunder, is clear from the immense quantities of these products exported. Thus, in 1906 we exported 390,000,000 pounds of wire, over 27,000,000 pounds of tin-plate, and 328,036 tons of steel rails, valued at $8,903,411. The wages of those making tin plates for export are reduced 25 per cent over what is received on other tin plates.

Mr. Charles M. Schwab said, in a letter to H. C. Frick, in 1899, that steel rails were made here for less than $12 per ton, while the cost to produce them in England was $19. He says that similar differences existed as to other steel products. The tariff duties serve no honest purpose. They are maintained by the brutal force and political power of the Steel Trust.

The "Report of the Bureau of Statistics on Commerce and Finance," for Aug., 1900, particularly mentioned the export and home prices of steel rails, then $24 and $35 respectively, and the extreme prices for wire and nails, which "had advanced from $1.35 to $3.20 in the course of a year."

THE TARIFF TAX ON WOOLENS

The factory value of the woolens manufactured in this country in 1900 was $296,990,484. Adding 8 per cent for increase in population and 12 per cent for increased prices from 1900 to 1905, the value of the manufactured product in 1905 was $356,000,000.

The imports of woolen goods for consumption in 1905 amounted to $18,021,042. The duty collected was $16,547,592, or 91.82 per cent ad valorem. Including transportation costs, these goods were worth $38,000,000 when they reached our shores. Adding these values we have $394,000,000 as the factory and import value of all woolens. The *Statistical Abstract*, however, tells us that the raw wool retained for consumption in 1905 was 6.52 pounds per capita, against 5.72 pounds in 1900. As the imports of manufactures were but slightly larger in 1905 than in 1900, we should add at least 10 per cent to this factory value, making it

$433,000,000. Adding 15 per cent for profits we get $498,000,000 as the value of the woolen goods ready to be made into clothing, etc. The retail value of the clothing, etc., was probably 50 per cent greater, or $747,000,000. This gives an average of $41.50 per family.

Our imports of raw wool in 1905 amounted to $35,444,449, on which a duty of $16,529,787 was paid. Hence the total duty collected on wool and woolens was $33,077,379.

As only about one ninth of our woolen goods are imported and as the tariff on these goods amounts to $16,547,592, or perhaps $27,000,000 at retail, the increased cost to our consumers of all woolens should be about nine times this amount, or $243,000,000. If it is only $200,000,000 it averages $11.10 per family, of which only $1.84 goes to the government, leaving $9.26 mainly for the American Woolen Company, and somewhat to the few owners of about 40,000,000 sheep. The number of sheep has changed but slightly during the last quarter of a century. The per capita consumption of wool averaged 5.6 pounds from 1898 to 1905, inclusive, as against 6.8 pounds from 1890 to 1897, inclusive. The decreased consumption of wool, under almost prohibitive duties of nearly 100 per cent, has resulted in greatly increased consumption of cotton and shoddy goods.

The Sugar Tariff—Trust Tax

Our people consume about 72 pounds of sugar per capita. The average price paid is about 5½ cents per pound, or over $18 per family, and our total sugar bill is about $325,000,000.

In 1905 we imported 3,680,932,998 pounds of raw sugar, valued at $97,645,449, on which $51,171,284 of duty was collected. About 2,200,000,000 pounds was produced in this country, making a total used of 5,896,163,840 pounds, or 2,632,216 tons.

The duty on refined sugar is 1.95 cents per pound, plus a countervailing duty equal to any export duty that may be paid by foreign countries. Our refiners are specially protected by an extra or "differential" duty on refined sugar—nominally 12½ cents per 100 pounds, but really much more—and also by a part of the countervailing duties. These latter have now about ceased.

The extra protection on refined sugar is probably about ⅛ of a cent per pound. Of course the whole duty of 1.92 cents per pound protects the producers of the 576,124 tons of beet and cane sugar not imported.

Here, then, is a tariff tax of $51,000,000 collected by the government, and of $38,000,000 more collected by the trust and other protected interests, on sugar sold at wholesale. At retail the tax is probably over $125,000,000—2.15 cents per pound, or nearly 40 per cent of the total price paid by the people. The sugar bill per family is therefore about $18 a year, above $7 of which goes to the Sugar Trust and other protected interests.

That there is no economic or moral justification for any protection factor here is clear from the fact that sugar is refined more cheaply here than anywhere else, and that the total labor cost of refining, according to the 1900 census, was less than 3 per cent of the value of the product, or only 15 cents per 100 pounds. That is, *the net extra protection on refined sugar is more than the total labor cost of refining sugar.*

Amount of Tariff Tax

Somewhat careful estimates of the tariff tax were made for the year 1903. It is probable that the tax per family is now about the same as it was then.

By comparing various estimates of earnings and expenditures the conclusion was reached that in 1903 the net value of all goods produced was about $18,000,000,000, and that the amount consumed by our 17,000,000 families was $16,000,000,000, or about $9.41 per family. The percentage of expenditures for the principal items entering into the cost of living for the average family was based upon the July (1904) Report of the Bureau of Labor.

Space will not permit a detailed explanation of how the estimate of the tariff tax on each item was reached. The $16.52 of legitimate tariff taxes collected by the government were, of course, known. The main items on which they were collected were also known. Frequently, however, as in the cases of steel rails, wire, borax, and hundreds of other products, almost no duty was collected by the government while almost the full amount of the tariff tax was collected by the protected trusts from consumers.

In a general way it may be said that to the factory and import values of each important product were added a fair allowance for transportation and for profits of middlemen and that this amount, divided by 17,000,000, gave the per family consumption for each product. On this the tariff tax was figured as closely as possible, considering the known facts in each instance.

The conclusion is reached that the average family pays $111 of tariff tax, of which $16.52 goes to the government and $94.48 to the trusts and middlemen. That this estimate of about 10 per cent of all expenditures as the proportion collected by the trusts is reasonable is apparent from other deductions. Thus, at the present time (March, 1907) average prices in the U. S. are about 50 per cent higher than they were ten years ago. In England—generally speaking a free-trade country—average prices are only about 30 per cent higher than ten years ago. Here is a difference of 20 per cent. If only two thirds of this difference be credited to the tariff and tariff trusts, we have fully 10 per cent of the cost of living chargeable to the tariff; even if the tariff was ineffective in 1906, as we know was not the case.

Export Prices

No stronger indictment can be brought against our tariff system than that furnished by the difference between export and home prices. Probably fully 80 per cent of the $570,000,000 worth of manufactured goods exported in the fiscal year 1906 were sold at prices below those prevailing at home for similar goods. The average difference was perhaps 15 per cent.

This system of favoritism to foreigners not only shows the needlessness of any tariff whatever on goods sold in this way; it shows that "protection" that taxes the protected and gives to the unprotected is a suicidal policy. It increases the cost of living and of producing in this country and decreases the cost in foreign countries.

In the following table are compared the export and home prices in the summer and fall of 1906 on a few articles:

Export and Home Prices of Certain Articles

Articles and Description	Export price	Home price	Difference, per cent
Cultivators, wheel, No. 61, each	$4.00	$5.00	25
Wheelbarrows, garden, wood wheel, each	2.50	3.00	20
Thrashers, grain, horse or steam power, 32-in. each	300.00	400.00	33⅓
Rubber belting, 6-in., per foot	.39	.30	33⅓
Horse-powers, 10 horse, each	143.00	190.00	33⅓
Engines, traction, 8 horse-power, each	917.00	1,225.00	33⅓
Engines, farm, 8 horse-power, each	563.00	750.00	33⅓
Clothes-wringers, 10 x 1¾, per dozen	18.70	22.50	20
Incubators, No. 1, each	15.00	20.00	33⅓
Brooders, 200 chicks, each	9.20	11.50	25
Potato-diggers, each	90.00	100.00	11
Shovels, D-handle, square point, No. 2, per dozen	8.25	11.00	33⅓
Watches, 21-jewel Crescent st., nickel case, each	15.43	19.88	28
Watches, 23-jewel Riverside Maximus, each	31.77	43.15	35
Watches, 21-jewel Father Time, each	14.42	19.89	38
Knives, kitchen, per gross	12.00	16.00	33⅓
Auger bits, snells, ½-inch, per dozen	1.62	2.40	48
Auger bits, Jennings, ½-inch, per dozen	1.21	2.00	60
Bits, expansive, Clark Brown, per dozen	4.86	8.10	66
Shears, barber's, 8-inch, japanned, per dozen	3.80	4.80	26
Shears, tailor's, 13-inch, per pair	3.60	4.32	20
Soap, toilet, violet, per gross	32.00	40.80	25
Soap, toilet, sweet lavender, per gross	14.04	19.12	35
Soap, toilet shaving stock, large, per gross	13.00	16.74	20
Soap, toilet glycerin, per gross	8.34	12.75	52
Florida water, per case	2.75	5.00	82
Vaseline No. 2	.58	.70	20
Plows, disk No. 1, each	32.50	40.00	25
Kerosene in barrels, gallon	7.50	.12	60
Wire nails, 100 lbs	1.55	1.90	23
Barb-wire, 100 lbs	2.22	2.45	10

Byron W. Holt.

FREE TRADE CLUB, THE UNIONIST: An English club, the object of which is to unite and combine in common work free-traders in all parts of the country who may, whether as conservatives or liberal unionists, belong to the Unionist Party. It exists to organize those who are willing to assist in the dissemination, by speeches and lectures, of unionist and free trade principles. The policy of the club is actively to support free trade, and equally energetically to oppose protection in all its forms and under whatever names it may be

put before the electors. In furtherance of its object, the club proposes: (1) To organize those who are willing to assist in the dissemination by speeches and lectures, and by the publication of leaflets and other literature, of unionist and free trade principles; (2) to afford opportunities to its members of meeting to discuss the political situation; (3) to entertain from time to time eminent free trade statesmen at dinner, and hear from them addresses on current events; (4) to establish a connection with local bodies in various parts of the country, with a view to furthering the object of the club. With the approval of the executive committee, other unionist free trade bodies may be affiliated to the Unionist Free Trade Club under the following conditions: "The objects of the affiliated body must be the same as the objects of this club, namely, to unite in common action free-traders who are unionists; and its rules and any amendment to its rules must be submitted to the executive committee for approval. Beyond retaining the power to cancel the affiliation at any time, the club will not exercise any control over these affiliated bodies, and will not be in any way responsible for any action which they may take." The president of the club is the Duke of Devonshire; the secretary, E. G. Branker; office, 38 Victoria Street, S. W., London, England.

FREILIGRATH, FERDINAND: German poet and Socialist, born at Detmold, 1810; was educated at the gymnasium of his native town. Destined for a mercantile career he was apprenticed to an uncle in Soest, and in 1831 went to Amsterdam to fill a position. Returning in 1836 he held a position in Barmen until 1839 when the success of his first poems, "Tropenlieder," encouraged him to give up mercantile pursuits and devote himself to poetry. During the following years he wrote prolifically, and for several years kept far from politics. In 1844, however, he became an enthusiastic fighter for a "free Germany," saying: "Firmly and irrevocably do I place myself on the side of those who with brain and brawn endeavor to stem the tide of reaction. No life for me hereafter without liberty!" In the same year he met Marx at Brussels and became greatly interested in the latter's doctrines. His poems at this time "breathed of the liberty to come while they sighed over the misery that was." While previously obscure, he became of a sudden one of the most popular poets of the day.

In 1846 Freiligrath went to London as commercial correspondent, and remained there until 1848 when the news of the "March Day" drew him home. He was hailed with enthusiasm, and became leader of a democratic party. In a poem entitled "Die Toten an die Lebenden" (The Dead to the Living), he voiced his thoughts of liberty, and was accused of having tried to incite the citizens to riot. He was arrested on Aug. 18th and held until Oct. 3d, when his case was tried before a jury, being the first case to be thus tried in a German court. He was unanimously acquitted, and was triumphantly received by the thousands who had gathered about the courthouse. Shortly after Freiligrath went to Cologne, where he became editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* founded by Marx. In May, 1849, the paper was suppress on the charge of having published anarchistic matter, and an order was issued for the arrest of the editors. Freiligrath escaped to Holland, and later ventured back to Cologne disguised as a coal-heaver. In 1851 he returned to England, just in time to escape apprehension on a charge of lese-majesty growing out of some of his poems. Since then he took no active part in political life. In 1867 Freiligrath, who held a responsible position with a bank, suddenly found himself penniless by the collapse of that institution, and when his friends heard of this they took up a collection which netted 60,000 thalers, contributions coming even from the United States. In 1868 he went to Stuttgart, and in 1874 to Cannstadt, where he died two years later.

FREMANTLE, THE HON. AND REV. WILLIAM HENRY: Dean of Ripon, England; born 1831; the second son of the first Baron Cottosloe. Educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford, he held a fellowship of All Souls, 1855–63; ordained in 1858, he became curate at Middle Claydon, vicar of Lewknor, rector of St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, London, 1865, and canon residentiary of Canterbury Cathedral in 1882. In 1895 he was appointed Dean of Ripon. He has been a frequent writer, and in 1882 gave the Bampton Lectures at Oxford on "The World as the Subject of Redemption," in which he advocated the broadest application of Christianity to social and political life. Other social works are: "The Gospel of the Secular Life" (1882); "Christian Ordinances and Social Progress" (1900). *Address*: The Deanery, Ripon, England.

FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE, played an important tho a frequently misunderstood part in social reform.

France was groaning under despotism, royal extravagance, and financial ruin. In 1774 Louis XV. ended his profligate reign, brilliant only because of its literary men. Louis XVI., married in 1770 to Marie Antoinette of Austria, was pure, stubborn, and weak. Turgot (*q. v.*), entrusted with the finances, tried to levy taxes equally. The nobility resisted, and in 1776 he was deposed. Necker followed, vainly trying to stave off national bankruptcy. France, aiding America against England, for five years fought England, and grew still poorer. The nobility and the higher clergy dodged the taxation; gaiety ruled in the court; the people hated the foreign queen. Finally, in 1789, after various efforts with Parliament, the king was compelled to summon the states-general (see ESTATES) to vote taxes. Meanwhile the writings of Rousseau and others were filling the people with ideals of equality. The First Estate, the clergy, returned to the assembly 291 members, 48 bishops, and 208 parish priests, the poorer priests largely on the side of the people. The Second Estate, the nobility, returned 208 members. The Third Estate had 557 members, nearly half of them barristers. They met at Versailles. The king was stubborn, but they would not vote as he willed. June 17, 1789, they formed themselves into a national assembly, and June 20th, on the neighboring tennis-court, took an oath not to separate till "the constitution of the kingdom had been established and confirmed on solid foundations." The king attempted to compromise, but finally threw himself into the hands of his courtiers, and called out the army. Paris rose, and blood was shed July 12th. July 14th the Bastille was taken. Uprisings occurred in the provinces. Aug. 4th the old feudal rights were abrogated, and the famous Declaration of the Rights of ~~War~~ declared. June 19, 1790, nobility was abolished. The nobles fled. The royal family finally attempted to do so, but were captured (June, 1791). The assembly was in control, and completed a constitution. Robespierre and other Republican leaders were, however, agitating in Paris for the deposition of the king. Violence broke out, and Lafayette put down the Republicans with bloodshed. Sept. 14th the assembly completed its constitution and the king swore to obey it, and chose a Girondist cabinet. A legislative assembly elected under the constitution met Oct. 1, 1791. Meanwhile the nobility in foreign lands were gaining friends, and the king was declared to be conspiring with them. War was declared with Austria. The Girondist ministry was ejected, and they sided with the Jacobins against Lafayette as leader of the conservatives. June, 1792, the populace of Paris rose against the assembly, and marched to Versailles and forced the king to don the red cap. Mean-

The Causes

Republicanism

while, Prussia declared war on France. The Jacobins organized a new insurrection Aug. 10th, sang the Marseillaise, and set up in Paris an insurrectionary commune. The people, under Robespierre and Danton, were victorious. Guillotining increased. The march of the Germans increased the terror, and Sept. 21, 1792, the republic was declared. In the new national convention the Girondists on the Right were in the majority; the Jacobins were high on the Left, and called the "Mountain"; below sat the moderates. In November the king was accused, Jan. 17, 1793, condemned, and Jan. 21st guillotined. Roland and the Girondists had tried to prevent it. It roused the hostility of all Europe. Demouriez, however, in command of the French armies, was successful, and entered Belgium. England now declared war (Feb. 1, 1793), but the war spirit in France grew. Demouriez, however, was accused in Paris, and after a defeat he conspired with the Austrians and marched against France to overthrow the Jacobins. They created the terrible Committee of Public Safety. Disturbances broke out in the provinces, and La Vendée arose in a bloody insurrection. The Girondists in the south threatened Paris. The allies were slowly uniting.

The Reign of Terror

It was a crisis. Some think that Danton, who, altho rough, was a sincere patriot, felt that a little bloodshed now would save bloodshed in the end. He led in a sanguinary policy. Marat, at the head of the Sans Culottes, overthrew the Girondists June 2d, but was himself assassinated by Charlotte Corday. Danton made the convention proclaim martial law and a new constitution. A new calendar was proclaimed and statues erected and fêtes celebrated to Nature and Reason. The republic was successful on the field, insurrection put down, and the invaders repulsed. The queen, the leading Girondists and aristocrats, the ci-divants were guillotined. Hébert now led the terrorists and Danton the moderates. Robespierre, who seems to have been an ambitious fop, sided with neither. Robespierre became dictator. The French armies were victorious, Napoleon being in charge of the artillery in Italy. Robespierre undertook to bring in "the fête of the Supreme Being." He trusted in his ideas, but was laughed at; he allowed the reign of terror to go on, and created personal hostilities. His arrest was voted, and he was guillotined. Paris was weary of revolution; the armies on the frontier were victorious, but, tho Republicans, they by no means sympathized with affairs at home. Jan., 1795, the convention closed the Jacobin clubs, which had worked such evil. Famine broke out in Paris and insurrections broke out. They were easily put down and the power left with the bourgeois. A Girondist constitution was now declared. The death penalty was abolished, five dictators were to have power. The royalists made one last effort. Barras now called Napoleon to Paris, and his artillery cleared the streets and left Paris in the hands of the Directory.

The End

Babœuf plotted his communistic conspiracy, but was put down. Napoleon was put at the head of the army in Italy, and commenced his brilliant succession of victories. The Directory, however, at Paris was threatened, and was only sustained by recalling part of the army. In 1797 Napoleon entered Paris in triumph. He was, however, sent to Egypt, but, victorious there, returned once more to Paris to find political weakness and division. A new constitution was proclaimed, with consuls: one supreme, Napoleon. He established himself in the Tuileries, conducted brilliant war and a despotic policy, and May 18, 1804, had himself proclaimed emperor. So ended the Revolution. (See FRANCE.)

It was in the beginning a parliamentary contest with the king over taxes. Revolutionists with ideas of the rights of man took the opportunity to rouse the suffering *canaille* of Paris to insurrection. Successful in the field against foreigners, they could not agree at home, and having unchained the spirit of terror, could not chain it till a strong hand came, and the people, weary of bloodshed, submitted to an empire. It established nothing; it simply ended the old régime. When the people grew strong again they overthrew the empire. It was thus led by bourgeois men, yet participated in by all classes. Its cries of "Liberty, equality, fraternity," were individualistic, not in the modern sense socialistic. Economically and politically it did with terror and confusion what was done legally in England and Germany by overthrowing despotism. It succeeded negatively; positively it failed because it lacked unity.

REFERENCES: Carlyle's *French Revolution*; Gronlund's *Danton*; the histories of Lanfrey, Thiers, etc.

FRESH-AIR WORK: The taking of poor children from the tenements of congested cities either to the country, mountains, or seashore for recreation, convalescence, or general improvement of physical and mental conditions. This movement had its origin in the United States with the Rev. William A. Mühlenberg, rector of the Church of the Holy Communion, New York, N. Y. He sent poor and sick people from his parish to the country for short vacations as early as 1849. A number of churches followed this example, and in 1872 *The New York Times* started a system of free daily excursions. This example was also imitated in other parts of the country. In 1874 the first societies were organized for carrying on this work. New York City alone has now over fifteen general, or non-sectarian, societies, and over twenty denominational or special organizations engaged in this work. A number of newspapers, e. g., *The Evening Post*, the *Tribune*, the *Journal*, took up the cause of New York's poor and sickly tenement children. The work of the New York *Tribune* may be mentioned. Its fresh-air work began in 1876. In twenty-five years (1876–1901) about 193,348 children were sent to the country for two weeks, at a total cost of $485,538; and 333,321 mothers with babes were taken out for one day's excursion, either by railroad or steamboat. The banner year during this time was 1892, when 15,236 children were sent to the farms for two weeks. The children are usually boarded free by the farmers, one or two in a family; and the railroads give free or greatly reduced transportation.

United States

Individual churches in New York City send each from 100 to 600 children and mothers out, and some societies as many as 1,200. Nearly every large city in the U. S. has now various agencies to carry on fresh-air work. An estimate for forty cities places the day's outings to children and mothers at or about 1,200,000, provided by general agencies. This number is nearly equaled in some cities by the different churches.

In some cases camps are arranged for young men, and special cottages for young women. The benefits are usually free; but part of the cost is paid in some cases by the beneficiaries.

In England the custom prevails to have them pay from 20 to 35 per cent of the cost. This leads, however, to competition among the various societies for customers—an evil which not only prevents cooperation, but reduces the system to a commercial basis, and thus largely diminishes the beneficial influence of the managers. For be it remembered that fresh-air work is intended to benefit not only the body, but the morals and minds of the children, by inculcating habits of cleanliness, of nature study, and of higher enjoyments.

Switzerland was the first country in Europe which took up fresh-air work. Pastor Bion, of Zurich, sent sixty-eight poor children to the mountains in 1876. The benevolent society of Hamburg arranged vacations for children in the country the same year, and Frankfort-on-the-Main began in 1878. The system has spread all over Germany, Austria—Vienna began in 1874—Hungary, France, Switzerland, Denmark, England, Italy, Belgium, Spain, Holland, and—Japan.

Europe

The work in Germany is well organized: there is a central committee in Berlin, which receives regular reports from the different societies. Co-

operation is thus assured between the various organizations. Owing to this fact pressure has been brought to bear on the municipalities, and several cities are now making provision for this work in their budgets. The German committees held conferences in 1881, 1885, 1887; and in 1888 the international congress met in Zurich.

Germany's Complete System

The work done by these committees may be estimated from the following figures: From 1876–99 they sent 382,805 children to "vacation colonies" at an expense of about 18,000,000 marks. This number does not include the many day excursions given to many children. In 1896 the societies of 125 cities provided two weeks' outings for 30,000 children. In 1899 there were 200 societies in various cities of Germany, 171 of whom were connected with the central committee. Their total expenditure in 1898 amounted to 1,086,236 mk. for 30,414 children; the number of the latter increased in 1899 to 32,124.

Two departures from the ordinary fresh-air work need special mention: (1) Many of the poor children are followed up during the winter by being provided with healthy food and frequent afternoon outings, in order to maintain the advantage gained during the summer. (2) So-called *Ferien Reisen*, or trips for healthy and well-to-do scholars conducted by their teachers, are arranged for the purpose of making them acquainted with the neighborhood of their homes, kindling patriotism, and furnishing exercise. The trips are always made on foot to battle-fields, castles, famous sights, etc. They extend from three to fourteen days. In order to avoid stopping at hotels and inns, so-called *Schulherbergen*, school-inns, have been established, in which the boys stop. In 1904 Germany had sixty-six of these with 252 beds; Austria ninety-eight with 439 beds. Scholars' trips have rapidly grown in favor; in 1884 twenty-one students availed themselves of the school-inns; 1894—3,787; 1899—9,107; 1901—12,545; 1903—14,500.

Scholars' Trips

Of this number 31 per cent were German Austrians, and 69 per cent German Germans. According to schools there were 21 per cent university students, and 79 per cent scholars of middle schools; 366 schools in Germany and Austria arranged trips for their scholars. The school-inns furnish excellent accommodations free to the scholars of those schools that belong to the *Verein*, usually for a day. The trips are limited to scholars of over sixteen years of age. In 1898 Leipzig inaugurated a movement to enable poor scholars to take part in these trips.

France has not developed fresh-air work to the extent of other countries; altho this charity is becoming more popular every year. All of the large cities have arranged vacation schools. Paris heads the list with 4,254 children in 1897.

Switzerland has many vacation colonies, usually situated in the mountains; the number in 1895 was 73 with 2,119 children.

The system of fresh-air work in Europe is conspicuous by its efficiency owing to cooperation and to affiliation with the public schools. All children who need an outing are reached, and overlapping is avoided. The American system is more expensive, and less efficient, owing to lack of cooperation.

While in the U. S. we have as yet nothing comparable to these European scholars' trips in extent, we have their beginnings in the taking of school children in New York and elsewhere to historic sites, vacation trips and camps, conducted by private schools and parties, and the beginnings of this in public ways in Chicago and elsewhere.

RUDOLPH M. BINDER.

REFERENCES: *Country Outings for City Children*, by Eugene T. Lies, in *Charities*, vol. xii., No. 27, July 2, 1904; *One Summer's Work and Another*, by Marion Libby, 1902; publications of the *Centralstelle der Vereinigungen für Sommerpflege*, 1885 to date; Ufford, *Fresh Air Charity in the U. S.* (1897); Comte, *Les Colonies des Vacances* (*Revue Philanthropique*, 1898).

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES: Great Britain. For the United States, see FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS. The following statistics are from the report of the chief registrar of friendly societies:

1905

	Returns	Members	Funds
			£
Building societies:			
Incorporated societies	2,014	553,709	52,852,148
Unincorporated societies	61	56,076	15,296,449
Friendly societies, etc.:	2,075	609,785	68,148,597
Ordinary friendly societies	6,938	3,132,065	17,042,398
Societies having branches	20,819	2,606,029	23,446,330
Collecting friendly societies	45	7,448,549	7,862,569
Benevolent societies	75	26,509	317,913
Working men's clubs	913	236,298	318,945
Specially authorized societies	122	75,089	628,759
Specially authorized loan societies	517	115,511	771,578
Medical societies	95	324,145	62,049
Cattle insurance societies	57	3,736	7,746
Shop clubs	7	10,859	773
Cooperative societies:	29,588	13,978,790	50,459,060
Industries and trades	2,185	2,195,400	45,208,296
Businesses	310	77,227	977,496
Land societies	138	17,450	1,206,408
	2,633	2,290,077	47,392,200
Trade-unions	646	1,544,461	5,385,924
Workmen's compensation schemes	54	100,215	185,570
Friends of labor loan societies	257	34,653	270,497
Total registered provident societies	35,253	18,557,981	171,841,848
	Banks	Depositors	Deposits
Railway savings-banks	17	58,209	5,281,879
Trustee savings-bank (including investments in stock and special investment accounts)	224	1,702,791	59,435,569
Post-office savings-bank (including investments in stock)	14,614	9,673,717	165,697,304
Total certified and post-office savings-banks	14,855	11,434,717	230,414,752
Grand total	50,108	29,992,698	402,256,600

FRIENDS' SOCIAL UNION, THE: An organization among the Friends or Quakers of England, constituted early in 1902. The Council came into being by a very interesting process of evolution. Beginning as a subcommittee, it passed into the Union for Social Study and this, by the perfectly natural transition from theory to practise, became the Friends' Social Union. The aim and object of the union is to evoke the spirit of justice and of social service, and to consistently apply religious faith to social and civic life. This purpose the union endeavors to achieve by the following methods: (1) Lectures, classes, and reading

circles; (2) social service committees in connection with the quarterly and monthly meetings and the adult schools; (3) the publication of leaflets on social questions, local administration, etc., written especially with a view to helping the members of adult schools; (4) visits to institutions, illustrating the work of social reform, of philanthropy, or of education.

The organizing secretary is a sort of social evangelist, traveling throughout the kingdom under the auspices of the union, delivering lectures on such themes as the housing problem, the unemployed and the unemployable, constructive philanthropy, what the individual can do in the work of social reform, the problem of poverty, child life in the town, the church and the social problem, etc. These addresses are usually followed by useful discussion, and in many instances result in the formation of a social service committee, a discussion society, or of a civic league, the stimulus and enlightening influence of which are by no means confined to Friends but are felt profoundly far beyond the boundaries of Quakerdom. The chairman of the committee of the union is Mr. B. Seebohm Rowntree; secretary, Mr. Percy Alden, M.P., 1 Woburn Square, London, England.

FROEBEL, FRIEDRICH WILHELM AUGUST: German philosopher, educational reformer, and philanthropist; born at Oberweissbach, Thuringia, 1782. His father was pastor of the village church. His mother died when he was in his infancy, and he was neglected in consequence. At the village school he was considered stupid, and he was apprenticed to a forester. The forest then became his college. Every natural object—stone, insect, plant, or tree—suggested to him some general truth; and he perceived some underlying connection between all objects, however apparently remote from each other. His inborn tendency to mysticism was strengthened by his lonely meditations in the forest, but after overcoming many obstacles he at last obtained permission to attend the university at Jena. He went from professor to professor seeking for a connection between the sciences. His career at Jena ended ignominiously by his imprisonment for nine weeks through incurring a debt of $7 or $8. He returned home, was sent on a farm, and then, on the death of his father, was set free to shift for himself. He wandered about as land surveyor, accountant, secretary, and at last became a very successful teacher in a model school at Frankfort. After a short time at a university, he was patriotic enough to enlist as a soldier for the campaign of 1813. While in the army he gained his two most devoted followers, Langethal and Middendorff. On the termination of the war, he returned to Berlin, and obtained a position under Professor Weiss. But his own ideal soon forced him to give up his position and to unfold his system of education. He set out on foot for Griesheim, a small village where a sister-in-law lived. Here he founded a school, composed at first only of his little nieces and nephews. Removing his school to Keilhau, he sent for his two friends Langethal and Middendorff, and soon their pupils began to rapidly increase. Financially it was not profitable, and for many years the teachers suffered the hardships of poverty. Froebel opened another school in Switzerland, and the Swiss Government was wise enough to send young teachers to him for instruction. He discovered that one of the greatest obstacles in the way of a perfect education, or "self-completion," was the general neglect of children in their earlier years. His great work on "The Education of Man" (1826) deals chiefly with the child up to the age of seven. Returning from Switzerland, he founded at Keilhau the first kindergarten in 1837. He sought to base a course of educational exercises on the games in which children were most interested. His first kindergarten failed for lack of funds; but by pen and lecture he spread the principles of his system; and until his death he continued to train male and female teachers in the impartation of his ideas.

In 1851 his nephew published a book which the government accused of teaching socialism and irreligion, and unfortunately confounding his views with Froebel's, an edict was issued forbidding the establishment of schools based on Froebel's principles. He took this greatly to heart, and in May, 1852, died, and was buried at Schweina.

The starting point of his researches was his belief in the unity of creation. Education meant with him unity of development, perfect evolution in accordance with the laws of his being. From this belief naturally followed his doctrine: "All education not founded on religion is unproductive."

He agreed with Pestalozzi in this belief: That the true educator *creates* nothing in the children, but guides the growth of inborn faculties. Children grow as plants grow. But he went beyond Pestalozzi in holding that the function of education was to develop the faculties by arousing *voluntary activity*. (See KINDERGARTEN.)

FRY, ELIZABETH (née GURNEY): English prison reformer; born at Earlham, Norfolk, 1780; brought up a Quaker. In 1813 she began taking an active interest in prison reform, and four years later assisted in forming an association for the amelioration of the lot of prisoners. Her activity was extended also to the deportation of convicts, and she induced the government to make certain regulations for their transportation. Her work was fruitful not only in England but also in other European countries which studied the reforms instituted at her instigation. She died in 1845.

FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW: A United States fugitive act, passed in 1793, declared that whenever a person held to service, etc., shall escape into another state or territory, the person to whom such service may be due, his agent or attorney, may seize or arrest such fugitive and take him before any judge of a court of the U. S., or any magistrate of a county, city, or town, and upon proof to the satisfaction of the judge or magistrate, whether by oral testimony or sworn affidavit, that service is owed as claimed, the judge or magistrate shall give a certificate thereof to the claimant, which shall be sufficient warrant to remove the fugitive.

This act, long obsolete, was later more and more made use of by the slaveholders of the South. That Northern states should be compelled to help Southern slaveholders catch their slaves created great indignation at the North. The constitutionality of the law was tested, but it was decided constitutional, two judges dissenting. This led to the passage of a still more rigorous bill in 1850. U. S. commissioners were to perform the judicial acts, and U. S. marshals execute warrants and processes. Owners could

themselves pursue and demand the help of the commissioners and marshals. The sworn statement of the claimant was to be sufficient proof. Any aid rendered to fugitive slaves was made a penal offense, and all citizens were required to aid in the capture of the runaway, if required. This law almost more than any other roused the North. It was openly violated and resisted, tho often obeyed. After the war the fugitive slave laws were repealed.

FUNK, ISAAC KAUFMAN, LL.D.: American publisher, born at Clifton, Ohio, 1839, of Dutch-Swiss descent. He graduated at Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio, 1860. Entering the Lutheran ministry, he was pastor at Moore's Hill, Ind., Carey, Ohio, and Brooklyn, N. Y. (1865–72). Resigning his pastorate, he became, after travel in Europe, associate editor of *The Christian Radical*, published in Pittsburg, Pa., and then in New York City. In 1876 he founded and edited the *Metropolitan Pulpit*, now the *Homiletic Review*. In 1877, with Mr. Adam W. Wagnalls, a lawyer, he established the publishing house of I. K. Funk & Co. (Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1891), with branches in Canada and England. In 1884 the firm started *The Voice*, a campaign paper in the interests of the Prohibition Party, which soon had a circulation of 130,000, and in the presidential campaign of 1888 ran up to 700,000 weekly. It was merged in the *New Voice*, 1898, and later sold. In 1888 the *Missionary Review* was founded; 1889, the *Literary Digest*, and 1907, *The Circle*. The firm has published, among a long list of books, various encyclopedias and dictionaries, notably the Standard Dictionary, the last at a cost of nearly $1,000,000. For many years Dr. Funk was a leading figure in the Prohibition Party; he has also been active in other movements, like reformed spelling; of recent years he has given large attention to psychic research. *Address*: 44–60 East Twenty-third Street, New York.

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GALL, HEINRICH LUDWIG LAMPERT: "The First German Socialist," born at Aldenhoven bei Jülich, 1790. He held various clerkships in government offices in Cleve, Düsseldorf, Luxemburg, Treves. The sufferings of the people after the War of 1815 moved him deeply; and he analyzed the industrial situation and the social evolution which put all power into the hands of capitalists, and left the workers poor. Doing what he could to spread his ideas, he met with no encouragement, and in 1819 left his government situation to devote all his time and his considerable means to the service of social reform. He conducted to America an ill-fated, ill-planned company of the offscourings of German cities (thieves, convicts, and harlots), and organized a colony near Harrisburg, Pa. He believed he could make of them successful colonists; naturally he failed, exhausting his means, and receiving only criticism and opposition. Returning he entered the government service once again, and made numerous inventions in distilling apparatus, etc., all to get the means to carry on his propaganda. He traveled in England and France, meeting Owen, Fourier, and the Saint Simonians, and tried to form an international movement. He traveled all through Germany, even to East Prussia, opprest with the condition of the masses. In 1828 he published a paper, *Menschenfreundliche Blätter* (Humanitarian Leaflets), but was compelled to discontinue it for lack of support. He wrote many books, especially "Mein Wollen und Mein Wirken" (1835), in which he outlines the principles of modern socialism, the helplessness of the individual worker, the need of industrial organization by the workers. Condemned to imprisonment in one of his travels, he fled to Treves, where he died Jan. 31, 1863. See Stegmann and Hugo's "Handbuch des Socialismus" for a full account.

GALVESTON IDEA, THE: The so-called Galveston idea is the government of a city by a small commission elected by the citizens. Tho already adopted in various cities of the United States, especially in the Southwest, it began in Galveston, Texas, in 1901 upon the crisis that arose in the city after the disastrous storm of Sept., 1900. The plight of the city was desperate: one sixth of the population was drowned; one third of the city property was destroyed, its streets and harbor ruined, its buildings wrecked, its credit gone, its bonds fallen to sixty, its population fleeing.

Origin

The existing government of a machine mayor, in contest with a divided body of aldermen, was helpless and cumbersome. No one trusted it. There was, however, a private committee of fifteen business men, the Deep-water Committee, formed to secure national appropriations for deepening the city's harbor. This committee faced the situation and adopted the commission idea, and formulated, asked, and received a charter for it. It said to the legislature, "It is a question with us of civic life or death."

There were hints for the idea in the commissions of Washington and Memphis, Tenn., and in the selectmen of New England townships. Citizens' committees have repeatedly been depended upon in times of civic crisis.

The new charter went into effect Sept., 1901. According to it the commission had five members, three, including the mayor, appointed by the governor of the state, and two elected by the people. The machine politicians opposed it, but nearly 80 per cent of the voters were for it. In 1903 the nomination of commissioners by the governor was declared illegal, and since then all the five commissioners have been elected by the people, the vote of the opposition being small and growing less.

The working and results of the commission is as follows, according to Mr. G. K. Turner, to whose article in *McClure's Magazine* (Oct., 1906) we are mainly indebted for our information: The commission consists of five men, including the mayor, who is presiding officer and general director, but who has no power beyond his vote as a commissioner, except in minor cases of emergency. The commissioners also come to the board for all power to act. The commission, at its first meeting, divides its departments among its members by vote, under these heads: commissioner of finance and revenue, police and fire commissioner, commissioner of streets and public

property, and water-works and sewerage commissioner. The mayor is elected specifically for his office, but the commissioners are not. The public are practically certain, when they cast their votes, of the office each man will assume. The elections to the board are at large, and the whole body is elected together every two years—the election taking place in May, a time as far removed as possible from the time of other elections.

Constitution

The commissioners are not superintendents, tho salaried men, the mayor receiving $2,000 and each commissioner $1,200 a year; they are governors or managers of departments. Each outlines the policy of his department, and all questions concerning it are referred to him for his opinion. All matters of the daily conduct of the departments are under the supervision of the responsible heads. Superintendents under them take the actual management of the departments. The commissioners advise and direct, and the commission is the responsible party.

The result has been brilliant. The commission found the city bankrupt, it has raised its credit to above par. It has saved Galveston one full third of her gross running expenses. The annual cost of the government of Galveston has averaged about $650,000. In the four and a half years of commission government ending Feb., 1906, a saving of at least $1,000,000—over $220,000 a year—has been made.

The commission has introduced great civic reforms, yet all with a slight decrease instead of increase of the taxation. A huge sea wall has been built, which, with the grade raising the city to the top of the wall, and other improvements, will cost $4,200,000. In this the United States Government, the state, and the county have cooperated, but the city has been bonded at par. The worst dance halls and dives have been closed; law is enforced; graft is not suggested; good streets, pavements, lighting, sewers have been introduced; hygiene has been attended to, and there are now no epidemics of yellow fever. Galveston is now the second city in the U. S. in value of exports. All this, of course, is not due to the commission idea alone, but this has made the result possible.

Results

The plan has been so successful that it has rapidly spread. Houston, Texas, early adopted it, and later Fort Worth, Dallas, El Paso, and Austin. Des Moines, Iowa, with 75,000 inhabitants, has adopted it, and many other cities are considering it.

REFERENCE: *Galveston, A Business Corporation*, article by G. K. Turner, *McClure's Magazine*, Oct., 1906.

GAMBLING (see also STOCK-GAMBLING) has become undoubtedly, in one form or another, one of the gigantic social evils of the present day. Josiah Flint, in a series of articles in the *Cosmopolitan* (April to June, 1907), estimates that $40,000,000 are bet annually over the telephones in New York City. Single pool-rooms in New York are said to have cleared $3,000,000 a year. G. K. Turner (*McClure's Magazine*, April, 1907) conservatively estimates the gross annual receipts of gambling in Chicago at $15,000,000. But this is from pool-selling only. Besides this are the enormous wagers lost and won on the various race-tracks of the United States, besides the collectively large amounts spent in bets on ball games, yachting and automobile racing, football, and other sports. One must add to this an unknown but fabulous amount made and lost in card and other games of chance, sometimes in large single amounts, more frequently in small but multitudinous sums in private parlors in Bridge, the fashionable game of the hour, by men and now very extensively by women both of the wealthy and of the middle classes. (See LUXURY.)

Extent

To all this the millions made and lost in stock-gambling (*q. v.*) should be added in the opinion of most.

In Great Britain conditions are said to be the same in the fashionable set (witness baccarat scandal), and if on the Continent it is less so, except in the gambling centers like Monte Carlo and certain fashionable capitals and watering-places, this is made up by the lotteries, conducted often by the national governments, and for which all classes, especially the lower middle classes, buy tickets.

Yet tho so wide-spread and, in the U. S., at least, so much on the increase in society, all social writers and authorities in jurisprudence consider it an evil.

Says Judge Catron, formerly of the Supreme Court of the U. S.:

"Gaming is a general evil, leads to vicious inclinations, destruction of morals, abandonment of industry and honest employments, a loss of self-control and respect."

The English courts for centuries have held that:

"A common gambling-house, kept for lucre or gain, is a common nuisance, as it tends to draw together idle and evil-disposed persons, to corrupt their morals and ruin their fortunes."

In New York State common law prevailed until 1815, when the legislature enacted a statute forbidding the act of betting or wagers upon future events. The New York Court of Appeals in 1848 said:

"The evident intention of the legislature was to discourage and repress gambling in all its forms, including bets and wagers and every species of wager contracts of hazard, as a great public mischief calling for effective measures of prevention and remedy" (Ruchman vs. Pitcher, 1 N. Y., 450).

Since then bills against gambling, pool-selling, etc., have been frequent in this and other states, tho pool-selling on enclosed grounds has been frequently legalized and then again forbidden. Yet the evil goes on.

One of the prime reasons for the continuance of pool-rooms, in spite of legislation and occasional raiding by the authorities, is the enormous financial interests in them which are willing and usually able to pay the largest amounts for immunity from and even protection by the police. The necessity also of the telegraph and telephone to the pool-room, to enable it to secure its news from the race-track, makes the income of the telegraph and telephone companies from this source so valuable that they are willing to go great lengths to maintain the service and protect the gamblers. Mr. Flint (see above) estimates that the Western Union Telegraph Company and the telephone companies received recently from five to ten million dollars annually from their race-track and pool-room

Money Interests Involved

service. Many people believe that if it were made impossible for pool-rooms to secure telegraphic service at least pool-room gambling, by far the greatest evil, would be cut off. Agitation, therefore, in New York, led largely by Dr. Slicer, tho criticized by many, has agreed not to attack betting on the race-course, for those who desire to go there and make wagers, but has secured the enactment of laws against pool-rooms, etc. Owing to the efforts of Captain F. Norton Goddard and the City Club, working through Mr. Jacob Schiff, one of the directors of the Western Union, and Helen Gould's influence upon the Gould interests, the Western Union Company was induced, May 21, 1904, nominally to give up its racing service. The evil, however, goes on. The American Telephone and Telegraph Company (formerly the American Bell Telephone Company) has taken up the service. Racing news is conveyed, says Mr. Flint, by secret channels from the race-grounds to telegraph and telephone offices outside the limits, transmitted as general news by the Western Union and telephone companies over the country, and conveyed to the pool-rooms by secret wires. "Johnny Pair," of Chicago, is said to have secured $15,000,000 annually by organizing such a racing-news service. Many persons, however (among them Dr. Wilbur F. Crafts, of the International Reform Bureau of Washington, D. C.), believe that this effort to allow gambling on the race-tracks, but forbid it elsewhere, is the work largely of the New York Jockey Club, led by Mr. August Belmont, desiring to have a monopoly of race-gambling, and that the club, therefore, induced the "innocent reformers" to take the above-mentioned position. Says Dr. Crafts:

"In state after state shrewd efforts were made to induce the legislature to legalize race-gambling on tracks controlled by the New York Jockey Club, while making such gambling a felony everywhere else in the state. Their efforts in this direction had been very successful from a financial point of view in New York State, despite an anti-gambling provision in the constitution, but an effort to secure a similar law in the District of Columbia and in the State of Pennsylvania was defeated, also in Ohio and Missouri, while a seeming success in New Hampshire was thwarted by a decision of the Supreme Court. The movement, however, goes on and appears anew in nearly every session of state legislatures."

The companies and pool-rooms are, however, able often to violate law with impunity, or when raided in order to satisfy the public outcry, to receive warning beforehand, and afterward to reopen, by the purchase of the police (usually now through the "man higher up"). Mr. Flint estimates that each New York pool-room pays the police on an average $75 a week, which for 300 pool-rooms (estimate of existing number in New York) makes $1,170,000 a year for the police. For the perhaps 2,000 pool-rooms said to have existed before the recent raids, a proportional fabulous amount was received. This largely goes to the politicians and the higher officials. Prominent Tammany politicians like Big Tim Sullivan in New York, or others like McCarren in Brooklyn, are known to have extensive gambling interests, Sullivan being the head of a pool-room company. Yet little or nothing is done. The money is paid secretly to representatives of the police department in citizens' clothes; no written record is in evidence, and detection all but impossible.

The following account of the main forms of gambling, outside of ordinary card games and betting, is abridged from an article by Mr. H. C. Vrooman, in the *Arena* for Feb., 1895:

"The forms of gambling and speculation are almost endless. The older forms are with lotteries, faro, thimbles, dice, cards, and the like. Not to mention billiards and pool-playing for drinks, the raffles and chances at fairs—where under sometimes sacred auspices is fed the passion for gaining something for nothing—there is every grade of respectability and unrespectability. There is a very popular device, 'a nickel in the slot.' It consists of a contrivance into which a nickel is dropped, and in case the nickel touches a certain spring it throws out a little shelf containing a handful of nickels. Some of the machines are large and gorgeous, with the money shelves arranged in a circle which revolves like a wheel of fortune. It requires but five cents, and there is a chance of winning over $1. These machines are most common in saloons, but are not infrequently found in candy stores near schools, where the boys crowd at noon to take their initial lesson in gambling.

"Another interesting device that requires but a small sum to invest in is 'shooting craps.' It is played on a semi-circular table with dice. The point of the game is that certain relations of the dice point to numbers on the board. It is a favorite with those with very short purses, especially negroes.

"Horse-racing furnishes a very popular method of gambling on a larger scale. For those who cannot go to the tracks and do their betting there, there are popular resorts, known as 'pool-rooms,' where 'the odds' are posted and bets taken just as at the track. The popular name 'pool' is a survival from the old French mutual pool system, still in vogue in some places in the South. It is very similar to a 'blind pool.' That is, each player puts in a certain sum against some other player, and the book-maker or manager acts merely as a commission agent. The old process was too slow for the ambitious American, and the method now in vogue gives the book-maker one side in every play, and is usually so arranged as to give 60 per cent odds in his favor. The 'book-maker' is the manager of the pool-room. He makes a schedule of the horses running and an estimate of the proportion of chances in favor of each, based on the horse's record, the weather, the jockey, etc. This schedule, 'the book'—most commonly called 'the odds'—is posted in the 'pool-room' twenty minutes before the race occurs, and betting continues until the telegraph announces, 'They're off.' The race may occur in New Orleans and the playing in Chicago. The telegraph enables the playing to proceed the same as at the race-track.

Pool-Rooms

"The betting by the individuals is called 'playing the races.' The book-maker plays against the public. He arranges the odds on the basis of the patrons playing on a variety of the horses and balances his risks by their variety. The following is an illustration of 'the odds': Gallop, 7–5; Theodore, 3–2; Baby Bill, 8. This means that the book-maker will stake $7 against $5 on Gallop, $3 against $2 on Theodore, and $8 against $1 on Baby Bill. The option is open for the player to take any horse he wishes. The book-maker must either know public sentiment in regard to what bets will probably be taken, or he must start rumors afloat to create a sentiment that will turn bets to his advantage. If races were run honestly, a good judge of horses could often win; but often, at least, they are not. A book-maker 'stands in' with some jockey to prevent a fast horse winning, perhaps by tying a small silken thread around the hind ankle, which pulls the cords and cramps the leg. An electric battery has been carried by jockeys with wires connected with the spurs to partly paralyze a horse. A horse may be filled with water just before a race, having been previously liberally fed with salt. Sometimes a fast horse is entered under another name, etc.

"Next to the horse-racing ranks the 'clock' or 'tape game,' the 'bucket-shop,' the 'open board,' and the regular 'board of trade'—thence on to the subtleties and refinements of general speculative business, such as booming cities to sell real estate, watering stock, manipulating railroads to buy cheap and sell dear, etc. The 'clock game' and the 'bucket-shop' are based on the board-of-trade methods, only they are gambling pure and simple, never dealing in real commodities at all. The 'clock game' is especially barren of any semblance to real business in that the prices quoted do not follow the market, but are arbitrarily arranged by the management. There is a central office, where a scale of prices is made up every day on fictitious mining stocks and sent out, with the legitimate prices of wheat and corn and the regular board-of-trade articles, to the various gambling-rooms, where the little tickers record on the tape the rise and fall in price. These figures are placed as fast as they come in on a vast blackboard on one side of the room, and the crowd buy and sell the artificial margins in regular "'Change' style. Some of them do not even go through the form of pretending to receive by telegraph the regular market prices. The manager makes up a schedule of prices purely from his imagination, adapted to trap the gambling public. This is made on a roll of tape, is unwound

Bucket-Shop

right before the crowd, and the prices of stocks are recorded on the blackboard. The buying or selling of margins goes on, based on the last recorded figure on the board, looking for gain to the chance of a higher or lower figure on the tape.

"The 'bucket-shop' is similar to the above, except that the schedule of prices on which the gambling is based is supposed to follow the actual market as quoted in the board of trade. The 'open board' is a duplicate of the regular board of trade in form, but is an immense bucket-shop in character. The marked difference between the board of trade and the bucket-shop is that the speculations on the board of trade have to do with the actual market, and heavy buying or selling there is supposed to influence the price of the commodities, while speculation in the bucket-shop is gambling pure and simple on how the market is going to turn."

More recently new devices have been invented. In Chicago a steamboat, *The City of Traverse*, owned by professional gamblers, at times carries at night would-be gamblers on to Lake Michigan to where it is difficult to know where the state lines run and thus almost impossible to convict under any state law. "Dope shops," or places for the sale of falsified "tips" as to what horse will win, are among the lures and devices and yet attract many patrons.

References: Articles by Josiah Flint in the *Cosmopolitan*, April to June, 1907; by Jacob Riis, *Century*, April, 1907; by G. K. Turner, *McClure's Magazine*, April, 1907; *Betting*. Report on the House of Lords Committee with evidence (1907). *Betting and Gambling a National Evil*, B. S. Rowntree (1905).

GARDEN CITY MOVEMENT, THE: A movement to organize in the country industrial communities where, with many of the advantages of the city, healthful and more or less model factories and other forms of business can be conducted, and where the workers and other residents can occupy inexpensive but attractive, hygienic, and comfortable homes, each with its little garden, and all to be surrounded, if possible, by a belt of agriculture, so as to combine as many as possible of the advantages of the city with those of the country. In 1898 Mr. Ebenezer Howard of London published a book, "Garden Cities of Tomorrow," advocating these ideas in detail, and in 1899 a Garden City Association was formed in London to carry them out.

The fundamental principle of this association was "to begin at the beginning"; that is, to buy at the start a considerable tract of unimproved land, so that, even if it could only be developed a little at a time, all should be developed on a carefully thought-out and harmonious plan, taking into consideration convenience, health, and beauty for the whole tract. In this way, too, the large unearned increment that would, of necessity, arise from the development and population of a considerable area bought at the value of unimproved land could go to the community and not private speculators and investors. This, indeed, is the economic basis of the idea—that the land should be bought by a company acting as trustees, with capital invested in it, at profits to be limited to a cumulative 5 per cent, all profits beyond that amount from the sale or lease of land to be spent either in improvements of the estate, the erecting of public buildings, etc., and also to create a sinking-fund with which gradually to pay off the original investments, until the citizens finally would own the city and control their own civic life. Mr. Howard showed conclusively how, in this way, at rents much lower than in ordinary towns, with many more advantages in the way of parks, public buildings, libraries, baths, gymnasium, club-house, etc., attractive houses could yet be built and the investors be secure in their 5 per cent; and at the same time a sinking-fund could be maintained with which rapidly to pay off the investments.

Aided by the example of such model villages as Bourneville and Port Sunlight, the idea slowly spread, and in 1893 a Garden City Limited Company was formed with a nominal capital of £300,000, of which about £110,000 was paid in by 1,340 shareholders. A beautiful tract of 3,818 acres was bought near Hitchin, Hertfordshire, thirty-four miles north of London, at a price of about £40 per acre, including the land, timber, some cottages, and attractive ruins and picturesque old churches. An admirable plan was prepared by Parker Unwin, and operations commenced, the name Letchworth (Garden City) being given to the town. The town itself is to occupy only 1,200 acres, with many open spaces, 150 acres being reserved for factory sites. Provision is made for a population of 35,000, with nine per acre in the estate and twenty-three per acre in the town portion. An organ, *The Garden City*, is published; and in 1905 a Cheap Cottages Exposition was held. The effort was made to see how good a house could be put up for £150. The present rental of land varies from £10 to £25 per acre, and the annual ground-rent of a cottage in the town area, from 17*s.* 6*d.* to £2. For the present the company is granting leases of not over ninety-nine years, the reversion falling to the company. Various cooperative building associations have undertaken to put up buildings and develop the land.

A factory area has been laid out so that every factory has its own siding in direct communication with the Great Northern Railway, which traverses the estate for two miles. Ten factories are at work, and other manufacturers have taken sites. A number of builders and builders' merchants are on the estate; shops have been erected; and between 300 and 400 houses and other buildings have been or are being built, with a capital value of £215,000. Sites for 120 more have been let. A post-office, telegraph, telephone, and two banks are established. The population is over 5,000.

The Garden City Association has undertaken also to develop an estate near Manchester, one at Warington, others elsewhere. The association has offices at 602 Birkbeck Bank Chambers, W. C., London. Its secretary is Ewart G. Culpin. *Address:* First Garden City, Ltd., 326 A, High Holborn, London, England, and at Letchworth, Hertfordshire, England.

The garden city movement has spread also to other lands. An active association has been formed in Germany, a small but enthusiastic one in France, and there are beginnings in Belgium, Holland, and elsewhere. In the United States a Garden City Association was formed in New York in November, 1906 (incorporated January, 1907), with W. D. P. Bliss as secretary. This association has made beginnings, but its chief purpose is to spread the Garden City idea and let this idea take shape in any form it will. Secretary's *address:* Metropolitan Building, New York.

GARRISON, WILLIAM LLOYD: American abolitionist; born at Newburyport, Mass., 1805; son of a sea captain. When only nine years old he was apprenticed to a shoemaker, afterward to a cabinet-maker, and at thirteen to the printer of the Newburyport *Herald*. At sixteen he began

to write unsigned articles for the papers, and soon became editor of the *Herald*. Removing to Boston, he worked as a journeyman printer, and in 1828 became editor of the *National Philanthropist*, the first American journal established to promote total abstinence. This he conducted for six months, and then went to Bennington, Vt., to establish the *Journal of the Times*.

While in Boston he met Benjamin Lundy, a Quaker philanthropist, editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, a magazine published in Baltimore. Lundy resolved to ask Garrison to aid him, and for that purpose *walked* from Baltimore to Bennington. Garrison determined to devote his life to this work. From 1829 the paper was published weekly by Lundy and Garrison—Lundy favoring gradual and Garrison immediate emancipation. Baltimore was one of the chief markets of the domestic slave-trade, and Garrison thundered denunciations at the traffic. The owner of a Newburyport vessel had allowed his vessel to carry a cargo of slaves from Baltimore to New Orleans; and for denouncing this act Garrison was arrested and fined $50 and costs. In default of payment he was committed to jail. His imprisonment created much indignant comment. Arthur Tappan, a New York merchant, paid his fine, and he was set free. In order to speak more freely, he dissolved partnership with Lundy, and started a paper of his own in Boston. Before commencing, he privately interviewed some of the leading citizens; but they all excused themselves. He and his partner, Isaac Knapp, issued the first number of *The Liberator* on Jan. 1, 1831. It began without capital and without subscribers, its editors publishing their resolve to print it "as long as they could subsist on bread and water." Its motto was, "Our country is the world; our countrymen are mankind"; and Garrison, in his address to the public, uttered the historic words which embody the whole spirit and purpose of his life: "I am in earnest; I will not equivocate; I will not excuse; I will not retreat a single inch; and I will be heard."

The paper lived long enough to publish the proclamation of emacipation and the extinction of slavery. Garrison and his partner met every opposition. Their office was a garret, their bed its floor, and their only helper a negro boy. The mail frequently brought letters to Garrison threatening him with assassination if he did not discontinue his journal; and the Legislature of Georgia offered $5,000 to any one who should arrest, bring to trial, and prosecute him. The first society organized to support his principles was the New England Anti-Slavery Society, formed January, 1832. In the spring of the same year Garrison published "Thoughts on African Colonization," proving by official documents that the American Colonization Society was organized in the interests of slavery. Garrison was soon after deputed to visit England and expose the true character of this colonization society. He was warmly received, becoming acquainted with Wilberforce, Clarkson, Brougham, O'Connell, Thompson, and others. Thompson came over to America to address meetings. Wherever he appeared it was the signal for riots and violence. In Boston "a mob of gentlemen of property and standing," when they heard that Thompson was about to address the Women's Anti-Slavery Society of that city, turned the streets into a bedlam. Garrison fell into their hands; and, throwing a rope around his body, they dragged him through the streets. In all probability he would have been hanged by the mob had he not been rescued and consigned to the jail for safety. These attempts to suppress the abolitionists by violence continued several years, but Garrison was never daunted. There was no schism in the body of abolitionists until 1839, when some of the adherents began to accuse Garrison of religious heterodoxy and to blame him for his severity on the churches for their moral stagnancy and complicity with slavery.

Garrison was a non-resistant, and believed in the use of moral rather than political means. Those who differed from him formed a new National Anti-Slavery Society in 1840, and gave rise to the Liberty Party in politics. Garrison's mind was never narrowed by its intensity, however; and he always esteemed and honored every earnest opponent of slavery, even tho their special modes of working differed. He was intolerant only of treachery. After long and painful consideration he realized that the proslavery clauses of the United States Constitution were immoral, and that it was wrong to take an oath for its support. "No union with slaveholders" was his motto; and he denounced the Constitution as "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." Arguments and exposures buttressed his denunciations. The blind and idolatrous reverence for the Constitution, which had been the political mainstay of the slaveholders, began to abate. The Fugitive Slave Law revealed to all the practical workings of the proslavery clauses. On the outbreak of the war, Garrison at once ceased advocating disunion, as he foresaw that in the struggle slavery would be abolished. During the war Lincoln recognized and honored his services; and the whole nation knew that if emancipation were secured, it would be due to his uncompromising spirit and heroic perseverance. In 1865, when liberty had been proclaimed, he declared that his career as an abolitionist was necessarily ended, discontinued *The Liberator*, and counseled the dissolution of the anti-slavery society. Garrison had revisited England in 1840 and 1846. In 1867 he again crossed the Atlantic, and was received with great honor in London, Edinburgh, and other cities. He made a fifth and final visit in 1877. On May 24, 1879, he died in New York, and was buried in Boston after a most impressive funeral service.

GAS WORKS. See LIGHTING.

GAUTIER, EMILE JEAN MARIE: French anarchist; born at Rennes 1853; educated at the lyceum of his native town; studied jurisprudence at Paris; admitted to the bar 1876. For a time he was on terms of friendship with Guesde, but later became his bitterest enemy. He organized clubs in Paris and other French cities, and lectured on the theory of anarchism. In 1883 he was arrested for making inflammatory speeches, and sentenced to five years' imprisonment. Pardoned in 1885, he joined the opportunists, and withdrew from active politics. He has written "Le Darwinisme Social" (1880); "Les Propos Anarchistes" (1885); "Le Monde des Prisons" (1888), etc.

GEDDES, PATRICK: Scottish botanist and author; born in 1854; educated at Perth Academy; Royal School of Mines; University College, London; the Sorbonne; and the universities of Edinburgh and Montpellier. He was demonstra-

tor of practical physiology at University College, London; of natural history at Aberdeen; and of botany at Edinburgh. He lectured on natural history at the Edinburgh School of Medicine. Since 1888 professor of botany at University College (St. Andrew's University), Dundee, Mr. Geddes has traveled extensively in Europe, the Orient, and North America. In addition to his professorship, he has been active in the organization of University Hall, Edinburgh, a student colony. Its "Outlook Tower" is partly devoted to biological, sociological and geographical instruction, partly to architecture, agriculture, etc.

Mr. Geddes is the author of numerous articles on botanical and zoological subjects, which appear in the "Encyclopædia Britannica" and in "Chambers's Encyclopedia." In collaboration with J. Arthur Thomson, he has written "Evolution of Sex"; and independently, "Chapters in Modern Botany," "City Development," etc. *Address*: University Hall, Edinburgh, Scotland.

GEORGE, HENRY: The great American advocate of the single tax; born in Philadelphia, Pa., 1839; began business life as an office boy; later went to sea and visited every part of the globe. Becoming a printer, he went to California and became compositor, reporter, then a successful journalist. In 1871 he joined with two others in founding the San Francisco *Post*; but his mind was now occupied with the social problem of the distribution of wealth. His first economic publication was "Our Land and Land Policy," which appeared in 1871. Four years later he retired from editorial work, but continued to write for the newspapers. His principal work, "Progress and Poverty" (commenced in 1877 and finished in 1879), attracted attention immediately upon its publication. Its main doctrine is that "nothing short of making land common property can permanently relieve poverty and check the tendency of wages to the starvation point," and that the best, easiest, and quickest way to make land common is not to do it technically, but to leave all land titles in individual ownership, and to tax the land ultimately to its full annual rental value; thus without revolutionary methods gradually appropriating to society for the good of all the full rental value of the soil. This, Mr. George believes, could be and should be a SINGLE TAX.

In 1880 the agitation of the land question in Ireland led Mr. George to publish a book on "The Irish Land Question," embodying his views, and in 1881 he went to Ireland as a newspaper correspondent to examine the actual condition of the peasantry, and was imprisoned for a time as a suspect, but afterward released with apologies. The Irish Nationalists as a class, however, did not embrace his ideas, and in 1883 Mr. George visited England and lectured in the principal cities, advocating the theory advanced in his book and eliciting universal attention.

Returning to the United States, Mr. George found his influence very much increased and his ideas widely spreading, particularly in New York City. In 1886 he was nominated Mayor of New York City by the United Labor Party, and after a campaign of intense popular excitement received the phenomenal vote of 68,110 ballots, being only defeated by the Democratic candidate. In this campaign he was enthusiastically supported by the Socialists; but when, in the state convention at Albany of the United Labor Party, which nominated him for governor in 1887, Mr. George declared distinctly against socialism and for a single tax, based largely on individualistic ideas, the Socialists opposed him. Meanwhile, the educational movement had been going on; but in the state election Mr. George polled but a small vote. At the beginning of the year he had started a weekly organ, the *Standard*, which attained a large circulation; and the coming out for his ideas of Father MCGLYNN, a popular Roman Catholic priest of a large New York City parish, in spite of the opposition of the archbishop, created great excitement, and a religious society, called the ANTIPOVERTY SOCIETY, was organized to develop the religious side of the question. Meanwhile, Mr. George lectured to immense audiences all over this country and in Canada, England, Scotland, and Australia, while his ideas penetrated Germany and France. He came to feel more and more, however, that to put his ideas into practical execution, the first thing necessary was to clear the ground by repealing other taxes, and, first of all, what he regarded as the great imposition of the tariff. He wrote, therefore, his book on "Free Trade," one of his ablest efforts, and worked henceforth with the Democratic Party, in the hope of inducing them eventually to stand for absolute free trade. He wrote, later, "The Condition of Labor," addrest to the Pope; "A Perplexed Philosopher," answering SPENCER; and "The Science of Political Economy" (1897). Nominated for Mayor of New York, he died during the campaign, Oct. 29, 1897.

GEORGE, HENRY: American journalist; advocate of the single-tax system; son of Henry George, the economist; born at Sacramento, Cal., 1862; educated in public schools; entered a printing-office at the age of sixteen; has been engaged in journalistic work since 1881. He was secretary to his father during the latter's tour of Great Britain in 1883. On his father's sudden death in New York, during the mayoralty campaign of 1897, he was nominated in his father's place by the Jeffersonian Democracy. He is the author of: "Life of Henry George," 1900, "The Menace of Plutocracy," 1905, and "The Romance of John Bainbridge," 1906. His political views are those of the Single Taxers and radical Jeffersonian Democrats. *Address*: 180 St. Nicholas Avenue, New York City.

GEORGE JUNIOR REPUBLIC, THE: An association founded July 10, 1895, by William R. George, at that time a young business man in New York City. It is located at Freeville, Tompkins County, N. Y. Its object is to instil habits of thrift and obedience to law, of self-reliance, self-control, good citizenship, and religion in its broadest sense into the lives of boys and girls from fourteen to twenty-one years of age, whose natural tendencies and environments would lead them into viciousness. In addition, some who have not bad inclinations have become members of the little community to their great advantage. Altho the system is universally regarded as being unique on account of its wide divergence from the customary systems of training, it is, nevertheless, a marvelously simple method. In point of fact it is no more nor less than any little village in the State of New York. The young people buy and sell, have little or much according to their earnings, live in either homes or hotels, live under and enforce the laws of New York State, plus a few special ones of their own, have

their own system of civil and criminal courts, a jail, police, bank, store, school, shops, paper, church, etc., etc., just the same as in the big republic; the only essential difference between their village and any other in the township is the fact that the inhabitants thereof become voting citizens at the age of fourteen instead of twenty-one.

The association owns or controls at the present a little over 300 acres of land, with about thirty buildings. There is a total population, including helpers, of about 190 people. Two citizens have already come from abroad. The citizens in general come from all parts of the United States. Many more citizens could be admitted if the board of trustees had greater accommodations. The work is supported by voluntary subscription, payment for board in certain cases, and sales of mission furniture, chocolate and ginger wafers, and some other things produced by the citizens.

"Republics" have been established in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and at Litchfield, Conn. More than 400 graduates are making their way in the world; several are in leading colleges at the present time, and but comparatively few of all the ex-citizens have proved a disappointment to their friends. ESTHER B. GEORGE.

GEORGE, WILLIAM REUBEN: Founder of the GEORGE JUNIOR REPUBLIC; born at West Dryden, N. Y., 1866; educated in public schools; entered business in New York. He became interested in boys and girls of the poor by conducting (1890–94) parties of them into the country for vacations of two weeks, and in 1895 he founded the colony, or "republic," which bears his name. *Address*: Freeville, N. Y.

GERMAN EMPIRE: A federated empire of the German states and kingdoms, constituted April 16, 1871.

I. Statistics

Colonies and Dependencies.—Area, 1,027,820 sq. m.; population, 13,522,000. In Africa, 931,460; population, 13,047,000. In Asia and Oceanica, 96,360; population, 475,000. Imports from German colonies to Germany (1903), 7,535,000 marks; exports from Germany to colonies, 24,486,000 mk.

From 1816–55 the yearly average increase in the population of the empire was 0.96 per cent; from 1855–95 it was 1.04; from 1900–5, 1.5 per cent. The marriage rate in 1904 was 8 per 1,000 of population, the birth-rate 35.2 per 1,000, the death-rate 20.7 per 1,000. (See BIRTH-RATE; DEATH-RATE; MARRIAGE.) In 1900 there were 27,737,247 males and 28,629,931 females. Of the total population over the age of twenty-one there were 4,092,703 males unmarried and 3,572,578 females; there were 9,793,671 males married and 9,698,082 females; there were 840,410 males widowed, divorced, or separated and 7,412,651 females. There were 4,253 males married under the age of twenty-one, and 96,873 females; there were 107 males widowed, divorced, or separated under the age of twenty-one, and 1,008 females. There were (1900) 6,232,114 inhabited houses and 12,260,012 households; 54.3 per cent lived in towns of 2,000 inhabitants.

Vital Statistics

Emigration. — 1901 — 22,073; 1902 — 32,098; 1903 — 36,310; 1904 — 27,984; 1905 — 28,075. About 90 per cent went to the United States.

There were (1905) forty-two cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants—one with over a million; ten over 250,000; thirty-one over 100,000.

Principal Cities.—Berlin, 2,040,148; Hamburg, 802,793; Munich, 538,983; Dresden, 516,996; Leipzig, 503,672; Breslau, 470,904; Cologne, 428-

AREA AND POPULATION

STATES AND PROVINCES	Area in sq. m.	Population 1905	By Census of 1900					
			Population	Per sq. m.	Protestants	Catholics	Deputies in Bundesrath	Deputies in Reichstag
Kingdom of Prussia	134,603	37,278,820	34,472,509	256.1	21,817,577	12,113,670	17	236
Kingdom of Bavaria	29,282	6,512,824	6,176,057	210.7	1,749,206	4,363,178	6	48
Kingdom of Saxony	5,787	4,502,350	4,202,216	743.4	3,972,063	198,265	4	23
Kingdom of Württemberg	7,528	2,300,000	2,169,480	288.2	1,497,299	650,392	4	17
Grand Duchy of Baden	5,821	2,009,320	1,867,944	320.9	704,058	1,131,639	3	14
Grand Duchy of Hesse	2,965	1,210,104	1,119,893	377.7	746,201	341,570	3	9
Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin	5,135	624,881	607,770	118.3	597,268	8,182	2	6
Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar	1,388	387,892	362,873	260.8	347,144	14,158	1	3
Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Strelitz	1,131	103,251	102,602	90.7	100,568	1,612	1	1
Grand Duchy of Oldenburg	2,479	438,195	399,180	161.0	309,510	86,920	1	3
Duchy of Brunswick	1,424	485,655	464,333	326.0	436,976	24,175	2	3
Duchy of Saxe-Meiningen	953	268,859	250,731	263.0	244,810	4,170	1	2
Duchy of Saxe-Altenburg	511	206,500	194,914	380.1	189,885	4,723	1	1
Duchy of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha	755	242,292	229,550	304.0	225,074	3,330	1	2
Duchy of Anhalt	906	328,007	316,085	.....	301,953	11,699	1	2
Principality of Schwarzburg-Sondershausen	333	85,177	80,898	242.3	79,593	1,110	1	1
Principality of Rudolstadt	363	96,830	93,059	255.2	92,298	676	1	1
Principality of Waldeck	433	59,135	57,918	133.9	55,285	1,831	1	1
Principality of Reuss aelterer Linie	122	70,590	68,396	559.7	66,860	1,043	1	1
Principality of Reuss jüngerer Linie	319	144,570	139,210	435.7	135,958	2,579	1	1
Principality of Schaumburg-Lippe	131	44,992	43,132	329.3	41,908	785	1	1
Principality of Lippe	469	145,610	138,952	296.8	132,708	5,157	1	1
Free City of Lübeck	115	105,857	96,775	841.5	93,671	2,190	1	1
Free City of Bremen	99	263,426	224,882	2,269.6	208,815	13,506	1	1
Free City of Hamburg	158	875,090	768,349	4,862.9	712,338	30,903	1	3
Reichsland of Alsace-Lorraine	5,600	1,814,626	1,719,470	306.7	372,078	1,310,450	..	15
German Empire	208,830	60,605,183	56,367,178	269.9	35,231,104	20,327,913	58	397

722; Frankfort-on-the-Main, 334,978; Nuremberg, 294,426; Düsseldorf, 253,274; Hanover, 250,032; Stuttgart, 249,443; Chemnitz, 244,405.

Religion.—Germany enjoys liberty of conscience and freedom of religious worship. In 1900 there were 35,231,104 Protestants, or 62.5 per cent of the population; 20,327,913 Roman Catholics, or 31.1 per cent; 203,793 other Christians, or 0.4 per cent; 586,948 Jews, or 1.0 per cent; 17,535 unclassified or other religions, or 0.03 per cent.

Education

Education is well developed, being compulsory through the empire with a school age from sixteen to fourteen. There were in 1902 or thereabouts, 59,384 elementary schools with 124,027 teachers and 8,924,779 pupils, besides 643 private schools, with 41,328 pupils. Secondary schools (1903); gymnasia (preparatory for university education), 468; pro-gymnasia (slightly lower), 100; real-gymnasia (without Greek, and with more "modern subjects"), 122; real progymnasia, 48; oberrealschulen (no classics), 64; realschulen, 265; normal schools, 185; other schools, 88; technical institutes, 9. Numerous *Gewerbeschulen* (technical schools), agricultural, brewing, mining, veterinary, architectural, forestry, art, 425 commercial schools, and 4 commercial universities; 100 schools, including universities, for textile work; 12 for metal work; 12 for wood-working; 4 for ceramic work; 19 for naval architecture and engineering; 19 for navigation; 7 public and many private music schools, military academies, etc.; universities, 21. Berlin (1904) has 6,096 students; München, 4,976; Leipzig, 3,575; Bonn, 2,818; Freiburg, 2,029; Breslau, 1,800; Halle, 1,780; Heidelberg, 1,655; Göttingen, 1,581; Tübingen, 1,581. (See EDUCATION.)

Justice is well administered on a uniform system with a uniform code. (See CRIME.)

Commerce has been rapidly developed in recent years. In shipping, Germany stands to-day second in the world. (For statistics, see COMMERCE; SHIPPING.)

There has been since 1888 a Zollverein or Customs League, which embraces the whole of the empire, with the exception of a few small districts, as well as Luxemburg. Import duties are levied, the country's policy being strongly protectionist since 1879.

Agriculture is the leading occupation according to the census of 1895 (the latest on this point). Of the total population, 18,068,663 were engaged in agriculture, 18,100,442 in various industries, 5,966,846 in commerce, 2,835,014 in the professions, 2,152,789 in metal work, 886,807 in domestic and personal service. Of these 22,913,683 were actually engaged in active service. Ninety-two per cent of the area is said to be productive. The main crops in 1904 were rye (6,099,270 hectares; hectar = 2.47 acres), hay (5,946,990), oats (4,189,681), potatoes (3,287,861), wheat (1,917,513). Forestry is very important. (See FORESTRY.)

Industries

Mining is important, the main districts being Westphalia, Rhenish Prussia, Silesia, and Lorraine for coal and iron, the Harz Mountains for silver and copper, Saxony for coal, iron, and silver. The coal mined in 1904 was 120,815,500 metric tons; lignite, 48,632,800; iron ore, 22,047,100. The total value of the minerals was 1,364,000,000 marks. There are about 100 iron foundries which produced 10,058,273 metric tons in 1904. There were (1903) 1,657 works producing finished iron. The total value of the product of the foundries of all kinds was (1903) 761,538,000 mk.

In 1895 there were engaged in the iron manufacturing 524,707 persons; machinery and instruments, 582,672; textiles, 993,257; woodenware, 598,496; leather and India rubber, 160,343. Iron is chiefly manufactured in Prussia, Alsace-Lorraine, Bavaria, and Saxony; steel in Rhenish Prussia; textiles in Saxony; linen in Westphalia and Silesia; cotton goods in Alsace-Lorraine, Württemberg, Baden, and Bavaria; glass and earthenware in Silesia, Thuringia, and Saxony; clocks and underwear in Württemberg and Bavaria; beer in Bavaria and Prussia. Beetroot is an important product. (See AGRICULTURE.)

II. Constitution and Government

The present German Empire, a federation of Germanic kingdoms, principalities, and free cities, dates from Jan. 18, 1871, when William I., King of Prussia, was elected emperor on motion of the King of Bavaria, by the North German Confederation and representatives of all the German states and crowned in Versailles. The old Germanic Holy Roman Empire, dating from the coronation of Charlemagne in Rome, 800, and at the head of which the Hapsburg dynasty of Austria had stood for over 500 years, was overthrown by Napoleon and ended in 1806. The succession of the empire is hereditary by right of primogeniture (male line) in the Hohenzollern house. The present emperor is William II., born 1859; emperor 1888.

Constitution

The constitution of the empire dates from April 16, 1871. The states of Germany form, according to its terms, "an eternal union for the protection of the realm and the welfare of the German people." The emperor represents Germany internationally, and has the right to declare war, make peace, and enter into relations with other nations, if not otherwise provided by the constitution. Offensive war can be declared by the emperor only with the approval of the *Bundesrath* and the *Reichstag*. Legislative power rests in these two bodies. The *Bundesrath*, presided over by the chancellor, is an upper federal council, and represents the individual states of Germany. It is composed of 58 members—17 from Prussia, 6 Bavaria, 4 Saxony, 4 Württemburg, 3 Baden, etc. —appointed by the governments of the different states. The *Reichstag* has 397 members—about one for each 131,600 inhabitants—and represents the people. Since May 21, 1906, the members of the Reichstag receive $750 for the session with

MEMBERS ELECTED AND VOTES CAST FOR THE REICHSTAG IN 1903 AND 1907

	Votes, 1903	Members elected	Votes, 1907	Members elected
Conservative	948,448	73	1,070,658	80
Liberal-Union	243,230	11	343,369	21
National Liberal	1,317,401	50	1,654,738	55
Social Democrats	3,010,771	82	3,258,961	43
Agrarians and Anti-Semites	91,217	18	147,933	29
German Nationals	333,403	15	447,308	25
Center (Roman Catholic)	1,857,273	100	2,183,381	105
Poles	538,206	16	743,582	20
Guelfs, Danes, Alsatians	210,724	9	172,078	9
Independent	474,477	32	260,513	10

$5 reduction for each day's absence. During session, and one week previous and after, the members travel free over German railways. They are elected for five years by universal (male) suffrage.

The number of enrolled voters in 1903 was 12,531,200 and 9,533,800 voted. In 1907 10,282,508 votes were cast largely through an organized effort to defeat the Social Democrats, who, however, increased their vote by nearly a quarter of a million. They, however, lost 39 seats partly by the combination of forces against them in certain constituencies and partly because the representation of the different states and cities, determined by the constitution of the empire, tells largely against the cities and industrial sections, where the population latterly has largely grown, and where the Socialists have their main strength. The result is that in 1907 the Socialists with 3,258,961 votes won only 43 seats, while the Center (Roman Catholic) with 2,183,381 votes won 105 seats and the Conservatives with 1,070,658 votes won 80 seats, together having 185 seats to the Socialists' 43, for a smaller combined vote. (See SOCIALISM.)

The Bundesrath and Reichstag both meet annually, convoked by the emperor, who has the right to prorogue and dissolve the Reichstag on vote of the Bundesrath, tho the Reichstag cannot be prorogued for over thirty days without its own consent, and in case of dissolution must be reelected in sixty and convoked in ninety days. All laws for the empire must have a majority in both houses, and the emperor can veto no laws passed by them.

The administration of the empire is carried on under fifteen ministers of state, who, however, do not form a cabinet: 1. Chancellor of the Empire, at present Fürst von Bülow. 2. Ministry for Foreign Affairs. 3. Imperial Home Office and "Representative of the Chancellor." 4. Imperial Admiralty. 5. Imperial Ministry of Justice. 6. Imperial Treasury. 7. Imperial Postoffice. 8. Secretary for the Colonies. 9. Imperial Railways. 10. Imperial Exchequer. 11. Imperial Invalid Fund. 12. Imperial Bank. 13. Imperial Debt Commission. 14. Administration of Railways. 15. Imperial Court-martial.

These act independently of each other, but under the general supervision of the chancellor. Local government in the empire varies very largely between the different states. Each state has its own constitution, government, legislature (usually bicameral), and laws. The suffrage, too, in the states varies very materially, and in general is much more limited than for the empire. The Prussian suffrage, for example, is divided into three classes, according to the amount of taxes they pay, very much favoring the upper classes. (See SUFFRAGE.)

Internal Communication

Germany had (1905) 39,052 post-offices and 32,312 telegraph-offices with 278,061 employees. The united postal, telegraphic, and telephonic service yielded a revenue of 72,097,950 marks—receipts, 596,177,563; expenditure, 524,079,613. The railroads (see RAILROADS) are nearly all owned by the states, only 3,257 miles out of a total of 34,669 being private. They were valued (1904) at 14,325,729,000 mk.; receipts, 2,278,479,000; expenditure, 1,441,435,000; net revenue, 837,044,000—being 5.84 per cent earnings on the capital.

Finance

The common expenses of the empire are met by the revenues yielded from customs, excises, and posts, telegraphs, and railways. In case of a deficit the individual states are assessed in proportion to population. The total receipts for 1906 were 2,395,130,000; expenses, 2,387,271,000 mk.; for 1905, 2,253,782,000 and 2,247,363,000 respectively. The largest item in the expense account was the army with 705,754,000 mk. in 1905 and 743,035,000 in 1906. The respective figures for the navy were 248,184,000 and 265,402,000 mk.

Army and Navy

Germany has a large and well-trained army, the peace strength being 24,687 officers, 589,676 rank and file, and 109,527 horses. Service is universal and compulsory for all able-bodied men. The navy is increasing in numbers and efficiency. Its peace strength is 33,500 officers and men, 18 modern battle-ships, 27 protected cruisers, 70 destroyers, 47 torpedo boats, besides a number of older and smaller ships, and others building. (For details, see MILITARISM.)

III. Social Reform

Social reform in Germany, as elsewhere, is affected by the past. Germany was too full of the spirit of local freedom to develop a centralized government, as in France or England. It developed separate kingdoms and states, only loosely federated into an empire, coming down from Charlemagne. Its great free cities developed art and education. Germany led in the battles of the emperors against the Pope and in the Protestant Reformation. She became the home of theology, philosophy, science, and letters. Her social spirit developed the Peasants' War (*q. v.*), and also the mystic communism (*q. v.*, see also ANABAPTISTS) which has given America many German communities.

Modern German social reform may be said to begin with Hegel's socialistic philosophy and Fichte's socialistic turning of an individualistic philosophy (see FICHTE and HEGEL), but this was in accord with the German medieval conception of the Christian paternal State. (See BISMARCK.)

Beginnings

Nevertheless, in the early part of the nineteenth century, German statesmen and economists drew their ideas mainly from England and the orthodox political economy of Adam Smith. Particularly was this true of the Stein-Hardenberg legislation of Prussia. Germany more than most countries of Europe, perhaps because of the lack of a strong centralized power to break the power of the old gilds and free cities, was in the control of innumerable special privileges, rights, and monopolies, granted to the old gilds and cities. This mass of special privileges and imposts had to be done away with. There were, however, some early voices for socialism. (See GALL; HUBER; RODBERTUS; WEITLING.)

Such was the condition of things when the revolutions of 1848 awoke Europe. In Prussia the demand in 1848 was for constitutional government, freedom of religion and the press, the right of coalition, etc., with demands here and there by the proletariat for the organization of labor, State employment of the unemployed, etc. Blood was shed. The king, Frederick William IV., promised reforms and the reorganization of Germany. The National Assembly was called at Frankfort, where Bismarck won his first laurels in gaining the leadership for Prussia.

The only industrial organizations effected immediately after the revolution were various clubs, mainly under the patronage of the Liberal Party, and the cooperative land banks and societies, organized by Schulze-Delitzsch (*q. v.*). In Berlin, however, Lassalle (*q. v.*) was growing more radical, and on April 12, 1862—sometimes called the birthday of German socialism—being invited to lecture before a workingman's club, he argued that the Revolution of 1848 had politically freed the Fourth Estate, even as the French Revolution

freed the Third Estate, and that henceforth working men must organize for industrial freedom. He was arrested and sentenced to imprisonment, later commuted to a fine. A central committee of working men's clubs in Leipsic wrote him, calling on him to outline a policy; and he did so in an open letter, which has been called the charter of German socialism.

Meanwhile Marx and Engels had published from Brussels in 1848 their Socialist manifesto, and in 1864 the International Workmen's Association was founded. It was from these various elements and movements (for details, see LASSALLE; MARX; INTERNATIONAL) that in 1869 the Social Democratic Working Men's Party was formed at Eisenach, the main leaders being Liebknecht and Bebel. (See their names.) In 1870 Liebknecht and Bebel and Hepner were arrested for the publication of treasonable writings.

Socialism

In 1874, however, ten members of the Social Democratic Party were returned to the Reichstag by 450,000 votes. Bebel and Liebknecht, tho still in prison, were elected. The government determined to be more stringent. House searches were made, and the Working Men's Association was declared by the police to be dissolved in Prussia. The Social Democratic Working Men's Party shared the same fate. Misfortune brought the two rival parties together, and a congress held at Gotha in May, 1875, completed the union. The program then adopted became the basis of the great Socialist agitation which followed in all parts of Germany.

On May 11, 1878, the emperor was shot at in Berlin by a young man called Hödel, an ignorant man of low character. He was declared to be a Socialist because photographs of Socialists were found in his pocket. Immediately an anti-Socialist bill was introduced into the Reichstag, which that body, however, refused to pass. Another attempt was made upon the life of the aged sovereign by Dr. Karl Nobiling, who, on June 2, 1878, fired at the emperor from an upper window in the Linden and severely wounded him. The cry for repressive measures against the Socialists now became general.

Repression

A "Law against the publicly dangerous endeavors of social democracy" was passed, tho the Progressist leader, Richter, said, "I fear social democracy more under this law than without it."

The law prohibited the formation or existence of organizations which seek by social democratic, socialistic, or communistic movements to subvert the present State and society.

Henceforth the socialistic propaganda was carried on in secret, but more successfully than ever; in the Reichstag at least the Socialists were free. The publication of parliamentary reports being privileged, journals with socialistic tendencies were able to reproduce in full the speeches in which Bebel, Liebknecht, and their fellows preached the principles of a movement which the government had just been given a commission to suppress.

Bismarck therefore tried other tactics. Through a movement for a so-called State socialism, he undertook to take the wind out of the sails of the Social Democrats, and also favoring Stöcker's so-called Christian socialism (*q. v.*) and the academic *Katheder Sozialisten.* (See SOCIALISM OF THE CHAIR.) As early as 1847 Bismarck had spoken in favor of State railroads, but did not definitely, or at least publicly, adopt the principles of State socialism till 1878. His first step, however, was to reverse the taxation policy of the State and establish protection. His next step was to try and introduce various state monopolies, such as a tobacco monopoly. He did not succeed in getting these efforts at first supported by the Reichstag, yet from that date the government has moved in this direction till to-day most German railways are State roads (see RAILWAYS), and German legislation is notoriously paternal. A fuller State socialism has been reached in the various State insurance laws. In 1881 came the first word from the government upon the subject. The Sickness Insurance Law was passed in 1883, the Accident Insurance Law in 1884, and the Old Age Law in 1889. (See INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE.)

State Socialism

By all this, however, the Social Democrats have no more been diverted from their purpose than they could be supprest. In 1881, however, occurred the Niederwald plot against the imperial family. Arrests were made, and two avowed anarchists were (1884) sentenced to death.

In 1884 another general election took place, and in Berlin two out of the six places fell to Socialists, and in Hamburg and Breslau two out of three. The Socialist vote polled was 549,990.

Repression was made more vigorous than ever. The year 1889 was marked by the largest strike Germany had ever known, which took place in the coal-mines of Westphalia and the Rhenish provinces, and threatened to spread, and did spread, more or less, through the empire, the emperor himself taking an interest in hearing the complaints of the miners, ordering an investigation leading to further legislation.

In 1890 the emperor accepted Bismarck's resignation as chancellor, partly upon Bismarck's insistence that the Anti-Socialist Law be renewed, a step which the young emperor did not favor, and on its expiration (Sept. 30, 1890) it was not renewed. The banished Socialists came back in great numbers. Liebknecht assumed the editorship of the *Volksblatt*, and activity went on more rapidly than ever, especially in Berlin, Hamburg, and the industrial centers. Since then the growth of the party has been steady. Its annual congresses have had large and enthusiastic attendance. Strong and wise leaders and organizers have appeared. (See AUER; BEBEL; BERNSTEIN; KAUTSKY; SINGER; VON VOLMAR.) A wing of the party led by Bernstein, while faithful to the Socialist ideals and movement, have favored since 1899 a more opportunist political course (see BERNSTEIN; also REVISIONISTS), and this has been hotly opposed (see KAUTSKY), but it has not divided the party, and wise leadership has prevented a secession. The party has developed a large newspaper and tract literature, the sales of which, together with the dues and gifts to the party, give it a firm financial basis. In 1907, tho unusual efforts were made to defeat it, the party increased its vote by over a quarter of a million, polling 3,258,961 votes and only losing seats because of unjust distribution of representation (see above; also SOCIALISM). The party thus far has not largely reached the agricultural classes, tho it is working for this. (For statistics, see SOCIALISM.)

Socialist Gains

Christian socialism in Germany must be

sharply distinguished from the Social Democratic movement, and stands indeed for more than one movement. Roman Catholic Christian socialism came first, in the utterances of Bishop von Ketteler of Mayence (1850) and the Catholic working men's clubs, begun by Father Koeping in Bavaria in 1847, and organized into a national movement led by Canon Monfany, about 1870. In 1872 these clubs had 72,000 members, mainly in Bavaria and Westphalia. (For details, see CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM; also ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.)

Christian Socialism

This movement has become permanent, largely the result of Bismarck's *Culturkampf* (or contest with Rome and the expulsion of the Jesuits, 1872). The Roman Church, deprived of State influence, at least in northern Germany, appealed to the people, especially to the agricultural peasantry and the smaller landowners. Developing social clubs for mutual aid of many kinds, under the patronage and guidance of the Church, she has built up a powerful movement, especially in Bavaria—so much so that in some places little social effort can be successfully attempted without the cooperation of the parish priest. Well-attended congresses have been held, literature and papers circulated, till to-day the Romish political influence in the empire casts 2,183,381 votes (1907), has 105 seats in the Reichstag (the Center, with a strong aristocratic wing), a group the government is compelled to recognize and on which it often must depend to obtain a working majority for government measures. The Catholic labor-unions, 1905, numbered 1,600 locals, with 260,000 members. Protestant Christian socialism has had a more checkered career. Passing by earlier individual utterances (see HUBER TODT), the movement began as an organized force in 1877 with Stöcker, at that time the brilliant court preacher in Berlin. (For details, see CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM; also STÖCKER.) Favored by the government (see above), for political reasons, it took a political form and tried to rally the working men and others on "a Christian constitutional monarchical basis." This government support and political bias temporarily aided the movement, but eventually killed it. Stöcker himself became largely interested in the anti-Semitic movement, and tried to unite this with his Christian Socialist politics. After considerable success, the government for political reasons withdrew its support, and the movement became divided. Stöcker with more persistency than wisdom persisted in a lessening political movement. Todt, and later Naumann (*q. v.*), favored a more purely evangelical form. Paul Göhre led a radical wing favoring cooperation with the Social Democrats. Agitation resulted, considerable literature was developed, and numerous congresses and conferences were held. But the movement never had unity from the start, and became finally completely divided, each element working in its separate way, without large numerical following. In 1896, under the leadership of Pastor Naumann, a *National Social Party* was formed at Erfurt, standing for a strong support of the government, the endeavor to help the cause of labor by evolutionary legislation, and the Christian religion as the basis of all moral life. This movement grew somewhat, polling 30,500 votes in 1903, but was voluntarily dissolved the same year, and its forces scattered among different parties. Göhre himself has joined the Social Democrats.

In 1894, however, commenced a movement which has been more permanent. The miners in the Rhine-Westphalia coal-fields, who did not favor the antireligious bias of the Social Democrats, and also favored trade-unions patterned on the English model, started some so-called "Christian Unions" (*Christliche Gewerkschaften*), and the movement grew till in 1902 they had 35 chief organizations with 175,069 members and, in 1906, 2,333 local unions with 215,884 members. These unions are not connected with any religious body, and are technically neither Roman Catholic nor Evangelical (tho by that fact Protestant rather than Catholic), but are broadly religious in their tendency. Politically opposed to the Social Democrats, they have thereby an unavowed connection with the Center (Roman Catholic), but confine themselves mainly to trade-union efforts. (See TRADE-UNIONS.) An avowed "Evangelical Labor-Union" connection has (1905) 72,000 members. German trade-unionism is a somewhat divided movement, tho the tendency at present is toward unity and a strong development. The oldest national union is that of the printers and type-founders (1848); reformed 1867. The unions, now loosely connected with the Social Democrats ("free *Gewerkschaften*") began to be formed about 1865, independently of and for a time even hostile to the Social Democrats. They grew very slowly till 1895, but after that with rapidity and increasingly, tho vaguely connected with the Social Democrats. As the Social Democrats become less theoretical and more practical in advocating immediate measures, these unions tend more to coalesce with them, tho not technically committed to any party.

Trade-Unions

In 1868 another trade-union movement began, led by Drs. Hirsch (*q. v.*) and Duncker (*q. v.*), founders of the Progressive Party in the Reichstag. The Hirsch-Duncker union grew rapidly; came to grief over an unsuccessful strike of the miners, but then began to grow steadily. They are formed avowedly on the English model and (since 1876) exclude Social Democrats from their ranks. Politically they are eclectic and support those parties which most favor immediate progressive labor measures. In 1905 there were 2,158 Hirsch-Duncker unions with 111,887 members. The total trade-union movement of Germany is as follows:

Social Democratic unions....	9,525 with	1,372,539	members
Christian trade-unions.....	2,333 "	188,106	"
Hirsch-Duncker unions.....	2,158 "	117,097	"
Independent unions.....	812[1] "	144,601	"
	14,828	1,822,343	

[1] Not completely listed.

Quite separate for the most part from either the trade-union or the Social Democrat movement is the German cooperative movement. Beginning with the Schulze-Delitzsch (*q. v.*) loan associations in 1848, and the Raiffeisen (*q. v.*) cooperative banks, which, tho begun in 1849, were little known till 1874, cooperation, first in loan associations and more recently in other forms, has assumed large proportions. (See COOPERATION.)

More characteristic of Germany is the aid in various forms which the government has extended to the labor movement. Of the important government industrial insurance system we have already spoken (see INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE for details, statistics, etc.). Beginning in

1887 with sickness insurance, by 1904 60,000,000 persons (the sick, the injured by accident, invalids, and their relatives) had received $1,000,000,000 as indemnity, the working men having raised only the smaller part of this sum in the form of contributions, and receiving an indemnity which was by $375,000,000 larger than what they had paid in.

Of the accumulated amount of $375,000,000, nearly $100,000,000 had been applied to the erection of working men's houses, hospitals, and sanitariums, to places of cure, people's baths, and similar institutions.

Legislative Action

A considerable industrial legislative code has also been enacted (see FACTORY LEGISLATION; Digest of Section GERMANY), stimulated somewhat by the International Government Labor Conference, which met, invited by the Kaiser, in Berlin, March 15, 1890.

Almost as important are the action of the German municipalities on municipal housing, pawn-shops, etc.; but for this, see especial articles, MUNICIPALITIES, GERMAN; HOUSING; PAWNSHOP. Characteristic especially of this action, as of all of German State proceedings, is the cooperation of voluntary individual action with State aid and under State supervision.

This is particularly true of the important movement for public employment bureaus in Germany. Leipsic early began a municipal employment bureau, and Stuttgart a non-municipal but public (not commercial) bureau as early as 1865, and these two types were slowly copied till a social congress, held in Berlin, 1893, gave a great impetus to the movement, and to-day public employment bureaus exist in every important German town, a number of them being municipal. In Prussia alone there were 226 such public bureaus in 1904, and it is estimated that in the year ending March, 1904, situations were found for 600,000 persons (for the empire). Almost invariable features of them is that they are controlled by boards composed of equal numbers of employers and employees, a consideration regarded as vital to their success; and that if not municipal are under strict municipal control. (See PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS.) Connected with these practically if not organically is the German system of colonies and relief stations for the unemployed. The German Labor Colonies (see LABOR COLONIES), beginning in 1881 with Wilhelmsdorf, near Bielefeld (*q. v.*), started by Pastor von Bodelschwingh (*q. v.*), have multiplied till there are now thirty-three in the empire, which received in 1904 10,009 homeless wanderers. Their permanent effect is questioned by some—they shelter an admittedly weak body of men—but they have at least developed some into efficiency, and are said to have almost relieved Germany of the tramp which previously infested the empire. (See UNEMPLOYMENT.)

Public Employment Bureaus

Correlated with these are the relief stations (*Verpflegungstationen*) and the home shelters (*Herbergen zur Heimath*) now scattered throughout the empire. The relief stations are stations established usually by the public authorities where working men traveling in search of work can apply for situations, be directed where to go, and provided with a meal or lodging overnight in exchange for a little work. These stations are over 1,000 in number, within walking distance of each other, and connected by telephone, so that a workingman can traverse the whole empire (or large portions of it) and hear of the possibilities of employment. Each man, however, who applies must have or purchase a labor passport with a certificate of past employment, civil papers, etc., and this must be shown and stamped at each station he visits. The home shelters are institutions conducted by private philanthropy and usually on a religious basis, which provide unemployed working men a longer shelter than the relief stations, with which, however, they are sometimes combined. The first home shelter was instituted at Bonn in 1854, and grew slowly in numbers, tho recently much more rapidly. There were reported 461 of the home shelters in 1905. The center of this movement is now the Herbergen zur Heimath at Bielefeld. Pastor von Bodelschwingh has united the movement under a German Travelers' Home Society. (See RELIEF STATIONS.)

Home Shelters

Important evangelical social work is done by the Inner Mission commenced by Wichern in the Rauhe Haus at Hamburg in 1848, and developed to-day into very large and ramified charities and social work. (See INNER MISSION.) For the numerous German charities and relief institutions, conducted partly by the State and partly by private philanthropy under State control, see PAUPERISM AND THE RELIEF OF. This work assumes in Germany a more scientific and combined form than in most countries, and numerous national societies have arisen for the study and prosecution of social reform work. (See also SOCIAL INSTITUTES; MUSEUMS OF SECURITY; PROSTITUTION; TEMPERANCE; WOMAN'S MOVEMENTS.) Among the more important national social reform societies are:

Reichs-Versicherungsamt, Berlin W., Königin Augusta str. 25, 26. (State Industrial Insurance Office.)

Centralstelle für Arbeiter-Wohlfahrtseinrichtungen, Berlin S. W., Dessauerstr. 14 (Prof. Dr. Albrecht). (Industrial Betterment.)

Bureau für Sozialpolitik, Berlin W., Nollendorfstr. 29, 30 (Prof. Dr. Ernst Francke).

Institut für Gemeinwohl, Frankfort-on-the-Main, Kettenhofweg 27.

Soziales Museum, Munich.

Soziales Museum, Frankfort-on-the-Main.

Bergischer Verein für Gemeinwohl, Barmen.

Centralverein für das Wohl der arbeitenden Klassen. Sekretär, E. Rüdiger, Schöneberg, Stubenrauchstr. 8. (For the benefit of the working classes.)

Verein für Sozialpolitik. (Meets every two years for important conferences.)

Internationales Institut für Sozialbibliographie, Berlin W., 50, Spichernstr. 17.

Deutscher Sparkassen-Verband. (Savings.)

Deutscher Verein für öffentliche Gesundheitspflege. (Health and Hygiene.)

Deutscher Verein gegen den Missbrauch geistiger Getränke, Charlottenburg, Fasanenstr. 59. (Temperance.)

Verband deutscher Arbeitsnachweise, Berlin C., Gormannstr. 13. (Labor bureaus.)

Charitasverband für das *katholische* Deutschland (1897), Freiburg in Breisgau (Geistl. Rat Dr. Lorenz Werthmann). (Charitable Association of the German Catholics.)

Centralausschuss für die innere Mission der deutschen *evangelischen Kirche*. Berlin W., Genthinerstr. 38. (Central Committee for the Inner Mission.)

Centralkomitee der deutschen Vereine vom Roten Kreuz. Berlin W., Wilhelmstr. 73. (Red Cross.)

Gesamtverband deutscher Verpflegungsstationen, Behtel bei Bielefeld. (Relief stations.)

Deutscher Herbergs-Verein, Bethel by Bielefeld (Pastor Mörchen). (Home shelters.)

Centralvorstand deutscher Arbeiterkolonien (Geheimrat von Massor, Potsdam, Lennéstr. 12). (Labor colonies.)

Deutscher Verein für Armenflege und Wohlthätigkeit (1880).

REFERENCES: *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich, Handbuch für das Deutsche Reich, Das Staatsrecht des Deut-*

schen Reiches, by A. Arndt (1900); *Germany and the Germans*, by W. H. Dawson (2 vols., 1894); *Central Europe*, by J. Partsch (1903); *Imperial Germany*, by Sidney Whitman (1901); *Germany (A World Power)*, by Wolf von Schierbrand (1902); *Bismarck and the Foundation of the German Empire*, by J. W. Headlam (1899); *German Life in Town and Country*, by W. H. Dawson (1901); *The German Workingman*, by W. H. Dawson (1900); *Industrial Education and Industrial Conditions in Germany*, by U. S. Consul Meyer (Special Consular Report, xxxiii., 1905).

GERMAN MUNICIPALITIES. See MUNICIPALITIES, GERMAN.

GERRYMANDERING: In United States politics, an arrangement of political divisions in disregard of natural boundaries, as indicated by geography or position, so as to give one party an unfair political advantage. It is done sometimes by throwing the greatest possible number of hostile voters into a district which is certain to be hostile, sometimes by adding to a district where parties are equally divided some place in which the majority of friendly voters is sufficient to turn the scale.

The word is derived from Elbridge Gerry, a leading Democratic politician in Massachusetts (a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and in 1812 elected Vice-President of the U. S.), who, when Massachusetts was being redistricted, contrived a scheme which gave one of the districts a shape like that of a lizard. An artist, seeing a map of the district in an editor's office, remarked, "Why, this looks like a salamander." "Say rather a Gerrymander," replied the editor; and the name remained.

GHENT, WILLIAM JAMES: American author and Socialist; born at Frankfort, Ind., 1866; educated in the public schools. Learning the printer's trade, he worked as a compositor in various parts of the country, and later as a reporter and editor on several New York City periodicals. He has contributed to many papers and magazines, particularly *The Independent*. He was one of the founders of the Social Reform Club of New York (1894). An independent Socialist from 1893 to 1904, when he joined the Socialist Party. Since 1906, secretary of Rand School of Social Science. He has written: "Our Benevolent Feudalism," 1902; "Mass and Class," 1904. *Address*: 260 West Fifty-fourth Street, New York City.

GIDDINGS, FRANKLIN HENRY: Professor of sociology; born at Sherman, Conn., 1855. After preparatory studies at Great Barrington he entered Union College in 1873, received the degrees A.B. and A.M. Entering journalism, he was connected with the *Daily Union and Republican* of Springfield, Mass. In 1885 he made an investigation of cooperation and profit-sharing for the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor, the results being published in its seventh annual report. In 1888 was appointed resident lecturer and in 1891 associate professor of political science at Bryn Mawr College. In 1891, without leaving Bryn Mawr, he was appointed lecturer on sociology in the School of Political Sciences at Columbia University, and in 1894 professor of sociology in that university, leaving Bryn Mawr. Professor Giddings has been chairman of the Publication Committee of the American Economic Association, and vice-president of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. His contributions to economic journals have been almost constant, and since 1891 mainly concerned with the province and contents of sociology, in which department Professor Giddings has come to be an acknowledged leader. His views have often caused him to be classed as an independent Socialist and radical. Author: "The Theory of Socialization"; "The Elements of Sociology"; "Democracy and Empire"; "Inductive Sociology." *Address*: 150 West Seventy-ninth Street, New York City.

GIDE, CHARLES: French political economist; born at Uzès, France, 1847. From 1874–80 he was professor of jurisprudence at Bordeaux, and since 1880 has held the chair of political economy at Montpellier. He is editor of the *Revue d'Économie Politique*. His chief work is his "Princeps d'Économie Politique" (1883), which has been translated into English. He is even better known by his valuable reviews and magazine articles as one of the leaders in the revolt against the classic French economists, and also for his active interest in the French Protestant movement toward Christian Socialism.

GIFFEN, SIR ROBERT: British statistician; born at Lanark, Scotland, 1837; educated at Glasgow University (LL.D., 1884). He was successively engaged as a solicitor's clerk and as a journalist, being connected in an editorial capacity with the *Globe* and with the *Economist*. From 1870 to 1876 he edited the trade and finance articles for the *Daily News*, and in the latter year was appointed chief of the Statistical Department of the Board of Trade. In 1882 he was appointed controller-general of the departments of commerce, labor, and statistics, retaining this office till 1897. From 1882 to 1884 he was president of the Statistical Society. He has written: "The Progress of the Working Classes in the Last Half-Century," 1884; "The Growth of Capital," 1890; "Economic Inquiries and Studies," 1904, etc. *Address*: Haywards Heath, Sussex, England.

GIFTS AND BEQUESTS: The year 1906 was remarkable owing to large gifts to public institutions by private individuals both in the United States and in Great Britain. According to records kept and published by various papers, particularly *The Chicago Tribune* and *The World Almanac*, the benefactions of 1906 in the U. S., not including small donations, amounted to $106,338,063, and according to *Whitaker's Almanack* in Great Britain to £4,486,440. The record from 1901–6 in the U. S. is:

BEQUESTS AND GIFTS FOR

1893–1900	$330,000,000
1901	107,000,000
1902	94,000,000
1903	77,000,000
1904	88,000,000
1905	104,586,422
1906	106,338,063
Total 1901–6	$576,924,485
Total 1893–1906	906,924,485

In Great Britain:

1901	£1,926,850
1902	4,443,200
1903	1,577,140
1904	1,376,750
1905	1,704,100
1906	4,486,440
Total 1901	15,514,480

GILD OF ST. MATTHEW, THE: A Christian Socialist society founded in 1877 by some of the young men and women of Bethnal Green who had come under the influence of the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, curate of the parish church. It was the outcome of the belief that the atheistic secularism of Mr. Bradlaugh and the Hall of Science was the result of the secular work of Christ and His Church having been neglected by churchmen. When Mr. Headlam had to leave Bethnal Green, the gild, with Mr. Fred. Verender as its secretary, extended its work and sent lecturers far and wide to secular halls, working men's clubs, etc. Besides the warden and secretary, Mr. Shuttleworth, Mr. Hancock, Mr. Carson, Mr. W. E. Morris, Mr. Dearmer, Mr. Moll, and Mr. Merson were priests who took an active part in the gild work.

The gild's study of social and political questions has made it a society of Socialists, sacerdotalists, and sacramentalists. It took an active part in the reception of Mr. Henry George, and the propagation of his principles, with which in England the name of Mr. Verender will always be connected. *The Church Reformer* was for ten years its organ, and the future church historian will find the columns of this publication replete with valuable information. The gild is mainly responsible for the Christian Socialist movement begun by Maurice and Kingsley having spread and fructified among "High Churchmen"; it has always been a small body—generally about 100 priests and about 150 laymen. Besides its general socialistic propaganda, and its insistence on the necessity of getting the mass restored to its proper unique place in the Church worship, it has worked for the abolition of the patron and the establishment of the parish in his place; for the State confining its educational function to secular schooling, and has strongly opposed municipal Puritanism. During the Easter of 1906 it organized a clerical address of congratulation to the thirty Labor members of Parliament. It also in that year undertook the circulation of a dozen little books of the Faith and Freedom Press designed to save the clergy, Sunday-school teachers, and others from spreading crude and false notions of the Christian faith which are the notions which skeptics so easily attack.

The chief work of the gild is now done by the members in their various parishes, and by the circulation of literature. The books on which they specially rely for this work are: The Rev. Thomas Hancock's "Pulpit and the Press," "The Banner of Christ in the Hands of the Socialists," and "God as Our Schoolmaster is Always in All Schools"; the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam's "Laws of Eternal Life," being lessons on the church catechism, "The Meaning of the Mass," "Secular Schools," "Priestcraft and Progress," "Municipal Puritanism," and "Christian Socialism"; Rev. Conrad Noel's "Day of the Sun." Also Mr. G. Shea's "What It Is and Who Should Join It," "The Church and the Polling Booth," "Disorders in the Church" (maintaining that they are social and industrial, not ritual), and many other leaflets. These can all be obtained from Mr. Fred. Verender, 376 Strand, London, W. C., England.

STEWART D. HEADLAM.

GILDS: The various trade- and labor-unions, as well as friendly societies, etc., are treated in separate articles. Under this head are considered only the ancient labor-unions and the medieval gilds.

I. Ancient Labor-Unions

That labor-unions have existed all through history has long been known, but only recently have they been carefully studied. Particularly has Mr. C. Osborne Ward investigated the subject, and his "The Ancient Lowly," altho he reaches conclusions by no means accepted by all scholars, contains a fund of valuable information. According to Mr. Ward, the gild grew from the family. When the paterfamilias died the oldest son usually took his place; but some of the younger sons, being of the same blood as the head of the family, would rebel at this. Out of this division, according to Mr. Ward, came classes—the aristocrats, or heads of families, and the dispossest freemen who were not slaves. These developed the artizan classes and, when these united, the first labor-unions. These unions were connected with a religious cult. As the aristocrats worshiped the shades of their ancestors, and made that worship the center of the family, so the labor-unions found their patron gods.

History

The date of the earliest labor organization cannot be fixt; but it must have been very early. As early as 1180 B.C., according to Plutarch's "Theseus," one Menestheus rose against the aristocrats at Athens to demand for the people the right to be initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. There must have been at least some understanding between working men at this time, and one of their first grievances was that they were excluded from the aristocratic religious rites, the aristocrats teaching that working men had no souls. A fragment from the age of Solon shows that in his time (about 600 B.C.) trade-unions were common (Granier's "Histoire des Classes Ouvrières," pp. 283–287). The celebrated Roman Law of the Twelve Tables specified the manner of organization of working men, and is declared by some (Gaius's "Digest"; Plutarch's "Numa") to be a translation from the Greek law of Solon; and the law of Solon is said to be a paraphrase of the still more ancient law of Amasis, King of Egypt. References are found by some to trade-unions in the Bible, in the time of Joshua (1537–1427), and certainly in the time of Solomon. Hiram of Tyre, who is said to have been the architect of the Temple at Jerusalem, brought with him from Tyre 3,200 foremen and 40,000 free artificers—not a large number, when it took the immortal Phideas, Callicrates, the chief architect Ictinus, and probably 50,000 unionist craftsmen ten years to design and complete the Parthenon—the perfection of architectural art.

By the time of Numa Pompilius we find unions fully developed and recognized by law. (See Plutarch's "Numa.") Mommsen ("De Coll. and Sodal Rom.," p. 78) says: "The relics of innumerable communal associations of ancient times are seen scattered all through Italy, as found among the inscriptions of the Italian towns." Down to B.C. 58 of the times of the emperors, the right of working men in Rome to organize was unabridged. Numa divided the unions into eight great classes, a clear witness to their number.

Later, the unions became innumerable. Ward describes a great number both Greek and Roman. The source of our knowledge of these is mainly from inscriptions, tablets, columns, and mutilated manuscripts. Most of the historians were too aristocratic to notice labor organizations, and, according to Ward, the references they did make to uprisings of slaves and laborers were mutilated by aristocrats.

The early Greek unions were called *thiasotai* (or disciples of mutual love), *sussitoi* (or those who eat at a common table), *omotaphoi* (or burial societies). According to Ward, the *hetaroi* and *hetæræ* were male and female associates of labor societies, and only later was the latter term used for prostitutes, because laborers were despised. Ward mentions especially the Greek *thiasoi* and *eranoi* as general names for Greek gilds. Of the Roman organizations we have fuller information. The *Fabri navalium*, or ship carpenters and boat-makers of the Tiber; the *collegium vasculariorum* (metal vessel makers); the *collegium pistorum* (millers); the *collegium incendarium* (firemen); the *collegium vinariorum* (wine dealers); even the *collegium lupanariorum* (brothel keepers); the *collegium bisellariorum* (makers of chairs for the gods); the *collegium centonariorum* (ragpickers or junkmen); the *collegium soliarium baxiarum* (shoemakers); the *fullonum sodalicum* (fullers); the *corpus nemesiacorum* (fortune-tellers); the *collegium armariorum* (gladiators); the *communionis mimirum* (actors); the *collegium castrênsiariorum* (sutlers); the *collegium vinatorum* (planters); the *collegium farrariorum* (mowers), and a long list of others too numerous to mention.

Names

These *collegia* seem to have been scattered all over the Roman Empire, in Asia Minor, the Greek islands, Spain, and Gaul, as well as in Greece and Rome. Mr. Ward says they were established in England by the Romans, and gave rise to the medieval gilds, especially in Kent, whence "the men of Kent" brought the Labor movement to America.

All these unions were more or less combinations of religious societies, burial societies, convivial societies, and friendly societies, with dues and benefits. Each organization took some patron god and celebrated his worship. They had banners and processions and days of worship. This was partly to cover their meeting for other purposes. They had occasional or regular convivial meetings, and suppers in common, and their dues were sometimes simply exacted to meet the expense of these. Almost invariably they were burial societies with dues to meet the expense of the burial, of which the ancients made much. Sometimes they were trade-unions and friendly societies in the modern sense. They had fixt prayers and a ritual for the conduct of their meetings. Their officers were presiding officers (of both sexes), a "president of finance," a stewardess or housewife, a manager or trustee, a recording secretary or scribe, lawyers to defend the members, priests to conduct the religious rites.

Organization

Some of the inscriptions give the best picture of their organization. One written in plain Attic Greek (translated in the *Revue Archéologique*) reads: "Because of rulable and just administration of the common fund of money of the community of *eranistai*, and having ever conducted himself with kindness and with honesty; and because he has righteously husbanded the funds successively paid by the *eranistai* themselves, as well as the annual subscription, according to the law of the *eranas*, and in view of the fact that in everything else he still continues to show integrity to the oath which he swore to the *eranistai*, therefore hail Alcmeon. The community of the *eranistai* rejoice to praise Alcmeon, son of Thon, a stranger who has been naturalized—their president of finance—and do crown him with a chaplet of foliage because of his faithfulness and good-will to them. They are, moreover, rejoiced, and praise the trustees, and also the priests (chaplains) of Jupiter the Savior, and of Hercules, and of the Savior of the Gods. And they crown each of them with the wreath of honor because of their virtue, and their lively interest in the community of the *eranistai*."

The stone is broken and the date is gone, but it seems to be of the Aristotelian period.

That these unions were very much like modern trade-unions, and even in advance of many present unions, is seen by the following inscription, discovered at Pompeii, showing that they endeavored to influence politics, and that they honored women (Ward's translation):

1. "The members of the Fishermen's Union nominate Popedius Rufus for member of the Board of Public Works."
2. "The International Gold Workers' Association of the City of Pompeii demand for Member of the Board of Public Works Cuspis Pansa."
3. "Verna, the home-born, with her pupils in all right, put Mrs. Capella to the front for a seat on the Board of Magistrates."

To these unions Ward ascribes great influence in ancient times. Socrates, he says, was a member of them; and his last words as he lay dying was to remind his disciples that they (the *thiasotai* or brethren) owed their cook for a chicken on which they had banqueted. Southern Italy had a great many of these unions, and here Plato found a system of communisms supposed to have been founded by Pythagoras. Jesus Christ, Ward believes to have belonged to such a union, and to simply have proclaimed successfully to the world the brotherhood and equality which the unions had long preached and striven for in private. The early Christian churches, he says, were first developed where these unions were strong, as at Pergamus, Laodicea, Ephesus, and Hierapolis ("the seven churches"), Antioch, Rhodes, and elsewhere. Many of these unions doubtless became corrupt; their feasts became feasts of revelry and dissipation; but originally, according to Ward, the Bacchic festivities, the Bacchanalia and Saturnalia, were not licentious.

These unions were almost exclusively of free working men, tho occasionally slaves were admitted. But the condition of the slaves was terrible in the extreme. At Sparta, Lycurgus instituted a communism, but it rested on slavery of the helots. There were common tables, but they were waited upon by nearly naked slaves. The slaves were State slaves, and were flogged once a day. The young *ephori* were taught to hunt for the helots and kill them as they toiled in the fields, in order to keep the helot class in subjection. Two thousand helots are known to have been killed in the fields at one time. At Athens slaves worked the State mines at Laurium and elsewhere, both sexes working naked in the mines under the lash, and loaded with chains. In Rome they were made to fight each other and wild beasts in the arena. In Sicily they were housed in dungeons, compelled to work naked in the fields, beaten, tortured, crucified. Hence arose great slave strikes.

Slaves

Slave Revolts

The earliest slave strike in Greece was probably a rising of the Spartan helots, which was put down in cold blood in the time of Agis I. (about 1055 B.C.). During the Peloponnesian wars there was a great strike of the 20,000 Athenian slaves at Sunium, who went over in a body to the enemy, Sparta (413 B.C.). Another strike seems to have occurred at the same place, B.C. 133, when 1,000 slave miners killed their overseers and rushed into the town and temple for security, but were finally overpowered. According to Livy ("Annales," lib. iv., 45), the slaves rose in Rome 407 B.C., and tried to fire the city, but were betrayed and the ringleaders crucified. B.C. 194, the slaves rose in Latium and gained the city, but were again betrayed to forces marching from Rome, and some 2,000 were slaughtered (Livy, xxxii., "Epitomy"). B.C. 196, a great strike seems to have taken place in Etruria, and another in Apulia, B.C. 185–184 (Livy, xxxix.). In the island of Chios the slaves rose at an uncertain date, and, under Drimakos, a soothsayer, escaped to the mountains and maintained independence there under their slave king. But finally, according to the story, the *Chiots* offering a great reward for Drimakos's head, the old man called a boy friend to him and had him cut off his head to get the reward, which the youth did, a temple afterward being built to Drimakos. In Sicily, under Eunus, 143–133 B.C., the slaves rose and conquered their masters and chose Eunus king, and finally had a force of 200,000 men, defeating army after army sent against them from Rome during a period of six years. In Pergamus, in Asia Minor (B.C. 130), King Attalus willed his empire to Rome; but Aristonicus, a natural brother, roused the slaves, and offered them their freedom if they would support him. He, with his *eranoi*, defied Rome and defeated her consular armies, till finally overthrown by M. Paperna (B.C. 104). Another great slave rising took place in Sicily under Athenion, who united with the free workmen and defeated Rome in six great battles. The rising of the gladiators under Spartacus is better known. Spartacus at Capua plotted his escape with 200 gladiators, 74 B.C. Gaining weapons, they attracted slaves and working men to them till they had ultimately an army of 300,000 men. He defeated army after army of the Romans by shrewd tactics and desperate valor, but finally was conquered by Crassus, Spartacus himself perishing in the battle; 60,000 workmen fell in the battle, and 6,000 were crucified by the Romans along the road from Capua to Rome.

II. Medieval Gilds

The medieval gild in one sense doubtless sprang from the ancient labor-unions, but in an important sense it did not. Medieval life sprang from Germanic life, adapted to and molded by the Roman civilization it overran. Wherever the Germanic tribes went, in Germany, England, France, Italy, or Spain, they found labor-unions, and, as it were, inherited them. Yet is the medieval gild essentially German and not Roman,

The Roman gilds were mainly of slaves or of the despised. The medieval gilds were composed essentially of freemen. They were not simply trade-unions.

Origin

Some have argued that the medieval gilds sprang from the early common banquets of the Gothic tribes. They more probably sprang from a variety of causes. The name "gild" is probably derived from the Anglo-Saxon *gylden* or *gildan*, "to pay," since a distinctive feature of all the gilds was the common contribution or assessment. The word at first seems to have been used for any association for any purpose that had contributions to a common fund. "The early gilds," says Professor Seligman, "had no connection with trade or industry." They were largely social, often protective, sometimes political, almost always with a religious spirit. Says Gierke ("Deutsches Genossenschafts-Recht," p. 227): "The old Germanic gild embraced the whole man and was intended to satisfy all human purposes; it was a union such as exists to-day only in our towns or states; it answered at the same time religious, moral, social, economical, and political purposes."

An important variety of these gilds were the *frith*, or *peace gilds*, sworn communities for the protection of right and the preservation of liberty. Many gilds were formed by and often composed of the clergy. A still larger class were purely social and charitable. There were said to have been as many as 909 gilds in the county of Norfolk alone. Contributions to the common treasury, masses for the living, and funeral rites for the deceased brethren, observance of a mutual charity, and the bathing, feeding, and clothing of 100 poor men, are among the obligations of most of the gilds whose members promised to conduct themselves as righteously as possible, and be of "one heart and of one soul."

These gilds, of one kind or another, extended all over Germanic Europe and endured in most countries till the time of the Reformation, and in a few instances to the nineteenth century. In England, Henry VIII. sequestered the property of the religious gilds. In Denmark and North Germany their property was devoted to the public service. The most important, however, of all medieval gilds were the *gilds-merchant* and the *craft gilds*. The former came first and grew to great power, becoming often the real municipal corporation of the towns. Gradually, however, the craft gilds gained upon them, and finally replaced them.

III. Gilds-Merchant

The gilds-merchant in all European countries seem to have been developed about the same time. In England, they are mentioned first in "Doomsday Book," both knighton-gild and gild-merchant existing at Nottingham. Lincoln is said to have had one during the Danish supremacy, and soon after *Doomsday* they are frequently mentioned in town charters. The drapers' company of Hamburg dates from 1153, and that of the shoemakers of Magdeburg from 1157. Similar associations existed in Milan about the same time. They were common in France in the reign of Louis IX. By the close of the twelfth century they were general throughout Europe. The Hanseatic League, which was practically a league of North German gilds-merchant, and which came to have such power, dates from the thirteenth century. Their charters were essentially monopoly licenses to sell. With the license also went certain privileges and exemptions. Says Professor Seligman, from whose "Two Chapters on the Medieval Gilds of England" we derive much information:

Development

"It was essential for the merchant traveling from town to town, or even trading within the burgh, to be freed from these burdens, and we find accordingly immunities of this kind in almost every case. . . .

"Another privilege that is often mentioned is the *hansa*. What this was is not very clear. The magnificence of the Hanseatic League and its branches in medieval England are well known, and the Steelyard of the hanse-merchants or Easterlings, who were already protected by Æthelstan, became a renowned institution of London. . . . But the term is much older, and occurs frequently in the English charters, probably at first having reference to the privileges of merchants when away from home. For the English had their gilds in foreign ports also. Its meaning, however, soon became equivalent to gild, or the rights of a gild, and in this generic signification it is used all through the later documents. The 'hanse of the gild' thus became a collective name, which included all the usual attributes of a trading corporation."

The constitution of the gilds shows their character. Seligman tells us that "at the head stood the alderman or master, who probably paid something for his position, and at his side were the wardens or stewards, and occasionally other officers, such as seneschals, ushers, clerks, deans, and chaplains. Membership was obtained by heredity, purchase, or gift, and frequent mention is made of the seats of the associates, which probably referred to their position at the feasts or the arrangement of the booths in fair-time. The alienation of the seats, whether by sale or gift, was forbidden, and while the sons and sometimes the nephews and daughters of members were admitted free of all charges, others were obliged to pay an entrance fee and produce two sureties. In the oath that was administered on initiation, the new member pledged himself to conform to the ordinances, to be subject to the same burdens as his fellows, to inform the officials and inhabitants if he discovered any merchant in town who was not a member, and to obey the command of the mayor as well as to maintain the good usages of the city. Peace and good-will between the members were enjoined; provisions of a charitable character, such as alms to the impoverished and visits to the imprisoned, are occasionally found; the morning speeches and periodical banquets were not omitted, and the members were admonished not to forget to drink their gild-merchant, on which festive occasions the officers availed themselves of the opportunity to collect the taxes."

Constitution

The gild-merchant was then at the outset a mere company of traders; but the term merchant, which by no means conveyed the same ideas as at present, included not only those that carried on foreign commerce, but petty traders of all kinds, even artizans. The gild, however, in course of time lost its character as a purely private society, and became closely connected with the municipal organization, altho never identical with it. When the towns and boroughs obtained charters, they took care to have it included that the men of the place should also have their gild-merchant. "Gild law" often became the law of the town. But in England and the north of Europe the gilds-merchant, having grown rich and tyrannical, excluded the landless men of the handicrafts; these then uniting among themselves, there arose everywhere by the side of the gilds-merchant the craft gilds, which gained the upper hand on the Continent in the struggle for liberty in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In England these companies usually existed side by side with the old town or merchant-gild; until at length their increasing importance caused the decay of the old gilds, and the adoption of these crafts as part of the constitution of the towns (thirteenth to fifteenth century).

In the great cities like London and Florence the gilds-merchant, if organized, never seem to have taken deep hold. The craft gilds seem to have been early organized.

IV. Craft Gilds

The origin of these craft gilds is more disputed than that of the gilds-merchant. There are three main views. Brentano, in his "Gilds and Trade-Unions," argues that they were associations of craftsmen to protect themselves from "the abuse of power on the part of the lords of the town, who tried to reduce the free to the dependence of the unfree." There seems, however, little to support this view. Dr. Cunningham ("History of Industry and Commerce," vol. i., p. 310) says

Origin

they were "called into being not out of antagonism to existing authorities, but as new institutions, to which special parts of their own duties were delegated by the burgh officers or the local gild-merchant." Professor Ashley ("Introduction to Economic History and Theory") takes the middle ground that they were self-governing bodies of craftsmen, more or less under municipal control. They are, however, in no case to be identified with modern trade-unions, and tho Brentano and Mr. George Howell following him have held that modern trade-unions are descended from them, there seems to be no proof of this. The prototype of the modern trade-union is to be sought rather in the journeymen associations that sprang up later, as the craft gilds grow aristocratic and wealthy. The craft gilds were rather gilds of employers. As the gilds-merchant were monopolies in traffic, so the craft gilds were monopolies in production.

The early charters, says Professor Seligman, all contain as a cardinal point the provision that no one should venture to carry on the trade either in the city or suburbs unless a member.

The crafts could thus not be initiated without permission. The towns often assumed the right of recognizing the formation of gilds, which was regarded as a perfectly legitimate exercise of municipal powers. The regulations of the craft were subject to the periodical approval of the municipal officers, and the gilds were formed and recognized as welcome auxiliaries to the means for the enforcement of the market laws. Care, indeed, must be taken not to exaggerate the involuntary character of the unions, for the early rights of the craft gilds were probably, in part at least, the growth of self-assertion. But, above all, the ordinances were the outgrowth of a general medieval policy.

Constitution

Their constitution resembled that of the gilds-merchant. The unions known by the names of mystery, faculty, trade, fellowship, or (from the fact of possessing particular costumes) livery company, were divided into two or three categories. At the side of the alderman or master, the chief officer, stood four or six wardens or searchers who possest the general authority to inspect work and rectify abuses. As in all gilds, the social gatherings, processions, and annual feasts played a great rôle, and we find here and there provisions for the common welfare, assistance to the needy, and the maintenance of a chaplain. But these few ordinances of a charitable character played an exceedingly insignificant part in the constitution of the craft gilds. The true significance of the crafts was economic, not social.

Membership in the gild in the period of their prosperity depended on full citizenship. Non-citizens, whether aliens or simple strangers, enjoyed but a precarious position. The qualification of freeman was necessarily relaxed in the case of women, who were also admitted as members, for certain occupations were almost exclusively conducted by them.

But participation in the franchise was not enough. A perfect acquaintance with the details of the trade and the ability to produce good work were in all cases preliminary requisites. In fact, the main provisions of the craft, the very soul of its constitution, were the regulations intended to insure the excellence of the products and the capacity of the workman. The ordinances almost invariably commence with a recital of the various subterfuges employed by knavish artificers to deceive the public.

The whole character of the craft gild is seen by these regulations to be due to the compulsion of the city authorities rather than to any philanthropic anxiety on the part of the trades. Carefully ascertained rules as to the exact proportion and quality of the raw materials were prescribed with great minuteness; the mixing of good and bad wares was strictly prohibited, and the greatest care was exercised in the selection of proper tools.

Similar considerations led to the prohibition of night-work or sales by candle-light. Said an edict: "The spurriers shall not work after curfew, 'by reason that no man can work so neatly by night as by day,' and especially because many persons 'compass how to practise deception in their work,' and introduce false and cracked iron for tin and put gilt on false copper."

It was imperative on the craftsman to furnish an adequate guaranty of his fitness to join the gild and produce good work. This guaranty consisted in the fact of a previous apprenticeship and the evidence of a good moral character. The apprenticeship continued as a rule for seven years, when, in Germany at least, the apprentice was given an opportunity to travel (Wanderjahre) and study his craft in other cities. On his return home he was expected to produce some masterpiece to show his skill, and only then was he admitted into the gild of his trade.

These regulations were but a part of the whole medieval system. The Middle Ages were a period of customary, not of competitive prices, and the idea of permitting agreements to be decided by the "higgling of the market" was an impossibility, because the laws of the market were not left to the free arbitrament of the contracting parties. The severance of occupations was imposed upon the trades, not spontaneously adopted by them, and the medieval statutes teem with provisions of this nature, as, for instance, that shoemakers shall not be tanners, brewers not be coopers, cordwainers not be curriers, butchers not be cooks, drapers not be "litsters," while a statute of 1363 admonishes all artificers and handicraft people to use only one mystery or occupation.

Trade System

But the subordination of the gilds to the general laws of the realm constitutes only one half of the explanation. The other half must be sought in the commanding influence of the towns in economic life. All powers of market and social police were from the first massed in the hands of the urban authorities. The gilds developed and were developed by this life. They aided, too, in art and religion.

All medieval gilds, as has been said, were largely religious; and Gierke says in his "Deutsches Genossenschafts-Recht" (p. 227): "As a religious community, as a union for worship, which probably the name signifies, every gild had a patron saint, whose name it bore, and by whom its members swore, and an altar of its own, which it maintained. The erection of benevolent institutions, perpetual masses, and similar gifts to the Church, the giving of alms and the assistance of pilgrims, the maintenance of altar lights, and other pious acts were matters of the union and among its purposes."

Says Mr. J. Bleecker Miller: "That was a time when the *Cathedral* system was the religious or-

ganization of a great city, with its centralized government under one head, its chapter of priests who attended to the religious wants of the city as a whole, and with the citizens divided according to their trades and professions into smaller religious and political communities, called gilds."

The gilds did much for charity. A brother of the craft would give house and lands to better the annual feast, which the craft always held; or he might found a school, a hospital, or an almshouse, and after defining the amount of his benefaction, would leave the surplus, if any, to the discretion of the gild. Or he would make the gild the trustees of the fund, from which the mass priest should receive his stipend for spiritual offices, the residue being left to the gild as remuneration for management. Occasionally the corporations bargained for the amount of the spiritual service, and refused to agree to a proposal which might be too costly for the fund to bear. They exacted fees for apprenticeship, for taking up freedom by inheritance or servitude, and more lately for admission into the gild by purchase. Like prudent men, who might be liable to occasional charges, they saved and invested these funds, as also gifts for lending without usury to poorer citizens, for apprenticing poor boys or girls, or for marriage portions, or for widows' pensions, or for the relief of the destitute members of the craft, the first and the most enduring duty of the gild. The gild estates, the chest of the company, its revenues and rents, were, like the endowments of an academical college, at once the support of the fraternity and the means by which the discipline of the order or craft was maintained.

Of their life Seligman says:

> But there was no monopoly or exaggerated exclusiveness. Any one could become apprentice, and the number was limited only by the ability of the master to support them or by considerations of a police nature. The apprentice formed a member of the master's family. For the principles of the law of parent and child were made applicable to a certain extent, and all responsibility for purchases of the apprentices as well as for their behavior were imposed on the masters by city ordinance. From one of the indentures that have been preserved we can obtain a clear view of his position. The apprentice is to keep his master's secrets, do him no injury, nor commit excessive waste of his goods. He is not to frequent taverns, commit fornication or adultery with the housemaids or in town, nor betroth himself without his master's permission. He is not to wear certain garments, play at dice, checkers, or any other unlawful game, but is to conduct himself soberly and piously as a good and faithful servant, or in default to serve double time. The master, on the other hand, agrees to find him in all necessaries, food, clothing, bed, and so on, for four years. In the fifth year he finds himself, but receives 20*s.* and the tools of the trade; and in the sixth year he gets 40*s.*, but finds his own tools. The master agrees on his side to teach him the craft without any concealment. . . .
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> The condition of the workmen proper was essentially similar. They were known by the various names of varlet, sergeant, yeoman, garson, bachelor, allowe, and journeyman, and were taken for any stipulated period, although probably at first engaged by the day, as the last term implies. Restrictions were rarely placed on their number; but the necessities of a small household would in general preclude the master from employing more than a limited number. . . .
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> All possible disputes were settled primarily by the wardens, some of whom were in certain crafts chosen from the ranks of the journeymen themselves. If the master refused to give the stipulated wages, the wardens forbade him to work until the obligation should be fulfilled. The journeyman was likewise protected against other exactions on the part of unscrupulous masters, such as attempts to compel him to serve beyond his time or against his will, while a stimulus was given to loyal fidelity by prescribing assistance out of the gild funds in case of illness or misfortune. . . .
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> But a conflict of interests was in general unknown. The journeyman always looked forward to the period when he would be admitted to the freedom of the trade. This was a rule not difficult for an expert workman to attain. No insuperable obstacle was thrown in his path. In fact, there was no superabundance of skilled labor at this time. It was a period of supremacy of labor over capital, and the master worked beside the artizan.

V. Journeymen's Associations

Naturally, however, there were sporadic cases of disaffection on the part of workmen against imagined or real maltreatment by the master. Out of them came the journeymen's associations. Thus in 1303, in one of the earliest craft ordinances that we possess, the journeymen cordwainers of London are forbidden to assemble or make any provisions prejudicial to their masters or to the public. But altho this, as well as the similar case of the journeymen weavers in 1362, resembles to a certain degree our modern strike and boycott, it is not indicative of any general banding together of the men against the employers.

At first these associations were simple fraternities of a social character. They were considered harmless and in most cases freely permitted. Sometimes, however, they were prohibited, as tending to weaken the paternal authority of the craftsmen. The "congregations" of the journeymen cordwainers above mentioned were doubtless of this class, and continued, for over three quarters of a century later they are again charged with making an illegal fraternity, for which they sought a confirmation from the Pope. The general proclamation of 1383 was, however, not directed especially against such associations, as has been represented. For this forbade conspiracies and combinations of all kinds, and did not mention the workmen at all. Probably the regulation was designed to prevent the recurrence of such riots as had taken place during Wat Tyler's uprising in 1381. The character of the early journeymen's gilds is shown by their fraternities in Coventry, where the journeymen or young people of various trades, "observing what merry meetings and feasts their masters had, themselves wanted the like pleasure, and did therefore of their own accord assemble together, and for their better conjunction make choice of a master with clerks and officers." But as this was found to be to "the prejudice of the other gilds and disturbance of the city," the mayor and citizens petitioned the king, in 1425, to abolish them.

The journeymen's associations which later seem to have been quite common (for a statute of 1402 speaks of "fraternities or gilds of servants" in general) were thus mere social brotherhoods, formed by the young "desirous of merry meetings and feasts." It is not permissible to cite them as proving any conflict between labor and capital at this period. The unions were everywhere confined to the youths, who in turn gradually became masters and were enrolled as full members of the craft gild proper. But gradually this changed. The gilds became too rich and strong, and were hated. Says Professor James, in a chapter written for McNeill's "Labor Movement":

> The complaints about the heartless policy of the gilds began as early as the fifteenth century, and did not die out until the gilds themselves died. During the fifteenth century the abolition of the gilds was demanded on this ground. When Henry III., of France, in 1581, extended the provisions of the gilds to all branches of mechanical industry in France, the Parliament refused at first to register the edict. In 1614, the third estate in France moved the abolition of the gilds; in 1624, a party in the city council of Bremen; in 1669, the Elector of Brandenburg, in the German Parliament, made the same motion. In Prussia, beginning with 1688, a series of laws was adopted looking toward the reformation of the gilds in the direction of greater freedom, and in the interest of a growing industry. But the chief attack upon the old gild system came on its theoretical side from Adam Smith and the French Physiocrats.

Downfall

God, said the physiocratic school of economists, made the right to labor the property of every person by giving to every one wants and referring him to labor as a means of satisfying them. This property is the first in order of time, the most holy and the most inalienable. Owing to the restrictions on labor maintained by the gilds, the poor are condemned to protract a precarious existence under the control of the masters, to linger in poverty or to betake themselves and their industry to foreign lands. Just as the whole existing system of law had proceeded from the selfish efforts of privileged classes, who resisted every reform, so in making the regulations in regard to organization of the system of apprentices and journeymen the councilors of the government had always been the employers. They served merely to secure to the masters the labor of the apprentice for a long time at a very low rate of wages or for no wages at all; to keep down the wages of the journeyman and to diminish competition by limiting the number of masters. It is one of the first duties of justice to free those whose only property consists in the skill and strength of their hands from the limitations placed upon them by the gilds.

Justice and economic expediency thus united in demanding the freedom of labor. The same demand for freedom of industry and of contract was made by those interested in the large industry which was now beginning to rise in England. The gild system was in the interest of the small employer, but opposed to the interest of the large employer. The mere requirement that a man should have passed through an apprenticeship, and, on the Continent, a journeymanship also, stood in the way of those who wished to utilize their capital.

Thus theory and pecuniary interest united in demanding the abolition of the old system. In France, the old system was abolished on the memorable night of Aug. 4, 1789. In Germany, Prussia, in 1810, was the first to do away with the old system completely. England, under the control of the large capitalists, abolished the apprentice law of 1562 in 1814.

The prohibitions of coalitions of laborers were, however, left on the statute-books. The prohibitions in England were abolished by the law of 1824. In France they were not abolished until 1864; for all Germany not until 1871; for Austria in 1870. Nevertheless, many traces of the mediæval gilds still remain, especially in England. (See LONDON.)

In Scotland, the companies of merchant freemen still exercise great power, and the magistrate next in rank to the mayor (provost) is the dean of the gild. But all these modern city gilds are mainly mere inherited monopolies.

REFERENCES: *The Ancient Lowly*, by C. Osborn Ward, 1886; *On the History and Development of Guilds*, by L. Brentano, 1870; *Ten Chapters on the Mediæval Guilds of England*, by G. R. A. Seligman, 1887.

GILL, ALFRED HENRY: English Labor Member of Parliament; born at Rochdale, 1856; commenced work at seven by selling newspapers; and at ten was employed as half-timer in a cotton-mill. At the age of twenty-three he went to Oldham, where he worked as a cotton-spinner. In 1886 he became chairman of the Crompton cooperative society, and ten years later was appointed general secretary of the Bolton Operative Spinners' Association. In 1899 he became a justice of the peace. Elected to Parliament in 1906 for the District of Bolton, he was chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades-Union Congress for 1906–7. *Address*: 61 Hampden Street, Bolton, England.

GILMAN, CHARLOTTE PERKINS (formerly MRS. STETSON): American author and lecturer; born in Hartford, Conn., 1860. She early took an active interest in social matters, and in 1890 began lecturing in California for the Nationalists; since then she has lectured in all parts of the United States and in England. She has been identified with the Socialist Party, the People's Party, and, especially, the Woman's Movement. For nine months (1895–96) she was engaged in settlement work in Chicago. Mrs. Gilman is a liberal Socialist. She advocates the economic independence of women; and she believes that social life is organic, that industries are the organic functions of society, and that human work is not proportioned according to individual desire but to the social energy previously supplied to the individual. Hence she maintains that property rights inhere in the consumer's needs, because only when these needs are met can society secure his best product. Among her works may be mentioned: "In This Our World," a volume of verse, 1898; "Women and Economics," 1898; "Concerning Children," 1900; "The Home," 1903; "Human Work," 1904. *Address*: 179 West Seventy-sixth Street, New York City.

GILMAN, NICHOLAS PAINE: American clergyman and sociologist; born in Quincy, Ill., 1849. His early education was obtained in the public schools and academies of Maine and New Hampshire, and at the Harvard Divinity School, from which he was graduated in 1871. From 1872–84, with the exception of 1878–81, when he was professor in Antioch College, he was pastor of Unitarian churches in Scituate, Bolton, and Wayland, Mass. Mr. Gilman was associate editor of the *Unitarian Review* of Boston, 1885–90; editor of the *Literary World* of Boston, 1888–96; and editor of *The New World*, 1892–1900. From 1892 to 1896 he was secretary of the Association for the Promotion of Profit Sharing, and editor of *Employer and Employed*. In 1895 he became professor of sociology in Meadville Theological School, Meadville, Pa. In addition to numerous articles on religious and theological subjects, he has written: "Profit Sharing between Employer and Employee," 1889; "Laws of Daily Conduct," 1891; "Socialism and the American Spirit," 1893; "A Dividend to Labor," 1899; "Methods of Industrial Peace," 1904. *Address*: Meadville, Pa.

GIOJA, MELCHIORRE: Italian economist; born in Piacenza, Italy, 1767. Receiving priest's orders, he welcomed the entry of the French into Italy, and argued for the establishment of an Italian republic. Made State historian, he lost this position by a work he wrote on divorce (1803), and being afterward placed in charge of the Italian statistics, he lost this office by his criticism of State officials. He was in prison for eight months in 1820 on a charge of conspiring with the Carbonari. Gioja was among the foremost Italian economists of his day, a leader in statistical science, and a critical student of all economical schools. He largely favored State interference. Among his works are: "Nuovo Prospetto delle Scienze Economiche," 1815–19; and "Filosofia della Statistica," 1826. He died in 1829.

GIRLS' FRIENDLY SOCIETY, THE: A society organized in England for women of all ages and of all ranks of society in all parts of the world for mutual help. Its aim is declared to be to set before its members a high ideal of purity of thought, word, and deed; to help them to be true to that ideal; to be a standing witness to the possibility of purity of life and conduct for every

woman and girl in the land; to guard the hundreds of thousands of girls who are growing up to womanhood from acknowledged dangers, and to extend to them the boon of loving Christian fellowship and of fellowship in Christian work.

The various departments include help for sick members, the care of workhouse children, registry work, protection in emigration and in traveling, the provision of lodges and recreation rooms, industrial training, and the encouragement of temperance and thrift. There are 1,442 branches and 164,174 members. The patroness of the English society is the queen and the society enrolls some 300,000. *Secretary*: Miss Ethel Smith. Central office: 39, Victoria Street, Westminster, S. W.

The Girls' Friendly Society in America was organized 1877. It has 487 branches and 5,848 associates and 23,714 members and probationers in the United States. *General Secretary*: Miss Eve Alexander, 659 West Lexington Street, Baltimore, Md. Central office: Church Mission House, New York City.

GLADDEN, WASHINGTON: American author and clergyman; born at Pottsgrove, Pa., 1836; was graduated from Williams College in 1859 (D.D., LL.D.). He entered the Congregational ministry and held several pastorates; since 1882 that of the First Congregational Church at Columbus, Ohio. He has been a voluminous writer of books and articles, particularly on Christian social problems and work. He represents the progressive, tho not radical, Christian Social thought, favoring many socialist proposals and principles; yet he is not a Socialist. Recently he attained particular prominence by urging that the Congregational Missionary Society should return a large gift from Mr. J. D. Rockefeller, on the ground that it was "tainted money." Among his works may be mentioned: "Working Men and Their Employers," 1876; "Applied Christianity," 1887; "Tools and the Man," 1893; and "Christianity and Socialism," 1905. *Address*: Columbus, Ohio.

GLASGOW: Among the cities of the world Glasgow has a preeminent reputation for the boldness of its municipal enterprise. It is, however, seriously handicapped, as compared with many European towns, by the fact that it has been built almost entirely on privately owned land, a circumstance which renders every improvement scheme highly expensive. The local habit, too, of building the dwellings in tenement blocks of four flats or stories, with one outer entrance and inner staircase common to them all, and in which, as a rule, some twelve families reside, causes a great crowding of the population. Except in the outskirts of the city, there are no gardens or front plots whatever, each tenement block being provided with an asphalted back court with a common wash-house and ash-pit. It takes a vast deal of municipal improvement to give a favorable aspect to a city so closely built as this, with the children compelled to pass their outdoor life on the streets. The streets themselves, however, are wide and excellently made; and in the center of the city there are numerous handsome warehouses, shops, and public buildings. Next to London, Glasgow has the largest population of any British town. Within the municipal boundaries it has 800,000 inhabitants; with suburbs included there are about 1,000,000 (1906). About one fifth of the people are of Irish birth or descent. The chief industries are engineering, iron-founding, ship-building, and textile manufactures. Its shipping is the greatest in the world, and its warehouse accommodation and general commercial trade is unrivaled for a town of its size. Its university and its other educational institutions are of a high rank. Lord Kelvin, the famous physicist, was professor in the university for some forty years.

Municipal Enterprises

The era of municipal enterprise in Glasgow began with its water scheme in 1860, the first great undertaking of the kind in Britain. Previous to that time the city had been poorly supplied with water by a private company, a number of old wells, and the muddy water of the river Clyde. The municipality boldly launched out on a scheme to bring the water from Loch Katrine, thirty-seven miles away, at an initial cost of $10,000,000. Since then additional culverts have been laid, until the total capital invested in the enterprise amounts to more than $20,000,000. The charge for water is rated as low as fivepence in the pound, as compared with one shilling and twopence (nearly treble the price) charged by the old, private company. Nevertheless, after allowing for all expenditures, including sinking-fund and interest on capital, a clear profit of some $21,000 is carried forward every year. Glasgow was also one of the first cities to municipalize its gas supply (1869) at an initial cost of over $2,500,000, since increased by extensions of the system to $10,500,000. Again, notwithstanding that the rate charged per thousand cubic feet has been reduced from 4*s.* 7*d.* to 2*s.* 1*d.*, and after allowing for all expenditures, including sinking-fund and interest on capital, a net profit of $250,000 is available every year toward paying off the debt. The city also owns its electric supply, from which it derives considerable profit; and it was the first British town to adopt a municipal telephone service in competition with the private National Telephone Company, reducing the charges by one half, and again making a profit. This service was sold at cost price in 1906 to the Government Postal Department, which intends taking over the entire telephone systems of the country.

City Improvement Trust

Another great scheme adopted by Glasgow was that of the City Improvement Trust (1866), which, together with subsequent improvements and housing schemes, has quite remodeled the central part of the city. Slums have been swept away, streets widened, and artizans' dwellings erected; so that the old "salt market," "High Street," and other quarters made famous by Sir Walter Scott's novels have been modernized beyond all recognition. These improvements have not, however, been accomplished without contingent drawbacks. The squalid and criminal classes have been dispersed among the more reputable working class population, where their depraved habits have had a contaminating effect. Thus it is said that drunkenness has been spreading among the working girls and women, and that the children's manners have suffered. "Hooliganism," too, is unfortunately wide-spread, chiefly, it is said, among the Irish laboring class. Perhaps the most doubtful of Glasgow's schemes is that of the Municipal Model Lodging Houses. There are some seven establishments of this kind, accom-

modating altogether (in 1905) 2,166 men and 248 women. Each person has a separate sleeping cubicle for which a charge of three and a half to four and a half pence a night is made; a common dining-room is provided; food is cooked free of further charge; and there are baths and recreation halls attached.

There are many social reformers who incline to the opinion that these Model Lodging Houses tend to lower the standard of living among the laboring class, and to discourage civic responsibility, home life, and regular habits. As a makeshift, however, they are a great improvement upon the dens formerly provided by private lodging-house keepers for that class of people. A notable experiment was made in 1896 by the establishment of a "family home" at a cost of $85,000. Its use is restricted to widowers with families. There are 160 bedrooms, each capable of accommodating one adult and three children, a common dining-room, kitchen with steam cooking boilers, a nursery, recreation hall, and baths. The rent is for a widower and one child $1 a week, and with three children $1.25. Board, consisting of breakfast, dinner, and tea, is at the rate of twenty-four cents per day for adults, forty-four cents a week for one child, and $1 a week for three children. Children of school age are sent to the public schools, and those under school age are nursed and cared for during the day. At present the home just about clears its expenses.

Glasgow is the pioneer of municipal trolleys, and the remarkable success of its system has led other towns in Britain to follow its example.

Street-Cars

Perhaps, too, the fame of its profitable enterprise in this direction has been one of the chief incentives in the great movement in favor of municipal socialism in Britain. It is also worthy of note that the demand for the municipalization of the trolley service in Glasgow was chiefly due to the propaganda of the Socialists in the Trades Council and among the electorate of the city. The cars were taken over from the existing private company in 1892. Since then the municipality has electrified and greatly extended the system. The economic results have been most striking. The wages of the men, which formerly ranged from as low as 16*s*. a week, are now fixt at a minimum of 25*s*., and at the same time the hours of work have been shortened from an average of thirteen or fourteen to ten hours a day. The minimum fare has been lowered from one penny to half a penny, and fares for long distances have been so much reduced that it has been calculated that in fares alone the community now saves over $1,000,000 a year. In addition to this there is a net profit, after paying interest on capital and allowing for a sinking-fund, etc., of about $1,000,000 a year, of which about $850,000 is retained for depreciation and a reserve fund, and about $150,000 is contributed to the rates. The system now extends to neighboring towns seven or eight miles east and west from the center of the city, and the municipality manufactures some of its own cars.

Sewage Disposal

At enormous cost Glasgow has recently been engaged in disposing of its sewage so as to avoid polluting the river. Two great underground conduits have now been made on the north side of the river by which the sewage is collected and treated by chemical precipitation and filtration, the solid matter being afterward pressed into cakes and sold as a manure. Another conduit is being made on the south side, and when this is completed the entire sewage of the city will be disposed of by this method. In 1868 Glasgow decided to establish a Cleansing Department, and now the whole work of scavengering is done by its own staff. The refuse is sifted, a portion being sent to the destructors and a portion being sold to farmers, for which purpose the Cleansing Department owns nearly 1,000 railway wagons. The wharves and docks and the navigation of the river are under the management of a public trust on which the City Council is represented.

The city owns six large public halls in several of which municipal concerts and organ recitals are given every Saturday afternoon during the greater part of the year for a nominal charge. Band performances are also given in the public parks. There are eight splendid municipal bathing establishments, and free libraries are established in every district. The city owns half a dozen great public parks, as well as a fine suburban estate recently gifted to it. A unique possession is a large mountain headland, some ten miles long and one to three miles broad, situated between two beautiful arms of the Firth of Clyde, about thirty miles from the city, which by the terms of the gift must forever be retained as a holiday ground for the people. The city also owns a small island and several farms upon which experiments with the unemployed are being made.

The further municipal undertakings must be briefly summarized. There are public markets, abattoirs, technical colleges, boarding-schools, children's gymnasia, art-galleries, a People's Recreation Palace, bowling-greens, wash-houses, lunatic asylums, hospitals for infectious diseases, fire-brigades, etc. The City Council is also agitating strongly to obtain powers from Parliament to tax land values, and the more advanced section of its members are pressing proposals for municipal fire-insurance, coal-supply, milk-depots, and bakeries.

The Corporation of Glasgow consists of the Lord Provost, bailies, and town councilors, the latter being elected for a term of three years. The councilors in turn elect from among themselves

City Government

the bailies who act as magistrates in the police courts, but, unlike aldermen in England, have no extended term of office. The Lord Provost is chosen annually by the Council. Until the advent of the Labor Party (about 1890) the Council elections were not fought on political or party lines; each candidate stood solely upon his own record or program. There is now, however, a tendency for candidates to come forward as nominees of sections such as the Ratepayers or Anti-Municipalization Party, the Temperance Party, and the Labor Party. The last named numbers about a dozen in a council, which is composed of about eighty representatives, but the majority of the members are usually favorable to progressive enterprises.

Recently an attempt has been made to lessen the drunkenness of the city by the restriction of licenses and the closing of public houses (which open at 8 A.M.) at 10 P.M., an hour earlier than formerly. In Glasgow, as in all Scottish towns, public houses are completely closed on Sundays. It is noticeable that in recent years the strict religious observance of Sunday has disappeared, Sunday concerts and political meetings and all

manner of pleasure-seeking being now quite common in the city.

J. Bruce Glasier.

GLASIER, J. BRUCE: Scotch Socialist and editor; born in Glasgow, 1859. As a boy he herded sheep in the county of Ayr, and later was apprenticed to an architect, and afterwards engaged in designing art metal work. One of the first avowed Socialists in the modern movement in Britain, as far back as 1879 and 1880 he advocated Socialist views in Glasgow. He took an active part in the Henry George, Crofter, and Irish Land League agitations. Together with a few other Socialists he founded the Social Democratic Federation in Scotland, but seceded from that body when the Socialist League was formed in 1884. Glasier was for many years the most active apostle of socialism in Scotland, writing locally but contributing also articles to Morris's *Commonweal*. He joined the Independent Labor Party on its formation in 1893, and in the same year married the young Socialist speaker Katherine St. John Conway; since then both have devoted their lives to the Socialist agitation. Glasier was elected chairman of the Independent Labor Party in succession to Keir Hardie; and at the general election in 1906 he contested the Bordesley division of Birmingham as a Socialist. He is now (1907) editor of the *Labor Leader*, which, under his management, has become the chief organ of the Socialist and the Labor movements in Great Britain. Author of numerous socialist pamphlets and songs. *Address*: Chapel-en-le-Frith, Derbyshire, England.

GLENN, JOHN M.: Secretary of the Sage Endowment (*q. v.*); born Baltimore, 1858; graduated at Washington and Lee University; was admitted to the Maryland bar 1881, and actively practised law ten years. Increasingly interested in practical philanthropies, he has since devoted his time wholly to philanthropic work. He became chairman of the joint executive committee of the Federated Charities of Baltimore, secretary of the State Tuberculosis Commission, lecturer on social work at Johns Hopkins University, president of the National Conferences of Charities and Corrections (1901); since 1904 president of the Supervisors of City Charities. In 1907 he was chosen first director of the Sage Endowment. His wife, Mrs. Mary W. B. Glenn, has been his active associate, as also secretary of the Baltimore Charity Organization Society. *Address*: 30 Broad Street, New York City.

GLOVER, THOMAS: English Labor Member of Parliament; born at Prescot, Lancashire, 1852; worked in the coal mines at the age of nine; and in 1867 was appointed secretary of a local branch of the Miners' Union. In 1880 he was instrumental in founding the St. Helens District Miners' Association; and he also helped to found the Miners' Federation of Great Britain. He has been treasurer of the Lancashire and Cheshire Miners' Federation since 1905, and in 1906 was returned to Parliament from St. Helens. *Address*: 56 Bickerstaffe Street, St. Helens, Lancaster, England.

GOBLET, RENÉ MARIE: French Socialist; born at Aire, Pas-de-Calais, 1828; entered the legal profession, then journalism, and, later, politics. In 1870 he was procureur-général at Amiens; and in 1871 a representative for La Somme, being a Republican of the Left, and tho at first a supporter of the government, he gradually became more and more independent. From January to August, 1882, he held the portfolio of the Interior in the Freycinet Cabinet; and from April, 1885, to December, 1886, that of Public Instruction under Brisson. From 1886–87 he was President of the Council; and from April, 1888, to April, 1889, Minister of Foreign Affairs. He is considered a leading Socialist in French Government circles. In 1891 he was elected a senator for the Department of the Seine, and in 1893 a deputy from the first arrondissement of Paris. Failing of reelection in 1898 he retired to private life. Besides numerous essays, etc., he has published: "La Revision de la Constitution," 1893.

GODIN, JEAN BAPTISTE ANDRÉ: French politician; founder of the *Familistère* at Guise; born at Esquehéries, Aisne, 1817. Early engaging in industry, in 1847 he moved his works to Guise, and became interested in cooperation as a disciple of Fourier. In 1859 he commenced his famous *Familistère*, or communal home, and rapidly developed it. In 1870 he was elected Mayor of Guise, and in 1871 representative for Aisne. In 1871 he published his "Solutions Sociales," an account of his *Familistère*. He fully established profit-sharing in 1876, and in 1886 made the *Familistère de Guise* a cooperative society, associating in his firm thirty-two clerks or workmen. From 1876–88 the average sales were 3,935,600 francs, with a gross profit of 735,000 frs., which were distributed among the workmen, the capital, the common fund, the educational fund, and the sinking-fund. The *Familistère* is organized like a great family. It has its buildings for habitation, baking-house, steward's office, nursery, schools, pension bank, and insurance office. In 1888 the corporation had 13 *associés*, 67 *sociétaires*, and 52 *participants*, out of 1,237 employees. The industry carried on is the making of stoves, ovens, and smaller hardware. There are three big buildings with 1,800 inhabitants, each family having two or three rooms. Each building encloses an interior court, covered with a glass roof and paved with cement. The building is four stories high. The stores of the association on the lowest story of the central portion of the building contain whatever is necessary for ordinary need and comfort, without reference to luxuries. The social palace can accommodate 1,500 persons, who can do their marketing and shopping under covered galleries, without traversing more than 200 yards. Much attention is given to education. Babies can be left by their mothers in a *crèche* from 7 A.M. to 7 P.M. There is considerable social life. Godin died in 1888.

GODWIN, MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT: English educational reformer; born at Hoxton, a district of London, 1759. Forced early to earn her own living, she became governess in the family of Lord Kingsborough, in Ireland. She soon resolved to devote herself altogether to literary work, and began to translate from the French. In 1792 appeared her best known work, "A Vindication of the Rights of Woman." Her book was mainly a plea for equality of education, for State education, and for the joint education of the sexes. It was a strong protest against the assumption that woman was only the plaything of man; and

she asserted that intellectual companionship was the chief and lasting happiness of marriage. She daringly dealt with dangerous questions, incidentally upheld greater freedom of divorce, and denied the eternity of the torments of hell. Having great sympathy with the ideas back of the French Revolution, she went to Paris and remained there during the Reign of Terror. In 1796 she was married to William Godwin, and died in giving birth to a daughter, who became the wife of the poet Shelley.

GODWIN, WILLIAM: English clergyman and writer; born at Wisbeach, Cambridgeshire, 1756; son of a Nonconformist minister. Educated for his father's profession, he was at first more Calvinistic than his teachers, becoming a Sandemanian, of which sect he says that they were the followers of "a celebrated north-country apostle, who, after Calvin had damned ninety-nine in a hundred of mankind, has contrived a scheme for damning ninety-nine in a hundred of the followers of Calvin."

Acquaintance with French revolutionary thought led Godwin to exchange the pulpit for the pen, and he removed to London to engage in literature. His first work, "Historical Sketches," met with no success, and he was reduced to penury and despair; but through his work he became acquainted with Fox, Sheridan, and other Whig leaders, and he turned his attention to politics. The American Revolution, closely followed by that of France, excited the public mind, and in 1793 Godwin wrote his "Inquiry Concerning Political Justice." This was followed by "The Adventures of Caleb Williams," a remarkable novel, intended to illustrate his political views.

In 1796 Godwin married Mary Wollstonecraft. Since both held the same views regarding the slavery of marriage, and since they only married at all for the sake of possible offspring, the marriage was concealed for some time, and the happiness of the avowed married life was very brief. Mrs. Godwin died in giving birth to a daughter, afterward the second wife of Percy Bysshe Shelley. The cares of a family led him to contract a second marriage with Mrs. Clairmont in 1800.

Godwin wrote school-books; an admirable "Life of Chaucer" (1801); "Fleetwood," a novel (3 vols., 1803); "Mandeville" (1817); a "Treatise on Population," a refutation of Malthus (1820); a "History of the Republic of England" (4 vols., 1824–28); "Cloudesley" (1830); "Thoughts on Man" (1833). As he grew old, he modified his opinions on politics and society, and especially on marriage, which he warmly commends in some of his later works. He was appointed to a government position, but continued to write, "Deloraine," a novel, and "Lives of the Necromancers" being among his latest works. Many of his books were translated into foreign languages. He died in London in 1836.

Godwin was an intense individualist, holding that all control of man by man was wrong, and that government must disappear. But all was to be done by discussion, and matured change resulting from discussion. His "Political Justice" almost created the English radicalism of the early part of the century, and led to the milder liberalism of to-day. In it he maintained that natural relationship had no claim on man, nor was gratitude to parents or benefactors any part of justice or virtue. Property was to belong to him who most wants it; accumulated property was a monstrous injustice. Hence marriage, which is law, is the worst of all laws, and property the worst of all properties. His life was published in 1876 in two volumes, under the title "William Godwin, His Friends and Contemporaries."

GOEHRE, PAUL: Socialist writer; born April 18, 1864, at Wurzen, Saxony; studied theology at Leipsic, 1885–88; became assistant pastor at Schönbach and Löbau; was at the same time associate editor of the *Christliche Welt*. Deeply interested in social and industrial conditions, he entered a factory at Chemnitz as a common laborer in the spring of 1890. He later described his experiences in a book, "Drei Monate Fabrickarbeiter und Handwerksbursche" (Three Months in a Factory), 1891; he went then to Berlin to study political economy, and became (1891) general secretary of the Evangelical Social Congress, and while in this office he conducted an inquiry into the condition of agricultural laborers. In 1894 he became pastor of a church in Frankfort-on-the-Oder, where he had mostly working men in his congregation. He resigned in 1897, and was with Naumann (*q. v.*) one of the founders of the National-Sozialen Party (*q. v.*), but disagreed with its tendency, and joined the Social Democrats in 1899. He was elected to the Reichstag in 1903, but resigned owing to attacks made on him by some of the members of the party. Author: "The Evangelical Social Movement: Its History and Aims," 1896; "How a Clergyman Became a Socialist," 1900; "Socialism and Liberalism," 1902; "Recollections of a Workingman," 1903.

GOLD AND SILVER: The color, luster, and power of resisting oxidation possessed by gold have caused it to be considered a precious metal from the earliest times. Allusions to gold are frequent in the Jewish Scriptures and in classical writings. Jewelry and vessels found in Egyptian, Greek, and Trojan tombs show the perfection attained in working gold, while the value attached to it is shown by its being used in religious worship and in its being chosen by the poets to describe the glory of the gods.

I. Supply of Gold

The ancient supply of gold seems to have come from Eastern Africa, and around the sources of the Indus. In the times of the Romans gold does not seem to have been so abundant, tho gold was worked near Apulia and in Spain. After the discovery of America it was brought in large quantities from Mexico, Brazil, and other South American countries. Between 1829 and 1838 it was found in Siberia and largely exported. The great gold-fields of California were discovered in 1848, by accident, by a Mr. Marshall, who found particles of gold-dust in a mill-race on the estate of a Captain Sutter. It led to intense excitement.

In Feb., 1851, the gold-fields of Australia were discovered near Bathurst by a Mr. Hargraves, and this led to a series of discoveries, and a rush to Australia (*q. v.*). Gold was discovered in South Africa in 1867, but the great gold-mines of the Transvaal were not actively worked till the early eighties, since when they have grown into a leading position. The most famous gold-mines of

Europe are those of Hungary and Transylvania. The great Alaskan discoveries and the rush to the Klondike began in 1897.

The greater part of the gold of the world is obtained by washing from detrital deposits along the beds of rivers; a smaller quantity is obtained by crushing and washing quartz.

II. Silver

Silver, like gold, has been known and prized from the earliest ages. Phidon, King of Ægina, is said to have struck coins in silver B.C. 869. Silver currency was adopted by the Romans in 269 B.C. It was largely used by Greek and Roman artists. The silver-mines of Mexico were, however, until quite recently, by far the richest known to exist. Until the remarkable discoveries of silver ore in Nevada and adjoining states in 1859 and 1860, Chile and Peru had long stood next to Mexico in their yield. Bolivia is also rich in silver. Of European countries, Spain is the most productive.

The great silver-mining industry of the U. S. had no existence before 1860. The prospectors and pioneers who traversed Arizona, Idaho, Nevada, Colorado, seeking for gold, in the years between 1850 and 1860, fell upon silver unexpectedly. The greatest silver-mine ever known was discovered in this way in 1858–59, on the eastern foot-hills of the Sierra Nevada. This was the celebrated "Comstock" mine, which was found by James Shinney and Henry Comstock, who parted with their interests for a trifle, not knowing its value. A portion of the mine was worked in 1860–61, and by 1865 it had yielded the value of $30,000,000; and a city of 20,000 inhabitants was planted on its site. Idaho and Montana became silver-bearing territory. Up to 1879 the value of the silver yield of Colorado was about only $16,000,000. Two years later the mines of Leadville, alone, not discovered till 1877, yielded as much.

III. Statistics

All the statistics, except as stated, are from the report of the Director of the U. S. Mint (1906):

In the calendar year 1905 the world produced 18,243,911 fine ounces of gold of the value of $377,135,100, exceeding 1904 by 1,453,560 fine ounces, or $30,047,800, equivalent to 8.6 + per cent.

The greatest increase, 1,326,212 fine ounces, was in Africa, which was followed by the U. S. and Mexico, with 373,262 and 169,400 fine ounces, respectively. The largest decrease was in Russia.

The great producing countries were Africa, 5,482,296 ounces; the U. S., 4,265,742 ounces; Australasia, 4,156,692 ounces; Russia, 1,078,356 ounces; Mexico, 779,181 ounces; Canada, 700,800 ounces; and British India, 563,817 ounces. The British Empire leads with over 11,000,000 ounces, or about 60 per cent of the total. The U. S. produced 23 + per cent.

The world's product of silver in 1905 amounted to 167,727,934 fine ounces, of the commercial value, at 61 cents per ounce—the average price in New York in that year—of $102,314,000, an increase in production of 3,391,526 fine ounces over 1904, and an increase in value, owing to the rise in price of 3 cents per ounce, of $6,998,900.

Mexico held the first place with 65,040,865 fine ounces; the U. S. following with 56,101,600 ounces. The remaining large producers were Australasia, 12,561,600 ounces; Canada, 5,974,875 ounces; Germany, 5,820,947 ounces, and Peru, 5,169,659 ounces.

The commercial value of the world's production of the precious metals in 1905 was $479,449,100, an increase as compared with the value of the yield of 1904 of $34,890,600.

1. Production of Gold and Silver in the U. S., 1905

State or Territory	Gold	Silver	Total value (silver at commercial value)
	Value	Commercial value	
Alabama	$41,500	$183	$41,683
Alaska	14,925,600	103,212	15,028,812
Arizona	2,691,300	1,589,477	4,280,777
California	19,197,100	660,020	19,857,120
Colorado	25,701,100	7,895,108	33,596,208
Georgia	94,800	549	95,349
Idaho	1,075,600	4,956,616	6,032,216
Maryland	16,900	61	16,961
Michigan	.....	154,330	154,330
Missouri	.....	7,869	7,869
Montana	4,889,300	8,207,367	13,096,667
Nevada	5,359,100	3,576,735	8,935,835
New Mexico	265,800	216,489	482,289
North Carolina	123,900	8,052	131,952
Oregon	1,244,900	54,229	1,299,129
South Carolina	95,100	122	95,222
South Dakota	6,913,900	109,190	7,023,090
Tennessee	3,300	58,194	61,494
Texas	1,900	254,492	256,392
Utah	5,140,900	6,295,078	11,435,978
Virginia	5,000	122	5,122
Washington	370,000	72,834	442,834
Wyoming	23,700	1,647	25,347
Total	$88,180,700	$34,221,976	$122,402,676

2. Coinage of the United States since 1873

Fiscal Year	Gold	Silver	
	Value	Dollars coined	Subsidiary coined
1873	$35,249,337.00	$977,150	$1,968,645.50
1874	50,442,690.00	3,588,900	2,394,701.39
1875	33,553,905.00	5,697,500	4,372,868.00
1876	38,178,963.00	6,132,050	12,994,452.50
1877	44,078,199.00	9,162,900	19,387,035.00
1878	52,798,980.00	19,951,510	8,339,311.50
1879	40,986,912.00	27,227,500	382.50
1880	56,157,735.00	27,933,750	8,687.50
1881	78,733,864.00	27,037,955	12,011.75
1882	89,413,447.00	27,772,075	11,313.75
1883	35,936,928.00	28,111,119	724,351.15
1884	27,932,824.00	28,099,930	673,457.80
1885	24,861,123.00	28,528,552	320,407.65
1886	34,077,380.00	29,838,905	183,442.95
1887	22,393,279.00	33,266,831	1,099,652.75
1888	28,364,171.00	32,718,673	1,417,422.25
1889	25,543,910.00	33,793,860	721,686.40
1890	22,021,748.00	35,923,816	892,020.70
1891	24,172,203.00	36,232,802	2,039,218.35
1892	35,506,987.00	8,329,467	6,659,811.60
1893	30,038,140.00	5,343,715	7,217,220.90
1894	99,474,913.00	758	6,024,140.30
1895	43,933,475.00	3,956,011	5,113,469.60
1896	58,878,490.00	7,500,822	3,939,819.20
1897	71,646,705.00	21,203,701	3,124,085.65
1898	64,634,865.00	10,002,780	6,482,804.00
1899	108,177,180.00	18,254,709	9,466,877.65
1900	107,937,110.00	18,294,984	12,876,849.15
1901	99,065,715.00	24,298,850	10,966,648.50
1902	61,980,572.00	19,402,800	10,713,569.45
1903	45,721,773.00	17,972,785	8,023,751.25
1904	208,618,642.00	10,101,650	7,719,231.00
1905	79,983,692.00	310	9,123,660.60
1906	53,002,097.50	.....	4,016,368.10
Total	$1,933,498,014.50	$607,259,120	$169,029,376.34

3. Production of Gold and Silver in the World

(From 1493 to 1885 is from a table of averages for certain periods, compiled by Dr. Adolph Soetbeer; for the years 1886 to 1905 the production is the annual estimate of the Bureau of the Mint.)

Period	Gold		Silver	
	Annual average for period		Annual average for period	
	Fine ounces	Value	Fine ounces	Coining value
1493–1520	186,470	$3,855,000	1,511,050	$1,954,000
1521–44	230,194	4,759,000	2,899,930	3,740,000
1545–60	273,596	5,656,000	10,017,940	12,952,000
1561–80	219,906	4,546,000	9,628,925	12,450,000
1581–1600	237,267	4,905,000	13,467,635	17,413,000
1601–20	273,918	5,662,000	13,596,235	17,579,000
1621–40	266,845	5,516,000	12,654,240	16,361,000
1641–60	281,955	5,828,000	11,776,545	15,226,000
1661–80	297,709	6,154,000	10,834,550	14,008,000
1681–1700	346,095	7,154,000	10,992,085	14,212,000
1701–20	412,163	8,520,000	11,432,540	14,781,000
1721–40	613,422	12,681,000	13,863,080	17,924,000
1741–60	791,211	16,356,000	17,140,612	22,162,000
1761–80	665,666	13,761,000	20,985,591	27,133,000
1781–1800	571,948	11,823,000	28,261,779	36,540,000
1801–10	571,563	11,815,000	28,746,922	37,168,000
1811–20	367,957	7,606,000	17,385,755	22,479,000
1821–30	457,044	9,448,000	14,807,004	19,144,000
1831–40	652,291	13,484,000	19,175,867	24,793,000
1841–50	1,760,502	36,393,000	25,090,342	32,440,000
1851–55	6,410,324	132,513,000	28,488,597	36,824,000
1856–60	6,486,262	134,083,000	29,095,428	37,618,000
1861–65	5,949,582	122,989,000	35,401,972	45,772,000
1866–70	6,270,086	129,614,000	43,051,583	55,663,000
1871–75	5,591,014	115,577,000	63,317,014	81,864,000
1876–80	5,543,110	114,586,000	78,775,602	101,851,000
1881–85	4,794,755	99,116,000	92,003,944	118,955,000
1886–90	5,461,282	112,895,000	108,911,431	140,815,000
1891–95	7,882,565	162,947,000	157,581,331	203,742,000
1896–1900	12,446,939	257,301,100	165,693,304	214,229,700
1901–5	15,579,746	322,061,900	165,028,092	213,369,700
Total for periods	564,857,380	$11,676,640,100	9,653,671,507	$12,481,514,700

4. Bullion Value of the Silver Dollar [371¼ Grains of Pure Silver] at the Annual Average Price of Silver each Year from 1837

Year	Value	Year	Value
1837	$1.009	1872	$1.022
1838	1.008	1873	1.00368
1839	1.023	1874	.98909
1840	1.023	1875	.96086
1841	1.018	1876	.90039
1842	1.007	1877	.92958
1843	1.003	1878	.89222
1844	1.008	1879	.86928
1845	1.004	1880	.88564
1846	1.005	1881	.87575
1847	1.011	1882	.87833
1848	1.008	1883	.85754
1849	1.013	1884	.85904
1850	1.018	1885	.82379
1851	1.034	1886	.76931
1852	1.025	1887	.75755
1853	1.042	1888	.72683
1854	1.042	1889	.72325
1855	1.039	1890	.80927
1856	1.039	1891	.76416
1857	1.046	1892	.67401
1858	1.039	1893	.60351
1859	1.052	1894	.49097
1860	1.045	1895	.50587
1861	1.031	1896	.52257
1862	1.041	1897	.46745
1863	1.040	1898	.45640
1864	1.040	1899	.46525
1865	1.035	1900	.47958
1866	1.036	1901	.46093
1867	1.027	1902	.40835
1868	1.025	1903	.41960
1869	1.024	1904	.44763
1870	1.027	1905	.47200
1871	1.025		

5. Coinage of Nations of the World

Calendar Year	Gold	Silver
1903	$240,499,547	$211,795,829
1904	455,427,085	176,508,646
1905	245,954,257	103,880,205

IV. Ratio of Gold to Silver

The columns showing the amount of silver produced to one unit of gold in dollars and in ounces were prepared by Mr. George B. Waldron, down to 1894.

For purposes of comparison are added Dr. Soetbeer's estimates of the commercial ratio of gold to silver down to 1832, the estimates of Pixley and Abell from 1833–78, and those of the Director of the Mint from 1879–94. Variations between the highest and lowest ratios of each period are given in the next column from 1687–1894, based on daily London quotations beginning with 1833.

The question of the relative value of gold and silver and the currency problems arising from this have long been among the burning economic questions of modern times. We give here only tabular statements of the facts for all discussion of them, referring the reader to articles: Bimetallism; Currency; Contraction and Expansion of Currency; Money.

The facts seem to be as shown in the following tables.

For the ratio since 1904 see tables 3, 4 and 5.

Calendar Years	Silver produced to one of gold: Ounces	Commercial value of silver to one of gold: Average ratio	Commercial value of silver to one of gold: Variation between highest and lowest ratio	Significant historical events
1493–1520	8.10	11.30	.....	1492. Discovery of America
1521–1540	12.60	11.20	.....	1521. Cortez completes
1541–1560	36.62	11.50	.....	the conquest of Mexico.
1561–1580	43.79	11.50	.....	
1581–1600	56.76	11.90	.....	
1601–1620	49.64	13.00	.....	
1621–1640	47.44	13.40	.....	
1641–1660	41.77	13.80	.....	
1661–1680	36.39	14.70	.....	
1681–1700	31.76	14.97	.93	
1701–1720	27.74	15.21	.48	
1721–1740	22.60	15.09	.60	
1741–1760	21.66	14.75	1.12	
1761–1780	31.53	14.73	.73	
1781–1800	49.41	15.09	1.32	1792. U. S. Mint established. Ratio 15 to 1.
1801–1810	50.30	15.61	.82	
1811–1820	47.25	15.49	1.14	1816. England demonetizes silver.
1821–1830	32.40	15.80	.25	
1831–1840	29.40	15.76	.53	1834. U. S. Mint ratio changed to 16 to 1.
1841–1848	14.25	15.85	.40	1847. Gold discovered in
1849.....	16.85	15.78	.20	California. Panic.
1850.....	14.03	15.70	.55	
1851.....	9.46	15.46	.42	1851. Gold discovered in
1852.....	4.89	15.59	.51	Australia.
1853.....	4.18	15.33	.42	
1854.....	5.09	15.33	.24	
1855.....	4.81	15.38	.45	1858. Gold discovered in
1856.....	4.40	15.38	.44	Queensland.
1857.....	4.88	15.27	.34	
1858.....	5.21	15.38	.28	
1859.....	5.22	15.19	.24	1859. Discovery of silver
1860.....	5.48	15.29	.28	in Nevada.
1861.....	6.28	15.50	.41	1861. Opening of American Civil War.
1862.....	6.71	15.35	.28	1862. Gold and silver at a
1863.....	7.36	15.37	.19	premium in the U. S.
1864.....	7.31	15.37	.46	
1865.....	6.91	15.44	.35	1865. End of American
1866.....	6.70	15.43	.53	Civil War.
1867.....	8.32	15.57	.23	
1868.....	7.32	15.59	.25	1868. Valuable silver-mines opened in Colorado.
1869.....	7.15	15.60	.26	
1870.....	7.72	15.57	.44	1870–71. Franco-Prussian War.
1871.....	9.12	15.59	.21	1871–73. Germany demonetizes silver.
1872.....	10.47	15.63	.49	1872. Scandinavian Union formed on a gold basis.
1873.....	13.59	15.92	.56	1873. Silver demonetized in the U. S. Panic.
1874.....	12.60	16.17	.62	1874. Silver demonetized by the Latin Union.
1875.....	13.17	16.59	.63	1875. Holland suspends the coinage of silver.
1876.....	13.51	17.88	4.05	1876. Russia suspends the coinage of silver.
1877.....	11.36	17.22	1.52	1877. Finland adopts the gold standard.
1878.....	12.76	17.94	1.98	1878. U. S. returns to limited remonetization of silver.
1879.....	14.08	18.40	1.76	1879. Resumption of specie
1880.....	14.55	18.05	.41	payments in the U. S.
1881.....	15.83	18.16	.69	
1882.....	17.53	18.20	.86	1882. War with Egypt.
1883.....	19.32	18.64	.42	
1884.....	16.59	18.57	.70	
1885.....	17.48	19.41	1.26	1885. Single gold standard
1886.....	18.19	20.78	2.39	introduced in Egypt.
1887.....	18.79	21.13	1.79	
1888.....	20.41	21.99	1.51	
1889.....	20.12	22.10	1.27	
1890.....	21.93	19.76	4.39	1890. Silver purchasing
1891.....	21.70	20.92	2.33	act in the U. S.
1892.....	21.63	23.72	3.34	1892. Gold standard replaces silver standard in Austria-Hungary.
1893.....	21.27	26.49	6.58	1893. Suspension of silver coinage in India and repeal of purchasing clause of act of 1890 in the U. S.
1894.....	18.89	32.59	5.22	
1493–1600	30.25	11.48	.70	
1601–1700	40.81	13.97	2.20	
1701–1800	30.02	14.97	1.60	
1801–1848	28.98	15.69	1.14	
1849–1873	6.88	15.48	1.26	
1874–1894	17.52	20.22	18.97	
1806–1894	13.94	16.65	19.88	
1493–1894	19.34	13.95	23.72	

The commercial ratio of gold to silver, from the time of Herodotus (born 484 B.C.) down to the year 1717, is shown in the following from the letter of Lord Liverpool to the King of England (see "Coinage Laws of the U. S.," 1894, p. 435):

In Persia, according to Herodotus..... 1 to 11⅓
In Greece at same period..... 1 to 13
In Greece in the time of Plato..... 1 to 12
In Greece it is stated by Xenophon at..... 1 to 10
After the plunder of gold from the Temple of Apollo, according to Menander, it was..... 1 to 10
In the reign of Alexander the Great it was.... 1 to 10
In Rome, according to Pliny the Elder..... 1 to 10⅓
In Rome, after the tribute from the Etolians.. 1 to 10
The plunder of gold from the Gauls by Julius Cæsar reduced the proportions to..... 1 to 7½
In the reign of Claudius, Tacitus states it at... 1 to 12½
Until the reign of Alexander Servius it contained 1 to 12½
In the reign of Constantine the Great..... 1 to 01½
The disorders in the Roman Empire under Arcadus and Honorius raised it to..... 1 to 14⅔
From which it appears that gold, unless when deprest by sudden and unusual occurrences, or enhanced by a dread of public insecurity, may be stated to have been for upward of 900 years in the proportion of..... 1 to 10 or 12
England, under Henry III., 1216 to 1272..... 1 to 9½
England, under Edward III., 1330 to 1377..... 1 to 12½
In England, in the reign of Henry IV., 1400 to 1412..... 1 to 10½
In England, in the reign of Edward IV., 1461 to 1477..... 1 to 11⅛
In England, in the reign of Henry VIII., 1510 to 1547..... 1 to 11.10
In England, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1560..... 1 to 11
In England, in the reign of King James I., 1604..... 1 to 12½
In England, in the reign of King James I., 1611..... 1 to 13⅓
In England, in the reign of Charles II., 1665... 1 to 14½
In England, in the reign of George I., 1717.... 1 to 15⅝
Relative proportions in China, according to Humboldt..... 1 to 12½
Relative proportions in Japan, according to Humboldt..... 1 to 8½
Relative proportions in Bengal, according to bullion report..... 1 to 14.86
Relative proportions in Madras, according to bullion report..... 1 to 13⅞
Relative proportions in Bombay according to bullion report..... 1 to 15
In the China Diaries it is stated at 16 taels of silver to 1 tael of gold of 100 touch of pure gold. If it is meant to be of pure silver also, the proportion would be 1 to 16; but it is believed to be the average fineness of silver in dollars, which would be..... 1 to 14.296

References: See Currency.

GOLDMAN, EMMA: Communist Anarchist; born 1869, near Kovno, Russia; educated in St. Petersburg and Königsberg (Prussia). She became acquainted with modern revolutionary ideas at an early age, in Russia, and joined the ranks of Communist Anarchists in America. She has been an active anarchist for about twenty years. She served one year in prison at Blackwell's Island, N. Y., for addressing an outdoor meeting of the New York unemployed, in 1893, and was arrested in Chicago, in 1901, together with a number of other anarchists, on the charge of conspiracy with Czolgosz, but discharged in the police court. Delegate from America to the International Anarchist Congress at Paris, 1900, and to the Amsterdam (Holland) Congress, 1907. Publisher of a monthly magazine devoted to social science and literature, *Mother Earth*. *Address*: 210 East Thirteenth Street, New York City.

GOLDSTEIN, MISS VIDA: Australian woman suffragist; born in Portland, Victoria. She is president of the Woman's Political Association of Victoria, secretary of the United Council for Woman's Suffrage, and a member of the executive committees of the National Council of Women of Victoria, of the Criminology Society, and of the Royal Victorian Trained Nurses' Association. She has spoken on woman suffrage before the United States House of Representatives and Senate committees, and was the representative for Australia and New Zealand at the International Woman's Suffrage Conference held in Washington in 1902. Miss Goldstein was the first woman candidate for Parliament in the British Dominions (December, 1903). She is the editor and proprietor of *Woman's Sphere*. *Address*: Oxford Chambers, Bourke Street, Melbourne, Victoria.

GOMPERS, SAMUEL: American labor leader; president of the American Federation of Labor; born in London, England, 1850; apprenticed to a shoemaker at the age of ten; obtained his education after working-hours. He later became a cigarmaker and came to the United States in 1863. Joining the cigarmakers' union he soon became prominent in its councils and served as president of Union 144 for six years, during which time he was repeatedly elected delegate to the conventions of the Cigar Workers' International Union, the constitution and development of which are largely the results of his efforts. He was one of the founders of the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, was elected its first president, 1882, and has been reelected every year since except in 1895, when he was defeated because of his opposition to the endeavors of the Socialist Party to capture the federation.

Mr. Gompers has repeatedly declined election or appointment to important and remunerative political and other offices, and has devoted his every energy to upbuilding the trade-union movement. For this he has worked unremittedly, traveling over the whole country. During the first six years of his official duty he received no salary nor any other emolument. In the eight-hour struggle of 1886 he paid his entire expenses and worked night and day for many weeks. He is not opposed to the aims of socialism, tho not committed to its views, and he believes in political action on the part of Labor, but holds that the main hope of Labor is in the trade-union movement and that to commit that movement to any political party or endeavor would be to disrupt it and hurt it irremediably. Mr. Gompers has been editor of the federation's organ for thirteen years, is vice-president of the National Civic Federation, and has written numerous tracts and magazine articles on labor subjects. *Address*: 423 G Street, Washington, D. C.

GOOD GOVERNMENT CLUBS: The establishment of "good government clubs," the object of which is explained by their name, began with the formation of the City Club in New York, April 13, 1892.

The failure of the Municipal League to elect its candidate to the mayoralty in 1891 occasioned profound discouragement among those desirous of obtaining good city government. It seemed to indicate that mere popular indignation or enthusiasm could not be counted upon when pitted against an organized political machine. It became clear, therefore, that if the work of improving city government was to be undertaken at all, it must be undertaken upon a permanent plan—a fact which suggested the organization of a social club which would serve to bring together and to keep together all those interested in good government. The City Club was established, largely owing to the efforts of Mr. Edward Kelly. One of its chief activities was to establish other local clubs, which were called good government clubs, and have been very successful. More recently, however, the name "Good Government Club" has been less used. (See MUNICIPAL REFORM.)

GOOD TEMPLARS, INDEPENDENT ORDER OF: The Independent (International) Order of Good Templars originated in Utica, N. Y., in 1851. Its platform is total abstinence for the individual and prohibition for the State. It was the first secular organization in the world to admit woman upon equal terms with man, and its attitude in this respect has been a very material help to all movements looking to the advancement of woman. For the first seventeen years of its existence the order was confined to the United States and Canada. It spread all over North America, numbering hundreds of thousands of members; and many of the laws dealing with the liquor traffic in the different states and provinces are the result of its work. The order has also been largely instrumental in originating other movements, such as the Woman's Crusade, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and the Prohibition Party.

In 1868 Good Templarism was introduced into England and Scotland, and somewhat later into Ireland and Wales. There are very strong bodies in these countries; and in the British Isles, as in North America, the order has had a great influence in shaping legislation. Rather more than a quarter of a century ago the Good Templar Order was carried to Scandinavia, where it immediately took root, and has made the most astonishing progress. The grand lodge of Sweden is now the largest organization in the world, having about 125,000 members. Norway and Denmark have also large grand lodges in proportion to their population. In Iceland about one in seven of the population is a member of the order.

Within about fifteen years after its foundation, the order reached Germany, where it is rapidly becoming a tremendous power, already counting a membership of about 40,000. It publishes several newspapers, and owns a number of halls, hotels, and restaurants. Smaller organizations

exist in Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland; and, quite recently, beginnings have been made in Hungary and Rumania. For many years Good Templar grand lodges have been maintained in all the Australian states and in New Zealand. Four grand lodges, each having several thousand members, are to be found in South Africa. A remarkable work is going on among the natives on the Gold Coast and in other parts of Africa. There are three grand lodges in India, where some of the work is carried on in the vernacular, and there are lodges, some of them using the Spanish language, in different parts of South America and the West Indies.

A feature of the order's work is that carried on among the soldiers and sailors of Great Britain. A large proportion of the British war-ships have lodges on board, holding regular meetings; and a majority of the regiments of the British army have also their Good Templar organizations. Wherever the order has gone it has enrolled children as well as adults, and it now has a juvenile membership of about a quarter of a million. The number of grand lodges in the world is now 70, with a total membership of 407,645. *International Secretary*, Col. B. F. Packer, Milwaukee, Wis.

GORKI, MAXIM (pen-name of **Aleksei Maksimovich Pyeshkov**): Russian social writer and novelist; born 1868 at Nijni-Novgorod. He was successively a shoemaker's apprentice, scullery-boy, baker, ship's cook, porter, gardener, painter of ikons, lawyer's clerk, tramp, and finally writer. As a tramp he journeyed over large portions of the empire, and his idealistic yet realistic novels are largely based on his experiences with the working and vagrant classes, whose thoughts and social conditions he has brilliantly interpreted. His novel "Makar Choudra" (1892) was the first of a large number among which "Foma Gordye'eff" is probably the best known outside of Russia. Other works are "Chelkash"; "Song of the Falcon"; "Song of the Petrel"; "The Orloff Couple and Mava"; "Troye"; "About the Devil"; "More About the Devil"; "The Reader"; "The Outcasts" (1902); "Three Men" (1902). Gorki has visited other countries (the United States in 1906), writing and lecturing, largely on social themes, and voicing the socialistic radicalism of the Russian and other working classes. *Address*: Arsemas, Nijni-Novgorod, Russia.

GOSMAN, ALEXANDER: Australian clergyman; born at Crail, Fife County, Scotland, 1829; educated in public schools and at the University of Glasgow; degree of D.D. conferred upon him by St. Andrew's University in 1904. In 1864 he was appointed professor of theology in the Congregational College of Victoria, and in 1876 became its principal. Since 1879 he has been minister of the Augustine Congregational Church at Hawthorn, near Melbourne, Victoria. Mr. Gosman is chairman of the Victorian Congregational Union, and was a delegate to the first and second International Congregational Councils, London, 1891, and Boston, 1899. He was chairman of the Wages Board and president of the Antisweating League from 1895 to 1902. *Address*: Burwood Road, Hawthorn, Victoria.

GOTHENBURG. See NORWEGIAN COMPANY SYSTEM.

GOUGH, JOHN BARTHOLOMEW: American temperance lecturer; born at Sandgate, Kent, England, 1817; son of a pensioner of the Peninsular War and a village schoolmistress. At the age of twelve he went to America and worked on a farm in Oneida County, N. Y. In 1831 he went to New York City, where he found employment in the binding department of the Methodist book establishment; but habits of dissipation lost him this employment, and reduced him to that of giving recitations and singing comic songs at low grog-shops. He was married in 1839; but his drunken habits reduced him to poverty, and probably caused the death of his wife and child. A benevolent Quaker induced him to take the pledge; and he attended temperance meetings and related his experience with such effect as to influence many others.

Gough later became a prominent advocate of the temperance cause. After ten years of great success as a temperance lecturer he went to England in 1853 and carried on a remarkable work there. He returned to the United States in August, 1860, and soon began to lecture on "Street Life in London." Other subjects were added to his list, and in all he retained his great popularity. In 1873 he announced that he would retire from the lecture field, but he was afterward prevailed upon to appear on special occasions. In 1878 he again visited England. In 1869 he issued his "Autobiography and Personal Recollections," and in 1880 "Sunshine and Shadow," being chiefly passages from his lectures. He died in Philadelphia, Pa., 1886.

GOULD, ELGIN RALSTON LOVELL: American economist and banker; born at Oshawa, Ontario, 1860; educated at home, at Victoria University, Coburg (now at Toronto), and at Johns Hopkins University. From 1884 to 1887 he was instructor in the Department of History and Political Economy in the Washington (D. C.) High School; in 1885 he conducted an official inquiry in Belgium and Germany for the Department of Labor, and in 1887 he became permanently connected with that department as a statistical expert. In 1887–88 he was reader in social statistics at the Johns Hopkins University, and in 1892 became resident lecturer there. He has represented the United States Government at various international congresses, and is a member of economic and statistical societies at home and abroad. In 1894 he became professor of statistics at the University of Chicago. Mr. Gould became president of the City and Suburban Homes Company (New York) in 1896, the purpose of this enterprise being to provide model homes and tenements for wage-earners. He is also president of the Thirty-fourth Street National Bank in New York.

Mr. Gould believes thoroughly in the application of the historical method and of statistics to economics, but does not accept the opportunism of some of the historical school. He believes in the gradual reduction of the tariff and in international bimetallism; he does not believe in the nationalization of natural monopolies, but thinks the municipalization of some of them might be carefully tried. Among his works may be mentioned: "Housing of Working People," "Popular Control of the Liquor Traffic," "The Gothenburg System of Liquor Traffic," and "The Social Condition of Labor." *Address*: 301 West Seventy-seventh Street, New York City.

GOURNAY, JEAN CLAUDE MARIE VINCENT, SEIGNEUR DE: French economist; born at

Saint Malo, 1712. Traveling as a merchant in Spain, Holland, and England, he published in France on his return a report on the economic and financial condition of these countries. Appointed *intendant du commerce* in 1851, his observation convinced him that the lack of development in French manufacturing was due to the various governmental restrictions, and he came thus largely tho not wholly to embrace the views of the PHYSIOCRATS, and became the author of the famous phrase, *Laissez-faire, laissez-passer.* He died in 1759.

GOVERNMENT: This term, which is derived from the Latin *gubernare* (to steer, direct, govern), denotes the power vested in the State by which its affairs are conducted. Government may be of any form—monarchical, despotic, autocratic, aristocratic, plutocratic, democratic; it may be local, municipal, state, or national. (For the principles involved and the various forms of government, see ANARCHISM; DEMOCRATIC PARTY; FEDERATIONS; INDIVIDUALISM; REPUBLICAN PARTY; SOCIALISM; STATE; VOLUNTARYISM, etc.).

Says Hamilton (*Federalist*, No. 15), "Why has government been instituted at all? Because the passions of men will not conform to the dictates of reason and justice without constraint." (For a discussion of this, see ANARCHISM; SOCIALISM; STATE.)

GOVERNMENT IN THE WORLD

COUNTRIES AND GOVERNMENT	Areas	Populations
Republican:		
North America:		
United States	3,622,933	80,590,000
Latin Republics	1,045,600	22,500,000
South America (except Guiana)	7,405,000	37,514,000
Europe:		
France	207,054	38,961,945
Switzerland	15,976	3,315,443
San Marino	38	11,002
Africa:		
Liberia	35,000	2,060,000
Total Republican	12,331,601	184,952,000
Constitutional:		
North America:		
British Colonies	3,782,554	5,591,564
Europe (except France, Switzerland, San Marino, Russia, and Turkey)	1,384,734	238,350,628
Africa:		
Cape Colony and Natal	313,165	3,358,118
Asia:		
Japan	161,200	47,564,000
Oceania:		
Australian Commonwealth and New Zealand	3,077,377	4,548,992
Total Constitutional	8,719,030	299,413,302
Colonies without Self-Government, or Dependencies:		
India	1,087,404	231,898,807
Anglo-Egypt and Sudan	1,350,000	11,734,000
Other British Colonies and Dependencies	3,135,294	106,666,074
Congo (Belgian)	900,000	30,002,000
Dutch Colonies and Dependencies	782,863	36,122,785
Danish Colonies and Dependencies	86,634	120,890
French Colonies and Dependencies	4,089,076	53,412,340
German Colonies and Dependencies	1,027,820	13,508,000
Italian Colonies and Dependencies	188,000	850,000
Portuguese Colonies and Dependencies	809,952	9,158,952
Spanish Colonies and Dependencies	253,580	273,709
United States Dependencies	125,885	7,944,617
Total Colonial without Self-Government	13,836,208	501,692,174
Autocratic:		
Russian Empire, Europe and Asia	8,660,395	129,004,514
Turkish Empire, Europe and Asia	1,184,880	26,232,240
Chinese Empire	4,277,170	426,047,000
Siam	220,000	5,000,000
Persia	628,000	9,500,000
Korea	82,000	12,000,000
Afghanistan	215,400	4,000,000
Bhutan, Nepal, and Oman	152,800	5,525,000
Abyssinia	150,000	3,500,000
Morocco	219,000	5,000,000
Total Autocratic	15,789,645	625,798,754

Republican government embraces 24.3 per cent of the area of the habitable world, and 11.4 per cent of the world's population. Constitutional government (not republican) embraces 17.2 per cent of the area, and 18.5 per cent of the population. Colonies or dependencies without self-government embrace 27.3 per cent of the area, and 31.4 per cent of the population. Autocracy embraces 31.1 per cent of the area, and 38.8 per cent of the population.

GRANGERS: An association of American agriculturists commonly known by this name, tho formerly called Patrons of Husbandry.

Soon after the close of the Civil War, President Johnson sent O. H. Kelly, an employee of the Department of Agriculture, as an agent into the Southern States to investigate the condition of the farmers in that section of the country and to report the result of his observations. He was so seriously imprest with what he saw that he proposed a national association of farmers, with branches in all sections of the country. On Dec. 4, 1867, the National Grange was organized with Mr. Kelly as secretary.

It was to be divided into national, state, and subordinate assemblies or "granges." Women were to be admitted to membership on equal standing with men. The purposes of the order were two—the industrial benefit and the social improvement of its members. The discussion of any political question was strictly forbidden. This was found difficult, but its leaders have been successful in the main in keeping it out of politics, and it is different in this respect from the other farmers' organizations. (See FARMERS' ALLIANCE.)

Up to the close of 1871 there were but about 200 granges organized, while the national grange contained only its seven original members. From this time forward its progress was rapid. The farming population began to perceive the advantages of the association, and grew as enthusiastic as they had been lethargic. At the close of 1875 there were about 30,000 granges in existence, said to average about forty members each, the order being strongest in the West and Northwest and well represented in the South. By this time, however, its climax of prosperity had been reached. Jealousy arose between the subordinate and the national granges, and parties with no interest in agriculture beyond that of selling goods to the farmers made their way into the order. So far was this carried that one grange was organized on Broadway, New York City, with forty-five members, representing capital of perhaps as many millions, and composed of bank presidents, wholesale dealers, sewing-machine manufacturers, and speculators. The result of all this was a great

depression of the order. Nevertheless, the order endured, and has had no little influence. It is said to have organized 30,000 subordinate groups in forty-four states and territories. It claims to have prevented the renewals of patents on sewing-machines; to have taught transportation companies that the creator is greater than the creature; to have passed and enforced oleomargarine laws, laws restricting alien landlords and corporations, the interstate commerce law, ballot reform laws, the making the Secretary of Agriculture a cabinet officer, establishing agricultural colleges and stations, arbor days, public schools, numerous local institutions.

Cooperation has been much favored by the Grange, and numerous experiments have been tried, but without great success. (See COOPERATION.)

The following legislation, according to the *World Almanac*, 1907, is favored by the National Grange:

1. Free delivery of mails in the rural districts be placed upon the same permanent footing as the delivery of mails in the cities and the appropriations to be commensurate with the demands and the benefits of the service. 2. Postal savings-banks. 3. Election of United States senators by direct vote of the people. 4. An amendment to the Constitution granting the power to Congress to regulate and control all corporations and combinations. 5. Enlargement of the powers and duties of the Interstate Commerce Commission, giving it authority to determine what changes shall be made or what practises are discriminative or unreasonable, and their findings to be immediately operative and so to continue until overruled by the courts. 6. Regulation of the use of shoddy. 7. Pure food laws. 8. Extension of the markets for farm products equally with manufactured articles. 9. An antitrust law, clearly defining what acts on the part of any corporation would be detrimental to public welfare. 10. The speedy construction of a ship canal connecting the Mississippi River with the Great Lakes and the Great Lakes with the Atlantic Ocean. 11. Revision of the fees and salaries of all federal officers, and placing them on a basis of similar service in private business. 12. Parcels post, telephone and telegraph in the mail service. 13. National and state aid to improve the public highways.

Master, N. J. Bachelder, Concord, N. H.; *Secretary*, C. M. Freeman, Tippecanoe City, Ohio.

GRAYSON, VICTOR: Member of Parliament for Colne Valley, division of Yorkshire, July, 1907; the first man in the United Kingdom elected simply as a Socialist; born 1881 at Liverpool; became an engineer's apprentice, and studied life as a stowaway and tramp; he matriculated at the Liverpool and Manchester universities with a view to entering the Unitarian ministry, but abandoned this, went to live in a Manchester slum, and earned his living as a journalist and lecturer. Gaining popularity among the workers in the Colne Valley, he was selected as candidate for Parliament, and adopted by the Independent Labor Party (*q. v.*), but not by the Labor Party (*q. v.*). He defeated Philip Bright (Liberal—son of John Bright) by 153 votes, and a Conservative by 421. The fact that a Socialist could defeat both the old parties without the formal support of the Labor Party, created a great sensation throughout the United Kingdom.

GREAT BRITAIN (see also BRITISH EMPIRE; IRELAND; SCOTLAND): In this article we simply outline British social reform to bring out the continuity, referring for all statistics and details to special articles.

The story of social reform in England begins with Alfred's efforts at establishing justice and promoting learning, if not with Augustine and with Aidan. The early English Church and some of England's kings struggled to put down slavery. Englishmen like Anselm and Theobald withstood Norman oppression. In 1215 the knights at Runnymede, led by Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, won from King John the Great Charter, with its fundamental rights, freedom from imprisonment without trial, and from taxation without consent of the council of the nation. In 1265 Earl Simon of Montfort, for Henry III., summoned the burgesses to Parliament, and under Edward I. they came, reasserting the old rights of the Anglo-Saxon Witenagemot.

Beginnings

As early as 1360 did John Ball (*q. v.*), "the mad priest of Kent," preach a medieval Christian socialism, asking in the name of the common folk by what right men called lords were greater folk than they, and declaring that the lords held their estates by the toil of the villeins. The Peasants' Revolt (*q. v.*) resulted and was put down, yet serfdom was conquered and the spirit engendered has never wholly died away. One finds it alike in the rough poetry of Langland's "Piers Plowman" (1377) and in the courtly words of More's "Utopia" (1516). It enters in milder form into Erasmus's "Christian Prince," and again in Harrington's "Oceana" (1656). It is voiced in Beller's proposed "College of Industry" (1695), and in Spence's land nationalization of 1775. (See these names.) England, freed from serfdom, enjoyed what some called the "Golden Age" of Merrie England.

But after the Golden Age came the Iron. In the sixteenth century the nobles, impoverished by the long French wars and the wars of the Roses, drove out many of their humble folk, and turned their fields into sheep walks for the raising of wool for the Flemish market, and at the same time fenced in many of the commons, calling forth continual protest, including Latimer's sermons. This robbery of the land by those who were its rulers but not its owners, together with the confiscation of the monasteries and other causes, produced the landless class (see LAND), and made necessary the poor-laws (*q. v.*). These laws, altho turned by remorseless magistrates into a means of the degradation of England's poor, contained, nevertheless, the socialistic claim of the right of every man to receive opportunity for life and work from the State.

The contest with Charles, the Puritan Commonwealth, the English Revolution, were not movements of the industrial classes, but they laid the foundation of England's political democracy and made possible the England of to-day. (See LEVELERS.)

When, in the eighteenth century, the discovery of steam-power and machine production developed modern industrial England, it caused an economic revolution. Under the *laissez-faire* teachings of Adam Smith, trade threw off restraint; manufacturers robbed cottages of their women and cradles of their children to employ them in factories utterly without sanitation, coining their blood into profits. Employees were worked like slaves and housed more poorly than the beasts, the whispers of Malthusianism quieting any stirrings of the conscience. It was necessary that men be killed, it was said; there was not room for all. It was these conditions that led to modern industrial legislation.

In 1795 Dr. Aikin, a Manchester physician, published a statement concerning the evil condition of the children working in the mills. In 1796 a committee was formed in Manchester to inquire into the health of the poor. In 1802 the elder Peel brought in and passed the

first bill for the preservation of the health and morals of apprentices and of others employed in cotton and other factories. It immediately accomplished nothing, being fatally defective; but it established the principle. Other bills introduced did little more. In 1824 a bill was passed, mainly owing to the efforts of Francis Place, outside of Parliament, and Joseph Hume within, giving trade-unions, which had secretly existed since about 1700, the right to partially organize. In 1830 Richard Oastler, speaking for the antislavery movement, discovered that there was "white slavery" in England, and from that date gave his time and strength in poverty, and even when imprisoned for debt, to exposing the facts of factory evils, and agitating for legislation. He accomplished little, however, till Lord Ashley, afterward the Earl of Shaftesbury, took up his cause. T. Sadler, in 1831, had moved a ten hours' bill, but to no effect. A select committee was appointed in the matter in 1832, but only to gain time and prevent action. Lord Ashley, however, now taking hold, brought in a ten hours' bill for women and children, which was read a second time in 1833. It was violently opposed, especially by individualist Liberals like Cobden and John Bright. Finally, Lord Althorp brought in for the government and carried a compromise bill, which was better than nothing. Oastler, however, continued his agitation. Children's Employment Commissions of 1842 and 1843 published terrible revelations. A factory act was passed in 1844, and finally the Ten Hours' Bill of 1847.

Early Factory Legislation

Meanwhile Robert Owen (*q. v.*), at his mills in New Lanark, had been putting in practise various reforms, and in the year 1817 laid a scheme of a socialistic community before the House of Commons. This act is sometimes considered the beginning of socialism in England; but it was not socialism as we understand the word to-day. Owen's utopianism and evolutionary social democracy in industry have little in common. In 1825 Owen purchased New Harmony in the U. S. and started a short-lived community. In 1835 he founded an association of all classes of all nations; and during the discussions which arose over this, the words "socialism" and "Socialist" seem first to have been used.

The passage of the Reform Bill in 1832 had abolished the "pocket boroughs" and given England a taste of democracy. Slavery (*q. v.*) was abolished in the British colonies in 1834. The poor laws were reformed. The middle classes were now indeed enfranchised, but these reforms did little for the workmen. These Owen reached. The Owenite press, the *Crisis*, the *Pioneer*, the *Herald of the Rights of Industry*, and other papers, created a wide-spread movement. Within a few weeks half a million members are said to have joined Owen's Grand National Consolidated Trade-Union, including tens of thousands of farm laborers and women. The object was to put an end to all competition. The wealthier classes were alarmed. In 1834 six Dorchester laborers were sentenced to seven years' transportation for the mere act of administering an oath. (See Conspiracy Laws.) Monster labor congresses were held; 30,000 persons took part in a procession in London protesting against the judgment; over 250,000 signed a petition. Strikes were numerous. They generally failed, however. A levy of 18*d.* per member hurt the Grand National. It was too hurriedly organized, and did not endure. The trade-unions all suffered. Led by William Cobbett, William Lovett, and others, working men began to turn to political methods.

The Owenite Period

In 1838 a representative meeting of workmen drew up a program of political reforms which they held to be necessary. Speaking to the representatives, the Irish orator O'Connell called it their charter, and in all the subsequent agitation this program was called the "People's Charter," and its supporters "Chartists." (See Chartism.) The charter called for the famous "six points"—manhood suffrage, equal electoral districts, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, abolition of property qualification for members of the House of Commons, and payment of members of Parliament for their services. Enormous meetings were held. Orators, writers, editors, poets were developed—O'Connor, Lovett, Cleave, Hetherington, and O'Brien being among the leaders. Every center had its Chartist journal. But there soon developed a division as to the means to be adopted. Some favored an appeal to force; many—probably most—advocated constitutional methods. In June, 1839, a petition signed by nearly 1,300,000 persons was presented to the House of Commons, "bound in iron hoops, four men bearing it," asking that the charter be considered. By a large majority the House of Commons refused. Relations between the government and the people became strained; public meetings were forbidden; riots were of frequent occurrence. Agitation continued more or less vigorously until 1848, the year of revolutions. A meeting was called on Kennington Common for April 10th, at which it was expected that half a million workers would be present. Great alarm prevailed; the military under the Duke of Wellington was called out; cannon were planted to cover the meeting-place and the exits, and nearly 200,000 civilians were enrolled as special constables. After all these threatenings the gathering on the common was not as large as had been anticipated, a heavy storm interfering. Not 100,000 were present. This was the end of Chartism. The movement collapsed when apparently at its highest. During all the ten years of the agitation it had been largely an economic change that was desired. Political change was only sought in order to secure economic changes. Every constitutional means had been tried and had failed, and now the government had shown that if an appeal were to be made to force, it would use all its strength to crush the appeal, and would yield no quarter. Just while men were pondering the alternatives, a new door of escape was opened—gold was discovered in America, and New Zealand and Australia were calling for colonists.

Chartism

The repeal of the corn laws in 1846, after the long free-trade agitation of Cobden and Bright, and the passage of the Ten Hours' Bill in 1847, also gave hope of relief.

The close of the Chartist agitation witnessed the birth of organized Christian Socialism (*q. v.*). Charles Kingsley and Frederick Denison Maurice, clergymen of the Church of England, with E. Vansittart Neale, Thomas Hughes, J. M. Ludlow (see these names), organized a society under the avowed name of Christian Socialism. They published pamphlets and two

Christian Socialism

papers, and started some cooperative stores. Their papers were soon discontinued; their stores either failed or were swallowed up in the larger Rochdale cooperative movement; but their thought lived. Kingsley's bold denunciation of the soulless Manchester school of political economy and the deeper philosophy of Maurice are potent to-day.

From 1850–80 English trade-unionism was taking form and growing, with many ups and downs. The Rochdale cooperative movement, beginning in 1844, during this period made its phenomenal advance. The writings of Carlyle and of Ruskin struck strong blows against the orthodox political economy. In 1848 Mill published his "Political Economy." Henceforth political economy was no longer a dismal science of theories, but a discussion of how to meet practical industrial problems. Mill himself, in his "Autobiography," came to announce himself a Socialist. There were other radical forces at work. From 1849 to his death in 1883 Marx resided in London. In London, also, was Mazzini. Opposed to socialism, as it was presented to him, he really preached its deepest and most ethical ideas. As early as 1847 Marx and Engels, corresponding with a London society, turned this society into a communist league; and the following year published from Brussels the manifesto of the communist party. In 1862 a party of French working men visited the International Exhibition in London, getting into communication with English trade-unionists; on Sept. 28, 1864, the famous "International" (*q. v.*) was founded at St. Martin's Hall, London. It was not at first a socialistic organization. Its simple aim was to unite the working men of all countries. Naturally it took a different coloring with different nations. In England it meant little more than an attempt at international trade-unionism, and took no deep root.

Socialism

Little as he intended it, the lectures in England of Henry George (*q. v.*), individualist as he proclaimed himself, seem to have been the occasion for the first crystallization in England of modern Socialist thought. According to Sidney Webb ("Socialism in England"), the coercive measures introduced by Mr. Gladstone's ministry against the Irish Land League had alienated many of the earnest Radicals from the Liberal Party. It became evident that Liberalism was not inconsistent with shameless international aggression in the interests of the officers and the bondholders. The neglect of English social questions became more and more pressingly felt. The "Democratic Federation" was founded in 1881, by H. M. Hyndman, Herbert Burrows, Miss Helen Taylor (stepdaughter of John Stuart Mill), and some others. The only distinctively Socialist proposal explicitly set forth in the first program of this organization was "nationalization of the land," placed ninth in the list; but it was from the first essentially a Socialist body, and it changed its name in 1884 to the "Social Democratic Federation" (*q. v.*). Men joined like William Morris, Tom Mann, John Burns, and others.

At the end of 1884, however, William Morris (*q. v.*) withdrew from the Federation, and with others formed the Socialist League. The grounds of secession were mainly personal, but the new society soon developed a policy of its own, standing for a more communistic and less governmental conception of socialism. Publishing the *Commonweal* (1885), to which Mr. Morris gave brilliant contributions, it exerted no small influence. About 1892, however, the organization and the *Commonweal* came under anarchist control; Mr. Morris withdrew, and the league virtually died, the Social Democratic Federation keeping on.

A more potent and unique organization of English Socialists is the Fabian Society (*q. v.*), founded in 1883, and to-day still adding to its strength. Commenced mainly as an educational and propagandist center, it includes members of other societies. In one year its members have given thousands of lectures and distributed still more thousands of Socialist essays and tracts. It has influenced political parties, economic literature, and trade-union thought. It may almost be said to have created the London County Council (*q. v.*), and to have changed the thought of the working men's clubs of London. Leaders in it like Sidney Webb, Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, and others have had most respectful hearing, and many of its members have been elected to Parliament. (See FABIAN SOCIETY.)

These various societies, taking advantage of industrial depressions and discontent, have largely captured the English trade-unions for socialism. A "New Trade-Unionism" grew steadily till 1895. The agitation in behalf of the unemployed in 1886, resulting in the prosecution at the Old Bailey of Messrs. Hyndman, Burns, Champion, and Williams, led, altho they were acquitted, to making socialism somewhat popular among the London masses. The great dock strike of 1889 saw a turning of the tide. Ben Tillett, Tom Mann, and John Burns organized the dock laborers and won. It led to the organization of other trades thus far unorganized. These new unions followed the new leaders, and the movement began to grow in the rank and file of even the old unions. By 1890 the new unionism was in the majority in the trade congresses, and in 1894 voted to support only collectivist candidates. The defeat of the Liberal Party in 1894, however, to which many of the old trade-unionists were allied, led to the older trade-unions securing a change in representation, giving the newer trade-unions less power, and thus defeating the new trade-unionism at the Congress of 1895. Some of the new trade-unions, too, did not endure.

New Trade-Unionism

Labor representatives began to be elected to Parliament as Liberals or as miners' members. In 1873–74 no fewer than thirteen "labor candidates" went to the polls; and Alexander Macdonald and Thomas Burt (*q. v.*), two leading officials of the miners' national unions, were elected the first "labor members" of the House.

However, altho largely enfranchised by the Reform Bill of 1867, English workmen in their trades congresses even rejected amendments in favor of manhood suffrage as late as 1882 and 1883. In order to win legal recognition at all for their trade-unions, the leaders had had to plant themselves wholly on the middle-class ground of the individual freedom of each man to sell his labor as he pleased, collectively or not. Even after trade-unions were themselves in 1871 fully legalized, even when "in restraint of trade," their members were still so liable to prosecution under vague combination laws, that the unions were engaged in a battle for mere existence down to 1875. At this date, however, the Liberal Par-

ty having been defeated largely by the division of the labor vote, a Conservative government wiped away the last vestige of the combination laws. But this long struggle for life had so indoctrinated the trade-unions with the individualist economy, that, save for a few leaders like Allan of the Engineers and Applegarth of the Carpenters, the average trade-unionist cared nothing for parliamentary action. Even when free to act, their very successes made the trade-unions conservative. Men, like Mr. Broadhurst, actually opposed eight-hour legislation; a motion in support of it was defeated by a large majority at a trade-union congress as late as 1889.

The collectivist policy, however, became so popular that, weary of the vast promises and slight fulfilment of both the Liberal and Conservative parties, there was organized (Jan., 1893), mainly under the lead of Keir Hardie, elected M. P., an Independent Labor Party, its object being, as stated, "the collective ownership and control of the means of production, distribution, and exchange." Robert Blatchford's "Merrie England," emphasizing the principles of the party, about this time is estimated to have reached 2,000,000 readers.

Municipalism of various kinds was long, however, the main practical form of English socialism. The formation of the county councils, and particularly of the London County Council, to bring together under one control the numberless boards and vestries that had power in various ways in London, was another step toward socialism.

Later, attention was directed to some extent from social problems by the Boer War and discussions arising from it, and under its influence the Conservatives gained a new lapse of life. Gradually, however, the majority of the trade-unions, while not committing themselves to avowed socialism, came to favor political action directly in their own interests, on largely socialistic lines and independent of any political party.

Labor Politics

A Labor Representation Committee was organized composed mainly of representatives of such unions, and of a few other organizations, like the Fabian Society, willing to cooperate on those lines, to manage the campaigns of candidates indorsed by the committee, and create a fund for the payment of the elected members. (See LABOR REPRESENTATION COMMITTEE.) This movement had growing success, till in the general election on Jan., 1906, the Labor forces astonished themselves and all England by electing to Parliament twenty-nine candidates indorsed by the Labor Representation Committee, which with eleven "miners' members" and fourteen Liberals, but also Labor members, made fifty-four Labor members (twenty-nine independent of other parties). The committee therefore adopted, 1906, the name of the Labor Party (*q. v.*), with Keir Hardie as its head. The independent, aggressive, and yet, on the whole, constructive and practical position of the party's representatives in Parliament has been the social reform political interest of the year, while by-elections have added three to their number (including one elected as a Socialist), making some eighty members all largely socialistic in their policies.

Meanwhile other phases of social reform have recently rapidly advanced. Distributive cooperation has grown steadily and productive cooperation has been begun in earnest. (See COOPERATION.) Cooperative housebuilding has begun, but especially have municipal and county councils taken up the housing question, in many cases undertaking large housing schemes. (See HOUSING QUESTION.) A successful Garden City movement has been developed (see GARDEN CITIES), while prominent employers have developed large and beautiful model villages for their employees. (See BOURNEVILLE; PORT SUNLIGHT; MODEL VILLAGES.) The question of employing the unemployed has been largely agitated and successful attempts inaugurated. (See LABOR COLONIES; UNEMPLOYMENT.)

Present Movements

Considerable attention has been called to the woman-suffrage question by women who were willing to storm the House of Parliament in demanding a hearing and allow themselves to be imprisoned for creating disturbance. (See WOMAN'S MOVEMENTS.) Much thought has been attracted to the taxation of land values by the introduction in Parliament of a Scotch bill calling for a distinction in making up rates on values of land and values of improvements. Many members, including the Premier, are said to favor the distinction. (See LAND.) The school question has been a burning theme, tho a compromise bill calling in the main for separation of all public schools from Church control was thrown out of the Lords after it had passed the Lower House. (See SCHOOL QUESTION, articles on both sides.) (For the home rule question, which has so largely affected English politics, see HOME RULE; IRELAND.) Great Britain may be said to-day to be leading the world (outside of New Zealand and Australia) in the actual taking up of detailed social questions and pressing for their solution from an advanced point of view, tho Germany and Switzerland are probably actually doing more on slightly more paternal lines. (See special articles for references and all details.)

GREDESKUL, NICHOLAS ANDREYEVICH: Russian jurist, editor, and politician; born in 1864. He was graduated from the University of Kharkof, and later became a professor there, and dean of the law department. Gredeskul, who was second vice-president of the first Duma, was arrested just before election by order of Minister Durnovo, and was exiled to Archangel; but on being elected he was released. He is a Constitutional Democrat, and edits a newspaper called *Mir*.

GREEK SOCIAL POLITY: This was, in a word, the exaltation of the State, ordinarily a democratic city, based upon slave labor, over all departments of life. (See ATHENS; ARISTOTLE; PLATO.) We give here the synopsis of the Greek economic and social idea, as given in Professor Ingram's "History of Political Economy":

1. The individual is conceived as subordinated to the State, through which alone his nature can be developed and completed, and to the maintenance and service of which all his efforts must be directed. The great aim of all political thought is the formation of good citizens; every social question is studied primarily from the ethical and educational point of view. The citizen is not regarded as a producer, but only as a possessor of material wealth; and this wealth is not esteemed for its own sake or for the enjoyments it procures, but for the higher moral and public aims to which it may be made subservient.

2. The State, therefore, claims and exercises a controlling and regulating authority over every sphere of social life, including the economic, in order to bring individual action into harmony with the good of the whole.

3. With these fundamental notions is combined a tendency

to attribute to institutions and to legislation an unlimited efficacy, as if society had no spontaneous tendencies, but would obey any external impulse, if imprest upon it with sufficient force and continuity.

GREELEY, HORACE: American editor and social reformer; born at Amherst, N. H., 1811. Before he was ten years old his father became bankrupt. The family then moved to Vermont, where they made a scanty living as day laborers. When fourteen years of age Greeley was apprenticed in the office of the *Northern Spectator*, East Poultney, Vt. His wages were but $40 a year; but by living on almost nothing he was able to send money home. He remained here six years, when the paper was suspended. For a time he worked with his father on a rough farm in Pennsylvania, and then began to tramp the country in search of employment. In 1831 he entered New York with $10 in his pocket, and two years later formed a partnership with a fellow workman, Francis V. Story. Combining their capital, which amounted to $150, they commenced by printing the *Morning Post*, which failed in three weeks. But Greeley went on writing as well as printing. He was invited by James Gordon Bennett to go into a partnership with him in the *Herald*, but he declined, and issued instead the *New Yorker*, a literary journal which lived seven years. Later he published the *Log Cabin*, a weekly campaign paper, which was a great success. On April 10, 1841, Greeley commenced the New York *Tribune*, his life-work.

Greeley was then entirely without money. From a personal friend, Mr. James Coggeshall, he borrowed $1,000, on which capital and the editor's reputation the *Tribune* was founded. It began with 600 subscribers. Mr. Greeley opened its columns to well-nigh every reform. He made it the leading abolition newspaper. He advocated in it dress reform, vegetarianism, and FOURIERISM.

From 1850 until the end of the Civil War the *Tribune* did much to create and awaken the anti-slavery sentiment of the North. Greeley urged in his paper the vigorous prosecution of the war, but at its close immediately advocated universal amnesty and suffrage. From 1848 to 1849 he was a Whig representative in Congress.

In 1867 Greeley was appointed delegate to the convention for the revision of the Constitution. He antagonized General Grant's administration, and was one of the chief promoters of the Liberal Republican Party, which held its national convention at Cincinnati in 1872, and nominated him for president. His lifelong opponents, the Democrats, nominated him also at their national convention—a move which greatly lessened his chances of success by repelling many of his Republican supporters. During the canvass feeling ran high, and he took the field in person and made one of the most brilliant, able, and sustained series of campaign speeches on record. In the election he received 2,834,079 votes as against 3,597,070 for Grant. Greeley carried Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Tennessee, and Texas. He at once resumed the editorship of the *Tribune*, but it was soon evident that he had overtaxed his strength in the campaign. No sooner was it ended than he was called to the bedside of his dying wife, from which he went only to be himself prostrated by a nervous disorder of the brain. His illness was short, and on Nov. 29, 1872, he died. His published volumes are as follows: "Hints Toward Reforms" (1850); "Glances at Europe" (1851); "History of the Struggle for Slavery Extension" (1856); "Overland Journey to San Francisco" (1860); "The American Conflict" (2 vols., 1864–66); "Recollections of a Busy Life" (1868); "Essays Designed to Elucidate the Science of Political Economy" (1870); and "What I Know of Farming" (1871). His life was written by James Parton in 1855, and a new edition appeared in 1868.

GREENBACK PARTY, THE: A party which originated in the United States in 1873–74 as a result of the opposition felt by many to the asserted manipulation of the currency in favor of the banking and bondholding class. (See CURRENCY.) It was claimed that the bankers of the country had conspired (1) to make the issue of the war greenbacks a failure by inducing Congress to prevent their being legal tenders for customs and for payment of the national debt, and so depreciating their value; (2) to buy up these greenbacks at their depreciated value, and with them purchase bonds, paying for the bonds with greenbacks at their face value; (3) to induce Congress to vote that these bonds bought with greenbacks at thirty cents on the dollar should be redeemed by Congress under the pretense of national faith and of "an honest dollar" in gold (interest as well as capital), while the soldiers and sailors of the war who had risked their lives and got no "interest" had been paid in greenbacks. Intense excitement was aroused, which the period of contraction of the currency greatly increased. As early as 1868 the demand called "the Ohio idea" was broached, claiming that all bonds which did not distinctly call for payment in coin should be redeemed in greenbacks. This "idea" seemed to have dominated the Democratic convention of 1868, but was distinctly disavowed by Mr. Tilden and other leading Democrats. Many local and state conventions in the West, however—chiefly Democratic—indorsed the idea. Its advocates still hoped to bring the entire party to their way of thinking.

Demands

Finally the financial crisis of 1873 caused the masses of the people to seek legislative relief for the evils from which they were suffering, and produced a certain disintegration of the established political parties. The pressing questions of the time appeared to require and justify new political organizations. A Greenback convention was held at Indianapolis in 1874, and demanded: (1) The withdrawal of the national bank-note currency; (2) that the only currency should be of paper, and that such currency should be made exchangeable for bonds bearing interest at 3.65 per cent; and (3) that coin might be used for the payment of the interest and principal of such bonds, and such only, as expressly called for coin payments. In 1876 a national Greenback convention was held at Indianapolis, which nominated Peter Cooper, of New York, and Samuel F. Cary, of Ohio, for president and vice-president. In the election which followed they received 81,737 popular votes.

To these attempts to found a new party, based on financial issues, a turn in another direction was given by the labor troubles which had culminated in the great railroad strikes of 1877. In 1878 a "National or Greenback-Labor Convention" was held at Toledo, O., as the result of a coalition between the labor reformers and the advocates of a greenback currency. In the following election

the Greenback-Labor tickets polled over 1,000,000 votes, and fourteen representatives of the party were sent to Congress. But the party was made up of different elements; and altho the distress which gave it strength was real, none of the party leaders seems to have had definite ideas as to what was to effect a cure. In 1880 the Greenback-Labor convention, at Chicago, nominated James B. Weaver, of Iowa, and B. J. Chambers, of Texas. In that year the popular Greenback-Labor vote was 300,867, and eight of their representatives were elected to Congress. The ticket in 1884 was headed by General B. F. Butler, who was also the Anti-Monopoly candidate, and received 175,380 votes. In that year the Greenback ticket in Iowa, Michigan, and Nebraska was fused with that of the Democrats, and in Missouri and West Virginia with the Republican ticket.

The Greenback Party proper always had its strongest support in the Western States. In Maine, New York, Vermont, and Massachusetts the Greenback element was made up of labor reformers, and its tickets were as a rule supported principally by laboring men. But on several occasions the Greenbackers received encouragement and support from either one or the other of the two great parties of the country, who hoped to create a diversion in their own favor by running a third ticket, so made up as to draw votes from the opposing party.

The following is the platform of the Greenback-Labor Party, adopted at the National Convention, held in Chicago, June 9 and 10, 1880:

Platform of 1880

Civil government should guarantee the divine right of every laborer to the results of his toil, thus enabling the producers of wealth to provide themselves with the means for physical comfort and the facilities for mental, social, and moral culture; and we condemn as unworthy of our civilization the barbarism which imposes upon the wealth producers a state of perpetual drudgery as the price of bare animal existence.

Notwithstanding the enormous increase of productive power, the universal introduction of labor-saving machinery, and the discovery of new agents for the increase of wealth, the task of the laborer is scarcely lightened, the hours of toil are but little shortened, and few producers are lifted from poverty into comfort and pecuniary independence.

The associated monopolies, the international syndicates, and other income classes demand dear money and cheap labor, a "strong government," and hence a weak people.

Corporate control of the volume of money has been the means of dividing society into hostile classes; of the unjust distribution of the products of labor, and of building up monopolies of associated capital, endowed with power to confiscate private property. It has kept money scarce, and scarcity of money enforces debt trade, and public and corporate loans—debt engenders usury, and usury ends in the bankruptcy of the borrower.

Other results are deranged markets, uncertainty of manufacturing enterprise and agriculture, precarious and intermittent employment for the laborer, industrial war, increasing pauperism and crime, and the consequent intimidation and disfranchisement of the producer, and a rapid declension into corporate feudalism.

Therefore we declare:

(1) That the right to make and issue money is a sovereign power to be maintained by the people for the common benefit. The delegation of this right to corporations is a surrender of the central attribute of sovereignty, void of constitutional sanction, conferring upon a subordinate irresponsible power, and absolute dominion over industry and commerce. All money, whether metallic or paper, should be issued and its volume controlled by the government, and not by or through banking corporations, and when so issued should be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private.

(2) That the bonds of the United States should not be refunded, but paid as rapidly as it is practicable, according to contract. To enable the government to meet these obligations, legal tender currency should be substituted for the notes of the national banks, the national banking system abolished, and the unlimited coinage of silver, as well as gold, established by law.

(3) That labor should be so protected by national and state authority as to equalize its burdens and insure a just distribution of its results; the eight-hour law of Congress should be enforced; the sanitary condition of industrial establishments placed under rigid control; the competition of contract convict labor abolished; a bureau of labor statistics established; factories, mines, and workshops inspected; the employment of children under fourteen years of age forbidden, and wages paid in cash.

(4) Slavery being simply cheap labor, and cheap labor being simply slavery, the importation and presence of Chinese serfs necessarily tends to brutalize and degrade American labor; therefore immediate steps should be taken to abrogate the Burlingame treaty.

(5) Railroad land grants forfeited by reason of non-fulfilment of contract should be immediately reclaimed by the government; and henceforth the public domain reserved exclusively as homes for actual settlers.

(6) It is the duty of Congress to regulate interstate commerce. All lines of communication and transportation should be brought under such legislative control as shall secure moderate, fair, and uniform rates for passenger and freight traffic.

(7) We denounce, as destructive to prosperity and dangerous to liberty, the action of the old parties in fostering and sustaining gigantic land, railroad, and money corporations and monopolies, invested with and exercising powers belonging to the government, and yet not responsible to it for the manner of their use.

(8) That the Constitution, in giving Congress the power to borrow money, to declare war, to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a navy, never intended that the men who loaned their money for an interest consideration should be preferred to the soldier and sailor who periled their lives and shed their blood on land and sea in defense of their country, and we condemn the cruel class legislation of the Republican Party, which, while professing great gratitude to the soldier, has most unjustly discriminated against him, and in favor of the bondholder.

(9) All property should bear its just proportion of taxation, and we demand a graduated income tax.

(10) We denounce as most dangerous the efforts everywhere manifest to restrict the right of suffrage.

(11) We are opposed to an increase of the standing army in time of peace, and the insidious scheme to establish an enormous military power under the guise of militia laws.

(12) We demand absolute democratic rules for the government of Congress, placing all representatives of the people upon an equal footing, and taking away from committees a veto power greater than that of the president.

(13) We demand a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, instead of a government of the bondholder, by the bondholder, and for the bondholder; and we denounce every attempt to stir up sectional strife as an effort to conceal monstrous crimes against the people.

(14) In the furtherance of these ends we ask the cooperation of all fair-minded people. We have no quarrel with individuals, we wage no war upon classes, but only against vicious institutions. We are not content to endure further discipline from our present actual rulers, who, having dominion over money, over transportation, over land and labor, over the machinery of government, and largely over the press, wield unwarrantable power over our institutions, and over life and property.

The literature of the movement is large, but much of it was in only transient form. Among the best books is B. S. Heath's "Labor and Finance Revolution." The papers of Henry C. Baird and "The Currency Question," a pamphlet by G. M. Steele, contain more moderate statements of the views of the Greenback Party. (For a discussion of the principles voiced by the Chicago convention of 1880, see CURRENCY; MONEY.)

GREULICH, HERMANN: Swiss statistician; Swiss Workmen's Secretary. The Swiss Confederation has no department of labor, but the *Arbeitersekretariat* was established in 1887. It has a semiofficial standing, the salaries and expenses being paid by the government, while the secretary is chosen by the labor organizations. The office was created in April, 1887, by the election of Mr. Greulich, a statistician of Zurich; 142 labor organizations, representing about 100,000 working men, were interested in the election through a central committee; it was for three years, but has been renewed since. The new secretary placed himself in touch with the cantonal and foreign governments' labor and social departments. In 1888 he published an exhaustive study of wages in Switzerland; 1890 and 1893 statistics on accidents. Author: "In-

stitutions of the Paris Municipal Council for the Protection of the Working Classes" (1889). *Address*: *Arbeitersekretariat*, Bern, Switzerland.

GREY, SIR GEORGE: Third governor of New Zealand; has been called "the greatest figure in the first half-century of New Zealand's colonial history"; born at Lisburn, Ireland, 1812; educated at Sandhurst for the army; entered the service and became captain in 1835. In 1839 he went on an exploring expedition in Australia, and two years later was appointed Governor of South Australia. In 1845 he was transferred to the governorship of New Zealand, and successfully closed the first Maori War. He largely drafted the present constitution of the colony, which had been on the brink of ruin when he became its executive. In 1854 he left the colony on the road to prosperity, and was transferred to the governorship of Cape Colony; but in 1861 he was transferred back to New Zealand to conduct the second Maori War. He retired in1868, but in 1875 came into public life as a leading Liberal, and was premier from 1877 to 1879. After resigning this office he sat in Parliament almost continuously till he retired in 1894 on account of old age. He gained great support all over Australia for his liberal views, especially for his advocacy of the "one man, one vote" idea, woman's suffrage, and national ownership of the soil. A natural leader with extraordinary abilities, he was at times hated and criticized by some, but honored, loved, and followed by the many. He died in 1898.

GRONLUND, LAWRENCE: American Socialist, lawyer, and writer; born in Denmark, 1848; took part in the Dano-German War of 1864; studied law at the University of Copenhagen; emigrated to the United States in 1867, and for a time taught German in a public school in Milwaukee. In 1869 he was admitted to the bar and began practising law in Chicago. He became interested in socialism by reading Pascal's "Pensées." In 1880 he published a dialogue on "The Coming Revolution," and in 1884 his "Cooperative Commonwealth," the first full statement of modern socialism published in this country, and which had a wide sale and influence. Mr. Gronlund then devoted himself to the propaganda of socialism, and wrote and lectured wherever he could get a hearing—in Chicago, New York, Boston, and on the Pacific coast. He held for a while an office in the U. S. Labor Department. In 1887 he published "Danton," a study of the French Revolution, and in 1890 "Our Destiny," a work religious as well as socialistic, which had a large sale, especially in England, where 1,000 copies were sold in the first month. The *Revue d'Économie Politique* called it "the most elevated and attractive conception of socialism yet published." Mr. Gronlund died in 1899.

GROTIUS, HUGO, or DE GROOT: Dutch jurist and writer; born at Delft, 1583; son of the burgomaster of the town; entered the University of Leyden in 1594, graduating in 1598. Traveling in France, he returned to practise as a lawyer, and in 1607 was fiscal general, and in 1610 councilpensionary at Rotterdam. For supporting the Remonstrants he was condemned, in 1619, to imprisonment for life, but escaped by the aid of his wife, who took his place in the castle, tho for her bravery she was set free. He wandered through the Netherlands and France, and for a while enjoyed a pension at the court of Louis XIII. He was allowed to return to Holland, but was soon again exiled for life. A wanderer again, he entered the service of Sweden, and from 1635 to 1645 was Swedish ambassador at Paris. Returning to Sweden, he passed through Amsterdam, and was honored there as well as in Sweden. He received a pension, but while journeying fell ill and died at Rostock in 1645. He was a profound scholar, an eminent theologian, an erudite historian, a Latin poet, an eminent jurist. His "De Jure Belli et Pacis" (1625) has been translated into all the languages of Europe, and may be called the basis of international law. (See Political Science.)

GRÜN, KARL: German Socialist; born at Lüdenscheid, 1813; educated at the gymnasium at Wetzlar; studied theology and philosophy at Bonn and Berlin. From 1839 to 1842 he taught languages in Colmar, whereafter he returned to Germany, founding the *Mannheimer Abendzeitung*. He was, however, expelled from Baden on account of alleged revolutionary tendencies, whereupon he settled in Cologne where he edited a weekly, *Der Sprecher*. He became converted to socialism, and visited Belgium and Paris. In 1845 he published "Die Sociale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien, Briefe und Studien." Returning to Germany in 1848, Grün was elected to the second chamber of the Prussian Diet, where he joined the extreme Left. On the dissolution of this Diet he was accused of having taken an "intellectual" part in the "Pfalz Uprising"; but after eight months' incarceration was acquitted. He then spent some years abroad, returning on the death of Frederick William IV., and settling in Frankfort-on-the-Main, where he earned a living as an instructor in a commercial school. In 1870 he settled in Vienna, where he died in 1887.

GUESDE, JULES: French Socialist leader; born in Paris, 1845. Entering political journalism in Paris, Toulouse, and Montpellier, at the latter place he published the *Droits de l'homme*, and was imprisoned six months for a revolutionary article against the empire. At the time of the Commune he attempted to stir up a revolution in Montpellier; was condemned to five years' imprisonment; fled to Geneva and joined the Internationalists. Driven to Italy, he returned to Paris in 1876 and edited the *Citoyen*, the *Cri du Peuple*, and then founded the *Egalité*, the first paper of modern Marxist socialism in France. In 1879, with Marx, Engels, and La Fargue, he drafted the program of the Marxist *Parti ouvrier français*, of which he became the foremost leader. (See France.) Imprisoned for six months in 1878 and again in 1883 for his Socialist activities, in 1893 he was elected deputy from Roubaix. Since this date to his reelection in 1906, he followed the varying fortunes of the *Parti ouvrier français*, and is now one of the active members of the United French Socialist Party. Among his numerous tho brief writings are: "Collectivisme et Revolution"; "Socialisme et services publices"; "Le Collectivisme au Collége de France."

GUILDS. See Gilds.

GUNTON, GEORGE: American economist and editor; born in Cambridgeshire, England, 1847;

emigrated to the United States in 1874, and for some time worked in factories in Massachusetts. Interested in social studies, and especially in the eight-hour philosophy, he became an editorial writer on economic themes. His "Wealth and Progress," which appeared in 1887, is the fullest statement of the eight-hour philosophy, tho not indorsed by most of the eight-hour trade-unionists on account of its author's opposition to many other progressive views held by trade-unions, and by some of them on account of his advocacy of protection. In 1890 Mr. Gunton became president of the Institute of Social Economics, and editor of the *Social Economist*, the name of which was changed in 1896 to *Gunton's Magazine*. *Address*: Colorado Buildings, Washington, D. C.

GUTHRIE, ROBERT STORRIE: Australian statesman; born in Ayr County, Scotland, 1857; spent ten years at sea; went to Australia in 1878 and engaged in the coasting trade; became secretary of the Federated Seamen's Union of Australia in 1887, and is also secretary of the Federal Council of Australian Labor Unions. He was elected senator for South Australia in the Australian Federal Parliament in 1903. *Address*: Knighton Villa, Peterhead, South Australia.

H

HADLEY, ARTHUR TWINING: President of Yale University; born at New Haven, Conn., 1856. Graduated from Yale, 1876. Studied in Berlin. Tutor and lecturer on railroad transportation at Yale 1879–86. Commissioner of Labor for Connecticut 1885–87. Professor of political science, Yale, 1886–99. Since then president. Author of "Railroad Transportation" (1885); "Labor Reports" (1885–86); "Economics" (1896), a work largely used as a text-book; "The Education of the American Citizen" (1901); "Freedom and Responsibility" (1903); "Baccalaureate Addresses" (1907). *Address*: 93 Whitney Avenue, New Haven, Conn.

HAGGARD, HENRY RIDER: Author; sociologist; born Bradenham, Norfolk, 1856. Educated at Ipswich and privately. Secretary to Governor of Natal and then to a commissioner in Transvaal, 1875–79. Formally hoisted the British flag at Pretoria, 1877. Barrister of Lincoln's Inn, 1884. His first book, "Cetywayo and His White Neighbors," appeared 1882; "Dawn" (1884); "King Solomon's Mines" (1886). These and other novels made him famous, and he wrote prolifically. From 1896–98 he journeyed through England, studying rural conditions, and became deeply interested in social problems with which he deals in "Rural England," his most important work. He was made commissioner to report on the Salvation Army colonies in the United States, and made a report (1905) strongly advocating similar schemes for the colonization of England's unemployed by private associations, but with government control and aid, with a scheme for national land settlement. He is an active magistrate and member of the Royal Commission on Coast Erosion, 1906. *Address*: Ditchingham House, Norfolk, England.

HALE, EDWARD EVERETT: Unitarian clergyman and author; born in Boston, 1822. Graduated at Harvard College in 1839, and licensed to preach in 1842. Pastor in Worcester (1846–1856), then pastor of the South Congregational (Unitarian) Church, in Boston, where he still remains. He is even better known as a leader and often the starter of a marvelous number of philanthropic movements. His *Ten Times One is Ten* led to the establishment of clubs devoted to doing good scattered throughout the world, with a membership of over 50,000. They are called "Lend-a-Hand" clubs and have for their motto, "Look up and not down; look forward and not back; look out and not in; and lend a hand." He has also taken great interest in the Chautauqua and other literary, educational, and reform movements. When the Nationalist and Christian Socialist movements were commenced, Dr. Hale interested himself in them, and has sometimes even declared himself a Socialist. In 1869 he founded, in connection with the American Unitarian Association, the magazine *Old and New*, which in 1875 was merged into *Scribner's Monthly*. In 1886 he started *Lend a Hand*. His short stories are among his best works, notably "My Double and How He Undid Me" (1859), "The Man Without a Country" (1863), "In His Name," and "How They Lived in Hampton"—a socialistic story. *Address*: 39 Highland Street, Roxbury, Mass.

HALL, BOLTON: Lawyer; reformer; born in Ireland, 1859; son of Dr. John Hall. Educated in Dublin till 1867. Graduated at Princeton University, 1875. Has lectured and written many brochures on fundamental reforms, advocating the single tax, and large personal liberty. He has been especially active in promoting the cultivation of vacant lots by the unemployed. (See VACANT LOTS.) Author of "Even as You and I" (1889); "Things as They Are" (1900); "The Game of Life" (1903); "Three Acres and Liberty" (1907). *Address*: 33 East Sixty-first Street, New York.

HALL, FRED: Labor member of Parliament for Nomanton, West Riding, Yorkshire. Born 1855 in Staffordshire. He entered a Rotherham colliery, became secretary of the Yorkshire Miners' Association in 1878, and later treasurer and agent. Has been Grand Master of the British United Order of Odd Fellows. He was returned to Parliament in Nov., 1905, without opposition, chiefly by the miners, assisted by the Liberals. *Address*: Rowmarsh Hill, Parkgate, near Rotherham, Yorkshire, England.

HAMPDEN, JOHN: English statesman and patriot; born London, 1594. Entered Oxford, 1610, and the Inner Temple, London, 1621. In 1621 he first sat in the House of Commons as member of the antiroyalist party. In 1627 he was imprisoned for nearly a year for refusing his proportion of a general loan, which the king concluded to force. He remained in Parliament till the dissolution in 1628, becoming one of its leading members. In 1634 he refused to pay a tax, unjustly levied, and was prosecuted for non-pay-

ment and was condemned. In the Short Parliament of 1640 he took an active part against the crown. In the Long Parliament, 1647, he was one of the first members the king attempted to seize. During the Civil War he was colonel of a regiment he himself raised and was wounded at Chalgrove Field. He died 1643.

HAMILTON, ALEXANDER: American statesman; born on the island of Nevis, West Indies, in 1757, the son of a Scotch merchant. Entering a counting-house at the age of twelve, his abilities induced his friends to secure for him a college education, and he was graduated at Columbia College, New York. At the age of eighteen he wrote a series of papers on the relation of the colonies to England, which were at first taken for the production of the statesman Jay. On the outbreak of the war he became a captain of artillery, but soon gained the confidence of Washington and became his aide-de-camp and confidant in 1777. In 1780 he married a daughter of General Schuyler, and became one of New York's leading lawyers.

He was a member of the Continental Congress from 1782–83, and of the Convention of 1787. His perspicacity and power of thought were remarkable. One of the most abused as well as one of the most lauded of men, he played a leading part in the early history of this country.

In conjunction with Madison, he had the most important share in drafting the Constitution. He was a strong supporter of the federal policy of developing a strong national government, and, along with Jay and Madison, defended the Constitution against all attacks by a series of letters in the *Daily Advertiser* of New York, afterward collected and published under the title of "The Federalist" (*q. v.*). On the establishment of the new government in 1789, with Washington as president, Hamilton was appointed Secretary of the Treasury. The disorder of the public credit and the deficiency of official accounts of the State treasury rendered this office one of peculiar difficulty. In order to reestablish public credit, he carried, in spite of much opposition, a measure for the funding of the domestic debt, founded a national bank, and rearranged the system of duties. In 1795 he resigned his office and resumed the practise of law in New York. When the war with France broke out in 1798, he was, according to the wish of Washington, made Major-General of the United States Army; and, on the death of Washington, he succeeded to the chief command. When peace was restored, he returned to his civil duties, but became involved in a political quarrel with Aaron Burr. This difference unhappily culminated in a duel, in which Hamilton received a wound of which he died the following day (July 12, 1804). (See Federal Party; Constitution.)

HANFORD, BEN: Socialist; born Cleveland, Ohio, 1859; an active member of the International Typographical Union for twenty-eight years. In 1898 the Socialist Labor Party made him their candidate for governor of New York; in 1900 was candidate of Social Democratic Party for the same office; in 1901 candidate of Social Democratic Party for mayor of New York City; in 1902 its candidate for the governorship again. In 1904 Hanford was its candidate for the vice-presidency. He is a political and revolutionary Socialist, and author of numerous political and industrial pamphlets and leaflets, which have had a circulation of many million copies. *Address*: 2335 Bedford Avenue, Brooklyn, New York.

HARDIE, JAMES KEIR: Labor leader; member of Parliament; born 1856, near Holytown, Lanarkshire, Scotland; had no schooling advantages. At eight years of age he was a doorkeeper in a mine, and worked in the mines until twenty-three, when a difficulty between masters and men having arisen he was chosen leader of the miners. Dismissed and blacklisted, he was elected secretary of a miners' union. In 1882 he joined the editorial staff of *The Cumnock News*. In 1888 he stood as a Socialist for Parliament at Mid-Lanark, but was defeated. He was successful, however, in 1892, in South West Ham, gaining a majority of 1,232. Defeated in the same constituency in 1895, in the 1900 election he contested Preston and Merthyr Tydvil, losing the former and winning the latter by 1,700 votes over a Liberal candidate. In 1906 he was elected the second time for Merthyr Tydvil with 3,000 majority. He founded the Independent Labor Party, established *The Labor Leader* in 1887, and edited the paper until 1904, when it became the official organ of the party, and was definitely taken over as such. In Parliament he has championed the cause of the unemployed, strenuously opposed the South African War, and is a strong advocate of equal rights being granted to women as to men. He is a member of the Fabian Society. He was in February, 1906, elected parliamentary leader of the Labor Party. He is often spoken of as the "Member for the Unemployed." He has written much on social topics and published pamphlets on almost every subject bearing upon working class reform. *Address*: 14 Nevill's Court, E. C., London, England. *Home Address*: Lochnorris, Old Cumnock, Scotland.

HARMONISTS, THE: The name of a religious celibate German community, established at Economy, Pa. The sect was founded in Würtemberg by George Rapp with his son Frederick about 1787, and its adherents are sometimes called Rappists. They believe that the condition of celibacy is most pleasing to God; that the coming of Christ and the renovation of the world are near at hand; that Christ taught a community of goods; that ultimately all mankind will find salvation; but that only those who are celibates, and otherwise conform to what they believe to be the commandments of Jesus, will be at once received into the company of Christ and His companions. The early members were so harassed by petty persecutions that in 1803 they emigrated to Pennsylvania and Maryland. In 1805 they were prosperously established at Harmony, Butler County, Pa., where they remained ten years, but lack of water communication induced them to migrate to New Harmony, Ind., remaining there until 1824, when they sold their land to Robert Owen, the Socialist, and returned to Pennsylvania, establishing themselves at Economy, near Pittsburg. With their accustomed energy they set to work establishing mills, a tannery, a distillery, and other plants, and adding a large hotel to their various industries. They produced silk, wool, and cotton goods, and made a remarkably good wine. Everything was turned into the productive channel, even the vines over the doors bearing fruit. They also "struck oil" on their property, which added largely to their wealth, and they purchased 2,000 acres more.

All this prosperity, which lasted many years, was due to the administrative genius of Father Rapp, his equally able son, and to Father Henrici, long the head of the community. In numbers, however, they declined, due to their celibacy and to the fact that they sought few accessions. As Economy, too, was so near a large manufacturing center many of the members forsook their earlier ideals and took their place in the competitive strife of the city, and the last years of the society's existence were marked by desertions, deaths, and lawsuits. In April, 1903, all the holdings of the Harmony Society, including the town of Economy, were bought by a Pittsburg syndicate. Their wealth at one time was variously estimated from $5,000,000 to $25,000,000.

HARRINGTON, JAMES: Born at Upton, 1611; educated at Oxford University. In 1646 he was a personal attendant to Charles I. when he was imprisoned, and attended him at his execution. In 1656 he published the work he is best known by, "Oceana"—a political allegory, somewhat in imitation of Plato—in which he depicted an ideal republic named Oceana. He was arrested in 1661 on a charge of treason, but was confined without a trial until he finally became insane, and died in 1677. The probable reason of his imprisonment was his avowed republican opinions.

HARRIS, THOMAS LAKE: Born at Fenny Stratford, England, 1823. In 1827 his father came to America and settled at Utica, N. Y. Soon compelled to earn his own living, at seventeen he began to write for newspapers. In 1844 he became a Universalist preacher at Minden, N. Y., and from 1845–47 in New York City. In 1848, having adopted Swedenborgian views, he organized an Independent Christian Society in New York. He afterward lectured in many parts of the union, endeavoring to turn the public interest in spiritualism to what he considered a higher plane of religious thought and life. In 1855 he established the *Herald of Light* to advance his views, and in 1858 visited England and Scotland, where he gained converts. Returning in 1861, he settled in Amenia, N. Y., where friends gathered around him and formed the "Brotherhood of the New Life." The Brotherhood was afterward removed to Brocton, N. Y., where Lady Oliphant and several Japanese of distinction joined the society, and remained many years. The Brotherhood was a school and the friends came as students desirous of a social life higher and more unselfish than the conventional life of civilization. The property was not held in common, but Mr. Harris seemed to hold all power in his hands, creating great hostility, deserved or undeserved. After 1876, however, it was transferred to Santa Rosa, Cal.; it gradually lost almost all its aspects as a community and became simply a prosperous business corporation, carrying on extensive agricultural undertakings, mainly in California wines. Harris died in 1905.

In reply to an inquirer, Harris made the following statement in brief:

The life, system, and action of the society which I represent are so far removed from the lines of the usual thought, that I fear I shall hardly be able to answer your friendly inquiries with the fulness you desire. Personally I am not a communist. . . . I find myself enzoned by a large circle of men and women who have been driven to me by a potent attraction but without any conscious endeavor of my own. My life is devoted to their service, and they constitute the society known as the "Brotherhood of the New Life."

This family passed, years ago, through the communistic phase, in which, however, I did not take part, tho esteeming it a phase in evolution and serving it financially. Without dissension or disunion, its members then passed into a phase of modified socialism, each series constituting a family partnership; and they found that this mode of combined action developed a large force of individual character, as well as a more strict business habit and aptitude, but the spirit was not fully satisfied.

Views

Meanwhile I organized my own affairs amid my friends, and employed all who did not fit or find place elsewhere, treating them as sons, but insisting on paying weekly wages. After a time they found it incompatible with their forming affections to receive money-pay. I then entertained them as guests, brethren, and children in their father's house; and this satisfied them. There is no espionage; honor rules; love is supreme. Gradually the family partnerships have ceased, without a struggle, and all have entered into this order.

We think that generation must cease till the sons and daughters of God are prepared for the higher generation, by evolution into structural, bisexual completeness, above the plane of sin, of disease, or of natural mortality.

Believers in the Divine Immanence, we hold by the "True Light," that lighteth every man who cometh into the world; but we further conclude that the Creative Logos, "God manifested in the flesh," is not male merely, nor female merely, but the two in one. The doctrine of the Divine-Human Two-in-One, in whose individual and social likeness, in whose spiritual and physical likeness, we seek to be reborn, is the pivot of our faith and the directive force of our life.

His principal works are: "Lyric of the Golden Age" (1855); "Arcana of Christianity" (Genesis), (1858); "The Great Republic" (1867); "Wisdom of the Adepts" (1884); "The New Republic" (1894); "The Marriage of Heaven and Earth" (1903). See also Edwin Markham's "Remarkable Pages from Thomas Lake Harris" (1908).

EDWIN MARKHAM.

HARRISON, FREDERIC: Leading English Positivist; born in London, 1831; educated at King's College, London, and at Oxford. He was admitted to the bar in 1858. Member of the Royal Commission of Trade-Unions, 1867–69, and for Digesting the Laws, 1869–70. In 1877 he was appointed Professor of Jurisprudence and International Law by the Council of Legal Education, and remained till 1889. He was alderman and on the London County Council 1889–92. He has deeply interested himself in the English Labor movement, in 1861 writing important letters to the press defending trade-unionism; later getting trade-unions legalized as friendly societies; writing for the *Beehive* from 1861–77, the principal Labor paper of London, etc. He is the chief exponent of the Positivist school, a critic of authority, and a master of English prose. Among his works are: "The Meaning of History" (1862); "Social Statics" (1875); "Order and Progress" (1875); "Oliver Cromwell" (1888); "American Addresses" (1901); "Memories and Thoughts" (1906). *Address*: Elm Hill, Hawkhurst, Kent.

HARTMANN, KONRAD: German civil engineer; born in Nuremberg, Oct. 8, 1853; studied engineering at the technical high school at Munich, later becoming an instructor at industrial and polytechnic institutions in Nuremberg and elsewhere. In 1891 he was appointed a member of the German Reichs-Versicherungsamt, of which he in 1901 became chairman. He is also professor of accident insurance at the Royal Technical high school in Berlin. His activity is directed toward the promotion of mechanical safety devices; and he is director of the perpetual exposition of such contrivances which has been established by the German government. He has

published numerous booklets and papers on safety devices, accident insurance, factory hygiene, accident statistics, etc., etc. *Address*: Kurfürstendamm 100, Berlin-Halensee, Germany.

HASLAM, JAMES: Labor member of Parliament for Chesterfield, Derbyshire. Born 1842, and educated in the village schools. He was a coal miner for twenty-nine years, and the general secretary of the Derbyshire Miners' Association for twenty-five years. He was a member of the Clay Lane School Board, of the Chesterfield Board of Guardians, and of the Chesterfield Borough Council; of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade-Union Congress; a justice of the peace at Chesterfield in 1893. Haslam was elected to Parliament in 1906 chiefly by the miners' votes, assisted by the Liberals. *Address*: 47 Clarence Road, Chesterfield, Derbyshire, England.

HAW, GEORGE: Author; born at Darlington, Durham, England, 1871. In 1889 he went to London as a journalist, and for a time was at Toynbee Hall. He helped to found and was the first warden of the Maurice Hostel, of the Christian Social Union. Mr. Haw is on the staff of the London *Daily News*. He is author of: "No Room to Live: the Story of Overcrowded London"; "To-Day's Work: or Municipal Government the Hope of Democracy"; "Britain's Homes: a Review of the Housing Problem in Town and Country." Editor of two popular books defending Christianity against agnostic attacks; "Religious Doubts of the Democracy"; "Christianity and the Working Classes." *Address*: 34 Linzee Road, Hornsey, N. London, England.

HAWAII TERRITORY: A group of eight inhabited and eleven uninhabited islands annexed in 1898 to the United States by vote of the legislatures of the islands and of Congress. In 1900 the islands were organized under a territorial form of government. The Senate has fifteen members, the House thirty. The legislature meets biennially. The executive is a governor with a secretary, appointed by the President for four years. Other officials are appointed by the governor with the approval of the Hawaiian Senate, and must be citizens of Hawaii. Hawaii is represented in Congress by one delegate, elected biennially by the people.

Total area (including water) 6,449 square miles. The island of Hawaii has 4,210 square miles; Maui, 760; Oahu, 600; Kauai, 590. Population (1900), 154,001 (only 47,632 female). This is an increase of 41 per cent since 1896. Oahu has 58,504; Hawaii, 46,847; Honolulu, the capital of Oahu, has 39,305. Of the total number, 29,787 are Hawaiians (in 1896, 31,019); 7,848 are part Hawaiian; 25,767 Chinese, and 61,111 Japanese. The total white population is 28,533. In 1902–3 there were 12,050 Japanese immigrants. Almost all the natives are Christian, about half Protestant and half Roman Catholic. Education is free, but 33.1 per cent of the population over ten is illiterate. In 1903 there were 144 public schools and 13,793 enrolled pupils.

Exports to countries outside the U. S. (1905), $59,541. Imports from the same, $3,014,969. Merchandise to the U. S. (1905), $36,112,055 ($35,112,127 sugar), and from the U. S., $11,753,180. Sugar and rice are the staple products, but coffee, hides, bananas, wool, and whale oil and bone are also exported.

There are 128 miles of railway; nearly every house in Honolulu has its telephone.

Of those engaged in gainful occupations, 62 per cent are in agriculture, 18 per cent in domestic and personal service, 9 per cent in manufacturing, 7 per cent in trade and transportation. Fifty-two per cent are Japanese, 21 per cent Chinese, 12 per cent Caucasian, 11 per cent Hawaiian. In 1902 the wages of mechanics were $3.80 per day; of unskilled males, seventy-one cents; of unskilled females, forty-five cents.

REFERENCE: *Third Report of the Commissioners of Labor on Hawaii*. Bulletin of the (U. S.) Bureau of Labor, No. 66, September, 1906.

HAYES, JOHN W.: the present General Master Workman of the Knights of Labor; born in Philadelphia, 1854. He never attended school. As a boy Hayes worked as brakeman on the Pennsylvania Railroad. In 1878 he lost his right arm, but took to telegraphy, at which he worked until 1883. He entered the Knights of Labor on the General Executive Board 1884–88; was secretary-treasurer 1888–92; since, General Master Workman. *Address*: 43 B Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

HAYES, MAX S.: American Socialist; born at Havana, O., 1866. Educated in the public schools and became a printer. Aided in establishing *The Cleveland Citizen*, 1890, and its editor since 1897. Populist till 1896, since that time a Socialist. Has been prominent in the Socialist Party and also in trade-unions. *Address*: 193 Champlain Street, Cleveland, O.

HAYWOOD, WILLIAM D.: Secretary of the Western Federation of Miners; tried with Messrs. Moyers and Pettibone in Boisé, Idaho, June–July, 1907, for complicity in the murder of ex-Governor Steunenberg and acquitted. (See WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS.)

HEADLAM, STEWART DUCKWORTH: A ritualistic Church of England clergyman and a Fabian Socialist; born at Wavertree, near Liverpool, in 1847, and educated at Eton, and Trinity College, Cambridge. He was curate of St. John's, Drury Lane, from 1870–73; St. Matthew's, Bethnal Green, 1873–78; St. Thomas's, Charterhouse, 1880–81; St. Michael's, Shoreditch, 1881–84. Mr. Headlam early interested himself in social problems as a priest of the Church of England, and his parochial duties bringing him in contact with girls and actors on the stage, he defended them from what he believed unwarranted condemnation, and came to believe in and study stage dancing as an art. A lecture on this subject gave serious offense to the late Bishop of London, and he refused him a license in his diocese, so that Mr. Headlam has worked under great difficulties. He has been the leading spirit and the real founder of the Church and Stage Guild, and also of the Guild of St. Matthew (*q. v.*), the first society still existing in England to declare for socialism. He was, till its suspension in 1895, the editor of *The Church Reformer*, the organ of the gild. Mr. Headlam is the author of several small but remarkable volumes of sermons and lectures: "Priestcraft and Progress" (1882); "Lessons from the Cross" (1887); "The Laws of Eternal Life" (1888); "Salvation through Christ"; "Christian Socialism" (1888). He has also edited part of Carlo Blesis's work on dancing, under

the title "The Theory of Theatrical Dancing." He has written essays on "The Function of the Stage," "The Ballet," etc. He thus unites the most radical views with a high Anglican Catholicism. He is most popular with the London working men, and has been elected on the London School Board for Hackney, and most actively works as a Fabian Socialist. *Address*: Wavertree, St. Margaret's on Thames.

HEARST, WILLIAM RANDOLPH: American newspaper proprietor and politician; born 1863 in San Francisco; son of a United States Senator; educated in public schools and Harvard University. Editor and proprietor of *Examiner*, San Francisco, since 1886. In 1895 Mr. Hearst came to New York and bought the New York *Journal*, the name of which he changed to the *New York American*, and later founded and acquired the New York *Evening Journal*, and dailies in Boston, Chicago, and Los Angeles; also the *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, *Hearst's Home and American Farm and Motor*. His dailies reach 2,000,000 readers and employ 4,000 persons, besides space writers. They are people's papers, and are often accused of being "yellow journals"—advocating political measures popular with the masses merely to help Mr. Hearst's political ambitions, and to increase the sale of his papers. This motive is strenuously denied by practically all who know Mr. Hearst personally, who urge that his papers take this tone in order to reach the masses, but that Mr. Hearst advocates those measures from a genuine belief in democracy.

Mr. Hearst was elected as a Democrat to the Fifty-eighth and Fifty-ninth Congresses for the Eleventh New York district. In 1905 he was candidate for the mayoralty of New York, and was, in the opinion of almost all, elected, but counted out by 3,000 votes, and unable to secure a recount. In 1906 he was made candidate for the governorship of New York by the Independent League—which he had organized—and was also indorsed by the Democratic Convention, tho many Democrats opposed him. He received 691,105 votes, against 749,002 for Mr. Hughes (Republican).

HEATH, RICHARD: Author; born in Southwark, London, 1831. In 1845 was apprenticed as a wood-engraver. Roused by the French Revolution of 1848 to a serious life, he joined his ancestral church and became interested in the social problem. In 1868 he walked through the country studying the rural situation and gave the result in many articles on rural conditions. In 1884 he published "The English Via Dolorosa; or, History of the Agricultural Laborer," and another book "The English Peasant" in 1893. Mr. Heath would work for a real and complete separation of the Church from the world; for a reorganization of all states on a Social-Democratic basis with ultimate federation; for a Church whose only bond is faith in Christ and in God, and having for its ideal the voluntary communism of the New Testament. He is the author of: "The Early Life and Writings of Edgar Quinet"; "Anabaptism in 1526–1536"; "The Captive City of God," and articles in *Contemporary Review*, etc. *Address*: Trevereux Hill, Limpsfield, Surrey, England.

HEGEL, GEORG WILHELM FRIEDRICH: Philosopher; born at Stuttgart, 1770. He studied at Tübingen with Schelling, and became professor at Jena, Heidelberg, and Berlin, where he died in 1831. His principal works are: "Die Phenomenologie des Geistes" (1807); the "Logik" (1812–1816); an "Encyklopedie der Philosoph. Wissenschaften" (1817); "Philosophie des Rechts" (1821). He early in life turned his attention to social questions, writing (1797) a commentary on Stewart's "Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy." Later he published various small works on the political constitutions of Württemberg and Germany, criticizing them and admiring Napoleon, "that universal genius." Living in the stirring times of the French Revolution, rejecting the idea of the Absolute, and conceiving of everything, even of God, as an eternal process, he thinks of society as developing through the individual, the family, the town, the State, the world, higher and higher unities, each unity, however, realizing and not destroying the lower unity. It is easy to see how he came to be the intellectual father of Marx and of most early German Socialists.

HELD, ADOLF: Political economist, born in Würzburg in 1844. He studied in Würzburg and Munich. In 1867 he became teacher, and in 1872 Professor of Political Economy at Bonn. In 1880 he was called to the university at Berlin, but was drowned on Aug. 25th of the same year. He was prominent as one of the Socialists of The Chair (*q. v.*). Among his best-known works are: "Die Einkommensteuer" (1872); "Die deutsche Arbeiterpresse der Gegenwart" (1873); "Grundriss für Vorlesungen über Nationalökonomie" (1876); "Sozialismus, Sozialdemokratie und Sozialpolitik" (1878).

HELICON HALL: In response to a call published in *The Independent*, New York, a meeting of about 300 people was held in Berkeley Lyceum, New York City, July 17, 1906. The object of the meeting was the establishment of a cooperative home. The Helicon Home Colony was subsequently organized by the persons interested. In October of the same year this organization secured nine acres and a half of land, with the buildings thereon, known as the Helicon Hall property, at Englewood, N. J.

The title to this property was taken by the Home Colony Company, a separate corporation, formed to raise the necessary capital. The company engaged to put the main building (Helicon Hall) in thorough repair and to equip it for use as a residence, and the colony rented the property from the company upon a three-year lease.

The Helicon Home Colony was a membership corporation governed by a board of directors elected for six months by secret ballot. The only conditions to residence in the colony were "congeniality" and freedom from contagious disease. One might reside in the colony indefinitely without becoming a member, but only members had the right to vote. The conditions of membership were one month's residence, election by a four-fifths vote, and the payment of an initiation fee of $25. The constitution of the colony provided for initiative, referendum, and recall of members of the board of directors.

The colony believed that, by means of cooperation, the introduction of system and labor-saving machinery, household labor could be lifted to the rank of a profession and that people could be found to do such labor and, at the same time, be admitted to the colony as members. The ex-

perience of five months at Helicon Hall justified this belief.

The name "Colony" suggests "Brook Farm," "Ruskin," and similar cooperative experiments, but, as a matter of fact, all these colonies were experiments in cooperative production, while the Helicon Hall Colony was an experiment in cooperative distribution.

Helicon Hall was destroyed by a fire originating before daybreak on March 16, 1907. In this fire one life was lost and several persons were seriously but not fatally injured.

UPTON SINCLAIR.

HENDERSON, ARTHUR: English Labor M. P.; born at Glasgow, 1863; and on moving to Newcastle in 1875, apprenticed as a molder to Robert Stephenson & Co. In 1883 he joined the Friendly Society of Ironfounders, and in a short time was made an official. In 1894 was secretary of the North-Eastern Conciliation Board. His municipal work includes labor on the Newcastle City Council, Durham County Council, and Darlington Borough Council. A member of the Wesleyan Church for twenty-five years, he has filled nearly all the lay offices connected therewith. At a by-election in 1893, he was elected to Parliament the first Labor representative independent of the old parties. In 1903 he was Mayor of Darlington. In 1906 he was elected for Barnard Castle, Durham. Not a party Socialist, he is a strong believer in collectivist principles to be developed through the trade-union movement. *Address*: Teesdale, Atherfold Road, Clapham, S. W.

HENDERSON, CHARLES RICHMOND: Sociologist; born 1848, at Covington, Ind.; educated at public schools, (former) University of Chicago, Baptist Union Theological Seminary, Leipsic University. Pastor of churches at Terre Haute and Detroit until 1892, when he became Professor of Sociology at University of Chicago. President National Conference of Charities and Corrections in 1899; of National Prison Association in 1902; of National Children's Home Society. Associate editor of *American Journal of Sociology*. He believes in sociological science as an instrument of coordination of bodies of knowledge which in isolation would be sterile. He is the author of: "Social Elements"; "Introduction to the Study of the Dependent, Defective, and Delinquent Classes"; "Social Spirit in America"; "Social Settlements"; "Modern Methods of Charity," etc. *Address*: University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

HERBERGEN ZUR HEIMATH. See RELIEF STATIONS.

HERBERT, AUBERON EDWARD WILLIAM MOLYNEUX: English reformer; the son of the third earl of Carnarvon, born 1838. He left Oxford for the army, serving eighteen months in India, but returned, and took his degree, and for a year taught at Oxford. He then visited Denmark during the Prussian-Danish War, and the United States during the War of the Rebellion, becoming acquainted in camp with Generals Grant and Meade. His next few years were spent in London aiding working men in clubs. From 1870 to 1874 he was in Parliament for Nottingham. He went to France during the Franco-Prussian War. He left Parliament, coming to believe, with Spencer, that the people needed to reconstruct their own conditions in life and not to depend on politicians. He has thus become an intense individualist, the editor of *Free Life*, the organ of Voluntaryism (*q. v.*), advocating the voluntary state and voluntary taxation. He published "The Right and Wrong of Compulsion by the State" in 1885. *Address*: Old House, Ringwood, Hants.

HEREDITY: The importance of heredity in questions of social reform is large, but cannot be briefly discust, except in the most general terms. Scientific authorities have come as yet to few exact conclusions as to heredity, and even some of its fundamental characteristics are yet in dispute. (For the great Weismann controversy as to whether acquired characteristics can be transmitted to posterity or not, see EVOLUTION.) Of the bearing of this upon social reform, Professor Ely says (*Outlook*, 1893):

> Recent studies of heredity appear also to give less importance to it, on the whole, than earlier ones. It is now frequently asserted by scientists that acquired qualities cannot be transmitted. An English economist says of Weismann, whose essays upon heredity are well known, that he has reopened the case for socialism. What he means is this, socialism lays emphasis almost entirely upon circumstances, and Weismann's investigations have so emphasized the importance of circumstances as opposed to heredity that once more the case for socialism requires discussion before the bar of public opinion.

In a recent letter Mr. C. Loring Brace, secretary of the Children's Aid Society of New York, said:

> So far as we can judge, inheritance does not figure in the problem. . . . This society has placed 84,000 children in homes since it began this work forty years ago, and it is our experience that no matter what the parents may be, if the child is taken away at an age so early that it has not yet understood the wickedness about, if placed in a country home with kind and judicious adopted parents, it is almost certain to do well. . . . But if the child is not transplanted early enough, then there are the bad examples, bad habits, and knowledge of evil ways to contend against.
>
> The last word of the scientists is in accord with the words of these practical scientists. The theory of heredity now held by Wallace, who shares with Darwin the credit of the hypothesis of natural selection, and by Weismann and the most eminent authorities, is that acquired characteristics of the parent do not pass to the child by inheritance.

A large majority of physicians also testify that most babies are born healthy, but early develop disease from improper care.

Dr. H. D. Chapin, in the *Forum* (March, 1894), gives the results of his studies:

> Dr. Chapin is a physician to the New York Post-Graduate Hospital, and has made a record of 600 cases that came under his care. His object was to determine how far the diseases of very little children were occasioned by heredity and how far by the conditions in which they lived. Most of the children were under two years of age, and nearly half under one year. At the time of birth, 508 of them were reported to have been in good condition, and only 20 were reported to have been in bad condition. In 12 cases the report was "only fair," and in the remaining cases there was no report. The children as a whole, therefore, seem to have started life well. What, then, had been their environment? It was found that in 106 cases the mothers were the sole breadearners, and that in 88 cases the fathers were out of work when the children came to the hospital. Besides these there were 176 cases in which the mothers as well as the fathers were obliged to work. The results of this were very striking. "Two hundred and fifty-seven of the cases," says Dr. Chapin, "were deprived of maternal nourishment before the proper time, and 101 of the babies never received it at all. The usual reason was that the mothers were obliged to go out to work and remain away for too long intervals to care properly for their infants. As a direct result, a large number develop rickets, which is usually accompanied by a softening of the bones, together with great irritation of the nervous system. Almost all these diseases could have been prevented by proper diet and care, and yet when brought to the hospital they were frequently so far advanced as to result either in

death or in a more or less permanent crippling of a healthy life."

The result of this view upon social reform is thus summed up by Alex. MacKendrick (*Westminster Review*, 162, Aug., 1904):

The lesson for the social reformer which seems to grow out of these considerations is that we may cease attempting to control the hereditary or transmissible forces at the back of human life, as they lie far more deeply and are far more subtly interfused with the primal law of things than we have imagined. We cannot "deal with existing heredity for the benefit of future heredities," as one writer has hoped. We cannot educate the race by educating its present representatives. We cannot moralize the next and unborn generation by the simple process of moralizing the present one. But what we can do, or could do if we would, is to prepare such an environment for the reception of the next generation as will mold it after a different shape—an environment in which the natural and beneficent force of parental affection will find room to realize itself, and in which the bitterness and despoil engendered by poverty and struggle will be eliminated.

Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that *unacquired* characteristics are transmitted, and that this heredity plays a very large part in life. W. Duncan McKim says ("Heredity and Human Progress," p. 120, 1900):

Heredity (in the broadest sense including transmitted specific tendency and deficient vitality) is the fundamental cause of human wretchedness. He quotes G. A. Dorsey as saying (*Science*, New Series, vi., 119, 1897): "Every human child at birth is endowed with the heritage transmitted from innumerable ancestors, and is already rich with impersonal experiences from its prenatal life. . . . These combined decide the individual's race and strain, and potentially incline, if they do not absolutely coerce, his tastes and ambitions, his fears and hopes, his failure or success." Prof. Angelo Messo is quoted as saying (Eng. trans. by E. Lough and F. Kieson, 1896): "Destiny loads each of us with a fatal inheritance. . . . We feel the breath, the advice, the experience of all men, from those who lived on acorns and struggled with the wild beasts, dying naked in the forest, down to the virtue and evil of our father, or the fear and love of our mother."

For a classic example of the influence of heredity, see JUKES. The well-known similarity of generation after generation of certain families, as in the English aristocracy, is well known, and tho this can be in part accounted for by each generation having much the same environment, instances of similarities between ancestors and descendants are found in every-day life, which environment will hardly account for. Only gradually is science, however, becoming able to accurately measure this influence. Francis Galton first attempted any general law. According to him the two parents contribute in general each one half, the four grandparents in general each one fourth, the eight great-grandparents one eighth, in heredity; in general the influence in heredity of any ancestral generation, he says, is inversely proportioned to the total number of individuals comprized in that generation. Recent investigators and writers, like Pierrson in England, DeVries in Holland, Cowens in Germany, Tschermak in Austria, Spellman in America, have made each some new progress in the investigation, but all witnessing to the fact and potency of heredity. But perhaps more than all has Mendel, working alone in his Augustan monastery at Brunn, Austria, contributed to the knowledge of the subject with his investigation of the transmission of dominant characteristics.

REFERENCE: See the works and authors quoted or named in this article. (See also EVOLUTION.)

HERRON, GEORGE DAVIS: Socialist lecturer; born, 1862, Montezuma, Md.; educated Ripon College, Wisconsin. Entering the Congregational ministry, he held pastorates at Lake City, Minn., and Burlington, Ia. (1891–93). Becoming interested in social questions he wrote (1891), "The Message of Jesus to Men of Wealth," which at once aroused wide-spread interest, and led to his forming a social crusade by lecturing and preaching in the churches through all parts of the country. Passionate utterance and brilliant thought brought large and rapt audiences. In 1893 he was chosen to the Chair of Applied Christianity of Iowa College, Grinnell, endowed by Mrs. Rand. His views at this time were those of a radical and intense Christian Socialism, but as they continually grew more radical and extreme, great opposition was developed in religious circles culminating, in 1901, owing to Dr. Herron's separation from his wife and marriage to Miss Rand. Dr. Herron was deposed from the ministry, he, however, having already resigned his chair (1900) and renounced belief in Christianity as a distinctive religion. Dr. Herron has since worked only with the Socialist Party as lecturer and writer, recently residing for the most part in Italy. His main works are: "The Larger Christ" (1891); "The Call of the Cross" (1892); "The New Redemption" (1893); "The Christian Society" (1894); "The Christian State" (1895); "Between Cæsar and Jesus" (1899).

HERTZEN, ALEXANDER: Born in Moscow, Russia, in 1812. Shortly after completing his education he was imprisoned for his outspoken views and banished to Viatka and Vladimir. On his return he devoted himself to literature, and in 1842 his "Dilettantism *vs.* Naukie" attracted attention. In the same year, for criticizing the police, he was ordered to live in Novgorod. In 1847 he obtained permission to travel, and in 1851 set up in London a *Free Russian Press* to attack the government and issue works forbidden in Russia, notably *Kólokol* (*The Bell*), started in 1857. Thousands of copies were smuggled into Russia and read by all, from the emperor to the peasants. After sympathizing with the Poles in their insurrection of 1863, he transferred the *Kólokol* to Geneva, where it had an obscure existence till about a year before Hertzen's death in Paris in 1870. He was romantic and skeptical, eloquent and satirical. He wrote various books and stories, his complete works being published in Basle in 1875.

HERTZKA, THEODORE: Economist; born in Budapest in 1845, and studied in Vienna. In 1872 he was editor of the *Neue Freie Presse*; in 1880 superintendent of the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*. The same year he brought out his "Die Gesetze der Handelspolitik" ("Laws of Trade"), from the standpoint of the orthodox economy, which, however, he wholly gave up six years later in his "Die Gesetze der Sozialen Entwickelung" ("Laws of Social Evolution"). A still further advance is made in his utopia of "Freiland" (1890), in which he pictures a colony in equatorial Africa on the principles of communism. At the end of this volume he called for the creation of such a colony, and met with a large response. A central committee was organized, and in 1893 a start actually made. At the last, however, the difficulties were too great, and the plan failed.

HERZENSTEIN, MICHAEL YAKOVLEVITCH: Russian Duma leader; 1859–1906. Representative (Constitutional Democrat) from Moscow; of Jewish extraction. Graduate of the law

school of the Novorossiysk University (1881). Educated at the Heidelberg and Berlin Universities; adjunct professor of the Moscow University (1903). Professor of Political Economy of the Moscow Agronomical Institute (1904); chairman of the Moscow Municipal Council and Financial Committee. Member of the Moscow Province Zemstvo Society. Author of a series of works on economics.

HEYDEN, COUNT PETER ALEXANDROVICH: A Russian leader in the Duma; born 1846. Representative (Moderate) of the Pskov Province; leader of the Opochetz nobility. Graduate of the Mikhaeloff Artillery Academy. Ex-chairman of Free Economic Society. Member of the Zemstvo and City Deputation to Nicholas in 1905. An active member and chairman of all the large Zemstvo conferences.

HIGGINS, HON. HENRY BOURNES, K.C.: Member of the Australian Parliament for Northern Melbourne, Victoria; born at Newtownards, Ireland; educated at St. Stephen's Green College, Dublin, University of Melbourne (M.A.) (LL.B.). Scholar in languages and logic, history, political economy. Elected to legislature for Geelong in 1894–1901; 1897, he was member of the convention which framed the Commonwealth Constitution, and was returned to first House of Representatives for Northern Melbourne, 1901. Higgins was attorney-general of the Commonwealth in Watson ministry, 1904, and chairman of the Royal Commission for reform of legal procedure (1897–1899), and member of University Council. He founded a scholarship for poetry at Melbourne University. *Address*: 1 Selborne Chambers, Melbourne.

HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENTWORTH: Born in Cambridge in 1823; graduated from Harvard in 1841. Settled as pastor of the First Church in Newburyport, but, dismissed in 1847 because of his antislavery preaching, he organized the Free Church in Worcester, where he remained nearly six years, an enthusiastic worker against slavery and the intimate friend of Garrison and Phillips. He enlisted in the war in 1862, and served till seriously wounded in 1864. He was appointed colonel of the first regiment of colored troops enlisted in South Carolina. His great work, however, has been as essayist, author, poet, lecturer, and novelist. Some of his best writings have been his short essays contributed to *Harper's Bazar*. His lecture, "The Aristocracy of the Dollar," gave him a national reputation. His devotion to the cause of humanity led him to especially espouse the cause of the slave, and since then of woman emancipation from intellectual and political subjection. He was one of the first interested in Nationalism, and has even been called a Socialist, tho not committed to all its views. Living in Cambridge, Mass., he is prominent in public affairs and reform movements. *Address*: 29 Buckingham Street, Cambridge, Mass.

HIGH LICENSE: May be regarded as a license to sell liquors at what is regarded high rates, and intended thereby to reduce the number and improve the character of the places licensed.

In the early days of the temperance movement action was limited to "total abstinence for the individual and prohibition for the State."

The large city is the crux of the liquor problem, not only because of its size, but also because of the heterogeneous character of its population, the crowded condition of its tenements, and the lack of space which in so many cases prevents the observance of the ordinary decencies of life.

In 1883 I made the following statement from official sources:

CITY OF NEW YORK

Liquor sellers	10,075
Food sellers	7,197
Excess of former over latter	2,878
Arrests for crime during the year	67,135
Arrests for intoxication and disorderly conduct	42,612

or 63.5 per cent of the whole.

Prohibition and restriction were the two possible remedial measures by law. In a city with so vast and heterogeneous a population the first remedy was promptly recognized as the dream of an enthusiast; the latter meant high license.

The High License Law of Nebraska was passed in 1881, and fixt the annual fees at $500 for saloons in towns of less than 10,000 population, and $1,000 for those containing more than 10,000 inhabitants.

In 1883 the Harper Law of Illinois fixt the minimum rate for the sale of malt liquors only at $150 and $500 for all kinds of liquors.

In the same year the Downing Law of Missouri fixt a minimum rate of $550, and a maximum of $1,000.

In Massachusetts the minimum license rate for the ordinary saloon selling all kinds of liquors on and off the premises is $1,300.

In Minnesota $500 for towns and $1,000 for cities.

In Greater New York, under the old law, 1896, the number of liquor licenses granted were 15,357; under the new High License Law of 1903, the number was reduced to 12,827.

There is now an effective Excise Department for the State of New York located at Albany, and of which the Hon. Maynard N. Clement is the chief officer.

From the report of 1904 we quote the following points:

"When the liquor tax law (high license) took effect, March 23, 1896, there were 33,437 licenses granted in the state. On Jan. 10, 1902, the number of liquor-tax certificates in force in the state was 26,436, a reduction of over 7,000, or more than 20 per cent, in the number of places authorized to sell liquor.

"According to the reports of the State Commission of Prisons, the number of commitments for drunkenness has fallen from 53,200 in 1897, to 33,203 in 1901, a reduction of nearly 40 per cent.

"From the same authoritative source it appears that the number of criminals confined in the state prisons in 1890 was 3,508, increasing until 1895, when it reached 3,721, but diminishing through the years since the passage of the Liquor Tax Law to 3,375 in 1900.

"The total population of the state jails, penitentiaries, reformatories, and state prisons in 1896 numbered 12,661, but in 1900 it had fallen to 10,761.

"During the period from 1890 to 1900 the population of the state has increased from 5,997,853 to 7,268,012, being 1,270,159 persons, or 21.2 per cent.

"Reasoning from analogy, it was to be expected

that the criminal statistics would steadily increase during the whole decade, in line with the increase of population, even as they did during the first five years, but some great restraining and corrective force has made itself felt during the last half of the period, producing the surprisingly improved results. That restraining and corrective force has been high license."

ROBERT GRAHAM.

HILDEBRAND, BRUNO: Economist; born at Naumburg, Prussia, in 1812. Studying philosophy, he was implicated in the affair of the *Burschenschaften* (corporations of students suspected of liberalism); he succeeded, however, in being appointed Professor Extraordinary in the University of Breslau, then at Marburg (1841), where he published some years later (1848) the first volume of "Die Nationalökonomie der Gegenwart und Zukunft." He was the same year chosen deputy from Marburg to the National Assembly at Frankfort, and his attitude was so hostile to the government that he was exiled to Switzerland. At Zurich he was appointed Professor of Political Economy. He had already created at Marburg a bank for widows (*Wittwen casse*); and he founded at Berne the savings and loan bank. After he left Zurich (1861) he occupied the chair at Jena (1862), and in 1862 founded the "Jahrbücher für National Œconomie und Statistik." After 1873 he edited this journal in connection with Conrad, his son-in-law. He died at Jena, Jan. 29, 1878, a leader in the historical school (*q. v.*).

HILL, OCTAVIA (MISS): Philanthropist; born in England; educated at home. Early became interested in social and charitable work in London; in 1864 she first took charge of the management of homes for the people. She collects rent for the owners of houses and tenements all over the city, and uses her work as an opportunity for aiding those from whom the rent is collected in cleansing and bettering their tenements and in improving the whole environment of their lives. Begun as an experiment, the scheme has grown until now Miss Hill and her assistants have the care of between five and six thousand dwellings. Miss Hill has been connected with many of the societies which are working for a greater and a better London almost from their commencement. Among them, the Charity Organization Society, The Commons Preservation Society, Kyrle Society, Women's University Settlement, and the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest and Natural Beauty. She is the author of "Homes of the London Poor," "Our Common Land," and various articles published in magazines. *Address*: 190 Marylebone Road, N. W., London.

HILL, SIR ROWLAND: Father of cheap postage; born Kidderminster, 1795. After his own education taught in his father's school till 1833, then joined the association for establishing the colony of South Australia on Mr. Wakefield's scheme of colonization (see AUSTRALIA), and became secretary to the Royal Commission on the colony. In 1837 he published his famous pamphlet advocating cheap and uniform postage. In 1840 a uniform rate of 4d. per letter was adopted, soon after reduced to 1d. Mr. Hill was placed in the treasury to work out his plan, but was soon dismissed by a Tory government which came into power. In 1846, however, the Whigs returned to power, and Mr. Hill was made secretary to the postmaster, and in 1854 secretary to the post-office, an appointment he held till failing health compelled him to resign in 1864. He died in 1879.

HIRSCH, JENNY: German author and reformer; advocate of woman's advancement; born at Zerbst, 1829. She wrote in Berlin (1860-64) under the name of J. N. Heynrichs. In 1865 she was a member of the Woman's Congress at Leipzig, and since then has written, besides many tales, numerous works on woman's advance. She died in 1902.

HIRSCH, MAURICE, BARON DE: Austrian Jewish financier and philanthropist; born at Munich, 1831. He inherited his father's fortune (1869) and became associated with the banking firm of Bischoffsheim & Goldsmid, Brussels. Making large profits by building railways in Rumania and Turkey, his fortune was estimated at $200,000,000. He gave about $100,000,000 during his life mainly to Jewish charities, and the Baroness $15,000,000 more at her death (1899). He gave not less than $50,000,000 to establish Jewish colonies in Argentina and $2,500,000, increased by his wife to $3,700,000, to educate and Americanize Russian and Rumanian Jews. He died April 21, 1896.

HIRSCH, MAX: German economist and reformer; born 1832, at Halberstadt, in Prussian Saxony. Studied political economy and jurisprudence at Tübingen, Heidelberg, and Berlin, and traveled extensively in France, England, and North Africa. He has since devoted himself to organizing trade-unions in Germany and in societies in the interests of the working classes. He was elected several times to the Reichstag.

HISTORICAL SCHOOL: A school of political economists which arose in Germany, in reaction from the theorizing of the English school of *laissez-faire* as developed in Ricardo and his followers. Most economists rightly object to being classed in this or any other "school," preferring to be catholic in their views and unfettered by designation of belonging to any school. Yet this school has many sympathizers. The school is in the main inductive, where the Ricardian economy is deductive. It owes its rise very largely to the influence of Comte and the Positivists.

Roscher, Bruno, Hildebrand, and Karl Knies may be said to be its four German founders. (See their names.) The school has always had a marked leaning toward State socialism in reaction from individualism. Says Professor Ingram ("History of Political Economy," p. 207):

> The historical method has exhibited its essential features more fully in the hands of the younger generation of scientific economists in Germany, among whom may be reckoned Lujo Brentano, Adolf Held, Erwin Nasse, Gustav Schmoller, H. Rösler, Albert Schäffle, Hans von Scheel, Gustav Schönberg, and Adolf Wagner. Besides the general principle of an historical treatment of the science, the leading ideas which have been most strongly insisted on by this school are the following: I. The necessity of accentuating the moral element in economic study. This consideration has been urged with special emphasis by Schmoller in his "Grundfragen" (1875) and by Schäffle in his "Das gesellschaftliche System der menschlichen Wirthschaft" (3d ed., 1873).
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> The two other ideas which Professor Ingram considers prominent in the historical school are a close relation between economics and jurisprudence, and the conception of the State as the organ of the nation for any end that may seem desirable, a view lending itself very easily to State socialism.

HOBBES, THOMAS: Born at Malmesbury, 1588, the son of a clergyman, he went to Oxford at the age of fifteen. He became tutor in the family of the Earl of Devonshire, and acquainted with Bacon, Raleigh, Ben Jonson, and other distinguished men. It was not till he had reached the age of forty that he published, in 1628, his first work, a translation of "Thucydides."

His first original work was "Elementa Philosophica de Cive" (1642). In 1651 he published the "Leviathan," the fullest and perhaps the best-known exposition of his views on mind, politics, morals, and religion.

A friend to royalty, his views were condemned by Parliament in 1666, and he was in danger of still severer measures. His last works were a translation of Homer and a history of the civil wars. He died Dec. 4, 1679.

HOBSON, JOHN ATKINSON: Economist; University extension lecturer; born 1858, at Derby, England; educated at Lincoln College, Oxford. From 1880 to 1887 he was classical master at Faversham and Exeter, and from 1887 to 1897 Lecturer on English Literature and Economics for the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching, and the Oxford University Delegacy. Hobson is a Fabian Socialist. One of the founders and editors of *The Progressive Review*; a frequent contributor to *The Contemporary* and *Westminster* and other reviews. He has written: "Problems of Poverty"; "The Evolution of Modern Capitalism"; "The Problem of the Unemployed"; "John Ruskin, Social Reformer"; "The Economics of Distribution"; "International Trade"; "The Social Problem," etc. He is coauthor with A. F. Mummery of "The Physiology of Industry." *Address*: Elmstead, Limpsfield, Surrey, England.

HODGE, JOHN: English Labor member of Parliament; born 1855, Muirkirk, Ayrshire, Scotland; educated at the Hutchesontown Grammar School, Glasgow. He took an early interest in labor matters, and in 1886 became secretary of the Steel Smelters' Association. To his efforts are due the success and progress of the Association. In 1892 he was president of the Glasgow Trades Council, also president of the Trades Union Congress. In 1898 he was elected to Manchester City Council. He has written many pamphlets and articles. He was elected to Parliament as member for Gorton (Lancashire) in 1906. *Address*: Ormond Mansions, Great Ormond Street, London, W. C.

HOLLAND. See NETHERLANDS.

HOLLAND, CANON HENRY SCOTT: Canon of St. Paul's, London, and chairman of the London Christian Social Union; born in Ledbury, Herefordshire, England, in 1847, and educated at Eton and at Balliol College, Oxford. After some years of residence at Oxford as student of Christ Church, he became canon of Truro (1882), and of St. Paul's, London (1884). He is one of the leaders in the Anglican Church. Besides his notable share in "Lux Mundi," he has written many books, such as "In Behalf of Belief" and "The City of God." He was principal founder of the Christian Social Union (*q. v.*) in 1889, and is chairman of the energetic London branch of the union, and editor. He is in politics and reform an outspoken leader in Anglican Christian Socialism.

HOLLANDER, JACOB H.: Economist; born Baltimore, 1871; graduate of Johns Hopkins University, 1891. He was appointed associate professor of finance and held the position till 1900, when he became associate professor in political economy, 1901–4, and professor in 1904. He is head of the political economy department of the university. In 1897 Hollander was secretary of the Bimetallic Conference abroad. Appointed by President McKinley treasurer of Porto Rico 1900–1901, he organized the revenue system ("Hollander Law"). He investigated the finances of San Domingo for President Roosevelt, 1905, and was special agent of the State Department 1906–7. Author of various economic studies on finance and taxation. *Address*: 335 Dolphin Street, Baltimore.

HOLST, HENRIETTE ROLAND: Author; Socialist; born, 1869, at Noordwyk, Holland; first work published in 1895; joined Social Democratic Labor Party in 1897, and has worked devotedly in the propagation of the principles and ideals of Socialism. Mrs. Holst stands for "orthodox, uncompromising Marxism, understood not only as a political opinion, but a general philosophy." She is the author of "Capital and Labor in Holland," "The General Strike and Social Democracy," "Sonnets," "Poems," etc. *Address*: Laren, Holland.

HOLYOAKE, GEORGE JACOB: Historian of cooperation; born in Birmingham, England, in 1817. The son of an iron-worker, he was educated in the Mechanics' Institute and taught mathematics. In 1837 he heard Robert Owen, and became one of his "social missionaries" stationed at Sheffield. In 1841, in lecturing at Cheltenham, he gave a novel turn to a Bible passage, and was imprisoned six months for blasphemy. He was sometimes called the father of secularism, being neither theistic nor atheistic. For several years he edited *The New Moral World*, and then for fifteen years *The Reasoner*. To abolish "the taxes on knowledge" he printed an unstamped newspaper till his fines amounted to £600,000. Becoming interested in cooperation, he identified himself with the cause, and published "The History of Cooperation in Rochdale," which is said to have led to the formation of 250 cooperative societies. His "History of Cooperation in England" (2 vols.) appeared in 1875–1878; "The Rochdale Pioneer" in 1882. Besides these he has written numerous tracts and papers and innumerable newspaper articles on cooperation and on secularism. His life is told in "Sixty Years of an Agitator's Life" (1892). Died 1906.

HOME COLONY: Home, Wash., "the only anarchist colony." In 1896 three families moved from a disrupted Socialist colony at Glannis, Wash., and without any plan of organization bought adjacent land and commenced a more or less communal life. Other families came and, in 1898, a landholding association was formed. It had as its only rules that no more than two acres per individual should be allowed any person or family, that the title should be held by the association simply to prevent the land being sold in larger quantities, but that the association should

sell, without any other restriction, the use and occupation of the land (including the right of resale), and should sell this for just what the land cost. Beyond this the association does nothing and there is no community, government, authority, or law, except that the association pays the taxes and distributes them according to the landholding and conducts a school under the state law. All improvements are made by the voluntary contribution of those who desire them. A store is also conducted by voluntary cooperation. People are free to marry or to practise "free love," and the views of the community are said to be about equally divided on this subject. There is no law as to saloons or crime, tho there is no saloon and little drinking or evil of any kind. The community has steadily grown and (1907) numbers about 150 persons. At first much criticized, their quiet life has made almost all in the neighborhood friendly to them. Agriculture is the main occupation, though there is carpentry, blacksmithing, and logging. Dissensions arise, but each family is so independent that these differences do not seem to last and the community seems after ten years to be growing in stability. Voluntary cooperation is encouraged. Meetings are held Sundays for ethical, economic, or other addresses and discussions. A little paper is published, *The Demonstrator*. *Address*: Home, Lakebay P. O., Washington.

HOME RULE. See Irish Home Rule.

HOMES, OWNERSHIP OF (for other countries, see Land): In the United States only are there official statistics available on a large scale as to the ownership of homes. (See also Housing Question; Overcrowding; Tenements.)

Ownership of Homes in the U. S., 1890 and 1900

(All these statistics are from the census, 1900)

Kind of Family	Number of families	Per Cent of Families Having Homes—		
		Owned		Hired
		Free	Mortgaged	
1900				
All families	16,187,715	31.8	14.7	53.5
Farm families	5,698,901	44.4	20.0	35.6
Other families	10,488,814	23.4	12.9	63.7
1890				
All families	12,690,152	34.4	13.4	52.2
Farm families	4,767,179	47.3	18.6	34.1
Other families	7,922,973	26.7	10.2	63.1

A "family," according to the census, is any "group of individuals who occupy jointly a dwelling-place or part of a dwelling-place or for any individual living alone in any place of abode." A "family" may include all the occupants and employees of a hotel, cabin, tent, factory, or stable, if they habitually sleep there.

The totals for the 160 cities of continental U. S. having at least 25,000 inhabitants are as follows: Families having home, owned, total, 1,027,256; free, 561,664; mortgaged, 435,233; unknown, 30,359. Families having home, hired, 2,970,107; tenure unknown, 139,916. Per cent of families having home, owned, total, 25.7; free, 14.5; mortgaged, 11.2. Per cent of families having home, hired, 74.3.

Ownership of Homes in Representative Cities, 1900

City	Per Cent of Families Having Homes—			
	Owned			Hired
	Total	Free	Mortgaged	
Atlanta, Ga.	18.6	13.5	5.1	81.4
Baltimore, Md.	27.9	20.5	7.4	72.1
Boston, Mass.	18.9	9.2	9.7	81.1
Buffalo, N. Y.	32.9	15.8	17.1	67.1
Butte, Mont.	29.3	21.3	8.0	70.7
Chicago, Ill.	25.1	11.9	13.2	74.9
Cincinnati, Ohio.	20.9	13.9	7.0	79.1
Cleveland, Ohio.	37.4	21.3	16.1	62.6
Columbus, Ohio.	31.2	18.1	13.1	68.8
Dallas, Tex.	33.2	26.7	6.5	66.8
Denver, Col.	28.0	17.3	10.7	72.0
Des Moines, Iowa.	38.5	22.1	16.4	61.5
Detroit, Mich.	39.1	22.5	16.6	60.9
Fall River, Mass.	18.0	7.4	10.6	82.0
Hartford, Conn.	21.8	7.1	14.7	78.2
Holyoke, Mass.	19.4	7.2	12.2	80.6
Indianapolis, Ind.	33.7	18.1	15.6	66.3
Jersey City, N. J.	20.0	11.0	9.0	80.0
Kansas City, Kan.	33.7	22.5	11.2	66.3
Kansas City, Mo.	24.2	13.2	11.0	75.8
Los Angeles, Cal.	44.1	27.1	17.0	55.9
Louisville, Ky.	26.4	20.0	6.4	73.6
Lowell, Mass.	22.9	13.1	9.8	77.1
Newark, N. J.	21.1	8.5	12.6	78.9
New Haven, Conn.	26.6	10.7	15.9	73.4
New Orleans, La.	22.2	19.1	3.1	77.8
New York, N. Y.	12.1	5.1	7.0	87.9
Manhattan and Bronx boroughs	5.9	2.3	3.6	94.1
Brooklyn borough	18.0	7.5	10.5	82.0
Queens borough	36.4	15.9	20.5	63.6
Richmond borough	36.7	20.5	16.2	63.3
Norfolk, Va.	17.0	13.6	3.4	83.0
Philadelphia, Pa.	22.1	12.1	10.0	77.9
Pittsburg, Pa.	27.2	15.2	12.0	72.8
Portland, Me.	32.2	23.8	8.4	67.8
Portland, Ore.	31.4	21.8	9.6	68.6
Providence, R. I.	21.0	11.0	10.0	79.0
St. Louis, Mo.	22.8	14.2	8.6	77.2
St. Paul, Minn.	29.9	19.8	10.1	70.1
Salem, Mass.	29.6	18.0	11.6	70.4
Salt Lake City, Utah.	40.0	29.1	10.9	60.0
San Antonio, Tex.	38.0	33.2	4.8	62.0
San Francisco, Cal.	24.1	16.0	8.1	75.9
Washington, D. C.	24.2	16.1	8.1	75.8
Worcester, Mass.	24.9	8.7	16.2	75.1

In 1900 only 46.5 per cent of the families, or less than one half of the families of our country, owned their own homes; only 32 per cent, less than one third, owned unmortgaged homes. From 1890 to 1900, the number of families owning their own homes, free or mortgaged, fell from 47.8 to 46.5 per cent. Of farm families, in 1900, 64.4 per cent owned a home and only 44.4 per cent an unmortgaged home. The number of families owning farms free or mortgaged fell from 65.9 in 1890 to 64.4 in 1900, and those owing unmortgaged farms fell from 47.3 in 1890 to 31.8 in 1900. Other homes free or mortgaged fell from 36.9 in 1890 to 36.3 in 1900; unmortgaged homes other than farms, fell from 26.7 to 23.4 per cent. From 1890 to 1900 farm tenants increased from 34.1 to 35.6. Other tenants increased from 63.1 to 63.7.

These statistics, however, must not be pressed. A mortgage on a home often means a family of immigrants who buy a home but put a temporary mortgage on it till they can pay it off. Or it may mean a newly married couple; or in a hundred ways may mean the gaining and not the losing of a home.

TENURE OF FARMS BY DIVISION

STATE OR TERRITORY	PER CENT OF FARMS OPERATED BY—								
	Owners			Cash tenants			Share tenants		
	1900	1890	1880	1900	1890	1880	1900	1890	1880
United States	64.7	71.6	74.5	13.1	10.0	8.0	22.2	18.4	17.5
Continental United States	64.7	71.6	74.5	13.1	10.0	8.0	22.2	18.4	17.5
North Atlantic Division	79.2	81.6	84.0	9.8	7.9	7.0	11.0	10.5	9.0
South Atlantic Division	55.8	61.5	63.9	17.9	12.8	11.6	26.3	25.7	24.5
North Central Division	72.1	76.6	79.5	9.5	7.7	5.2	18.4	15.7	15.3
South Central Division	51.4	61.5	63.8	17.3	14.0	11.8	31.3	24.5	24.4
Western Division	83.4	87.9	86.0	7.7	5.0	5.5	8.9	7.1	8.5

TENURE BY RACE

RACE OF HEAD	Per cent of total private families having homes—				Per cent of private farm families having homes—				Per cent of other private families having homes—			
	Owned			Hired	Owned			Hired	Owned			Hired
	Total	Free	Mortgaged		Total	Free	Mortgaged		Total	Free	Mortgaged	
Total	46.7	32.0	14.7	53.3	64.4	44.4	20.0	35.6	36.5	24.8	11.7	63.5
White	49.7	33.8	15.9	50.3	70.3	48.2	22.1	29.7	38.3	25.8	12.5	61.7
Negro	21.8	16.2	5.6	78.2	25.3	18.3	7.0	74.7	19.0	14.5	4.5	81.0
Indian	91.4	88.2	3.2	8.6	95.6	90.2	5.4	4.4	86.6	86.0	0.6	13.4
Mongolian	8.6	8.0	0.6	91.4	8.8	6.3	2.5	91.2	8.5	8.0	0.5	91.5
White—												
Native	51.1	35.7	15.4	48.9	68.2	48.1	20.1	31.8	39.1	27.0	12.1	60.9
Foreign-born	46.1	28.7	17.4	53.9	81.2	48.4	32.8	18.8	36.7	23.5	13.2	63.3
Total	46.7	32.0	14.7	53.3	64.4	44.4	20.0	35.6	36.5	24.8	11.7	63.5

OWNERSHIP OF HOMES IN CERTAIN WARDS

CITY AND WARD	Total homes	Owned			Hired	Unknown
		Free	Encumbered	Unknown		
San Francisco	67,592	10,186	5,139	449	49,656	2,162
Assembly District 28	2,059	148	37	.....	1,846	28
Assembly District 29	2,498	151	55	.....	2,268	24
Assembly District 43	3,900	123	39	7	3,617	114
Denver	29,979	5,000	3,114	155	21,215	495
Ward 4	2,232	211	69	12	1,911	29
Ward 6	2,830	550	286	13	1,914	67
Chicago	354,036	39,246	43,735	3,454	258,582	9,019
Ward 18	3,432	66	13	20	3,051	282
Ward 19	9,807	619	319	160	8,519	190
Ward 20	6,514	701	564	77	5,092	80
New Orleans	60,796	10,634	1,698	554	45,129	2,781
Ward 3	6,991	786	133	124	5,492	384
Ward 5	5,150	624	90	33	4,152	251
Baltimore	104,146	19,286	6,960	743	69,761	7,396
Ward 3	4,504	480	205	29	3,294	496
Ward 4	4,771	556	234	43	3,369	569
Boston	114,705	9,944	10,395	357	89,083	4,926
Ward 6	5,635	3,149	136	5	5,138	207
Ward 8	4,801	120	169	19	4,247	246
Ward 18	4,985	192	199	2	4,463	129
Detroit	59,836	12,378	9,172	990	35,178	2,118
Ward 3	3,640	661	332	61	2,376	210
Ward 4	3,516	570	316	23	2,420	187
St. Louis	121,123	16,097	9,699	1,008	90,983	3,336
Ward 3	5,084	240	45	76	4,610	113
Ward 7	5,335	431	131	18	4,681	74

OWNERSHIP OF HOMES IN CERTAIN WARDS.—*Continued*

CITY AND WARD	Total homes	OWNED			Hired	Unknown
		Free	Encumbered	Unknown		
NEW YORK CITY:						
Brooklyn Borough	252,519	18,611	25,763	586	205,154	2,405
Ward 16	12,630	402	558	16	11,593	61
Ward 28	18,119	648	2,366	29	15,001	75
Manhattan Borough	383,726	6,305	9,056	955	352,116	15,294
Assembly District 8	14,042	14	42	6	13,648	332
Assembly District 10	14,568	113	135	12	13,913	395
Assembly District 21	20,742	307	862	77	18,676	820
Cincinnati	73,519	9,725	4,915	251	56,384	2,244
Ward 13	2,455	183	49	.....	2,186	37
Ward 10	2,507	145	44	.....	2,276	42
Philadelphia	263,093	29,033	24,013	2,482	196,124	11,441
Ward 2	7,100	471	319	58	5,939	313
Ward 3	4,981	263	113	47	4,194	364

HOMESTEAD AND EXEMPTION LAWS: Provisions of law by which homesteads are secured beyond reach of creditors or liabilities on the part of their owners are of modern growth. The Homestead Law of the United States, tho long agitated and several times passed by the House of Representatives, and tho antedated by the like laws of several states, was not enacted by Congress till May 20, 1862. Altho often abused (see PUBLIC DOMAIN), it has proved one of the most beneficent as well as successful laws ever passed. It has opened up to immediate settlement millions of acres of public lands, and has attracted to this country millions of our best citizens. By its provisions any citizen or applicant for citizenship over twenty-one years of age may enter upon 160 acres of any unappropriated public lands, graded at $1.25 per acre, or eighty acres of such lands, valued at $2.50 per acre, by the government, on payment of the nominal fee of $5 to $10. After five years' actual residence on the land, a patent thereof is issued to the settler by the general land officer at Washington. This patent is a valid title from the U. S. If the purchaser wishes to complete his title in less than five years, he can only do so by purchase. No individual is permitted to acquire more than 160 acres, tho there is no limit to the amount he can purchase. There is a proviso that no lands acquired under the Homestead Act can be liable for any debts of the settler contracted before the issuing of the patent for his homestead. (See PUBLIC DOMAIN.)

HOMESTEAD STRIKE: In July, 1892, a serious difficulty arose in the iron and steel works of Messrs. Carnegie & Co., Homestead, Pa., employing several thousand men. Wages had been for many years fixt in these works by a sliding scale based upon the selling price of steel billets. (See AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION OF IRON AND STEEL WORKERS.) The scale agreed upon in 1889 was to expire on June 30, 1892; and when that date approached, the owners gave notice of a desire to reduce the basis from $26.50 a ton to $23, and to make the scale terminable at the beginning of January instead of at the beginning of July. To this the employees objected, because in the middle of winter they could not afford a cessation of work, and would not be in a position to resist any unwelcome demands made by the employers. The number of men actually affected by the cut-down was not large, but the delegates of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, in the name of the employees, rejected the proposed scale. The employers retaliated by formally discharging all who refused their terms and announcing that they would hold no further negotiation with the association as such. Carnegie & Co. had provided against the contingency of a strike or lockout during the previous six weeks by building a fence around the works three miles long and 12 ft. high upon a parapet 3 ft. in height, and covered with barbed wire, so that the operatives called the works Fort Frick. Three hundred Pinkerton constables were brought by water to the works. They were introduced into the state unarmed, but brought arms and ammunition with them packed in boxes. A large body of strikers were in waiting to prevent their landing, having taken possession of the works. The testimony is conflicting as to which party fired first, but a skirmish ensued with a heavy volley of shots from the strikers, in which seven of the Pinkertons and strikers were killed and many others wounded. The struggle continued two days. On the opposite bank a brass ten-pound cannon was obtained and fired on the barges. The crowd also attempted to set fire to the barges by pouring burning oil upon the river, and finally the Pinkertons surrendered, and were imprisoned in a rink until evening, when they were got away from the town by rail. On their way to the rink and to the station they were beaten and maltreated in spite of the efforts of the strike leaders to control the crowd, which was largely composed of Slavs, Hungarians, and women. Troops were sent to Homestead by the Governor of Pennsylvania and stationed there many weeks, the town being put under martial law. Great severity was displayed. Eleven workmen and spectators were killed in the fights. Some of the leaders were arrested and order was restored; for tho the manager, Mr. Frick, was afterward shot at by a Russian named Berkmann, this act seems to have been quite independent of the men on strike. For an unguarded expression of sympathy with Berkmann, a private (James) was strung up by his thumbs and flogged. After about six weeks a large number of the strikers returned to work, but a number of new men were subsequently engaged by the company, and many of the strikers did not return. A committee of Congress, appointed to investigate the employment of Pinkerton detectives, held an inquiry at Pittsburg into the circumstances of the strike. The evidence

given before them showed that a conviction prevailed among the men, that since the introduction of the McKinley tariff the profits of the company had increased, and that there was, therefore, no occasion for any such reduction of wages as they proposed. Further, the strength of the feeling against the employment of Pinkerton special constables found general expression. Great excitement over the strike was roused through all the country. Subscriptions were raised by working men to support the strike. Lawyers were sent on to defend the strikers against persecution for using arms to defend their homes against "foreign invasions." The feeling against the Pinkertons ran very high. In Massachusetts an act prohibiting the employment of Pinkerton constables was passed in 1892, and a similar act was passed in New Jersey during the same year.

HOMICIDE. See CRIME (pages 333–335).

HOPEDALE: Formerly a Christian Socialist community, now an industrial "model village," near Milford, Mass. The founder of the community was the Rev. Acton Ballou (*q. v.*). Its first compact dates from Jan., 1841, before Brook Farm; but the community did not actually commence operations till April, 1842. Hopedale lasted much longer than Brook Farm, continuing till 1856 or 1857. In 1854 it was at its highest point of success and hopefulness. The community was originally called Fraternal Community No. 1, and numbered about thirty individuals.

By 1851 the community came to own about 500 acres, consisting of about thirty new dwelling-houses, three mechanic shops, with water-power, carpentering and other machinery, and a small chapel used for educational and religious purposes. At the same date it had about thirty-six families, besides single persons—some 175 persons in all. A tract written by Mr. Ballou in 1851 says:

"It is a socialistic community, successfully actualizing, as well as promulgating, practical Christian socialism—the only kind of socialism likely to establish a true social state on earth."

Its high hopes were for a time realized. Acton Ballou worked faithfully to carry them into effect. That they finally failed was no fault of Mr. Ballou. At first Mr. Ballou was the head of the community, but ultimately he was superseded by a Mr. G. D. Draper, an enterprising business man who became the business spirit of the whole community, who had a brother in business with him who had no sympathy with the community. Mr. Draper became more and more interested in lucrative outside concerns. Meanwhile, he had bought up three fourths of the joint stock. Finally, becoming dissatisfied with the community, he paid the debts and compelled its suspension.

The Drapers (cotton machinery makers) have, however, now developed in place of the old community attractive homes for their employees. A large share of the 3,000 men live in homes put up and owned by the company. They are finished for the most part in unstained wood, tastefully and conveniently designed. The streets are lined by small lawns or flower beds without fences; there is a park of some 150 acres, with six acres of playground, so that the whole is quite attractive. Water, gas, electric light, baths, with good drainage, are provided for nearly all the houses. A comfortable home can be hired for $6 a month. Better houses can be had for from $10 to $20 a month.

HOSPITALS: Hospitals are among the most ancient forms of relief institutions. There were hospitals in India and Persia before the Christian era. The Greek temples of Æsculapius served as places to which the sick were brought for relief. So more or less with the sacred places of all early races, civilized and uncivilized. The first hospitals apart from these were probably founded by the Christian churches, like the great one founded by Basil in Cesaria about 375 A.D., with rooms for lepers as well as other invalids. From this time they multiplied rapidly. One of the earliest still existent is the great Hôtel Dieu of Paris, dating probably from the seventh century. During the crusades many hospitals were built, including two at Jerusalem, and the knights who attended these were called hospitalers. The sisters of charity were also active in developing them at Lyons, France. Hospitals were early connected with the universities, notably at Bologna, and in London (St. Bartholemew's, 1596; Bethlehem, 1547; St. Thomas's, 1553).

The oldest large hospital in the United States is probably the Pennsylvania Hospital (1750), and the second, the New York Hospital (1771).

They now exist in all cities and are of very many kinds. The annual number of patients in the Middlesex Hospital, London, is over 2,000, while it treats annually some 18,000 in their homes. The Johns Hopkins Hospital of Baltimore was endowed by Mr. Hopkins (1873) with $4,500,000.

There were in the U. S. in 1903 1,493 hospitals with 156 dispensaries and 166 nurseries. Of the hospitals 822 had been established since 1890. The inmates Jan. 1, 1905, numbered 71,530, of whom 24,000 were in public hospitals, 23,965 in private, and 23,564 in ecclesiastical. The cost of maintenance in 1903 was $28,200,867, of which $2,276,336 came from public funds for private and ecclesiastical hospitals, besides $6,606,085 for the public hospitals. Of the ecclesiastical hospitals, $1,344,932 came from public funds and $611,461 from pay inmates.

Prussia had (1885) 1,593 hospitals with 80,401 beds; that is, 28 beds per 10,000 population. The state owned 18.1 per cent of the hospitals and 26.4 of the beds; and treated 33.1 of the patients. The hospital at Friedrichsheim, near Berlin, built in 1870–74, has 600 beds in 12 buildings, and cost 4,594,229 marks; that is, 7,455 per bed.

HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES OF AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE OF, AND BARTENDERS' INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE: One of the larger unions in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. The alliance was formed as a national union in 1890 out of four locals. The alliance and league reported in 1905 38,700 members, and paid that year in death benefits $22,700.

HOURS OF LABOR (see also EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT; EIGHT-HOUR PHILOSOPHY; CHILD LABOR; SWEAT-SHOPS; TRADE-UNIONS; WAGES): In this article we give information as to the hours

commonly prevailing in different trades and countries. It must be remembered, however, that such statements can be made, as a rule, only for trades investigated by the Labor and Statistical Bureaus of the different countries, and that these are, and almost of necessity must be, only the larger and better organized trades. Hence, the hours here given must *not* be taken as typical for the numerous shops, stores, and small factories which are ill organized, nor for even the great department and other stores and the factories employing girls and others only to a small extent in trade-unions. Article Trade-Union will show how close is the connection between the trade-union and short hours. Hence, where unions are not found or are weak, hours are almost always long. (For the worst cases, see SWEAT-SHOPS.) In very many cases, however, by no means to be called sweat-shops, hours, as in many stores and some factories, are much longer than in most of the trades reported in these statistics.

HOURS OF LABOR IN FACTORIES AND TRADES, U. S., 1904
(Compiled from Bulletin of U. S. Labor Bureau, July, 1905)

Occupation and Geographical Division	Number of establishments	Number of employees	Average hours per week	Average wages per hour
Bakers, first hands, male:				
North Atlantic	34	77	63.64	$0.2813
South Atlantic	20	36	63.22	.2451
North Central	35	101	59.31	.2843
South Central	14	20	66.45	.2416
Western	11	18	59.67	.3808
United States	114	252	61.78	.2813
United States, second hands, male	114	434	63.46	.2160
United States, third hands, male	63	357	59.34	.2107
Blacksmiths, male:				
North Atlantic	13	31	55.61	.2814
South Atlantic	8	20	59.10	.2317
North Central	19	40	59.43	.2629
South Central	5	11	57.45	.2857
Western	3	6	56.00	.3222
United States	48	108	57.88	.2680
Boots and Shoes				
Closers-on, female:				
North Atlantic	25	123	56.82	.1865
North Central	15	118	57.92	.1511
United States	40	241	57.36	.1691
Lasters, machine, male:				
North Atlantic	23	343	56.89	.2791
North Central	14	237	57.11	.2971
United States	37	580	56.98	.2865
Building Trades				
Bricklayers, male:				
North Atlantic	75	2,053	46.92	.5438
South Atlantic	36	626	50.83	.5058
North Central	70	1,370	46.51	.5702
South Central	28	288	48.22	.5802
Western	20	307	45.58	.6936
United States	229	4,644	47.32	.5586
Carpenters, male:				
North Atlantic	82	2,716	47.89	.3771
South Atlantic	39	997	52.09	.2973
North Central	69	1,943	48.74	.3670
South Central	30	562	51.81	.3128
Western	22	530	46.70	.4565
United States	242	6,748	48.99	.3633
Building Trades (continued)				
Hod-carriers, male:[1]				
North Atlantic	92	1,925	46.72	$0.2972
South Atlantic	28	456	50.57	.2165
North Central	87	1,806	46.89	.2898
South Central	29	307	50.96	.2080
Western	26	320	47.46	.3796
United States	262	4,814	47.47	.2866
Painters, male:				
North Atlantic	71	1,630	48.40	.3501
South Atlantic	26	517	50.48	.3039
North Central	67	1,328	47.52	.3717
South Central	23	328	50.32	.3038
Western	21	321	47.15	.4367
United States	208	4,124	48.43	.3543
Paper-hangers, male:				
North Atlantic	34	242	50.24	.3558
South Atlantic	12	76	52.97	.2867
North Central	36	235	49.42	.3685
South Central	7	51	49.18	.3686
Western	14	79	47.54	.4522
United States	103	683	49.87	.3646
Plumbers, male:				
North Atlantic	84	623	48.00	.4291
South Atlantic	37	267	50.21	.4066
North Central	66	516	47.18	.4974
South Central	23	155	48.71	.4635
Western	22	210	46.56	.5917
United States	232	1,771	47.98	.4679
Structural iron-workers, male:				
North Atlantic	10	895	46.69	.4986
South Atlantic	4	99	52.79	.3727
North Central	17	690	53.59	.3726
South Central	2	52	59.46	.1952
Western	4	58	56.79	.3289
United States	37	1,794	50.38	.4289
Clothing in Factories				
Buttonhole-m'k'rs, machine, male:				
North Atlantic	3	4	55.75	.2675
South Atlantic	1	9	60.00	.2556
North Central	3	4	54.50	.1508
United States	7	17	57.71	.2337
Cutters, hand, male:				
North Atlantic	10	310	50.02	.3895
South Atlantic	2	69	54.17	.3024
North Central	12	162	51.74	.3495
South Central	2	4	55.00	.2389
United States	26	545	51.09	.3655
Finishers, female:				
North Atlantic	7	169	53.98	.0987
South Atlantic	2	87	59.66	.0803
North Central	9	147	54.73	.0962
South Central	2	37	57.70	.0777
United States	20	440	55.67	.0925
Sewing-machine operators, male:				
North Atlantic	9	373	53.72	.2175
South Atlantic	1	20	60.00	.2266
North Central	5	25	55.28	.2329
South Central	1	6	58.33	.2171
United States	16	424	54.17	.2188
Female, United States	27	2,149	55.36	.1209
Bushelmen, female:				
North Atlantic	1	1	60.00	.1500
South Atlantic	3	8	58.50	.1273
North Central	2	3	57.33	.1314
South Central	1	3	60.00	.1083
United States	7	15	58.67	.1258

[1] Includes men who mix mortar and wait on bricklayers, plasterers, and stone-masons whether or not a hod is used.

Occupation and Geographical Division	Number of establishments	Number of employees	Average hours per week	Average wages per hour
Cotton Factories				
Spinners, frame, male:				
North Atlantic	7	40	58.95	$0.0785
South Atlantic	5	155	66.00	.0600
United States	12	195	64.55	.0638
Female, United States	22	1,739	61.01	.0847
Spinners, mule, male:				
North Atlantic	11	273	59.32	.1895
Weavers, male:				
North Atlantic	13	1,302	58.78	.1477
South Atlantic	6	376	66.00	.1029
South Central	1	16	63.00	.0726
United States	20	1,694	60.42	.1371
Female, United States	21	3,592	60.13	.1261
Foundries				
Boiler-makers, male:				
North Atlantic	36	619	55.94	.2898
South Atlantic	11	60	54.95	.2972
North Central	26	380	56.05	.2703
South Central	12	116	58.17	.3030
Western	11	114	54.21	.3873
United States	96	1,289	55.98	.2942
Machinists, male:				
North Atlantic	89	3,570	56.07	.2736
South Atlantic	28	367	55.46	.2701
North Central	73	3,163	55.27	.2575
South Central	21	296	54.72	.3165
Western	17	373	54.16	.3583
United States	228	7,769	55.57	.2726
Iron and Steel				
Heaters, male:				
North Atlantic	8	30	64.47	.4986
South Atlantic	3	45	60.00	.3480
North Central	7	42	67.52	.8037
South Central	1	6	72.00	.4692
United States	19	123	64.24	.5463
Blowers (Bessemer), male:				
North Atlantic	4	12	54.00	.5763
South Atlantic	2	5	68.40	.4089
North Central	3	7	61.71	.6191
South Central	1	2	72.00	.3551
United States	10	26	60.23	.5386
Hot-blast men, male:				
North Atlantic	8	57	84.00	.1516
South Atlantic	2	10	84.00	.1517
North Central	6	29	84.00	.1750
South Central	6	16	84.00	.1370
United States	22	112	84.00	.1555
Stone-cutters, granite, male:				
North Atlantic	40	476	48.01	.3881
South Atlantic	14	119	49.71	.3731
North Central	13	77	52.40	.3591
South Central	6	51	51.22	.3495
Western	10	202	47.70	.5597
United States	83	925	48.71	.4191
Printing				
Compositors (book and job), male:				
North Atlantic	40	680	52.16	.3497
South Atlantic	16	143	54.62	.2886
North Central	28	511	53.90	.3302
South Central	7	85	53.72	.3169
Western	5	56	51.00	.3861
United States	96	1,475	53.05	.3365
Printing (continued)				
Compositors (book and job), female:				
North Atlantic	4	24	50.75	$0.2886
North Central	2	9	54.00	.2901
United States	6	33	51.66	.2890
Compositors (newspaper), male, United States	135	1,795	47.23	.4916
Linotype operators (book and job), male:				
North Atlantic	10	74	52.38	.4103
South Atlantic	5	17	53.35	.3806
North Central	12	86	48.10	.5111
South Central	2	6	52.00	.4054
Western	4	20	46.65	.5455
United States	33	203	50.07	.4627
Linotype operators (newspaper), male, United States	135	1,752	46.99	.5502
Proof-readers, male:				
North Atlantic	16	71	52.38	.3760
South Atlantic	3	7	55.43	.3237
North Central	10	14	53.80	.3808
South Central	2	2	54.00	.3935
Western	2	2	51.00	.5098
United States	33	96	52.82	.3761
Female, United States	15	29	52.10	.3153
Cigar-makers, male:				
North Atlantic	6	312	48.71	.3644
South Atlantic	5	1,325	60.00	.2901
North Central	11	193	46.91	.3165
United States	22	1,830	56.69	.3056
Cigar-rollers (hand), male, United States	5	221	49.72	.2429
Female, United States	16	637	54.38	.1296

AVERAGE[1] HOURS OF LABOR PER WEEK IN THE LARGEST CITIES OF THE U. S., 1904

Trade	New York	Chicago	Philadelphia	St. Louis	Boston	Baltimore
Carpenters	44.0	44.0	46.4	44.0	48.1	48.0
Bricklayers	44.0	44.0	44.0	44.0	48.0	48.0
Plasterers	44.0	44.0	44.0	44.0	44.3	48.0
Painters	44.1	44.0	48.0	44.0	48.0	48.0
Plumbers	44.2	44.0	47.0	44.0	48.0	48.0
Bricklayers' laborers	44.0	44.0	44.3	44.0	47.8	48.0
Other laborers — building trades	55.6	47.0	58.1	60.0	56.0	57.3
Blacksmiths	53.7	54.0	55.7	54.0	54.6	54.0
Turners	53.9	54.0	55.5	54.0	54.2	54.0
Iron-molders	54.0	54.0	55.1	54.0	55.0	54.0
Boiler-makers	52.6	53.0	54.9	....	54.0	54.0
Pattern-makers	54.0	54.1	55.9	54.0	55.7	54.0
Laborers—metal trades	53.9	54.1	56.3	54.0	56.0	54.0
Cabinet-makers	47.1	52.0	60.0	55.8	50.4	....
Machine wood-workers	51.7	54.0	54.0	60.0	53.4	58.1
Compositors	48.6	49.1	48.9	45.0	36.5	49.5
Linotype operators	48.6	49.8	46.1	....	42.0	42.4
Pressmen (printing)	43.8	50.4	53.7	48.0	45.9	46.2
Stereotypers	43.7	48.0	46.4	48.0	42.0	42.0
Street and sewer work:						
Contractors' laborers	58.1	56.9	60.0	....	54.0	48.0
Municipal laborers	51.0	55.7	45.3	48.0	44.0	48.0

[1] The average is obtained by dividing the aggregate number of hours worked during the week by all the work people to whom the figures relate, by the number of work people.

Hours of labor in other countries are usually longer than trade-union hours in the U. S. But outside of these trades, conditions are so different, it is impossible to make comparisons.

The following table is compiled from an English report on foreign labor statistics, issued by the Board of the Trade, 1906:

HOURS PER WEEK

COUNTRY AND CITY	Carpenters	Plumbers	Painters	Blacksmiths	Slaters
Great Britain:					
London	50	47	50	54	....
Glasgow	51	51	51	....	51
Liverpool	49½	49½	49½	53	49½
Manchester	49½	49½	52	53	54½
Birmingham	51	54	56½	53	54
Leeds	49½	49½	50	53	50
Bristol	54	54	54	54	54
Bradford	49½	49½	52	53	49½
United States:					
New York	44	44½	44½	53¾	44
Chicago	44	44	44	54	....
Philadelphia	46½	47	48	55¾	....
St. Louis	44	44	44	54	....
Boston	48	48	48	54½	....
Baltimore	48	48	48	54	....
San Francisco	44	47½	48	54	....
Germany:					
Berlin	54	53½	....	....	53
Hamburg	57	56½	53½	....	....
Leipsic	57	59	....	....	....
Breslau	60	....	....	....	....
Frankfort-on-Main	57	....	57	....	....
Lübich	57	....	57	....	....
Chemnitz	....	....	....	....	....
France:					
Paris	60	60	54	60	56½
Marseilles	60	60½	60	60	60
Lyons	60	60	60	60	60
Lille	63	60	54	66	57
Toulouse	60	60	60	....	60
Nantes	57	60	57	60	57
Havre	54	57	54	60	57
Rouen	57	54½	57	66	54½
Holland:					
Amsterdam	58½	60	63	....	....
Rotterdam	64	64	72	66	64
The Hague	63	63	69	....	....
Utrecht	64	....	65	....	....
Italy:					
Rome	60	....	60	....	....
Milan	63	....	51	....	....
Turin	60	....	....	....	....
Bologna	66	....	....	....	....
Venice	....	....	54	....	....
Norway:					
Christiania	60	....	60	57	....

HOUSE OF DAVID, THE: Name of an Israelite religious community at Benton Harbor, Mich., U. S., established in 1902 by "Mary and Benjamin," religious leaders of a peculiar faith derived from the Hebrew Scriptures. They state that their numbers are to total 144,000, and believe that the Lord is now setting His hand the second time to gather His people, the first time being by Moses and the second time now, and that this necessitates the sounding of the seventh angel. They claim that the seventh angel or messenger is now sounding in Benjamin and Mary, the woman included, for the man is not without the woman, nor the woman without the man in the Lord. Six other angels or messengers they claim have already sounded and passed away, but that this is according to the Scriptures, for the Lord will only have one standard on the earth at once.

Their followers (1907) number about 500 and practise strict communism. On attractive grounds they have several large living buildings, with electric light and steam heat, an auditorium, cannery and drying house, steam laundry, carpenter shop, tailor shop, coach factory, stables and barns, automobile-house, power-house, etc.

The occupation is mainly fruit-raising and they have about 1,000 acres under cultivation, being among the best fruit farms of the district. They do a successful business running into the hundreds of thousands. They give much attention also to education and to music, having five bands. They have a large printing-house, considered a spiritual ark (whence the false report that they are building a new ark). They produce much propaganda literature and publish a paper, *Shiloh's Messenger of Wisdom.*

HOUSING IN GREAT BRITAIN, THE NEED OF: According to Sir Robert Giffen, no fewer than eight millions of persons in the United Kingdom—one fifth of the whole population—exist under conditions represented by a family income of less than a pound a week, and constituting not merely a disgrace, but a positive danger to our civilization. Dealing with this statement, Mr. Sidney Webb says these eight millions are "housed, washed, and watered worse than our horses." Of these eight million people improperly housed, Sir Walter Foster, president of the Land Law Reform Association, estimates that nearly half are living in dwellings which ought to be pulled down. He says a very careful calculation has been made, showing that 690,000 English houses now occupied in town and country are so bad and rotten as to be utterly beyond repair. Lord Avebury recently told the London Chamber of Commerce that there are no fewer than two and a half millions of people living in London for whom better workmen's dwellings are required.

Mr. Johnstone Wallace, one of the public men of Newcastle, thus describes the housing conditions of that city: "Everywhere throughout the city cellars and garret dwellings are in common use, particularly in one part of the town, and the wretched character of the accommodation in some of them is enough to drive the poor occupants to despair." It is shown in Dr. Tathan's report to the Registrar-General, that some 11,000 people live in 3,288 cellars in Liverpool, and that that city possesses 1,432 courts and alleys, and 8,184 insanitary houses. The doctor adds: "The death-rate for children under five years is twice as high in Liverpool (114½) as the average of England (59). *To Liverpool belongs the distinction of being the most unhealthy place for little children in the whole country.*"

Miss Bentham, a lady sanitary inspector in Middlesborough, a large manufacturing town, says: "Owing to the want of set pots and facilities for washing in the houses, more especially in the poorest districts, it was most difficult to obtain cleanliness either of the people or of their clothing. Out of 600 visited, 483 had no facilities either for washing the clothes or the persons of the inmates, and the charges at the corporation baths were higher than these people could afford."

The Chief Sanitary Inspector of Glasgow, Mr. P. Fyfe, at a public meeting, stated that there were 7,000 people living in that city in open violation of the health laws, and yet the authorities

dared not take action. On a later occasion the same inspector, in a lecture on "Back Lands and Their Inhabitants," delivered before the Glasgow Association of House Factors and Property Agents, said: "Darkness and dirt are as mother and daughter in the dingy back land, and no police regulations that were ever made, or soever put into execution, will bring sweetness out of, or put sweetness into, slums. Therefore the cry of 50 per cent of our poor, who, I believe, wish to be clean, goes up in what Carlyle calls the huge inarticulate question—'What do you mean to do with us?'"

England has overcrowded slums in its villages as well as in its towns. Among the main reasons why country people flock into towns are the want of the scarcity of cottages in their native villages, and the foul and overcrowded state of so many country homes. The tale comes from all over the country that the villages are fast becoming villages of old people. The manhood and vigor from the countryside that hitherto have stood for England's staying powers are spending themselves in the towns. The nation's reserve is rapidly being exhausted. The low wages paid to agricultural laborers have something to do with this rural depopulation, but the want of houses to live in—a want felt far more keenly in many villages than in many towns—is the greater cause. With all this desertion of sturdy men and women from the country, the homes they leave behind are far from adequate even for the people remaining. The cottages are rotting away faster than the people are running away.

As a result of a careful inquiry carried out by the Land Law Reform Association, it was found that in sixty-seven villages, containing 3,739 cottages, one fifth of the cottages were in such a state as to be described not only as insufficient, but bad or extremely bad. Of these cottages, 61 per cent had bedrooms without fireplaces, and therefore could have no proper or healthy ventilation, and in one seventh the water-supply was either bad or there was none at all. More recently the association conducted another inquiry over 240 villages, embracing about 10,000 houses. Quite half of the cottages were described as bad, and in many cases they were overcrowded in the grossest manner. Since 1891 the rural population has declined by nearly 10 per cent, and in some country districts the decline is at the rate of 15, and even 17 per cent.

In a paper read before the Central Poor Law Conference on "Pauperism and Overcrowding," Mr. William Crooks, M.P., estimates, from carefully compiled returns, that overcrowding among the poor is responsible for an additional expenditure under the Poor Law of no less a sum than £134,000 in London. This figure refers to the cost of maintenance only, and takes no account of the enormous expenditure in providing and administering the large institutions to which so many of the overcrowded poor are finally driven.

As regards pauper lunatics, Mr. Crooks quotes the last return as showing that the ratio per thousand inhabitants in London varies from 1.9 in the healthy districts to 10.1 in the overcrowded quarters. These additional numbers, brought about by overcrowding, not only cost £70,000 a year to maintain, but necessitate the expenditure of £500,000 on a new asylum. GEORGE HAW.

HOUSING QUESTION, THE (for the ownership of homes, see HOMES; for the evils of overcrowding, see HOUSING IN GREAT BRITAIN, NEED OF; OVERCROWDING; POVERTY; TENEMENTS; for special solutions of the problem, see BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS; GARDEN CITIES; MODEL VILLAGES; MUNICIPAL DWELLINGS): In this article other efforts to provide better housing for the working classes are treated.

I. The United States

The first "model dwelling" in the U. S. was erected in New York City in 1855 by "The Workmen's Home Association," organized by the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. It soon became, however, one of the worst tenements in New York. In 1876 Mr. Alfred T. White, of Brooklyn, began some private experiments in improved tenements, which were so successful he induced others to cooperate with him, which led to The Improved Dwellings Company of Brooklyn, which have erected the Home, Tower, and Riverside Buildings, the older buildings paying 10 and the newer 6 or 7 per cent. In 1879 the Improved Dwellings Association was formed in Manhattan, and erected an excellent group of buildings on First Avenue in Manhattan, still in good condition and having earned 5 per cent each year. In 1896, the City and Suburban Homes Company was formed, under the leadership of Dr. E. R. L. Gould, which has erected four groups of buildings.

The present investments of the company are a little over $4,000,000, and 1,238 families are housed in its city blocks at rents from $1.60 to $4.60 per week.

The company owns three large groups of model tenement buildings for white people and one smaller model tenement building for colored people in Manhattan, accommodating in all 1,238 families, and a suburban estate called "Homewood" (see MODEL VILLAGES) in the thirtieth ward, Borough of Brooklyn, thirty-five minutes from New York City Hall, comprizing about thirty-two acres, upon which 112 houses and two stores with apartments have been erected. In all, some 6,000 people are housed by the company.

In 1898, stockholders received 3 per cent in dividends; in 1899, 3½ per cent, and since that time 4 per cent annually. Interest and taxes on unimproved property have been deducted from earnings before dividends were paid, and no account has been taken of the increase in the value of the ground. The present investments of the company are a little over $4,000,000.

Every apartment is a complete home in itself, with private toilet accommodations wholly within the dwelling. Every room has quiet, light, air, and an abundance of ventilation.

Walls and stairs are fireproof. The buildings are lighted and steam-heated. Each flat has steam-heat, hall, water-closet, hot water, two porcelain tubs, sink and drain board, dresser with shelves, closets and drawers, gas-range (no rent or deposit to be paid), meter, storage closet in basement. The four-room flats have private baths. Great economy to the tenant results from having steam-heat and hot water, and using gas-range for cooking and ironing.

This is perhaps the largest and most successful company of this nature in the U. S., but there are many more or less like it. Mr. Henry Phipps more recently has given $1,000,000 for model houses in New York, the first building of which has

been erected at a cost of some $225,000, and, following the example of the Paris *Maison des Enfants* (see below), has been especially adapted for children, with kindergarten in basement, room for perambulators, roof playground, hygienic laundries, etc. Among other model dwellings, some of the more important are: In Brooklyn, the Astral Apartments, owned by the Pratt Institute; in Boston, The Cooperative Building Company (1871); the Improved Dwellings Association (1885); the Rufus Ellis Memorial Building, the Harrison Avenue estate; in Philadelphia, the Theodore Shaw property. In Chicago, what has been accomplished has been done under the guidance of the City Homes Association of Chicago, which has committees for model tenements, sanitary aid, small parks, municipal lodging houses, etc.

Probably, however, the best work being done for housing in America is that of the Building and Loan Associations. (See that article.)

II. Great Britain

(See also Housing in Great Britain, Need of, and Municipal Housing.) The first society to grapple with the housing problem was the Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrial Classes, founded in 1841, which now has fourteen estates of improved dwellings in London and pays 4½ per cent. The American, George Peabody (*q. v.*) in 1862 gave a large donation, later increased to £500,000, to provide dwellings and lodging-houses for the poor of London. The Peabody Trust to-day owns blocks of tenements, houses nearly 20,000 persons, and its capital is £1,500,000.

The Improved Industrial Dwellings Company of London, founded by Sir Sidney Waterlow, also dates from 1862, and endeavors to combine beauty and convenience in large blocks. The Guinness Trust, begun in 1889 by Sir E. C. Guinness (Lord Iveagh), has a group of buildings with 2,574 separate buildings for 9,736 persons. The average rent is *2s.* 1¾*d.* per room. The general plan of all these buildings is that of a central courtyard, around which the buildings are grouped with two- and three-room flats, every room opening on the outer air. There are some 600 such "model" tenements in all in London, tho all of them are by no means wholly model. They all pay, however. Of 161,000 persons living in London's model tenements less than 25 per cent live in tenements maintained by bequests. The Artizans', Laborers', and General Dwelling Company of London opens up suburban estates. The Marylebone Association improves the surroundings of working-class homes. The Rural Housing and Sanitation Association (1902) improves country working-class homes. The Working Men's National Housing Council carries on a campaign for municipal and local action. The National Housing Reform Council supplies information and conducts a general campaign. (See those societies.)

The Ealing Tenants' Cooperative Society, organized by a few Ealing workmen in 1901, has done an important work on a line of its own, and has been so successful that various similar societies have been started. It builds houses and makes the tenants shareholders, with eight representatives on its board out of eleven. Interest on shares cannot exceed 5 per cent., and loan stock 4½ per cent. Any surplus that may remain after meeting these charges is credited to the tenants, insuring a rise in values, not to the land speculator, but to the rent-paying tenant. The rents fixed being 10 to 15 per cent. lower than is usually charged for such houses, the buildings, which have good gardens and are well built, are in great demand. (*Secretary*, Isabel Cooke, Woodfield Rd., Ealing.

The Octavia Hill Association is another distinctive London movement. In 1864 Miss Octavia Hill (*q. v.*), under Frederick D. Maurice, aided by John Ruskin, who spent £3,000 in purchasing unsanitary property, began the movement by putting such property in repair, personally collecting the rent, and making this an entering wedge for friendly visiting, the encouragement of thrift by discounts for payment of rent in advance, and general help toward a higher standard of life. To-day Miss Hill and her assistants have the care of between 5,000 and 6,000 dwellings.

The movement has been copied in other cities, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston.

England's most characteristic efforts in the housing problem have been, however, in municipal dwellings (for which see special article), Lord Shaftesbury commencing legislation as early as 1851.

III. Germany

In Germany, as in Great Britain, the housing question is being largely worked out on municipal lines (see below), but private action came first. A mutual building company in Berlin dates from 1849. The present movement, however, is quite modern. In 1884, through the initiative of Pastor Bodelschwingh and as a part of the multitudinous activities of his colony (see Bielefeld), a working-man's home association (Verein Arbeiterheim) was formed, which has erected some 120 houses in Bielefeld, and agitated the housing question over the empire. The Bielefeld houses are built mainly in pairs, usually four rooms below and five above, brick faced with stucco, and invariably have from a quarter to half an acre of land, for a garden, cow, pig, etc. The cost runs from $1,400 up to $35,000. The houses are either rented or sold; in the latter case, a deposit must be paid of $60 to $100 and 3½ per cent yearly of the purchase price as rent; also 2 per cent by way of redemption, and 5 per cent for a reserve fund, each house being made to pay for itself. When one third of the price has been paid, title is given, but the association has the right of preemption if the owner desires to sell. In the ordinary case it takes thirty years to pay for a house. The association, however, works largely to induce the State to take up the work and to favor the establishment of local cooperative building societies. It agitates also to show manufacturers the need of caring for the housing of their employees, to get the government to do so for government employees, and even to pass laws compelling new manufacturing companies to provide housing.

Partly as a result of this, much action has been undertaken. A policy has been developed whereby the city buys up suburban land to be resold or leased, at moderate prices, for building purposes, to prevent the rise of suburban prices through speculation. Berlin, Cologne, Munich, Dresden, Frankfort, Leipsic, have all done this, besides many smaller towns and cities. In Hesse thirty out of fifty-one communes have such lands. In 1902 the area of land held by 32

large towns varied from 10 to 365 square yards per head of population. Only 7 out of the 32 had less than 24 square yards per head; Berlin had 85. The plan has had great success. Leipsic, for example, in 1902 leased nearly 20 acres for 100 years to a philanthropic building society (*Gemeinnützige Baugesellschaft*) for the building of cheap homes. The municipality also constructs, at 4 per cent on the expenditure, roads, squares, etc., and advances money on mortgage for building purposes. The society itself is financed by the Insurance Board of the State of Saxony, which has advanced £300,000 at 4 per cent and 3 per cent for redemption. Insurance companies in Germany now practically invest their capital in public and philanthropic societies for houses and other benefits for the working classes. Up to 1904 $20,383,000 had been invested in this way in working men's homes. The imperial government also aids. In 1901 a speech from the throne took up the question of housing, and various statistical reports have been made showing the need. In 1904 a German National Housing Council, attended by representatives of the empire, cities, etc., met at Frankfort. The result has been general action. In Prussia, $10,500,000 of State money has now been spent in the erection of dwellings or financing building associations. The State of Hesse does the same. In Bavaria there exist 819 housing committees (*Wohnungs-Kommissionen*) in connection with the local governments.

The large surplus capital, too, of the various imperial industrial insurance funds (see Industrial Insurance) is largely invested in this way. Up to 1904 nearly $100,000,000 had been invested in this way, in the erection of working men's houses, baths, and hospitals, and sanitariums. The empire, too, for many years has done much to provide suitable dwellings for the employees of its various departments, railways, etc. Between 1901–3 advances of $2,900,000 were made to thirty-eight building societies for this purpose. The empire also leases public land to be used in such ways. Various laws also favor such building societies with tax exemption, etc. Cooperative building aided by the State is thus the main German method, tho the municipalities are now beginning to put up municipal tenements. Düsseldorf has such tenements where two rooms are rented for 22 marks per month, and three for 30. At Frankfort-on-Main, the municipality guarantees 4 per cent interest to the International Building Society and is gradually buying out the company. Nuremberg is following the same policy. For details, see chapter vii. in W. H. Dawson's "The German Workman," to which we are indebted for much of the above information.

IV. France

In France a commission on working men's buildings was appointed as early as 1831, occasioned by a cholera scare, but little was done till 1889. A few building societies were formed like the Société Mulhousiennes des Cités Ouvrières (1851), the oldest French society of this nature still existing. In 1889, however, as a result of the social section of the Paris Exposition of that year, the important Société Française des Habitations à Bon Marché was formed, and as a result of its efforts, largely led by M. Siegfried, aided by donations from the Count de Chambrun and others, many societies of one kind or another, for improved working men's dwellings, have been organized, very general attention has been called to the subject, and important legislation effected. Four societies were started that year, and in ten years some 55 more; 30 the direct result of the Société Française. Of these societies some are purely philanthropic like the Société Philanthropique, which has been active in this direction, as in others. It has three apartment-houses on the plan of the Peabody Trust in London. Most of the French societies, however, are partly philanthropic and partly commercial, like the similar English and American societies. Among these the largest is probably the Société Anonyme des Logements Économiques of Lyons, beginning in 1886 with a capital of 200,000 francs, and increased by 1897 to 5,000,000 fr. A few societies develop suburban working men's villages, like the Société Anonyme des Habitations Ouvrières, organized in 1888 by M.M. Chaysson and Cacheux, which has such a village at Passy Auteuil, a suburb of Paris. Not so large but of growing importance are the cooperative building societies like La Pierre du Foyer of Marseilles (1891). In 1904 there were reported in France no less than fifty-six cooperative building societies, many of them being aided by loans from savings-banks according to the Belgian plan (see Belgium), which has been adopted and adapted in France. Through the efforts of the Société Française, the government has created a Superior Council of Working Men's Homes and encouraged the departments and communal councils to do the same. French employers also interest themselves in the housing of their employees. Among the earliest to move in this direction was the Compagnie des Cristalleries de Baccarat. The Compagnie des Mines d' Anzin had 2,600 homes by 1889, and the Compagnie des Mines de Blanzy has 1,000 houses. (See also Model Villages.) Most of the French railways also do more or less for the housing of their employees.

One characteristic French development is the Paris Société des Logements pour Familles Nombreuses, which has several blocks of flats rented *only* to families with many children. They are called *maisons des enfants*, and are especially adapted for children, with double stair balustrades, high for adults and low for children, with large balconies and sunny windows, and playground on roof. There are seventy-five apartments in each block, which rent for $20 to $80 per year, and are models of healthy flats.

V. Belgium

Concerning the important movement in Belgium and the great work of the Savings-Bank of Belgium in lending money to building societies, Mr. O. Velghe, secretary International Congress of Improved Dwellings, says as follows:

> The point of departure of the remarkable movement in Belgium which has done so much for working men's dwellings was the law of Aug. 9, 1889, followed by various other laws, in which the government showed its solicitude for the welfare of the working classes.
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> 1. By these laws there has been instituted in each administrative district a committee whose duty is to study, to report upon, to collect funds for, and take any measures favoring the development of cheap, healthy, and good homes for working men. These committees study the hygiene and conditions of the localities and of the houses and report, as occasion may require, to the local authorities, who have the power to compel improvements, or to forbid the occupancy of unhealthy houses and districts. Without legal power themselves, these committees do much to form public opinion. They have published important reports, and led to the for-

mation of numerous societies for erecting working men's dwellings.

2. The laws favor such societies, and exempt them from stamp and registration duties, by giving them free advertisements in the official journal, by reducing by one half the duties on sales, loans, and opening credit accounts, the charges of notaries, etc. In 1904 the reductions under this head alone amounted to 1,072,319 francs.

3. Working men buying or building homes, up to those paying registration duties of from 72 to 171 fr., are exempted from personal, provincial, and communal taxes.

4. The Savings-Bank of Belgium (see BELGIUM) is allowed to make loans to enable working men to buy or build homes, to insure the lives of those so doing, so as to preserve the home to the family, and to extend the rights of conjuncture in the ownership of homes.

Statistics

In 1904 the number of working men's homes exempted by the law from payment of personal and other taxes was 164,387, or nearly one tenth of the total number of homes in Belgium, while the exemptions amounted to 1,740,000 fr., from the State, and nearly as much more from the provinces and communes.

In 1904 the number of sales of real estate transacted under these laws was 6,456, and the loans and credits opened for obtaining homes was 4,930. The value of the real estate amounted to 10,836,440 fr. and the loans to 12,143,900 fr.

The numbers rise each year. In the fifteen years since the passage of the law of 1889 working men have acquired lands and houses valued at 98,000,000 fr., and have borrowed for purchase or construction 96,000,000 fr. There were in 1904 166 societies for building working men's dwellings, of which 161 had borrowed from the Savings-Bank, at from 2½ to 3½ per cent; 30,000 working men had become or were in way of becoming owners of property, representing a population of 150,000, while no less than 70,000 had profited by the legislation, in exemption of duties, in loans from the Savings-Bank, or in other ways, representing a population of 350,000, or about one twentieth of the whole population. Such statistics show the extent, the importance, and the success of the movement.

The dark side consists in the fact that the very poor, tho needing homes the most, being wholly without means, have been unable to avail themselves of the legislation. It is hoped, however, that a way will be found out of these difficulties.

VI. Other Countries

Other countries, outside of New Zealand perhaps (see NEW ZEALAND), have less to contribute to the housing question. Italy is taking up the question, but the main efforts are in connection with the Umanitaria Society of Milan (see UMANITARIA). Austria and Switzerland are following slowly in German channels. An important International Housing Society (*Congrès International des Habitations à Bon Marché*; secretary, M. O. Velghe, Ministère de l'Agriculture, Brussels, Belgium) has been formed which has held several congresses—in 1907, in London.

REFERENCES: *Eighth Special Report of U. S. Commissioner of Labor* (1895); *Reports of Tenement-House Commissions, American Economic Association Publications*, viii., No. 2–3; *Compte Rendu et Documents* (1900) of the *Congrès Internationale des Habitations à Bon Marché*; Sykes, *Public Health and Housing* (London, 1901); G. Haw, *No Room to Live* (London, 1900); Jacob A. Riis, *The Peril and Preservation of the Home* (1903); R. W. De Forest and L. Veiller (eds.), *Tenement House Problem*, New York (1903); James Cornes, *Modern Housing in Town and Country* (London, 1905); *Reports of Tenement-House Commissions* (New York), and of the *National Workmen's Housing Council* (London).

HOWARD ASSOCIATION, THE: Founded 1866 under the patronage of Lord Brougham. Object: To promote the best methods of treatment and prevention of crime. The principles of John Howard have been generally embodied in the work of the association.

It advocates:

(1) The disuse of degrading punishments, such as "shot-drill," the treadmill, and the crank.

(2) The disuse of prolonged cellular isolation, and insistence on the necessity of providing interesting and remunerative work for prisoners.

(3) Preventive efforts in the treatment of minor offenders.

(4) The right of poor prisoners to pay by instalments fines imposed for petty misdemeanors.

(5) The promotion of adult reformatories.

It collects information both at home and abroad bearing on present systems of punishment and prevention of crime. Many books and pamphlets dealing with prison management, pauperism, boarding out neglected children, vagrancy, and kindred subjects have been published. *Secretary*: Thomas Holmes, The Howard Association, Devonshire Chambers, Bishopsgate Without, London, E. C.

HOWARD, GEORGE ELLIOTT: Educator; historian; born at Saratoga, N. Y., 1849; A.B. and Ph.D. of the University of Nebraska; studied institutional history and Roman law at Munich and Paris, 1876–78. He became professor of history, University of Nebraska, 1879–91, and the head of the historical department of Leland Stanford University, 1891–1901. In 1902 he lectured on history at Cornell University (summer) and was professorial lecturer in history at the University of Chicago, 1903–4. He returned to the University of Nebraska in 1904 as professor of institutional history, and in 1906 became professor of political science and sociology in that institution. Professor Howard has published many papers and articles in magazines and scientific journals on political, social, and historical subjects. Mr. Howard is an independent in state and federal politics; favors municipal ownership and home rule; and advocates strict government control of business monopolies and trusts. He is author of "Local Constitutional History of the United States"; "Development of the King's Peace"; "History of Matrimonial Institutions Chiefly in England and the United States"; "Marriage and Divorce," in "Encyclopedia Americana," "Preliminaries of the Revolution," and "Social Control and the Function of the Family," in vol. vii., "Congress of Arts and Sciences." *Address*: 1910 E Street, Lincoln, Neb.

HOWARD, JOHN: Prison reformer; born at Enfield, England, in 1726. His father, a wealthy London merchant, apprenticed him to a grocer, but in 1742 he bought up his indenture. Until 1773 he lived a comparatively secluded life, distinguishing himself only in charity. He was made the high sheriff of Bedford in 1773, and the characteristic work of his life then began. Visiting the jails, he found them wretchedly defective; but what chiefly shocked him was that neither the jailer nor his subordinates were salaried officers, but were dependent for their livelihood on fees which they rigorously exacted from the prisoners themselves. Some whom the juries had declared not guilty, others in whom the grand jury had not found even such appearance of guilt as would warrant a trial, others whose prosecutors had failed to appear, were frequently detained in prison for months after they had ceased to be in the position of accused parties, until they should have paid the fees of jail delivery. His prompt application to the justices of the county for a salary to the jailer in lieu of his fees was met by a demand for a precedent for charging the county with such an expense; and he went accordingly from county to county until his journey had extended to every town in England which contained a prison, but the object of his search eluded inquiry. But he did find so many abuses in prison management that he determined to devote himself to the reform of those abuses. The task cost him a fortune and the best remaining years of his life.

He reported his discoveries to the House of Commons, and at once an act was passed which provided, among other reforms, for the liberation, free of all charges, of every prisoner against whom the grand jury failed to find a true bill, giving the jailer a sum from the county rate in lieu of the abolished fees.

He then devoted himself for eight or nine years to an investigation of the prisons of Europe, overcoming many difficulties and braving many dangers. The publication of his large accumulation of facts had a direct and immediate influence upon prison legislation. The last five years of his life were chiefly devoted to researches as to the means which ought to be used in the prevention of the plague and all contagious diseases. In pursuit of knowledge on this subject he again traveled through Europe and Asia Minor, visiting hospitals, lazarettos, and pest-houses of all kinds, and published the results of his researches in 1789. Attempting to make yet another European tour, he took a fever from a patient and died in Cherson in 1790. He was of a deeply religious temperament. "He died a martyr after living an apostle." (See PENOLOGY.)

HOWE, SAMUEL GRIDLEY: Reformer and philanthropist; born at Boston, 1801. Graduated at Brown and Harvard Medical School, 1824. Offering his services in the cause of Greek independence, he served in the Greek army till 1830. Visiting Paris he aided in the July Revolution. In 1832, returning to Boston, he devoted his life to the education of the blind. He mainly created the Perkins Institution for the Blind, which became the greatest institution of the kind in the world. One of his most remarkable achievements was the education of Laura Bridgeman. In 1845 he became interested in the abolition movement and founded and edited an antislavery paper in which his wife, Julia Ward Howe, aided him. During the war he was a director of the Sanitary Commission, and then worked for the Freedmen's Bureau. In 1863 he originated the State Board of Charities of Massachusetts, the first of the sort in America. In 1866 he was sent to carry relief to the Cretan refugees in Greece. He died 1876. See Sanborn's "Dr. S. G. Howe, the Philanthropist."

HOWELLS, WILLIAM DEAN: Author; born at Martinsville, O., in 1837. His father was a printer, and of him he learned the printer's trade. He became editor of the Cincinnati *Gazette* and the *Ohio State Journal*. He was United States Consul at Venice 1861–65, and in 1871 became editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, retaining this position till 1880. Since then he has produced a long list of writings. He conducted for several years "The Editor's Study" and afterward "Editor's Easy Chair" in *Harper's Magazine*. He has interested himself very largely in social reform, and especially in his "A Traveler from Altruria." *Address*: 48 West Fifty-ninth Street, New York.

HUBBARD, ELBERT: Proprietor of the Roycroft shop devoted to artistic books, East Aurora, N. Y.; editor of *The Philistine*; born in Bloomington, Ill., 1859, and educated in the common schools. Mr. Hubbard has been a prolific writer of short books (tales or monographs), among the best known being a series of "Little Journeys to the Homes of Great Men," authors, artists, statesmen, philosophers, etc.; "A Message to Garcia." His small but keen monthly, *The Philistine*, has a very wide reading, and Mr. Hubbard has traveled, lecturing in all portions of the United States. The Roycroft Press, at East Aurora, N. Y., incorporated 1892, is devoted to the production of de luxe editions of the classics, and the effort of the establishment toward its workers is to make the man count and not the machine. Stock in the company is sold only to officers, superintendents, or employees ($25 a share) and 12 per cent annually is guaranteed. In good years funds are distributed to employees whether stockholders or not. In 1903 about one half the stock was held by employees. Any employee leaving the service must sell his stock to Mr. Hubbard at the price paid. Mr. Hubbard's views are those of an individualist free lance, tho favorable to many cooperative and even some socialistic measures. *Address*: East Aurora, N. Y.

HUBER, VICTOR AIMÉ: The founder of German Christian Socialism; born in Stuttgart in 1800. He took a degree in medicine in 1820 at the University of Göttingen, but obtained a State stipendium. Throwing himself into the social and political movement of the times, he visited Paris, Lisbon, Hamburg, Edinburgh, Italy, and at last settled down in Bremen as one of the masters of the Merchants' School of that town.

In 1832 he procured a post at the University of Rostock, and at Marburg six years later. In 1839 he was elected to the Hessian House of Representatives as an ultra-Conservative statesman. Friedrich Wilhelm IV., of Prussia, now induced him to come to Berlin and to found a Conservative periodical under royal patronage. As editor of this periodical, the *Janus*, Huber made it the vehicle for pressing his pet scheme of cooperation.

After the March revolution in 1848 this publication, which in many respects resembled the *Christian Socialist* of England and *L'Avenir* of France, was discontinued, and another method for rallying the friends of social reform on Conservative principles was made by Huber in forming his Association of Christian Order and Liberty. But this, too, proved unsuccessful. Huber found more favor, in truth, among the Social Radicals than in his own reactionary circles. Huber also interested himself in the *Gesellenvater Kolping* and Bishop Ketteler (*q.v.*). But failing to interest the aristocratic classes of Berlin, he found a new home in the little town of Wenigerode, among the Hartz Mountains, and left only to pay visits to France, Belgium, and England, and thus became a living organ, so to speak, for international communication on the subject of cooperative association. He lived in daily companionship with laborers and artizans in order to raise them by personal contact to a higher level. In this he spared no sacrifice of time or money. He founded a loan society, an institution for smaller tradespeople, and a technical school for the instruction of young apprentices after leaving the ordinary schools, where he taught himself. He also called into existence a Christian Association of Journeymen. He died 1869.

HUDSON, WALTER: English Labor member of Parliament; born 1852, Richmond Station, Yorkshire. His youth was spent in various occupations on the North-Eastern Railway, until appointed main line guard, which position he held for twenty-six years. He was always interested in trade-union work, and in 1891, at the annual

congress of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, was elected president, and was reelected seven times. In 1903 appointed president of the Irish Trades Congresses. Elected to Parliament, 1906, for Newcastle-on-Tyne. *Address*: 22 Atherfold Road, Clapham, London, S. W.

HUET, FRANÇOIS: Born at Villeau, in Belgium, 1814. At the age of twenty-two he was appointed Professor of Philosophy at the University of Ghent, a post which he retained up to 1850. About 1846, his philosophical studies led Huet to approach social questions, and he collected around him a group of pupils to study social reform. . . . Huet also published, in 1864, "La Science de l'Esprit." He presided over the education of Prince Milan, now King of Servia, and even followed him to Belgrade. Having returned to Paris to undergo treatment for a severe disease, he died (1869). M. de Laveleye, his most distinguished pupil, says of him:

> For the basis of his system he takes the principles of 1789, and endeavors to realize in everything the motto, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." His ideas on this point were, without his knowing it, similar to those of Fichte. . . . The following is a summary of them: Men are by right equal. They have the right to an opportunity to develop themselves. This means a right to property, which should be realized in the "right to patrimony," by virtue of which every person in a position to labor would obtain a share in the general wealth. "Every year a division should be made of the patrimonial property left ownerless through deaths. All the young people of either sex, who during this year reach the age of either fourteen or twenty-five years, should obtain a share, the share of each person of full age being double the share of each minor." The right of hereditary succession is abolished, but gifts by will or *inter vivos* are authorized. Each person, however, can dispose only of property acquired by his own labor, and not of that received by way of gift or legacy. This goes to increase the common patrimony.
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> Leveling Socialist as Huet is when he claims for all an equal right of accession to property, he is a thorough individualist on the question of the organization of labor. He rejects all State intervention; he does not like even corporations holding industrial capital. The individual, put in possession of "his patrimony," may work by himself, or in partnership with others, provided he do so freely, without any privileges or close corporations.

M. Huet also published a charming book entitled "Le Règne Social du Christianisme," containing a complete social theory based on Christianity, which Laveleye says has not met the attention it deserves only because it is too full of Christianity for the Socialists, and too full of socialism for Christians.

HUGHES, THOMAS: Born near Newbury, Berkshire, England, 1823. He was educated at Rugby, under Dr. Arnold, and at Oriel College, Oxford, where he was graduated in 1845. He was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1848. He was prominent in the Christian Socialist movement of Maurice and Kingsley in 1849–50. (See CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.) He published his immortal "Tom Brown's School-days" (1857); "Tom Brown at Oxford" (1861); "The Manliness of Christ" (1879), besides many lesser writings. From 1865–74 he sat in Parliament. In 1869 he became Queen's Counsel, and in 1882 a county court judge. In 1870 he visited the United States. Becoming interested in this country, "New Rugby" colony was conceived. Fifty thousand acres were bought and 300 men were actually on the grounds, mainly sons of English farmers, but Judge Hughes was no financier, and it honorably failed. He died 1896.

HULL HOUSE (CHICAGO): Hull House, one of the first American settlements, was established in Sept., 1889. It represented no association, but was opened by two women, backed by many friends, in the belief that the mere foothold of a house, easily accessible, ample in space, hospitable and tolerant in spirit, situated in the midst of the large foreign colonies which so easily isolate themselves in American cities, would be in itself a serviceable thing for Chicago. Hull House endeavors to make social intercourse express the growing sense of the economic unity of society, and may be described as an effort to add the social function to democracy.

The earliest activities of the settlement were the ordinary ones of children's clubs, kindergartens, receptions, and evening classes. From these larger activities developed which may be described under general headings.

Class Lectures

The College Extension courses were established at Hull House before the University Extension movement began in Chicago, and are not connected with it, altho University Extension courses are constantly given at Hull House and every Sunday evening for many years the Extension Department of the University of Chicago has donated a stereopticon lecture. These are attended by large audiences of men. A helpful supplement of the College Extension courses has been the Summer School, which was held for ten years in the building of Rockford College, at Rockford, Ill. The sum of $3 a week paid by each student for board covers the entire expenses of the school; the use of the buildings, including gymnasium and laboratories, given free of rent.

Hull House hopes to develop a technic of teaching especially adapted to adults while utilizing the usual school and college type. Our experience with large classes of immigrants who wish to learn English has resulted in the collection of a special line of text-books and series of pictures.

Public Discussion

Organizations which are on the border-land between classes and debating clubs have arranged for a number of public lectures, such as the "Working People's Social Science Club," which was the first body including men to be organized at Hull House. This club was formed through the activity of an English workingman, during the first year of Hull House, for the discussion of social problems, and continued to meet weekly for seven years. The discussion was always animated, and every conceivable shade of social and economic opinion was represented, but radicals are so accustomed to hot discussion and sharp differences of opinion, that an almost incorrigible good nature prevailed.

Trade-Unions

Closely connected with such discussions of economic subjects has been the formal connection between Hull House and organized labor, altho such connection may be fairly said to rest upon the foundation of personal relations with the organizers of various women's unions, who have lived in the house as guests or residents. Several unions hold their regular meetings at the house, and the Chicago branches of two well-known federal organizations of working women have been formed there: The Women's Union Label League and the Women's Trade-Union League.

Several of the Hull House educational enterprises have developed through the effort made to

bridge the past life in Europe with American experiences in such wise as to give them both some meaning and sense of relation. The Hull House Labor-Museum was in the first instance suggested by many people in the neighborhood who had come directly from country places in southeastern Europe in which industrial processes are still carried on by the most primitive methods. It was not unusual to find an old Italian woman with her distaff against her homesick face patiently spinning a thread by the simple stick spindle which had certainly been used in the days when David tended his sheep at Bethlehem. In the immediate neighborhood were found at least four varieties of these most primitive methods of spinning and at least three distinct variations of the same spindle put in connection with wheels. It was possible to put these seven into historic sequence and order, and to connect the whole with the present method of factory spinning. The same thing was done for weaving, and on every Saturday evening a little exhibit is made of these "various forms of labor" in the textile industry. Within one room the Syrian, the Greek, the Italian, the Slav, the German, and the Celt enable even the most casual observer to see that there is no break in orderly evolution, if we look at history from the industrial standpoint. The interest on the part of the classes in dressmaking, millinery, cooking, and sewing in this historic background has been most gratifying.

Labor-Museum

Closely identified with the Labor-Museum and the classes in pottery, metal work, enamel, and wood-carving, The Chicago Arts and Crafts Society was organized at Hull House and several members of this society live in the buildings on the Hull House quadrangle. The artists find something of the same spirit in the contiguous Italian colony that the French artist is traditionally supposed to discover in his beloved Latin Quarter. Successful classes in drawing, modeling, painting, and lithography are continued year after year, and the space given to the studies has been constantly enlarged. Miss Starr's bookbindery is in the same building with the other shops and is opened to those especially interested in choice books or in the processes of making them. Occasional art exhibits have always been held at Hull House and the response to excellence in matters of art has always been gratifying.

Arts and Crafts

The Hull House Music-School was started in the fourth year of Hull House, altho Miss Eleanor Smith and Miss Hannig, who are its heads, had almost from the beginning held weekly classes there. The Music-School is designed to give a thorough musical instruction to a limited number of children. From the beginning they are taught to compose and to reduce to order the musical suggestion which may come to them. They sometimes find folk-songs in the possession of their old country relatives which have survived through the centuries.

Music-School

Two years ago a beautiful memorial organ was erected at Hull House, which has greatly added to the resources of the Music School and to the interest of the public concerts which have been given every Sunday afternoon for fifteen years.

Concerts

Another method of education which has been gradually used more and more at Hull House is that made possible through dramatics, largely amateur, altho professionals have from time to time been most generous with their services. The first dramas at Hull House were produced in the gymnasium until they seemed to justify the erection of a well-equipped stage in a room erected for a theater.

Theater

In the immediate vicinity of Hull House is a large colony of Greeks, who often feel that their history and classic background are completely ignored by the Americans in Chicago, and they therefore welcome an opportunity to present Greek plays in the ancient text. Two of these plays have been remarkably successful; they were carefully staged by Miss Barrows, and the "Ajax" of Sophocles was a genuine triumph to the Greek colony. The little Hull House stage has presented many Italian plays and a few in other tongues, but, of course, the Hull House Dramatic Association present their productions in English and have gradually built up a little clientele of admirers from all parts of the town, and the members have developed in the course of years some genuine dramatic ability. This association gives two carefully prepared dramas each winter. They have presented Ibsen and Shaw as well as melodramas and classic plays. There are also Junior Dramatic Associations.

Gymnasium instruction, with the help of limited apparatus, was provided from the first years of Hull House, but not until 1893 was a separate gymnasium building erected, supplied with a complete system of shower-baths and a running-track.

Gymnasium

The Jane Club, a cooperative boarding-club for young working women, had the advice and assistance of Hull House in its establishment. The original members of the club, seven in number, were a group of girls accustomed to cooperative action. The club has been from the beginning self-governing, the officers being elected by the members from their own number, and serving six months gratuitously. The two offices of treasurer and steward have required a generous sacrifice of their limited leisure time as well as a good deal of ability from those holding them. The weekly dues of $3, with an occasional small assessment, have met all current expenses of rent, service, food, and heat. There are various circles within the club for social and intellectual purposes. The atmosphere of the house is one of comradeship rather than of thrift. The Jane Club seven years ago moved into a house built expressly for its use. It provides bedroom space for thirty members, twenty-four of them single rooms, with a library and a living-room, and a dining-room large enough to use for social gatherings.

Residential Clubs

The Culver Club is a residential club of thirty working boys who occupy two upper floors of the Hull House Boys' Club Building. They are self-sustaining and most generous in their services to the social life of the Boys' Club house.

The Hull House **Men's Club** was organized in 1893, and incorporated under the state law. They rent from Hull House a building for their exclusive use, which is open to members every day and evening. The club holds a monthly reception during the winter and arranges for occasional public debates. The purpose of the club is educational as well as recreative.

The Hull House **Woman's Club** is housed in a building of its own. It has exclusive control of the library and sewing-room, but the large hall, which seats 800 people, is used for many other purposes. The membership is 600. The "Year Book," which is issued in advance each September, shows a full program of lectures on current topics by distinguished speakers, discussions by club members, and musical afternoons by the club's own chorus. The club sustains a visiting-nurse, who lives at Hull House. The club contributes regularly to the Juvenile Court and to the vacation schools and other public undertakings.

Social Clubs

At present thirty-five social organizations meet weekly at Hull House, composed of young people who elect their own officers and prepare their own programs under the approval of their "directors." Some of these clubs are purely social, others do serious educational work. Dancing-classes, which are always well attended, have been established in connection with the social clubs.

Boys' Club

The Hull House **Boys' Club** of 1,500 members occupies its own building, equipped with bowling-alleys, billiard-tables, athletic apparatus, shops for work in iron, wood, and printing, library and class-rooms. The house is open to members every day from three to ten P.M., and its preservation and good order are carefully guarded by the club members themselves.

Afternoon Clubs

Every afternoon after school hours all the available rooms at Hull House are filled with children's clubs, which are designed to be social and recreative in character, altho some serious study is done by groups in sloid, in sewing, in clay modeling, in cooking, and in gymnastics. The membership of the various clubs and classes consists of 1,500 school children. Summer outings are arranged for them as well as Christmas entertainments and moving-picture shows.

Coffee-House

The Coffee-House was opened in 1893 on the basis of a public kitchen. An investigation of the sweat-shops of the neighborhood had disclosed the fact that sewing-women during the busy season paid little attention to the feeding of their families, for it was only by working steadily through the long day that the scanty pay of five, seven, or nine cents for finishing a dozen pairs of trousers could be made into a day's wage; and that the women, therefore, bought from the nearest grocery the canned goods that could be most quickly heated or gave a few pennies to the children with which they might secure a lunch from a neighboring candy-shop.

One of the residents made an investigation, at the instance of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, into the food values of the dietaries of the various immigrants, and this was followed by an investigation made by another resident, Miss Hunt, for the U. S. Department of Labor, into the foods of the Italian colony, disclosing the fact that the constant use of imported products bore a distinct relation to the cost of living. The result of these various studies led to the opening of a public kitchen modeled after the New England Kitchen of Boston. The sale of cooked foods, however, has never been popular, altho the restaurant aspect of the Coffee-House developed rapidly. This performs a mission of its own and has become something of a social center to the neighborhood. Business men from the adjacent factories, and school teachers from the nearest public schools, use it constantly. Every evening students and club members sup together in little groups or hold their reunions and social banquets, as do organizations from all parts of the town to a certain extent. The Coffee-House has been self-sustaining from the beginning, and of later years has been able to pay an adequate rental to Hull House.

Day Nursery

A Day Nursery was opened because of the many mothers who were obliged to work and who quite simply asked the kindergartner to "keep the baby for the day." A small apartment was taken across the street and turned into a day-nursery, which was later moved into a cottage on the nearest side street, and altho a second kindergarten was started here, the earlier one in the drawing-room continued. Later a building called the Children's House was erected for the purpose of housing all of the activities of the children with special reference to the Day-Nursery and Kindergarten. The former averages thirty children a day, and because it is inadequate to the needs of the neighborhood, still another building is in process of erection in which a day-nursery will be maintained by the Chicago Relief and Aid Society. Facilities are also provided in this building for teaching the immigrant mothers the beginnings of wage-earning occupations.

Public Utilities

From the beginning a constant effort was made to hand over to public authority every activity that had been initiated. Shower-baths had been maintained in the basement of the house for the use of the neighborhood and they afforded some experience and argument for the erection of the first public bath-house in Chicago, which was built on a neighboring street and opened under the care of the Board of Health. The reading-room and Public Library Station which was begun in the house is continued but a block away. The lending collection of pictures has been incorporated into the Public School Art Society of Chicago, of which Miss Starr was the first president.

Hull House has always held its activities lightly, as it were, in the hollow of its hand, ready to give them over to whomsoever would carry them on properly, for there is among the residents a distrust of the institutional and a desire to be free for experiment and the initiation of new enterprises.

It was, perhaps, significant that the only political office ever sought was that of garbage inspector for the Hull House ward. The poor collection of refuse throughout the city made the greatest menace in the Nineteenth Ward, where the normal amount was much increased by the decayed fruit and vegetables discarded by the Italian and Greek fruit-sellers, and it seemed quite probable that this condition had some connection with the high death-rate so persistent in the ward. One of the residents held this office of inspector for three years, and while many of the foreign-born women of the ward were much shocked by this abrupt departure into the ways of men, they were finally convinced that if it were a womanly task to go about in tenement-houses in order to nurse the sick, it might be quite as womanly to go through the same district in order to prevent the

breeding of so-called "filth diseases." Moreover, the spectacle of eight hours' work for eight hours' pay, the even-handed justice to all citizens irrespective of "pull," the dividing of responsibility between landlord and tenant, and the readiness to enforce obedience to law from both, was, perhaps, one of the most valuable demonstrations that could have been made. Investigations have also been made into the causes of truancy and juvenile delinquency in their relation to housing. The moral energy of the community is aroused only when people realize that they may become part of the general movements which make for the reform and healing. In illustration of this theory the neighborhood cooperated most generously in a careful investigation of the sweat-shops of the neighborhood which was made in 1892 by Mrs. Florence Kelley, one of the early residents, appointed to do the work by the Illinois Labor Bureau. The report brought a special commission from the legislature to look into the matter, and the recommendations of this committee resulted in the passage of the first factory law for Illinois, which dealt largely with the sanitary conditions of the sweat-shops and the regulation of the age at which a child might be permitted to work, and Mrs. Kelley was appointed the first factory inspector with a deputy and a force of twelve inspectors.

So far as Hull House residents have been identified with public offices, it has been in the attempt both to interpret the needs of the neighborhood to public bodies and to identify the neighborhood energies with civic efforts. This has been true of Miss Lathrop's long experience as a member of the State Board of Charities, with the work of another resident officer as a member of the Chicago School Board, and with the work of four different residents in their official connection with the Juvenile Court of Cook County.

Residents

No university or college qualification has ever been made in regard to residents, altho the majority have always been college people. The organization of the settlement has always been extremely informal. Residents are received for six weeks, during which time they have all privileges, save a vote at residents' meeting. At the end of that period, if they have proved valuable to the work of the house, they are invited to remain. The expenses of the residents are defrayed by themselves on the plan of a cooperative club, under the direction of a house committee. An apartment-house, which shelters twelve families, gives a chance of growth in the residential force, and also provides more convenient quarters for old friends and neighbors of the house who are glad to occupy them. The residential force numbers thirty-four, equally divided in number as to men and women, altho others are most constant in their service. The people from other parts of town who contribute single days or evenings number approximately 100 a week.

Total Attendance

It is estimated that 7,000 people come to Hull House each week, either as members of clubs or organizations, or as parts of an audience. The total attendance of the various clubs and classes varies from year to year, only as we are able to provide more room, and it sometimes seems as if nothing but available space could limit it. The residents, however, are convinced that growth either in buildings or numbers counts for little unless the settlement is able to evoke valuable resources of moral energy and social ability from the neighborhood itself.

JANE ADDAMS.

HUMANITARIAN LEAGUE, THE: Founded 1891; object, to advocate humane principles from rational and consistent principles.

The main principle laid down in its manifesto is that "it is iniquitous to inflict suffering on any sentient being except when self-defense or absolute necessity can be justly pleaded."

Among the reforms advocated by the Humanitarian League are:

A thorough revision and more humane administration of the English criminal law and prison system, with a view to the institution of a court of criminal appeal, the discontinuance of the death penalty and corporal punishment, and an acceptance of the principle of reclamation instead of revenge in the treatment of offenders.

The establishment of public hospitals under municipal control, where experimentation on patients shall be impossible. The complete abandonment of the medical tyranny which would enforce vaccination by fines or imprisonment.

The extension of the principle of international arbitration, and the gradual reduction of armaments.

A more considerate treatment of subject races in British colonies.

A more vigorous application of the existing laws for the prevention of cruelty to animals, and an extension of these laws for the protection of wild animals as well as domestic.

Prohibition of the torture of animals by vivisection in the alleged interests of science.

Insistence on the immorality of all so-called "sports" which seek amusement in the death or suffering of animals. Legislative action in the case of the most degraded of such sports.

The prevention, by the encouragement of a humaner diet, of the sufferings to which animals are subjected in cattle-ships and slaughter-houses; and, as an initial measure, the substitution of well-inspected public abattoirs for the present system of private butchery.

An exposure of the many cruelties inflicted, at the dictates of fashion, in the fur and feather trade.

Recognition of the urgent need of humaner education, to impress on the young the duty of thoughtfulness and fellow-feeling for all sentient beings.

The leading spirit in the league is its *Secretary*, Henry S. Salt, 53 Chancery Lane, London, W. C.

HUNGARY: The following article is concerned with matters affecting Hungary alone. (See article AUSTRIA-HUNGARY for affairs concerning the dual monarchy.)

I. Statistics

Hungary is a constitutional kingdom with a total area of 125,430 sq. m., and a population of 19,254,559 in 1900, inclusive of those in active military service. Of these totals 109,007 sq. m. with 16,838,255 population belong to Hungary and Transylvania, and 16,423 sq. m. with 2,416,304 people to Croatia and Slavonia. There were in all 9,582,152 males and 9,672,407 females. The population per square mile is 154 in Hungary and 147 in Croatia-Slavonia. The most important cities with population in 1900 are: Budapest, 732,322; Szegedin, 102,991; Szabadka, 82,122; Debreczen, 75,000; Pressburg or Possony, 65,867; Zágráb (Agram), 61,000; Arád, 56,260; Klausenburg or Kolosvár, 49,295.

The population of the kingdom is by no means homogeneous. The Hungarian or Magyar stock numbered in 1900 about 8,742,300; the Germans, 2,135,181; the Slovaks, 2,019,641; the Rumanians, 2,799,479; the Croatians, 1,678,569; the Servians, 1,052,180; the Ruthenians, 429,447; others, 397,761—of whom about 200,000 are gipsies.

Vital Statistics

In 1905 there were 734,335 births—13,803 of which were still-born and 69,211 illegitimate; 574,725 deaths, including the still-born; surplus of births over deaths, 159,611; marriages, 170,560. The proportion of still-born is 1.88 per cent; that of illegitimacy, 9.4. The annual increase from 1895–1900 was 0.98 per cent. Hungary lost by emigration to the U. S. 170,430 in 1905, a tremendous increase over 1900 with 54,767.

Religious affiliation is predominantly Roman Catholic, 9,919,913 in 1900; Greek Oriental, 2,815,713; Greek Catholics or Uniates, 1,854,143; Reformed (Calvinistic), 2,441,142; Evangelical Lutheran, 1,288,942; Unitarians, 68,568; Jews, 851,378; others, 14,760.

Education is progressing. In 1880 only 5,398,190 could read and write, and 9,483,930 could not; in 1900, some 9,483,930 could read and write, tho there were still 9,131,376 who

could not. School attendance is compulsory from six to twelve. There were (1903) 2,768 infant schools; 18,783 primary schools with 2,609,419 pupils; 92 training schools, and 151 "humanistic" schools; 174 gymnasia; 42 real schools; 3 universities; 49 theological colleges; 10 law schools; 552 industrial schools (478 for apprentices), 63 agricultural schools, 155 commercial, besides various others.

Industrial Statistics

Occupations are chiefly agricultural. In 1900 in Hungary, including Croatia and Slavonia, 6,055,390, or 68.4 per cent of the population, as against 72.5 per cent in 1890, were engaged in agriculture, 1,127,130 in industry, 225,838 in commerce, 385,324 in domestic service, 213,910 in the professions and public service. The clothing industry employs some 281,000; foods and drinks, 120,000; building trades, 125,000; woodworking, 100,000; iron and steel, 128,000; textiles, 80,000.

Industries are improving. The unproductive area amounts to only 1,540,351 hectares, or 4.76 per cent of the total; 13,394,705, or 41.43 per cent are arable; 7,564,185, or 23.4, meadows and pastures; 8,987,243, or 27.8, woodland; 430,934, or 1.33, gardens; 331,751, or 1.03, vineyards. The land is fairly well divided, 2,771,118 small proprietors owning about 55 per cent of the area in holdings of 1 to 150 acres. About 87 per cent of the peasantry own land. The large estates comprize about 45 per cent of the area, divided among 24,774 owners. The principal crops are wheat, 46,427,000 metric centers in 1905; barley, 14,221,000; rye, 13,483,000; oats, 12,205,000; maize, 28,559,000; potatoes, 49,210,000; beet-root for fodder, 40,431,000; beet-root for sugar, 19,310,000; 3,837,000 hectoliters of wine. Timber was exported to the value of 84,931,000 kronen.

Mining gave employment to 71,570 persons, mostly men, and produced an output valued at over 107,000,000 kr., chiefly pig iron, lignite, gold, and coal.

Commerce is growing. Exports (1904) 1,355,544,000 kr.; imports, 1,328,881,000; (1905) 1,398,392,000 *and* 1,363,674,000. The chief exports are flour (corn), oxen, wheat, swine, barley. The chief imports, cotton and woolen goods, coal. The exports were in millions of crowns (1903), to Germany, 155, and to Great Britain, 61. The imports from Germany were 72 millions and from Great Britain, 19. Servia, France, Switzerland, Italy, and Rumania have also considerable trade with Hungary.

Shipping and navigation are not important. There are in the mercantile marine 477 vessels with a tonnage of 92,484, and 2,460 crews. Fiume is the only seaport of Hungary. The river traffic, however, is considerable. The various steamers carried in 1905 nearly 2,000,000 passengers and nearly 4,100,000 tons of freight.

II. Constitution and Government

Altho the junior and smaller partner of the dual monarchy, Hungary has constantly grown in importance, and has given much trouble to the senior partner. This has been the case especially during the last three years. The Magyars are endeavoring to have a Hungarian army, with the Magyar as the official language, and Hungarian commanders. These demands having been granted to a certain extent, other matters came up, aiming apparently at a complete separation between Austria and Hungary. This is, at least, the implied aim of the opposition party in the Parliament.

Hungary is a strictly constitutional monarchy. When Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria was crowned as King of Hungary in 1867, he had to swear allegiance to the constitution, dating in its beginnings from the *Bulla Aurea* of King Andrew II. in 1222. It has been suspended and amended repeatedly, but now provides for a separate Hungarian Parliament. It has two houses: the House of Magnates and the Lower House, or House of Representatives. In the former are 16 archdukes, 241 hereditary heirs, 42 archbishops, bishops, and other dignitaries of the Roman Catholic and Greek churches, 13 representatives of the Protestant churches, 19 dignitaries ex officio, and 3 delegates of Croatia and Slavonia. The Lower House has 453 members: 413 from Hungarian towns, elected by male vote, of twenty years or upward, who pay a small tax, or have a small income; 49 delegates are from Croatia and Slavonia.

There is a cabinet of nine ministers, presided over by the President of the Council, or Prime Minister.

Parties

The main parties are Liberals, Independents, and the Nationalists. The Croatians usually vote with the Liberals. In 1905 the Liberals, who had been in power the most of the time since 1867, were defeated with their leader, Count Tisza. Count Andrassy and M. Kossuth were invited to form a coalition cabinet, but could not agree with the king, and Baron Fejervary formed a ministry. M. Kristoffy, Minister of the Interior, brought forward a proposal of universal manhood suffrage, which was adopted by his colleagues and eagerly supported by the Socialists and non-Magyar races of Hungary, to the embarrassment of the coalition.

A long struggle developed. Parliament was prorogued and on assembly prorogued again, it protesting against the illegality of this. Various ministries were formed and dissolved till finally the crown accepted the proposals of the Independents of the Constitutional Party, on a program of universal suffrage, the progressive nationalization of the Hungarian army, and the increasing use in the army of the Magyar language, thus appealing in a measure from the Liberal and the coalition parliamentary leaders to the interests of the people, and a new ministry was formed, April 8, 1906, with Dr. Wekerle as Premier, Count Julius Andrassy, Count Apponyi, and M. Kossuth all taking office with him. The Liberal Party decided to dissolve itself, and Count Tisza retired into private life. The elections resulted in an overwhelming majority for the new government, at least 250 of the deputies returned being Independents.

The *finances* of the country are in a satisfactory condition. The total revenue in 1905 was 1,057,850,000 kronen; the expenditure, including extraordinary demands, 1,192,209,000; in 1904 the figures stood: 1,283,851,000 and 1,215,358,000. The State debt amounted to 5,432,230,000 kr., or about $1,098,000,000, in 1904. (See also AUSTRIA.)

The *railways* of Hungary had a total length of 18,130 kilometers in 1905—7,774 owned by the State; 7,384 owned by companies but operated by the State; 2,971 owned and operated by companies. Receipts, about $68,905,000; expenses, $38,275,000; surplus, $30,630,000. The railroads are, on the whole, well managed, and have been profitable since the zone system for railway charges was introduced. The capital investment amounts to $612,440,000.

Post-offices numbered 5,309 in 1905; there were 3,707 telegraph-offices, 23,719 kilometers of line with 128,315 of wire. Hungary had 178 telephone systems with 190,962 kilometers of wire. The receipts for the united postal and telegraph service were 61,207,000 kr.; expenses, 44,702,000; surplus, 16,505,000.

(For *army and navy*, see article AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.)

III. Social Reform

The Social Democrats are the most active in this line. At the congress of 1904 665 representatives attended, against 234 in 1902 and 349 in 1903. The revenues amounted to 134,000 crowns, against 43,000 in 1902 and 60,000 in 1903; the number of communities represented in 1903 was 277, against 86 in 1902 and 165 in 1903.

The party recruits itself chiefly among the industrial laborers, and in an "international socialistic" party. Besides this party there is another Social Democratic Party, which chiefly recruits itself among agricultural laborers and the non-Hungarian rationalists; this party also held a conference, where 104 communities were represented. The tendency now, however, is to unity, and the recent Socialist successes in Austria have largely aided the Hungarian movement. Since 1904 a new party, the Christian Laborers, are also gaining influence, having formed in October a federation of all Christian labor-unions; this party is opposed to the International Social Democracy.

Trade-unionists number (1906) 71,000, as against 14,000 in 1902. They publish 21 periodical papers with 61,000 copies. In 1903 the income was 273,000 crowns, the expenditures 201,000; out of this 87,000 for the unemployed. The unions are nearly all Social Democratic.

It is not to be forgotten that, altho Hungary even now is chiefly an agricultural country, nearly all these organizations reach only the industrial labors.

This does not mean, however, that there is not a very important agrarian labor question in this country. In 1894 there were very dangerous riots in the heart of Hungary which led to strong repressions and to a special legislation, especially in 1898. Also in the first half of 1904 there were strong agrarian movements in the Servian and Rumanian districts, repressed, however, by a governmental action making meetings impossible, and by a number of prosecutions against the socialistic press.

In 1905 the International Federation of Cooperation held its congress in Budapest. In Hungary there are chiefly credit and consumers' cooperations; the cooperation of producers is very rare. The chief organization of consumers' cooperation, Hangya, included in 1903 383 cooperative societies with 64,000 members, 1,500,000 crowns of capital, 9,000,000 of traffic, and about 250,000 of profits.

The Christian cooperative societies were 275 in 1903, with 41,000 members and about 5,000,000 crowns of traffic. There were in 1904 some 1,742 cooperative credit societies and 517 dairy societies.

At the Hungarian State Iron Works at Diós Györ not a little is done for the employees. Dining accommodations are provided for 4,000 (the largest hall of the kind in the world), with dinners for seven cents, a great organ playing during the meals. There are also schools, a summer swimming establishment, tennis-courts, and skating-ponds for winter. Some industrial betterment, too, is conducted at other State, industrial, mining, and railway enterprises as well as in private enterprises.

Compulsory industrial insurance is being developed. In 1891 employees in dangerous industries were compelled to contribute not more than 3 per cent of their wages to a fund insuring medical care and indemnity in sickness. The employer pays one third of the premiums. Insurance against accidents is now also compulsory even for agricultural laborers.

A Social Museum in Budapest was founded by the government in 1901, and contains chiefly those collections of books, monographs, and models which were to be seen at the International Exhibition of 1900 in Paris. The program of the Social Museum is quite an exhaustive one. But no sufficient funds are provided.

It is perfectly clear that there is need of remedial legislation. Wages are low, hours long, living often expensive, and in many cases cleanliness impossible. Factory legislation is steadily progressing, however, and the number of inspectors is to be doubled. In 1906 over 8,000 factories were inspected in Hungary. The new "industrial law" is to decide the question of "Sunday rest" and workmen's compensation; to restrict female night-work; to protect children and workers of minor age; to introduce the principle of labor representation, hitherto unknown in Hungary; to institute industrial and commercial courts for the settlement of disputes between employer and employed; and, finally, to settle the strike question.

Independent of this comprehensive measure, the Hungarian Government is organizing labor bureaus throughout the country to be controlled by the State; and also the extension of the pawnshop system. Two other legislative acts are being framed, "taxation reform," by which means will be found to lighten the burden of the poor by exempting from taxation all whose income does not exceed the minimum essential to subsistence, and secondly, a "small holdings act," with a view to improve the lot of the peasant proprietors. Among several of the young Kossuthist deputies there exists a distinct tendency toward the advocacy of "women's franchise," and already meetings have been held in all parts of Hungary, and an organization formed.

Wages are generally very low. Agricultural laborers in 1904 averaged in summer scarcely thirty cents per day with board, and forty cents without. Carpenters earned from $2 to $5 per week.

REFERENCES: See also AUSTRIA. *Studien zur. Social und Wirtschaftspolitik Ungarns*, by Dr. Julius Bunzel (Leipsic, 1902); *Hungary and Its People*, by Felberman (London, 1892); *Das Konigriech Ungarn* (a German translation of a Hungarian original), by S. Matlekrovits. (Budapest, 1897–98); *Histoire Générale des Hongrois*, by E. Sayous (2d ed., Paris, 1890).

HUNTER, ROBERT (WILES): Sociologist; born at Terre Haute, Ind., April 10, 1874; was graduated by the public schools there, 1893, and by University of Indiana, A.B., 1896. Married Caroline M. Phelps Stokes at Noroton, Conn., May 23, 1903. Organizing secretary Chicago Bureau of Charities, 1896–1901. Chairman Investigating Committee, City Homes Association; superintendent Municipal Lodging House, member Small Parks Commission, resident Hull House, 1899–1902 (all of Chicago). Resident Toynbee Hall, London, and other English settlements, summer 1899. Headworker University Settlement, New York, 1902–3. Chairman Child Labor Committee of New York since 1902. Member of Commission for Prevention of Tuberculosis, director Metropolitan Parks Association, president Social Reform Club, 1905.

Hunter is author of "Tenement Conditions in Chicago," 1901; "Poverty," 1904; and many magazine articles on social problems. Joined Socialist Party in 1907. *Address*: Highland Farm, Noroton, Conn.

HUNTINGTON, FREDERICK DAN: Episcopal bishop; born at Hadley, Mass., 1819. He graduated at Amherst College, 1839, and at Cambridge Divinity School, 1842. Entering the Unitarian

ministry, he held a pastorate in Boston, and from 1855–60 was Professor of Christian Morals and preacher at Harvard University. In 1860 he entered the Episcopal Church and became rector of Emmanuel Church, Boston, and in 1869 Bishop of Central New York. Besides many religious books, he has written numerous magazine articles on religious and social problems with kindred subjects. He was president of the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor (*q. v.*), and of the Church Social Union (*q. v.*). Author of numerous religious books and papers. Died 1904.

HUXLEY, THOMAS HENRY: Scientist; we consider here for his contributions to social science. Born at Ealing, Middlesex, England, in 1825, he studied at Charing Cross Hospital and at the University of London. As assistant surgeon in the royal navy he sailed round the world and made many observations in natural science. In 1854 he became Professor of Natural History in the School of Mines, and Professor of Physiology. From 1863–69 he was professor in the Royal College of Surgeons. He was president of various scientific societies, from 1870–72 on the London School Board, and in 1893 privy councilor. Died 1895. He has been a careful student of biology, yet few men have done more to popularize science by his lectures and his numerous writings. Mr. William M. Salter thus describes his social positions (we abridge his account):

Society, he held, came into being when mutual war gave way to mutual peace—and it "most nearly approaches perfection as the war of individual against individual is most strictly limited." The "eternal competition of man with man and of nation with nation" did not please him. He put his hand on the weak spot in the laborer's situation when he said that it is the competition of laborers with one another that makes the capitalist's strength.

Huxley was no optimist, and yet he saw no limit to the extent to which "intelligence and will, guarded by sound principles of investigation, and organized in common effort, may modify the conditions of existence for a period longer than that covered by history." With due regulation of its numbers and due ordering of its industrial life, Huxley thought that a society might even now eliminate poverty and want (save such as arose from moral delinquencies or unavoidable calamities). Whether any society would actually rise to this height remained, of course, to be seen. Huxley was only sure that if some advance was not made in this direction, it was an open question whether the life of the race was worth preserving. If there was no hope of a large improvement of the condition of the greater part of the human family, he declared he should welcome the advent of some kindly comet that would sweep the whole affair away.

HYGIENE. See Sanitary Science.

HYNDMAN, HENRY MAYERS: English Socialist leader; born in 1842; educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. Taking his degree in 1864, he entered the Inner Temple in 1865, but as special correspondent for the *Pall Mall Gazette*, went through the Italian campaign of 1866. From 1868–70 he traveled through the United States and Australia. In 1877 he published books on "The Indian Famine" and the "Crisis in India," which brought prominently into public notice the appalling condition of Indian affairs. At the general election of 1880 he was an unsuccessful Independent candidate for the parliamentary seat of Marylebone, London. In the same year, with several others, he raised an agitation in England against Mr. Gladstone's "coercion policy" in Ireland, and several times he had narrow escapes from being mobbed by the Liberals for his outspoken denunciations. In Jan., 1881, was founded, mainly through his efforts, the Democratic Federation, which soon became a distinctly Socialist organization, and grew into the Social Democratic Federation. From that time forward he has been closely identified with this organization, speaking and writing unceasingly. In 1886 he was tried, with Messrs. Burns, Champion, and Williams, for "uttering sedition and inciting to violence" in a speech made at a meeting of the unemployed in Trafalgar Square. After a trial lasting three days they were all acquitted. His first Socialist publication was "England for All" (1881), followed by "The Historic Basis of Socialism in England" (1883); "The Social Reconstruction of England, a Summary of the Principles of Socialism" (1884). He is still the leading member of the Social Democratic Federation, and constantly contributes to *Justice*, its organ. A man of means, no one has more absolutely devoted his whole life to the cause of socialism. *Address*: 9 Queen Anne's Gate, St. James's Park, S. W., London, England.

I

IBSEN, HENRIK: Dramatist; born at Skien, Norway, 1828. Apprenticed to a druggist, he early left the pharmacy for literature. In 1854 he was appointed director of the theater at Bergen; 1857 at Christiania. In 1866 he received a pension and resided abroad at Dresden, Munich, and Rome till 1891, when he returned to reside at Christiania. His first drama, *Catilina*, was not considered a success, tho with marks of genius. He then turned to Norwegian historical subjects in *The Banquet at Solhang* and other dramas and found great success. He then turned to the satire of society in *Brand* (1866) and other plays, with still more popularity in Norway, and which have been translated into most European languages. *The Pillars of Society* (1877) was followed by *A Doll's House* (1879); *Ghosts* (1881); *An Enemy of the People* (1882); *Hedda Gabler* (1890); *The Master Builder* (1892); *When We Dead Awaken* (1900), and other dramas less known. These productions have been attacked as immoral, and have been lauded as of the highest genius. They have done good service for social reform by showing some of the shams and weak spots of respectable society, as in part due to present economic conditions. Died 1906. See G. B. Shaw's *Quintessence of Ibsenism* (1893); Jaeger's *Henrik Ibsen* (1894).

ICARIA: A communistic settlement in the United States, begun in 1847, to embody the social ideals described in Cabet's romance *Voyage en Icarie*. Cabet, a Frenchman, wrote his romance in 1839, and then, pressed by his friends, sought for an opportunity to carry out his ideas. He finally succeeded in making arrangements for an experiment on American soil. In his journal, *Le Populaire*, he announced the purchase of a considerable tract of land on the Red River, Tex., and a treaty by which Cabet was made the director of an intended colony, and the depositary of all the funds, community of property being

the distinctive principle of the society. Accordingly, in 1848, an expedition of sixty-nine persons sailed to America as an advance guard, leaving Cabet himself and another company to follow soon after. But difficulties arose. They were attacked by the yellow fever, and, unable to endure the Texan climate, the survivors abandoned their claims and returned to New Orleans. Here Cabet met them, with 400 additional members. News, however, had been received in New Orleans of the proclamation of the republic in France, and many felt tempted to return. Cabet was denounced, but induced several hundred to keep on. Learning that the Mormons had abandoned their settlement in Nauvoo, Ill., he set out for that place, and settled there with his followers. The Icarians in Nauvoo numbered at one time 600. They met with some success in cultivating their land, established shops, pursued trades, and set up a printing-office; but instead of rejoicing in his prosperity, and laboring to increase it, Cabet was dreaming what he might do if he had half a million, as is evinced by his publication *Wenn ich $500,000 hätte.*

It is said that Cabet developed a dictatorial spirit; but this is doubtful. He was in a difficult place, and had many rivals and enemies. He was even summoned back to Paris on a trumped-up charge of fraud, but was able to successfully defend himself before the tribunal. Returning to Nauvoo, he found it prospering; but dissension again arose, and Cabet was expelled. He went with some of his followers to St. Louis, where he died, 1856. His followers founded a colony at Cheltenham, which, however, did not endure. Meantime, the faction which had remained at Nauvoo, after many years of struggle, decided to remove, and 4,000 acres were bought by the Nodaway River in Adams County, Ia., in the town of Corning, and the colony moved there. Dissensions were, however, not over, and, finally, in 1880 two factions—the Young Party and the Old Party—having failed to live together, separated. The property was equitably divided by arbitrators; but through a technicality the old charter was lost, the Young Party obtaining a new one and the right to the name, with the original settlement; the Old Party found themselves obliged to found a New Icaria a mile farther east. The Young Party soon dissolved. The Old Party continued, but finally disbanded in 1895.

The essential principles of Cabet's communism were the equality of all and the brotherhood of man. Executive officers were elected every year, who were, however, only empowered to execute the orders of their fellow citizens, and could not so much as buy a bushel of corn without being authorized to do so by the society. The directors bought the goods needed by the Icarians twice a year at wholesale. Each one made known his wants previously to the semiannual purchases. "To each according to his needs; from each according to his ability" was the economic doctrine of the community. Marriage was essential according to Cabet's scheme, and wives highly honored. Not only was the strictest fidelity enjoined upon the husbands, but they were required to render special acts of homage to their wives.

The government was purely democratic. Concerning religion, the constitution of the community said: "The Icarian Community adopts as its religion the religion of Christianity in its primitive purity, and its fundamental principle of fraternity of men and of peoples." Sunday was set apart as a day of rest and recreation. Walking, riding, visiting, fishing and dancing, with occasional amateur theatricals, were the amusements. In addition to the national holidays they celebrated two of their own, Feb. 3d, or the anniversary of the founding of the community, and the "Fête de Mais," or corn festival.

They lived in little houses in plots of ground bright with flowers around a central house, where they had their meals in common. They at one time published a little paper, the *Revue Icarienne.* See Albert Shaw's *Icaria* (1894), also Bulletin of the U. S. Bureau of Labor, No. 35.

ILLEGITIMACY: Illegitimacy is a social phenomenon, produced by the conjoint action of many different forces, both of impulse and restraint. While its varying rate is to some extent a register of the moral tone prevalent in communities governed by the same laws and customs, it cannot be assumed that in contrasting different nations, illegitimacy must inevitably constitute an index of equal value. A country may have a high rate of illegitimacy, not because its morals are debased, but because law and custom hinder early marriages, or make possible the legitimization of offspring by a subsequent marriage. Again, the practise of criminal abortion and the intentional prevention of conception may vitiate the credit which might seem to belong to a people having a very low rate of illegitimate births. In Mohammedan countries there is doubtless less illegitimacy than in most Christian lands; and before the Gentile invasion of Utah, an illegitimate birth is said to have been almost unknown. But making all deductions, it is obvious that a difference in the rate of illegitimacy in communities enjoying the same civilization and laws, must constitute to some extent a register of the popular sentiment regarding it.

Nor does illegitimacy necessarily indicate laxity of morals in every direction. Of the mothers of illegitimate children, Miss Muloch in her "Thoughts about Women" says that "Women who thus fall are by no means the worst of their station. I have heard it affirmed by more than one lady . . . that *many of them are of the very best—refined, intelligent, truthful and affectionate.*" To this fact the greatest of romance writers—Scott, Goethe, Hugo, Hawthorne, Tolstoy and George Eliot—have also witnessed.

One of the most interesting facts regarding illegitimacy is the persistence of the phenomena with nearly the same frequency in the same country or community, year after year. In England, for example, during the last fifteen years, the rate of illegitimate births has oscillated between 39 and 42 per thousand births. So uniform is this national rate that the present writer in 1891 ventured to predict that of every thousand children who should be brought into the world in England and Wales during the year 1893, at least 42 or 43 would be illegitimate, and that the total number of such births would be about 38,000. When, in 1895, the statistics relating to the year 1893 were published in the report of the Registrar-General, these predictions were found to be exactly correct. (V. "Illegitimacy," p. 9.) So assuredly can dependence be placed upon the uniformity of the laws which govern human conduct, that the results that will occur through

passion and folly can be predicted years in advance.

The rate of illegitimacy for purposes of comparison may be estimated by several different methods. It may be calculated by the proportion which such births bear to the total population of a country, or by the ratio which they bear to the totality of births, or, best of all, to the number of unmarried females between the ages of 15–45. The following table gives for several countries the rate of illegitimacy per 10,000 population during two periods: the first for the years 1880–81, the second for the four years 1901–4:

Countries	Two years 1880–81	Four years 1901–4
Austria	62	57
Saxony	64	52
Bavaria	59	48
Sweden	29	33
Denmark	36	32
Prussia	33	30
Italy	35	25
France	23	23
Norway	25	22
Belgium	27	22
Scotland	28	17
New Zealand	18	12
England and Wales	19	11
Ireland	6	5

How America would compare with other nations in this respect, there are no means of telling. No civilized country on the globe is so destitute of information regarding the "Movement of the Population" in this and other respects as the United States. Since none can tell the number of suicides or murders which annually occur within the American borders, it is not to be expected that the number of births be known.

Two facts are evident from the foregoing figures. Compared with the rates of twenty years since, it would appear that, with few exceptions, illegitimacy is slowly decreasing. But to what cause is due this great diversity in tendency to illicit relationships which these figures make apparent? (1) It cannot be due to religious faith, so far as that means the acceptance of a particular creed.

Causes

A higher appreciation of chastity cannot be ascribed to Protestantism, for in Norway and Sweden, in Scotland and Denmark the rate of illegitimacy is far greater than in Ireland where Catholicism has the stronger hold. A superior moral efficiency cannot be detected in Catholicism as a deterrent from passional irregularity; since in Austria, in Saxony and Bavaria the rate of bastardy far exceeds that of England and Scotland. Even if two nations of even greater divergence in faith—Christian and non-Christian—are contrasted the advantage is not as we might suppose. Take Japan, for example. Its chief religious force is Buddhism. In 1902 the proportion of illegitimacy to total population of Japan was 30—a rate *surpassed by five of the nations of Europe*, three Catholic and two Protestant. In England, the counties of Norfolk and Hereford during four years (1899–1902) showed about the same proportion of illegitimate births as were born in the northern and central provinces of Japan.

(2) The differences in rate of illegitimacy cannot be ascribed to differences in degree of education. Districts or countries where a high standard of elementary education prevails show no superiority over those where ignorance is the rule. In France, excluding Paris, it has been noted that illegitimacy is least in departments where illiteracy is most general.

(3) In proportion to the total number of births, the rate of illegitimacy is often greater in the country districts than in large cities.

Contrast, for instance, the rate of illegitimate births in three great cities of England with the rate which prevails in certain rural districts of the same land:

City	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905
London	37	36	36	38	38
Birmingham	33	40	35	39	40
Manchester	27	32	32	35	30
Region					
Cumberland	58	57	61	59	56
Norfolk	64	61	64	62	65
North Wales	59	60	56	58	60

Outside of England, however, this rule appears reversed. Paris, Vienna, Berlin, and other capital cities show a higher rate of illegitimacy than prevails in rural districts about them. In the case of Paris, this is largely due to the number of working people whose unions, unauthorized by Church or State, are orderly and decent in other respects. Dr. Bertillon has estimated these to be about 10 per cent of the whole number of homes.

(4) A high rate of illegitimacy is not due to poverty or chronic want. In North Ireland, where prosperity is greatest, the proportion of such births is far greater, every year, than in the south and west of Ireland where destitution is more general. An interesting comparison is afforded by certain registration districts of London. In this city, the fashionable and aristocratic quarters are in the West End; the districts which make up the East End of London are densely populated by the poorer class. The following table gives the rate of illegitimacy to each thousand births during four consecutive years:

London	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905
East End:					
Stepney	12	11	9	10	18
Bethnal Green	13	12	15	14	13
Mile End, Old town	15	11	13	16	16
Whitechapel	22	20	24	24	19
West End:					
St. George, Hanover Square	40	52	45	47	45
Kensington	48	49	44	45	49
Fulham	43	43	42	45	45
St. Marylebone	182	181	186	185	198

It will be seen, then, that in a great city like London, the quarters where dwell the poorest of its population are the districts least affected by illegitimacy of births. This characteristic persists in the same neighborhoods year after year. In 1876 almost the same differences were to be found.

For the real causes of that singular difference in proclivity toward illegitimacy, whether in nations or neighborhoods, one must look to certain hereditary influences. This does not mean that some mysterious and inscrutable force impels one

class of people more than another either to irregular relations or to vice and crime; but only that in different nations and in different communities, even granting proclivity to be the same, *the deterrent influences are unequally felt.* Certainly, one of the strongest deterrents from wrongdoing is the condemnation of public sentiment. In whatever community or country the birth of an illegitimate child is lightly regarded as a mishap by no means of infrequent occurrence among neighbors and relatives, there the annual rate of illegitimacy will be greater than where such a birth inflicts upon the mother a stigma of disgrace. We see the effect of sentiment exemplified in other phases of human conduct; where private vengeance is secretly condoned and approved, as in Corsica and Sicily, there assassinations will take the place of appeal to law; where divorce brings no obloquy, there divorces will be frequent, and where the lynching of negroes for certain crimes is regarded with approval, there appeal to lynch law will constantly occur. To weigh this subtle influence of opinion, to ascertain how far it obtains in one community more than in another, is only possible by a study of its effect upon human conduct generation after generation.

Illegitimacy in nearly all European countries appears to be slowly decreasing. This is evident from the figures given in the first table herein presented. In England and Wales, the illegitimate birth-rate, when calculated upon the total number of unmarried women between the ages of fifteen and forty-five, for periods of three years immediately following the census year indicates a reduction of 50 per cent from the rate prevailing thirty-five years ago.

ENGLAND AND WALES

YEARS	Rate per 10,000
1870–72	170
1880–82	141
1890–92	105
1900–2	85
1903	84
1904	84
1905	82

Little can be said regarding the lessening of illegitimacy. In some countries, legislation which should remove all impediments to marriage would undoubtedly have effect; but probably it would tend to increase the number of unhappy unions, and the tendency to divorce. Everywhere a strong social condemnation appears to decrease prevalence; but pushed too far, even this may provoke a tendency to infanticide. One may be fairly confident, however, that whatever makes for the sincerest and widest appreciation of conjugal life and domestic happiness will tend to diminish those transitory and irregular relationships from which come the majority of illegitimate births.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Illegitimacy and the Influence of Seasons upon Conduct*, by Albert Leffingwell, M.D. (1892); *Sixty-seventh Report of Registrar-General of Births, etc. England and Wales* (1904). See also MARRIAGE; DIVORCE; PROSTITUTION.

ALBERT LEFFINGWELL.

ILLITERACY: One of the main indications of the advance of civilization in modern times is the spread of popular education. Nevertheless the number of illiterates, even in many civilized countries, is still very large. In the United States the proportion of illiterates is kept large by the illiteracy of the colored population and by that of some classes of immigrants.

WORLD STATISTICS

PER CENT OF POPULATION OVER TWELVE YEARS UNABLE TO READ AND WRITE [1]

COUNTRY	1840	1890	1900
Germany	18	4	1
Norway	..	3	1
Sweden	20	3	1
Switzerland	20	5	1
New Zealand	..	7	4
France	53	15	5
United Kingdom	41	10	6
Australia	..	..	9
Holland	30	14	10
United States	20	13	10
Belgium	55	20	12
Austria	79	45	31
Italy	84	53	44
Spain	..	68	..
Russia (in Europe)	98	85	78

[1] Mainly from a table compiled by Professor Parsons in "Civilization Tables" in "The Story of New Zealand."

ANALYSIS OF ILLITERACY IN THE UNITED STATES OF PERSONS AT LEAST TEN YEARS OF AGE [1]

	No.	Per Cent		
	1900	1900	1890	1880
Total	6,180,069 [2]	10.7	13.3	17.0
Males	3,011,224	10.1	12.4	15.8
Females	3,168,845	11.2	14.4	18.2
White	3,200,746	6.2	7.7	9.4
Negro	2,853,194	44.5	57.1	.....
Native white	1,913,611	4.6	6.2	8.7
Foreign born	1,287,135	12.9	13.1	12.0

[1] From the *Twelfth Census.*
[2] Of these, 15.5 can read but not write.

PER CENT OF WHITE MALE POPULATION ILLITERATE, 21 TO 24 YEARS OF AGE (Census 1900)

DIVISION	White Male	Native	Foreign Born
New England	5.5	1.4	14.8
Southern North Atlantic[1]	4.8	1.2	16.8
Northern South Atlantic[2]	7.5	7.1	17.2
Southern South Atlantic[3]	11.9	12.0	7.8
Eastern North Central[4]	2.3	1.4	7.2
Western North Central[5]	1.9	1.6	3.8
Eastern South Central[6]	11.1	11.2	7.8
Western South Central[7]	8.7	7.8	25.7
Rocky Mountains[8]	4.2	3.0	9.7
Basin and plateau[9]	5.0	2.1	17.8
Pacific[10]	1.6	0.5	6.9
United States	5.0	3.8	12.0

[1] New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania.
[2] Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia.
[3] North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida.
[4] Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin.
[5] Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas.
[6] Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi.
[7] Louisiana, Arkansas, Indian Territory, Oklahoma, Texas.
[8] Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico.
[9] Arizona, Utah, Nevada.
[10] Washington, Oregon, California.

ILLITERACY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Per cent signing marriage registers by mark.

YEAR	ENGLAND AND WALES			
1843	Males	32.7	Females	49.0
1863	"	23.8	"	33.1
1883	"	12.6	"	15.5
1903	"	1.9	"	2.3
	SCOTLAND			
1903	Males	1.7	Females	2.3
	IRELAND			
1904	Males	10.4	Females	8.0

Of recruits in the United Kingdom raised 1903–4, 92 per cent could read and write, 0.6 per cent could read only, and 1.0 could neither read nor write.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Reports of the U. S. Commissioner of Education; Report of the Board of Education for Great Britain, etc.*

IMMIGRATION: In America the term "immigration" is usually applied to the movement of population to the United States since the founding of the national government, as contrasted with the "colonization" of earlier periods. In the thirteen original states the pioneers were practically all Teutonic and Celtic,—British, Irish, Dutch, and German,—with a few French, Portuguese, and Swedes. The total population of the U. S. in 1790 was about 4,000,000 souls, and it is estimated that the total immigration from that date to 1820, when records first began to be kept, was about 250,000 souls.

The total immigration since 1820, by decades, has been as follows:

1821 to 1830	143,439
1831 to 1840	599,125
1841 to 1850	1,713,251
1851 to 1860	2,598,214
1861 to 1870	2,314,824
1871 to 1880	2,812,191
1881 to 1890	5,246,613
1891 to 1900	3,687,564
1901 to 1905	3,833,076
Total—1821 to 1905	22,948,297

The largest annual totals in recent years have been as follows:

1882	788,992
1892	623,084
1902	648,743
1903	857,046
1904	812,870
1905	1,026,499

The only times when immigrants have exceeded 1 per cent of the population into which they came were 1847–54, 1870, 1873, 1881–83, and 1903–5.

The number of emigrants cannot be accurately stated but probably averages between one quarter and one third of the arrivals. In 1905 over 17 per cent of immigrants arriving had been in the U. S. before; many go back and forth a number of times.

Immigration is due in general to a desire to benefit one's condition. This is proved by the invariable relation between the number of immigrants and industrial conditions in this country. Other causes are religious persecution and political oppression abroad; the solicitation and assistance of friends and relatives in the U. S; the increased facilities and diminished cost of travel; the efforts of foreign governments, municipalities and charitable organizations to rid themselves of the burden of dependents and delinquents; and last and most important, the solicitation of steamship agents both abroad and in this country. Owing to the last factor, much of the present immigration is not a spontaneous movement of population, but one artificially stimulated by the transportation interests, which make a profit of $15 to $20 on each immigrant. The tariff also operates as a cause by making it easier for the workman to come than the goods which he produces.

Causes

The most important characteristic of recent immigration, next to the increase in its volume, is the change in its racial composition. There were three principal waves of migration during the nineteenth century: one of the Irish, beginning in the forties and following the potato famine; another of the Germans, caused by the revolution of 1848 and the subsequent political upheavals; and the third, somewhat later, from the Scandinavian countries. Up to 1880 the bulk of immigration was from Teutonic stock, akin in habits and institutions to the original settlers. In the last twenty-five years, however, a profound change has occurred, and the immigration of to-day is chiefly of Iberic, Slavic, Semitic, and Asiatic races.

Racial Waves

This is brought out by the fact that in 1869 immigrants from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland, and Russia were about one hundredth of those from the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Scandinavia; in 1880, about one tenth; in 1894, nearly equal to it; in 1902, three and one half times as great. If we compare the total immigration of certain nationalities for the period 1821 to 1902 with that for the year 1903, we find the following result:

COUNTRY	1821 to 1902		1903	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Austria-Hungary	1,316,914	6.5	206,011	24.0
England, Wales	2,739,937	13.4	26,219	3.0
Germany	5,098,005	24.9	40,086	4.7
Ireland	3,944,269	19.3	35,300	4.1
Italy	1,358,597	6.7	230,622	26.9
Norway, Sweden	1,334,931	6.6	70,489	8.2
Russia, Poland	1,106,362	5.4	136,093	15.9
British North America	1,050,682	5.1	.....	....

In 1905, of the total immigration, 58.3 per cent was Slavic and Iberic, and 34.6 per cent was Teutonic and Celtic. The immigration from Asia was 23,925, or 2.3 per cent of the total, including 1,971 Chinese.

The largest elements in recent immigration have been as follows:

	1904	1905
Southern Italian	159,329	185,445
Hebrew	106,236	129,910
Polish	67,757	102,437
German	74,790	82,360
Scandinavian	61,029	62,284

The economic gain from immigration is, of course, immense, and it would be difficult to give it a money value. The amount of money brought by immigrants in 1905 was over $25,000,000, or

about $25 per capita. Much of this sum, as well as the passage money of probably one half of the immigrants, was wholly or partially furnished by friends or relatives in the United States. The more intelligent races, as a rule, bring the most money. It is probable that the savings and remittances sent home annually by immigrants already here amount to from two to three times the amount brought in each year.

Of the total immigration, only about 15 per cent are skilled or professional persons. About 80 per cent are entirely unskilled, and without knowledge of any trade or means of livelihood. The countries of northwestern Europe furnish the largest proportions of skilled immigrants.

The total illiteracy of immigrants over fourteen years of age, in 1905, was 26.2 per cent. The females are, in general, more illiterate than the males. The illiteracy of the races contributing more than 2,000 immigrants was for the same year as follows:

Northern and Western Europe (Chiefly Teutonic and Celtic)	
Scandinavian	0.6
Scotch	0.7
English	1.3
Bohemian and Moravian	1.7
Finnish	1.8
French	2.7
Irish	3.8
German	4.2
Dutch and Flemish	5.3
Italian (North)	14.0
Average	3.7

Southern and Eastern Europe (Chiefly Slavic and Celtic)	
Spanish	10.1
Magyar	11.6
Greek	22.4
Slovak	25.0
Rumanian	28.8
Russian	30.8
Croatian and Slovenian	38.2
Dalmatian, Bosnian and Herzegovinian	38.4
Bulgarian, Servian and Montenegrin	38.9
Polish	39.6
Italian (South)	56.4
Lithuanian	56.9
Ruthenian	62.6
Portuguese	66.7
Average	42.2

Other Races	
Chinese	5.0
Cuban	7.7
African (black)	15.8
Hebrew	23.3
Japanese	39.3
Syrian	53.6

In 1900, of the 10,356,644 foreign born in the U. S., the North Atlantic division contained 22.6 per cent; the North Central, 15.8 per cent; the Western, 20.7 per cent; leaving only 4.6 per cent for the South Central and South Atlantic divisions combined. This shows the tendency of immigrants to settle in certain sections of the country. Indeed, of the total immigration of 1905, 65.3 per cent were destined to Illinois, Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania, and only 8.7 per cent to the Southern and Western States. Within these states the recent immigrants, in contrast with the earlier ones, tend, almost entirely, to live in the large cities. Thus, in 1900, the foreign born who were one eighth of the total population furnished one fourth of the population of the cities. Southwestern Europe furnishes three times as many inhabitants as northwestern Europe to the slums of Baltimore, nineteen times as many to the slums of New York, twenty times as many to the slums of Chicago, and seventy-one times as many to the slums of Philadelphia.

In 1899 the total immigration was divided as to religious belief as follows: Roman Catholics, 52.1 per cent; Protestants, 18.5 per cent; Jews, 10.4 per cent; Greek Catholics, 4.0 per cent; Brahmans and Buddhists, 0.9 per cent; miscellaneous, 13.9 per cent.

The good effects of immigration in building up the country and developing its industries are so obvious as not to need discussion.

The bad effects of immigration are due both to those whom it introduces and to those whom it prevents being introduced. Considering the second effect first, it is a fact that the recent large immigration of unskilled and illiterate races has turned the more skilled and intelligent of all races to the other countries. But more important still is the lowering of the birth-rate of those already here and ultimately of the immigrants themselves, and in raising the birth-rate in the countries from which the immigrants come, thus keeping the source of the flow undiminished. The number of white children in the U. S. five years of age to 1,000 white females fifteen to forty-nine years of age has fallen steadily from 781 in 1830 to 465 in 1900; although in the South, which has received practically no immigrants, the birth-rate has been nearly constant. Under a system of unselected immigration, all the benefits which might accrue from a careful selection of the best specimens of European races and their interbreeding to produce a still finer race here will be lost.

Effects

Immigration has stimulated the development of the factory and industrial system, and this has, in turn, produced an economic and social stratification. There seems to be no doubt that it tends to retard, at least in certain lines of work, the operation of the general tendency toward rising wages. It is true that the volume of immigration is sensitive to the law of supply and demand, but the fact that many recent arrivals have a low standard of living tends to nullify the working of this law. This low standard and the accompanying ignorance are responsible for the development of the sweat-shop and padrone systems of labor, as well as much unemployment at certain periods.

Immigration tends to retard the elimination of illiteracy in this country. In 1900 the average was 4.6 per cent for native whites, as compared with 12.9 per cent for foreign whites. The fact that the illiteracy of the children of immigrants was only 1.6 per cent, as compared with 5.7 for the children of natives, is due to the settlement of the former in states where education is well developed and compulsory.

Criminal Tendency

In regard to criminal tendency, we find that, comparing male prisoners with the male population of voting age, in 1890, the numbers per million were as follows:

Native white, native parents	2,282
Native white, foreign parents	6,742
Native white—total	3,145
Foreign white	3,270

In other words, the foreign whites were nearly one and one half times as criminal as the natives of native parentage; and the natives of foreign parentage were over three times as criminal.

Comparing male juvenile offenders with the

male population of school age, for the North Atlantic division, we find the figures to be, per million, as follows:

Native white, native parents	855
Native white, foreign parents	2,740
Foreign white	2,252

This means that the children of immigrants are nearly one quarter more criminal than the immigrants themselves, and more than three times as criminal as the children of natives.

Disease and Insanity

Immigrants are also responsible for the increase of various diseases such as trachoma, tuberculosis, and smallpox, and their ignorance increases the difficulty of sanitation. The last epidemic of yellow fever in New Orleans was largely due to this cause. The foreign-born population in 1890 also furnished two and one third times its normal proportion of insane persons; and the males of foreign birth and parentage furnished three times as many paupers per million of voting population as those of native birth and parentage. The proportion of paupers who are foreign born has increased steadily since 1850.

In 1904 there were 44,985 alien inmates of penal, reformatory and charitable institutions in the U. S., of whom more than one half were in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois. An alien population, 1.3 per cent of the total population, furnished 11 per cent of all the inmates of these institutions.

Legislation

The U. S. took the control of immigration from the states in 1882. The principal laws at present in force are the Act of March 3, 1903, the Contract Labor acts of Feb. 26, 1885, and Feb. 23, 1887, and the Chinese Exclusion acts.

The Act of 1903 provides for a head-tax of $2 on every alien not a citizen of the U. S., Canada, Cuba, Newfoundland, or Mexico. It excludes from admission to the U. S. the following: (1) idiots; (2) insane persons; (3) epileptics; (4) persons who have been insane within five years previous to arrival; (5) persons who have had two or more attacks of insanity at any time previous; (6) paupers; (7) persons likely to become a public charge; (8) professional beggars; (9) persons afflicted with a loathsome or with a dangerous contagious disease; (10) persons who have been convicted of a felony or other crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude, not including those convicted of purely political offenses; (11) polygamists; (12) anarchists, or persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the government of the U. S. or of all government or of all forms of law, or the assassination of public officials; (13) prostitutes; (14) persons who procure or attempt to bring in prostitutes or women for the purpose of prostitution; (15) those who have been within one year from the date of application for admission to the U. S., deported as being under offers, solicitations, promises or agreements to perform labor or service of some kind therein; (16) any person whose ticket or passage is paid for with the money of another, or who is assisted by others to come, unless it is affirmatively and satisfactorily shown that such person does not belong to one of the foregoing excluded classes; but any person in the U. S. may send for a relative or friend without thereby putting the burden of this proof upon the immigrant.

The Contract Labor laws exclude all alien laborers, mechanics or artizans who are under contract, express or implied, to perform labor in the U. S. They do not apply to skilled laborers, if others of like kind unemployed cannot be found in this country, to professional actors, artists, lecturers, singers, ministers of any religious denomination, professors for colleges or seminaries, persons belonging to any recognized learned profession, or persons employed strictly as personal or domestic servants.

Under the Chinese Exclusion acts all Chinese are now excluded except: (1) officials; (2) teachers; (3) students; (4) merchants; (5) travelers for curiosity or pleasure (these five classes of persons must have certificates of identification from the Chinese Government or the government of which they are subjects); (6) Chinese merchants domiciled here who have temporarily departed (these must have certificates required by the Act of Nov. 3, 1893); (7) minor children of domiciled merchants; (8) wives of officials; (9) personal servants of officials; (10) Chinese laborers registered under the "Geary" Act of May 5, 1892.

The Act of 1903 provides that persons becoming a public charge within two years after landing from causes arising prior thereto shall be deported, and that persons entering in violation of law may be deported within three years to the country whence they came. In 1905 there were 11,480 debarred and 845 returned. In general the percentage of debarred and returned, to the total immigration, varies from 0.4 to 1.4.

It has been proposed to strengthen the present laws by increasing the head-tax, defining more accurately the term "liable to become a public charge," and by excluding those who cannot read in any language. The last provision passed Congress in 1897, but was vetoed by President Cleveland.

PRESCOTT F. HALL.

Of the whole number of immigrants in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1906, 880,036 came through the customs district of New York, 54,064 through Baltimore, 62,229 through Boston, 23,186 through Philadelphia, 4,138 through San Francisco, and 77,082 through other ports; also 43,997 through Canadian ports.

The reported occupations of immigrants arriving during the fiscal year 1906 were as follows: Laborers, 226,345; servants, 115,984; farm laborers, 239,125; tailors, 26,982; merchants and dealers, 17,054; carpenters, 18,185; shoemakers, 12,622; clerks, 11,345; mariners, 8,737; miners, 8,717. The number of professional immigrants (including 1,117 actors, 2,324 engineers, 1,511 musicians, and 2,071 teachers) was 13,766; of skilled laborers, 177,122; miscellaneous (including unskilled), 624,387; no occupation (including children under fourteen years of age), 285,460.

The total number of alien immigrants refused admission to the U. S. in the fiscal year ending 1905 was 12,432, of which 7,069 were paupers or persons likely to become public charges, 2,273 persons with loathsome or contagious diseases, 2,314 contract laborers, 139 insane, 92 idiots, 205 convicts, 30 prostitutes, 2 persons who attempted to bring in prostitutes, 61 returned in one year after landing, 615 returned within three years because here in violation of law.

More than one quarter of recent immigration is Italian, nearly one quarter Hungarian; more than one half are Italian, Hungarian or Russian (largely Hebrew). Their percentage of illiteracy is respectively, 43, 24 and 25 per cent.

Mr. Robert Hunter, of the University Settlement in New York, says:

The fathers and mothers of the American children can be chosen, and it is in the power of Congress to decide upon what merits. . . . No nation has ever had a social responsibility of greater magnitude. The future of American society, industry, religious faith, political institutions, may be decided in a way quite marvelous by the governing powers of this country. The worst aspect of the whole matter is that the selfish forces interested in promoting immigration in every conceivable way are deciding all these questions for us. The ones who come and the numbers who come depend largely upon the steamship companies. Whether we have more Hungarians than Italians, or Syrians than Greeks, or Scandinavians than Slavs, depends to a very large extent upon their ports, their

passage rates and their success in advertising and soliciting. . . . I believe that this country may be ruined by leaving the volume and quality of immigration almost entirely to the decision of the steamship companies. . . . The skill of their agents decides whether we shall have one race or another come in great masses to our shores. . . . If we let the steamship companies and the railroads, wanting cheap labor, alone, we shall not decide what immigrants will be better for coming, and what ones the country needs. They will decide it for us. . . . Our governing bodies . . . in the past . . . have failed to consider the welfare of the people, either immigrants or Americans. The decision has been made as a result of pressure brought to bear upon public officials by private and selfish interests. Our national characteristics may be changed; our love of freedom, our religion, our inventive faculties, our standard of life. All of the things, in fact, for which America has been more or less distinctive among the nations may be entirely altered. Our race may be supplanted by another, by an Asiatic one, for instance, and not because it is better so, nor because it is for the world's good. On the contrary, it is in order that individuals interested in steamships may be benefited, and in order that employers may have cheaper labor. These selfish forces may be disguised, but they are there.

Mr. Ernest Crosby in the *Arena* writes:

Immigrant children learn quickly in our schools, and most of them, especially the Jews from eastern Europe, and the Italians, take high positions, holding their own, as a rule, with our native-born children. Where we fall short too often is in physique. More of us are hollow-chested, sloping-shouldered, and nervous than is the case with the ordinary European, and especially with the peasant. From the purely scientific standpoint of breeding, we have every interest to admit the sturdy farm hand, just as we import the Percheron horse or the Southdown sheep. Whether the man can read and write or understand the Constitution is a matter of trifling importance in comparison. His children will learn all that quickly enough. But he will not know how to vote, we are told. When you consider the fact, however, that nearly one half of our educated Americans vote diametrically against the other half, it is hard to see how the addition of a few uneducated voters can do much harm. Whichever way the ballot of the immigrant is cast, he will have about half of the American people with him, and they should bear the responsibility for the result, not he. Examinations in the three "R's" let in the anemic crook and sharper and "shyster lawyer," the gambler and the pawnbroker, and all that precious parasitic fraternity which lives by its wits and gravitates to the cities, shutting out the independent, self-supporting, brawny son of the soil whom most we need. I cannot in justice overlook our faults nor be blind to the fact that the good points of other races supply our deficiencies, and I have already hinted at some of them. In the great century of music, none of our blood produced a work of even the third class. We have never had a painter who could rank among the first score or two of great artists. We must go to Germany for our highest philosophy and to France for the most finished elegance of thought and manners. We know little of the joy of living. We take our holidays sadly, and laugh with mental reservations. The Europeans come to us with a new capacity for mirth, a genius for joviality and sociability. Are these ingredients to be despised? For a few years he may navigate our streets with his hand-organ or his plaster-casts and frequent his genial café, but before long he must fit himself to our Procrustean bed, and at last we find him at work in the regulation store or at rest before the rigid bar or at the taciturn dairy-lunch counter. Is it desirable that we should compass sea and land in this way to make a proselyte? Should we reduce the whole world to one dead level? And not content with stifling the originality of the immigrant, we must needs carry our missionary zeal for uniformity to foreign lands in the hope of destroying all individuality. In Anglo-Saxonizing India and Japan we are crushing out the most wonderful of arts beyond a possibility of resurrection. We are the Goths and Vandals of the day. We are the Tartars and the Turks. And the countries which we overrun have each its own priceless heritage of art and legend which we ruthlessly stamp under foot.

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IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION LEAGUE: Organized 1902 for the purposes stated in its name. It has been active in agitating for legislation, and in the publication of literature and statistics upon the subject. (See IMMIGRATION.) *Secretary*, Prescott F. Hall, State Street, Boston, Mass.

INCOME TAX: The income tax is a direct levy by a government upon the income of individual citizens, whether that income is received from labor, industry, investments, real estate, or any other source. It is generally computed per annum, but sometimes every three or four years.

Some technical terms and phrases pertaining to the subject need to be explained. *Exemption* from taxation means that small incomes are free, the State holding that the amount of income required for the maintenance of independence and of the standard of living should not be taxed, since it would not only have to return in the form of charity what it took in that of taxes, but would, moreover, undermine the *morale* of its citizens by depriving them of the necessaries of life. The excess only is, consequently, to be taxed. *Stoppage at source* has to do with collection of the tax. It indicates that the tax is subtracted from the salary, interest on bonds, dividends on stock, etc., owned by the payer. The paymaster of the navy and army, the Bank of England, and the treasurers of corporations in England always withhold the amount of the tax from the amount due the payee. *Uniform* or *proportional* taxation means that all incomes are subject to the same rate, e. g., 1 per cent, or 3 per cent. A tax is called *graduated* or *progressive* when the rate of taxation increases with the amount of income, e. g., 2 per cent on $1,000 and 3 per cent on $4,000. *Degressive* means that a certain amount of taxable income is exempt, e. g., in England a man with an income of £400 has £150 free and is taxed only on £250. The term *regressive* is used to indicate that the rate of taxation increases as income decreases. This form was applied in France before the Revolution. Taxation may, finally, *differentiate* between various forms of income and tax them unequally; e. g., income from farm land is taxed at a lower rate in England than that from real estate in the cities. The differentiation may extend to income from labor, property, permanent and temporary incomes, investments in public and private securities.

Terms and Forms

History

Nearly all European countries impose an income tax as a means of revenue. England was the first country to levy this tax. Much money was needed during the Napoleonic wars. Pitt presented his bill for the income tax in September, 1798; it provided that incomes of £60 and under should be exempt, while those over this amount were subject to a progressive tax at the rate of $\frac{5}{6}$ per cent to 10 per cent. It was an additional duty of "assessed taxes," and lasted until the peace of Amiens in 1802. In 1803 Addington presented a bill which contained many changes, and was made the basis of the one passed in 1842, altho it was abolished in 1816, since the people had

England

considered it a war measure and clamored for its repeal. Popular resentment made the passing of any income-tax bill impossible for twenty-five years. In 1842 the Corn Laws aroused the people with the tax on food. They had to be repealed, but the revenue lost by that act had to be made up in some other way. Robert Peel introduced a bill on the income tax, and defended it in a speech lasting three hours and a half. It was carried amid tremendous applause by a vote of 255 against 149. The tax was extended by Peel in 1845 and later, in 1853, by Lord Russell under the name "Income Tax Act," and remained practically unchanged until 1880. In that year the "Taxes Management Act" was passed. Gladstone called it "a code or system of taxation," since it was not so much an income tax but rather a system of raising revenues. It provides for the classification of all taxable income under five divisions or schedules, called by letters from *A* to *E*. Schedule *A*. Income from land and houses.—*B*. Income of farmers.—*C*. Income from interest and dividends.—*D*. Income from commercial, industrial, and professional men, and corporations. —*E*. Income from salaries and pensions. Railroads, mines, canals were originally in division *A*, but have since been placed under *D*. The standard of taxation is eightpence to the pound, and all differentiations are made in regard to it.

It is interesting to note a number of changes and exceptions. In 1842 incomes below £150 were exempt; in 1854 those below £100, the war in the Crimea calling for a larger revenue; in 1873 the degressive feature was introduced, since incomes from £100 to £150 had £80 exempt; in 1877 this feature was increased so that incomes from £150 to £400 had £120 exempt. A declaration is to be made every three to five years under schedule *A*; that is, the amount of rent is to be declared, since that is considered the income. In division *D* the declaration is based on the three prior years. Under schedules *C* and *E* no declaration is necessary, since stoppage at source takes place. Under schedule *B*—income of farmers—the rent is regarded as the income, and that was taxed at four pence per pound in England, and three pence in Scotland and Ireland; since 1894 all farmers of Great Britain pay three pence per pound. In 1887 the law was amended so that land which brings in no rent is free from taxes. A change favorable to certain classes was made in 1890 to the effect that if any taxpayer suffered loss in commerce, industry, etc., he was to report the damage within six months, and have a corresponding amount of taxes returned. In 1894 the amount of income that is exempt was raised to £160, and incomes of £400 have £160 free instead of £120, those of from £400 to £500 have £100. In 1898 the "Abatements of Income Tax" made some new provisions; incomes from £400 to £500 were to have exempt £150; from £500 to £600 only £120; from £600 to £700 only £70. When a large amount of money was needed during the Boer War, the standard of taxation was raised from eight pence per pound to ten pence, later twelve pence, eventually fourteen pence; that is, after 1900. It has since been reduced.

Increase and Exemptions

The increase in the property which came under the income tax from 1880 to 1900 was in round numbers: England, £485,700,000 to £678,700,000, equal to 40 per cent; Scotland, £55,100,000 to £75,800,000, equal to 49 per cent; Ireland experienced a decrease from £36,100,000 to £33,400,000, equal to 8 per cent. Even this decrease in the latter country is an increase per head, since the population of Ireland declined from 5,203,000 to 4,466,000 during this period. The increase in property per head of the population was: England, £18.5 to £21, 13 per cent; Scotland, £14.8 to £17, 14 per cent; Ireland, £6.9 to £7.5, 9 per cent. The increase in the rate of taxation was from 2.08 per cent to 3.33 per cent; it rose rapidly to 5.83 per cent in 1902 after the Boer War. The net revenue from the tax rose from £9,233,320 in 1880 to £18,828,952 in 1900, and to £35,980,000 in 1902, altho in the latter year incomes under £200 were exempt. The number of people who had over £150 income and paid taxes increased from 1,107,000 to 1,723,000 during the twenty years; that is, there was an increase of people paying the tax from 323 in 1880 to 425 in 1900 per 10,000 of the population.

This fairly full account of the income tax in England is given because that country has had the longest experience with it, has changed the law constantly to make it more equitable to new conditions, has raised a large revenue by it, and gives us, consequently, a typical case of the working of this tax. The results are: First, the tax has increased in popularity; second, it has proved that the wealth of the middle classes increases absolutely and relatively more rapidly than that of the rich; third, that the difference between the two classes is becoming smaller; fourth, that in times of financial or industrial depression the large incomes suffer proportionately more and are reduced more rapidly in number than the smaller.

Results

All of the different states of Germany have an income tax. **Prussia** introduced this tax in 1811, and levies, at present, on all incomes above 900 marks. The tax is progressive, beginning with 0.6 per cent and rising to 4 per cent. **Austria** passed an income-tax law in 1812, and has at present a progressive tax beginning with 0.6 per cent on incomes of 600 florins and rising to 0.5 per cent on the highest. **Hungary** does the same. Since 1864 **Italy** taxes all incomes above 400 lires at a uniform rate of 12 per cent.

Other Countries

The provisions of the income-tax laws of the different parts of Germany are practically the same as those of Prussia, except in a few details. **Holland** and **New Zealand** passed laws on the income tax in 1893, which provided both for graduation and differentiation. Individuals and corporations are taxed, but holders of securities only through the corporations. A significant feature of the law of Holland is that it levies only on the net income. Denmark, Switzerland, Australia also levy a tax on income.

France proposes an income-tax law (February, 1907) which is very severe on large incomes, and punishes misstatements by quintupling the tax as well as by making it retroactive for five years. Exemptions are made in favor of incomes under 1,250 francs in places of 3,000 inhabitants, and 2,500 fr. in Paris; incomes in places of more inhabitants than the former and less than the latter are levied upon according to a schedule corresponding with the size of the city. Incomes above those exempted pay a proportional tax up to 5,000 fr. at the rate of 4 per cent on real estate and 3 per cent on labor; above 5,000 fr. the tax is strongly progressive, rising to 10 per cent on 500,000 fr. and over. The law is very complex in regard to the computation of incomes from

various sources, mode of collection, etc. Stoppage at source is practised wherever possible. Foreigners pay taxes according to the amount of money spent.

The United States Congress has once proposed, in 1812, under Secretary Dallas, and twice passed income-tax bills. A measure was enacted in 1861 as a fiscal expedient to raise revenues for the war. It provided that all incomes above $800 should pay a uniform tax of 3 per cent; a differentiation was made in favor of interest on U. S. securities, on which only 1.5 per cent was levied. A discrimination against citizens of the U. S. living abroad was made; they had to pay 5 per cent, except on income derived from Federal securities. The duty was self-assessed according to schedules prepared for the purpose and levied on the total income, irrespective of the source. A penalty of 10 per cent was added in case of default to report. In 1862 the exemption was reduced from $800 to $600, and the rate was made slightly progressive, incomes between $600 and $10,000 paying 3 per cent, those above 5 per cent. Collectors were instructed not to open the returns to inspection; a ruling which laid the tax open to various evasions, and was soon reversed. The great demand for money induced Congress to pass a new measure on June 30, 1864, which was strongly progressive. Incomes between $600 and $5,000 were taxed at the rate of 5 per cent, those from $5,000 to $10,000 at 7.5 per cent, those above the latter sum at 10 per cent. The measure was rigorous and burdensome in many respects; and the differentiation in favor of income from U. S. securities was abolished. In 1865 two changes were made: incomes over $5,000 were rendered taxable at the rate of 10 per cent, those below this sum down to $600 at 5 per cent. The tax remained in force until 1872, several changes having been made, chief of which was a successive raise of exempt incomes from $600 to $1,000 and later to $2,000. The revenue collected under the income-tax measure rose from $2,741,858 in 1863 to $72,982,159 in 1866, and gradually fell to $5,062,341 in 1873.

United States

The Wilson Tariff Act, passed Aug. 18, 1894, contained a provision for an income tax, since a deficit was feared owing to the reduction of import duties. As the dreaded deficit did not materialize, and since the apportionment among the states was not made according to population and representation, the Supreme Court of the U. S. declared this feature of the act unconstitutional on May 20, 1895, by a vote of five to four, before it became generally operative. This law proposed to levy a uniform tax of 2 per cent on all incomes over $4,000.

Massachusetts has had an income tax since colonial times; incomes under $2,000 are free as well as incomes derived from property already taxed. It is seldom levied. **Virginia** taxes all incomes over $600 uniformly at 1 per cent. **South Carolina** has a progressive tax on incomes; exemptions are made in favor of salaries of State and Federal officials and on all incomes below $2,500; from this figure up to $5,000 the rate is 1 per cent; $5,000 to $7,000—1.5 per cent; $7,000 to $10,000—2 per cent; $10,000 to $15,000—2.5 per cent; over $15,000—3 per cent. Some other states of the union have had income-tax laws at one time or another, e. g., Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Louisiana, but the tax was seldom and irregularly levied.

Adam Smith proposed four criteria of a tax: equity, certainty, convenience of payment, economy in collecting. The advocates of the income tax say that it meets all four of these tests; the opponents, that it meets none of them.

The tax is equitable because it taxes "large wealth heavily, small wealth lightly, least wealth not at all," according to the Jeffersonian doctrine that an equality of wealth must be preserved among the people. Each man should contribute to the support of the State according to his ability and the amount of protection received, since great wealth needs and gets more protection proportionately, e. g., buildings, than the income of a day-laborer. This tax is, moreover, certain, since the State can always depend on the fact that its citizens have an income. The tax is, furthermore, convenient, because the time of payment is known long before it is due, and arrangements can be made accordingly. It is, finally, economical, since, if self-assessed, the schedules prepared enable each man to ascertain how much he has to pay, and he can send in the amount at the proper time, so that practically no expenses need be incurred in collecting. Additional advantages: the tax does not disturb prices, nor discourage the building of homes; but principally, that it interests all citizens, particularly the professional classes who keep aloof from politics, in civic affairs.

Advantages

The tax is not equitable, since in 1869 seven states of the union with 40 per cent of the total population paid 75 per cent of the tax. According to the law of 1894 less than 2 per cent of the taxable inhabitants would have been compelled to pay more than 95 per cent of the entire tax. Apropos of this fact, Senator Edmunds exclaimed with fine scorn: "And this we call a free government—a government of equal protection of the laws!" If one man is taxed more heavily than others, he should have a proportionate representation, as is done in Prussia. Grant the convenience of payment and the certainty, altho that is no more the case with the income tax than with any other, but how about the economy? If self-assessed, many people will avoid the tax. If assessed by collectors, people will perjure themselves rather than pay. In either case, the State will lose money. In 1869 only 259,388 persons out of 37,000,000 acknowledged an income of $1,000. In 1870 two maiden ladies in a New York village paid more income taxes than all the men in a large city near by. Commentary not necessary. A tax that makes perjurers of its citizens is certainly neither equitable, convenient, certain, nor economical. The income tax is, in fact, fallacious in its theory as a mode of encouraging a more equal distribution of wealth; it is unjust and impolitic in its discrimination against a small class; it is corruptive and inquisitorial in its practise; it will not interest any more people in civic affairs, since Germany with this tax has about 3,000,000 inactive voters whom only the Socialist specter was able to bring to the booth in Jan., 1907.

Disadvantages

What is the truth? Theoretically, the income tax is most just and equitable, but it is most difficult to apply in practise; especially in a democracy where the doctrine of non-interference prevails. The State should not lower itself by becoming a sleuth or inquisitor, nor degrade its citizens to suspected persons for the sake of levy-

ing an unwelcome tax. If all citizens were honest, the tax would certainly be as easy in practise as it is just in theory.

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RUDOLPH M. BINDER.

INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY, THE (ENGLISH): Popularly called the I. L. P.; this party is the outgrowth of the agitation in the United Kingdom for an independent political party to voice the demands of labor. In 1888 there was established a Scotch Labor Party. (See SCOTLAND.) In Jan., 1893, a conference of 115 persons was held at Bradford, England, and the Independent Labor Party organized, largely through the efforts of J. Keir Hardie. Tho not using the term Socialist in its name, it was distinctly socialistic, its constitution, as amended in 1894, declaring its object to be "the collective ownership and control of the means of production, distribution, and exchange."

At present its objects and methods are thus stated:

Object.—An industrial commonwealth founded upon the socialization of land and capital.

Methods.—The education of the community in the principles of socialism. The industrial and political organization of the workers. The independent representation of Socialist principles on all elective bodies.

In 1895 the party with twenty-eight candidates polled a total of 44,321 votes, tho no candidate was returned. In 1900 (the next general election) the party officially contested only 10 seats, and polled 37,209 votes, on a clear Socialist and anti-war platform. Only one candidate was elected, J. Keir Hardie, at Merthyr, with 5,745 votes. In 1906 the party worked practically as a part of the Labor Representation Committee (*q. v.*) (now the Labor Party), but nominated itself ten candidates and elected seven, while a number of the Labor members are also members of the Independent Labor Party. (See LABOR PARTY.)

About 65,000 meetings are now held per annum under the auspices of branches of the party, and in many towns, in addition to the indoor and outdoor meetings, the branches maintain a literature stall in the market place, where propaganda publications are on sale. The party published in 1906 eighteen new pamphlets and over half a million leaflets.

The party has also been very active in local elections, and has now some 900 members on various local bodies. There are at present some 700 branches with 40,000 members. It has a weekly organ, *The Labor Leader*, edited by J. Bruce Glasier, formerly by J. Keir Hardie. In Feb., 1906, Mr. Hardie was chosen leader of the Parliamentary Labor Party.

A recent manifesto of the party addrest to the working classes says:

> We desire it to be plainly understood that the fault of this lies at the door of you, the working classes. Hitherto you have been content to leave your political thinking to be done for you by party politicians, and your opinions to be formed for you by their hirelings in the press. The main reason for the existence of Liberals and Conservatives is to protect the interests of the rich, and keep you divided. This they accomplish by keeping you wrangling over matters which concern you but slightly, if at all. They appeal to your religious prejudices, your racial animosities, your patriotism, and your pride; and while you quarrel among yourselves they quietly fill their own pockets and empty yours.

The chairman of the party is J. Ramsay Macdonald, M. P.; the secretary, Francis Johnson. *Address*: 23 Bride Lane, Fleet Street, London, E. C., Eng.

INDIA: Social reform in modern India dates from Raja Ram Mohun Roy (born 1774—died 1833), who founded the Brahmo-Somaj and was the most important advocate of the abolition of *suttee* or the self-immolation of Hindu widows on the funeral pyres of their dead husbands. The next great reformer was also a Bengali, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820–1891), who took up the subject of enforced widowhood among the Hindus. As girls among the higher castes were married before they attained puberty it often happened that girls whose marriages had not been consummated had to remain widows, and unmarried all their lives, remarriage being strictly prohibited. The third great reformer was Keshab Chandra Sen, the well-known leader of the Brahmo-Somaj. Since the days of Keshab Chandra Sen, social reform in Bengal has been chiefly confined to the Brahmos whose ladies are well educated and do not observe *purdah*, or seclusion behind a screen so as not to be seen by men. The movement spread to other parts of India. In Bombay, Karsondas Kulji, Madhavdas Raghoonathdas, and Vishnu Sastri took up the question of the remarriage of widows in earnest.

Leaders

Under Dr. Bhandarkar and Mr. Justice Ranade social reform attained wider scope. The question of reforming the marriage system was agitated and attention was forcibly drawn to the custom of infant marriages as a source of much evil. To these two gentlemen and to the present General Secretary of the National Social Conference, the Hon. Mr. Justice Chandravarkar, it is due that the movement has developed a comprehensive program of national efficiency.

In Madras, Dewan Bahadur Raghoonath Rao and Rao Bahadur K. Veerasalingam Pantulu have worked strenuously for the removal of the restrictions upon widow marriage and for social reform generally. In the Punjab, the great movement associated with the name of Dayanand Saraswati has greatly helped the cause of social progress. Rao Bahadur Waman Rao Kolhatkar in the Central Provinces, Prof. K. D. Karve in Poona, Mr. B. N. Bhajekar in Bombay, Rao Bahadur Lal Shanker Umiashanker and Mr. and Mrs. Ramanbhai Mahipatram Nilkant in Ahmedabad, and Bala Bakthwar Singh in Shajahanpur deserve mention for their active labors in the cause.

The chief gathering of the social-reform movement is the National Social Conference which meets every year in the same place as the National Congress. It is a federation of Social Reform Associations scattered all over the country, the principal of these being those of Bombay, Ahmedabad, Poona, Madras, Rajahmundry, Guntur, Bangalore, Mysore, Allahabad, Shajahanpur, Lahore, and Calcutta. There are numerous smaller associations in the districts. The Social Conference offers a common platform for all reformers irrespective of caste or creed. The reforms on the program of the Conference and the affiliated associations relate to the education of women and the elevation of their position by improvements in marriage and other social institutions; the removal of useless restraints

Reforms Advocated

on individual freedom such as the prohibition of sea voyages and intermarriages among the higher castes; and the amelioration of the condition of the lower classes by removing the disabilities of caste. Social purity and efficiency are the aims of all these reforms.

The annual National Social Conference was instituted twenty years ago and is annually increasing in power, tho its followers are relatively few and are all among the educated.

The most striking advance witnessed in the last two conferences was the inauguration of women's meetings in connection with these. It is, indeed, a new thing under the sun, and a very significant thing, that Hindu women themselves are willing and able to conduct public meetings and present strong papers on various subjects connected with their own social disabilities. The battle is half won when the women themselves come to urge their own cause; for the women of India are generally the most conservative members of the community and only ask to be left alone in their bondage.

Another fact connected with social reform in India is the almost total absence of the 60,000,000 Mohammedans from the movement. This is chiefly because the problems thus far approached and urged are Hindu problems, arising within and by the Hindu faith only.

The Indian Social Reformer, in Bombay, *The Indian Messenger*, in Calcutta, *The Arya*, in Lahore, *The Voice of Truth* and *The Carlylean*, in Rajahmundry, are the leading English newspapers devoted to the subject of social reform. There are numerous vernacular papers and the more advanced political organs of the people are generally on the side of social reform.

The Indian Social Reformer, under the guidance of Mr. Natarajan, is worthy of all praise. It is thoroughly bright and able and is characterized by moral vigor and deep convictions. Its ruling motto, published on the front page, is W. Lloyd Garrison's trenchant remark—"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*and I will be heard*." It is written in elegant English, is reasonable, yet uncompromising, in spirit and inspiring in its treatment of all subjects.

Perhaps the best method of indicating the scope and of suggesting the limitations of social reform in India will be to mention the principal questions which have been raised and upon which resolutions have been carried in the All-India Annual Social Reform Conferences. This statement will also indicate the unique and very backward condition of India in matters social.

I. The Disabilities of Women: This really constitutes the greatest and, at the same time, the most debasing social evil of India. Woman from time immemorial has been crushed by the Hindu system; her rights have been denied and her social liberties ignored.

Efforts for the amelioration of her condition have been made on several lines:

(1) The prevention of infant marriage. Millions of girls, between infancy and puberty, have been actually married and their destiny practically sealed not only without their consent, but also with the probability of their becoming widows, even during childhood. In view of the great difficulty of preventing this evil entirely, compromise has been sought by trying to secure the enactment of a law to prevent such marriages before a girl reaches ten years of age. Even this has not been achieved save in the native state of Mysore where such a law was recently enacted.

(2) A vigorous effort has been made to prove from the Hindu Shastras that infant marriage is really only a betrothal, and that therefore, on the death of the young man before the consummation of the union, the girl should not be regarded as a widow. Therefore it is urged that virgin-widows, so called, should not be prevented from marrying after attaining puberty. But reformers have not yet succeeded in carrying this point with the people; so that the remarriage of infant widows is a matter of very rare occurrence.

(3) Effort has also been made to further the education of women. In a land where only six women in a thousand can read or write, and where only a few think that woman is worthy of an education, or can be improved by it, the reformer has thus far not been able to accomplish much. And yet, by annually emphasizing this matter an improvement is noticeable and a desire is being created among the people for an education for their girls.

(4) Such matters as marriage expenses and the marrying of little girls to old men have more than once received the attention of the conference. In view of the terrible poverty of the people, the iron-bound custom which insists upon a man spending, often, even a year's salary in the marriage of a son or a daughter would seem absurd if it were not so tragic. The people themselves have no option in the matter. To lavishly feast a host of relatives and to furnish all sorts of vain display is the demand of a tyrannizing custom.

(5) Much has been done with a view to preventing girls from being dedicated by their parents to Temple Worship, which means to prostitution. The nautch-girl is the bane of India. Without any will of her own she has been dedicated to this life and is the most sinned against among the women of the land. And having grown up to womanhood she not only degrades the religious worship of the people but also becomes a curse in the social system of India. No Hindu entertainment is considered complete without her presence and brazen performances. During the last twenty years reformers have striven hard to discourage nautch-girl performances by rendering them unsavory in the eyes of Europeans. Not a little success has attended their efforts in this line.

II. The Joint Family System: This hoary system has been attacked by reformers with increasing vehemence. For three generations members of a family live together and have all property and interests in common. The joint earnings of the family are its joint possession. Recently a "Gains of Learning Bill" was passed through the Madras Legislature (it has not been enacted as a law) whereby every member of a family might claim individual possession of that part of the family property which was acquired by his own industry. Increasing dissatisfaction is felt with the old system and reformers are fighting it chiefly because of its injustice and of the encouragement which it gives to indolence among the members of a family.

III. Caste Reform: This constitutes the battle-cry of the reformers. As the Hindu caste system is the greatest curse of India and brings within its mighty grip nearly the whole social system, so it becomes one of the chief points of attack.

One of the most beautiful acts of renunciation ever performed in India was that of the veteran

reformer and philanthropist, Rao Bahadur Veerasalingam Pantulu, early in 1906 in Madras. Tho a Brahman of high distinction he felt so strongly the bitter curse of caste throughout the land, that, in public, he took off his Brahmanical thread and forever severed himself from this stupendous system of evil. But the ambitions of ordinary reformers do not seem at present very high. They seek in their conferences two alleviations—one in the form of permission for intermarriage among kindred and closely connected castes; and also the right to interdine at least among men of kindred castes. And it is encouraging to know that, while intermarriage is making very slow progress, interdining among the educated is becoming less and less uncommon.

IV. The Elevation of the Pariah: More than once has this been a subject of reform activity. In the whole Hindu system there is no room for the Pariah, either religiously or socially. In every sense of the word he is an outcast. Nor has the ordinary high-caste Hindu any place in his sympathy for the Pariah. Reformers, however, are sensible not only of the cruelty but also of the stupendous folly of such a system. The Pariah is one of the most useful members of society in India; and to treat him worse than a brute is as unwise as it is unkind. Reformers see also that it is impolitic to drive the Pariah out of Hinduism into Christianity. They therefore demand consideration and charity to the poor outcast. But, so far, their advocacy has brought little relief to the Pariah. He is still the despised and the rejected among men.

V. Temperance: This is one of the subjects advocated by reformers. Intemperance is not a great evil in India to-day. But it is a growing evil. This accursed habit which holds many Englishmen in thraldom is increasingly finding way and power among those who come daily into contact with the English. Thousands of such—and among them many of the noblest sons of India—are becoming slaves to the drink habit. So that the cry of temperance reform is one of increasing importance and urgency.

VI. Advocacy of foreign travel is often heard on reform platforms. An orthodox Hindu has no right to leave his native country. The crossing of an ocean is a sin of the deepest dye; and Hinduism pronounces its ban upon every one who dares to cross the ocean, even for the best purposes. Reformers are raising their voice against the folly of such religious prohibitions and are demanding relaxation in the rules of their faith whereby men may go for training and for their highest development to other countries. So far most men who have defied their religion and have gone abroad have been outcast upon their return. But they have been readmitted, most of them, upon the rendering of an "atonement" which is both disgusting and extremely humiliating. Reformers are demanding that men shall enjoy in Hinduism the right of travel and of intercourse with other people. In this they are more progressive than consistent; yet through their efforts concessions are being slowly made to foreign-traveled men.

VII. Religious Education: Resolutions have been passed in favor of a religious education in public schools. These men feel that a strictly secular non-religious and godless education is a very mixed blessing in this land. In India means of religious training are very few. Hinduism never undertakes to impart its teachings and its spiritual blessings to its youth. In like manner government schools and all Hindu institutions entirely ignore even the fundamental truths of religion. Reformers feel that such an education is fraught with evil to the land; and they have urged, time and again, that the government undertake this very difficult task of framing a scheme of religious training for the scholars, even though they come from the many faiths of India.

VIII. Charity: A cry has been raised by social reformers against the indiscriminate charity of India. Truly in this land "Charity is blind." Every religious mendicant, however sleek and corrupt he may be, must be fed. And there are 5,500,000 of such at present in India. There is a no more charitable soul upon the earth than the Hindu; nor is there a more indiscriminate giver. And he gives largely with the semiselfish purpose of acquiring merit and blessing in the world to come. There is here no such thing as organized charity. The reform movement has therefore sought to call attention to the evils caused by this bad method of doing a good thing.

IX. Readmission of Proselytes: One resolution has been passed urging upon Hindus the importance of opening a way by which converts to Christianity and other faiths may be readmitted into their ancestral religion, should they desire it. It has often been said that Hinduism has many doors of exit, but only one—that is, through birth—of entrance. A man who has left his ancestral faith of Hinduism and has abandoned its outward bond of caste, cannot, according to the Hindu Shastras, find a way of return, should he ever desire it. The Zoroastrian religion of the Parsees in Bombay went further than this and maintained recently that no one not born in the faith could by any possibility enter it. Reformers have carried their conflict into the heart of Hinduism and are demanding that men who have repented of their desertion of their religion might still find "room for repentance."

The most striking thing about the foregoing list of subjects which has received the attention and prompted the energy of the Indian social reformer is the strange way in which religious and social matters are mixed in a platform of action. Subjects which, in the West, strictly belong to the domain of religion are here in India a part of the social reformer's program. And matters which the Westerner regards as purely social are emphatically under the control of faith in this land.

This is natural enough; for India has never distinguished between the social and the religious. Religion has claimed for herself the right to control the whole of human life, individual and corporate. The mighty caste system has welded together the two hemispheres of human life and interests and brought them under the centralized control of faith. Society, in all its departments, is dominated by caste. Every act of human life, from the cradle to the burning-ground, is strictly prescribed according to caste rules. And caste, in its turn, is the chief agent of an all-controlling Hinduism. And it enforces all its behests through threats of religious penalties. Hinduism and caste are convertible terms.

Difficulties

Thus the reformer, no matter what evil he may attack, finds it entrenched behind the religious permissions or exactions of the country. So that in three fourths of all his social-reform efforts he runs full tilt against the religious institutions of the land.

It is just here that the Indian social reformer finds his greatest limitations and his chief discouragement. Upon all sides he finds hoisted the red flag of danger, and he is commanded to "keep hands off" institutions established and fostered by his own ancestral faith.

In connection with this there has recently arisen another hindrance to reform. This has developed within the ranks of social reformers themselves. The more timid and conservative among them have become fearful lest the more daring should drag them into hostility to, and bring them under the penalty of, their old religion. Therefore they raise a protest against the radical spirit and against methods which seem subvertive of their faith. These timid ones have therefore organized themselves into "The Party of Progress," and delight in abusing their erstwhile companions in service.

The "Progressists"

These "Progressists" claim that progress is better than reform, and that efforts for the social advancement of the people should be *evolutionary* rather than *revolutionary*. They would move along lines of least resistance and, in all their efforts for reform, they would try their utmost to keep on friendly terms with the faith of their fathers and disturb the institutions of the past as little as possible. They have taken upon themselves the contract, with *Bottom*, "to roar as gently as cooing doves"! Under existing circumstances in this land the attitude of this party is cowardly in the extreme and will do much more than pronounced reactionaries can possibly do to retard the cause of reform. It is, indeed, one of the most subtle and sinister blows that has been struck at reform in this land of late years, and will do much to embarrass the movements of that now diminished party of faithful men who are trying to raise their country from the bondage and curse of the past.

It may be said that even among the best reformers in India the great need is for men of stern conviction and unbending loyalty to the cause they advocate. The ordinary reformer of India is a man vehement in public words, but shockingly tame in his private acts. Upon the platform he will thunder like a Webster, but in his private and domestic life he is, too often, the abject slave of customs which he publicly denounces, and the obedient servant of the grandmothers of his household.

To a Westerner the most radical reform that is sought in India to-day will seem absurdly inadequate to the demands of modern times. And to him the Hindu reformer seems the most unambitious and the most timid of mortals. But to one who well knows the immobility of the East and the spirit with which it resents every change, the reformers of India are men worthy of admiration, sympathy, and pity. For the social reformer of India is always in danger of being wrecked either on the Scylla of conservative Hindu hostility, or on the Charybdis of Western contempt.

Recently social reform has suffered another setback through the New Patriotism which has pervaded the land. This Nationalism is a very recent ebullition and has been very much strengthened through the great success of the Japanese. In Bengal it was kindled into a blazing fire through Lord Curzon's "Partition of Bengal" scheme. The Bengali Babus resented this act and organized themselves into a *Swadeshi* ("Home Country") movement under the watchword *Bande Mataram*. Its object has been in the main a good one—to encourage home industry and to oppose the sale of all foreign merchandise. But, unfortunately, the movement has also created, and fostered, a great deal of race animosity. It has, moreover, exalted unto heaven everything Eastern, because it is of the Orient, and has striven to create ill feeling against all that is of the West. This has not been confined to matters industrial and commercial. It has led also to a reactionary spirit in matters social, political, and religious. It is not likely to continue long; but it is a passing fad which has done much, and is still doing not a little, to turn the faces of the people against progress and reform. For, however much the reform movement may be in the hands of natives, the people are wont to associate the movement with Westerners and Western ideas; and consequently it is a thing not largely in favor at present.

There is, however, no land upon earth where protection of home industries is more imperatively and urgently needed than in India. The natural resources of the country are great. Sir Guilford L. Molesworth, in his presidential address, tells us that

> India possesses enormous natural wealth and resources, agricultural, mineral, or industrial, but they are to a great extent undeveloped. Her coal-fields, so far as they have been explored, cover an area of 35,000 sq. m., and are estimated to contain 20,000,000,000 tons of coal! Some of the seams are 70 feet to 100 feet thick. In Bengal and Assam there is coal nearly equal in evaporative power to medium Welsh steam-coal, though inferior to Aberdare. In some parts of India the supply of iron ore is on a scale of extraordinary and unparalleled magnitude, whole hills and ranges of it being of the purest varieties. There is chrome-iron capable of making the finest Damascus blades, manganiferous ores, magnetite, splendid hematites in profusion, peat, petroleum, gold, silver, aluminum, lead, tin, copper, plumbago, lime, magnesia, mica, gypsum, salt, soda, and asbestos. There are immense forests of valuable timber. There are food grains of every description, soft wheat equal to the finest Australian, hard wheat rivaling the best Kabanka, oil-seeds, rubber, tobacco, tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar, spices, dyes, cotton, jute, hemp, flax, coir, and fibers of every description—in fact, products too numerous to mention.

The great problem of India is how best and most speedily to develop these immense resources. The two chief obstacles to this are a lack of mutual confidence among the people and the well-organized competition of England. Hindus do not repose confidence in each other, so that joint stock companies are very rare. And even the few that exist are not a financial success. In a land which is doomed to be an "open door" of trade the industrial well-being must inevitably depend upon financial organization and a pooling of the interests of business men into large companies which can successfully compete with rival foreign industries. But the persistent unwillingness of native money to flow into Indian joint stock companies is, at the same time, a prime obstacle to Indian industries, and a frequent commentary upon Hindu character.

Moreover, India is confronted by the impossibility of these small unprotected industries competing with the mighty industrial rivals of the West.

Herein lies the unvarnished tale of India's miserable industrial condition. And yet there is hope; for increasing effort is being made and growing success attends the endeavor of the government and the people to resuscitate defunct industries, and to establish new ones. The recent growth of the cotton industry is a testimony to this; for 175 large cotton mills (the product of the last few years) are now running in this land.

At the same time the people are growing increasingly convinced that home industries can thrive only under the egis of a protective system. And as this government dare not rouse opposition in England by instituting such a system, the people feel that it is time for them to do something in their own way. Hence the home protection of *Swadeshism*. Unless the movement is wrecked on political rocks it will thrive for a while and do much to revive home trades that are languishing. On the other hand the folly of boycotting foreign articles when home institutions cannot, even under the most favorable circumstances, supply a tithe of the market, is apparent. In the wildness of their enthusiasm they now ban foreign articles such as are not and cannot at all be manufactured in this country. The cry of self-denial and of a return to the "simple life" will not avail, as Indian taste for many foreign things has become a passion which must be satisfied at all costs.

However much this movement may ultimately fail of its great purpose, it certainly is doing and will do much to encourage and develop Indian industries, than which there is hardly anything more needed in the land to-day.

There is a brighter future in store for social reform in India. The growing intelligence and the increasing love of freedom and individual liberty which is taking possession of the minds of the people, will eventually reassert itself. Then, with ever-increasing power, reform will triumph over progress and the ideas consonant with modern thought and life will overthrow the unrighteous and worn-out customs of the past and will bring full life and liberty to the people everywhere.

J. P. Jones,
Pasumalai, India.

Statistical Information.

The total area of India, including native states, is 1,766,597 sq. m. ($\frac{1}{16}$ of the habitable globe), and the population (1901), 294,361,057 (about $\frac{1}{5}$ of the world's population). Chief cities: Calcutta, 1,125,400; Bombay, 776,006; Madras, 509,346; Haidarabad, 448,466; Lucknow, 264,049; Rangun, 234,881; Delhi, 208,575; Benares, 209,331. In India about 207,000,000 are Hindus, 62,500,000 Mohammedans, 9,500,000 Buddhists (chiefly in Burma), 2,923,349 Christians (chiefly in Madras), 94,200 Parsees.

Acquired by the East India Company (beginning in 1757), India in 1858, after the mutiny of the Sepoys, was transferred to Great Britain and in 1877 was made an empire. It is governed by a viceroy, with a council mainly English tho some are always natives. The viceroy is appointed by the crown usually for five years. There is also in London a Secretary of State for India, only nominally responsible to Parliament. His salary is not upon the British estimates and therefore his actions do not come under the attention of the House of Commons. The council is composed of eight members, appointed by the crown, and sixteen others, nominated by the governor-general. The two presidencies of Madras and Bombay are administered by governors, appointed by the crown, and the provinces by lieutenant-governors, appointed by the viceroy. There are in India 250 districts under deputy commissioners, and 764 municipal bodies, whose members are partly elected, partly appointed. Administration is conducted by appointees who have passed its civil-service examinations in England, natives of the civil service in India, military officers in civil employ, and other civil servants of different grades, European or native. The present viceroy is Earl Minto, Lord Curzon having resigned Aug. 12, 1905. The Secretary for India, appointed 1905, is John Morley.

Government

There is also an Indian National Congress (begun in 1885), where Hindus of all races, religions, and provinces can meet and discuss their needs. President, Hon. Gapal Krishna Gokhale.

Lord Curzon was called by some "The Great Viceroy." During his seven years' office he added a new department of Commerce and Industry to the government, converted annual deficits into surpluses in the revenue, reduced taxes (especially the odious salt tax) and postal and telegraphic charges, created an imperial cadet corps, purified the police service, improved the railway service, developed the wonderful irrigation system, resisted the proposal of the home government to saddle India with South African and other war expenses, organized more fully and thoroughly the educational and university system, almost eliminated frontier raids and wars, rendered innocuous Tibet and the Persian Gulf, and added mightily to the prestige of the Indian Government. Nevertheless, the government is much criticized. The Extreme Party, led by Mr. Tylak and Bepin Chandra Pal, have come to the conclusion that reform is only to be obtained by direct conflict with the British authority.

It is claimed principally: (1) That Indian exports exceed by roundly £30,000,000 her imports, the balance of trade against India all going into English pockets in gold payments made in England on account of pensions, private remittances, establishment, interest on loans raised in England to meet unnecessary and unproductive expenditure in India, such as the cost of foreign wars, strategic railways, and the like.

The Opposition

(2) That though India is a very poor agricultural continent, subject to devastating famines, and has consequently urgent need for home industries, the aim, or at least the effect, of England's commercial policy from first to last has been to destroy her few industries and prevent the establishment of new manufactures, which may interfere with our trade. In furtherance of this policy it is instanced that England deliberately killed India's silk industry, and later attempted to ruin her struggling cotton factories by forcing the government of India to repeal the cotton duties.

(3) That to find money to pay the "tribute," and meet the expenses of India's unnecessarily costly system of government, England exacts, under the name of land revenue, from the poverty-stricken cultivators in a rigid and harsh manner the estimated equivalent in rupees of from 33 per cent of the gross produce of the land to half the estimated rental, or, say, 20 per cent of the produce.

(4) That contrary to the queen's proclamation of 1858, and to solemn pledges made from time to time, England practically excludes fully qualified Indians from all good administrative posts, reserving them for Englishmen.

These charges are denied by the government and considered at least as exaggerations by most Englishmen.

Nevertheless, every day that the government delays to meet their wishes, the opposition carries over into the camp of the extremists an additional number of men who are really concerned for the welfare of the country. Men like Mr. Gokhale, whom Lord Curzon described as the ablest man in India, believing that in the last few years the clock of progress and liberty has actually been put back by the government, are becoming more and more dissatisfied. Mr. Gokhale sees that British rule has produced disastrous economic results, and while these great evils might be borne as a necessity of a state of transit, they are absolutely impossible if the bureaucracy attempts to make them permanent.

The revenue of India (1904–5) was £84,699,000. Expenditures, £81,213,000. Public debt, £81,529,000 in India, and £132,887,000 in England.

The army is under a commander-in-chief (Lord Kitchener), directly responsible to the governor-general in council. Officers and men, regular and reserve, 324,650, of whom more than half are Indians.

The exports (1904–5) were £116,002,000. Imports, £95,948,000. Of the exports 27.5 per cent go to the United Kingdom and 28.5 per cent to Europe. Of the imports, 63.2 per cent come from the United Kingdom. There is a general duty of 5 per cent, except on railway material, agricultural and industrial machinery, food, grains, and some raw material. Cotton goods pay 3½ per cent, iron and steel 1 per cent. The chief exports are wheat, rice, jute, cotton, hides, opium, indigo, tea.

India is mainly agricultural. The principal crops are rice, wheat, millet, pulse, oil-seeds, tea, cotton, sugar, tobacco. Opium is a government monopoly, mainly restricted to Bengal. There are 15,756,000 acres under cotton. Land is held under two tenures, the *Zamindari* tenure, where the land is held in large estates, by zamindari and village communities, and the State revenue is assessed and paid as a whole for stated periods, and the *Rayatwari* system, of petty proprietors. About 318,000,000 acres are under the former and 278,000,000 under the latter system. The land revenue (1903–4) was £19,234,388.

Education is increasing. There were in 1906 five universities with 194 affiliated colleges; 5,741 secondary schools with 662,287 scholars; 105,735 primary schools with 3,513,156 pupils; including private schools there are 4,883,000 scholars, of whom 513,300 are girls.

The masses of the people are very poor. The average annual income of the people is about 24 rupees, equal to some $8. Multitudes have only from 6 to 12 rupees per year. One sixth of the people, 40,000,000, go through life on insufficient food (Sir W. Hunter in "England's Work in India"). Failure of food means famine. There have been seventeen famines in the last 123 years. In 1900, 417,000 sq. m. (one quarter of the empire) were affected, with 54,000,000 persons; 5,607,000 received government aid, 15 per cent of the entire population, and in some sections 30 per cent. One cause is lack of transportation, there being enough food in India for all. Overpopulation is another

Poverty

cause. Ruinous marriage and funeral expenses are another. Caste prevents one class from feeling for another.

Hindus call India "The Land of Charity," foreigners add "of beggars." The laws of Manu make it the Brahman's duty to beg. There is no poor law. Charity is all private. The government, in time of famine, supplies relief works. In all the principal cities and mission stations Europeans have established friend-in-need societies or charity boards. There are forty-eight houses for opium refugees. The Lady Dufferin Association (1885) had 133 hospitals and dispensaries, 74 lady doctors, 52 assistants and 257 medical students. There are probably 500,000 lepers in India; and there are now 47 leper asylums. The largest has 545 inmates. There are 9 asylums and schools for the blind and deaf-mutes, and 25 for the insane; 115 orphanages and 7 juvenile reformatories. The government is developing great schemes of irrigation, commerce, and industry. It is introducing agricultural banks and postal savings-banks.

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INDIVIDUALISM: The term *individualism*, as used in social science, has been defined as "the theory of government which favors the non-interference of the State in the affairs of individuals. ("Century Dictionary"). It is, however, more commonly, and much more correctly, used for the *tendency* to oppose State interference in the affairs of the individual rather than for any cut-and-dried theory of the function or lack of function of the State. When a man says he is an *individualist*, he usually means not that he holds any exact *a priori* theory as to what the State should or should not do, but that he inclines to oppose State interference, unless it be very clearly proved that it is necessary. The presumption with him is against interference. He inclines to resist socialistic legislation, even in small matters, lest they lead to a general State socialism. He believes that we must finally decide from experience and history what in each particular case is wise. Individualism must not be confounded with anarchism (*q. v.*), nor with the positive program laid down by particular individualists, however prominent. (See SINGLE TAX; SPENCER; VOLUNTARYISM.)

Definition

We find individualism somewhat developed among the Greek Sophists and in all Greek thought. Greek political philosophy conceived, it is true, of the individual as living for the State rather than for himself; but with this went a high conception of the complete man, the sound mind in a sound body, and this developed a practical, ethical, if not a political individualism. Aristotle, with his tendency to exalt the concrete over Platonic abstractions, may be said to be the first great thinker of individualism, tho even he held the high Greek conception of the State. The Cyrenaic and the Epicurean schools both developed a type of ethical individualism. Still more did Stoicism lend itself consistently to individualism. Some of the profoundest thoughts of ethical individualism have come down from the Greek Stoics, while some of its noblest and most classic utterances must be sought in the pages of the Roman Stoics.

The Roman Empire, it is true, developed into a strong imperialism; nevertheless, in Roman thought, and above all in Roman jurisprudence, the individual is in a large sense supreme over the State, since we have here the first clear development of the theory of contract between free individuals. Meanwhile, the life and teachings of Christ were developing, many hold, an individualism flowering into fraternal charity rather than the primitive Christian communism, of which so much is said to-day. (For a discussion of this, see CHRIST AND SOCIAL REFORM: CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM.) Be this as it may, the Middle Ages, inheriting the traditions of Roman power, together with the religious teachings of Christ, developed an ecclesiastical paternalism removed alike from a primitive communism or an ethical individualism. Nevertheless, in some of the schoolmen we trace an individualist thought based in part upon the teachings of Aristotle, while some of the ascetics practised what may be called a selfish individualistic spirituality. The characteristic ages of individualism, however, are those between the fifteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Revolting alike from the despotism of the Church and the tyranny of the warrior, we find the individual asserting himself everywhere, in religion and in philosophy, in political science and in practice. In religion, Luther, by the doctrine of salvation by faith, lifts the individual into the right of private judgment; while Calvin, with his doctrine of the divine decrees, by making man obedient to God alone, lifts him above obedience to any human power. From the position of Luther or Calvin it was but a step toward the practical realization of their theories by an assertion of the right of private judgment in morals and of civil liberty in matters where unity of action was not a social necessity. Kant, Bentham, John Stuart Mill, all helped people to take this step more and more fearlessly. The line of thought advanced by these men finds its legitimate development in the writings of John Morley and its exaggeration in those of W. K. Clifford.

Modern Individualism

Says Mr. Morley ("On Compromise," pp. 278–281):

> We may best estimate the worth and the significance of the doctrine of liberty by considering the line of thought and observation which led to it. To begin with, it is in Mr. Mill's hands something quite different from the same doctrine as preached by the French revolutionary school; indeed, one might even call it reactionary, in respect of the French theory of a hundred years back. It reposes on no principle of abstract right, but, like the rest of its author's opinions, on principles of utility and experience. . . . Mr. Carlyle and one or two rhetorical imitators poured malediction on the many-headed populace, and with rather a priori intolerance insisted that the only hope for men lay in their finding and obeying a strong man—a king, a hero, a dictator. How he was to be found, neither the master nor his still angrier and more impatient mimics could ever tell us.
>
> Now Mr. Mill's doctrine laid down the main condition of finding your hero—viz. that all ways should be left open to him, because no man, nor majority of men, could possibly tell by which of these ways the true deliverers were most likely to time designed to present themselves. Wits have caricatured all this by asking us whether by encouraging the tares to grow, you give the wheat a better chance. This is as misleading as such metaphors usually are. The doctrine of liberty rests on a fairly drawn from the observation of human progress, that the we know what to be serviceable and tares to be worthless, yet there are in the great seed-plot of human nature a thousand rudimentary germs, not wheat and not tares, of whose properties we have not had a fair opportunity of assuring ourselves. If you are too eager to pluck up the tares, you are very likely to pluck up with them those unmixed possibilities of human excellence, and you are moreover very likely to injure the growing wheat as well. The demonstration of this lies in the recorded experience of mankind.

Pres. Hadley thus sums up this philosophy of individualism ("Economics," p. 14):

> Constitutional liberty in politics, rational altruism in morals, and modern business methods in production and distribution of wealth have been the outcome of the great individualistic movement of the nineteenth century. The individualist has taught people not to confound public morality with a state church, public security with police activity, or public wealth

with government property. He has taught men that, as society develops, the interests of its members become more and more harmonious; in other words, that rational egoism and rational altruism tend to coincide.

But the characteristic modern development of individualism is economic. With many forerunners, and perhaps particularly Hume, Adam Smith is here the great name, the father of the school of natural liberty, which we do not dwell upon here only because it is treated in full elsewhere. (See Political Economy.) Yet perhaps even here the school of natural liberty and Adam Smith are a result rather than a cause. It was necessary to break the old economic restraints. New discoveries, new inventions, new processes refused to be fettered by old laws. In France, the Revolution; in England, Adam Smith; in Germany, the Stein Hardenberg legislation; in America, the bills of rights incorporated into the national and state constitutions, all witness to and develop the same tendency to free and to protect the individual from restraint. In every country it has produced reaction—in France, the empire; in Germany, state and democratic socialism; in England, factory laws and more recently municipalism; in the United States, federalism, republicanism, and protection. Through all the first half of the nineteenth century, however, individualism was in all directions dominant. Its results are well known. The individual, free from legislative restraint, seeks gain. The producer who can produce the most, the best, or the cheapest gains the market. Out of competition to do this has sprung the modern mastery of the methods of production, division of labor, improved machinery, gigantic plants, the factory system, industry on the large scale; if it has produced the capitalist and the millionaire, it has also both lowered prices and raised wages for the million. In its search for new markets and commercial gain it has girded the world with the telegraph, continents with railroads, and whitened the sea with sails. It has developed more progress in 100 years than all the other centuries put together. If its characteristic results have been material, it has made education common. It is true that large producers and the development of colossal transportation corporations have created difficulties for the small producer, made the workman largely dependent upon the capitalist, and developed the means of production beyond the present ability to consume, causing the phenomena of the unemployed and the tramp. But it must be remembered, in the first place, that these evils are due to the very success of individualism, so that we should think twice before we attempt to cure them by destroying the system which has created this success; secondly, it is to be doubted if there are more unemployed than before, while certainly real wages, measured by prices, are materially advanced; thirdly, individualists believe that the cure lies not in forsaking the principle which has been the very life of modern progress, but in lifting up every individual to a level of more effective competition till every man receive the means of life because every man is able to contribute something to the social need. What is needed, according to this view, is not less but more individualism.

Causes

Results

Modern practical individualism does not urge that at present we should do away with all industrial legislation or all interference of the State with the affairs of individuals; it believes that till men grow wiser they need some legislative checks, but it holds that in general it is wiser to let the individual act as he will and seek to overcome the ills resulting from his mistakes by educating wiser and better individuals.

The Argument for Individualism

The arguments for individualism may be conveniently divided into four heads: (1) The ethical argument; (2) the biological; (3) the inductive positive argument; (4) the inductive negative argument from the follies and evils of State interference. The ethical argument probably affects the common consciousness far more than any other. Prof. S. N. Patten, in the Introduction to his "Theory of Social Forces," considers individualism to rest largely on eighteenth-century philosophy, and says:

I question whether the hold which this social philosophy has on the popular mind can be shaken by an appeal to inductive evidence. This hold depends upon certain concepts and ideals which have received classical statements at the hands of our ablest thinkers, and which cannot be displaced by unorganized facts.

The basis of popular individualism undoubtedly lies deep down in the fundamental facts of the universe, in the power, the worth, the consciousness of responsibility in the individual soul. It takes ordinarily a form either religious or one of so-called natural ethics. One of the fundamental principles of Christianity is the worth of the individual soul. Protestantism, with its right of private judgment, its doctrine of salvation by faith, is particularly in accord with the individualistic tendency.

The Ethical Argument

Dr. Lyman Abbott, in his "Evolution of Christianity," says:

It has been said that Jesus Christ was the first Socialist. This is certainly an inexact, if not an absolutely erroneous, statement. It would be more nearly correct to say that He was the first individualist. The Socialist assumes that the prolific cause of misery in the world is bad social organization. Christ assumed that the prolific cause of misery in the world is individual wrong-doing.

Says Mr. N. P. Gilman ("Socialism and the American Spirit," pp. 324–327):

A higher individualism is possible, and has long been actual, with at least a few of each generation of mankind. It respects every person as having something of infinite worth in him, and would begin to improve the world by elevating the single spirit, counting no advance permanent that is not based on reformed and cultivated individuals. This method fully deserves the epithet "Christian," derived from "the only soul in history who has appreciated the worth of a man." The teaching of Jesus was profoundly individualistic in its imperative address to the private conscience. Such a spiritual doctrine does not find its natural alliance with a mechanical socialism. This, with most of its expounders, is materialistic to the core. The Christian spirit is in full harmony with a rationalized individualism in social life. So inspired, individualism includes voluntary cooperation, the method of modern civilization; and the ideal to which it tends is fraternalism, not paternalism. The inquiry is extremely pertinent: "Have we yet even discovered the resources of an individualism which is not synonymous with selfishness, but welcomes and fosters public spirit?" Few wise persons will answer this in the affirmative.

This higher individualism, perhaps, quite as often to-day takes the form of so-called "natural ethics."

Mr. M. D. O'Brien, in the Introduction to his "Socialism Tested by Facts," says:

Weak and little, low and corrupt as he is, yet nature has endowed man with such a spirit that he can never permanently become the slave of men. This spirit is individualism, the deepest and mightiest fact in existence, which brings

man closest to nature herself, to his central silent home, and plants the root of his life in a substance that cannot perish. Through this spirit works the infinite, and while the heavens bend above, it can never break or fail. . . . This spirit of individualism, of non-conformity, of social, political, and religious heresy is the sword which Nature forges while despots sleep; and just when they dream themselves insured in an eternity of comfortable stagnation it suddenly flashes before them, scattering their plans, circumventing their cunning, and breaking all their pet idols in pieces. This spirit opens the enslaving shell of custom, throws it aside, and allows the inner life to grow. Low slavish natures hate and fear it above everything, and no means are too bad for them to use against it; but it has always managed in the long run to undo them, and it will yet live and flourish when they and all their works are lost in the slavery of the past.

"Individualism," says Draper ("Conflict Between Religion and Science," chap. ii., p. 295), "rests on the principle that a man shall be his own master."

It is in such thoughts, of the worth of the individual, either because of its individual union with God, if the theory take a religious form, or because of the conviction that simple character, self-rule, self-reliance, self-poise, is the one thing of worth in the universe, that most men base their argument for individualism. They argue that for the State to interfere with the action of the individual weakens character. It is far better, says the individualist, for men to carve their own way, to live their own lives, to learn by experience their own lessons, even if they make continual blunders, than for the State to be interfering, even if, so far as the immediate step be concerned, it interfere wisely, because the latter course will weaken the individual will and lessen individual ability. Few individualists think that any government is wise enough to interfere wisely, but even if it were, individualists would still oppose it because of its undermining influences upon character. A wise government, they would argue, may be even worse than a foolish government. A foolish government would probably call out resistance and activity. A wise paternalism might lull to eternal sleep the power of self-choice and self-will.

The second argument for individualism is a biological one. (For a completer statement of it, see BIOLOGY; EVOLUTION.) We shall also notice it again in considering the objection to socialism. It may be said in a word to be that there can be no progress save by competition, no progress save by natural selection and the survival of the fittest, so that the struggle for life between individuals is of the very essence of progressive life, while just so far as the State interferes with this struggle between individuals, and either forces or leads all men into cooperation, it must induce a low and lowering social level and the gradual degeneration of the individual. This is one of the arguments for individualism most prevalent today. We do not dwell upon it here simply because it is considered elsewhere. (See BIOLOGY; EVOLUTION.)

The Biological Argument

The third argument, or the induction from positive experiences of individualism, may be deemed but a form of the biological argument. It is, however, such an important form as to make it worthy of treatment by itself. It argues that the highest civilization, materially and in character, has as a matter of fact been developed when there has been the most individualism. We have seen something of this in considering the history of individualism.

The Argument from Experience

Beginning largely with Adam Smith and the so-called school of national liberty (see POLITICAL ECONOMY), we have had less interference of the State with the individual than ever before in the history of civilized man. What has been the result? There have been evils; no man claims perfection for the nineteenth century; but there has been more progress in most directions than in all the other centuries of civilization put together. In science, in the means of livelihood, in popular education, in the art of preserving life, in acquainting men with the facts of the universe, in the means of communication, man has advanced as never before in all his history. Generally speaking, perhaps, the country where individualism has been carried to the farthest degree is the United States, with Great Britain next. With what result? These two countries are to-day the wealthiest, the strongest, the most vital countries of the world. The language and the commerce of these two nations are dominating the world. Particularly has the U. S. stood for individualism.

Says Mr. N. P. Gilman ("Socialism and the American Spirit," p. 90):

In more senses than one America may be called the paradise of the individual. No other country has held out such great prizes to private talent for the last century, or offered it a freer field to work in. A manly, capable, and self-reliant people, Americans have had an opportunity the like of which is unknown to history. Least of all peoples have they had reason to put their faith in governmental machinery, even that of their own devising, in preference to individual initiative and voluntary cooperation. Especially in the building up of great manufacturing industries and the development of immense transportation systems has the practical genius of the people asserted itself, with the results in the gigantic operations and colossal fortunes which we see to-day in all directions. The American is always ready to receive help from the State in starting a railway or a steamship line (the old flag *and* an appropriation), but he is not at all inclined to consider the government a proper agent for the management or ownership of either.

Mr. Gilman quotes Alfred Fouillée as saying ("Education from a National Standpoint," Am. ed., p. 6): "Scarcely an American can be found who has not in his mind, in a more or less nebulous form, this idea of illimitable individualism and indefinite expansion."

Now, what has been the result? America's material wealth, her popular education, and her progress in almost all ways, are the marvel of the world. Nowhere do the common people begin to be so well off. In wages, in home comforts, in liberty, in popular education, the working people native to the U. S. are far ahead of any working classes of the world, unless it be in New Zealand and in Australia. Particularly has business in America been free from governmental restrictions, with the result that nowhere else does business begin to be carried on in so effective or colossal a way, and nowhere else are the masses of the people so well off. This last thought leads to the reflection that the very fact of the prosperity of the people is the cause of the present social unrest.

Says Herbert Spencer, in the Introduction to "A Plea for Liberty":

Of the many ways in which common-sense inferences about social affairs are flatly contradicted by events . . . one of the most curious is the way in which the more things improve, the louder become the exclamations about their badness. In the days when the people were without any political power, their subjection was rarely complained of; but after free institutions had so far advanced in England that our political arrangements were envied by continental peoples, the denunciations of aristocratic rule grew gradually stronger, until there came a great widening of the franchise, soon followed by complaints that things were going wrong for want of still

further widening. . . . A century ago, when scarcely a man could be found who was not occasionally intoxicated, and when inability to take one or two bottles of wine brought contempt, no agitation arose against the vice of drunkenness; but now that, in the course of fifty years, the voluntary efforts of temperance societies, joined with more general causes, have produced comparative sobriety, there are vociferous demands for laws to prevent the ruinous effects of the liquor traffic. . . . And so it is, too, with the general state of the population in respect of food, clothing, shelter, and the appliances of life. Leaving out of the comparison early barbaric states, there has been a conspicuous progress from the time when most rustics lived on barley bread, rye bread, and oatmeal, down to our own time, when the consumption of white wheaten bread is universal; from the days when coarse jackets, reaching to the knees, left the legs bare, down to the present day, when laboring people, like their employers, have the whole body covered by two or more layers of clothing; from the old era of single-roomed huts without chimneys, or from the fifteenth century, when even an ordinary gentleman's house was commonly without wainscot or plaster on its walls, down to the present century, when every cottage has more rooms than one, and the houses of artizans usually have several, while all have fireplaces, chimneys, and glazed windows, accompanied mostly by paper-hangings and painted doors, there has been, I say, a conspicuous progress in the condition of the people. And this progress has been still more marked within our own time. Any one who can look back sixty years, when the amount of pauperism was far greater than now, and beggars abundant, is struck by the comparative size and finish of the new houses of operatives; by the better dress of workmen, who wear broadcloth on Sundays, and that of servant girls, who vie with their mistresses; by the higher standard of living, which leads to a great demand for the best qualities of food by working people. . . . Not that the evils to be remedied are small. Let no one suppose that by emphasizing the above paradox I wish to make light of the sufferings which most men have to bear. The fates of the great majority have ever been, and doubtless still are, so sad that it is painful to think of them. Unquestionably the existing type of social organization is one which none who care for their kind can contemplate with satisfaction, and unquestionably men's activities accompanying this type are far from being admirable. . . . But it is not a question of absolute evils; it is a question of relative evils—whether the evils at present suffered are or are not less than the evils which would be suffered under another system; whether efforts for mitigation along the lines thus followed are not more likely to succeed than efforts along different lines. . . . The present social state is transitional, as past social states have been transitional. There will, I hope and believe, come a future social state, differing as much from the present as the present differs from the past, with its mailed barons and defenseless serfs. . . . My opposition to socialism results from the belief that it would stop the progress to such a higher state, and bring back a lower state. Nothing but the slow modification of human nature by the discipline of social life can produce permanently advantageous changes.

Progress under Individualism

An even stronger argument for individualism is drawn from the follies and miscarriages of the wisest and best-intentioned State legislation and control. As is well known, Herbert Spencer calls the notion that evils can be readily righted by legislation the great modern political superstition. He says: "The great political superstition of the past was the divine right of kings. The great political superstition of the present is the divine right of parliaments" ("Essay on the Great Political Superstition"). He is never weary of illustrating the sins of legislators. He argues that legislators never know where the effect of their legislation will end. He says ("The Coming Slavery"):

The Follies of Legislation

The legislator contemplates intently the things his act will achieve, but thinks little of the remoter issues of the movement his act sets up, and still less its collateral issues. When, in war time, "food for powder" was to be provided by encouraging population—when Mr. Pitt said, "Let us make relief in cases where there are a number of children a matter of right and honor, instead of a ground for opprobrium and contempt," it was not expected that the poor-rates would be quadrupled in fifty years; that women with many bastards would be preferred as wives to modest women, because of their incomes from the parish, and that hosts of ratepayers would be pulled down into the ranks of pauperism. . . . Even less, as I say, does the politician who plumes himself on the practicalness of his aims conceive the indirect results which will follow the direct results of his measures. Thus, to take a case connected with one named above, it was not intended through the system of "payment by results" to do anything more than give teachers an efficient stimulus; it was not supposed that in numerous cases their health would give way under the stimulus; it was not expected that they would be led to adopt a cramming system and to put undue pressure on dull and weak children, often to their great injury; it was not foreseen that in many cases a bodily enfeeblement would be caused which no amount of grammar and geography can compensate for. The licensing of public-houses was simply for maintaining public order; those who devised it never imagined that there would result an organized interest powerfully influencing elections in an unwholesome way. Nor did it occur to the "practical" politicians who provided a compulsory load-line for merchant vessels, that the pressure of ship-owners' interests would habitually cause the putting of the load-line at the very highest limit, and that from precedent to precedent, tending ever in the same direction, the load-line would gradually rise in the better class of ships, as from good authority I learn that it has already done. Legislators who, some forty years ago, by act of Parliament compelled railway companies to supply cheap locomotion, would have ridiculed the belief, had it been exprest, that eventually their act would punish the companies which improved the supply; and yet this was the result to companies which began to carry third-class passengers by fast trains; since a penalty to the amount of the passenger duty was inflicted on them for every third-class passenger so carried. . . . "We must educate our masters," is the well-known saying of a Liberal who opposed the last extension of the franchise. Yes, if the education were worthy to be so called, and were relevant to the political enlightenment needed, much might be hoped from it. But knowing rules of syntax, being able to add up correctly, having geographical information and a memory stocked with the dates of kings' accessions and generals' victories, no more implies fitness to form political conclusions than acquirement of skill in drawing implies expertness in telegraphing or than ability to play cricket implies proficiency on the violin. "Surely," rejoins some one, "facility in reading opens the way to political knowledge." Doubtless; but will the way be followed? Table-talk proves that nine out of ten people read what amuses them or interests them rather than what instructs them; and that the last thing they read is something which tells them disagreeable truths or dispels groundless hopes. That popular education results in an extensive reading of publications which foster pleasant illusions rather than of those which insist on hard realities is beyond question.

In other writings, Mr. Spencer gives still more detailed instances of the ways in which State legislation works unexpected ills. He says ("Social Statics," ed. of 1851, p. 384):

An architect and surveyor describes it (the Building Act) as having worked after the following manner: In those districts of London consisting of inferior houses built in that unsubstantial fashion which the New Building Act was to mend there obtains an average rent, sufficiently remunerative to landlords whose houses were run up economically before the New Building Act passed. This existing average rent fixes the rent that must be charged in these districts for new houses of the same accommodation—that is, the same number of rooms—for the people they are built for do not appreciate the extra safety of living within walls strengthened with hoop-iron bond. Now it turns out upon trial that houses built in accordance with the present regulations, and let at this established rate, bring in nothing like a reasonable return. Builders have consequently confined themselves to erecting houses in better districts (where the possibility of a profitable competition with preexisting houses shows that those preexisting houses were tolerably substantial), and have ceased to erect dwellings for the masses, except in the suburbs where no pressing sanitary evils exist. Meanwhile, in the inferior districts above described, has resulted an increase of overcrowding—half a dozen families in a house, a score of lodgers to a room. Nay, more than this has resulted. That state of miserable dilapidation into which these abodes of the poor are allowed to fall is due to the absence of competition from new houses. Landlords do not find their tenants tempted away by the offer of better accommodation. Repairs, being unnecessary for securing the largest amount of profit, are not made. . . . In fact, for a large percentage of the very horrors which our sanitary agitators are trying to cure by law, we have to thank previous agitators of the same school!

Later, in "The Sins of Legislators," Mr. Spencer says of the building laws:

See then what legislation has done. By ill-imposed taxes, raising the prices of bricks and timber, it added to the costs of houses and prompted, for economy's sake, the use of bad materials in scanty quantities. To check the consequent production of wretched dwellings, it established regulations which, in medieval fashion, dictated the quality of the commodity produced; there being no perception that by insisting on a higher quality and therefore higher price, it would limit

the demand and eventually diminish the supply. By additional local burdens, legislation has of late still further hindered the building of small houses. Finally, having, by successive measures, produced first bad houses and then a deficiency of better ones, it has at length provided for the artificially increased overflow of poor people by diminishing the house capacity which already could not contain them!

Where then lies the blame for the miseries of the East End? Against whom should be raised "the bitter cry of outcast London"? . . .

So, too, with State supervision. Guaranteeing of quality by inspection has been shown, in the hall-marking of silver, to be superfluous, while the silver trade has been decreased by it; and in other cases it has lowered the quality by establishing a standard which it is useless to exceed; instance the case of the Cork butter market, where the higher kinds are disadvantaged in not adequately profiting by their better repute; or instance the case of herring-branding (now optional), the effect of which is to put the many inferior curers, who just reach the level of official approval, on a par with the few better ones who rise above it, and so to discourage these. But such lessons pass unlearned. Even where the failure of inspection is most glaring, no notice is taken of it; as instance the terrible catastrophe by which a train full of people was destroyed along the Tay Bridge. Countless denunciations, loud and unsparing, were vented against engineer and contractor; but little, if anything, was said about the government officer from whom the bridge received State approval. So, too, with prevention of disease. It matters not that under the management or dictation of State agents some of the worst evils occur; as when the lives of eighty-seven wives and children of soldiers are sacrificed in the ship *Accrington*; or as when typhoid fever and diphtheria are diffused by a State-ordered drainage system, as in Edinburgh; or as when officially enforced sanitary appliances, ever getting out of order, increase the evils they were to decrease.

These instances of the failure of legislation, quoted by Spencer, are now somewhat classical and out of date, but they can be easily replaced by modern ones. Mr. Charles Fairfield, in his chapter on "State Socialism in the Antipodes" contained in "A Plea for Liberty," instances many failures of legislation in Australia, supposed to be in the vanguard of socialistic progress. He shows how the early-closing law in Melbourne in 1885, whereby shops could not keep open after 7 P.M., proved utterly impracticable, robbing all the small suburban stores, which did their main business in the evening, of all chance of success and creating such an opposition that the law was repealed in a few days. He argues that the conduct of the Australian State railroads has been at a heavy loss, only concealed by government bookkeeping. In England herself instances of the failure of State operations can be multiplied almost indefinitely.

Says Mr. L. J. Jennings, M.P. (*Fortnightly Review*, August, 1888, p. 185):

> Look, for instance, at the Admiralty and the War Office. These two departments alone cost the country £563,324 a year. The waste of labor that goes on daily is incredible. At the Admiralty the officials, sitting under the same roof, write long letters to one another on the most trivial subjects, just as if they were 500 miles apart. An immense heap of correspondence may be accumulated about a stick of sealing-wax or a bit of string. The accountant-general's department, crammed with extravagantly paid officials, involves charges for the working staff of £63,557 a year, and a pension list of £32,324. . . . The Secretary of the Admiralty, Mr. Forwood, has admitted ("First Report of Sir Matthew White Ridley's Commission," Q. 9751) that if the salaries were placed on a "commercial basis" the expense of the accountant-general's office would be brought down to £35,000 or £40,000 a year. Why is it not placed on a commercial basis? It cannot be because the authorities have not had a free hand in the "game of reorganization." There have been at least five heroic operations of this kind since 1869, at tremendous cost to the country. . . . What sort of commentary is it on the great reorganization of 1878–80, which cost the country £20,000 a year in pensions and £52,199 in bonuses, that the department is now found to be filled, as the heads of it allege, with extravagantly paid or incompetent officials. . . . The War Office clerk goes leisurely to his duties at ten or eleven, and remains till four or five, his prescribed hours being six each day. And what is the nature of his work? A good deal of it is utterly thrown away. Accounts are audited and re-audited in a purely arbitrary and farcical manner. . . . Correspondence rolls on in huge volumes about trifles light as air; a charge for the use of a cab, a bill of 2*s.* 6*d.* for candles, a rent in a soldier's jacket, the loss of a nosebag (actual instances of these cases will be found in the evidence taken before the Army Estimates Committee, 1887 and 1888) may form the theme of an almost interminal number of letters. The cut in the soldier's jacket was "inquired into" by colonels, lieutenant-colonels, deputy adjutant-general, assistant deputies, and all sorts of high officials. The documents were entered into books, signed, stamped, and passed on from one to the other for nearly four weeks.

The United States

In the United States illustrations of the costliness and inefficiency of State operations are notorious. All municipal operations are full of jobs. The building of the County Court House in New York City is only an extreme instance of what goes on in all government undertakings. When designed in 1868 its cost was estimated at $250,000. Before the end of 1871 it had cost a sum variously estimated at from $8,000,000 to $13,000,000, and it was still far from finished. Among the items of the cost for fitting it up were $404,347 for safes and $7,500 for thermometers. It is from such facts as these of the repeated failures of government activities to-day that individualists drew their negative argument against socialism. From such instances they very naturally draw the inference that if government cannot efficiently conduct the comparatively small activities it now attempts, it must still further fail in the almost infinitely more difficult functions that would be given to it under a complete socialistic régime. They further argue that even if government, surrounded and supported by individualistic methods, and with wealth created by individualism for it to tax, can, perhaps, altho clumsily and expensively, carry on the few activities of which Socialists make so much to-day, were the government to attempt all, it would be quite another thing. Yet if the State cannot do all, the accustoming of people to depend upon the State weakens the power of individuals and teaches them to lean on a reed that finally will break. To argue that government ever can conduct the complete industrial life of the people is to almost all economists and to absolutely all individualists the height of absurdity.

The Impossibility of Socialism

Mr. E. S. Robertson, in his essay on "The Impracticability of Socialism" (chap. i. in "A Plea for Liberty"), argues that, passing by the facts that Socialists very rarely go into practical details; that it is scarcely possible to see how socialism could provide the clothing for a community except by putting it into a strict uniform as in an army, since, if fashion were allowed, no national committee could foretell what would be needed—passing by the enormous problem of how to manage domestic labor under socialism, except by destroying the home, saying nothing of the still greater difficulties of just distribution between labor of different degrees of value and laborers of different degrees of ability—passing by all these and a hundred other similar difficulties, socialism utterly breaks down before the population question. He says: "The situation may be summed up in a sentence: Socialism without restraints on the increase of population would be utterly inefficient. With such restraints it would be slavery. In a word, socialism—the scheme of collective capital and collective production and distribution—breaks down the moment it is subjected to any practical test." How would the community decide, he asks, of the children born in any year—how many boys should be tailors and how many

girls dressmakers? "Socialism, disguise it as we may, is the negation of freedom." Similarly argue all individualists.

But probably the chief arguments raised to-day to show the impracticability of socialism and the necessity of individualism, are, as above stated, biologic. Mr. Kidd argues in his "Social Evolution," p. 209, that socialism has not and probably cannot make any serious attempt to deal with even the initial difficulties of the continued success of a society where the struggle for existence is eliminated. He says: "Underneath all Socialist ideals yawns the problem of population."

Mr. Herbert Spencer, in his latest work, says: "People who in their corporate capacity abolish the natural relation between merits and benefits will presently be abolished themselves. Either they will have to go through the miseries of slow decay consequent on the increase of those unfit for the business of life, or they will be overrun by some people who have not pursued the foolish policy of fostering the worst at the expense of the better." Mr. Lecky says ("Democracy and Liberty," chap. viii.): "The Socialist remedies would only bring evils far greater than any they could possibly prevent. The desire of each man to improve his circumstances, to reap the full reward of superior talent, or energy, or thrift, is the very mainspring of the production of the world. Take these motives away; persuade men that by superior work they will obtain no superior reward; cut off all the hopes that stimulate among ordinary men ambition, enterprise, invention, and self-sacrifice, and the whole level of production will rapidly and inevitably sink. . . . The essential difference of men in aptitudes, capacities, and character, are things that can never be changed, and all schemes and policies that ignore them are doomed to ultimate failure." Says Mr. Kidd ("Social Evolution"):

Degeneration under Socialism

> It will not help us, even if there are to be no competing societies, and if in the contemplated era of socialism the whole human family, without distinction of race or color, is to be included in a federation within which the competitive forces are to be suspended. We may draw such a draft on our imagination, but our common sense, which has to deal with materials as they exist, refuses to honor it. We are concerned not with an imaginary being, but with man as he exists, a creature standing with countless eons of this competition behind him, every quality of his mind and body . . . the product of this rivalry, with its meaning, and allotted place therein, and capable of finding its fullest and fittest employment only in its natural conditions.

Individualism, then, bases its argument on the fact that government can scarcely efficiently conduct even now the comparatively limited functions that it does attempt, and would utterly break down before the attempt to control the complete complex interests of all social life; that individualism, on the other hand, so far as tried during this century, while not by any means doing away with all evils, has produced more material and educational progress than in all the other centuries put together, and especially in those countries and in that country where individualism has been tried the most; that even if socialism were practicable, it would inevitably lead to the biological degeneration of the individual and of the race and finally that even the beginnings of socialism tend to undermine that self-reliance, self-rule, free self-sacrifice, which, tho men consider it born of individual communion with God or of natural ethics alone, all men are agreed to be the noblest and the only enduring and eternal quality of man. Individualism may not produce all progress in a day; individualists are not blind to the evils of the present, but they do know that an infinite progress has been made; that that progress is now going on; that it has been and is now almost solely due to individual struggle and competition in life, and that therefore it is but simple duty to resist even the beginnings of a socialism which for an impossible mirage threatens to attack all progress and to undermine man's noblest possession, individual character and individual aspiration. It is better to let a man struggle and work his own way even slowly toward character than to lift him, were it possible, into an Utopia of physical comfort, at the cost of weakened will and increased tendency to rely on a paternal or even a fraternal organization.

The Individualist Program

As asserted above, individualists are neither doctrinaires nor visionaries. Says Mr. Wordsworth Donisthorpe in "The Limits of Liberty," a chapter in "A Plea for Liberty":

> It is not fair to assert or even to insinuate that individualism as a practical working doctrine in this country (England) and in the United States is based on reasoning from abstractions. . . . No one with the smallest claim to attention has been known to affirm that this or any other nation is yet rife for the abolition of the State. . . . I suppose no one acquainted with his political writings will accuse Victor Yarros of backwardness or even of opportunism. Yet says he, "The abolition of the external State must be preceded by the decay of the nations which breathe life and vigor into that clumsy monster; in other words, it is only when the people learn to value liberty and to understand the truths of the anarchistic philosophy that the question of practically abolishing the State looms up and acquires significance."

Mr. N. P. Gilman says of American individualists ("Socialism and the American Spirit"):

> The practical effort of those who here accept the name of individualist is to maintain the actual status against the strong tendency toward socialism which characterizes the time. If this can be successfully resisted they trust to gradual enlightenment to weaken gradually the power of the State. The anarchist ideal, into which extreme individualism blends, is not to be reached by crying and striving. The individualist trusts in natural and in the unforced evolution of society; he exerts himself with more or less energy simply to resist efforts contrary to this law which tend to produce an artificial development. . . . The present tendency toward socialism he would explain as a reaction toward primitive ideas which have long since, for the wiser minority, been fully exploded by experience. He stands stubbornly on the defensive against this tendency, feeling sure that, unchecked, it can only result in great evil.

Contrasting individualism with Schaffle's definition of socialism (*q. v.*), Mr. Gilman says concerning individualism in its practical application:

> Economic individualism would then be the system of production by means of private capital (held by single persons, firms, corporations, or cooperative associations); this method of production demands a free-labor contract, open competition, and distribution to individuals. The alpha and omega of individualism is, accordingly, private and competing capitals, with a large measure of individual freedom from State control (p. 11). . . . If we attend chiefly to the facts of the existing situation in the United States, we should then consider individualism and socialism as two opposite *tendencies*, moved by either of which an American citizen may advocate or attack a definite and particular measure of legislation. The Utopia of the individualist, if Mr. Herbert Spencer may speak for him, is an approach to anarchy; the Utopia of the Socialist melts into communism, but neither scheme is proposed for immediate adoption here by sensible advocates. . . . The individualist . . . in all his degrees tends to unfavorable criticism, not to high admiration, of the manner and the results of governmental activity at present. He concedes that a nation may well tolerate a certain degree of inefficiency on the part of its officials in executing their present tasks, this being, on the whole, more endurable than the evils which would result from putting the same duties upon private persons. He opposes, however, any considerable further extension of the sphere of the State, and looks

to education of the individual mind and conscience and to general progress for relief from existing evils. The extreme individualist would not only resist the tendency to socialism, but would also retrace some steps already taken in that direction, as he would say, such as universal free education. There are very few, to be sure, in America who hold the creed with such vigor.

So conceiving of practical individualism, it is evident that there can be no fixed universal individualist program. It must be different in different countries; it is differently conceived by different individuals. On all important points the general individualist propositions will be found in this cyclopedia under each respective subject. (See LAND; INTEREST; WAGES; COMPETITION; EDUCATION; RAILROADS; POST-OFFICE; BANKING; MUTUAL BANKING, etc.)

We give here one illustration of how individualists would work out social problems. Of perhaps the most serious problem in modern life Mr. N. P. Gilman says ("Socialism and the American Spirit"):

> No evil in our cities appeals more forcibly to the kind-hearted than the crowded tenement houses. . . . Every one who has a particle of philanthropy in him cries out that these evils should be made to cease from off the earth. The end is clear, but what means shall we use? The Socialist will dilate upon what Glasgow and Liverpool have done, and urge that Boston and New York at once purchase whole squares, pull down the noisome houses of to-day, and erect, instead, clean and convenient tenements, to be let at low rates. This, however, would be too much like journeying from Chicago to Minneapolis, via Paris, the Suez Canal, and Japan. The Chicagoan would thus reach Minneapolis in time, indeed, if money and patience held out. But a more direct way would be first to discover what persons are responsible as owners or lessors of these foul habitations, and then to bring home to them as individuals the distress and the crime which they occasion, while drawing profit from such inhuman conditions. Many of these persons sin as much through ignorance as through hardness of heart. . . . But if this should be of no effect, the men and women who are taught by the higher individualism that we *are* our brothers' keepers to a great degree can then follow the example of Mrs. Lincoln in Boston. Let them singly or in small associations buy or lease one or more city houses in the poorer districts and care for them in person or through kindly and capable agents. A large part of the tenement-house problem is manageable under this simple plan. . . . Where this plan is not expedient, the Peabody trustees in London, the Improved Dwelling-House Associations in Boston and New York, and such individuals as Mr. A. T. White in Brooklyn have demonstrated the eminent success of a more difficult method. Mr. J. A. Riis, a good authority, believes thoroughly in the compatibility of "philanthropy and 5 per cent"—the one as beginning, the other as the result. . . . The tenement-house problem in our American cities is thus fully within the control of a comparatively few persons. . . . Very few of the rich or the moderately rich in the United States would need to be converted to a higher individualism than they now practise to make the tenement-house problem a thing of the past so far as money can do it.

Such is, we believe, a fair example of the individualist program. For the far more radical proposals of such extreme individualists as the philosophical anarchist—the Spencerians, the single-tax men, the voluntarians—we refer the reader to the respective articles which treat of them. Most individualists like Professor Huxley condemn alike the dogmatism of Herbert Spencer and the theories of the Socialists. They hold, with Professor Jevons, that in social reform "the first step is to throw aside all supposed absolute rights or inflexible principles"; they would not, at present at least, destroy the State; what is shown by experience that the State can do better than the individual, that they would have the State do; but they hold that, fundamentally and eternally, all experience teaches that primary reliance must be put on industrial action; that what limits individual initiation limits freedom; that what weakens individual responsibility weakens character, and that therefore, in the words of President E. B. Andrews, of Brown University: "In all economic activity the presumption is in favor of individual liberty and free competition."

REFERENCES: *A Plea for Liberty* (P. Mackay, Ed., 1891); Wordsworth Donisthorpe's *Individualism: A System of Politics* (1890); *The Man versus the State* (a collection of articles by Herbert Spencer, and published under that name, 1884); N. P. Gilman's *Socialism and the American Spirit* (1893); W. G. Sumner's *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other* (1883); W. H. Mallock's *Classes and Masses; or, Wealth, Wages, and Welfare in the United Kingdom* (1896); Edward Atkinson's various articles; John Morley on *Compromise;* A. T. Hadley's *Economics, an Account of the Relation Between Private Property and Public Welfare.* See also ANARCHISM; SPENCER; SINGLE TAX; FREE TRADE; VOLUNTARYISM. For opposite views to those in this article and for objections to Individualism, see SOCIALISM.

Revised by A. T. HADLEY.

INDUSTRIAL BETTERMENT is a phrase used for the efforts undertaken by employers or firms for the benefit in any way of their employees. It varies from the model village erected for the benefit of a community to the simplest arrangement or device in the factory or store for the advantage of the employees. In this article only a few of the many forms of industrial betterment can be mentioned with a few of the firms most active in this regard. Those important instances which can be classified as model villages will be noticed under that head. (See also SOCIAL SECRETARY.)

In the United States industrial betterment is probably more wide-spread than in any other country, tho it has not gone so far as in the case of a few English firms. The leading American firm in this line is undoubtedly the National Cash Register Company, of Dayton, Ohio, where Mr. Patterson and his coworkers have developed almost every kind of industrial betterment. They have not created a model village, mainly because it was little needed, but they have a settlement house under a social secretary, with club rooms and library. In the large dining-hall any of the 3,800 employees can get a good meal for fifteen cents. The works are light and airy, amid shrubs and grass-plots, the walls almost all glazed. For twenty-five cents a week they give a warm lunch to the girls, and for slightly more to some hundreds of men. They have bath rooms, a recreation ground with gymnastic apparatus, and rest their girls by exercises in the works. There are special gardens for boys to cultivate, schools of various grades, kindergarten and industrial, and advantages in many other ways, such as giving educational trips to develop their employees. They issue a paper and endeavor to elicit the interest of their employees by calling on them for suggestions of improvements, and by frequent lectures and meetings.

United States

The Natural Food Company, of Niagara, the makers of Shredded Wheat, is also very progressive in this line. In a ten-acre lot they have built "a palace rather than a factory," surrounded by parks, gardens, and playgrounds. The walls seem all windows; there are roof-gardens, an elegant lecture-hall, also used for dances; fourteen bath rooms in Italian marble, free lunches for 350 girls in a spacious dining-hall, and other social features.

In H. J. Heinz & Co.'s pickle factory, in Pittsburg, much is done for the 2,500 employees. On their works they have roof-gardens with plants and creepers; the rooms are made attractive with pictures and curios; there are admirable dining-rooms; they have a carriage which each fine day carries out some girls for a picnic, cooking and

sewing classes, an auditorium for lectures, concerts, and theatricals, seating 1,600, and other beneficial institutions.

The Waltham Watch Works, near Boston, and the Crane Paper Mills, Dalton, Mass., have handsome buildings in attractive towns. The Acme White Lead Works, at Detroit, Mich.; the Cleveland Varnish Company, the U. S. Playing Card Company, at Cincinnati; the McCormick Harvester Company, at Chicago, have beautified buildings. The Cleveland Cliffs Iron Company, in Michigan, the Plymouth Cordage Company, in Massachusetts, have beautiful grounds. The Ferris corset factory, at Newark, N. J., has flowers inside and outside the works, recreation rooms, cheap, good lunches, seaside cottages, etc. The Sherwin-Williams Paint Company, of Cleveland, does much for the health of its employees. Very many American firms have lunch rooms, rest rooms, and bath rooms for their employees. Marshall Field & Co., of Chicago, have gymnasiums, rest rooms, recreation rooms, shower-baths, on one whole floor of their department store. Mr. Carnegie's Institute, at Homestead, has library, concert-hall, gymnasium, bath, bowling-alleys. The Athenæum of the Illinois Steel Works, at Joliet (1889), was a pioneer in this line. Warner Bros., at Bridgeport, Conn.; the Celluloid Company, and Weston Electrical Instrument Company, of Newark, N. J., and other firms, have similar club-houses. Many railroads, notably the Pennsylvania Railroad, have fine Y. M. C. A. buildings for their men, while several traction companies have reading and club rooms for employees. The Cleveland Cliffs Iron Company, at Ishpeming, Mich., have fine lunch and reading-rooms for their men. The Siegel-Cooper and Wanamaker department stores, in New York, have rest rooms and social secretaries for their girls, tho the latter does not use the name. Many of the model villages, too, considered under that article, have also other features of industrial betterment. The Ludlow Manufacturing Associates have a memorial hall, with almost luxurious club rooms, library, bath, gymnasium, billiard-tables, recreation halls, etc., both for men and women. A social secretary gives all her time to looking after the interests of the employees, particularly of the women. In Mr. Nelson's cooperative village of Leclaire there is a cooperative store and club-house with library, billiards, gymnasium, etc. The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, at their different works in Colorado, have a social secretary, schools of various kinds, club-houses, libraries, recreation and reading-rooms.

Great Britain

In Great Britain industrial betterment has been largely connected with MODEL VILLAGES, most of these villages having indeed many kinds of industrial betterment. At BOURNEVILLE the Model Village created by George Cadbury, the public buildings include a bath-house, school-houses, a Ruskin Hall, other halls, reading-room, art-gallery, playgrounds, etc. Their works have been called a factory in a garden. In the dining-hall, tables are laid for 2,000 girls, and a fine organ plays at times during meals. Recreation grounds adjoin the works. Special courses of study are encouraged, by prizes or tuitions paid at industrial schools. Port Sunlight, built by Lever Brothers, near Birkenhead (1888), has a church, two groups of schools of various kinds, a public hall, inn, restaurant, gymnasium, public bath, fountain, cooperative stores, free library and tennis, bowling- and quoit-grounds. There are dining-halls for men and girls, the latter seating 1,500 girls. Food is sold at very low prices, tho covering cost. The company gives excursions to the employees and introduce many other improvements.

At Earswick, near York, Mr. Rowntree employed the first social secretary in England to care for the women and girl employees. So successful has this been that the secretary has now four assistants, while a male secretary, for the men, has one assistant and two visitors. The secretaries suggest improvements, oversee the social life of the factory, and care in every way for the interests of the employees. The works themselves are made attractive, with a rose garden, flowers in the rooms, pictures, good ventilation, three or four dining-halls. They maintain cooking-schools, sewing-schools, concerts, and other advantages.

Messrs. Boden's net factory in Derby, and the Creeper lace works of Messrs. Burroughs & Wellcome, at Dartford, have gardens and lawns. The latter have a fine club building, baths, gymnasium, reading-room, spacious library (500 vols.), and encourage education in many ways. The huge carpet factory of Templeton & Co., on Glasgow Green, is faced with colored brickwork, like the Doge's palace. Jacob & Sons, at Dublin, and J. G. Graves, at Sheffield, have roof-gardens.

French industrial betterment has run largely to profit-sharing (*q. v.*, see also BON MARCHÉ and LECLAIRE) and to housing, with schools for children.

Other Countries

The Anzin Mining Company, near Valenciennes, has erected houses, also boys', girls' kindergarten and technical schools for its 10,000 employees. Jules Chagot & Cie., at the Blanzy mines, have built 1,000 houses in four villages, and also advance money to workmen desiring to build their own houses, the cost to be paid back on instalments, without interest. They have 15 primary and 6 kindergarten schools. Harmel Brothers, with woolen mills at Warmérville, near Rheims, have 182 dwellings with allotment gardens at 1.50 to 4 francs per month. Their mills (1,000 employees) are among gardens and shrubs, with plenty of fresh air, and lighted from above. There are recreation and reading-rooms, schools of all kinds, with travel for the efficient, a special chapel and vicar. MM. Sainte, Frères, spinners, have built 2 villages at Flixecourt, with 500 houses. There are cooperative stores and schools. M. Menier, at Noisiel-sur-Seine, has 312 semidetached brick houses, dining-halls, and schools. Numerous French firms provide lunches and restaurants for their employees, as at the Bon Marché in Paris, and, still more, provide industrial schools and classes of various kinds.

The leading instances of industrial betterment in Germany are the different villages of the Krupp Steel Works (*q. v.*). They have baths in all their works, dining-halls, club-houses, with concert, recreation, and reading-rooms; schools of all kinds for boys and girls, industrial and otherwise; cooperative stores and societies; boarding-houses, savings-banks, insurance funds.

Baths are provided at the Krupp mines, the Bochum Steel Works, near Essen; the Spindlers of Cöpenick, near Berlin; the Badische Anilin and Soda Fabrik of Ludwigs-Hafen-on-Rhine; the Henkel Company of Düsseldorf; the Brandts

Works, at München Gladbach; and by many other firms. Various firms supply free, cheap or free lunches, notably the Krupps and the Badische Anilin and Soda Fabrik, Messrs. Spindler and Brandts. Prominent in Germany are schools of various kinds developed for employees.

In Austria industrial betterment has not gone far. At Dornbirn, in connection with Herr Hammerle's cotton-mill, a picturesque industrial village has been developed. At Smichof, near Prague, Baron Ringhofer has done much building for the 1,000 men in his machine works. He has also a sick fund and "welfare institutions."

Other countries, like Belgium, Holland, and Italy, are following in the same line.

The late Budgett Meakin, to whose book on "Model Factories and Villages" we are much indebted for information, has collected much testimony on this point. In the introduction to his book he quotes the Reeves Engine Company of New Jersey, the policy of which is to provide the best possible conditions for their men, as saying: "We can get a better grade of men who are able to do finer work and more of it by following this course." The Sherwin Williams Paint Company says: "The three most important matters for attention should be health, morals, and education, because a vigorous employee can do more work, a conscientious employee will do more conscientious work, and a more intelligent employee will do more intelligent work." Mr. Weston, of Newark, is quoted as saying: "It is interesting to note how frequently the health of employees and the requirements of business are best served by identical conditions." The Ludlow Manufacturing Associates, of Ludlow, Mass., says: "Social betterment to be successful must be free of any suspicion that it is designed to take the place of wages; second, it must not be too paternal or suggest that the recipient of its benefits does not know how to obtain them himself; third, the ideals aimed at must not be too far removed from actual conditions; fourth, as far as possible and continually more and more, the people should assume the management." Undoubtedly one of the main results is in the permanence of employees attached to a firm and their freedom from labor struggles. Especially in the case of girl employees, such betterment attracts a better grade of girls. Workrooms, light, airy, and attractive, and tastefully appointed, undoubtedly largely raise the quality of work and the tone of the workers. The entrance and halls of the Natural Food Company are like those of a first-class hotel. Flowers in factories are becoming frequent. Cleanliness has even a more direct result. Baths, especially shower-baths, and special costumes with provision when necessary against the inhaling of dust or gases, are widely used. The provision of cheap but healthy food and drink is one of the best preventives of drunkenness. Rest rooms in great factories and department stores undoubtedly aid work. Free medical attendance and care for the convalescent are provided by many employers. The provision of healthy recreation is the best guard against dissipation. Stopping monotonous and sedentary work for a little gymnastic exercise, and, above all, the provision of recreation grounds and rooms for the noon hours, are found most beneficial.

Results

REFERENCE: Budgett Meakin, *Model Factories and Villages* (1905).

INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION: A congressional commission appointed June 18, 1898, to investigate and suggest legislation upon industrial conditions. Five senators, five representatives and nine gentlemen appointed by the president and approved by the Senate formed the commission. Investigations were conducted by nine experts, and innumerable hearings at which over 700 witnesses testified. The report of the commission, completed Feb. 19, 1902, printed in nineteen volumes and with a general index in the last volume, is the best recent summary of industrial conditions in the United States, including industrial combinations, trade-unions, labor difficulties, labor legislation, immigration, wages, taxation, etc., etc.

INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE (see also special article INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE [State] IN THE GERMAN EMPIRE; OLD-AGE PENSIONS; UNEMPLOYMENT (for insurance against); TRADE-UNION BENEFITS; RAILWAY BENEFITS; FRIENDLY SOCIETIES; FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS; INSURANCE; NEW ZEALAND): Industrial insurance takes many forms. By far the most developed form of State industrial insurance is that of the German Empire, considered in an especial article, but almost all of the European governments have followed more or less Germany's example. Austria enacted a law for insurance against accidents in 1887 and against sickness in 1888. At present all classes of workers must be insured if they earn less than $480 per year. The organization is on a territorial basis, and not by trades as in Germany. Holland, Italy, Finland, Norway have enacted similar systems since 1895. All have organized central government banks to manage the insurance, tho the first three permit insurance in private companies.

Great Britain (1898), Denmark and France (1899), Sweden (1901), and Russia (1904) make the employer pecuniarily responsible for indemnities (compensations) or annuities. The employer may or may not insure his employees in private companies. This practise is on the increase in some countries, but the plan often does not work, as the employer frequently has to be sued, a process difficult or impossible for those who need it most. Belgium has developed States savings-banks and unemployment insurance on lines being widely copied in other countries. (See BELGIUM; UNEMPLOYMENT.) OLD-AGE PENSIONS are being adopted in many countries. (See especial article.) (For a general government insurance, see NEW ZEALAND.) Outside of government, the main form of industrial insurance, particularly in the United States and England, is the trade-union insurance. (See TRADE-UNION BENEFITS.) Friendly societies in England, fraternal organizations in the U. S., and similar organizations elsewhere do a very large insurance business for many of moderate means, but generally are of the middle rather than of the working classes. (See INSURANCE; FRIENDLY SOCIETIES; FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS.)

Very many firms in the U. S. and elsewhere, like Siegel & Cooper's (in Chicago, and later in New York), have insurance organizations for their employees. (See RAILWAY BENEFIT FUNDS.)

REFERENCES: See the different kinds of insurance for the U. S. See a series of articles by Professor Henderson in the *Am. Journal of Sociology*, 1907.

INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE (STATE) IN THE GERMAN EMPIRE: Social legislation for the

welfare of the working classes in Germany is constitutionally vested in the empire, and embraces working men's insurance and working men's protection. Both supplement each other and serve the same purpose, to preserve to the workingman, as long as possible, his most valuable possession, his power to work, and to afford him a subsistence when the same is lost.

Both branches of this legislation for the care of working men are attributable to imperial initiative: the "working men's insurance legislation" to the Sovereign Message of the first German emperor, William I., of Nov. 17, 1881, and the "working men's protective legislation" to the Supreme Decree of the ruling emperor, William II., of Feb. 4, 1890.

The imperial social politics is built upon the fundamental view that the working class, as created by modern developments, has, in a christianized and civilized State, a claim to be sufficiently protected in its economic existence over against the modern dangers in its vocation and work, as regards life and health, and that this claim is to be legally guaranteed because, as experience teaches, any other mode will fail to reach the desired end.

The industrial insurance legislation includes insurance against sickness, accident, invalidity, and old age. The various measures have been repeatedly revised, improved, and extended, but may be in brief described as follows:

The first of these measures against sickness was passed June 15, 1883. The purpose is to insure a certain and sufficient relief in case of illness during at least twenty-six weeks. The employee pays two thirds of the sick insurance and the employer one third.

In general, all persons regularly employed in factories, mines, on railways, and in other industrial concerns, shop assistants, employees in State services, employees of lawyers, etc., overseers, engineers, etc., must be insured. In general, those intermittently employed, those in dependent positions, employees of the empire (army and navy, etc.), who are otherwise entitled to pensions and free medical aid, are exempted. Other persons, like servants, children, etc., may or may not be insured by the communes. There are six groups of insurance societies or agencies—the sick funds established by the communes for the trades within their limits, the industrial or sick funds of large establishments, the building trades sick funds, the miners' sick funds, the gild funds, and the general funds established by the communes. The funds other than communal are managed by bodies elected by employees and employers, of which the employers may never have more than half as many representatives as the employees. General meetings of all the insured, or delegations of members when there are more than 500, meet annually and elect the managers by secret ballot. The communal funds are managed wholly by the commune, on which, however, all classes are represented. Premiums may not be over 3 per cent of the wages of the class of the individual insured, tho in some instances higher premiums are allowed when a higher scale of relief is given. In general, the minimum of relief is medical attendance and one half the daily wage (twenty-six weeks) when unable to work. Special benefits are given to women in childbirth, and for funerals forty-one times the daily sick pay is given. A working man earning $6 per week pays seventeen cents per week, and can receive $3 sick benefit besides attendance.

Insurance Against Sickness

Accident insurance was commenced July 6, 1884, and at first dealt chiefly with industrial enterprises, but has been much extended. Accident insurance is at the cost of employers wholly.

In general all employees and overseers with salaries less than $750 must be insured. The employees form themselves into associations by their trades (*Berufsgenossenschaften*), which not only manage the insurance funds, but may require measures, safeguards, etc., against accidents. These associations are self-governing, tho all is under the supervision of the imperial government. In the case of government employees, the government manages the insurance. The various trades are graded according to the degree of risk. Compensation must be paid even tho there be negligence on the workman's part, unless the accident is caused intentionally. The compensation begins thirteen weeks after the accident, the sick fund or employer being responsible meanwhile. The amount payable varies with the earnings of the injured party and the degree to which his capacity to earn is affected. Earnings in excess of $375 can only be reckoned on one third of the excess. The minimum is 300 times the local wage of the adult day-labor. A full pension for complete incapacity to work is two thirds of the yearly wage, besides medical attendance, etc. In case of fatal accidents one fifteenth of the yearly earnings is paid with a minimum of $12.50, and a pension to the widow till death or remarriage of 20 per cent of the earnings, and also to every child to the fifteenth year. Other dependents, like parents, grandparents, grandchildren, or a husband through incapacity dependent partly or wholly on his wife, are also provided for. Details, however, vary very considerably with the occupation, etc.

Accident Insurance

Invalidity and old-age insurance was enacted June 22, 1889, and subjects to compulsory insurance, after sixteen years of age, all persons regularly working for wages in every branch of trade, apprentices and servants included, managing officials and commercial assistants with regular salaries up to $500. The old-age and invalidity insurance fund is formed by equal contributions from employers and employed, and an imperial subsidy amounting to $12.50 per annum is granted to every annuity.

Those entitled to other pensions are exempt. The work of insurance is carried on by insurance societies in cooperation with State administrative bodies and under the imperial government. The representation of employers and employees upon these bodies must be equal. Premiums are payable weekly and are of five classes: 3½, 5, 6, 7½, and 9 cents (each payable half by the employer and half by the employee), the class to which a person belongs depending usually on the usual daily wage for his occupation. The annuities commence after 200 weeks for invalidity and 1,200 for old age, together with either incapacity to earn a living or the completion of the seventieth year. The invalidity pension is a minimum of $12, $14, $16, $18, or $20, according to the class, with an imperial subsidy of $12.50 in each class, and increases to a maximum, after fifty years, of $46.25, $67.50, $82.50,

Old-Age Insurance

$97.50, $112.50. In case of the sickness of insured people there are special provisions. Old-age pensions are, $27.50, $35, $42.50, $50, $56, in each class. In the event of insured people dying before the age of seventy or of an insured woman's marrying, half the paid premiums are returned.

This "working men's insurance legislation," developed during the years 1883 to 1889, embraces health, accident, inability, and old-age insurance; it is established upon compulsory lines, mutuality, and self-administration, and has been—1899–1903—subjected to a thorough revision, leaving the foundation unchanged, but bringing about many simplifications and improvements. In particular has the legislation supplementary to the health insurance law (1904) extended the obligatory care of the sick from thirteen to twenty-six weeks, thereby establishing an uninterrupted connection with the disability insurance, so that at present, in case of protracted or chronic diseases, a continuous provision is assured.

The principal merits of the German working men's insurance are:

1. It embraces fundamentally everybody needing insurance, over against other systems of provision which, as experience teaches, do not reach the great masses.

2. It affords the working man the most comprehensive provision as it offers not only support by money, but also free medical aid, free medicines and remedies, or free nursing in institutions.

3. It offers the working man the surest and cheapest system, as one third of the health insurance, one half of the inability insurance, and the total of the accident insurance is borne by the employer; the empire contributes in each instance of inability or old-age insurance $12.50 annually, and the indemnification proceedings are carried out by an impartial body free of charge.

4. The constant cooperation of employer and employed in a common high task works social conciliation and deepens the social sense of one's duty to the whole people.

5. The means and powers of the nation, concentrated in the working men's insurance, have made it possible to solve other problems of civilization, as, for instance, the systematic advancement of popular hygiene, the art of healing in connection with accidents, the fight with tuberculosis, the housing of working men, etc.

Based upon this legislation 60,000,000 persons (the sick, the injured by accident, invalids, and their relatives) received up to the end of 1903 a total of $1,000,000,000 as indemnity; the working men having raised only the smaller part of this sum in the form of contributions, and receiving an indemnity which was by $375,000,000 larger than what they paid in.

At the present time $375,000 are spent daily in Germany for this branch of the working men's insurance alone, and of the accumulated amount of $375,000,000, nearly $100,000,000 have been applied to the erection of working men's houses, hospitals, and sanitariums, to places of cure, people's baths, and similar institutions for the advance of the well-being of the public.

In 1904 the following were insured: for sickness, 11,418,446 working people—8,716,816 men and 2,701,630 women; for accident, 18,376,000—13,261,000 men and 5,115,000 women; for invalidism or old age, about 13,756,400—9,105,800 men and 4,650,600 women. Benefits were paid: to 4,642,679 sick people for 90,051,510 days to the amount of 237,107,610 marks; to 834,815 people meeting with accidents for 137,673 days to the amount of 127,308,966 mk.; to 803,232 invalids to the amount of 148,355,804 mk. From 1885 to 1904 the Imperial Insurance Bureau paid: for sick benefits, 2,493,973,793 mk.; for accidents, 1,057,758,585; to invalids from 1891–1904, 1,003,949,912. The expenses of administration for the different departments in 1904 were: insurance against sickness, 14,300,556 mk.; accident insurance, 19,868,251; old age, 14,020,261. The total expenses from 1885–1904 were: sickness, 154,126,770 mk.; accident, 197,126,770; old age from 1891–1904, 116,931,408.

The legislation for the "protection of working men" was inaugurated by imperial edict Feb. 4, 1890, indicating as necessary a revision of the factory laws for the further improvement of the condition of working men, with the aim so to regulate the time, the duration, and the kind of work, that the preservation of health, the laws of morality, the economic requirements of the working men, and their claim to the enjoyment of equal legal rights be taken care of. Legislation of this nature has been largely enacted. (See FACTORY LAWS; RAILROAD LEGISLATION; SUNDAY REST.)

REFERENCE: *Report of the U. S. Labor Bureau*, in preparation, 1907.

INDUSTRIAL LAW COMMITTEE, THE (England): Organized 1888 to fill the need for fuller knowledge of the legal protection extended to the life and labor of the industrial classes, especially in reference to women and children. It stands for the enforcement of the law and the promotion of further reform. The objects of the committee are:

(1) To supply information as to the legal protection of the industrial classes with regard to the condition of their trade. This information is given by means of correspondence, lectures, and printed matter to persons working among the industrial classes.

(2) To constitute a central body to which may be reported breaches of the law, and other matters relating to industrial employment, in order that these may be inquired into, referred to the proper authorities, and otherwise treated as may be deemed advisable.

(3) To consider all information received, to promote further legislation, and the more effective administration of the existing law.

The following injurious conditions are among the most important with which the committee is concerned: Such *injury to life and limb* as may be prevented by the fencing of machinery, lifts, etc., and by provision for escape from fire; and all *injury to health* which may be prevented when it arises from any of the following causes: *Overcrowding*, *defective* ventilation; *effluvia* or other insanitary conditions; *insufficient* sanitary accommodation; *insufficiently* warmed workrooms; *insufficiently* drained floors; *neglect of precautions* in dangerous trades; insufficient meal-times; *overwork*. *Secretary*, Miss Edith Maynard, York Mansion, York Street, Westminster, London.

INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS (called also **REFORM SCHOOLS**): In the article on CHILD-HELPING there is found a classification of children who require social care—the normal, defective, abnormal, and delinquent. In this article children in the last class are considered—the vicious, depraved, and delinquent above the age of six years and under eighteen. Delinquent youth over eighteen

years of age are treated in the article on REFORMATORIES (or intermediate prisons). Further classification of delinquent children is required according to sex, age, and character. A purely legal mark is that of specific culpability, the act in which some particular law has been violated. But for the present purpose there is not in mind a deed to expiate nor a criminal to punish, but an incomplete and wayward human being to educate. Children of this group should be separated in different institutions or departments according to sex even in the earlier period, for such children are precocious in vice. Children must be classified by age or stage of development, and this requires specialized institutions or several cottages under one management. In order to avoid contamination, the relatively innocent must not be exposed to contact with the more depraved and aggressively demoralizing persons. The bad influence of a girl of only twelve years is sometimes frightful.

In the seventeenth century the Pietists of Germany, under the lead of H. K. Francke, of Halle, established a vast asylum on the congregate plan which still exists. The modern movement for reformatory education derived inspiration from the genial philanthropist and teacher, Pestalozzi, who started a school for neglected children at Neuhof, Switzerland, in 1775, and opened a rescue home at Stanz, in 1798. J. Falk, at Weimar, founded a school in 1821, to prepare wayward children to be placed in family homes. C. H. Zeller organized Pestalozzi's ideas in more practical form at Basel in 1820. J. H. Wichern founded the Rauhe Haus, near Hamburg, in 1833. He broke with the congregate plan and placed the children in family-like groups, each group under a house-father and house-mother. Schaefer reported in 1903 that there were about 400 rescue homes in Germany, with 14,000 places.

In Various Countries

In France, with its multitude of societies and institutions working for children and youth, the farm colony at Mettray is best known and has exerted a wide influence. In the establishment of the Ohio school the commissioners brought thence their essential principles of organization, through Mr. Reemelin. In the United States, the Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents established the House of Refuge in New York City in 1825. Boston(1826) and Philadelphia (1828) followed this example. In 1835 a farm-school was opened for orphans and poor children on Thompson's Island in the harbor of Boston. The Massachusetts reform school was established at Westboro in 1847, and the girls' school at Lancaster in 1855. The CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY of New York, founded by Charles Loring Brace, has always employed schools in its work of prevention of crime and correction of vicious children.

In the evolution of reformatory education agencies have been specialized. The juvenile or children's court has recently become in cities the judicial center of reformatory discipline. This court, through its probation officers and auxiliary societies, attempts first to fortify and improve family control, and to prevent truancy, and only as a last resort to send a child to an institution. It uses any agency that gives the most promise of helping the particular child. Parental or truant schools are sometimes connected with the public schools, and truant officers seek to help and guide parents in securing steady attendance. The specialized school trains wayward children until they are ready to take their place again in home and in school. Several states have established reform or industrial schools for children who have violated law and who cannot be kept under restraint and training at home. Private institutions, supported by churches or associations, supplement the public institutions. Such are schools of prevention, refuges for girls, and rescue homes for girls betrayed and corrupted. In some instances these private institutions are subsidized by cities, counties, or by the state. The GEORGE JUNIOR REPUBLIC is a farm-school for dependent and delinquent children which emphasizes the principle of self-government.

Farm-Schools

The farm-school, as developed in modern lands, has great advantages over institutions in crowded cities. It permits a more rational classification and grouping by providing separate cottages; it isolates the vicious from close contact with the other children; it offers the refining and spiritual influence of nature, its beauty and sublimity. Outdoor life builds up vitality and supplies energy for will. Farm life offers a variety of occupations; all can learn a craft; each can cultivate his peculiar talents. There is variety of service and community of interests. Economically, a school in the country can be maintained at low cost, and much of the vegetable and animal food can be produced by the labor of the children and youth. The educational principles applied in these schools are those which control successful schools for normal children. Rarely have the industrial schools any of the features of a prison, except when a group of older and more depraved youth is present. The physical conditions of health in the situation and equipment of buildings, and in such matters as food, shelter, clothing, exercise, are those prescribed by medical science for all boarding-schools. The regulations for work, play, and moral instruction which succeed with normal children succeed also in these schools. Indeed, the reform schools are exerting a strong influence in improving public-school methods. If the introduction of artistic and trade classes help to reform a bad boy, why will they not help to prevent any boy from becoming depraved? Doubtless, the discipline must be somewhat more watchful and rigorous in reform schools, but prison discipline is not necessary, and is not helpful.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *The Reformatory System in the United States*, by S. J. Barrows; *Jugendfuersorge und Strafrecht*, by J. M. Baernreither; *Bulletins of the International Prison Congress*, fourth section, 1905 (contain valuable papers in French); *Dependent, Defective, and Delinquent Children*, by Homer Folks; *Introduction to the Study of the Dependent, Defective, and Delinquent Classes*, by C. R. Henderson, 2d edition, 1904 (containing bibliography); *Juvenile Offenders*, by W. D. Morrison; *Prisons and Child-saving Institutions*, by E. C. Wines; *Modern Prison Systems* (regulations of reform schools), by C. R. Henderson; *Das Moderne Amerikanische Besserungssystem*, by Paul Herr, 1907.

C. R. HENDERSON.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD: A labor organization formed in Chicago, 1905, to stand (1) for the policy of trade-unions entering into class-conscious Labor or Socialist politics as opposed to the policy of the American Federation of Labor, which opposes trade-unions, as unions, entering politics, and (2) for the solidarity of all branches of labor in one organiza-

tion, as opposed again to the policy of the American Federation of Labor, which grants the largest amount of autonomy to each trade and only federates them in a concerted movement. The preamble to the constitution adopted says:

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor, through an economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

The rapid gathering of wealth and the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands make the trade-union unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class, because the trade-unions foster a state of things which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. The trade-unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These sad conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as "The Industrial Workers of the World."

Sec. 2. (*a*) And shall be composed of thirteen (13) International Industrial Departments, subdivided in industrial unions of closely kindred industries in the appropriate organizations for representation in the departmental administration. The subdivision International and National Industrial Unions shall have complete industrial autonomy in their respective internal affairs, provided the General Executive Board shall have power to control these Industrial Unions in matters concerning the interest of the general welfare.

Several unions, notably the Western Federation of Miners, with 30,000 members, have joined the Industrial Workers (tho the Western Federation is bolting from it), with other individuals, mainly Socialists, making a membership at one time of 60,000. In 1907 only 7,000, however, have paid dues. *Secretary*: Wm. J. F. Hanneman, 148 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

INFANT MORTALITY (see DEATH-RATES): Infant mortality in most countries seems upon the increase even where the general death-rate is falling. This is the conclusion arrived at, among others, by Dr. George Newman, in his book "Infant Mortality" (1907). He gives the following table, which shows both the enormous death-rate for infants compared with the general death-rate, and also for almost all countries an increase in the rate.

INFANT MORTALITY RATE

	General death-rate, 1893–1902	Infant death-rate		
		1883–1892	1893–1902	1903
England and Wales	17.6	144	152	132
Scotland	18.0	120	127	....
Denmark	16.5	132	133	....
Russia	32.9	270	272	....
Germany	21.5	....	195	....
Prussia	21.2	207	199	194
Austria	25.9	....	227	....
Hungary	26.3	....	224	212
Netherlands	18.5	176	152	135
Belgium	18.3	161	157	155
France	20.8	167	158	....
Spain	28.7	....	190	....
Switzerland	18.5	160	145	133
Italy	23.3	209	173	....
Chile	29.8	297	333	352

The causes of infant mortality and of its increase are undoubtedly involved, but Dr. Newman finds them largely antenatal. From his studies in Great Britain he concludes that 30 per cent of the deaths are due to premature birth. This and other antenatal causes he finds largely due to economic causes in the increased stress of modern life, and particularly to the increase of woman's work. Recent German medical investigations have also shown the intimate connection between high infant mortality and woman's work, particularly in mills, working often during advanced pregnancy and too soon after birth. Unhealthy and overcrowded housing among the poorer classes is another fatal cause. Dr. Newman shows this by the following table:

INFANT MORTALITY FROM ALL CAUSES IN HOUSES OR TENEMENTS OF DIFFERENT SIZES AT THE METROPOLITAN BOROUGH OF FINSBURY, LONDON, 1905

SIZE OF TENEMENT	Census population, 1901	Number of births	ALL CAUSES	
			Number of infant deaths	Infant mortality per 1,000 births
One room	14,516	532	117	219
Two rooms	31,482	1,216	192	157
Three rooms	21,280	468	66	141
Four rooms and over	33,185	464	46	99
Institutions and deaths and births not traced	1,000	206	8	39
The borough	101,463	2,886	429	148

Mr. B. Seebohn Rowntree found the same in York in his investigations in 1898, as is seen by the following ("Poverty, a Study of Town Life," 1901):

INFANT MORTALITY IN YORK (1898)

AREA	Infant mortality rate	General death-rate	Death-rate over 5 years of age
Area 1. Poorest working class	247	27.7	13.8
Area 2. Middle working class	184	20.7	10.2
Area 3. Highest working class	173	13.4	7.5
Servant-keeping class	94	....	....
City of York as a whole	176	18.5	11.1

All these facts point to poverty as the cause, with its indirect results of ignorance, neglect, and vice.

Fabian Tract No. 5 (1906) says of children:

Their death-rate from all causes in England and Wales in 1904 was 51.62 per thousand; 60.69 in urban counties, and 38.14 in rural counties. The highest death-rate among children was in Lancashire (67.67); the next highest was Durham (62.37); while London came twelfth (54.79). The lowest death-rate was in the county of Westmoreland (24.02).

The infantile death-rate at Bethnal Green is twice that of Belgravia. Holborn (151,835) and St. George's, Hanover Square (149,748), have almost equal populations; yet, in the former, 1,614, in the latter only 1,007 children under five died in 1884.[1] (Registrar-General's Report, 1886, pp. 32, 126, C—4,722).

Dr. Playfair says that 18 per cent of the children of the upper class, 36 per cent of those of the tradesmen class, and

[1] No figures for a comparison of this kind are given in the Registrar-General's Reports for years subsequent to 1884.

55 per cent of those of the workmen, die before they reach five years of age (quoted at p. 133 of "Dictionary of Statistics," by Mr. Mulhall, who, however, thinks it "too high an estimate").

Mr. John Spargo in his "The Bitter Cry of the Children" has compiled considerable testimony on this point (p. 7–56):

He tells us that Wolf, in his studies based upon the vital statistics of Erfurt for twenty years, found that of every 1,000 children born in working-class families, 505 died the first year; among the middle classes, 173; and among the higher classes only 89 ("Diseases of Children," by H. Ashby, M.D., and G. A. Wright, p. 12). Dr. C. R. Drysdale, senior physician of the Metropolitan Free Hospital, London, says that the death-rate of infants among the rich is not more than 80 per cent, while among the very poor it is often 40 per cent ("Transactions of the Nat. Assn. for the Promotion of Social Science," 1882, p. 388). He quotes Dr. Ashby as saying: "In healthy children among the well-to-do class, the mortality (from measles) is practically nil; in the tubercular and wasted children to be found in workhouses, hospitals, and among the lower classes the mortality is enormous (idem, p. 228). Yet there were 8,645 deaths of infants by measles in the U. S. in 1900. Convulsions, tuberculosis, etc., are also largely diseases of poverty. A list of sixteen consecutive cases, copied from the New York Babies' Hospital, showed the most prominent feature of 75 per cent of the cases to be malnutrition. Says a clerk to the health board of Lawrence, Mass.: "Ignorance in the preparation of food, illy ventilated tenements, and, in many cases, unavoidable neglect occasioned by the mothers being obliged to work away from their children, often leaving their babes in the care of other children, seem to be the prime factors in the high mortality among children."

REFERENCES: Dr. G. Newman, *Infant Mortality* (1907); John Spargo, *The Bitter Cry of the Children* (1906); also *Fabian Tract No. 5.*

INGRAM, JOHN KELLS: Economist, positivist; born in Donegal, Ireland, 1823. Educated at Newry School, and at Trinity College, Dublin, where he was successively scholar, fellow, professor of oratory and English literature, regius professor of Greek, and librarian. In 1878 he became president of the Statistical Society of Ireland, when his address in that capacity on "The Present Position and Prospects of Political Economy" attracted much attention. He is the author of the article on political economy in the "Encyclopædia Britannica" (9th ed.), and on slavery, both of which have since been published in book form as "A History of Political Economy" (1888) and "A History of Slavery and Serfdom" (1895). His later writings have been on positivism. *Address*: 38 Upper Mount Street, Dublin, Ireland.

INHERITANCE TAX, THE: The inheritance tax is a tax levied on the occasion of the transfer of property at death. A collateral inheritance tax is one that exempts from its provisions inheritances passing to the father, mother, husband, wife, or a lineal descendant. A graduated or progressive inheritance tax is one in which the rate of the tax increases with the size of the estate or the amount passing to a single individual.

Inheritance taxes tho imposed in various forms and at various times for centuries are in their present form a modern development. The inheritance tax to-day is found in almost every civilized country of any importance. It is found in the Australian commonwealths, Austria, Belgium, the Canadian provinces, Cape Colony, Denmark, France, the principal German states, Great Britain, Greece, Holland, Italy, Norway, Rumania, Russia, Spain, Sweden, the cantons of Switzerland, and in thirty-five of the states and territories of the United States.

Numerous divergent theories have been evolved to justify the imposition of an inheritance tax. Dr. West has summarized these as follows:[1]

Inheritance and bequest may be restricted in two directions—according to relationship and according to amount; the circle of relatives between whom inheritance operates may be narrowed, or a limitation may be put upon the amount which one person may receive from the estate of another. Corresponding to these two methods of limitation there are two arguments for the inheritance tax: (1) That which looks to the limitation of collateral inheritance or the extension of escheat, and (2) that which concerns itself with the effect on the diffusion of wealth. Regarding the tax as a fiscal imposition, it may be considered either as a fee or as a tax—as a payment in return for benefits received, or as a public contribution according to the ability of the taxpayer. Each of these two conceptions, again, may be supported by either of three different arguments. The payment may be regarded as (3) a return for government services in general, or (4) for special services connected with the system of inheritance and bequest, according to the value of the service to the individual, or (5) as a means of defraying the cost of probate courts; and accordingly we have what may be called the partnership, the value of service and the cost of service arguments. Leaving the matter of individual benefit out of consideration altogether, the inheritance tax may be explained as (6) a payment of back taxes evaded during life, (7) a property tax paid in a lump sum once in a lifetime, or (8) a tax on a particular form of accidental income.

Justification

In the present brief article these numerous theories cannot be considered. It seems clear, however, that the controlling justification of the inheritance tax in its present-day form lies in the privilege and duty of the State to regulate the inheritance of property in such a way as to best promote the general welfare. Inheritance is a social institution which like all others must stand the test of social utility. It is good in so far as it is socially useful and must always be subject to such regulation and modification as is demanded by the supreme test, social utility. This has been practically recognized in all lands and ages. The legal right to determine the control of one's property after death has always been limited in the interest of the supposed public welfare. The legal right of kin to inherit in case of intestacy has also been limited.

The right of bequest and inheritance is a natural right only to the extent that it is socially useful; that it furnishes an incentive to the creation of wealth or furthers its preservation and judicious management. Altho device and descent are upheld as the best-known method of securing this end, yet it must be admitted that this method is open to serious objections and often fails completely. While the man who acquires wealth by that act gives evidence of his ability to manage it properly, it is by no means so certain that his heirs will possess that qualification. It is most fitting, therefore, that the State in apportioning the burden of taxation should take cognizance of this condition and obtain a portion of its revenue from estates at the time of their transfer to hands that have given no evidence of ability to manage them economically. Such a tax, if the rate be moderate, can only further the true social function of devise and descent, i. e., the furtherance of the creation and the judicious management of wealth. The tax is an incentive rather than a hindrance to the creation of wealth and insures that after its transfer at death a certain portion, at least, will serve a socially useful purpose.

The inheritance tax will decrease the number of social drones. There will be fewer Newport palaces built by widows and sons and daughters, whose only conception of social service is typified

[1] See his article entitled "Theory of the Inheritance Tax," in *Political Science Quarterly* for Sept., 1893.

in the Newport round of lavish expenditure and selfish pleasure. The support of the idle rich is becoming a heavy drain upon the wealth of the nation. This class is made up almost entirely of persons who have inherited their wealth. Men have amassed such enormous fortunes that after their death the natural increase from the property is more than enough even with the most lavish expenditure to maintain their descendants in idleness forever. It would be difficult to find any social or economic justification for such a manifest social wrong. In every community, and especially in the older communities, there are able-bodied men and women living in complete or partial idleness as a result of inherited wealth. Their lives would have been more useful and the world would have been richer had they received no inheritance or one smaller in amount.

The inheritance tax is a tax on property that can in no way be shifted so as to become a tax on labor or industry. It is generally recognized that property should be taxed at a much higher rate than labor, and from this it follows that the man in active business whose income is largely the result of his own energy and labor should not be subject to as high a rate of taxation measured by income as the man whose income is from money in savings-banks, bonds, and other perfectly safe investments. The income in the one case is largely the reward of labor, and in the other the interest on past accumulations in the investment of which only a trifling amount of labor is involved. The tendency of a moderate additional tax on the latter form of income is to decrease the number of those who do or may enjoy a competence without any personal exertion. It decreases the number of social drones and adds to the effective labor force. Its effect is somewhat similar to that of a decline in the rate of pure interest. When it is remembered that most fortunes are created by men in active business, who give their entire time and strength to the work, and that those who live from their incomes without themselves engaging in active business, or, in other words, laboring, are in most cases those whose fortunes have come to them through inheritance, the advantage of the inheritance tax as a means of placing an additional burden on property, without at the same time taxing labor or industry, is very apparent. A tax of 10 per cent on a bequest is equivalent to an annual tax of 10 per cent on the income from the bequest.

The inheritance tax is, moreover, the best substitute for the present ineffectual attempt to tax intangible personality directly by means of the general property tax. A common sense of justice demands that the bond and mortgage holder should pay a substantial tax on his income from the investment, but, as is well known, the direct tax on this class of property is either evaded entirely or shifted to the borrower. The inheritance tax, however, can only with great difficulty be evaded and cannot be shifted; and will most effectually reach this class of wealth that is at present practically exempt from taxation. To partly compensate for their exemption from direct taxation, bonds and mortgages passing at death should be subject to taxation at a higher rate than property not thus exempt. And even if no bonds or mortgages are included in the estate, the inheritance tax nevertheless indirectly reaches this kind of property, for the recipient will most probably invest a portion of his inheritance in stocks and bonds, and the tax is equivalent to annual tax on the income from this investment.

As a result of the fact that the inheritance tax does not tax industry and can in no way be shifted, its imposition or alteration results in no disturbance of business or industrial relations. This is a most notable advantage, for the restrictive and prohibitive effects of some taxes and the severe disturbance of industrial conditions resulting from the introduction of other taxes are extremely important, and are the causes that most often prevent the adoption of legislative reforms. The inheritance tax can be imposed and its rate altered from time to time in response to the demands of justice or to the needs of the state without producing industrial disturbance or hardship.

Progressive Rate

The justification and desirability of the tax having been considered, the next question is that of a proportional or a progressive rate.

1. In the first place, it is universally recognized that there should be some progression in rate as between different classes of heirs. If direct heirs are taxed at all they are almost invariably taxed at a lower rate than collateral heirs. In many American states direct inheritances are taxed 1 per cent and collateral inheritances 5 per cent. The heirs should be divided into a certain number of classes based on the equitable claim which they have to the property of the decedent, due to dependence on him for support or to cooperation in any degree in the accumulation of the property. It seems just that in the case of husbands, wives, and minor children there should be a larger exemption or lower tax than for any other class of heirs, and that adult children and parents should not be taxed so highly as collateral heirs.

2. The same reasons that have been adduced to show the justice of the inheritance tax are also arguments for a rate progressive as to the amount of the inheritance. (1) The danger of mismanagement is greater in the case of large than of small inheritances; (2) the larger the inheritance the greater the probability that its recipient will render no adequate social return for the income he receives; and (3) the larger the inheritance the greater the probability that it will be invested in such a way as to largely escape direct taxation. The practical limit to the progression is the point at which the creation of wealth is discouraged or means of evasion devised.

Inheritance taxes having graduated or progressive rates exist in the leading foreign states and countries. They are found in the Australian states, the Canadian provinces, the cantons of Switzerland, and in France and Great Britain. In France the rate on inheritances passing to collateral heirs or to strangers in blood varies from 3¾ per cent to 18¾ per cent. The rate in the case of direct heirs varies from 1 per cent to 2½ per cent. In Queensland the rate for collateral heirs or strangers in blood varies from 2 per cent to 20 per cent, and for direct heirs from 1 per cent to 5 per cent. In the province of Ontario the rate for collateral heirs or strangers in blood varies from 5 per cent to 10 per cent, and for direct heirs from 1 per cent to 8 per cent. In the canton of Lucerne, Switzerland, the rate for collateral heirs or strangers in blood is from 5 per cent to 20 per cent.

The following table was prepared by Solomon Huebner and published in "The Quarterly Journal of Economics," Aug., 1904:

PROGRESSIVE INHERITANCE TAXES IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

COUNTRY	For collateral heirs		For direct heirs		Strangers in blood		Progressivity (on basis of property)	Other exemptions
	Rate per cent	Exemption	Rate per cent	Exemption	Rate per cent	Exemption	Rate per cent	
Australasia:								
New South Wales	2 –10	£1,000	1 – 5[1]	£1,000	2 –10	£1,000	2 –10	
New Zealand	2½–10	100	1¼– 5	100	5½–13	100	2½–10	
Queensland	2 –10	200	1 – 5	200	4 –20	200	2 –10	Legacies £20
South Australia	1 –10	200	1½–10	500	–10	none	1 –10[2]	
Western Australia	1 –10	1,500[3]	1½– 5[4]	1,500[3]	1 –10	1,500[3]	½–10	
Victoria	2 –10	1,000	1 – 5[5]	1,000	2–10	1,000	2 –10	
Canada:								
British Columbia	5 –10	$5,000	1½– 5	$25,000	10	$5,000	½– 5[6]	
Manitoba	1 –10	4,000	2 –10	25,000	1 –10	4,000	1 –10	Share $10,000[7]
New Brunswick[8]	5 –10	5,000	1¼– 5	50,000	10	5,000	1¼– 5[6]	Share $200
Nova Scotia[9]	5 –10	5,000	2½– 5	25,000	10	5,000	2½– 5[6]	Share $500
Ontario[9]	5 –10	10,000	2½– 5	100,000	5 –10	10,000	2½–10[6]	Share $200
P. E. Island[9]	2½– 7½	3,000	1½– 2½	10,000	7½	3,000	1½– 2½[6]	
Quebec	3 – 8	.....	½– 3	3,000	10	.....	½– 3[6]	
France	3¾–18½	none	1 – 2½	none	15–18½	none	1 –18½	
Great Britain:[10]								
Estate duty[11]	1 – 8	£100	1 – 8	£100	1 – 8	£100	1 – 8	{£300–30s. tax[12] {£500–50s. tax
Legacy duty[13, 16]	3 –10	.....	1[15]	.....	10	.....	.....	
Succession duty[14, 16]	4½–11½	£20	1½[16]	£20	11½	£20	.....	
Switzerland:								
Lucerne	5 –15	Legacy 50 fr.	1	5,000 fr.	20	Legacy 50 fr.	1 –40[17]	
Schaffhausen	2 – 8	Share 200 fr.	....	.....	10	Share 200 fr.	2 –20[18]	Employees 1,000 fr.
Zürich	2 –10	Legacy 1,000 fr.	....	.....	10	Legacy 1,000 fr.	2 –15[19]	Servants 1,000 fr.

[1] One half of collateral rates on amounts not exceeding £50,000. In certain cases the rate applies to distributive shares.
[2] Progression ceases with collateral heirs at £20,000, and with direct heirs with £200,000.
[3] £1,500 exempted if estate does not exceed £2,500; if in excess no exemption.
[4] Direct heirs pay one half of collateral rates.
[5] One half of collateral rate on property passing to certain direct heirs when total net value does not exceed £50,000.
[6] Progressive schedule applies only to direct heirs. Progressivity on basis of property.
[7] Share passing to immediate relatives.
[8] Schedule rates doubled on property passing by transfer out of the province.
[9] Proceeds devoted to asylums, hospitals, and other charities.
[10] Great Britain has also a "probate duty," "account duty," "temporary estate duty," and a "corporation duty."
[11] Paid upon the principal value of all property, real or personal, settled or unsettled. Settled property is subject to a further estate duty of 1 per cent, called "settlement estate duty."
[12] Small estates up to £300 gross pay a duty of 30s. Small estates up to £500 pay a duty of 50s. These duties are inclusive of all other "death duties."
[13] Legacy of any value, and any share of residue of personal estate arising under will or intestacy.
[14] Succession duty applies to a succession of the value of £20 or upward, where the whole succession derived from the same predecessor amounts to £100 or upward. One half per cent of the succession duty on lineals and 1½ per cent on other descendants constitutes what is called "additional succession duties." This additional duty is not payable when the property subject to the succession is chargeable with estate duty.
[15] Rate applies to child, descendant of child, father, mother, or lineal ancestor, and is not payable where probate or letters of administration were obtained or where "account duty" or "estate duty" has been paid.
[16] The "legacy duty" and the "succession duty" together practically constitute a collateral inheritance tax paid in addition to the "estate duty" with the exception, however, that estates valued at £1,000 or less are subject only to the "estate duty."
[17] One per cent to 20 per cent on amounts up to 10,000 francs. Rate then increases by one tenth through a series of ten steps until it becomes ten tenths higher than the primary rate.
[18] Two per cent to 10 per cent on amounts between 2,000 and 10,000 francs. Rate then increases one tenth for each additional 10,000 fr. until it becomes ten tenths higher than the primary rate.
[19] Two per cent to 10 per cent on amounts up to 10,000 francs. Rate then increases by one tenth for each additional 10,000 fr. until it becomes five tenths higher than primary rate.

United States

It is only within the last ten years that inheritance taxes with graduated rates have been imposed in the American states. At present in about one third of the thirty-five states having an inheritance tax the rate is progressive, increasing with the size of the estate or the amount passing to a single individual. This is a notable feature of many of the more recent statutes. In recent laws enacted in California and Wisconsin the rates vary from 1 per cent to 15 per cent. Colorado, Illinois, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Carolina, Oregon, Porto Rico, South Dakota, Washington, Wisconsin, and California all have adopted a more or less progressive rate. Illinois was the first state to pass a law of this nature. The Illinois act passed in 1895 and upheld by the U. S. Supreme Court imposes taxes at the following rates on all property, real and personal:

1. One per cent on excess of $20,000 passing to father, mother, brother, sister, husband, wife, child, or lineal descendant.

2. Two per cent on excess of $2,000 passing to uncle, aunt, nephew, niece, or lineal descendant of same.

3. On all estates passing to other heirs: $500 to $10,000, 3 per cent; $10,000 to $20,000, 4 per cent; $20,000 to $50,000, 5 per cent; exceeding $50,000, 6 per cent.

The Wisconsin act of 1903 was the most carefully drawn and elaborately graduated law that had been enacted up to that time. It embodies the following features: primary rates ranging from 1 to 5 per cent being fixt according to relationship for inheritances not exceeding $25,000, these rates are multiplied by 1½, 2, 2½, and 3 for the excess above $25,000, $50,000, $100,000, and $500,000 respectively as shown in the table given on page 624, which brings out the most important facts.

Relation	Exemption	Not exceeding $25,000	$25,000–$50,000	$50,000–$100,000	$100,000–$500,000	In excess of $500,000
Widow	$10,000	1%	1½%	2%	2½%	3%
Husband, direct heirs	2,000					
Brothers and sisters and their descendants, sons-in-law, daughters-in-law	500	1½%	2¼%	3%	3¾%	4½%
Uncles and aunts and their descendants	250	3%	4½%	6%	7½%	9%
Great-uncles and great-aunts and their descendants	150	4%	6%	8%	10%	12%
All others	100	5%	7½%	10%	12½%	15%

The California Act of 1905 is modeled very closely after the Wisconsin law.

Bibliography: *The Inheritance Tax*, by Max West, in *Columbia College Studies in Hist., Econ. and Public Law*, 4: 175–310, 1893; *Theory of the Inheritance Tax*, by Max West, in *Political Science Quarterly*, 8: 426–44, 1893; *The Inheritance Tax* (in *Essays in Taxation*, pp. 121–35), by E. R. A. Seligman, 1895; *The Law of Collateral and Direct Inheritance, Legacy and Succession Taxes Embracing all American and Many English Decisions*, by B. F. Dos Passos, 2d ed. 22, 654 pp., 1895; *The Inheritance Tax*, by R. H. Whitten, in *Nat. Civic Fed. Pro. of Conf. on Taxation*, pp. 79–84, 1901; *Death Duties in Foreign Countries*, by the Duke of Argyll, in *Jour. Soc. of Comp. Legis.*, 11: 25–44, 1903; *The Inheritance of Property*, by R. T. Ely, in his *Studies in the Evolution of Industrial Society*, pp. 271–314, 1903; *The Inheritance Tax in the American Commonwealths*, by Solomon Huebner, in the *Quartly. Jour. of Econ.*, 18: 529–50, 1904; *The Inheritance Tax*, in *Massachusetts Labor Bulletin*, No. 32, pp. 179–210, 1904. Editorial and other comment from various newspapers on the suggestion of President Roosevelt in his address of April 14, 1906, suggesting an inheritance tax so framed as to limit the amount that could be inherited by any one person, in *Massachusetts Labor Bulletin*, No. 42, pp. 278–85, 1906; *Can the Accumulation of Great Wealth be Regulated by Taxation?* by Alexander Hadden, in *Ohio Law Bulletin*, 51: 283–90, 1906.

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INJUNCTIONS: In order to obtain a right understanding of this subject it is necessary to examine it historically. Our law is derived from that of England, which in the beginning knew only two remedies, a criminal proceeding instituted in the name of the king to punish the wrongdoer by imprisonment or fine, and a civil action by a private person to obtain money damages in contract or in tort. The remedy in damages was often found to be inadequate, there being various wrongs for which a money judgment would not afford the right kind of reparation. For example, a powerful noble might fence off a right of way belonging to the inhabitants of a village; and if he could only be sued for the pecuniary damage done to each, he might gladly pay and keep the way closed. The actual pecuniary loss to each villager would often be nominal. Thus he would virtually have the power to increase the value of his estate by getting rid of a right of way through his own wrong and at small cost. Various other acts by the influential and the powerful can be imagined which would be illy recompensed by a judgment in damages.

Development

In those days the king was looked upon as the fountain of power as well as justice. "The king could do no wrong," and might safely be invoked to command the right. Hence his subjects fell into the habit of coming to him with humble petitions, saying, for example in the case of a right of way, that one of his subjects had wrongfully closed a way over which other subjects had a right to pass, and as their remedy to recover damages was clearly inadequate, would his Majesty, in the plenitude of his power and as the fountain of equity, graciously be pleased to order that the way be opened, so that they might enjoy it as aforetime. The king, not wishing to be taken from the pleasures of the chase or other matters of greater moment to him than the welfare of humble subjects, would refer the petition to the keeper of his conscience, an officer of his household, usually a priest, called a chancellor, who was empowered to examine into the facts, and advise the king what in justice ought to be done. The chancellor would issue a writ in the name of the king, commanding the offending party to appear and answer the prayer of the petitioners and show any reason he might have for closing the way. Testimony would then be taken on behalf of both sides, and the chancellor would report the facts to the king, who thereupon, if the right of way was proven and its wrongful closing made out, and if he felt in a gracious mood, would order the wrong-doer to refrain from obstructing the way. In other words, the king would enjoin the wrong-doer from continuing his wrongful act under penalty of imprisonment for contempt if he disobeyed the injunction. So with other wrongful acts of a continuing nature, the king upon advice of the keeper of his conscience would enjoin the doing of them whenever the remedy at law was inadequate. He would also give commands to do various things as to which the law gave no redress.

In time this became crystallized into a system of jurisprudence called equity, as distinguished from law. The chancellor became a judge, who decided causes on such petitions in the name of, but without troubling, the king. Equity thus came in as a supplement to law. The system was expanded so as to include injunctive commands—now called mandatory injunctions—to do things as well as to refrain from doing them.

Our forefathers brought to this country this dual method of administering justice, the common-law remedy by way of damages and the equitable by way of a decree to do that which is right.

As equity was supposed only to supply the deficiencies of the law, it became necessary that equity jurisprudence should be administered under a set of definite rules. They are known as "the rules in equity." Chief among them are the following: Equity follows the law. Where the equities are equal the legal title must prevail. He who asks equity must do equity. He who comes into a court of equity must come with clean hands. If the remedy at law is adequate a court of equity cannot act.

The illustration of the obstruction of a right of way is peculiarly apt for the purpose of an article on injunctions in such a work as this, because the now famous phrase "government by injunction" grew out of a case which involved an obstruction of the public highway. During many years courts of equity had been granting injunctions against unlawful obstruction of the highway. For example, some enterprising tradesman might put in his shop window a spectacle to attract crowds, who, gathering to look at it, would obstruct access to a neighbor's shop, and at the latter's instance a court of equity would enjoin

the former from doing the act, which by attracting a crowd resulted in obstructing the sidewalk.

Government by Injunction

The case above referred to is that of ex parte Debs in 1894 (158 U. S., 564). There has been much popular misunderstanding as to the extent and character of that decision. The day is coming when, instead of being denounced by labor-unions as a "blow at labor," it will be recognized as one of the most valuable decisions in defense of the rights of the laboring man, as well as the community at large.

It grew out of the Pullman car strike of the year before at Chicago, in the course of which the running of railroad trains and transmission of the mails was interrupted by the mob. It was based upon the theory which for long had been accepted law, that railroads are public highways.

Briefly stated, the Supreme Court held that the right of regulating interstate commerce and the right of transmission of the mails furnish adequate grounds on which to found the jurisdiction of a U. S. court of equity to prevent, by injunction, the forcible obstruction of a public highway in such manner as to impair those rights; that this jurisdiction to issue an injunction involves the right to punish, as a contempt, the violation of such injunction, tho the acts complained of might constitute a crime punishable at law; and that the facts that the act complained of were being done by a large number of men did not deprive the court of a jurisdiction, which had for many years been exercised where the obstructors of the highway were few in number.

The court, however, made certain limitations, which seem to have been overlooked or forgotten not only by the general public, but also by many of the lower courts, which have since used that decision as if it were a warrant for injunctions which can fitly be characterized in no other way than as gross usurpations of judicial power.

Speaking by Judge Brewer, the Supreme Court distinctly said:

"It must be borne in mind that this bill was not simply to enjoin a mob and mob violence. It was not a bill to command a keeping of the peace; much less was its purport to restrain the defendants from abandoning whatever employment they were engaged in. The right of any laborer or any number of laborers to quit work was not challenged. The scope and purpose of the bill was only to restrain forcible obstructions of the highways along which interstate commerce travels and the mails are carried. And the facts set forth at length are only those facts which tended to show that the defendants are engaged in such obstructions."

From this summary it will be seen that a number of points, popularly supposed to have been decided by the Debs case, were not passed on, viz.:

(1) That persons not made parties may be enjoined.

(2) That lawful gatherings on the highway may be enjoined.

(3) That the exercise of the right of free speech may be enjoined.

(4) That any lawful act may be enjoined.

It is not too much to infer from the quotation above given, that if any of those points were to be presented to that court, the outcome would be in favor of what has generally been taken by both public and legal profession to be the law. It is true that there were some parts of the injunction as granted by the lower court in the Debs case which violated one or other of those principles—which principles must be regarded as pertaining to fundamental rights. The parties actually punished in that case were, however, parties to the action, and it does not appear that any objections to the injunction, on which the Supreme Court did not pass, were specially urged upon its attention. Therefore it can not be held to have approved them. In the passage above quoted the force of the word "only" should ever be taken into account: "The scope and purpose of the bill was *only* to restrain forcible obstructions of the highways along which interstate commerce travels and the mails are carried." It is a matter of course that the injunction had no legality as to acts outside "the scope and purpose of the bill."

It should also be remembered that the Supreme Court was bound by the findings of fact of the lower court, and so stated in express terms: "Its (the lower court's) finding of the fact of disobedience is not open to review on habeas corpus in this or any other court."

The popular misapprehension, above mentioned, has been largely due to the fact that in subsequent decisions of the lower courts, particularly the federal, the points above emphasized as in no way decided by the Debs case have been improperly assumed to be logical deductions from that decision. A few examples will suffice:

In a suit brought by the American Steel and Wire Company, in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1898, the defendants were, among other things, enjoined "from in any manner interfering with" the company's business.

In the case of The Sun Printing and Publishing Company *vs.* Delaney and others (1899) the Supreme Court of New York, among other things, enjoined the defendants from the exercise of their right to give the public their side of their controversy with the *Sun* as an argument against advertising in a paper which they claimed had treated them unjustly; it also forbade them from attempting to persuade news dealers from selling the paper; and, finally, wound up with a sweeping restraint "from in any other manner or by any other means interfering with the property, property rights, or business of the plaintiff." It should be added that, on appeal, the Appellate Division struck out these commands; but they were so plainly subversive of fundamental rights that it is difficult to see how they could have been granted in the first instance.

In still another case last year (The Wheeling Railway Company *vs.* John Smith and others, so runs the title of the action without naming the others, in the U. S. Circuit Court, West Virginia) two men not parties to the action, nor found to be agents of "John Smith and others," whoever they may have been, were punished for contempt of court for, among other things, "reviling" and "cursing"—the court? not at all, but for "reviling" and "cursing" employees of the railroad company. If these men had not actually served out an imprisonment in jail for thirty days as a punishment for contempt of corporation, it might be thought that this example was taken from opera bouffe. The legality of this punishment was never passed on by the Supreme Court, for the reason, it is said, that the parties were unable to bear the expense of taking it there, and so served their term in jail.

In 1900 an injunction was granted in Levy *vs.* The Cigar Makers' International Union and others, by the Supreme Court in New York, of which it is difficult to speak in terms of moderation. Officers of the union and the other defendants were prohibited, not only from "picketing" (which when peaceable has not yet, in New York, been decided by its highest court to be unlawful; see Reynolds *vs.* Everett, 144 N. Y., 189, and 67 Hun., 294); not only from "accosting" the plaintiffs and their new hands or persons seeking their employment; not only from doing "any act or thing" which had the tendency of "molesting" the plaintiffs, whatever that may mean; not only "from any interference with" the plaintiffs and their employees and persons seeking work in their factory, in the adjacent streets, "or in any other place"; but also from paying or offering any money to former employees for the purpose of "continuing organized, concerted, and combined action" on the part of the strikers with the object of interfering with the plaintiff's business.

In other words, this injunction forbade the defendants even from approaching their former employers for the laudable purpose of reaching an amicable result; it forbade them from making their case known to the public if the tendency of that was to vex the plaintiffs or make them uneasy; it forbade them from trying in a perfectly peaceable way in any place in the city, even in the privacy of a man's own home, to persuade a new employee that justice was on their side, and that he ought to sympathize with them sufficiently not to work for unjust employers; and, finally, it forbade the union from paying money to the strikers to support their families during the strike.

These portions of the injunction were so plain a violation of the rights of the defendants at common law, under the Constitution, and especially under section 171, of the N. Y. Penal Code, that they were set aside as soon as brought to the deliberate attention of the court.

It cannot be necessary to multiply instances of injunctions which, whether valid or not in some respects, are in others plain usurpations of

power. It is, however, worth while to call attention to a strange freak of a court in 1899, which as it did not happen in a labor dispute is all the more noteworthy.

The Texas Court of Appeals (ex parte Warfield, 50 S. W. Rep., 933) upheld the validity of an injunction which it is safe to say is without parallel in the history of jurisprudence. A husband claiming damages from Warfield for alienating the affections of his wife, obtained an injunction commanding him not to speak to, nor communicate with, the wife, nor to go near her at the house where he boarded, nor at "any other house or place in the City of Dallas, or State of Texas." Shortly afterward the defendant happened to meet the wife, and had some casual conversation with her, for doing which he was found guilty of contempt of court and fined $100 and sent to jail for three days. He naturally tried to get out on habeas corpus, and, incredible to relate, failed to do so. It has therefore been solemnly adjudged to be the law of Texas, that a jealous husband, upon proof that he fears a breach by his wife of the seventh commandment, can have the aid of a court of equity to prevent correspondence between the parties by which it might be brought about. This may he styled marital fidelity by injunction. There was even a case in Ohio where a mother obtained an injunction against the marriage of a son upon the plea that he was not of sound mind! Unless checked we might come in time to have etiquette by injunction. If our judges ought to be regulators of conduct, and enforce the ten commandments or other rules of right behavior by mandatory injunctions, then it were better to confer the power upon them by due act of legislature, than to allow them to take it without right.

Where an injunction is disobeyed the court can inflict punishment by fine or imprisonment without the aid of a jury. Thus the judge, whose writ is alleged to have been defied, is the one who passes on the issue of fact created by a denial of the charge; and he is the person who imposes the sentence if he finds the charge is true.

This power cannot safely be done away with altogether, but the tendency of the courts to stretch their jurisdiction beyond the bounds set in the Debs case became so general a few years ago, and the consequent mischief of allowing a usurping court to act as a jury in its own cause so serious, that it was apparent that legal measures in restraint should be adopted if respect for law is to be preserved. He is the worst enemy of this republic who does anything to break down reverence for law or respect for the courts.

In consequence, various bills were prepared for passage by Congress and state legislatures. The agitation of the subject, while it has not produced as yet any fruitful legislation, has had one good effect. It has reminded judges that the power to command a future act is more dangerous than to punish a past one, dangerous to the wielder of the power as well as to others, and must be handled with circumspection. Of late years there have not been so many illegal injunctions. At the same time it would seem clear that it would be the part of wisdom to impose certain limitations on the power of the courts in issuing and enforcing injunctions of all sorts.

The following limitations are believed to be ample, conservative, and necessary; (1) That injunctions shall not be issued against any but parties to the action, their agents, servants, and attorneys; (2) that when an injunction, however valid in part, prohibits the lawful use of the highway, or the right of free speech, or lawful combination to advance joint interests, it shall be void in toto; (3) that all persons who are charged with disobedience of an injunction in respect of a matter which might be the subject of indictment, shall have the right to demand a trial by jury upon issues of fact to be properly framed; (4) that whenever the question, whether an injunction, pending an action, should be granted depends upon the determination of questions of fact arising on conflicting affidavits, either side shall have the right to demand that a jury be forthwith impaneled to try the same upon issues properly settled.

Limitations

It is instructive to note the development in a republic of a writ which had its origin in kingly prerogative. Also to observe that the power to command begets in the commander, whether he be king, president, general, priest, judge, or walking delegate, the disposition to stretch his jurisdiction and to sanction illegality by pleading the cause for which he stands, and which he comes to believe is symbolized in himself. It is the old delusive pretense, ever repeated, that the end justifies the means. The king says, I am the State; the president, I have a mission; the general, I uphold the government; the priest, I contend for the infallible Church; the judge, I stand for law and order; the walking delegate, I strike for the holy cause of labor. Poor weak, erring mortals ye be, ye kings, presidents, priests, generals, judges, and walking delegates. Exercise your lawful powers of command, for they are necessary for the general welfare, but learn to do so with fear and trembling, with care and moderation, lest ye work ill rather than good.

Injunctions in labor disputes need especial scrutiny, for that the real, tho unexprest, reason for them usually is not so much that the remedy at law, criminal and civil, is inadequate, as that the enforcement of that remedy is unattainable through the cowardice or supineness of the officers of the law. Had the rioters in the "Pullman strike" at Chicago, who were burning property and murdering persons, been arrested at the point of the soldier's bayonet, if the policeman's billy was inadequate, had they been brought to the bar of justice by a fearless district attorney and honest grand jury, in short, had the criminal law been invoked, the Debs contempt case had never been. The subsequent illegal injunctions, based on erroneous conceptions of that decision, had never been. The phrase "government by injunction" had never been. But if the officers of the law will not do their duty, then the desire for law and order will nevertheless find vent; and the serious question thus arises, Which is preferable, a court of equity, or a vigilance committee? There is a district attorney elected in every county in every state in our union. How many of them have the moral courage to face a mob composed of voters to whom they owe their election? It may not be, it certainly is not, a justification for an illegal injunction in a labor dispute, that it was granted in the interests of law and order; but the plea that it was will always appeal to an unreflecting public. Therein lies the danger. Illegal injunctions in labor disputes, granted because the officers of the law will not do their duty, are for the public what morphine is

Danger

for the individual—an alleviation of present pain at the expense of future misery. Yet doctors prescribe morphine, and their patients take it. Judges grant questionable injunctions, and the public approves them. The real remedy against any unlawful stretch of power by courts of equity in such matters is to create a public opinion which shall demand that the criminal authorities use their lawful powers to the full extent.

The need is greater than ever that the memorable words, written in the cabin of the *Mayflower* three centuries ago, should be borne in mind by all citizens in the land, the highest official, as well as the lowliest individual: "To the end, that this shall be a government of laws and not of men."

JOHN BROOKS LEAVITT.

INNER MISSION, THE (*Der Central-Ausschuss für die Innere Mission der deutschen Evangelischen Kirche*): A German organization of evangelical, practical, and social effort for the spread of the kingdom of God within the German Empire and among Germans in foreign countries.

Its particular purposes are: (1) to rehabilitate the Christian religion among those classes of the people who have become alienated; (2) to suggest, support, and conduct Christian charities; (3) to unite isolated efforts along these lines under a central committee, or to assist them with word and deed. It is a private, voluntary organization, but stands in close touch with the benevolent work of the State.

The organization originated in a *Memorial to the German Nation* by Pastor J. H. Wichern, of Hamburg, in 1848, altho the people had been prepared for the movement to a certain extent by several benevolent activities, e.g., Zeller's reform school, 1820; Amalie Sieveking's care of the sick and wounded, 1831; the deaconess house of Fliedner, near Düsseldorf, 1836; the prison society of the Rhine and Westphalia; the Gustavus Adolphus society, etc. To quote from the *Memorial*: "The Inner Mission does not mean this or that other particular work, but the sum of labor which arises from loving faith in Christ, which seeks to renew within and without the condition of those multitudes in Christendom upon whom has fallen the power of manifold external and internal evils which spring directly or indirectly from sin, so far as they are not reached by the usual Christian offices with the means necessary for their renewal." It was a passionate appeal to the Church to turn her energies toward every social need, since the causes of all suffering are ultimately reduced to immorality and unspirituality, arguing that the Gospel is the only cure, but that it must be applied to every aspect of life, and that the laity must cooperate with the clergy. The appeal, its reasoning and arguments, closely resembled that of the Christian Socialists in England, and largely contributed to the similar movement in Germany. (See CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.)

The immediate result of this memorial was the formation of a committee at the "Kirchentag," in Wittenberg, Sept., 1848. The committee met in 1849 and organized the society, incorporated by a special *ordre* of the King of Prussia, Aug. 8, 1849. Wichern was the soul of the movement. He had established the *Raube Haus* at Horn, near Hamburg, in 1833, and cooperated with Pastor Theodor Fliedner in the establishment of the first deaconess institution among the non-Roman churches, at Kaiserswörth-on-the-Rhine, in 1836. From these beginnings the movement has spread rapidly. The president's report for 1904 gives a list of 183 societies and institutions more or less closely affiliated with the Central Committee. The larger cities have organized city missions for their particular needs. There are also provincial and State societies in different parts of the empire and elsewhere among Germans. But wherever organized, and whatever special tasks these various societies may pursue, they do not enter politics, or attempt to establish new economic systems, or enter the field of denominational differences, but serve rather as a medium of reconciliation and mutual appreciation. The membership is recruited from all classes of the population, from kings and princes to beggars, and from university professors to peasants.

The older and more important activities of the society are: Houses of Brothers (16), of Sisters (63), for the training of workers; with an income of 8,000,000 marks in 1890. There are in operation: 450 lodging-houses, *Herbergen*; 6,000 schools for men and women in special need of instruction in various lines—conducted on Sundays; 2,220 schools for the care of children; 25 asylums for fallen women (*Magdalenen-Häuser*); 50 day-nurseries; 590 houses for the sick; 430 homes for travelers. Labor bureaus and boys' clubs have been established in nearly every German city; 15,000 situations were provided in 1890. Children are sent to the seashore or to the country from about 130 places.

In a detailed list of various charities we find: *crèches*, *hospitals*, and *schools* for neglected, backward, and abnormal children; *institutions* for idiots, the blind, deaf and dumb, epileptics, etc.; *societies* for apprentices, journeymen, servants—male and female—young men and young women; industrial schools for boys and girls; *homes and institutions* for drunkards and immoral men; relief stations; labor colonies; temperance societies and coffee-houses; ethical societies, and children's services on Sundays; the temporal and spiritual care of emigrants, sailors (with a special seamen's mission), canal-boat men, and prisoners; probation societies; the endeavor to bring about a better observance of Sunday, and to procure voluntary nurses during war.

The deaconess institutes have multiplied rapidly. Lately the society has taken up the cause of child and woman labor, and established courses of instruction for police and prison matrons, and schools for housekeepers.

In order to promote Christian life among young men, so-called *halls* or *houses* have been established in connection with various colleges, in which the students receive special religious instruction. For the reclaiming of those who have fallen away from the "faith," instruction courses on "Christian evidences" have been inaugurated; in 1903 the attendance at Berlin was over 400 men and women. A "bureau for the writing, distribution, and procuring of Christian literature" is one of the latest activities of the society. Every attempt is made to bring church news before the public through special papers and the public press. The *Fliegenden Blätter aus dem Rauhen Hause* (since 1844) are the means of communication between the different departments.

The society makes every legitimate attempt to keep its objects before the people. "Extension courses" are given for this purpose in many cities, and teachers, preachers, and State officials are especially invited; lectures are given in smaller places.

The Roman Church in Germany was not slow in availing herself of this movement. She carries on a similar work on a smaller scale under various names, e. g., Society of St. Vincent, Society of St. Boniface, etc.

The *President* of the society is Dr. Gaebel. *Address: Central Ausschuss für Innere Mission*, Berlin, W., 35 *Genthinerstrasse* 38.

RUDOLPH M. BINDER.

REFERENCES: A series of articles in *American Journal of Sociology* for 1896; *Fünfzig Jahre Innerer Mission* (Bericht über die Thätigkeit des Central Ausschusses, Berlin, 1898); *Wurster*, Die Lehre von der Inneren Mission, Berlin, 1895; *Schäfer*, Kalender des Inneren Mission.

INSANITY: The statistics of insanity in most countries are not complete; in many there are no reliable recent statistics, and even in those countries where there are such statistics, the degree of completion of the recent statistics so varies from the degree of completion of former statistics as to make comparison almost useless, and often misleading. General statistics tend to be more and more complete, so that a higher number reported insane may not mean an actual increase, but only a more complete return. Again, in most countries the tendency is on the increase to place the insane in asylums and institutions, where they are much more easily registered than in private homes. Nevertheless, it seems to be the opinion of most statisticians that, allowing for all this, insanity is on the increase in most countries.

According to the census, the insane in the United States in 1890 numbered 106,485, of whom 74,028 were in hospitals. In the Census Special Report issued in 1903, only the insane in hospitals were considered. These had increased to 150,151 in 1906. The number of hospitals for the insane had increased from 162 in 1890 to 328 in 1903. The insane *in hospitals* had increased from 81.6 per 100,000 of population in 1880 to 118.2 per cent in 1890, to 186.2 per cent in 1900.

The number of insane males in hospitals was 78,523, and females 71,628. In proportion to population there were more white than negro insane. The maximum concentration of age was between twenty-five and thirty-five years. Female insane live longer than male insane, and white insane than negro insane.

Statistics

Forty-one and six tenths per cent had been employed as laborers and servants before becoming inmates, 22.5 per cent had been occupied in agriculture, transportation, and other outdoor pursuits, and 16 per cent in manufacturing and mechanical industries; 50 per cent were single and 36 per cent married. Of the 328 hospitals for the insane, 226 were public and 102 private. The annual cost of the public hospitals approximated $21,000,000.

In England and Wales in 1906 there were 121,979 lunatics, of whom 111,256 were paupers and 921 criminals. In 1900 the total number was 106,611 with 97,028 paupers. But while in 1903 there was an increase of 3,251 over 1902, in 1906 the increase was only 2,150 over the previous year. The men number 33.71 per 10,000, and the women 36.80 per 10,000.

The cost of maintaining these lunatics in England and Wales is 14*s.* 2*d.* each per week, in Scotland 15*s.* 10*d.* For the United Kingdom Parliament makes a provision of £980,570 in payment of the cost of maintenance; the rates provide £2,187,526, and patients pay £311,492. The total bill therefore is about £3,500,000 yearly.

Of Australia and of the United Kingdom Coglan's "Statistical Account" (1903–4) says, pp. 848–849:

> There seems to be little doubt that insanity is slowly but steadily increasing in the states, as it is in the United Kingdom and other countries. In England the rate has risen from 2.75 per 1,000 of population in 1879 to 3.41 in 1902, and in Scotland a similar rise has taken place from 2.75 per 1,000 in 1884 to 3.53 in 1902. In Ireland the rate has risen from 2.50 per 1,000 of the population in 1880 to 4.99 per 1,000 in 1902. The greater part of this increase is no doubt rightly attributed to an improvement in the administration of the Commissioners in Lunacy, by which a more accurate knowledge of the number of cases existent in the country has been gained; but the steady growth of the rate in recent years, when statistical information has been brought to a high pitch of perfection, plainly points to the fact that the advance of civilization, with the increasing strain to which the struggle for existence is subjecting body and mind, has one of its results in the growth of insanity. In all the states of Australasia, with the sole exception of Tasmania, there is seen the same state of affairs as the insanity returns of Great Britain disclose, altho the conditions of life press much more lightly on the individual here.
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> Victoria has the highest general rate with 3.77 per 1,000, New Zealand coming next with 3.53, closely followed by Queensland with 3.51. Next comes New South Wales with 3.32; South Australia with 2.71; Tasmania with 2.49; while Western Australia shows the lowest proportion with 1.79 per 1,000. New Zealand shows the highest rate for males with 4.03 per 1,000, followed by Queensland and Victoria with 3.91; and Victoria with 3.63 per 1,000 has the largest proportion of females.

Germany had (1897) 151,126 insane—mentally deranged, 98,357, or 65.1 per cent; paralytically deranged, 15,243, or 10; epileptically deranged, 14,135, or 9.4; imbecility and idiocy, 17,844, or 11.8; delirium tremens, 5,547, or 3.7. There are on the whole 2 insane persons in every 1,000 of the population who need treatment in asylums. There were (1900) 394 institutions for the insane, with 87,000 beds, against 199 and 28,300 in 1876. The mortality among the insane was 22.6 per cent. From 45 to 47 per cent are women.

International Statistics.—Professor Mayo-Smith ("Statistics and Sociology," p. 213) gives the following table, but reminds us that it is of doubtful comparative value, owing to the different degrees to which the deficient are registered in different countries:

INSANE FOR 1,000,000 OF POPULATION, 1890

COUNTRIES	Insane	Idiotic
Austria	[1] 1,513	[2] 656
England and Wales	[3] 3,357	.....
Hungary	603	1,009
Ireland	3,176	1,327
Norway	[3] 3,896	.....
Scotland	2,594	1,246
Sweden	1,818	1,592
United States	1,697	1,526
North Atlantic Division	2,385	1,472
South Atlantic Division	1,322	1,653
North Central Division	1,647	1,634
South Central Division	959	1,532
Western Division	1,878	648

[1] Under insane are included idiots.
[2] Under idiots are meant cretins.
[3] Includes insane and idiots.

There has been great progress in modern times in the care of the insane. Pinel, in 1792, took a great step forward in liberating fifty-three patients at Bicêtre who had been in chains. Franklin, in 1750, succeeded in establishing a department for the insane in the Pennsylvania Hospital.

St. Luke's Hospital in London, established 1751, was the first asylum wholly for the insane; Waldheim, Saxony, was the second, 1787. The

insane are generally housed in large buildings or in cottages, under proper supervision of physicians and nurses. In Belgium and Scotland the custom prevails to put incurables and harmless patients into families, where they lead a natural life, and are encouraged to work. The little town of Gheel, in Belgium, has harbored about 1,300 of these patients annually, and no trouble has arisen.

INSTITUTIONAL CHURCHES: The phrase "institutional church," first used, it is believed, by President Tucker of Dartmouth College, applied to Berkeley Temple, Boston, Mass., has come into use as describing a church that works on all lines of human improvement. Dr. A. Dickinson, pastor of Berkeley Temple, says:

> If I were to define it, I should say that it is an organization which aims to reach all of the man, and all men, by all means. In other words, it aims to represent Christ on earth, in the sense of representing Him physically, morally, and spiritually to the senses of the men and women who live in the present age. The institutional church aims to provide a material environment wherein the spiritual Christ can express Himself, and be felt among men as when He was here in the flesh, and it begins by planting itself just where Christ stood and worked when He was on the earth—in the midst of publicans and sinners.

The institutional church does whatever is most needed in the locality where it is placed.

When in an organism, one member does not do its work, other members attempt to perform its functions. The institutional church may be said to be the church performing for portions of the community the functions not performed for them by the home and society at large. In communities of homes, the institutional church has little place. In tenement districts it provides clubs, social, educational, literary, and gymnastic. Among the very poor it provides charities; in communities engaged largely in manual labor, baths and recreation; in boarding-house districts, educational classes. In a thoroughly mixed population the institutional church works by every method. An illustration of the latter is St. Bartholomew's Church (Protestant Episcopal) in New York City. It spends on its Parish House activities some $100,000 per year and provides services in a variety of languages, including Syriac and Armenian. It has clubs of every kind—glee clubs, literary, physical culture, social clubs, debating societies, penny provident and mutual benefit funds, classes in dressmaking, millinery, cooking, stenography, typewriting, French, bookkeeping, etc. The Parish House has a roof garden on top of nine busy stories. It maintains a country holiday house, a fresh-air fund, a tailor shop, clinic, loan association. In one year it found work for 2,559 applicants. It has eighteen services on Sunday and most of the year 194 meetings of different kinds in the week. It has 2,146 communicants; 5,000 in a year have professed to live this new life.

Morgan Chapel, Boston, is an example of what can be done, not with $100,000, but with $3,500. This includes entire expense for fuel, lights, janitor, pastor's salary, assistants, etc. Yet it supplies reading-room, baths, a school of handicraft for printing, cobbling, tailoring, dressmaking, carpentry. It has a medical mission, day nursery, kindergarten, employment bureau, free concerts, instruction in music, etc.

The Judson Memorial Church (Baptist), and Trinity Church, St. George's, Grace Church, the Ascension, St. Christopher's, St. Michael's, the Pro-Cathedral (all Protestant Episcopal), are well-known institutional churches in New York. The Jersey City Tabernacle (Congregational) makes a specialty of recreation, furnishing it in thirty different forms. The Baptist Temple, Philadelphia, has a hospital, the Samaritan, treating 6,000 cases in one year, and a unique Temple College, with thousands of students in thirty-two courses, from the kindergarten to a law school and theological seminary. Westminster Presbyterian Church, Buffalo, has a social settlement with eight resident and eighty non-resident workers. Pilgrim Church, Cleveland (Congregational), was perhaps the first to embody the institutional idea in a beautiful new building adapted to it. The Fourth Avenue Baptist Church, Pittsburg, Pa., has among other things a Toy Mission, where second-hand toys are distributed to poor children at Christmas. In successive years it has provided for 25, 200, 1,600 and 3,600 children. The Ninth Street Baptist Church, Cincinnati, has seven chapels, at each of which institutional work is carried on. The Union Church (Congregational), North Brookfield, Mass., has recently shown what can be done in a village. Its Enterprise Club discust and has been influential on public questions. A Historical Society, the Union League for Boys, Guild of the Helping Hand for Girls, the Manse Literary Club for young women, met different needs. The pastor found it easier financially to meet all these expenses than to keep them going without these.

It is, however, to be remembered that good done is not always to be measured either by the number or extent of instrumentalities. These churches are not therefore selected because of necessity they are doing the most good, but because it is abundantly proven that instrumentalities, *with the right spirit*, and wisely suited to local needs, do abundantly help, even as Christ gave the bread of earth, together with and as symbol of the bread of heaven. Dr. Robbins, pastor of the Lincoln Park Institutional Baptist Church, Cincinnati, writes us: "You will be pleased to know that the spiritual results have been largely increased by our methods of work. Notwithstanding the innumerable difficulties in this down-town field, we have received, during my pastorate of this church (sixteen years), 1,422 new members, of which 1,021 were by baptism." The success of the Pilgrim Congregational Church, Cleveland; of the Baptist Temple, Philadelphia; of the great Protestant Episcopal institutional churches in New York City and elsewhere is well known. The year when the Methodist Church in the world lost 20,000 members, Morgan Chapel had more conversions than in any one of its previous fifty years. The average institutional Congregational Church gained in one year just six times as many additions on confession of faith as the average Congregational Church. In the Miami Association (Baptist churches of Cincinnati and vicinity) two institutional churches had 209 additions on confession of faith; twenty-one churches working on old lines had 116.

We give on page 630 detailed information as to thirty churches carrying on institutional activities. It is to be noted, however, that all these churches do not call themselves "institutional," and that many churches not here listed do carry on activities truly "institutional," in some instances quite as important and extensive as some here named. In fact, there are few churches to-day in the cities of the U. S. which do not in some way

INSTITUTIONAL CHURCHES

The latest tabulation of the activities of typical churches

No.	Church	Denomination	Year of starting institutional work	City	Street	Pastor
1	Berkeley Temple	Cong.	1888	Boston	United with Union Church	
2	Morgan Memorial	(1)	1896	Boston	Shawmut Ave. & Corning St.	E. J. Helms.
3	Ruggles St. Baptist Church	Baptist	1880	Boston	159 Ruggles St	C. C. Earle.
4	Bulfinch Place Church	Unit.	1895	Boston	Bulfinch Place	Christopher B. Eliot.
5	Christ Church	P. E.	1898	Cincinnati	318 E. 4th St.	F. H. Nelson.
6	Lincoln Park Baptist Church	Baptist	1897	Cincinnati	Freeman Ave	G. R. Robbins.
7	Pilgrim Church Institute	Cong.	1891	Cleveland		Edgar S. Rothrock.
8	Fourth Reformed Church	Reform.	1904	Dayton, O.	Summit St. and Home Ave.	R. F. Wicks.
9	People's Tabernacle	Cong.	1884	Denver	Lawrence and 20th Sts.	Thos. Uzzell.
10	First Congregational Church	Cong.	1889	Jersey City	380 Bergen Ave	John L. Scudder.
11	Amity Church	Baptist		N. Y. City	310–12 W. 54th St.	Leighton Williams.
12	Ascension	P. E.		N. Y. City	Fifth Ave. and 10th St.	Percy S. Grant.
13	St. Bartholomew's Parish House	P. E.	1895	N. Y. City	211 E. 42d St.	Leighton Parks.
14	Bethany Congregational Church	Cong.	1880	N. Y. City	Tenth Ave. and 35th and 36th.	W. F. Ottarson.
15	Broome St. Tabernacle	Undenom.	1885	N. Y. City	395 Broome St	A. Arrighi.
16	Calvary	P. E.		N. Y. City	Fourth Ave. and 21st St.	J. Lewis Parks.
17	St. Chrysostom	P. E.	1868	N. Y. City	Seventh Ave. and 39th St.	Thos. H. Sill.
18	Temple Emanu-El	Hebrew	1888	N. Y. City	43d St. and Fifth Ave	Joseph Silverman.
19	St. George's	P. E.	1883	N. Y. City	Stuyvesant Square	H. Birckhead.
20	Holy Communion	P. E.	1846	N. Y. City	20th St. and Sixth Ave.	Henry Mottett.
21	Metropolitan Temple	M. E.	1895	N. Y. City	14th St. and Seventh Ave.	J. W. Hill.
22	St. Michael's	P. E.	[11]1807	N. Y. City	Amsterdam Ave. and 99th St.	John P. Peters.
23	Church of the Sea and Land	Presb.	1894	N. Y. City	61 Henry St.	O. G. Cocks.
24	Spring St. Presbyterian Church	Presb.	1900	N. Y. City	246 Spring St.	H. Roswell Bates.
25	City Park Branch	Presb.	1896	Brooklyn	209 Concord St.	H. K. England.
26	Baptist Temple	Baptist	1885	Philadelphia	Broad and Beek Sts.	Russell H. Conwell.
27	Fourth Avenue Baptist Church	Baptist		Pittsburg	Fourth Ave. and Ross St.	W. G. Partridge.
28	People's Church	Cong.	1889	St. Paul		Samuel G. Smith.
29	Seaman's Institute and Church	P. E.	1893	San Francisco	33 Stewart St.	F. Stone.
30	Good Samaritan Cathedral, Miss.	P. E.	1894	San Francisco	246 Second St.	J. P. Turner.

No.	Gymnasium	Billiards	Baths	Amusements	Dramatic club	Sewing school	Cooking school	Night school	Manual training	Reading room	Loan library	Medical aid	Sick and death benefits	Loan association	Penny provident	Coal club or fund	Loing house	Flowers or fruit	Settlement	Fresh air work	Other activities [2]	Assistants, men	Women, ditto	Average attendance Sunday A.M.	P.M. or evening	Approximate per cent of men	Approximate No. Using Activities [3]	Approximate value of plant	Approximate annual cost of institutional work
1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	I	I	I	..	I	..	I	..	I	..	I	....	I	2	400	500	33–50	.....	100,000	5,000
2	I	I	I	..	..	I	I	..	I	..	..	..	..	I	I	..	..	..	I	I	(3)	3	3	200	400	50	2,000	75,000	3,500
3	I	..	..	..	..	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	I	....	7	6	500	600	50	2,000	50,000	[4]5,000
4	I	..	I	I	..	I	..	I	I	I	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	I	..	I	....	I	2	.....	250	45	.....	50,000	6,000
5	I	2	I	I	I	I	I	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	I	I	..	I	..	..	....	I	2	387	321	.....	1,900	30,000	4,500
6	I	..	I	..	..	I	I	I	..	I	I	I	..	..	..	I	I	I	..	..	....	I	I	.....	.....	33	400	80,000	2,000
7	I	..	I	I	..	I	..	..	..	I	I	..	..	I	..	..	..	I	..	..	....	3	4	.....	.....	33	2,000	150,000	2,000
8	..	..	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	I	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	....	4	..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	I	..	..	..	I	..	..	..	..	....	I	I	500	1,500	50	.....	60,000	600
10	I	I	I	4	I	..	..	..	..	I	I	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	I	(5)	4	I	.....	.....	33	1,500	265,000	8,000
11	..	..	..	..	..	I	..	I	..	I	I	I	..	..	..	..	..	I	I	..	....	2	I	.....	.....	50	500	.....	.....
12	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	..	..	I	I	I	..	..	I	..	..	..	..	I	....	12	..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
13	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	..	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	..	..	..	I	(20)	45	60	250	200	33	32,000	1,500,000	100,000
14	I	..	I	I	..	I	I	..	..	I	I	I	I	..	I	I	..	I	..	..	....	I	2	75	175	25	1,000	100,000	8,800
15	I	..	..	I	..	I	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	I	(6)	I	6	.....	195	50	.....	150,000	.....
16	2	I	I	I	I	I	I	..	I	I	I	..	..	..	2	..	I	I	I	I	....	3	3	600	300	33	800	80,000	10,000
17	..	..	..	I	..	I	I	..	..	I	I	I	I	..	..	I	I	..	..	I	....	2	4	85	65	33	1,200	.....	[10]
18	I	..	2	3	..	I	I	..	I	I	I	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	I	2	(7)	I	I	.....	.....	40	.....	1,600,000	30,000
19	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	..	I	I	I	I	..	..	I	..	..	..	..	I	....	5	6	200	300	40	5,180	.....	44,000
20	..	..	..	I	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	I	I	I	I	..	..	..	I	(9)	4	6	.....	.....	40	1,200	1,750,000	20,000
21	..	..	..	I	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	I	(10)	4	I	500	800	50	175	200,000	.....
22	I	..	I	I	I	I	I	..	I	..	..	(12)	..	..	I	..	..	..	..	I	(13)	3	I	.....	.....	33	9,000	350,000	.....
23	..	I	I	I	..	2	2	..	I	I	I	I	..	..	I	..	..	..	I	I	(20)	3	6	.....	.....	40	23,000	300,000	7,000
24	..	..	I	I	..	I	I	..	I	I	I	I	..	..	I	..	..	I	I	I	(14)	2	3	141	137	40	800	100,000	.....
25	I	..	2	..	..	I	..	..	..	2	..	I	I	..	I	..	..	..	..	I	(15)	....	3	88	168	.....	1,100	40,000	3,000
26	I	I	..	I	..	..	..	..	I	I	..	I	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	I	(18)	(19)	..	2,000	3,125	50	10,000	725,000	155,000
27	..	..	..	..	..	I	..	..	I	I	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	....	....	....	.....	.....	50	200	400,000	1,000
28	..	..	..	I	I	I	I	..	I	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	I	(17)	..	(16)	....	....	.....	.....	.....	600	140,000	.....
29	..	I	I	I	..	..	..	..	..	I	I	I	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	....	3	I	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
30	I	I	3	2	..	I	I	..	I	2	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	....	2	4	125	125	25	1,000	25,000	5,000

[1] Managed by joint committee of Unitarians and Methodists. [2] Several have kindergartens and day nurseries. [3] Cooperative stores, People's Forum. [4] Including church, $20,000. [5] Rifle range, roof-garden theater, dancing-school, wood-yards, bowling-alley. [6] Home nursing. [7] Millinery, dressmaking. [8] Some report different individuals; some do not. [9] Orphanage, home for aged women, summer home. [10] Church, $17,000. [11] Free school and later other activities. 1896 parish house. [12] Clinic. [13] Clothing bureau, sewing rooms, cemetery. [14] Kindergarten classes. [15] Bowling-alley, club, etc. [16] Commons. [17] Coffee-room. [18] Hospital, 100 beds, college, 4,000 regular students and 3,000 more at lectures. [19] 11 in church, 123 in college, 59 in hospital; orphanage, 7. [20] Employment bureau.

carry on at least one or more activities which might be called "institutional." In New York City alone, in 1900, out of 488 Protestant churches, 112 were carrying on direct institutional activities and almost all doing something in this line. Of the 112, forty-two were Protestant Episcopal. It is said to-day in the diocese of New York that there is not one Protestant Episcopal church which does not carry on at least some such activities.

In Great Britain churches have been taking on similar activities yet usually under other names in different ways. (See CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM; CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION; CHURCH ARMY; FREE CHURCHES; PLEASANT SUNDAY AFTERNOON. For the Continent, see CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM; INNER MISSION; ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM.

JOSIAH STRONG.

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INSURANCE (see also INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE): Insurance may be defined as a contract of a company or person to pay a sum or sums of money to indemnify the insured, or a designated beneficiary, in case of loss through the happening of certain events which constitute the risk insured against.

Insurance is mainly a modern development, tho it originated in the remote past. It was known to the ancients, but was chiefly developed by more recent mercantile adventures, men agreeing to divide among themselves the burden of the loss of ships or cargoes in the days when commerce was the fitting out of ships for single, long expeditions. This custom arose in England in the Elizabethan era, but had appeared in southern Europe earlier than that.

Insurance depends on the law of probabilities, it is said, developed about the year 1650, when the Chevalier de Mere, a Flemish nobleman, who was both a respectable mathematician and a gamester, attempted to solve the problem of dividing equitably the stakes when a game of chance was interrupted. He sought the aid of the famous Abbé Blaise Pascal, one of the most accomplished mathematicians of any age. Pascal solved the problem, and in doing so enunciated the "doctrine of probabilities," or laws governing so-called chances.

This doctrine or theory Pascal illustrated by the throwing of dice. When a single die is thrown, the chance of turning up an ace is precisely one out of six, or one out of the total number of sides or faces. But if a large number of throws are made, it will be found that each face will be turned up an equal number of times. From this Pascal laid down the proposition that results which have happened in any given number of observed cases will again happen under similar circumstances, provided the numbers be sufficient for the proper working of the law of average. Thus the duration of the life of a single individual is one of the greatest uncertainties; but the duration, or rate of mortality, of a large number of individuals may be predicted with great accuracy by comparison with the observed results among a sufficiently large number of persons of similar ages, occupations, and climatic influences.

Law of Probabilities

From this principle insurance has developed on a scientific basis. It is of many kinds. Fire-, marine-, and life-insurance are the best known; but accident, liability, plate-glass, steam-boiler, elevator, burglary, sickness, guaranty, mortgage and title, hail, and live-stock insurance have each reached large proportions. Many other branches of insurance have been suggested, and in some cases attempted, among which are: Insurance against loss of occupation; insurance of premiums paid for stocks or bonds, which are subject to redemption; insurance against issue and survivorship; insurance of marriage portions for daughters; insurance against divorces; insurance against celibacy.

The earliest form of insurance was by means of individual underwriters, each one assuming a fixt proportion of the aggregate amount fixt. In London the venturesome who took part in this underwriting used to meet at Lloyd's Coffee-house, from which fact the name of Lloyd's was given to this form of insurance. But, as a general thing, insurance is carried on by corporate companies which are either mutual or stock, and which are subject more or less to government supervision.

Fire-insurance seems to have been the first to develop its modern form. A regular office for insuring against fire was opened in London in 1681, the great fire of 1666 being the exciting cause. The first office in the U. S. was established at Philadelphia in 1752, one of its early directors having been Benjamin Franklin.

Fire-Insurance

The extinguishment of fire is commonly undertaken by municipalities, tho fire-insurance companies often sustain patrols to care for property. (See FIRE DEPARTMENTS.) In the U. S. fire-insurance has been greatly developed.

The fire-insurance companies underwent a very severe test successfully in the San Francisco disaster of 1906. They paid claims exceeding $150,000,000, with only two important failures of American companies and two or three of German companies. Tho their policies did not cover against earthquake and were void by their terms when the building fell, most of them did not defend on this ground, but paid in full, while the rest compromised. They did not behave so liberally toward property-owners who suffered at Valparaiso, Santiago, Kingston, and other points. The lessons of these disasters indicate the desirability of the following reforms, which have already been mooted:

1. Policies should definitely cover against sudden destruction of property by fire, lightning, explosion, collapse, earthquake, wind-storm, or flood.

2. Reserve laws should be amended so that all above what is barely necessary for solvency will be available to pay conflagration losses.

Life-insurance, tho starting later, has reached a higher state of development than fire-insurance. It began at near the first of the eighteenth century.

The Grand Pensioner DeWitt, of Holland, was the first to reduce these theories to practise, which he did in 1693, by calculating the true values of annuities, based upon observed rates of mortality. Dr. Halley, Astronomer Royal of Great Britain, was the first to discover and arrange what are called life-tables from which all monetary values depending upon the chances of living and dying, combined with the improvement of money by interest, may be computed. He has been called the father of the mod-

ern system of life-insurance. These tables have now only an historical interest.

About the close of the seventeenth century there were also several annuity schemes launched, but the first life-insurance company was the Amicable Society, chartered in 1706. In 1762 the Equitable was chartered, and began issuing policies payable at death, upon the lives of persons of any age, charging premiums according to age; but solely a business for short terms, and a whole life business. In the U. S. the Presbyterian Ministers' Fund of Philadelphia was chartered in 1759 by Thomas Penn, for the insurance of Presbyterian clergymen. In 1812 a company called the Pennsylvania was chartered; in 1830 the New York Life-Insurance and Trust Company, which is still in existence, but does no life-insurance business. The Mutual of New York, the first of the mutual companies, was organized in 1842, and from 1845 to 1860 many new companies were organized. In 1856 the State of Massachusetts originated a system of state supervision, and it was immediately followed by the State of New York. The Massachusetts department adopted the Seventeen Offices, commonly known as the Actuaries' Table, as its standard; and the New York department, the American Experience Table, which was a modification of the Seventeen Offices Table, in the light of experience of the Mutual Life-Insurance Company.

Life-Insurance

Life-insurance companies nowadays issue a variety of immediate and deferred annuities, temporary and whole life-insurance, the latter often paid for by a limited number of payments; and a large variety of endowment, tontine, and other investment policies. The companies are mutual, proprietary, or mixed, according as all the savings and profits belong to the insured or all belong to the stockholders, or stockholders receive a part and the policy-holders the remainder. Mutual companies alone have no capital stock. While nominally the members control mutual companies, their practical operation makes the managers all-powerful. The new laws of New York hereinafter referred to, and which have been followed by the legislatures of some other states, now provide for a system of direct voting by mail under which nominations are made by the administration and also independent nominations, and the ballots are cast directly by the members.

Originally the companies did not give cash or other surrender values for their policies. It was made compulsory for Massachusetts companies to do so by a state law early in the sixties, and not long after it was also made compulsory for New York companies to give paid-up insurance upon surrender; notwithstanding which, by waiving the law, several companies set out on a career of tontine policies, which were originally wholly forfeitable, but which held out to a persistent policy-holder hopes of very large profits if he survived and sustained his policy. These hopes, however, were not realized and gradually the tontine principle has been abandoned until now the State of New York has wholly prohibited the issue of deferred dividend policies, and several other states have done the same. It seems likely that it will be wholly abandoned in the U. S.

One result of the reaction from cash-surrender legislation which took the form of tontine insurance was the organization of a large number of mutual-assessment life-insurance associations. More than one half of all the life-insurance now in force in the U. S. is in these organizations, and many more than one half the number of persons carrying insurance. They have furnished insurance on three different plans—viz., first, by assessing the same amount on members without regard to age, whenever there were losses; second, by assessing according to certain ratios fixt at age of entry; third, by assessing according to certain ratios according to the actual age attained at time of assessment. Associations using the first of these systems have nearly all gone out of existence. Associations using the second, which came later into use, are now having an unpleasant experience, and are likely to be driven out of existence unless they reform their plan.

Theoretically the third method is feasible, but in practise it has proved that the companies using it are sure to have very serious adverse selection, as the members grow older, and consequently, that it is not feasible beyond perhaps about age sixty.

Most of them, however, seek to create a level price in spite of the increasing cost by charging more than the insurance costs during the earlier years, with a view to offsetting the increased cost during the latter years. The success of such associations will depend upon the adequacy of this provision. The management of the associations is commonly much more democratic and truly mutual than that of the regular companies, altho some of them are managed in quite as autocratic a manner. Those which operate on the lodge system are, however, all managed on the representative plan, the members electing delegates to state and national conventions which legislate for the association and elect its managers. (See Fraternal Societies.)

Several of the older and stronger of these societies have readjusted their rates in recent years, adopting straight level-rate plans, and in some cases preparing to hold ample and sufficient reserves to maintain the same. In other societies this has not been the case, but a makeshift measure has been employed, the rates, tho increased, being still inadequate.

During 1905 and 1906 a famous investigation of life-insurance companies by a committee of the New York State Legislature, known as the "Armstrong Committee," with Charles E. Hughes as chief counsel, was made. The investigation disclosed the fact that a large number of evils had grown into the management of these companies, and the character of the evils and the remedies therefor are sufficiently indicated by the following synopsis:

Abuses of Trust Funds

The investigators found conspiracies to use the funds of these great companies in controlling other corporations; they prohibited investments in stocks or in "collateral trust" bonds, under which such control could be exercised.

They found "joint accounts," "underwritings and syndicates"; all are prohibited now.

They found directors causing companies to invest where they were themselves interested; every such abuse of trust was interdicted.

They found secret political contributions with the implied consideration "we look after our friends"; now no corporation may make such contributions.

They found "yellow-dog" funds, evidences of corruption of legislators and waste unexampled, without accounting or responsibility; they left a law regulating such services and expenditures and calling for complete publicity.

They found extravagant salaries and emoluments, nepotism, sinecures, often without a knowledge of the directors;

they prescribed that the compensation of any man, firm, or corporation, totaling more than $5,000 in any one year, must be voted by the directors.

They found false entries and false reports to departments; they penalized not merely the making of such but the omission of anything which is required by law.

They found perjury so common and so difficult to prove that men dared swear to contrary statements concerning the same thing, secure unless one could prove which was false; they made this conflict of statement "presumptive proof" of the crime.

They found an actuary of the department on the pay-roll of a company supervised by it. This is now a misdemeanor.

They found life companies of the state which were rarely, almost never, examined by the department. Now each must be examined every three years.

They found that assessment concerns could become legal reserve companies without readjusting the old business on a sound basis. This can be done no longer.

They found false statements of results, lying estimates, and misleading forms of policies that were the chief reproach of the business. Now each and all are proscribed.

They found no enabling statute for the incorporation of mutual life-insurance companies, but, instead, a wide-open provision for incorporating them on an unsound basis; this is now reversed, the assessment act has disappeared, and regular mutual companies may be organized.

Evasions of Law

They found "deferred-dividend" policies, despite the bitter disappointment of virtually all who had taken them, being thrust upon nearly every applicant by means of seductive "illustrations" and discriminating commissions; they left the field to honest "annual dividends" exclusively.

They found a false standard of solvency which had ruined scores of really solvent companies, and a very necessary evasion of it which alone had enabled many really solvent companies to live; they destroyed the false standard and the evasion and they set up a true "minimum standard" which secures solvency, discourages extravagance, and conserves the sources of dividends.

They found the companies unlimited as to what they could withhold from distribution to the policy-holders; they introduced salutary limitations to the "contingency reserves."

They found "apportionment" of surplus by policy years ending at all sorts of days in the calendar year, a very hodge-podge with "guessing" all but inevitable; they substituted true "distribution" of the ascertained earnings of the calendar year, an open, intelligible process.

They found surrender value laws which were inoperative unless the policy-holder applies within six months after lapse; now, under like conditions, the policy is automatically continued as extended insurance and the family is protected.

Elections a Farce

They found elections in mutual companies a mere farce, invariably controlled by proxies held by the officers; they introduced an election law, under which, recently, more than 800,000 policy-holders cast their ballots in the two great mutual companies, and so freely exprest their choice that each side had literally hundreds of thousands of votes.

They found administrations callous and indifferent to policy-holders' just protests; they created conditions which render administrations promptly responsive to the policy-holders' desires.

They found an insatiable and irrational thirst for "volume" of new business; they imposed wholesome restraints to temper it until under control.

They found the mad chase for new business carried on without regard to expense; waste and extravagance abounding here as in no other part of the business; they restrained this within the bounds of a small allowance over the cost of new business in the most economical companies.

They found a bewildering confusion and variety of policies offered by the companies, all drawn by their attorneys with a view to gain some advantage in competition; these they replaced with "standard forms," simple, fair, easy to comprehend, drawn for the policy-holders by Charles E. Hughes.

They found companies doing a non-participating business at a loss, which fell upon participating policy-holders; hereafter New York companies must do one or the other, and cannot do both.

They found annual reports defective, in that full publicity was not secured as to:

Publicity Provisions Needed

1. The facts regarding real-estate holdings and their yield. Much deception had been practised here.
2. The movement of securities during the year. Scandalous substitutions had been hidden for want of this.
3. The items as to commissions on the purchase or sale of property or on loans and as to legal expenses. Here "graft" was concealed.
4. The items of legislative expenses, with dates and notes and "for what?" Here the "yellow dog" had gorged himself.
5. Information as to the last election of directors. This had been carefully withheld.
6. Salaries of officers and directors and all compensations in excess of $5,000 during the year. Here "nepotism" and "graft" had been rampant.
7. The largest balances in any bank or trust company. Here the control over funds had served individual ends.
8. The facts about resisted and comprised death-claims. Carefully suppress heretofore.
9. Profits and losses for the year, with the profit and loss on new business set forth separately. The New York department, obedient to the companies, had always opposed anything of this sort.
10. Rates of annual dividends for the year for all plans and durations and for four representative ages. Common honesty calls for it. Great Britain had required it for thirty years, but we were derelict.
11. Rates of deferred dividends actually paid during the year. "Illustrations" were in use showing larger figures than actual results in the same company.
12. Rates of accumulations of deferred dividend surplus, for all plans and durations and for four representative ages. No sort of accounting had hitherto been required.

All these and more were incorporated in the requirements of the annual report.

The investigation, in addition to bringing about these reforms in the laws and in the practises of companies, also caused the resignations of the presidents of all three of the largest New York companies and of several other officers who were involved in the irregularities complained of. (See CORRUPTION.)

Similar investigations were carried on during 1906 as follows: New Jersey, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Iowa, and the Dominion of Canada, and in each case legislation was recommended resembling more or less remotely the new laws of New York. In addition, a committee composed of insurance commissioners held repeated sessions during the year and recommended a series of bills, known as the Committee of Fifteen bills, covering many of the same subjects. Several states have enacted these bills into law, either without modification or with slight modification.

The Present

The various investigations did not deal with industrial insurance as a system; but in Massachusetts during the years 1906 and 1907 various efforts were put forward to introduce a system of industrial insurance in connection with savings-banks, to be carried on without the heavy expenses which attach to the weekly collection business. It met with a great deal of opposition, both on the part of the savings-banks and of the industrial companies, but a law was passed providing for it. It is also very doubtful whether any very large proportion of the industrial business could be held, were there no weekly collection system.

Unquestionably, the insurance problem of this day is to secure good, reliable insurance for the poor at a moderate cost. No one needs insurance as do the poor. They seldom save and often cannot save. When sickness or death enters the family it causes financial anxiety and suffering from which insurance should protect them. Possibly the industrial companies are doing as well as could be expected under the circumstances. It cannot be said that their collectors, as a rule, are making more than living wages. The companies also have voluntarily admitted the policy-holders to the benefits of paid-up insurance values on surrender to which they were not entitled by their contracts, and have disbursed very large sums of money in dividends to policy-holders, also not called for by the contract.

Marine-insurance began in England very early. In the U. S. the first record of it is in 1757 in New York City. In 1794 the Insurance Company of North America was organized to do a marine and fire business. Sickness insurance

was attempted from 1845 until 1850, but failed of success, there not being sufficient data to work upon. It is now again being undertaken with better prospects. The first accident-insurance company was the Travelers, of Hartford, organized in 1863, which has been successful from the start. Live-stock insurance began in Connecticut in 1866. In the same year the Hartford Steam-Boiler Insurance Company was organized. In 1872 the Guarantee Company of North America began the business of surety insurance, with headquarters at Montreal. In 1876 the Real Estate Title Insurance and Trust Company, of Philadelphia, was organized. Liability insurance did not become popular until about 1890, and burglary insurance only within the last two or three years. Credit insurance has been widely patronized during the last ten years. (See also INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE.)

Marine-Insurance

The recent history of insurance in Europe lies in the development of State and of compulsory insurance. Insurance some consider the most socialistic form of modern business, since its essence is security for the individual by dividing losses over the community. Undoubtedly the future of insurance is involved with that of socialism. The agitation for old-age pensions (*q. v.*) clearly indicates this.

Europe

In several countries, notably Switzerland and Norway, there are State fire-insurance companies competing with the stock companies for business. In England there is a system of government annuities. In New Zealand there is an exceedingly successful governmental life-insurance department which does about half the business of that colony, and which now has aggregate assets of more than $10,000,000. This company also has operated in competition with proprietary and mutual corporations. (See NEW ZEALAND.) The State insurance companies, with the exception of the English annuities, have been almost uniformly successful; but it cannot be said that in the majority of cases they have furnished materially cheaper or more reliable insurance than have private corporations.

It is believed that this phenomenon is explained by the fact that they are competitive and not monopolistic institutions. As a result of their competitive nature, they are compelled to incur practically all the expenses that are incurred by stock corporations. Wherever insurance has been made a State monopoly, as is the case in the compulsory insurance of Germany, it has been found that it can be conducted with great economy. Even in Germany working men are permitted to exercise the option of insuring in private companies, but the fact of compulsion operates there to make the State insurance practically monopolistic. (See INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE; also INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE, STATE, OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE.)

Government Insurance

What might be accomplished in the way of furnishing cheap insurance through the means of compulsion in a democratic State might be imagined by the following statement from the *Insurance World*:

> Mr. Leslie (Assistant Actuary Government Insurance Department of New Zealand) recently published a study of "The Rates of Mortality in New Zealand," covering the mortality according to the census, which compilation is the best and most practical thing of the sort that has come to our attention. It also shows that a mortality table constructed with great care from the data which the census-takers collected is not merely more favorable than the tables constructed from the census of any other country, but also more favorable than the experience on insured lives in any compilation, except in that of the Australian Mutual Provident Society. Indeed, so low is this experience that it shows that all the male citizens of New Zealand could be insured from age twenty at a net rate of but $10.96 per $1,000 if compulsory insurance existed, *all being taken without regard to state of health.* Such a favorable opportunity to test the virtues of compulsory insurance by the State will probably not be long neglected, especially as the machinery of State insurance is ready for it. The rate for women would be slightly lower than even these figures.

The cost of administration could not be great, and it is probable that this insurance could be furnished at a total cost of not exceeding $12 per $1,000 without taking into account the fact that higher rates of interest than 4 per cent, upon which the rate is based, would be for a long time obtained. It must be taken into account also that this compulsory system would furnish to a very large part of the population whose health condition now prevent their obtaining insurance, a protection of which their families stand in need. This beneficent thing would be accomplished not at an increased cost to the healthy and robust, but instead at a diminished cost.

But this is not all. With the introduction of compulsion all necessity for a reserve disappears. The reserve in life-insurance is for the purpose of supplementary future premiums when the same become less than the cost of insurance. If a compulsory system were adopted, this equalization would be brought about by collecting from each productive member of the community, without regard to age or health conditions, his quota of the aggregate losses. Actuaries agree that this would be entirely practicable on the basis of compulsory insurance, altho entirely impracticable when the young and healthy are free to enter or not, as they choose. The effect of this would be that probably all persons in New Zealand, for instance, could be permanently supplied insurance at a cost not much, if any, exceeding $12 or $13 per $1,000. As the New Zealand insurance department already supplies conveniences for monthly and for four-weekly payments without adding any considerable sum for the additional expense, there seems to be no reason why this experiment should not be tried by this colony, which is already so far ahead of the rest of the world in socialistic enterprise.

MILES M. DAWSON.

Statistics

LIFE-INSURANCE IN THE U. S.

[*Prepared by Frederick L. Hoffman, Insurance Statistician, Newark, N. J.*]

CALENDAR YEAR	ORDINARY		INDUSTRIAL	
	Number of policies	Amount in thousands	Number of policies	Amount in thousands
		Dollars		*Dollars*
1850.....	29,407	68,614	.....	.....
1860.....	60,000	180,000	.....	.....
1870.....	839,226	2,262,847	.....	.....
1880.....	679,690	1,564,183	236,674	20,533
1890.....	1,319,561	3,620,057	3,883,529	429,521
1900.....	3,176,051	7,093,152	11,219,296	1,468,986
1901.....	3,693,702	7,952,989	12,337,022	1,620,857
1902.....	4,160,088	8,701,587	13,448,124	1,806,890
1903	4,694,021	9,593,008	14,603,694	1,977,599
1904.....	5,507,759	10,412,078	15,674,384	2,135,859
1905.....	5,621,417	11,054,255	16,872,583	2,309,754

INCOME, PAYMENTS, ASSETS, ETC., IN 1880 AND FROM 1885 TO 1905

CALENDAR YEAR	Total income in thousands	Total payments to policyholders in thousands	Assets in thousands	Liabilities in thousands
	Dollars	*Dollars*	*Dollars*	*Dollars*
1880	80,537	55,881	452,680	.....
1885	111,122	64,306	551,828	.....
1886	123,614	64,029	585,201	.....
1887	137,913	71,231	619,137	.....
1888	155,477	77,542	668,196	.....
1889	177,607	83,031	720,237	.....
1890	196,938	90,007	770,972	678,681
1891	213,444	97,026	840,579	740,226
1892	227,622	104,506	919,342	802,677
1893	241,727	112,648	987,946	868,600
1894	261,959	118,423	1,073,156	930,937
1895	271,928	125,136	1,159,873	997,668
1896	283,726	136,179	1,243,561	1,066,541
1897	304,945	139,405	1,344,903	1,157,010
1898	325,452	146,804	1,462,651	1,245,788
1899	365,368	159,987	1,595,208	1,365,873
1900	400,603	168,687	1,742,414	1,493,378
1901	457,965	192,398	1,910,784	1,640,289
1902	504,527	199,883	2,091,822	1,798,136
1903	553,639	225,842	2,265,221	1,978,823
1904	599,081	247,052	2,498,960	2,168,468
1905	642,058	264,968	2,706,186	2,372,573

Fire- and Marine-Insurance

[*Data of the Spectator Company, New York, N. Y.*]

CALENDAR YEAR	STOCK AND MUTUAL COMPANIES			
	Number of companies	Total income, thousands	Payments to policyholders	
			Losses, thousands	Dividends, thousands
		Dollars	*Dollars*	*Dollars*
1890	580	157,857	75,334	5,433
1900	493	198,312	108,307	8,446
1901	482	216,452	112,008	9,011
1902	489	239,468	113,147	10,184
1903	526	258,340	112,817	11,559
1904	515	278,340	151,264	12,855
1905	575	1,264	125,074	14,379

Fraternal Societies

In 1905 there were in the U. S. 87,758 lodges with 5,111,480 members (4,879,412 being full members).

Jan. 1, 1905, they had $6,665,141,251 of insurance in force; assets of $51,465,430, and liabilities of $9,619,089. The oldest dated from 1868.

GREAT BRITAIN

Industrial and Provident Societies (United Kingdom).

	1890	1900	1904
Number of societies making returns	1,417	1,817	2,185
Number of members	1,054,229	1,778,401	2,195,400
	£	£	£
Share capital	12,055,987	23,255,837	28,254,716
Loan capital	2,733,539	.....	.....
Due to depositors and other creditors	.....	10,962,283	13,031,261
Sales of goods	41,497,029	77,529,915	92,789,884

Life-Assurance and Annuities

I. Ordinary Life-insurance Companies

	1890	1900	1904
	£	£	£
Premiums	14,833,359	21,795,619	24,547,873
Consideration for annuities	1,184,705	1,716,027	1,793,736
Interest (less tax)	6,744,876	8,910,353	10,456,303
Net increase in value of investments	30,864	13,319	.....
Miscellaneous	80,861	56,941	56,366
Total income	22,874,665	32,492,259	36,854,278
Claims	11,783,890	16,937,676	17,866,469
Cash bonuses and reduction of premiums	1,057,400	1,068,021	879,546
Annuities	871,070	1,775,793	2,082,473
Surrender	792,073	1,125,455	1,636,373
Management (including commission)	2,122,209	2,992,081	3,313,305
Dividends, bonuses, etc., to shareholders	498,344	434,018	467,445
Net decrease in value of investments	.....	.....	88,748
Miscellaneous	13,600	76,698	100,759
Total outgo	17,138,586	24,409,742	26,435,118
Paid-up capital	11,352,139	11,729,334	11,751,517
Life and annuity funds	165,920,161	246,129,803	284,533,609
Fire and marine funds of companies transacting life business	10,365,382	11,518,902	15,486,559
Reserve funds	4,520,904	4,431,505	4,636,578
Profit and loss balance	2,908,720	4,533,249	4,808,119

II. Industrial Companies

	1890	1900	1904
	£	£	£
Premiums	5,031,826	9,296,047	11,093,268
Consideration for annuities	75	6,986	3,846
Interest (less tax)	274,562	676,180	934,706
Net increase in value of investments	.....	.....	.....
Miscellaneous	2,127	63,965	84,737
Total	5,308,590	10,043,178	12,116,557
Claims	2,184,851	3,866,537	4,255,966
Cash bonuses and reduction of premiums	.....	960	342
Annuities	1,134	7,858	12,690
Surrenders	12,534	38,059	79,775
Management (including commission)	2,221,889	3,946,893	4,827,650
Dividends, bonuses, etc., to shareholders	53,901	477,263	557,282
Net decrease in value of investments	463	8,865	3,490
Miscellaneous	141	845	8,445
Total	4,474,913	8,347,280	9,745,640
Paid-up capital	519,744	1,670,290	1,951,014
Life and annuity funds	8,873,082	20,478,503	28,544,624
Reserve funds	.....	850,000	1,540,793

Both these tables show a remarkable increase of receipts, that is, of about 90 per cent; the outgo was slightly more. The industrial companies had even better success, since the receipts increased over 110 per cent, and the outgo in the same ratio. The paid-up capital of the latter more than trebled in nearly twenty-five years; life and annuity funds increased nearly 350 per cent; while the reserve funds increased over 90 per cent within four years.

Life-Assurance and Annuities entered into by the National Debt Office (including contracts entered into through the medium of Trustee Savings-Banks)

	1890–1	1900–1	1905–6
Annuities Immediate			
Contracts for annuities entered into:			
Number	666	540	685
Amount of annuities	£42,321	£31,381	£57,130
Receipts by the banks and National Debt Office in respect of contracts[1]	£501,208	£410,983	£674,680
Annuities Deferred			
Contracts for annuities entered into:			
Number	17	16	10
Amount of annuities	£486	£279	£210
Receipts by the banks and National Debt Office in respect of contracts	£3,707	£2,456	£2,296

[1] Including the money value of stock transferred for the purchase of annuities.

Life Annuities and Assurances entered into through the Post-office

	1890	1901	1905
Annuities Immediate			
Contracts for annuities entered into:			
Number	948	1,764	1,840
Amount of annuities	£21,956	£42,268	£45,488
Receipts by post-office in respect of contracts	£273,578	£562,159	£573,205
Payments by post-office in respect of contracts:			
Number (payable half-yearly)	17,976	33,269	37,686
Amount	£206,422	£527,371	£614,406
Annuities Deferred			
Contracts for annuities entered into:			
Number	116	142	158
Amount of annuities	£2,527	£3,066	£3,204
Receipts by post-office in respect of contracts	£14,283	£23,630	£24,287
Payments by post-office in respect of contracts:			
Number (payable half-yearly)	412	1,075	1,347
Amount	£4,644	£14,175	£16,965
Life Assurances			
Contracts for life assurances entered into:			
Number	468	920	741
Amount of assurances	£25,466	£44,296	£37,011
Receipts by post-office in respect of contracts	£14,422	£22,647	£23,376
Payments by post-office in respect of contracts			
Number	196	380	449
Amount of claims on death and surrender	£6,841	£12,992	£15,593

Germany

There are a number of insurance companies in Germany doing business apart from the compulsory insurance of the State (see Industrial Insurance); these companies are, however, supervised by the State.

Life-insurance companies number 39—28 stock companies and 11 "mutual" companies, aside from a number of small concerns of a purely local character; 23 stock companies had in Dec., 1903, about 28,000 policies in force; 12 mutual societies had 22,548 policies. The income in 1903 of 26 stock companies was 254,212,000 marks, expenses 221,517,000; that of 21 "mutual" societies 219,460,000 and 179,207,000. The income of 9 "people's" companies was 62,507,000; expenses, 52,040,000.

Fire-insurance is engaged in by 33 large stock companies and 16 mutual companies. The former had an income in 1903 of 126,133,000; expenses, 106,584,000; the latter, 30,821,000 and 13,304,000. All of these companies usually engage also in hail, flood, and burglary insurance.

INTEMPERANCE: For a discussion of the various ways of dealing with the social problem of intemperance, see Central Public-House Trust Association; Coffee-Houses; High License; Local Option; Local Prohibition; Nationalization of the Liquor Traffic; Norwegian Company System; Prohibition; Dispensary System. For the history of the temperance movement, see Temperance. For the extent of the traffic, see Liquor Traffic. For a discussion of how far intemperance is the cause of poverty and crime, see Poverty.

We present here various statements as to the evils of intemperance from well-known students of the question:

Of drink in all its combinations, adding to every trouble, undermining every effort after good, destroying the home and cursing the young lives of the children, the stories tell enough. It does not stand as apparent chief cause in as many cases (of pauperism) as sickness or old age, but if it were not for drink, sickness and old age could be better met. Drink must therefore be accounted the most prolific of all the causes, and it is the least necessary.—*Charles Booth, in his book on Pauperism and the Endowment of Old Age* (pp. 140, 141).

"The destruction of the poor is their poverty," and the present licensing system is a chief cause of the present-time poverty, debasement, and weakness of the poor.—*John Burns, M.P., and 139 other British labor leaders, in an address supporting the Veto bill in* 1893.

For myself, twenty-one years of study and observation have convinced me that poverty is a prime cause of intemperance, and that misery is the mother and hereditary appetite the father of the drink hallucination.

To the labor reformers I have to say, you have united for home protection; so have we. You will bring it about by standing together at the ballot-box; so shall we. In the slums they drink to forget; we would make life something they would gladly remember. We once said intemperance was the cause of poverty; now we have completed the circle of truth by saying poverty causes intemperance, and that the underpaid, underfed, undersheltered wage-earning teetotaler deserves a thousand times more credit than the teetotaler who is well paid, well fed, and well cared for. Our objects are the same. Let us clasp hands in the unity of the spirit and the bond of peace.

Ten years ago I could not have said it honestly, five years ago I could not have said it helpfully, but now I fearlessly declare that I believe it to be the right and duty of white ribbon women to help abolish poverty in the largest sense of that great phrase; but I must in the same breath ask our friends of the labor movement to recognize that our special work for the abolition of poverty consists in the abolition of the public house and the saloon.—*Frances E. Willard, in her presidential address before the World's W. C. T. U., in London, June,* 1895.

If I could I would inaugurate a strike that would drive the liquor traffic from the face of the earth.—*P. M. Arthur, Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, in a speech at Cleveland, Ohio, March* 28, 1886.

The liquor traffic is responsible for nine tenths of the misery among the working classes, and the abolition of that traffic would be the greatest blessing which could come to them.—*T. V. Powderly, ex-General Master Workman of the Knights of Labor.*

I have looked into a thousand homes of the working people of Europe; I do not know how many in this country. I have tried to find the best and the worst; and while, as I say, I am aware that the worst exists, and as bad as under any system or as bad as in any age, I have never had to look beyond the inmates to find the cause; and in every case, so far as my own observation goes, drunkenness was at the bottom of the misery, and not the industrial system or the industrial conditions surrounding the men and their families.—*United*

States Commissioner Carroll D. Wright, in an address on the Relation of the Modern System of Industry to Intellectual Development (1895).

If I could have my way I would wipe out every saloon. The saloon is the prolific source of nine tenths of the misery, wretchedness, and crime, and is, more than we know, responsible for the social evil.—*Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, D.D., in an interview in The Voice of Jan.* 16, 1896.

After all, if we hunt vice and crime back to their lairs we will be pretty sure to find them in the gin-mill. Drunkenness is the prolific mother of most of the evil-doing. . . . Drunkenness is the prime cause of all the trouble.—*Thomas Byrnes, while Superintendent of the New York Police Department.*

The relation of the liquor traffic to economics, says James C. Fernald in his "Economics of Prohibition," is one which the masters of the science have scarcely begun to touch. He says:

Liquor selling does not pay. . . . Tell the lumberman of Michigan how many thousands of drinking farmers will shingle their homes and barns, or build new ones, as soon as they "quit their meanness," and how many thousands of houses will be built in all our suburbs for the working men when none of them drink away the money that might pay the rent, or buy the cottage. Show the shoe manufacturers of Massachusetts what it means to take all the bare feet of drunkards' children off the ground. Let the iron men of Pennsylvania know that new stoves will be at once needed in a hundred thousand homes, when the saloon-keeper ceases to get the money. Tell the miners they will have work all winter through, getting coal enough to put into those stoves. Tell the cotton-planters of the South that there will be about 10,000,000 new calico dresses and aprons wanted as soon as the 2,000,000 tipplers cease to tipple, and go home with some spare change. Let the ranchmen of Dakota and New Mexico, and Armour's men in Chicago, know that there's going to be beef on thousands of tables, where now are a few cold potatoes, as soon as we can carry Prohibition. Tell the wool-grower of Ohio that everybody in this country is going to be wrapped in woolen and sleep under blankets when the blizzards blow and the thermometer ranges about zero, and men no longer heat up with liquid fire in order to exterminate their families with atmospheric cold. Tell the grocer he can sell for cash, and say good-by to bad debts, when the dimes no longer go into the saloon till. Tell the farmer there is going to be an unheard-of demand for flour, and meal, and butter, and cheese, and eggs as soon as the bloated beer-holders cease fostering that industry, and begin filling out the hollow cheeks of wives and children.

As to the relation of drink to crime, a careful investigation was made by Carroll D. Wright when he was in charge of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor.

He analyzed the crimes committed in Suffolk County, which contains the city of Boston, for the year ending Sept. 1, 1880. The total number of sentences passed during the year was 16,897, of which 12,289, or 72 per cent, were for offenses clearly due to drink, 12,221 being for drunkenness and 68 for illegal sales of liquor. Of the remaining 4,608 persons convicted of various crimes, Mr. Wright found that 2,097 had committed them while under the influence of liquor, and that the intent to commit the crime was formed by 1,918 while under the influence of liquor. It was found in 1,804 cases that the crime was committed under conditions induced by the drinking habits of criminals, while in 821 cases the drinking habits of others induced the crime condition.

If the 2,097, who were shown to have committed their offenses while under the influence of drink, be added to the 12,289 convicted of "distinctively rum offenses," this makes 14,386 out of the total 16,897 commitments, or 84 per cent, due to drink particularly.

Prof. J. J. McCook, of Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., in a paper read before the Twentieth Century Club, of that city, in 1895, speaks of the relation of drink to crime in these words:

For twelve years the police arrests for drunkenness alone averaged in Hartford 62.8 per cent of the whole number, while the drunkenness and its allied offenses numbered 80.67 per cent. This proportion is perhaps somewhat larger than in most places, but it may generally be expected to be at least as high as three fifths.

Ninety-five to ninety-seven out of every hundred incarcerated in our jail are self-confessed drinkers, altho they pleasantly add "moderate" to the title; and from 43.6 to 56.1 per cent of them are there specifically for drunkenness, and fully 66 per cent, or two thirds of them, are there for that and its resulting crimes. There were 1,393 of them there last year out of a total of 2,111.

Of the 381 captives in our state prison last year, 46.8, or almost half, thought drink had done it.

Take special phases of crime, for example:

Abuse, neglect, or abandonment of children. Those most familiar with the subject in this neighborhood have put the proportion of cases attributable to drink at or beyond two thirds. From the Pennsylvania Society to Protect Children from Cruelty, with headquarters in Philadelphia, a former vice-president, in talking with me, fixt the proportion roughly at four fifths to nine tenths. But the secretary gives me definite statistics for 1891–92, showing 309 cases of drink out of a total of 864 in 1891, and 359 out of 987 in 1892, i. e., from 35.8 per cent to 36.4 per cent. In some previous years the percentage had been as high as 50.

Take murder and homicide. During the months of January, February, and March of last year I clipt from three daily papers here every case of murder and homicide and classified them according to assigned causes. In a very large proportion no cause was given. All such were reckoned as not due to drink—which is, of course, conceding far too much—and drink was charged only when definitely assigned. In January there were 31 cases, of which 9 were due to drink; in February there were 67, of which 10 to drink; in March, 41, of which 10 to drink. The total was 110, with 29 cases, or 20.9 per cent, specifically attributed to drink.

The business men of the country recognize the importance of having sober men. *The Voice* has collected information from leading officials of forty-five railroads, having some 200,000 employees. Without exception, all agreed that, from their business experience, "habitual drinking makes employees less efficient in their work." In reply to the question, "Does your company forbid the use of intoxicants to employees while on duty?" all, without a single exception, replied that they did. (See also Liquor Traffic.)

INTEREST, as the word is popularly used, may be defined as the price paid for the use of money. In exacter thought it is the price paid for the use of *capital* (money or any other form of capital). It is identical with the original meaning of the word *usury*, which, according to all lexicographers, originally meant not, as now, exorbitant interest, but any interest at all, usury being what was paid for *using* money. When the Old Testament forbids *usury*, it is *interest* that is forbidden—taking any pay for the use of money. But this raises a question we shall not here discuss. (For a discussion of the rightfulness or wrongfulness of taking interest and for a history of that question in ethics, see Usury.) We here ask simply what part does interest play in modern economic relations; what are the laws which govern it, and how may they be used for the social good?

Here we must, however, sharply notice several important distinctions. The capitalist who invests money to-day usually gets more than mere payment for the use of his money. Why this is so it is easy to see by considering the case first not of a lender of money, but of a corporation or company in business to made money. To do this at the start, it often, perhaps usually, has to borrow money. It does this, hoping out of its business to pay not only for the use of the money borrowed, but also to clear some profits for itself. If it were not for this hope it would not borrow the money or go into business. It can thus be seen that interest or what it pays for the use of borrowed money and profits for itself are two distinct things. Interest may be and often is at 6 per cent when profits are at 12 or more. It is, of course, often true that in a business there may not be for a long time, and possibly may never be, any profits. The business may be run simply paying rent, wages, and interest; but this is only done for a while, because it is hoped that eventually profits will accrue. Thus having

seen the distinction between profits and interest in the case of a business corporation, we can now see that they are still distinct even when paid to the same person. A corporation or individual may have money enough to furnish their own capital without borrowing. They, in this case, may be said to borrow of themselves. They expect, therefore, not only profits, but interest on the money they put in. They expect this because capital, under competition, can always command some interest (whatever the market rate is), and they go into business only because they expect to get something more than the mere rate paid for the use of money; they expect to get some profit out of their especial venture or undertaking. Interest and profits (*q. v.*) are thus distinct.

We must now see another distinction. Some trades are more risky and uncertain and perhaps more dangerous than others. Those who invest money in such pursuits, therefore, demand and can get extra pay for running an unusual risk. They can get this, for otherwise they would prefer to put their money in safer ventures. Hence besides ordinary interest or payment for the use of money, they get extraordinary interest or payment for their risk. Hence such interest is really made up of two elements: (1) payment for the use of money—interest proper; and (2) indemnity for risk. Thus, a corporation or individual has to pay, besides wages, and rent, and interest proper on its capital, an indemnity for its risks and profits or dividends (if it has stockholders) on its business. In economic thought the general word *interest* is generally used to cover the indemnity for extra risks, and the expression *interest proper* is used for interest in its narrower sense of the ordinary payment for the use of money. We shall so use the terms in this article.

We come now to ask what are the laws which govern interest? Interest, under competition, is governed, in the first place, by the law of supply and demand. When there is much loanable capital, interest falls; where there is much demand for capital, interest rises.

Says Professor Marshall ("Economics of Industry"):

> Combining the laws of supply and demand we get the law of the normal rate of interest, which is: When the economic conditions of a country have been nearly uniform for a long period of time, the supply of capital is such that the rate of interest which can be obtained for it is that which has been required to cause this supply to be forthcoming; and the rate thus determined is the normal rate. The rate is in equilibrium when it is just that at which the whole supply of capital can find employment.

Laws of Interest

From this general statement many minor truths follow. First, interest (including in it payment for risk) varies with the risk of losing the capital invested. Where this risk is at all serious, interest grows very high. Unstable governments like Turkey or Egypt, or "shaky concerns" or doubtful parties pay sometimes enormous rates of interest. The poor always have to pay higher risks than the rich. Four or 5 per cent a month (48 and 60 per cent a year) are not uncommon rates in pawnbrokers' shops. Forty dollars are not infrequently paid by the poor in a few months for a first loan of $20 or less. Second, interest varies with the length of time for which the capital is borrowed. People want proportionate compensation for the trouble of frequent transference of capital and their risk of being unable to replace at once. Money on short-time loans will be often three times long-time rates. Here again the poor, who borrow to meet immediate necessities, are often at great disadvantage. Third, interest tends to an equality in different trades.

Says Professor Jevons, in his "Primer of Political Economy":

> The most important fact about interest is that it is the same in one business as in another. The rates of profit differ very much, it is true, but this is because the labor of superintendence is different, or because there is greater risk in one trade than in another. But the true interest is the same, because capital, being lent in the form of money, can be lent to one trade just as easily as to another. There is nothing in circulating capital which fits it for one trade more than another; accordingly it will be lent to that trade which offers ever so little more interest than other trades. Thus there is a constant tendency to the equality of interest in all branches of industry.

Fourth, interest tends to obey the so-called law of diminishing returns (*q. v.*). As civilization advances, the price for the use of money falls, for various reasons: (*a*) Because stability and confidence, as a rule, increase, and less and less of the element of payment for risk enters into the payment for money; (*b*) because as society grows wealthy the supply of capital increases in proportion to the demand—how this is modified we shall see later; (*c*) because capital applied to land already well cultivated causes in general a less than proportionate increase in the return, or, as we may say, it will obtain a diminishing return. This last element is called by some economists exclusively the law of diminishing return (*q. v.*). How all these laws are modified by the advance of civilization in opening up new channels for the employment of capital we shall in a moment see. But it is necessary to note this law, for it is made much of by writers like Edward Atkinson, who assert that capital is always getting a less and less portion in distribution, and labor always more and more.

It is true of interest as the price paid for the use of capital; it is only partially true of the whole share of capital. The latter, as we have seen, includes interest proper and profit or dividends. Now, interest proper may decrease and yet dividends increase. A fall in the current rate of interest, says G. Bernard Shaw, indicates rather "a tendency of the real interest or share of capital to increase. Current rates of interest we all know tend to fall with increase of population; yet at the same time the market value of established stock rises with increasing population, rises, therefore, as the current rates fall. The current rate," he says, "must, under present conditions, eventually fall to zero, and even become 'negative.' By that time shares which now bring in a dividend of 100 per cent may very possibly bring in 200 or more."

Capital, by being invested in established stocks, may thus be getting larger dividends, altho the popular rate of interest be falling. Again, tho the *rate* of *both* dividends and popular interest be falling, the return to the wealth of a few individuals may be steadily gaining, because the amount of the principal on which they draw grows rapidly. Two per cent on $1,000,000 is better than 10 per cent on $1,000. While millionaires are, as at present, yearly adding millions to their principal, it is small comfort to the poor to be shown by Mr. Atkinson that the *rate* of interest or even of dividends may be slightly falling.

Coming now to ask what are the present rates of interest, Professor Jevons, writing in 1878, says ("Primer of Political Economy"):

The rates of interest actually paid in business vary very much, from 1 or 2 per cent, up to 50 per cent or more. When the rate is above 5 or 6 per cent, it will be to some extent not true interest, but compensation for the risk of losing the capital altogether. To learn the true average rate of interest, we must inquire what is paid for money lent to those who are sure to pay it back, and who give property in pledge, so that there may be no doubt about the matter. It seems probable that the true average rate of interest in England is at present about 4 per cent, but it varies in different countries, being lower in England and Holland than anywhere else.

Says Professor Marshall more recently ("Economics of Industry"):

The normal rate of interest in England does not seem likely to deviate much from 4 per cent for some time to come; but it may be slowly altered by changes in the field of employment, while the market rate of interest is oscillating rapidly up and down on either side of the normal rate as a center. . . . A rate of 8 per cent on sound investments has spread like a wave steadily over the greater part of the North American continent; and this is being followed by waves of 7 and of 6 and even 5 per cent interest that have already started on their way westward and southward from the Northern Atlantic States."

Concerning the future, he says:

It is difficult to forecast the distant future of the rate of interest. Hitherto the progress of civilization has increased the willingness to save at a low rate. In old countries, in which men are accustomed to work patiently for small gains and to value highly the possession of a secure income, a low rate of interest seems to have little effect in checking the accumulation of capital. In England, for instance, in spite of the low rate of interest, the capital of the country is increasing at the average rate of about £200,000,000 annually; that is, by a little more than a thirtieth of its total amount. If this rate of increase were sustained for 400 years, the capital owned by Englishmen would be multiplied a millionfold, and in 800 years a billionfold. But however high the hopes we may have of the future progress of the arts of production, we cannot suppose that there will ever be a field for the profitable employment of as much capital as this. Sooner or later the rapid growth of capital must increase the competition of capital for the aid of labor, and diminish the competition of labor for the aid of capital.

Professor Marshall therefore concludes that the share that capital may draw from production will probably tend to be less, and so interest falls. He thinks, however, that it will not fall rapidly to a minimum, but fall slowly, and the rate of fall become slower and slower as it approaches the minimum. A recent illustration in the United States of the lowering of interest is the refunding in Feb., 1897, of some forty odd millions of maturing 7 per cent bonds of the Lake Shore Railway in a 3½ per cent 100-year gold issue limited to $50,000,000.

But it must not be thought that the problem of interest will be removed from the world while wealth goes on amassing, as it has in England and New York City, for example, with the consequent increasing returns to the fortunate few in spite of falling interest.

Indeed, the fall of interest accompanied by the amassing of wealth rather intensifies many of the problems involved in interest, because when the rate of interest is low, it takes a very large capital to produce the income demanded by many modern families. Hence there results an increasing dissatisfaction with small capital and a more feverish and intenser struggle to earn, and perhaps quite as likely to inherit or by fortunate speculation to acquire large fortunes. This very dissatisfaction tends to induce a willingness on the one hand to run large risks and deal in speculative interests, which makes interest a little higher, and also tends to create a demand for socialistic and other reforms, which again tends to raise interest by making investments insecure and profits uncertain. Only very large capitals and strong houses and corporations can stand hard times and low rates of interest. Thus in the question of the future of interest is involved the whole social movement.

All we can do is to note the laws which at present govern the rate of interest. Besides those above noted, or, rather, as special applications of those laws, we may see that every invention or discovery tends, for a while at least, to raise interest, because it creates a new demand for capital to put the invention in operation. It may, however, eventually lower interest because it may enable men to produce with much less expensive plant. The general tendency of invention, however, has been to cheapen production by increasing the cost and extent of plant to enable the producer to very much increase the volume of his product, and so make greater profits by selling at lower rates. The invention of steam transportation has cheapened products, but has enormously increased the demand for capital. Density of population, too, tends to increase the opportunity to use capital. So, too, does the raising of the standard of living. Marshall points out that when a community begins to outgrow its primitive cheap buildings and demands expensive buildings, the demand for capital rises, and with it the rate of interest. One other factor and a general conclusion Marshall states in these words:

Other Factors

There is also the demand for the loan of wealth by persons or states who do not intend to use it productively, but who mortgage their future incomes to enable them to increase their expenditure in the present. This part also of the demand for capital will be the greater the lower the rate of interest at which loans can be obtained.

We see then that the demand for capital depends on the numbers of the population, the natural resources of the country, the scope that the arts of production afford for the employment of auxiliary capital, and the needs of unproductive consumers.

PROPOSED REFORMS

Such being the main laws which govern interest, we come now to ask how they may be used for the social good. The advantage of low interest to a community is apparent. It may indeed be abused by persons borrowing when they would do better not to borrow; but this is a matter of education, and is overbalanced by the stimulus which low interest gives to production, the employment of labor, and the development of natural resources, with all the accompanying advantages. Therefore many schemes have been proposed looking to the lowering of interest. The oldest and seemingly the simplest of these is for government to enact laws forbidding interest above a fixed rate. This was in the Middle Ages, and until recent times the universal custom, due in part to the medieval belief that interest was wrong (see USURY); and in part to a paternal theory of government, according to which the state should aid the poor. To-day few believe in this method. It is seen that practically its only effect is to *raise* and not lower the price. We quote on this point a classical passage from J. S. Mill ("Political Economy," Book V., chap. x., § 2):

It is, however, a misapprehension of the causes which influence commercial transactions to suppose that the rate of interest is really made lower by law than it would be made by the spontaneous play of supply and demand. If the competition of borrowers left unrestrained would raise the rate of interest to 6 per cent, this proves that at 5 there would be a greater demand for loans than there is capital in the market to supply. If the law in these circumstances permits no interest beyond 5 per cent, there will be some lenders who, not choosing to disobey the law, and not being in a condition to employ their capital otherwise, will content themselves with the legal rate; but others, finding that in a season of

pressing demand more may be made of their capital by other means than they are permitted to make by lending it, will not lend it at all; and the loanable capital, already too small for the demand, will be still further diminished. Of the disappointed candidates there will be many at such periods who must have their necessities supplied at any price, and these will readily find a third section of lenders who will not be averse to join in a violation of the law, either by circuitous transactions partaking of the nature of fraud, or by relying on the honor of the borrower. The extra expense of the roundabout mode of proceeding, and an equivalent for the risk of non-payment and of legal penalties, must be paid by the borrower, over and above the extra interest which would have been required of him by the general state of the market. The laws which were intended to lower the price paid by him for pecuniary accommodation end thus in greatly increasing it. These laws have also a directly demoralizing tendency.

Such restriction, altho approved by Adam Smith, has been condemned by all enlightened persons since the triumphant onslaught made upon it by Bentham in his "Letters on Usury," which may still be referred to as the best extant writing on the subject.

Another popular method for lowering the rate of interest, agitated in the United States since the war, has been the issue of paper currency by the government or by some means the increasing of the currency of the country, thus aiming to increase the amount of capital to be loaned, and thus to lower interest. But the wisdom or unwisdom of this depends wholly on how it is done, and so we consider it under Expansion and Contraction of Currency. It should be noted here simply that if the rate of interest depend on confidence, as we have stated above, no amount of increase of currency will lower interest, if the currency be depreciated or break public confidence. This is the danger of that plan. If this could be avoided, and it seemed advisable for other reasons, it would doubtless lower interest.

A third popular method for lowering interest, and one recently much agitated, is for the government to make loans to people directly on security of any form of property. It is said that if the government makes loans to the bankers to furnish the banking system of this country, and out of this the bankers make large profit by reloaning the money sometimes at high interest, there is no reason why the government should not do the same by all classes, instead of compelling all others to go to this one favored class of money brokers whenever they need to borrow. There have been various plans proposed for governmental loans, usually at 2 per cent. The agricultural class has been especially active in urging such plans, and especially the so-called sub-treasury plan (*q. v.*), by which government should lend at 2 per cent on agricultural produce brought to appointed government elevators or storehouses. This is by no means a merely popular and unscientific scheme. At the meeting of the American Economic Association, Aug. 23–26, 1892, Professor Commons said ("Report of Proceedings," p. 70):

That seems to me the most scientific plan put forward by any writer or thinker. . . . The sub-treasury will give an elastic currency. I do not want to favor a scheme like this on my own responsibility; but the fact is that this very scheme is in operation, and has been for about six years in Russia. It is not a new thing even in this country. In colonial times Maryland and Virginia had a sub-treasury plan. They had warehouses, where tobacco could be stored, and the farmer was given a certificate, which was legal tender throughout the colonies. It circulated as money, but it did not represent the faith of the government; it represented goods which were stored—just what the farmer wants to-day.

Perhaps the only obstacle to the plan is one of administration, and the question why the same plan should not be applied to all commodities as well as agricultural, and therefore, when it comes to that, if there cannot be a different scheme of governmental socialism, whereby interest shall not be reduced, but practically abolished.

Fearing that this scheme thus directly leads to socialism, most individualists and all conservatives oppose it, and would trust simply to the competition of capitalists to lower interest, a competition which they say has already lowered interest, so that stable governments can now loan money at 3 per cent, and which they say will gradually still lower all interest, if confidence is not upset by sub-treasury paper money and socialistic schemes.

To this it is answered that competition of capital cannot be trusted, because we are having today the *combination* of capital. Wherefore some Socialists would practically abolish interest by having all capital owned by the nation or community and individual wealth be obtained only by a system of labor checks. (See Socialism.) A large number of Socialists, however, with other social reformers would not favor direct attempts to either reduce or abolish interest, but simply by steadily expanding the sphere of the democratic State in and over industry gradually reduce the sphere of and demand for private capital, and hence steadily reduce interest till it finally fell to nil. The mere nationalization of railroads, it is claimed, would cut off such a large opportunity for the investment of money as to leave no adequate field for the enormous fortunes of today, and so compel the rapid decline of interest. Still another class of thinkers (see Single Taxers) believe that interest may be lowered by freeing land values, and so making the producer less dependent upon the capitalist. (See Capital; Usury, etc.)

INTERNATIONAL, THE: The International was a society attempting to unite the working classes of all nations in one socialistic organization. As early as 1840 endeavors were made in this direction, when some German refugees in London formed a Deutscher Arbeiter-Bildungsverein, later called the Society of the Fraternal Democrats, and aiming to unite all nationalities. The manifesto published by Marx and Engels, 1847–48, aided the movement. The coming of some French workmen to the London Exhibition of 1862 led to further exchange of ideas, and on Sept. 28, 1863, in St. Martin's Hall, London, a meeting was held under the presidency of Professor Beesly (*q. v.*) and the International organized.

Beginnings

Englishmen were chosen as president, secretary, and treasurer of the general council; corresponding secretaries were appointed for the affiliated countries, and Marx naturally received the office for Germany. At first the policy of the International was little defined, and thus, in endeavoring to unite the workers of all countries, it came to stand for various things in the various countries. Even Mazzini for a while joined it, but drew out when it developed the materialistic socialism he opposed. (See Mazzini.) In England it meant little more than international trade-unionism, and when English workmen found that on the Continent it meant more they virtually left it. In Germany it became socialistic. (See Germany.) In France and most Latin countries it developed anarchist-communism. In the United States it had little more than a nominal existence. These divergences naturally proved its

weakness, but for a while it alarmed all European governments. Marx became its real leader. He wrote an address in which he dwelt upon

> the want prevailing among the working classes, want which had continued undiminished since 1848, tho the propertied classes had become more prosperous. He held it to be incontrovertibly proved that the perfection of machinery, the utilization of science in industry and agriculture, the extension of markets, artificial measures like colonization and emigration, as well as free trade, were all unable to relieve the condition of the laboring population. Asking for a remedy, he found it in cooperative labor developed to national dimensions and promoted by State resources. But as the landowning and capitalist classes would be sure to use their political privileges for the defense of their economic monopolies, the working classes must first acquire political power. They possest one element of strength, that of numbers, but numbers without union were of no avail, and thus it was a paramount duty to combine for mutual defense and offense. "Proletariat of all countries, unite!" ended the address.

The European governments began to take alarm. The first congress was to have been held in Brussels, but was not allowed, and another conference was held instead in London. The first real congress was held at Geneva in 1866, sixty delegates being present, and the second at Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1867. The spirit at this congress was more radical, as in the words with which the president closed the congress: "We want no more governments, for governments oppress us by taxes; we want no armies, for armies massacre and murder us; we want no religion, for religion chokes the understanding."

Bakounin, the Russian apostle of nihilism, joined the International and fought with Marx for the leadership. Marx and his friends desired a revolution to be conducted by the orderly political capture of the state and the use of the state to develop communism. Bakounin desired to plant communism on the ruins of the state. For a while his fiery leadership carried the mass of the members with him, particularly in Italy, France, French Switzerland, and Belgium. Germany favored the Marxist policy, and in 1869 the Social Democratic Party was formed on its lines. In 1870 the congress was to have been held in Paris, but this was prevented by the Franco-German War, a war which the International strenuously denounced. The revolutionary spirit gave birth to the uprising of the Paris Commune (*q. v.*), tho the International was not directly connected with it. Marx found that this anarchist element must be suppressed, and the General Council arranged to have the congress of 1872 held at The Hague, where Bakounin could not easily come, as he was in Switzerland and would have been arrested in passing through either Germany or France. As a result, the Marxist party triumphed at The Hague, and removed the seat of the General Council to New York City to avoid the machinations of Bakounin. The Bakouninists, however, repudiated The Hague congress and held another at Geneva, claiming to represent the true International. The movement thus divided soon came to an end both in Europe and America. For a while the "autonomists," as the Bakounin faction styled themselves, kept up a fiery agitation, created several uprisings in Southern Europe, and in the Latin countries had the majority of the organization with them. But suppressed by the police, and unable to effect solid organization, especially after the death of Bakounin in 1876, the party died as an organization, its members, however, becoming the modern anarchist-communists of Europe. (See ANARCHISM.)

The End

The Marxist movement has passed into the Social Democratic parties, formed first in Germany and later in even the Latin countries on Marxist lines, the Socialist congresses being the real representatives of the International to-day. (See SOCIALISM.)

In the United States, the International was at first, as in England, considered a mere union of organized labor in all countries, and many American trade-unionists joined it, and delegates were sent to some of its European congresses as in 1867 at Basle. Numerous branches were formed in America, but never took root. After the removal of the General Council to New York in 1872, the struggle between the anarchists and the Socialists reappeared on the new shores. In 1877 the Socialists took the name of the Socialist Labor Party, and left the International practically to the anarchist-communists, the trade-union element having abandoned it long before. The Socialists, however, did not wholly leave it till after the arrival in this country of John Most in 1882 and the final separation in 1885. Among the anarchist-communists two separate societies developed, the I. W. P. A. (International Working People's Association) and the I. W. A. (International Workman's Association), the latter being less violent and emphasizing education. (See ANARCHISM.) Both organizations have disappeared (see ANARCHISM), but their spirit has produced monuments in this country like the so-called anarchist movement in Chicago and the various gatherings and deeds of anarchists.

United States

REFERENCES: Villetard's *Histoire de l'Internationale* (1871); Rae's *History of Socialism*. See also SOCIALISM; ANARCHISM.

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION: No great movement has more to show in the way of accomplished facts than that for the substitution of arbitration for war in the settlement of international controversies. A hundred years ago almost nothing had been done in the way of the practical application of the principle of arbitration. Theoretically, the subject had been ably treated by the great publicists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—Hugo Grotius, William Penn, the Abbé de St. Pierre, Immanuel Kant, and others—but as between sovereign, independent nations the practise of arbitration was almost unknown.

At the opening of the nineteenth century, however, a new era of arbitration began. The Jay Treaty, negotiated in 1794, provided for the settlement, by mixed commissions, of three disputed questions between the United States and Great Britain. These settlements were the beginning of an interesting series of arbitrations, which have within the last generation increased in number almost in a geometric ratio. Up to 1850 only about thirty international controversies had been adjusted in this way, the U. S. and Great Britain leading in the matter. By the end of the century the number of arbitrations had increased to more than two hundred. Over sixty of these settlements occurred in the decade from 1890 to 1900, an average of more than six a year for the whole ten years. These arbitrations covered disputes of nearly every conceivable kind, from great boundary questions down to mere claims for pecuniary damage. In not one of these cases was the award made by the arbitrators ever rejected. The public faith and honor of the nations was found sufficient always to secure obedi-

ence to the decree of the arbitrator or the temporary tribunal.

During the second half of the century nearly all of the civilized governments went on record, through their parliaments, as favoring the general application of the principle of arbitration to the settlement of international controversies. In a number of cases this approval was by practically unanimous vote.

The setting up of the Permanent International Court of Arbitration by the Hague Conference was not an accident. All of the great peacemakers of the century—Dr. Worcester, Dr. Channing, Charles Sumner, Elihu Burritt, Richard Cobden, John Bright, Henry Richard, Victor Hugo, and others—had pleaded for a court of this character. When the Hague Conference met, in 1899, this plea of the peacemakers, reiterated by the International Peace Congress, the Interparliamentary Union, the Mohonk Conference, and other similar organizations, had become so powerful and the undisputed success of arbitration in practise had become so great that the conference saw that the logical thing to do was to incorporate arbitration into a general system to take the place of the temporary tribunals, which had previously been created for disputes as they arose. The result was the setting up of the Hague Court, to which twenty-six powers are parties. The court is composed of seventy-six judges, each nation being entitled to not more than four representatives in the tribunal.

This international tribunal was successfully inaugurated in 1902 by a reference to it by the governments of the U. S. and of Mexico of the long-standing Pious-Fund controversy. Three other controversies—the Japanese House Tax case, the Venezuela Preferential Payment case, and the difference between Great Britain and France as to the treaty rights in Muscat—have been successfully adjudicated by the court, which is now thoroughly established in the confidence of the nations as the proper medium for the adjustment of any controversy which may hereafter arise among the signatory powers. The court has been further strengthened and its permanency assured by the conclusion of special treaties of obligatory arbitration stipulating reference of disputes to its jurisdiction. The first of these treaties was that concluded between Great Britain and France on Oct. 14, 1903. Since that time thirty-eight similar treaties have been signed between the European nations, two and two, and six between South American countries or South American and European nations. Two of these treaties, those between Denmark and the Netherlands and Denmark and Italy, are without limitations of any kind. One of them, the Danish-Portuguese, is drawn for ten years, but is otherwise unlimited. The Norwegian–Swedish treaty is concluded for a period of ten years, and provides that questions of honor or vital interest, should they arise, shall be submitted to a preliminary investigation by the Hague Court. The rest of them run for five years and stipulate reference to the Hague Court only of questions of a judicial order and disputes arising about the application or interpretation of treaties.

History

The international arbitration movement has made steady and substantial progress the past year. The various organizations working for the pacific settlement of international disputes and the ultimate extinction of war—the peace societies, the peace congresses, national and international, the Interparliamentary Union, the International Law Association, the Mohonk Conference, and other kindred bodies—have all enlarged and strengthened their forces.

The National Peace Congress, held in New York in April last and attended by more than a thousand representatives from no less than thirty-eight states, among whom were some of the most eminent men of the nation, was the greatest arbitration and peace demonstration ever held, and revealed in an unexpected measure the extraordinary hold which the ideals of arbitration and peace have taken upon the masses of the people and even upon the national authorities.

The number of treaties of obligatory arbitration concluded by the nations, two and two, has increased to forty-five, the last of these being the Danish-Portuguese Treaty, signed in March, 1907. This treaty, as stated above, is to run for ten years and stipulates the reference to the Hague Court of all disputes between the two governments, whatever may be their nature. But this is the only treaty of its kind negotiated during the past year. The movement which has led to the signing of these forty-five treaties has practically spent itself, most of the important powers having concluded with other countries from ten to twelve conventions of this character. It is not likely that many more if any such treaties will be made, the demand of the civilized peoples now being for something much more general than these limited conventions.

Present Status

No new cases of controversy have been referred to the Hague Court during 1907. The reason for this has not been, as has been suggested, distrust of the court or decline of interest in the principle of arbitration. The contrary is true; the spirit which has created the practise of arbitration between nations, and given it such remarkable development in the last generation, has grown so strong that the nations are living in a new attitude toward one another, and the result is that either there are no serious controversies, or such as arise are speedily and amicably settled through the ordinary channels of diplomacy. The reaction of the arbitration movement upon diplomacy has, indeed, been very remarkable, and what was once not unjustly considered to be an agency for the fomenting of strife and war has become now one of the most trustworthy and settled agencies for the preservation and promotion of peace. Modern diplomacy has nearly done with war.

International visits, like that of Secretary Root to South America, or of the European heads of government to one another, have now become a part of the fixt international order of the day. Exchange of visits between French and English statesmen and men of affairs, between British and German editors, and between business organizations of different countries, cannot do otherwise than remove prejudices, eradicate causes of misunderstanding, and thus diminish conflicts of a kind which require the services of arbitration courts. Out of this exchange of visits, and to promote further intercourse of the same kind, an Association for International Conciliation has been formed by Baron d'Estournelles de Constant of the French Senate. A branch of this association has been recently created in the U. S., and it is proposed that sim-

ilar branches shall be established as rapidly as possible in all the countries of the world. This conciliation movement goes even deeper than the arbitration movement, and just in proportion as it expands and grows will the arbitration of disputes become less and less frequent, because the growing spirit of conciliation will greatly diminish international controversies.

Outside of the Hague Court there has been little during 1907 in the way of arbitration. A few cases of boundary delimitation and of the adjustment of pecuniary claims, mostly of some years' standing, have been concluded during the year, and a few are still pending. But of serious cases of arbitration there have been none. And it need not surprise us if the Hague Court finds little to do in the near future.

Nothing recently has advanced the cause of international friendship and peace more, probably, than the third International American Conference, which met at Rio Janeiro in July, 1906. The result of this conference has been not simply to reassert and emphasize the conclusions of the second Pan-American Congress in regard to arbitration, but also to create what gives every evidence of being a permanent international union of the American republics. The reorganization of the Bureau of the American Republics and the provision for it of a permanent and worthy home in our national capital has given the twenty-one states of the Western world an organ through which all their common interests and their differences may hereafter be successfully treated and adjusted in the spirit of justice and friendly concert. The result is sure to be a lessening of the causes of contention among these states, and the establishment of peace among them on a much more permanent and immovable foundation. The influence of this Pan-American union in hastening the creation of a similar larger union of the nations of the world is sure to be very powerful. The world can no longer move in halves; and what the Western hemisphere has already done for itself is sure to be realized at no distant date between the two hemispheres.

The great international event of 1907, however, is, of course, the meeting of the second Intergovernmental Conference at The Hague. We have in this, for the first time in human history, an assembly of representatives of all the organized governments of the globe, with the purpose of promoting a larger spirit of friendly cooperation among them all, with a view to their individual and common welfare and the maintenance of general peace among them hereafter. One of the important subjects on the program of the conference which is receiving large and careful attention, is that of the improvement of the convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes, drawn by the first Hague Conference in 1899, and the enlargement of the scope and powers of the permanent International Tribunal of Arbitration. It will be many months, and possibly some years, before the full effects of this second Hague Conference will appear. Whatever may or may not result in regard to the urgent question of limitation of armaments, it is already a foregone conclusion that the system of the pacific settlement of controversies among the nations, and of the avoidance of occasions of controversy, will be enlarged and improved. This will, without doubt, advance the general cause of the world's peace very greatly, and will entitle the year 1907 to be ranked as one of the great years in the social and political progress of the world.

Hague Conference

BENJAMIN F. TRUEBLOOD.

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION LEAGUE: *Secretary*, W. R. Cremer, M. P., 11 Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W. C., England. (See INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.)

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION AND PEACE ASSOCIATION: *Secretary*, J. F. Green, 41 Outer Temple, London, W. C., England. (See INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.)

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR LABOR LEGISLATION: An international association founded at Paris, 1900, to promote progressive industrial legislation in all nations and international knowledge as to labor laws, with a permanent secretaryship and bureau at Basel, Switzerland.

In 1876 Colonel Emil Frey, a president of the Swiss republic, and known in America as a volunteer in the Civil War, and a Swiss minister to the United States, suggested that international conventions establish uniform conditions of labor in all industrial countries; but when, in 1881, the National Council of Switzerland voted to begin negotiations with other countries, the responses were all unfavorable. Of subsequent attempts to secure an international agreement the most memorable is that of the German emperor in 1890. Propositions regarding the regulation of the hours of labor, the work of women and children, etc., were discussed by the delegates without leading to an agreement.

In 1897 the Swiss council again opened negotiations with other governments, but without notable success, and in September of that year the Swiss Workingmen's Association took the initiative in calling a conference in Zurich to which it invited economists, government officials, and others. At this conference was developed the project of an international labor bureau of a semiprivate character. At the Paris Exposition of 1900, among the remarkable congresses on social economy was one for the legal protection of working men. At this congress was founded the International Association for Labor Legislation, with a permanent secretaryship and bureau in Switzerland.

While the International Labor Bureau opened in Basel May 1, 1901, is not a full-fledged government bureau like that of the International Postal Union and other international offices in Switzerland, it is already supported in large part by government appropriations, including $200 yearly from the U. S. Congress, and governmental participation is of increasing importance in its work. The staff of the bureau consists of the director, Prof. Stephen Bauer, a secretary, an assistant, a translator, a librarian, and a clerk. The office aims to be an international bureau of information in respect of labor legislation, and its activity lies chiefly in the collection and publication of such information. Beginning in 1902, it has issued a monthly bulletin averaging fifty pages each and containing four departments: I. Laws, ordinances, and regulations of all countries affecting labor (text in full, abridged or digested according to relative importance). II. Parliamentary proceedings, including bills. III. Resolutions of national and international congresses. IV. Bibliography on labor. Preceding these departments in each issue is an introductory summary and analysis of the contents by Secretary Bauer.

Besides the bulletin on current legislation, the bureau has published the proceedings of the International Association and also several special reports. Meetings are also held of the general committee of the association composed of delegates from each of the national sections and governments. The Swiss Government has also called in-

ternational conferences on industrial subjects at the instigation of the association. Members of the association also were instrumental in procuring a treaty in 1904 between France and Italy, whereby Italy agreed to reduce the hours in manufactories and to adequately inspect them; while France agreed to treat Italian workmen equally with French in accident insurance, and better to protect Italian children in France. The association hopes for other such treaties. The questions thus far chiefly agitated have been: child labor, the prevention of night-work for women and of the use of yellow phosphorus in the manufacture of matches. Action has been conservative, so that even countries the least industrially progressive can adopt the legislation and thus by raising their standard remove the competition of their low conditions, and therefore free more progressive countries to enact more advanced laws. National sections have been formed in Switzerland, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, Hungary, Great Britain (1906), and the U. S. (1907). The Bulletin of the association now appears in French and German and English. See AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR LABOR LEGISLATION. *Address*: International Labor Bureau, Stephen Bauer, secretary, Basel, Switzerland.

INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS: Established in 1890 by the First International Conference of American Republics, which assembled in Washington, and was presided over by James G. Blaine. It was described as a "Bureau of Information," to bring about a new era in the material relations of the American republics. But when Elihu Root became Secretary of State, he recognized that something should be done on new and broader lines to bring about closer diplomatic, commercial, and social relations between the United States and her sister American republics. It was, therefore, decided by the administration that Mr. Root should make a tour of South America and that at the Third Pan-American Conference, held in Rio de Janeiro in the summer of 1906, steps should be taken to reorganize the International Bureau and enlarge its scope and usefulness. This was done and the main purposes of the bureau are now as follows:

1. To compile and distribute commercial information and prepare commercial reports.
2. To compile and classify information respecting the treaties and conventions between the American republics and between the latter and non-American states.
3. To supply information on educational matters.
4. To prepare reports on questions assigned to it by resolutions of the International American Conferences.
5. To assist in obtaining the ratification of the resolutions and conventions adopted by the conferences.

The following shows something of the work done:

1. During the first five months of 1907 the bureau received nearly 6,000 letters from all parts of the world, asking for specific and important information, and there were sent out nearly 6,000 letters giving careful answers.
2. Aside from these, there were received over 2,000 letters requesting printed matter, and there were distributed over 60,000 bulletins, handbooks, pamphlets, and circulars.
3. Each month the bureau sends out 10,000 bulletins, of not less than 300 pages each, which contain all the latest descriptive and statistical information concerning the commerce and trade and the industrial development of the twenty-one American republics.
4. Handbooks, averaging 200 to 400 pages each, on the principal American countries have already been published or are in process of preparation, which are distributed free or at a charge covering simply the cost of printing and paper.
5. Pamphlets and circulars containing accurate information in relation to mining, immigration, tariff, and land laws, reports of consular officers, articles and addresses by diplomats or specialists about the various countries and their characteristics are published and distributed where they will do the most good.

Address: The Director, Pan-American Bureau, 2 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATIVE ALLIANCE: Organized in 1894, to further the growth and knowledge of cooperation in all countries. It has held international congresses in London (1895), Paris (1896), Delft (1897), Paris (1900), Manchester (1902), Budapest (1904). It has now 559 affiliated societies in all the main European countries, the English colonies, and the United States. *Secretary's address*: 6 Bloomsbury Square, London, W. C.

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN, THE: A federation of national councils of women, organized in Washington, D. C., 1888. It meets every five years and has held meetings at Chicago 1893, London 1899, Berlin 1904 (this meeting being followed by an International Congress of Women). Its main objects are: (1) to promote unity, mutual understanding, and trust between the women workers of all nations; (2) to provide a medium of communication; (3) to give opportunity for the women workers of all nations to unite on certain general lines of work such as they may decide on from time to time and which they believe will further the application of the Golden Rule to society, custom, and law all the world over. *President*, the Countess of Aberdeen; *secretary*, Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon, 1 Rubislaw Terrace, Aberdeen, N. S.

INTERNATIONAL STATISTICAL INSTITUTE: Established in London, 1885. Object: to compare the work and method of statistical inquiry in different States, and to deal with such objects as emigration and immigration, foreign trade, vital statistics, etc. Meetings have been held at Rome, Paris, Vienna, Chicago, Berne, St. Petersburg, Christiania, Budapest, Berlin, and London. It publishes a *Bulletin*, Rome, Italy. The membership is limited to 210. *President*, Dr. Karl Theodor von Mama-Sternegg; *General secretary*, Senator Luigi Bodio, Italian Commissioner-General of Emigration at Rome.

INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION AND PARLIAMENT, THE: An international organization composed of the members of any national legislature. It holds annual conferences to consider questions of world-wide or international importance.

Mr. Cremer, an English trade-union leader, elected to Parliament in 1885, drafted in 1887 a petition addressed to the president and Congress of the United States, and signed by 234 members of Parliament, urging the U. S. to take steps toward an arbitration treaty with Great Britain. With this he came to the U. S. and received a favorable hearing, tho immediate action was impossible, and then went to France to urge a similar treaty between France, Great Britain, and the U. S. At a meeting held to consider this, of twenty-five members of the French National Legislature and nine members of Parliament, it was voted to hold a conference during the World's Fair in Paris in 1889, to which the members of

other parliaments should be invited. On June 29, 1889, that conference was held, and 100 members were present, members of the national legislatures of France, England, Belgium, Hungary, Italy, Norway, and the U. S. On the next day, Mr. Justin R. Whiting, of St. Clair, Mich., the sole representative from the U. S. Congress, presiding, the following resolution was unanimously adopted, on motion of Marquis Pandolfi, of Italy:

"Further interparliamentary reunions shall take place each year in one of the cities of the various countries represented at the conference. The next meeting shall be at London."

Among the members were: Mr. Stanhope, Mr. Cremer, Mr. Burt, in Parliament; Jules Simon, who concluded peace between France and Germany; M. Frederic Passy and M. Bourgeois, minister for foreign affairs at Paris.

The resolution to hold periodical conferences was the vital act of that assembly. It gave birth to the Interparliamentary Union; that union has begotten the Hague Court as its first-born, and an international congress as its second child.

The union has held fourteen sessions at the principal capitals of Europe: Paris, London, Berlin, Rome, Budapest, Vienna, Brussels, The Hague, Christiania, Berne, and in 1904 at St. Louis, Mo. It has now over 2,000 members from twenty-three countries, and is becoming a world power.

It was the St. Louis conference of this union which led to the Second Hague Conference (see INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION), and at the Brussels conference of 1905, Mr. Richard Bartholdt, of St. Louis, as president of the American delegation, on Aug. 29, 1905, proposed the formation of a permanent international parliament. This was favorably received. Count Apponyi and Marquis Pandolfi advanced the idea of transforming the Interparliamentary Union into an official instead of an unofficial international house of representatives.

In Europe parliaments have had little power over international relations, and this step will give them more power. That such an international parliament will be formed is considered certain, the only question being as to its form and powers.

At a special session of the union held in London in 1906, a commission reported in favor of converting the Second Hague Conference into a permanent body to convene periodically and upon its own motion; second, in favor of the codification of the law of nations; and third, for the granting of jurisdiction to international courts of arbitration, for such classes of controversies as are included in treaties of arbitration. Mr. Bartholdt made a motion in favor of national appropriations in aid of international arbitration which met with some opposition in the executive council, but was passed enthusiastically by the conference. A motion by Congressman John S. Williams in favor of the payment of fixed salaries to the members of the Hague Court could not be acted upon, but was well received. Mr. William J. Bryan crystallized the thought of the conference in favor of a treaty of arbitration including in its field pecuniary claims. The commission had thought best to leave this out. But when Mr. Bryan had finished the conference was a unit on this point, on the question of converting the Second Hague Conference into a permanent body, and in favor of a treaty of arbitration granting the Hague Court the right to try and finally to determine all such questions as are specified in the treaty of arbitration, and the right to try in the first instance all questions of fact, the parties being at liberty to appeal from the decision of the court in the questions not specified as arbitrable.

Baron d'Estournelles introduced the following resolution, which was adopted:

> The Interparliamentary Conference believes that the increase of naval and military expenses which already weighs heavily upon the world is universally recognized as intolerable, and therefore expresses the wish that the question of limitation of armaments be placed on the program of the forthcoming conference at The Hague.

IRELAND: Claimed as a portion of the United Kingdom since its conquest by the English in the twelfth century, but with its own Parliament until 1801.

I. Statistics

The area of Ireland is 32,360 sq. m., with a population (1905) of 4,391,543, a decrease since 1901 of 67,232. The number of emigrants from Ireland in 1903 was 40,659. From 1851 to 1903 the emigrants were 2,058,907 males and 1,902,104 females.

The number of inhabited houses was 858,158 in 1901, a decrease of 12,420, or 1.4 per cent. The country is divided into four provinces. The chief cities are: Dublin, pop. 290,638; Belfast, 349,180; Cork, 76,122; Limerick, 38,151; Londonderry, 39,892.

Of the population 3,308,661, or 74.2 per cent, are Roman Catholics (a decrease of 6.7 per cent since 1891); 13.03 per cent are Episcopalians, and 10 per cent are Presbyterians and Methodists.

According to "The Banking and Railway Statistics, Ireland, for 1905," deposits and cash balances in joint stock banks steadily increased from £29,370,000 on Dec. 31, 1885, to £45,432,000, 1905, tho £683,000 less than that for Dec. 31, 1904. Estimated balances in post-office savings-banks increased from £2,438,000 on Dec. 31, 1885, to £10,230,000 on Dec. 31, 1905. Deposits in trustee savings-banks increased from £1,081,000 in 1885 to £2,462,000 in 1905. There are 2,734 miles of railway.

According to the report of the Irish Land Commissioners (1906), from Aug. 1, 1881, to March 31, 1906, there had been 360,135 judicial rents fixt for a first statutory term, with an average reduction of 20.7 per cent.; 70,803 cases had been dismissed; 120,215 cases had been fixt for a second statutory term, with an average reduction of 19.9 per cent on first-term rents, and 17,737 cases had been dismissed.

Under the Land Purchase Act of 1881 there had been 731 advances to tenants amounting to £240,801; under the acts of 1885–88, 25,367 advances amounting to £9,992,536; under the acts 1891–96, 46,398 advances amounting to £13,096,386. Under the 1903 Land Act there had been 5,300 applications, representing £991,553, of which 4,468 were provisionally sanctioned to the amount of £826,220, and 45 applications had been dismissed. The Estates Commissioners reported that from Nov. 1, 1903, to March 31, 1905, the applications for advances had been received from 3,596 estates.

II. Government

The chief executive in Ireland is the Viceroy or Lord Lieutenant (the Earl of Aberdeen), assisted by a Chief Secretary, the Lord Chancellor of

Ireland, the Attorney-General, and a Privy Council. The Lord Lieutenant has charge of the Irish Constabulary and is responsible for the peace. The Chief Secretary is Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, but also as Chief Secretary for Ireland is directly responsible to the House of Commons for the acts of the Irish Administration. There is also a separate Local Government Board, a Board of Public Works (the main financial agent of the government), a Board of Trade, a Board of National Education, and a Department of Agriculture and other industries and technical instruction, created in 1899. (Vice-President of this board, the Rt. Hon. Horace Plunkett.)

For the policy of the Department of Agriculture, see special article, IRISH AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT.

Ireland is represented in the Parliament of the United Kingdom by 28 representative peers and 103 members elected by 691,423 electors. The present Irish members of Parliament (1907) are, 82 Nationalists, 15 Conservatives, 3 Liberals, and 3 Liberal Unionists.

County Councils are established for every administrative district, the members being elected by popular suffrage. Municipal Corporations and Rural District Councils complete the local administrative powers.

III. Social Reform

Social reform in Ireland is inextricably bound up with the past. Divided from early times between warring kings and numerous clans, Ireland was easily conquered by the English under Henry II. in the twelfth century, altho the subjection was long only nominal. When Henry VIII. attempted to introduce Protestantism into the island there were repeated revolts, ending in suppression and the bestowal of the lands of the rebellious chiefs among Scotch and English Protestants.

History

In 1641 the Irish rose in revolt and massacred the Protestants, but were severely punished by Cromwell in 1649, and Protestants were established in the confiscated lands of Ulster. At the Revolution, the Irish Catholics siding with James II., and the Protestants with William and Mary, the struggle ended in 1692, when the triumph of the Orange Party again was accompanied by excessive punishment. Secret revolutionary societies existed still, and a serious revolt occurred in 1798. In 1801, however, the Irish Parliament voted the final union with Great Britain, and Ireland's Parliament ceased to sit. Emmet's insurrection was easily suppresst in 1803, but the emancipation of the Roman Catholic Church had to be granted in 1829, and the "tithe war" compromised in 1838. O'Connell's agitation for repeal collapsed in 1843, and the revolution of 1848 was put down. But the Fenian Brotherhood arose in 1858, with, it was claimed, 80,000 adherents in the United States. Riots could be suppresst, but agitation went on. In 1869 the Irish (Anglican) Church was disestablished. In 1870 the land question developed. In 1873 the Home Rule Party was developed. For this, see special article, IRISH HOME RULE.

Until recently this movement has left little opportunity for the development of social reform on other lines. Michael Davitt (*q. v.*) alone of the prominent Irish leaders was an out-and-out land nationalizer. Trade-unionism began early in Ireland, but died out in the famine years. In 1894 an Irish Trade-Union Congress was held and twelve congresses have followed, attended (1906) by some 100 delegates, representing 80,000.

The creation of the Agricultural and Technical Instruction Department has secured the appointment of women factory inspectors, and induced every important public body in Ireland to adopt the Fair Wages Clause. Now it is agitating works committees in place of contractors.

There are Labor groups on the Dublin Corporation and in most other towns. At the first council elections, in 1899, Cork returned no fewer than twelve Labor men, several of them defeating official Nationalist League candidates.

Cooperation has had some little development. (See COOPERATION; on other points, see TEMPERANCE; MODEL VILLAGES, etc.)

A new Nationalist movement has now arisen in connection with the revival of the Gaelic language and literature. A Gaelic Union was formed in the eighties and in 1893 the Gaelic League. Today it has 300 branches in Ireland and several in England, including one with 3,000 members in London. Its *Simple Lessons* are subscribed for by 150,000 people.

The Irish Industries movement is practically a branch of the League work. It aims at both securing preference for the use of "home-made" manufactures and the improvement of their quality. Its annual exhibition of Irish-made goods in London, starting a few years ago in a very small way, has grown to the great "Aonac," or fair, held Nov. 1st to 3d at the Westminster Horticultural Hall. A permanent London center for the sale of Irish goods and literature had just previously been opened at 26 Ludgate Hill. The League has several organs, notably *Sinn Fein* (We Ourselves); *The Leader* (Dublin), a weekly review of literature, art, and industries, which has ably engineered the industrial revival; and the *Irish Peasant*.

The most significant features of the movement are that it tends to unite north and south, and that it bases its nationalism on an enthusiasm for self-development, rather than mere political antagonisms, altho it is not less, but indeed more nationalist than the Parliamentarian Party.

IRISH AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT: When a new government, with new ideas upon the Irish problem, is on the eve of what is apparently destined to be a long spell of power, the time is apt for a sort of national stock-taking, so that we can fix a point from which to measure the ground gained or lost during the next few years. Such a stock-taking cannot, of course, be attempted here, but a few of the salient facts—facts of the kind that count in summing up a nation's progress or decline—may be mentioned; and those who keep their eye on the aspect of Ireland represented by these facts will, in my judgment, get an adequate notion of the real position of the country.

Regarding, as I do, the willingness of Irishmen to take their own tasks upon their own shoulders as the only true criterion of their true progress, I turn first to the cooperative movement, inaugurated fourteen years ago. By this movement Irish farmers were awakened to the fact that the

agricultural wealth of the country was being exploited by outsiders, and that the Irish producer was being reduced to the position of the man who did the hardest work and who got the smallest reward. They were bidden to organize themselves for distributive as well as for productive purposes, and, as time went on, for some purposes not directly agricultural at all but auxiliary to a well-balanced rural economy. The task of getting a hearing for these doctrines—a task of which I have given some account in my "Ireland in the New Century," was no easy one; but the fact that we are able, after fourteen years of work, to point to a body of 862 cooperative societies, scattered thickly over the whole map of Ireland, and comprising a membership of over 90,000, is sufficient evidence that the seeds of cooperative enterprise fell on good soil.

Most of the societies are for dairy work, others are agricultural; rural banks of the Raiffeisen system have had a most gratifying and valuable success, and now number 236; and societies for dealing in poultry and eggs, in honey, and, more lately, in products of cottage industry, such as the artistic handicrafts, are showing themselves vigorous branches from the main stem. The influence of all these societies in the training of mind and character is probably their most important function, from the point of view of the founders of industrial cooperation. New interests, new ambitions, are necessarily awakened by the sight of the new horizons which are at once opened out when the man who often was practically a mere field laborer (whether he owned his fields or not) became a member of a business organization, dealing both in the fruits of his labor and in the materials for their production, and helping him to dispose of the first and to acquire the second on terms he had never dreamt of before.

Agriculture

In this way it is clear that the work done in extending the cooperative movement over rural Ireland formed an admirable preparation for the introduction of the technical instruction in agriculture and the allied industries, facilities for which were almost wholly lacking in Ireland until the foundation, in 1899, of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction. This department, it may be observed, is not a bureaucratic institution, working independently of the cooperation of the people for whose sake it exists. It has to submit its plans to councils so constituted that members elected by the local government bodies are in a considerable majority; and the cooperation of the local government bodies themselves (county and urban councils) is essential to the working of the various schemes. The results of about six years of work in the direction of establishing schemes of technical instruction (agricultural and industrial) may be judged from the following details:

In 1900–1, out of 33 counties in Ireland, there were 3 employing trained instructors in agriculture; now (1905–6) there are 22. There were 3 employing instructors in poultry-keeping; there are now 30, and we have 506 stations for distributing settings of eggs of pure breeds. One county employed itinerant instructors in butter-making; 24 do so at present. In horticulture, none were taking part, and now we have 21. Experimental and demonstration plots for showing the results of various methods of manuring, tillage, etc., have risen from nil to 2,475.

In fifty-three of the urban centers in Ireland, technical schools have been established by the department where none existed before, and over 8,000 pupils are receiving instruction in them. In addition, a large number of day secondary schools have added technical instruction to their curriculum and have been aided to equip laboratories for this purpose. The total number of pupils attending technical schools and classes of all kinds in urban centers in 1905–6 was over 20,000. In 1901–2 there were about 1,300.

Technical Instruction

These results are satisfactory. They testify amply to the willingness of the Irish people to adapt themselves and their industries to modern conditions. They would be much more striking were it not for two deficiencies, both of which I hope we are to see gradually remedied—lack of trained teachers and lack of funds.

I have elsewhere defined it as the purpose of the department "to assist in developing our agricultural and industrial life by providing practical education for the rising generation, and by assisting our workers by means of useful information and technical advice, illustrated and enforced, wherever necessary, by practical demonstration."

It is not a showy program, but it is, I believe, sound foundation work for the future. It does not aim at doing things for Ireland so much as at putting Ireland in the way of doing them for herself. The key-stone of our system is the preservation of self-respect and the sense of personal responsibility among the people. If we can win on these lines it will be a victory indeed. If not, I fear that no other program of work could afford anything better than some temporary disguise of Ireland's failure to hold her own under the conditions of modern life and work.

Horace Plunkett,
Vice-President of Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, Dublin.

IRISH HOME RULE: An effort begun in 1870 to secure for Ireland the right of legislation for herself in a parliament of her own. It is averred that in 1155 Pope Hadrian handed Ireland over to Henry II. as an English dependency, in consideration that some of the revenue should go to the Holy See. From that time to the Act of Union (1800) England asserted through Irish wars and in continual claims, a right to govern Ireland. For many years, however, Ireland had her own parliament, till in 1800 it was cajoled or bribed into its own destruction, and the Act of Union made no recognition of the Irish nationality. In 1834 O'Connell (*q. v.*) commenced his agitation to have the Act of Union repealed, but this movement failed in 1848.

After years of desultory agitation and Fenian conspiracies, Gladstone in 1869 carried through Parliament a bill for Church disestablishment in Ireland and gave hope of land reforms.

In 1870 a "Home Government Association of Ireland" was formed in Dublin by Irishmen of various religious and political beliefs. Its object was declared to be "the obtaining of a distinct parliament for Ireland to regulate her internal affairs, while leaving to the Imperial Parliament all questions affecting the colonies, foreign relations, and the stability of the empire.

Constitutional agitation began, and in the bye elections several Home Rulers were elected to Parliament, including the main leader of the

movement, Isaac Butt. In 1873 the organization became the Irish Home Rule League, and in 1874 sixty Home Rulers were elected to Parliament, who on Irish questions acted as an independent party. In 1875 Parnell was elected to the House of Commons, and by his policy of obstruction occasioned widespread discussion of Irish questions. In 1879 Butt died, and Parnell became president of the Irish Land League, and the land question was made the main issue. In 1880 there were 68 Home Rulers elected, but in 1881 Parnell's radicalism caused William Shaw, who had succeeded Butt, to withdraw from the Home Rule Party. The Irish National League was formed in 1881, under Parnell's lead, combining the aims of the Home Rulers and of the Land League. In 1885 the "Nationalists" returned 85 out of 103 Irish representatives to Parliament, and held the balance of power.

Government without the Nationalists seemed impossible. In 1886 Gladstone brought in his famous Home Rule Bill. Parnell accepted the bill, but many Liberals refused to follow. They took the name of Liberal Unionists and, allied with the Conservatives, defeated the bill, 343 to 313 (93 Liberals voting against it). In this election the Conservatives and Unionists gained a majority of 113, tho the Home Rulers elected 84 members out of 103. Home rule became a burning question. In 1890–91 Parnell was named as corespondent in a divorce case. Gladstone requested Parnell to withdraw from the leadership of his party, and on his declining, a large number of his followers were alienated. Parnell died in 1891, and Justin McCarthy was chosen leader, but dissension was continued. In 1892 the Liberals gained a majority of 40, and in 1893 Gladstone introduced another home rule bill. It was carried, 301 to 267, but was thrown out by the House of Lords. Gladstone resigned and Lord Rosebery formed a ministry, nominally but not actively in favor of home rule. It lasted till 1895 when the Conservatives came into power.

The Home Rulers being divided and the Liberals doubtful, the government tried to meet the question by a land purchase act, and, in 1894, by a local government bill. (See IRELAND.)

The Boer War seemed to revive the Irish National cause, and in 1900 the warring factions united, elected John E. Redmond as their leader and elected 81 Nationalists to Parliament, with a program of blocking legislation till their claims were heard.

In 1905 the Nationalist Congress at Dublin was attended by 2,500 delegates.

The proceedings at the Nationalist Convention held in Dublin, Dec. 6, 1905, were attended by about 2,500 delegates from branches of the United Irish League, and were made specially interesting by the political situation in England. The following resolution was carried unanimously: "That this convention adopts and reaffirms the motion moved by Mr. J. Redmond in the House of Commons on Feb. 20, 1905, namely, 'That the present system of government in Ireland is in opposition to the will of the Irish people and gives them no voice in the management of their own affairs; that the system is consequently ineffective and extravagantly costly, does not enjoy the confidence of any section of the population, is productive of universal discontent and unrest, and has proved to be incapable of satisfactorily promoting the material and intellectual progress of the people'; that the whole Liberal Party, by voting for that resolution, pledged themselves as a party in the most solemn way to undertake at the earliest practicable moment the removal of the monstrous system so condemned, and the substitution in its place of a system of government giving to the Irish people power to manage the affairs of Ireland; and we hereby solemnly assert that no new system of government for Ireland will be accepted as satisfactory or will prove effective except a legislative assembly, freely elected and representative of the people, with power to make laws for Ireland, and an executive government responsible to that assembly; and this convention declares that the Irish National Party cannot enter into alliance with or give permanent support to any English party or government which does not make the question of granting such an assembly and executive to Ireland a cardinal point in its program.

In the general election in Dec., 1906, there were elected 83 Nationalists. An overwhelming majority of the House of Commons is pledged to some form of home rule. A small but influential section of the Unionist Party seems inclined to accept the situation frankly. Even Ulster sends a minority of Unionists to Parliament.

Many believe that the day of Irish home rule is at hand.

REFERENCES: McCarthy, *The Case for Home Rule* (1887); Dicey, *England's Case against Home Rule* (1887); Gladstone, *Special Aspects of the Irish Question* (1890); Pollok, *Home Rule and Imperial Sovereignty* (1890); *Reformers' Year Book Annual.*

IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY: This industry, owing to its importance in itself, in the number of men employed, capital invested, and value of product, and also owing to the relation of its product to very many other industries, occupies a foremost place in economic importance. We have been said to be living in an age of steel. In its large relations it is, however, a modern industry, tho iron was known and manufactured in rude ways in ancient times. But the process of puddling and rolling, invented by Henry Colt in 1784, the employment of the hot blast by Neilson, of Glasgow, in 1830, and, above all, the introduction of the Bessemer process of making steel (patented in 1856) have revolutionized the iron industry.

In the United States a foundry blast-furnace was established at Lynn, Mass., in 1643. Iron had been manufactured in Virginia before this. Connecticut made steel in 1656. By 1750, however, Pennsylvania led, exporting 2,358 tons of iron in 1772. The first iron foundry at Pittsburg was established in 1803. In 1840 the introduction of bituminous and anthracite coal in the blast-furnace wholly changed the industry. The manufacture of charcoal iron has since declined in Pennsylvania. In 1860 there were 652 establishments engaged in this industry. Bessemer steel was first manufactured in any quantity in the U. S. in 1867. The Siemens-Martin or open-hearth process appeared in 1869.

GROWTH OF IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY IN THE U. S.

	No. of establishments	Value of product	Exports	Imports
1850.....	.....	.....	$1,953,702	$20,145,067
1860.....	.....	.....	5,870,114	26,158,235
1870.....	808	$207,208,696	13,483,163	40,273,682
1880.....	1,005	296,567,685	14,716,524	71,266,699
1890.....	719	478,687,519	25,542,208	41,679,591
1900.....	669	804,034,918	121,913,548	20,478,728
1905.....	641	941,071,093	134,728,363	23,510,164
1906.....	.....	.....	160,984,985	29,053,987

The growth of the industry in the U. S. seems almost without limit.

The U. S. has for some years produced more pig iron than any other country in the world. In 1870 its production was only 1,833,000 tons, but by 1890 it had an annual output of 8,845,000 tons and had wrested first place from Great Brit-

TONNAGE PRODUCTION IN THE U. S.

[From the annual reports of the American Iron and Steel Association]

ARTICLES	1902	1903	1904	1905
	Tons[1]	Tons[1]	Tons[1]	Tons[1]
Pig iron	17,821,307	18,009,252	16,497,033	22,992,380
Finished iron and steel:				
Total rolled, including both nail plate and rails	13,944,116	13,207,697	12,013,381	16,840,015
Nails[2]	12,616,008	11,067,554	17,210,023	12,212,441
Rails:				
Bessemer steel	2,935,392	2,946,756	2,137,957	3,192,347
Open-hearth steel	6,029	45,054	145,883	183,264
Iron	6,512	667	871	312
Total	2,947,933	2,992,477	2,284,711	3,375,923
Steel ingots and castings:				
Bessemer	9,138,363	8,592,829	7,859,140	10,941,375
Open hearth	5,687,729	5,829,911	5,908,166	8,971,376
Crucible	112,772	102,434	83,391	102,233
All other	8,386	9,804	9,190	8,963
Total crude steel	14,947,250	14,534,978	13,859,887	20,023,947
Ore, pig, and scrap blooms for sale	12,002	9,940	5,743	12,750
Tin plates and terneplates	360,000	480,000	458,208	493,500

[1] Of 2,240 pounds. [2] Kegs of 100 pounds.

ain, and in 1905 it produced 22,992,380 tons, against Great Britain's 9,593,000 tons and Germany's 10,700,000. But in the production of steel there has been still greater growth relative to other countries. The U. S. produced in 1870 only 68,750 tons of crude steel; in 1880, 1,247,335; in 1900, 10,188,329; and in 1905, 20,023,947, surpassing the combined product of Great Britain, Germany, France, and Belgium. The U. S. Steel Corporation, organized with a capitalization of $1,000,000,000, shows the importance of this industry. It had (1904) 149 steel works, with an annual capacity of 9,000,000 tons of finished work; 78 blast-furnaces, with a capacity of 6,500,000 tons of pig iron; 18,000 coke-furnaces, 71,000 acres of coal lands, 30,000 acres in the coke region, 70 per cent of the ore-mines of Lake Superior, 125 large vessels on the lakes; its employees number over 100,000.

United States

One of its most recent extensions is Gary, the "model town" of the Indiana Steel Company, an auxiliary of the U. S. Steel Trust. Of 6,000 acres on the southern shores of Lake Michigan, 1,300 acres will be occupied by the works, the remainder by the work-people; 15,000 men and boys will be ultimately employed. The plant will be capable of handling 5,000,000 tons of ore per annum, with its equivalent of 2,500,000 tons of steel, an amount approximately equal to the entire output of France or Russia. It will include everything required for dealing with ore to finished products, including 16 blast-furnaces, 84 open-hearth steel-furnaces of 60 tons capacity, and the usual mills for slabbing and blooming; billet, rail, and plate mills, rolled sections, and merchant mills. In 1905 the trust produced 44.2 per cent of the U. S. product of pig iron and 60.2 of steel ingots.

WORLD PRODUCT

In thousands of metric tons

	Pig Iron			Steel		
	1890	1905	Per head, 1905	1890	1905	Per head, 1905
United States	9,203	23,340	0.28	4,270	20,354	0.24
Germany[1]	4,576	10,987	0.18	2,196	10,666	0.17
United Kingdom	7,904	9,746	0.22	3,579	5,983	0.14
France	1,990	3,077	0.08	672	2,110	0.05
Russia[2]	988	2,125	0.02	369	1,650	0.11
Austria-Hungary	950	1,372	0.03	492	1,180	0.02
Belgium	775	1,310	0.18	242	1,023	0.16
Sweden	490	538	0.10	165	358	0.07
Spain	261	383	0.02	74	237	0.01
Canada	20	475	0.08	...	403	0.06
Italy	23	31	0.00	115	117	0.00
Other countries	625	655	...	....	23	....
Total	.....	39,590	...	.....	43,900	....

[1] Including Luxemburg. [2] Excluding Finland.

One of the characteristics of the iron and steel industry is the economy of large production, and therefore its consolidation in large plants. The foregoing table shows a lessening number of establishments in the U. S. In 1900, of the 10,685,000 tons of steel manufactured in the U. S., 6,431,000 came from Pennsylvania, 1,813,000 from Ohio, and 1,961,000 from Illinois. In the U. S. in 1905 10,941,375 tons of steel were manufactured by the Bessemer process and 8,971,376 by the open-hearth. In Germany about two thirds of the product is Bessemer; in Great Britain two thirds of the product was by the open-hearth.

The iron industry has seen many contests between employers and employees. (See STRIKES; HOMESTEAD STRIKE.) Labor organization in this industry in the U. S. commenced with the Sons of Vulcan, organized in 1858; but the great organization has been the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers (*q. v.*), dating from 1874.

In England the Friendly Society of Iron Founders (Molders) is the oldest large trade-union in England still existent, having been organized in 1809. It had, in 1904, 18,248 members, and is a leading union of the older friendly society type. The Associated Society of Iron and Steel Workers, established in 1862, had, in 1904, 11,031 members, and is best known for its steady advocacy of the sliding scale (*q. v.*). The more progressive British Steel Smelters' Association, established in 1886, originally a Scotch union, is extending all over the kingdom. The Associated Iron Molders of Scotland, established in 1831, had, in 1904, 7,536 members. The United Society of Boiler Makers and Iron Shipbuilders, established the next year, had, in 1890, 32,926 members.

Trade-Unions

In Germany in 1904 the unions in the metal and engineering trades had 47,307 members—more than those in any other branch of industry.

REFERENCES: *The United States in the Twentieth Century*, by Leroy Beaulieu (1904); *The Romance of Steel*, by H. N. Casson (a series of articles in *Munsey's Magazine*, 1907.

IRONS, MARTIN: Knight of Labor; born Dundee, Scotland, 1832. Came to the United States in 1846 friendless and penniless, and be-

came apprentice in a machine-shop. Gradually accumulating his earnings he opened a grocery store in New Orleans, but failing, returned to his trade in Lexington, Ky. In 1885 he joined the Knights of Labor. As chairman of the Executive Board of D. A. No. 101, K. of L., he ordered and led the great railroad strike of 1886 on the Gould system (see STRIKES). The strike failed, and after various struggles Irons died in want and suffering near Waco, Texas, 1901.

IRRIGATION: American irrigation is so old that its history fades away in dim tradition. Centuries before the Norsemen landed upon the shores of New England a dense population dwelt in the hot valleys of the far Southwest. From the solid rock, with primitive tools, they cut canals along the mountain sides, and hewed blocks for many-chambered palaces which they erected in the desert or on the ledges of deep river cañons. In the voiceless ruins of these buildings and in their many miles of canals and ditches may almost be read the story of another Egypt—a people toiling in the burning sun of the semitropical desert, laboriously executing the commands of an American Pharaoh.

Even in less remote periods, when the Spanish explorer Coronado swept up the Colorado River, venturing as far as Kansas, he found in New Mexico a gentle race of Indians, dwelling in pueblos and irrigating their little fields and orchards as their forefathers had done, perhaps, since the days of Abraham. In the early settlement of California by the Spaniards, the good padres introduced irrigation, utilizing the mountain streams to make fertile the desert patches. Pushing on rapidly we find twenty-five or thirty years ago a network of irrigation canals and ditches with thriving communities of Anglo-Saxons producing abundant crops from the parched soil. This development was almost coincident with the invasion of Utah by the Mormons, who practised irrigation with great success.

But the question of water-rights soon became a vexed one. Men who had, for years, utilized the waters of a stream suddenly found its flow diminishing owing to the settlement of other irrigators at its head waters. Thus began an agitation for national irrigation and the building of great canals and storage dams which would supply water enough for all.

History

The eastern part of the United States knew but little of the subject. That the general government should enter into irrigation construction for the benefit of private parties, even new settlers, was looked upon by many as an entirely too paternalistic scheme. All attempts to secure government appropriations for irrigation met with stubborn opposition and defeat. In 1898 the National Irrigation Association was formed. An aggressive campaign was begun at once to educate the people of the country to the great national benefits which the country as a whole would derive from government assistance to irrigation. Irrigation conventions were held, an extensive newspaper campaign of education was carried on, business men were organized—they were quick to see the trade advantages of creating a multitude of new homes on the land—and finally such a favorable sentiment was created that a few congressmen undertook to secure the passage of an irrigation law. Senator Newlands of Nevada (then a representative) worked out a plan which from a constitutional standpoint met the opposition of the strict constructionists, President Roosevelt contributed his hearty support and powerful influence, and after a hard fight a law was passed June 17, 1902.

The principal features of this law are briefly:

Present Law

First. A reclamation fund in the treasury, consisting of the proceeds from the sales of public lands in the sixteen arid and semiarid states and territories.

Second. A reclamation service to investigate and report on the irrigation projects for the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, who may authorize construction and let contracts, providing the money is available in the fund.

Third. The return to the fund of the actual cost of each project by the sale of water-rights, payments to be made in a series of instalments running over a period of ten years.

Fourth. The holding of public lands for actual settlers under the Homestead Act, in small farm units sufficient to support a family; no commutation to be permitted.

Fifth. The sale of water-rights to private landowners, but not for more than 160 acres, making land monopoly impossible and forcing the division of large estates.

Sixth. The ultimate turning over to the people of the irrigation works, except the reservoirs, to be operated and managed by them under a system of home rule. The actual users of the water in ten years after the completion of the works will have repaid to the government the amount of its loan without interest. The money so returned may again and again be expended on other works.

The reclamation fund has at its disposal now about $40,000,000. It has made exhaustive surveys of about forty great irrigation projects, distributed throughout the arid region, which comprizes over one third of the area of the U. S. and it has made preliminary surveys and reconnoissances of many more. Several projects have been already in part completed, and the rush of settlers to acquire the land for homes has indicated the remarkable success of this government venture. Cautious statesmen feared that when the government works were completed there would be difficulty in getting settlers to take the land and pay back the cost of the construction to the government. Enough work has already been done to amply disprove this theory. It is the opinion of experts that with $400,000,000 instead of $40,000,000 in the reclamation fund, there would be a steady and overwhelming demand for government irrigated lands, as fast as it could be made available.

Briefly the work of the reclamation service to 1907 may be summarized as follows:

The government has dug 1,267 miles of canals, or nearly the distance from Washington to Omaha. Some of these canals carry whole rivers, like the Truckee River in Nevada and the North Platte in Wyoming. The tunnels excavated are 47 in number, and have an aggregate length of 9½ miles. The service has erected 94 large structures, including the great dams in Nevada and the Minidoka dam in Idaho, 80 feet high and 650 feet long. It has completed 670 head works, flumes, etc. It has built 376 miles of wagon road in mountainous country and into heretofore inaccessible regions. It has erected and in operation 727 miles of telephones. Its own cement mill has manufactured 70,000 barrels of cement, and the purchased amount is 312,000 barrels. Its own sawmills have cut 3,036,000 feet board-measure of lumber, and 6,540,000 feet have been purchased. The surveying parties of the service have completed topographic surveys covering 10,970 sq. m., an area greater than the combined areas of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. The transit lines had a length of 18,900 linear miles, while the level lines run amount to 24,218 miles, or nearly sufficient to go around the earth.

The diamond drillings for dam sites and canals amount to 47,515 feet, or more than 9 miles. To-day the service owns and has at work 1,154 horses and mules. It operates 9 locomotives, 223 cars and 23 miles of railroad, 39 stationary engines and 27 steam-engines. It has constructed and is operating 5 electric-light plants. This work has been carried on with the following force: Classified service, 380, including Washington office; laborers employed directly by the government, 3,500; laborers employed by contractors, 6,100, or a total of all forces of 10,000. The expenditures now total nearly $1,000,000 per month. As a result of the operations of the reclamation service eight new towns have been es-

tablished, 100 miles of branch railroads have been constructed, and 10,000 people have taken up their residence in the desert.

And all this is but a very moderate start. The waters of Western rivers which now run to waste would reclaim, if stored and utilized, in the neighborhood of 75,000,000 acres, according to government engineering estimates. To eventually reclaim such a vast empire will cost probably, on an average, from $30 to $50 per acre. The greatness of this entire undertaking, therefore, is far beyond anything which has ever been accomplished or even projected by any government.

Results

The unique feature of such a development is that the actual cost to the government is really nothing, as the money expended all comes back into the reclamation fund, and when the last acre is reclaimed will be covered back into the federal treasury. The reclamation fund amounts to a loan by the government without interest.

The rapidity with which the government has carried on its irrigation work is regarded as phenomenal. British engineers from India, where England has spent some $200,000,000 in building irrigation works, have expressed the utmost astonishment and surprise at the rapid progress which our engineers have made.

The future possibilities of American irrigation are almost beyond intelligent comprehension and they bid fair to constitute an important factor in maintaining our agricultural equilibrium. While the Eastern farm unit is comparatively large, under irrigation and intensive cultivation, a very small tract of land will support a family in comfort. Many of the irrigated farms of the West are twenty, ten, five acres, and even less, and those best calculated to judge accurately, state that the western half of the U. S., which now has a population of less than 10,000,000, is capable of supporting, in comfort, an additional population of at least 50,000,000 people. All in all, American irrigation looms up as one of the very greatest influences for civilization and internal development of the present century.

For more complete history of irrigation in the U. S., see "Irrigation," by F. H. Newell, and "The Conquest of Arid America," by Wm. E. Smythe.

GUY ELLIOTT MITCHELL.

ITALY: A kingdom since 1861, when the first Italian Parliament elected Victor Emanuel II., of Sardinia, King of Italy, tho the province of Rome was not annexed till 1870.

I. Statistics

Area 110,550 sq. m.; population (1904) 33,346,514. The population of Italy is very homogeneous. Exceptions are 80,200 of French origin; 11,400 Teutonic; 90,000 Albanian; 31,200 Greek; 9,800 Spanish; and 30,000 Slav.

In 1901 the population over fifteen years was 21,318,495—7,534,346 single; 11,686,715 married; 2,097,434 widowed. Of the whole population 57.6 per cent were single; 36 per cent married; 6.5 per cent widowed.

It is difficult to make a clear distinction between rural and urban population, because in northern Italy the peasants live scattered, while in the southern part they live in villages. In 1901 11 communes with over 100,000 had a population of 3,208,095; 23 between 50,000 and 100,000 had 1,514,579; 52 between 30,000 and 50,000 had 1,988,764; 76 between 20,000 and 30,000 had 1,790,747; 88 between 15,000 and 20,000 had 1,521,340.

Principal cities: Rome (1904), 489,965 population; Naples, 550,369; Milan, 520,600; Turin, 335,656; Palermo, 309,694; Genoa, 234,710; Florence, 205,589; Bologna, 152,009; Venice, 151,840.

Marriages, 1905, 255,873; births, 1,084,518—legitimate, 1,025,663; illegitimate and exposed, 58,855; deaths (exclusive of still-born), 730,340; surplus of births, 354,178. (See MARRIAGE; BIRTH- AND DEATH-RATES.) Italy has lost largely by emigration: 533,245 in 1901, 726,331 in 1905, and 787,977 in 1906. The relative majority of the emigrants in 1901 went to European countries, in 1905 to the United States—the figures being: 244,298 *and* 121,139; 266,982 *and* 316,797 respectively. Paraguay and Brazil had the next largest percentage, the former 88,840 and the latter 30,079 in 1905. The department of Venice lost (1905) 3.25 per cent of its total population; that of the Abruzzi and Molise, 4.07; and that of Calabria, 4.43. The whole kingdom lost in 1906—2.36 per cent of its population.

RELIGION.—Roman Catholicism is the religion of more than 97 per cent of the population. The hierarchy numbers—aside from the pontiff and the cardinals—50 archbishops, 216 bishops. In 1901 the number of parishes was 20,707; of secular clergy, 68,844; of regulars (monks, nuns, and lay brothers), 48,043; sacristans, etc., 12,129. All religious houses were suppress in 1866, tho a small pension was given to all who had taken regular religious vows before Jan. 18, 1864, and a few monasteries were temporarily set aside for such as wished to continue conventual life. All other property was appropriated by the State. The constitution enacts that the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion is the sole religion of the State. By a royal decree of 1870, Rome and the Roman provinces were declared an integral part of the kingdom of Italy; the Pope was acknowledged supreme head of the Church, ranking as a sovereign prince. There was guaranteed to him and his successors forever the Vatican and Lateran palaces and the Castle Gandolfo, with 3,225,000 lire annually, which allowance still remains unclaimed and unpaid.

The Church of Rome

The State grants freedom of service and conscience to other religions; the small body of 22,500 Waldensians are more active than ever, and several Protestant denominations are doing mission work. About 30,000 Protestants belong to foreign bodies. There are, moreover, 35,617 Jews; 36,092 agnostics and atheists; and 795,276, or 2.45 per cent, unknown.

EDUCATION.—The State regulates public instruction, and no person can keep a school without State authorization. Compulsory, universal education is of recent date in Italy. Before unification education was mainly left to the Church, which did but little. In 1862 the percentage of illiterates over twenty years of age was, for *men*, 65.5; *women*, 81.5; in 1901, 43.8 and 60.4 respectively. The percentage of illiterate conscripts decreased from 47.7 in 1881 to 31.3 in 1904. In 1901 the largest percentage of illiterates over six years was, in Calabria, 78.7; the Islands, 70.4; South Italy, 69.7; Middle Italy, 51.5; Upper Italy, 28.3; the smallest in Piedmont, 17.7. The attendance at elementary schools from 1865 to 1905 increased from 1,000,000 to 2,733,000, or 121 per cent. Illiterates born after 1885 are unable to enlist in the army and to vote for deputies; or—if born after 1890—to carry on any business under police supervision. Evening- and Sunday-schools for illiterate adults are established. The school age limit—from six to nine—has been increased to six to twelve in the majority of communes since 1904.

The present system of education provides for: (1) elementary instruction; (2) secondary instruction—classical; (3) secondary instruction—technical; (4) higher education. The system is based largely on that of Germany with elementary schools, gymnasia, the so-called technical schools and institutes partly analogous to real-schulen, and universities. In 1899 the total expenditure for education was 68,440,830 lire for elementary instruction alone. Technical education has developed rapidly. (See EDUCATION, TECHNICAL EDUCATION, and UMANITARIA.) In 1907 the State budget assigned 66,189,273 lire for education.

OCCUPATION.—The majority of Italians live in the country or small villages. Excluding children under nine years, the principal occupations in 1901 were: Agriculture, forestry, and cattle-raising, 9,611,003 people; clothing and adornment, 1,113,843; textile industries, 783,253; rentiers (i. e., people living on incomes), 600,752; building, 564,798; domestic service, 482,080; dependents, 8,355,773. Total (including scattered), 25,386,507.

The number of *proprietors* in 1901 was: total, 4,110,133; of lands, 1,045,113; of buildings, 823,442; of both, 2,241,578.

Industries

Land is largely divided, tho large estates exist in many sections. Peasant proprietorship prevails in Piedmont and Liguria; partnership between the proprietor and cultivator, especially on the form of the *mezzadria*, where profits and losses are equally divided between the two, prevails in Tuscany, Umbria, and the Marches; rented farms prevail in Lombardy and Venetia.

INDUSTRIES AND MANUFACTURES.—Of the total 28,668,221 hectares (hectar = 2.47 acres) 20,248,000, or 70.6 per cent, are productive, 16.2 per cent unproductive, and 13.2 produces little or nothing.

Agriculture

Agricultural methods were antiquated until comparatively recently. Progressive methods, however, have now been introduced in many provinces under the guidance of experimental stations and agricultural schools. The chief products in 1905 were in *hectolitres* (each = 2.75 bushels; liquids, 22 gallons): wheat, 56,290,000; maize (corn), 35,010,000; rice, 8,584,000; wine, 27,878,886; olive oil, 3,412,000. The tobacco crop in 1904

was 6,107,280 kilograms; acid fruits (1903), 5,250,000,000 kilograms. From 1900–4 the annual production of silk cocoons averaged 53,500,000 kilograms; that of raw silk, 5,200,000. Silk culture is flourishing particularly in Piedmont and Lombardy, and to a less extent in other provinces. The sugar-beet industry is growing. In 1898–99 the output of 4 factories was 7,960 metric tons; in 1905–6 that of 33 = 93,916 (1 metric ton = 2,204 pounds).

Forestry is managed under the Ministry of Agriculture. The forest area—exclusive of chestnut plantations—is about 4,093,000 hectares. The annual yield in lumber, firewood, charcoal, etc., excluding chestnuts, is about 88,000,000 lire.

Mining is not important. Sixty-three thousand nine hundred and ninety-six workers produced sulphur ore, zinc, lead, iron, mercury, etc., of 88,942,669 lire value in 1905. Mining is becoming more important. The quarries employed 59,342 men.

Fisheries gave employment (1904) to 94,684 men; vessels, 24,264.

The *commerce* of Italy consisted in 1905: imports, 2,078,380,000 lire; exports, 1,707,368,000. The exports consisted chiefly of raw silk, 476,947,000 lire; cotton tissues, 79,900,570; silk tissues, 78,976,784; hemp and flax, 45,099,934; silk waste, 45,140,500. Imports: raw cotton, 247,603,690 lire; cereals, 183,980,740; coal and coke, 164,157,245; machinery, 99,554,442; lumber, 73,161,960.

The *mercantile* marine consisted (1905) of 5,596 vessels of 1,032,614 tons—steam vessels, 513; sailing vessels, 5,083. Genoa is the principal harbor, Naples second, Leghorn third, and Palermo fourth.

II. Constitution and Government

The present king is Vittorio Emanuele III., who succeeded to the throne July 29, 1900. The present constitution dates back to March 4, 1848, to a statute given by King Carlo Alberto to the kingdom of Sardinia. This has been gradually expanded to meet the demands of United Italy. It gives the executive power to the king, with his ministers. The legislative power belongs to Parliament, consisting of a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies, which the king must convoke yearly, but which he may dissolve. Both houses have the initiative; in money matters, the Chamber alone. The Senate is not fixt in numbers; it consists (1906) of 358 members; and five princes are appointed senators by the king for life.

The deputies—508 members, or 1 to 64,893 of the population—are elected by conditional universal suffrage for five years; they must receive at least one sixth of the voters inscribed in their electoral districts, and half the votes given; they cannot be salaried officials of the State. Officers in the army and navy, secretaries and undersecretaries of state may be elected, but their total number must not exceed forty. The only compensation which senators and deputies receive is free transportation on railroads. There is a movement on foot now for granting compensation to deputies.

Electors must be citizens; twenty-one years old; able to read and write; or, if illiterate, pay not less than 19.80 lire in direct taxes, or an equivalent amount of rent on the farms. The proportion of electors to male inhabitants over twenty-one years of age (8,711,542 in 1901) is about 29 per cent. The number of persons who had the right to vote was (1904) 2,541,327—exclusive of 260,566 soldiers—or 7.6 per cent of the total population; the number of actual voters was 1,593,886, or 62.7 per cent of the inscribed voters.

Parties

Political parties are usually divided into *Right* and *Left*, Radicals and Socialists. The composition of the Chamber is (1907): Ministerialists (Center), 300; Prime Minister Giolitti. Opposition, 100; Leader, Sonnino. Radicals, 40; Leader, Sacchi. Republicans, 22; Leader, Colajanni. Socialists, 29; Leaders, Ferri and Turati. The extreme Right is in opposition and frequently votes with the extreme Left (Radicals, Republicans, and Socialists).

Local Government

Italy is divided into sixty-two provinces, and these into territories or districts, and these into communes (8,290 in 1906). The head of the commune, a government officer, is assisted by an elected municipal council, who in turn elect the head (syndic). There are also provincial councils. Direct taxes are on lands, houses, incomes; indirect taxes, e. g., customs, octroi, on manufactures, monopolies on salt, tobacco, and the lotto. The principal expenditures are: payment of various debts for army, navy, and administration. Total *revenue* 1905–6, 2,464,781,059 lire. *Expenditures*, 2,399,497,487. *Surplus*, 65,283,572.

State Railways

The total length of Italian railways is 10,070 miles; 8,100 of these were (June 1, 1906) owned and operated by the State. Total receipts in 1905–6—406,943,335 lire; 1903: receipts, 360,225,110 lire; expenses, 260,583,111; surplus, 99,641,999. Of the receipts in 1903 the amount of 134,463,959 lire was from 68,031,332 passengers. (See RAILWAYS.)

There were 8,817 post-offices and collecting boxes on June 30, 1904. Receipts 1905–6 were: 82,032,760 lire. A recent reform in the postal service has produced good results, both in increasing the receipts and traffic.

The total length of telegraph lines on June 30, 1904, was 29,640 miles with 116,710 miles of wire. Receipts in 1905–6 were 18,484,088. A law of June, 1907, has nationalized the telephone service, both urban and interurban.

Army and Navy

The *army* of Italy is modeled after that of Germany. The period of service is 19 years—2 or 3 years in the ranks, 5 to 7 in the reserve, 3 or 4 in the "mobile militia," 7 in the territorial militia. The peace strength is 264,516; that of the reserve, 492,255; mobile militia, 307,696; territorial militia, 2,222,637.

The *navy* has a personnel of 1,799 officers and 25,000 men. The budget of 1906–7 allowed for the army 277,108,173 lire; the navy, 123,383,973. (See article MILITARISM.)

III. Social Reform

Social reform in Italy, more than in most countries, is made up of distinct movements which tho of necessity touching at many points and occasionally cooperating, are totally distinct in origin, character, method, and in personnel. These different movements may be divided into those connected with cooperation, with socialism, trades-unionism, and with the government.

Of these the first, tho quite modern in recent developments, is in reality the oldest, and largely began in the thoughts and ideals which clustered around the great name of Mazzini.

Social reform in Italy through all the first part of the nineteenth century was almost confined indeed to the efforts made in various ways by patriots like Mazzini and Garibaldi, by societies like the Carbonari, mainly working to secure liberty and Italian unity. (See MAZZINI; CARBONARI.) Mazzini opposed socialism as presented in his day as being materialistic, antinationalistic, and standing for personal rights rather than for cooperation and duty; but his position on almost all subjects was that of modern

ethical socialism, and his followers in Italy have done much to develop reform of this kind. In

Cooperation

1861 a Fratellanza Artigiana (Artizan Brotherhood) was started in Florence connected with Mazzini's name to develop cooperation through Italy. This hope was not realized, owing to political jealousies; but its influence still survives. In 1871 a pact of working men's societies, Patto di Fratellanza, was formed at Rome, also drawn up under the auspices of Mazzini. It held its eighteenth general congress at Palermo in 1892.

Cooperation in Italy, however, soon turned into more practical channels, English and German, altho with characters of its own. In 1886 and 1887 congresses of Italian cooperators met in Milan and formed an Italian Federation, and a journal was started, *La Cooperazione Italianes*. One of the most characteristic successes of cooperation in Italy has been among the day-laborers, owing largely to the campaign for this purpose inaugurated in 1888 by Signor Marin. (See COOPERATION.) Cooperation has also spread somewhat among the peasants of the villages in some districts. Distributive cooperation seems to have begun in Turin as early as 1853, and to have had no little success, especially in the cities of northern Italy, notably Milan.

At the close of 1904 there were in Italy some 4,600 cooperative societies, of which 1,080 belonged to the cooperative alliance of Milan. (For other statistics, see COOPERATION.)

The cooperative movement, however, recently has taken on a very wide range, connecting itself with movements for housing reform, rural reforms, public employment agencies, the question of unemployment, the aiding of unemployed workmen in the towns to migrate to the country districts where emigration, etc., have caused a lack of laborers. This broader range of the movement has been much aided by the Societa Umanitaria of Milan, the unique and powerful creation of Mr. Moise Loria, who gave ten million lire, increased by interest to about thirteen million lire ($2,600,000). The society was incorporated in 1893, but only began effective work in 1901. Its aim is the relief of the laboring classes, by furnishing aid, employment, and education. The society has already established or extended a series of schools for the artistic trades, electrotechnics, printing, and allied trades. It has promoted circulating libraries, established a loan bank for cooperative societies, created employment bureaus for rural laborers. It invests its funds in model dwellings for the working classes, has a fund for insurance against unemployment, and has published important reports of investigations as to unemployment and other vital questions. (See UMANITARIA.)

The second movement in Italy is the Labor movement, partly political and partly on trade lines. It began in Italy on political and afterward anarchistic lines, in connection with the old International (*q. v.*).

Bakunin (*q. v.*) founded a section of the International at Naples in 1867, and established a paper, *Equity*. Other sections were formed in Genoa, Milan, and Italy. This movement opposed the Mazzini societies and developed strength enough to frighten the government into suppressing the sections in 1871. It sprang up again, however, till finally again suppressed in 1875. It represented anarchist communism rather than socialism. In 1882, however, the Italian franchise was widened, and in 1885 an Italian Labor Party was formed at Milan, partly socialistic, partly anarchistic, and won strength enough to cause it to be dissolved by the government in 1886. A new Labor Party (Partito dei Lavoratori), however, was formed at congresses in Milan and Genoa in 1891 and 1892. In 1893 the party held a second congress at Reggio (Emilia), when it assumed a distinctly Socialist attitude, and adopted the name of Italian Laborers' Socialist Party (Partito Socialista dei Lavoratori Italiani). It stands for Marxist socialism, but in Italy as elsewhere the movement has developed two wings, the "*trancigant*" and "*intrancigant*," or as they are now usually called in Italy "Reformisti" and "Rivoluzionari," the present main leader of the former being Turati, and of the latter, Enrico Ferri. Italian Socialists,

Socialism

however, have been more turbulent and anarchistic in method than most modern Socialists. Strikes and even rioting have played a large part. Not to speak of the semirevolution of the "Fasci" (Land League) in Sicily (1893–94) and among the Carrara marble workers (1894), there were bloody riots in Milan and elsewhere (1898), with the great Genoa strikes of 1900, besides 382 other strikes in that year and numerous desultory agricultural strikes in 1901–2. In 1904 a strike in Sardinia led to a collision with the troops and some strikers were killed. A mass-meeting organized by the Chamber of Labor of Milan, in which city the revolutionary party was dominant among the Socialists, summoned the working classes of all Italy to a universal strike. This broke out in almost all the large cities and many smaller ones, sometimes not extending to the public services, but sometimes affecting every class of the population. There were collisions of troops with the strikers or more commonly the lawless element who took advantage of the strike. The extent of the strike has never been equaled in Italy. It did not, however, endure, lasting in Milan only five days. It created a reaction against the progressive parties, and the government chose the opportunity to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies. In the ensuing elections, the popular parties were not united; in places there were even two Socialist candidates. The platform was the strike, and the government took for its watchword "neither reaction nor revolution," and won. Since then Italian socialism has been less turbulent, and the extremes of the party have been modified and more united. (See SOCIALISM.)

Allied to this Socialist movement, tho in some ways distinct from it, are the Italian labor organizations or unions. These are of two kinds, the Federazioni or Leghe di Resistenza, unions of the working men in a trade, and the Camere del Lavoro, analogous to the trades councils of England and the Gewerkschaftskartelle of Germany, unions of workmen in a town. The Federazioni are more concerned with trade disputes and measures, the Camere with the more general and local questions affecting the laboring classes—cooperation, factory laws, popular education, mutual insurance, municipal action. The Camere often establish labor bureaus and cooperative institutions. These organizations are guided by a Segretariato centrale della Resistenza, with officers in Milan composed of three representatives of the Camere, three of the Federazioni, and ten secretaries. In Dec., 1904, there were 77 Camere,

some 33 of them, however, with only a nominal life. The Federazioni belonging to the Segretariato are 29 with a membership of 205,362. The clubs of the civil service of the cities are organized in 14 Federazioni with 110,000 members, and about 100 Camere. These unions support about 50 weekly, fortnightly, or monthly papers.

Organizations of agricultural laborers have attained in Italy a greater importance than in any other country. They have played a large part in the rural strikes, and are at once the source and the result of a very important revival of rural life chiefly in Mantova, the Emilia and Romagna. They, too, are formed into a Segretariato. Their total membership was 221,913 in 1906, and has increased to 273,698 in 1907. Among the Federazioni the more important are those of the railway men (56,000 members), building trades (24,000), metal trades (30,000), printers (9,000). Italian unions have not developed the benefit system except for strike benefits, while the hatters and printers give out-of-work benefits. Collective bargaining is increasing in Italy, even in agriculture, employers entrusting their fields to be cultivated by the unions. (See TRADE-UNIONS.)

Trade-Unions

The third class of reform movements in Italy are connected with the government.

Italian political parties formerly consisted in the main of a Right, long led by Crispi, the monarchical and conservative party of Cavour, and a Left, the liberal and democratic (or Republican) party gathered around the name and traditions of Mazzini. Except for three years (1891–94) Crispi remained in power till 1896, when the defeat of the Italian forces in Erythria and growing discontent defeated him, and Rudini, to some extent supported by the Radicals, formed a ministry. General Pelloux, however, in 1898, succeeded him with a Liberal cabinet, supported by many Conservatives. Demand for reforms, however, went on; socialism developed; and in the election of 1900, after the riots of 1898 and the parliamentary struggle of 1899, the popular parties (Radicals, Republicans, and Socialists) won 100 seats and overthrew the cabinet. A transitional cabinet was defeated before the end of the year, and the semi-democratic Zanardelli-Giolitti cabinet was formed. Labor was free to organize—a new thing for Italy. The cabinet was not, however, always supported by the democratic parties. The Socialist Rivoluzionari openly attacked the government. However, the government carried bills regulating the labor of women and children, creating a Labor Bureau, municipalizing public services, on accidents in industry, old-age pensions, salaries of elementary teachers, of clerks in various branches of the civil service, pensions for workmen in the government tobacco manufactory. It enacted laws on public health, housing, convict labor, cooperative societies, public works, a new penal law, a law reorganizing the municipal finances of Rome (with a rate on vacant land), progressive laws for various particular sections and trades, besides a remarkable law on charities. The main labor problems, however, the reduction of taxation for the laboring classes, divorce, the lowering of duties on corn, it feared to attempt. Nevertheless it was a great advance.

In 1903 Zanardelli, however, had to resign for reasons of ill health, and Giolitti formed a ministry with the cooperation of Luzzatti as minister of finance. The Radicals and Socialists, however, increasingly opposed the government; Socialist riots broke out; the Premier seized the opportunity to dissolve the Chamber; the pope for the first time advised Catholics to enter politics; the result was that the reaction won. In 1905 Giolitti resigned and Fortis became minister.

The main act of his ministry was the passage of the government bill to nationalize the railways July 1, 1905. All the Italian railroads were passed over to the State, except some 2,000 kilometers of the southern railways of the Adriatic Company and some 2,000 kilometers of secondary lines. The price was somewhat over 500,000,000 lire, by assuming the railway debts of some 76,000,000 lire, loans from banks of 215,000,000 and forty years coupons for 200,000,000 lire at 3.65 per cent interest. The measure was criticized by the Socialists and trade-unionists, who created against it a general but ineffective railway strike, demanding the substitution of important different details. The strike failed and the bill passed, the government promising an inquiry.

The Fortis ministry, however, was defeated in Feb., 1906, and Sonnino became Premier, promising especially to raise the economic condition of the southern peasants and to reduce the land tax in the south, including Sicily and Sardinia, 30 per cent. In May, however, he was defeated on a detail and Giolitti returned to power.

Through all these changes, however, the government has continued more or less steadily its reforms. The Labor Department under Prof. Montemartini has done able research and statistical work and has advanced many measures. A government board of emigration has done much to guide and protect Italian emigration and in part to direct it into migrations to Italian rural provinces in need of labor. The government has at least wrestled with the problem of the economically deprest and opprest south; a bill has been passed to aid the development of working men's dwellings, and agricultural centers have been formed. Thus a new progressive Italy is emerging. It has been said that in no country does socialism so affect the national life as in Italy.

Besides these main channels of reform, a few other movements may be noted. The Church of Rome in Italy (for political reasons refusing to recognize the government) has not developed an avowed Christian socialism, as she has in many countries, and in 1905 (see above) a papal encyclical exhorted Catholics to enter politics, to defeat socialism, and work for the interests of the Church. In some ways, however, the Church has been compelled in self-defense to favor education and be more active in relief and charity (which in Italy has always largely been in ecclesiastical hands). Some bishops have made progressive utterances.

Industrial betterment has little hold in Italy, tho much attention is now being given to working men's dwellings. (See UMANITARIA.)

Italy has two industrial villages. Crespi, near Capriate, Lombardy, has both block dwellings and single or double cottages, but all with small gardens and open spaces, and both classes of dwellings rented for four lire a week. In the center are church, orphanage, public laundry, and schools. The other village is Calabria, built by Achille Fazzari. Both are for cotton-mill workers.

For Italian poor relief and charity, see article Pauperism and Poor Relief.

Nevertheless, in spite of these reforms, poverty in Italy is great. The annual income in Italy per head is less than $40 to $155 in Great Britain, $130 in France, $102 in Saxony, $85 in Prussia, $40 in Austria. The usual wage for unskilled labor is from 16 to 29 cents per day. Taxes are heavy, and fall heavily on the poor. Since 1860 wealth is said to have increased 17 per cent, but taxes 30 per cent. Until very recently, Radicals in Italy could compare an annual 800,000 lire voted by the government to assist agriculture and 71,000,000 expended on army and navy. To-day it is little better. Taxation in Italy is said to be higher than in most other countries, and to absorb almost one fourth of the incomes of the country. In Venetia women work in the poorest regions in the fields for 12 cents per day. In the south, however, is the more poverty. In Sicily peasants get 17 cents per day, with about 4 cents' worth of beans and macaroni. But worst of all, in the sulphur mines of Sicily conditions are lower still. Even in the mines in Sardinia miners get scarcely 40 cents a day, and women and children 12 cents. In the south of Italy, however, conditions are very much better and great progress is being made.

Some of the leading Italian social reform societies are:

Associazione degli Industriali d' Italia per prevenire gli infortuni del lavoro. Milano, Italy.
Congregazione di Carita. Ufficio Centrale 14 via di S. Chiara, Rome.
La Camera del Lavoro, Milano.
L'Ufficio d' Indicazione e d' assistenza del l' Unione Femminile. Milano.
Segretariato Centrale delle Camere del Lavoro. Via Crocefissa, Milano.
Segretariato Nazionale della Resistenza. Milano, Italy.
Società Cattolica Italiana per gli Studi Scientifici. 76 Via Torre, Argentina, Roma.
Società Umanitaria. 9 Via Alessandro Manzoni, Milan.
Ufficio del Lavoro (Labor Bureau). Ministero de Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio, Roma, Italy.
Unione Cooperativa. Via Carlo Alberto, Milan.
Unione Operaia, delle Associazioni Independente—Società Centrale Operaia Napoletana, Comeradi Lavoro di Napoli e Provincie. Borsa del Lavoro. Naples.
Consiglio superiore della beneficenza, Ministero dell' Interno, Roma.
Societa anonima cooperativa "de industrie feminili," Rome.
Lega industriale, Turin.
Confederazione nazionale del lavoro, Turin.
Lega nazionale delle societa cooperative, Milano.
Commissariato dell' emigrazione, Rome.
Consorrio per la tutela dell' emigrazione temporanea in Europa, Turin.
Unione popolare (Roman Catholic), Bergamo.

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J

JACQUERIE: In May, 1358, rebelling against the tyranny of Charles the Bad of Navarre and of the nobility, the French peasants rose in revolt during the imprisonment of John II., the Good, in England. The revolt commenced near Paris, but spread to the Marne and the Oise, and for three weeks carried all before it; but in June it was put down with great slaughter at Meaux. The name comes from the Jacques or clowns, used for peasants, from the Christian name Jacques, supposed to be peculiarly a peasant name.

JACOBSON, VLADIMIR R.: Russian representative (Group of Toil) of the Grodno Province in the First Duma; born 1861; Jew; lawyer of the city of Slonim, graduate of the law school of St. Petersburg University. Member of the committee for the investigation of the pogrom in Bielostock.

JAMES, EDMUND JANES: Economist; president of the University of Illinois; born 1855, at Jacksonville, Ill.; educated Illinois State Normal School, Northwestern University, Harvard College, Berlin, Leipsic, Halle; 1887–95 professor of public finance and administration in the Wharton School of Finance and Economy, University of Pennsylvania, and 1884–95 professor of political and social science; 1891–95 president of the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching; 1896–1901 professor of public administration and director of Extension Department University of Chicago; 1902–4 president Northwestern University; 1904 president of University of Illinois; 1889–1901 President of the American Academy of Political and Social Science; 1890–5 editor of the *Annals* of the Academy.

He was one of the first to take part in the movement for the improvement of city politics in the United States, and one of the organizers of the Municipal League of Philadelphia, serving as its first president; author "The Relation of the Modern Municipality to the Gas Supply" (1886); "The Canal and the Railway" (1890); and over 100 papers, articles, and monographs in economic and other journals. *Address*: Urbana, Ill.

JANNET, CLAUDIO: Lawyer; professor; born at Paris 1844. He became a lawyer at Aix and later professor of political economy at the Catholic University of Paris. Some of his principal works are: "De l'état présent et de l'avenir des associations coopératives (1867); "l'Internationale et la question sociale" (1871); "les Institutions sociales et le droit civil à Sparte" (1874); "les États Unis contemporains" (1875); "les Faits économiques et le mouvement social en Italie" (1889); "le Socialisme d'État et la réforme sociale" (1889); "le Capital, la spéculation et la finance au XIX^{e} Siècle" (1892). Jannet belongs to the school of Le Play.

JAPAN: After the gigantic struggle with Russia, the nation has welcomed back her million soldiers who went to the front with *Banzais* and triumphal arches in every town and almost every rural village.

The nation is sobered, but resourceful, and hopeful for the future. Japan is making large plans for the extension of its commerce and manufacturing industries. The great victories of the war have confirmed Japan in a place of equality with the Western nations. The new Anglo-Japanese Treaty for Alliance still further emphasizes Japan as a world-power, and is a guaranty of general peace in Eastern Asia and in India.

Japan has assumed a protectorate over Korea and Southern Manchuria, and has gained a preponderating influence over China, as shown by the fact that thousands of educated Japanese are teaching in the new provincial schools in China, and also drilling her armies, and that more than 10,000 Chinese are studying in the higher schools of Japan. This new and widening sphere of work and influence is a great incentive to Japan to do her best in meeting her new responsibilities.

An unsuccessful struggle has been going on for years to secure party government. The present cabinet is a compromise, complex cabinet. The *Seiyukai*, the successor of the old Liberal Party, is the strongest, having about 150 seats in the Lower House. Marquis Saionji, the prime minister, and two members of the present cabinet belong to this party.

Political Parties

The Progressive Party, led by Count Okuma, holds nearly 100 seats in the Lower House. The "Daido" Club is made up of small heterogeneous parties, and holds about eighty seats in the Lower House.

Manufactures, especially of silk and cotton spinning and weaving, are increasing with great rapidity. There are now 350 manufactories in Japan, with a capital of over 400,000,000 yen.[1] There are about 400,000 operatives employed in these factories, two fifths of whom are men and three fifths women. About 34,000 of these operatives are under fourteen years of age. They work from twelve to fourteen hours a day, resting only on the first and fifteenth of each month. In some factories they work sixteen or seventeen hours a day. The men receive about fifteen cents and the women about ten cents a day.

There are nearly 165,000 working in mines. In 1904, of these, there were killed 267, and 323 severely and 629 less severely injured. Three million people are engaged in fishing. In 1904, 301 of these were killed, 73 wounded and 270 missing. There were taken during that year 44,000,000 yen worth of fish and 31,000,000 yen worth of other marine products.

Industries

Japan has a population of about 300 to the square mile, but as only 15 per cent of its area is under cultivation, it has a population of about 2,000 to each square mile under cultivation; 76 per cent of the population is rural, but the urban population is increasing; 63 per cent of the population are tillers of the soil; 40 per cent of the tilled land is worked by tenants, and the tenant gets only about 40 per cent of the produce.

The average market value of tilled land is 720 yen an acre. One man tills only one or two acres. About one half of the land is tilled exclusively by manual labor without the use of horses or oxen. An acre yields about thirty bushels of rice and about twenty bushels of barley, the one raised in the summer and the other in the winter. Thus an acre produces about thirty yen worth in a year, on an average.

There is provision made by mine owners for miners when sick or injured, and in case of death aid is given toward the funeral expenses, and also a small allowance to the families. Some of the large mining companies give more than 1,000,000 yen a year to disabled miners, and a like sum to bereaved families. This system is being followed to some extent by some of the railroad companies, but not to any large degree by factories. Mine Workers' Mutual Aid Associations are formed in many of the mines and members pay a certain sum each month, and mine operators and other friends contribute, and help is given from these funds in case of illness, injury, or death of any member.

A large tide of emigration has for many years set toward the northern island, the Hokkaido. The same is now true in regard to Korea and Manchuria. It is doubtful if the number emigrating to Hawaii and the United States will continue to be as large in the future as in the past.

Each prefecture has a relief fund and the State hands over each year to each prefecture an amount proportioned to that set apart by the prefecture. This fund is used when any calamity occurs within the limits of the prefecture. The State also makes disbursements for paupers and foundlings. An aggregate relief fund of about 30,000,000 yen exists at the present time in the several prefectures.

Charities

Over 15,000 paupers are aided by the State each year, at an expense of over 200,000 yen.

The following statement is made in the Japan Year Book for 1906, page 457:

> It is a significant fact that by far the greater part of private charity work of any large scope is conducted by Christians, both natives and aliens, and that the part played by Buddhists in this direction is shamefully out of proportion. As to Shintoists, they are privileged, in popular estimate, to keep aloof from matters of this kind.

This is significant as coming from the Japanese editor and compiler of the Year Book.

The four leper hospitals in Japan are all conducted by foreigners. Mr. Hara's Ex-Convict Home, in Tokyo, is the largest and most successful of all the forty-three such homes in the country. Mr. Hara was converted while in prison, and he has been engaged in this work for twenty-two years. During the last nine years he has received into his Home 768 ticket-of-leave convicts. Of these 54 are now in the Home, 414 are self-supporting in honest work, 65 have died, 116 are missing, that is, their whereabouts not known, and 119 have left the Home unreclaimed. The emperor has recently given 1,000 yen to this Home. Mr. Tomeoka's Christian Reform School and Home for Boys in Tokyo has also received a gift of 1,000 yen from the emperor.

The Okayama Orphanage is the largest of the nearly thirty orphanages in Japan. There are over 1,200 children now in this institution, which needs greatly increased equipment in buildings and endowment. The emperor and empress gave to this institution, two years ago, 2,000 yen and promised 1,000 yen a year for ten years.

The Red Cross Society in Japan is the most remarkable organization in the empire. Started in 1886, when Japan joined the Geneva Convention, it now numbers over 1,100,000 paying members, with a fund on hand of over 10,000,000 yen. During the late war, 4,500,000 yen were used for Japanese patients and Russian prisoners.

A Japan Woman's League has been formed which has 500,000 members. This league did much during the late war in comforting sick and wounded soldiers and aiding their families. About 10,000,000 yen were expended during the war by relief societies, in aiding disabled soldiers and soldiers' families.

The great famine which came upon three provinces in the north, last year, affecting a million

[1] The Japanese yen is equal to fifty cents.

people, was met by over 100,000 yen from foreign countries, more than one half of which came from the U. S. The Japanese, including the imperial gift of 50,000 yen, raised about 400,000 yen. Local governments voted funds to be used in public works to the amount of nearly 4,000,000 yen, and 2,000,000 yen in national and local taxes was remitted. An abundant harvest this year throughout the empire makes all hearts glad.

Public Ownership

The government is buying seventeen railways at a cost of about 424,000,000 yen. These roads comprize a mileage of 2,806 miles, making, with former government lines, an aggregate of 4,466 miles, and leaving only a little over 400 miles operated by small private companies. The government owns all the telegraph lines and some of the telephone lines, and operates them in connection with the Postal Department. The government also has a monopoly of salt, camphor, and tobacco.

Education

The public-school system is very thoroughly organized and the attendance is very general; 94.43 per cent of children of school age are in school, or else have finished the ordinary elementary school. Only 15 per cent of the teachers are women.

Teachers who have served for fifteen years are entitled to a life pension of one fourth of their salary, on becoming sixty-five years of age, when disabled by sickness, and in other special cases. If a teacher has served more than fifteen years, $\frac{1}{240}$ is added for each year. The middle schools are able to receive only about 60 per cent of those who apply, after graduating from the grammar schools. The high schools, also, are able to receive only about 36 per cent of the graduates of the middle schools who apply. There are now ninety-five higher girls' schools with nearly 30,000 scholars. Two thirds of the teachers in these schools are women, and the proportion of female teachers in the other schools is gradually increasing. Women are also being employed in post-offices, banks, and railroad ticket offices.

Social Reforms

The National Temperance League has ninety-eight affiliated societies with a membership of 8,517. A bill prohibiting the use of any and all kinds of liquors to minors, after passing the Lower House, was defeated in the House of Peers by 106 to 97, and the matter was referred to the Educational Department.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union has affiliated with it sixty-three local unions with a membership of nearly 3,000.

Meetings have been widely held by both of these organizations, and much valuable literature has been published and distributed.

A Rescue Home, capable of caring for forty girls, has been completed in the capital and fourteen girls have been in it. About 30,000 "comfort bags" were sent to the soldiers, in which were sent over 200,000 copies of temperance and religious literature.

The W. C. T. U. is doing a much needed work in calling attention to the facts concerning the immorality in many of the schools for young men, by means of which young women in some of the higher schools, especially in the capital, have been led astray.

The conditions in the schools is such that the Minister of Education issued an "Instruction" last June, from which I quote:

> It is scarcely necessary to say that the duty of scholars and students is to have a steadfast mind, to propose to themselves a fixt purpose, and to look forward to achieving great results by zeal and diligence. Nevertheless, among the youths of both sexes I detect, to my great regret, a tendency to occasional despondency and to ethical decadence. Certain of those now in the schools show an inclination to luxury or torment themselves about empty theories, or, in extreme cases, allow their minds to become absorbed in dissipation, and, violating the precepts of virtue, lose their sense of shame. Unless steps be presently taken to severely reprimand these errors, their harmful results will be incalculable. There are signs that the trend of a part of society is toward insincerity and that the youths of both sexes are being led astray in increasing degree. Especially is this the case with recent publications and pictures, for these either ventilate extreme doctrines, inculcate pessimistic views, or depict immoral conditions to the no small detriment of education.—*Japan Year Book*, p. 448.

During the last two years an increasing number of student young men committed suicide, having adopted pessimistic ideas of life. They threw themselves over the 250-foot Kegon waterfall, and into the craters of active volcanoes. Two young men and one young woman thus threw themselves over the Kegon fall the week the writer was there, a short time ago.

The social conditions of some of the boarding-houses of the great factories are deplorable, as are those of some of the smaller weaving-houses. Take the great "Nishijin" weaving district in the northeastern part of the city of Kyoto. There are said to be 60,000 operatives in that district. A large part of them are girls and boys who are apprenticed by their parents for a term of three years, and some of the girls apprenticed over three times. Many of them are crowded together at night, boys and girls in the same rooms, with deplorable results. One Christian physician in the city has cared for nearly 400 of these unfortunate girls in one year, during their confinement. The efforts of Rev. U. G. Murphy and others, begun several years ago, to secure freedom for girls who have been sold to a life of shame, to quit such life, have already resulted in its abandonment by about 20,000, out of a total of 70,000 in the empire; and if the Supreme Court gives a favorable decision in a case now before it, as to whether a girl can leave her place of detention although there are debts standing against her, there will be a still further and more rapid diminution of these unfortunates, who are in durance vile. As it has been, the keepers of these houses managed to keep a girl constantly in debt. The Salvation Army, in addition to its other laudable work, is doing a good work in assisting girls to leave a life of shame. They have brought 129 girls to Tokyo from the famine region, during the last year, and placed them in suitable situations, most of whom would otherwise have been a prey to those seeking victims for immoral purposes.

Religion

Shinto is disestablished and virtually declared not to be a religion. There are, however, over 80,000 Shinto priests, and the "solemn ceremony of the emperor in person at the great shrines of Ise for the purpose of proclaiming to the imperial ancestors the happy termination of the war has exerted a more or less powerful influence on the minds of the general public in favor of Shintoism."

Of Buddhism, the Japan Year Book says (page 451): "On the whole, the world of Japanese Buddhism remains stagnant." Then, after speaking of the efforts of the most popular sect to minister to the soldiers in the late war, and of three priests who went to Tibet to study the Lamainic branch of Buddhism, it continues: "In

contrast to these worthy undertakings, the chronic scandal of the East Hongwanji continues to seriously impair the credit of Buddhism as a whole."

The reference here is to the alleged squandering of the revenues of this richest temple in Japan, so that it is said to be some millions of yen in debt and some of its property has been seized by the creditors.

There are, however, at present over 70,000 officiating Buddhist priests.

In regard to Christianity, it is to be said that the late war has sobered the nation, and there is a marked desire on the part of the people, especially among young men, to examine Christianity and listen to its teachings. The gifts of the emperor to distinctively Christian institutions and the magnificent and unparalleled success of the Young Men's Christian Association among the soldiers in Manchuria are having a wide and powerful influence in favor of Christianity. Most of the leading generals were favorably impressed and the returning soldiers have carried favorable impressions of Christianity into nearly half a million homes. The whole atmosphere, generally, is favorable. In connection with the Protestant work, there are about 500 churches, and 700 other preaching places. There are nearly 100 self-supporting churches, and about 400 church buildings, worth nearly 1,000,000 yen. There are nearly 60,000 church members who gave last year 150,000 yen for Christian work. There are about 450 ordained Japanese ministers and over 800 unordained Japanese workers. There are over 200 young men in theological schools and 150 women are being trained in Bible schools. There are over 800 foreign missionary workers in Japan. The Y. M. C. A. has seven foreign secretaries and as many Japanese secretaries with organizations in nine cities, and in fifty-five schools, including two universities, seven higher middle schools, seven medical schools, and twenty-five middle schools.

REFERENCES: *The Japan Year Book*, 1906, Tokyo; *The Christian Movement in Japan*, 1906, Tokyo; *Japan in the Beginning of the Twentieth Century*, published by Imperial Japanese Commission to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.

J. B. DAVIS.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION.

A Constitutional Empire (1889). Mikado (1868–). Mutsu Hito, aided by a Privy Council. Legislative power is vested in the Mikado, the Diet of a House of Peers, and a House of Representatives. The Peers number about 370, princes or prominent men, elected for life or for seven years. The Representatives number 369, elected for four years, by males over twenty-five, paying a tax of at least 10 yen.

Japan has 147,655 sq. m., with a population (1905) of 47,812,702 (310 per sq. m.). The Islands of Formosa (13,500 sq. m., with 3,059,235 population), the southern part of Sakhalin and the Piscadores, also belong to Japan. Tokyo (the capital) has 1,440,121; Osaka, 821,235; Kyoto, 353,139; Yokohama, 193,762; Kobe, 215,780. In 1902 there were 84,038 Shintoist temples, 71,788 Buddhist, and 1,102 Christian churches (Roman Catholic, Greek, and Protestant). Besides there were 220,572 shrines to eminent ancestors of the Imperial House, independent of religious sect.

Revenue (1906–7, estimated), 494,709,700 yen; expenditures, 495,704,700; public debt (1906), 1,872,381,120 yen. The extraordinary expenses of the Russian war amounted to 1,982,000,000 yen. About 22,000,000 yen are to be set aside yearly to meet the war debt, which it is estimated will pay it off by 1939.

Exports (1905), 328,232,220 yen; imports, 498,715,870 yen. Chief products: Rice, tea, sugar, silk. Imports (1905) from British Empire, 221,370,000 yen; from United States, 106,460,000 yen; from China, 52,618,408 yen; exports to British Empire, 540,900,000; to U. S., 95,970,000.

Of the 45,000,000 population of Japan, 30,000,000 are farmers, or, more correctly speaking, gardeners. The Japanese farm is a garden, irrigated and fertilized and scientifically and intensively tilled.

A writer in the *Booklover's Magazine* for Aug., 1904, says: "The secret of the success of the little Daybreak Kingdom has been a mystery to many students of nations. Patriotism does not explain the riddle of its strength, neither can commerce, nor military equipment, nor manufacturing skill. Western nations will fail fully to grasp the secret of the dynamic intensity of Japan to-day, and will dangerously underestimate the formidable possibilities of the Greater Japan—the Dai Nippon—of to-morrow, until they begin to study seriously the agricultural triumphs of that empire. For Japan, more scientifically than any other nation, past or present, has perfected the art of sending the roots of its civilization enduringly into the soil.

"Progressive experts of high authority throughout the Occident now admit that in all the annals of agriculture there is nothing that ever approached the scientific skill of Sunrise husbandry."

JAURES, JEAN LÉON: A French Socialist leader; born at Castres (Tarn), 1859. Graduating from a normal school, he was a professor at Albi and Toulouse. Elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1885–89, he voted with the Moderate Republicans. Returning to his profession, he became interested in social questions and 1893 was elected for Albi, and became the leading Socialist of the Chamber, and leader of the evolutionary wing of the national Socialist movement. Defeated in the election of 1898, he became the editor of the *Petite République*. He favored the entry of Millerand into the Waldeck-Rousseau cabinet, opposing in this J. Guesde and the orthodox Socialists, but carrying the majority of French Socialists with him. His impassioned oratory and other gifts make him a natural leader, and to his influence largely is due the present union of the French Socialist Party. He was reelected in 1902 and 1906. Author of "Socialist Essays."

JEFFERSON, THOMAS: Third President of the United States; born Albemarle County, Va., 1743. Attending William and Mary College, and studying law at Williamsburg, was admitted to the bar in 1767, and soon acquired standing and wealth. From 1769 to the Revolution he served in the Virginia House of Burgesses. He soon became a leader of the opposition to the king, and in 1775 took his seat in the Continental Congress. He drafted the Declaration of Independence; 1776 resumed his seat in the Virginia Legislature, and secured the first law establishing perfect religious freedom. From 1779 for two years he was Governor of Virginia. In 1782 his wife died, and, distracted with grief, he accepted an appointment as Minister to France. Appointed by Washington Secretary of State 1789, he served till 1794, when he resigned. During this period the Democratic Party (or Republican-Democratic Party as it was first called) developed with Jefferson as leader, opposed to the Federalism of Hamilton, Jefferson's colleague in the Cabinet. In 1796 Jefferson was elected Vice-President, and in 1800 President. During his administration the public debt was reduced, Louisiana purchased for $15,000,000, Algerian pirates conquered, and the system of precedence abolished for a reasonable etiquette. Jefferson was reelected in 1804 almost without opposition. His embargo policy retaliating upon France and England by prohibiting U. S. vessels leaving port, however, struck a blow at the navy, and opposition to him increased. In 1808 he declined to be nominated for a third term, and retired to Monticello, where he interested himself in founding the University of Virginia. Died July 4, 1826.

In social reform Jefferson is still a vital force, as the father of democracy and of decentralization in the U. S.

JENKINS, JOHN: English Labor M.P.; born 1852, Pembroke Dock, South Wales. When sixteen, apprenticed to two firms of Cardiff shipbuilders, he worked his way till he became president of the Cardiff Shipbuilding Society. In 1893 he represented the Bristol Channel District in the Associated Shipwrights' Society. His interest in municipal affairs led to his election in 1890 as town councilor, and in 1903 mayor of Cardiff. When the Trade-Union Congress met at Cardiff in 1895 he presided. In 1906 he was elected to Parliament for Chatham, supported by the Labor Representative Committee. *Address*: Grangetown, Cardiff.

JENKS, JEREMIAH WHIPPLE: American economist; born 1856, St. Clair, Mich.; graduated University of Michigan, 1878; Ph.D. at Halle, Germany, 1885; professor of political economy and social science at Indiana University, 1889–1891; and at Cornell (his present position), 1891. Mr. Jenks has been appointed on numerous United States commissions as expert agent and special investigator; for the INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION on trusts and combinations, 1899–1901, for the U. S. Labor Department on the same, for the War Department on financial and labor conditions in the Orient, on international exchange and currency reform in China, also by the Mexican Government on currency in that country. Author "The Trust Problem," 1900, revised 1903; also reports for the above commissions, and numerous economic articles and papers. *Address*: Ithaca, N. Y.

JEVONS, WILLIAM STANLEY: British economist; born Liverpool, 1835; went in early life to Australia, and held the post of assayer in the Sydney mint from 1854–59; then returned to England in order to pursue his studies in philosophy and ethics; was professor of logic from 1866–1876 at Owens College, Manchester, and of economics at University College, London, from 1876–81; was drowned at Bexhill in 1882.

In the field of applied economics Jevons discussed monometallism and bimetallism, declaring himself, tho in very temperate and guarded terms, a monometallist. He favored cooperation and profit-sharing, and also believed in State legislation on social questions. (See his "The State in Relation to Labor," 1882.)

In economic theory he is best known for his conception of total utility (*q. v.*). He is the author of a "Primer of Political Economy" (1878); "Money the Mechanism of Exchange" (1879); "Principles of Science" (1874, 2 vols.); "Theory of Political Economy" (1879); "Methods of Social Reform" (1883); and "Investigations in Currency and Finance" (1884).

JEWISH COLONIES: "Back to the soil" is the latest cry of the Jews. After 1,800 years of trading, trafficking, and banking, they are awakening to the fact that they were originally an agricultural people and have been kept from the soil by adverse laws and not by their own inclinations. During this long period nearly every State forbade the Jew to hold land, and he was forced into other occupations. Gild laws and other restrictions even hindered their becoming artizans; hence largely their entry into commerce. These obstacles, however, being now largely removed, the Jew has begun to become a farmer and a mechanic—tentatively at first, but now in ever larger numbers.

The oldest Jewish colonies were located in Palestine, where several are reported to have existed as early as 1170, and one, consisting of 60 families, was definitely mentioned as located at Gaza in 1481. At the close of the sixteenth century another colony, "where only Jews were to dwell," is said to have been established near Tiberias. Other reports are indefinite and unreliable.

The first definite attempt to colonize the Jews was, strange to say, made in **Russia**. The historian Czacki and the poet Derzhavin prevailed upon the Emperor Paul in 1799 to take measures for settling them in agricultural colonies. He consented in order "to check the selfish occupations of the Jews." After various preparations Czar Alexander I. issued an "Enactment concerning the Jews" in 1804 to the effect that the Jews should be grouped into five classes, agriculturists, manufacturers, artizans, merchants, and minor burgesses; that the agriculturists should be permitted to buy and lease land in the western and southwestern provinces; that the government grant 81,000 acres of land to the poorer colonists; that a medical certificate of health and physical fitness should be submitted by every prospective settler; and that every family should give evidence of possessing at least 400 rubles. In 1806 a large number of Jewish families settled in different parts of the province of Kherson and established in all 9 colonies, which had to be located at a certain distance from Christian villages, and in which any occupation but farming was forbidden. Owing to adverse conditions of soil, climate, and government, the colonies did not prosper. But in 1823 General Intzov procured a grant from the Czar of 50,000 rubles for the colonies; 443 new families joined the 1,690 already settled. The military discipline was, however, not suited to the temperament of the Jews, and the colonies never prospered. A later attempt (1835) at colonization in New Russia failed, notwithstanding many privileges granted prospective settlers by the crown. In 1836 the Czar issued an order designating 40,895 acres of land near Tobolsk and Omsk in Siberia for Jewish colonies. Nine hundred families from various parts of Russia sent in their applications, and 36 of them actually arrived at Omsk, when in Jan., 1837, a counter order was issued to the effect that "the transfer of Jews to Siberia must be stopt." Seven hundred and thirty-eight families were taken into the 9 colonies at Kherson against their desire. The government expended 234,539 rubles from 1841–45 for these, and 6 new colonies; about 1,661 families, or 12,779 persons, were settled in 15 colonies; 5 synagogs, 12 houses of prayer, 6 town-halls, 7 warehouses, 7 bath-houses, 8 windmills, were built; they had all necessary farm implements and animals, but—the colonies failed owing chiefly to the interference of corrupt government officials. From 1847–60 17 new colonies were established in the province of Ekaterinoslav and 2 in Kherson. In 1865 there were in all 37 colonies, with 2,873 families and 32,943 persons cultivating nearly 249,700 acres of land. In 1864 Jews were deprived of the right to buy, or even to settle on private land. This edict was later recalled, and colonization progressed rapidly in various parts of Russia and Poland, notably with the money and under the philanthropic direction of Baron Günzburg. In 1900 there were in Russia 265 agricultural col-

onies with about 100,000 persons, working about 256,500 acres of land. There were, moreover, 10,038 persons in families scattered over the country, working over 41,310 acres. Poland has a large number of Jewish colonies and single families owning and partly cultivating in 1887 over 639,000 acres.

The Jews are now doing well in the Russian colonies; they have mastered the intricacies of farming, and have established a college where advanced teaching is given in various branches of agriculture. In order to prevent a return to commerce the colony of Rossianka, Bessarabia, requires that every storekeeper within its borders should be a Christian. If they have a number of failures standing against them, these must be attributed to the uncertainty of Russian decrees on the subject, or to the thwarting of the benevolent intentions of the emperors by the bureaucracy, and not to a Jewish repugnance to settle on the land.

Palestine is next in chronological order with Jewish colonies. Sir Moses Montefiore (*q. v.*) visited the Holy Land seven times with the intention of making arrangements for colonies of his coreligionists. In 1838 he selected thirty-five families from Safed and started them on land bought by him. An attempt to form a colony had also been made by Colonel Gawler, of the British Army, but the conditions were not favorable to that project, in 1845, after the war between Turkey and Egypt in 1839–40. A number of organizations, e. g., the Alliance Israélite Universelle of Paris, the Russian "Lovers of Zion," the Odessa Aid Society, the Zionists, the Jewish Colonization Association of London, and several individuals, chiefly Baron de Hirsch (*q. v.*) and Baron de Rothschild, were so interested in the matter and had so many applications that the subject was attacked vigorously after 1870, and since that time up to 1899 about 26 colonies have been established with approximately 5,200 people, occupying over 64,500 acres of land. They have had many privations to endure, and had to combat partly inexperience and administrative difficulties, partly an inclination of the colonists to depend on charity. Many colonies have, however, paid off their indebtedness to the various charitable societies, and are doing well. They raise the various crops of Palestine, chiefly cereals; are interested in arboriculture, horticulture, agriculture, and floriculture. A new departure is the raising of silkworms. But their chief delight is viniculture, and they are said to produce an excellent wine in some colonies, particularly in the Risbon-le-Zion near Jaffa. They have introduced modern scientific farm implements, steam-plows and mills, spacious wine cellars, etc., e. g., at Zikron Ya'akob.

The Argentine Republic has three groups of colonies, established by the Jewish Colonization Association of Paris under the auspices of Baron de Hirsch. Seventeen million acres were purchased in Aug., 1891, for $1,300,000 in different parts of the republic. *Moiseville*, Santa Fé province, was founded 1891 on a tract of 60,000 acres, 22,500 of which were tilled and occupied by 168 families with 825 persons in 1899. The great prosperity of the colony is due chiefly to the culture of Luzerne, which yields 6 crops a year, and enables the colonists to engage in dairying. *Mauricio*, province of Buenos Ayres, comprizes 62,000 acres, occupied by 211 families with 1,045 persons; 22,000 acres were tilled in 1898; the rest was used as pasture for over 3,000 head of cattle. The financial and sanitary conditions are good. The *Clara* colonies, Entre Rios province, date from 1894. They tilled (1898) 66,656 acres out of a total of 195,545 occupied. There are 19 villages or groups with a total population of over 5,000; all of them are fairly prosperous.

Canada had 4 Jewish colonies — Moosomin, Hirsch, Oxbow, and Wappella. One of these proved a failure. *Hirsch*, Assiniboia, named after its founder, began in 1892 with 30 families. In 1900 there were 28 families occupying about 11,700 acres, all doing well. *Wappella*, Assiniboia, was established in 1894 with 20 families. They had means of their own, and received help only for the building of a school in 1898. The colonies are prospering.

The **United States** had a Jewish colony as early as 1837 at Wawarsing, Ulster County, N. Y., consisting of 13 families. It was abandoned in 1842. The Alliance Israélite Universelle, acting through a local committee in New York City, bought 5,000 acres of land on Sicily Island, Catapoula, near Bayou Louis, La., and settled 60 Jewish Russian families with 173 persons in 1881. They worked hard, but a flood of the Mississippi in 1882 swept away all their belongings, and the colonists scattered. That year saw the beginning of the great Russian Jewish migration to the U. S., and colonies were soon established in many states. But a large number have been abandoned.

There are a number of other colonies which have had a temporary success, but failed after one, two, or three years. The most significant thing about Jewish colonies in the U. S. is the fact that where the colonists confined themselves to farming, failure was the rule; success has been met only where industries were combined with farming.

Woodbine, N. J., is the most prosperous colony in the U. S., and deserves special mention. It has its own town organization, and all the officials are Hebrews. The settlers are farmers, artizans, and manufacturers. The weekly rest day is Saturday, but the sixteen Christians of the colony may work on that day. Only one arrest has been made since the foundation of the colony, that of a drunken tramp. A new schoolhouse, costing $15,000, was built in 1904, for 561 pupils; an agricultural college has been established. A "Brotherhood" for the general uplift of the colony was organized which has raised $12,000 within a few years. The village had 2,500 inhabitants in 1907, and was generally prosperous.

The success of Woodbine has greatly encouraged Jewish philanthropists in their endeavor to colonize their coreligionists. In 1904 Mr. Rich, of Milwaukee, founded *Arpin*, Wis., with thirty-three persons on the model of Woodbine. A test farm of 1,000 acres has been established at *Kings Park*, Long Island, to give the prospective colonists a preliminary training for a year, so as to avoid the mistake, made so often in the past, of sending grocers, shopkeepers, and factory hands to the land without any knowledge of farming. About $1,000,000 has been subscribed by various societies and philanthropists in order to push the colonization, not only with zeal as in the past, but with discretion. In this endeavor to furnish prospective Jewish farmers with the

TABLE OF ATTEMPTED AND EXISTING JEWISH COLONIES IN THE U. S. SINCE 1880

NAME	LOCATION	ESTABLISHED	ABANDONED	FAMILIES	PERSONS	LAND IN ACRES	CAPITAL	FOUNDER OR HEAD	NATURE
.....	Sicily Island, La.	1881	1882	60	173	5,000	$5,500	Alliance Israélite	Agricultural
Cremieux	Davison Co., S. D.	1882	1885	20	About 90	5,000	.....	Herman Rosenthal	Agricultural
Bethlehem Yehudah	Davison Co., S. D.	1885	1886	.....	.....	.....	.....	Alliance Israélite	Agricultural
Cotopaxi	California	1882	1883	15	64	1,780	Over $5,000	Emigrant Aid Society, N. Y.	Agricultural
New Odessa	Oregon	1882	1888	.....	50	3,000	$20,000	Independent	Agricultural and socialistic
Painted Woods	Burleigh Co., N. D.	1882	1887	54	200	8,000	.....	Rev. J. Wechsler, St. Paul	Agricultural
Montefiore	Pratt Co., Kan.	1884	1885	.....	.....	.....	.....	Sir Moses Montefiore	Agricultural
Lasker	Ford Co., Kan.	1885	1889	17	.....	5,860	.....	Montefiore Aid Society, N. Y.	Agricultural
Beersheba	Hodgeman Co., Kan.	1885	1885	.....	.....	.....	.....	Hebrews of Cincinnati	Agricultural
Hebron	Kansas	1882	Unknown	80	.....	.....	.....	Montefiore Aid Society, N. Y.	Agricultural
Gilead	Comanche Co., Kan.	1886	Unknown	20	.....	.....	.....	.....	Agricultural
Palestine	Near Bad Axe, Mich.	1891	Exists	16	63	800	.....	Beth El Hebrew Relief, Detroit	Agricultural
Washington	Virginia	1883	Soon	15	.....	.....	.....	Independent	Agricultural
Waterview	Virginia	1883	1886	9	.....	.....	.....	Jews of Baltimore	Agricultural
Chesterfield	Connecticut	1892	Exists	33	.....	2,000	3,000	Baron de Hirsch Fund	Agricultural
Alliance	Salem Co., N. J.	1882	Exists	96	512	1,500	10,000	Alliance Israélite	Agricultural and industrial
Carmel	Cumberland Co., N. J.	1882	Exists	89	471	2,400	10,000	Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society	Agricultural and industrial
Rosenhayn	Cumberland Co., N. J.	1883	Exists	67	294	1,390	.....	Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society	Agricultural and industrial
Woodbine	Cape May Co., N. J.	1891	Exists	.....	75	5,300	37,500	Baron de Hirsch Fund	Agricultural and industrial

necessary educational qualifications, and to provide homes for Hebrews in the country, philanthropists should be encouraged as far as possible.

RUDOLPH M. BINDER.

REFERENCES: Frederic, *The New Exodus*; Buchholz, *Geschichte der Justen in Riga*, 1889; A. M. Luncz, *Jerusalem*, i.–iii.; *Seventh Report of the Jewish Refugees' Aid Society*, London, 1892; *Die Welt*, various articles, 1897–1900; *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. i.; *The Circle*, Sept., 1907.

JOHNSON, ALEXANDER: General secretary of the National Conference of Charities and Correction; associate director of the School of Philanthropy; born 1847 at Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancashire, England. He engaged in commerce until 1884, when he became secretary of the Associated Charities of Cincinnati, 1884–86, and later of the Charity Organization Society of Chicago, 1886–89, and of the State Board of Charities of Indiana, 1889–93. From 1893 to 1903 he was superintendent of Indiana School for Feeble-Minded Youth. In 1897 he was elected president of the National Conference of Charities and Correction. Mr. Johnson's views on political economy and social reform may be called those of a sympathy with the Fabian Socialists, but he is hardly prepared to accept all their program. *Address*: 2139 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis, Ind.

JOHNSON, FRANCIS: General secretary of Independent Labor Party; born 1878 in London, where he was educated in a board school. After he had served for a time as a shop-boy in a second-hand bookstore he rose to the position of manager. Joining the Independent Labor Party, he soon became prominent in his local branch. In 1900 he entered the general office of his party, became assistant secretary in 1903, and general secretary in 1904. *Address*: 23 Bride Lane, Fleet Street, E. C., London, England.

JOHNSON, JOHN: Labor member of Parliament for Gateshead; born 1850; went into the pits at the age of nine; became a member of the Executive Committee, Durham Miners' Association, in 1883; treasurer in 1890, and financial secretary in 1897. Elected to Parliament in 1894; again in 1906 by the votes of the Miners' Association. *Address*: 20, The Avenue, Durham, England.

JOHNSON, TOM LOFTIN: Reform mayor of Cleveland, and capitalist. He was born in Georgetown, Ky., July 28, 1854; removed to Indiana in his early childhood, and received an elementary education there. After he had made some money, he bought a street-railway in Indianapolis; and when he had put the road on a paying basis, he acquired large interests in the street-railways of Cleveland, Detroit, and Brooklyn. In Cleveland, he began to manufacture iron and steel.

He was elected a member of Congress by the Democrats from 1891–95; and became a strong advocate of the "single tax" theories. At the present he is devoting all his time to economic questions, particularly to that of taxation, and to his official duties as mayor of Cleveland, having been elected to that office in 1901. He has succeeded in reducing the fare to three cents on the street-cars of his city. *Address*: Cleveland, Ohio.

JOHNSON, WILLIAM: Labor member of Parliament for Nuneaton, Warwickshire; born 1849; began work early in a factory, later in a mine. Has been secretary and agent of the Warwick-

shire Miners' Association since 1885; is a member of the County Council for Bedworth. Was elected to Parliament in 1906, chiefly by the votes of the Miners' Association, assisted by the Liberals. *Address*: Miners' Offices, Bedworth, Nuneaton, England.

JOHNSON, WILLIAM EUGENE: American journalist and Prohibitionist; born Coventry, N. Y., 1862; educated in public schools and University of Nebraska. He was writer on the Lincoln *Daily News*, and in other journalism till he became associate editor of the *New York Voice* (Prohibition) and of *The New Voice*, Chicago, 1899–1905. Was Prohibitionist nominee for Congress in Maryland, 1904; he is special agent of U. S. Interior Department, and appointed to aid in suppressing the liquor traffic in the Indian Territory and Oklahoma. Author (with John Woolley) "Temperance Progress in the Nineteenth Century" (1903), and of the "Encyclopedia of the Alcohol Problem" (in preparation). *Address*: Laurel, Md.

JONES, RICHARD: English economist; born Tunbridge Wells, England, 1790; graduated Cambridge 1816; was ordained to the ministry; in 1833 became professor of political economy at King's College, London, and in 1835 succeeded Malthus in the chair of political economy and history at the East India College, Haileybury. From 1836 to 1851 he occupied the position of commissioner under the Tithe Commutation Act. Died at Haileybury, Jan. 26, 1855. As an economist, Jones stands between the school of Adam Smith and the modern historical economists. He recognizes strongly the necessity of the inductive method, and opposes the deductive method of Ricardo.

JOWETT, F. W.: English Labor M.P.; born at Bradford. He worked in the textile mills there and became manufacturer's manager at twenty-eight. In 1901 Jowett devoted himself to public work, and for several years was director of the Bradford Provident Industrial Society. In 1892 he became a city councilor, and in 1895 was made an alderman. Mr. Jowett was before the constituency from 1897. He was elected to Parliament, 1906, for Bradford West, indorsed by the Labor Representative Committee. *Address*: 2 Grantham Place, Bradford.

JUDAISM, SOCIAL POLITY OF: All views and interpretations of the sacred books of the Hebrew race find in them the institutes of a peculiar social polity. Viewed as the product of infallible inspiration or in the light of the latest and highest criticism, the Old Testament records a social polity, whether given of God in immediate revelation or developed through long ages of national evolution, of deepest interest and most practical significance. The heart of the whole is in the national law. Says Canon Fremantle ("The World the Subject of Redemption"):

> The Law was the center of the religion and theology of Israel. . . . It was not "the law of commandments contained in ordinances," but the law of righteousness, which underlays the ordinances. . . . The *mere* ceremonialism, apart from moral good, finds no encouragement in the Old Testament. Against that all the prophets from Hosea onward protest. . . . The law of moral and political relations is the center of the theology of the Old Testament. . . . The theme which is more than any other upon their poets' lips is the law of Jehovah. . . .
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> In the Psalms there are a few faint allusions to ceremonial customs, such as the laws of drink offerings of blood, or of forbidden food, or the purging with hyssop; a few words about the new moon and solemn feast days; not a word about circumcision, not a word about the passover, not a word about the Sabbaths, not a word about ceremonial uncleanness. There is probably in modern hymns, eighteen centuries after Christ, more of artificial religion than in the Psalms, written in the bosom of Judaism. But, on the other hand, almost every Psalm appeals to the law of plain justice, public and private. . . . It is the moral and political law, not the ceremonial, which is enshrined in the hearts of the people.

The basis of the whole law is the recognition of Jehovah as the God of the nation, the Creator and Ruler and Owner of the earth. Land belongs to Him; His are the firstfruits; He is the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob; His law is to be obeyed. This law is given to the organized nation, not to individuals. The first duty of parents to the male child of a Gentile convert was circumcision, the symbol of initiation into the national life. The Law was not given to any person in view of a personal relation to God, but only to the circumcised, or their wives and daughters, those who belonged to the organic national life. It was, thus, primarily a law of institutions. With the organized national life went the family. The first duty of the circumcised child was to obey and honor his parents (Ex. xx. 12). "Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honor the face of the old man" (Lev. xix. 32). Purity and chastity were strictly inculcated. The law allowed polygamy; but he who follows the development of the Hebrew people from the obscenity and impurity, into which they are recorded as falling, through idolatrous practises, in the early years of their history, into the comparative purity and monogamy which prevailed among the Jews in the time of Christ, will realize how practically the Law aided and developed pure family life.

National Basis

As in all patriarchal civilizations, the servant or slave was made a member of the household. Slavery was allowed, but it was nothing like chattel slavery; it was scarcely slavery. In Judea alone of all countries, ancient and modern, the slave had rights and was not under the caprice of his master. Every Hebrew slave could go free at the end of the sixth year (Ex. xxi. 2). He was to be furnished liberally out of the flock, and out of the flour, and out of the winepress (Deut. xv. 14). The wages of servants were to be paid every night: "The wages of him that is hired shall not abide all night until the morning" (Lev. xix. 13). Charity in all relations was inculcated: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor," said the law (Lev. xix. 18); "Thou shalt hate thine enemy" was an unauthorized addition. Justice in trade was a sacred duty (Lev. xix. 36); but the needy were particularly to be aided. "If there be among you a poor man, of one of the brethren, within any of the gates in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not harden thy heart, nor shut thine hand from thy poor brother, but thou shalt open thine hand wide unto him and shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need" (Deut. xv. 7, 8). The loan was to be without interest. "If thou lend money to any of my people that is poor by thee, thou shalt not be to him as a usurer; neither shalt thou lay upon him usury" (Ex. xxii. 25). Usury meant interest; the word is sometimes translated increase. "Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother, usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of anything that is lent upon usury," said the Deuteronomic

Treatment of the Poor

law. This was not a moral law of universal validity. The Hebrew was allowed to take interest from a Gentile. "Unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury" (Deut. xxiii. 20). It was a socialist law, and one had to belong to the instituted nation to gain its benefits. Those who walked through cornfields or vineyards were to be allowed to pluck of the corn or the vine (Deut. xxiii. 25). The widow and the orphan were particularly to be cared for (Deut. x. 18).

All these enactments were made possible by the Hebrew land law. Under private property and a competitive civilization it is impossible to lend without interest to every one that asks, or to allow trespassing on a planted field or vineyard. Under the Hebrew law it was possible, because everybody was protected in the *use* (not ownership) of a little land, and therefore those who needed to borrow or receive aid were comparatively few. God was considered the owner of all the land, and it was meted out not for ownership, but for use. "The land shall not be sold forever, for the land is mine," God is represented as saying in Lev. xxv. 23. The land was supposed to have been measured out by Joshua by the line and the lot, and a portion assigned to each family according to its size. And this ownership for use was inalienable. If any family became embarrassed and gave the land in debt, it returned on the fiftieth year—the year of jubilee—to its former owner. This was the wording of the law as given in Lev. xxv. 24–31:

Land Law

And in all the land of your possession ye shall grant a redemption for the land.

If thy brother be waxen poor, and hath sold away *some* of his possession, and if any of his kin come to redeem it, then shall he redeem that which his brother sold.

And if the man have none to redeem it, and himself be able to redeem it;

Then let him count the years of the sale thereof, and restore the overplus unto the man to whom he sold it, that he may return unto his possession.

But if he be not able to restore *it* to him, then that which is sold shall remain in the hand of him that hath bought it until the year of jubilee; and in the jubilee it shall go out, and he shall return unto his possession.

There was a difference, however, with walled cities.

And if a man sell a dwelling-house in a walled city, then he may redeem it within a whole year after it is sold; *within* a full year may he redeem it.

And if it be not redeemed within the space of a full year, then the house that *is* in the walled city shall be established forever to him that bought it, throughout his generations: it shall not go out in the jubilee.

But the houses of the villages, which have no walls round about them, shall be counted as the fields of the country: they may be redeemed, and they shall go out in the jubilee.

The object of this distinction seems to have been to make agricultural life and property more secure than city life and property, in order to encourage agricultural life. But it was not only the land that the law protected for the use of all. It was a socialist law in that it protected the worker in the ownership of his tools. If he gave them in pledge they could not be kept from him overnight. Says Deut. xxiv. 10–14:

When thou dost lend thy brother anything, thou shalt not go into his house to fetch his pledge.

Thou shalt stand abroad, and the man to whom thou dost lend shall bring out the pledge abroad unto thee.

And if the man *be* poor, thou shalt not sleep with his pledge.

In any case thou shalt deliver him the pledge again when the sun goeth down, that he may sleep in his own raiment, and bless thee: and it shall be righteousness unto thee before the Lord thy God.

Verse 6 in the same chapter says: "No man shall take the nether or upper millstone to pledge, for he taketh a man's life to pledge." Protected thus, both in the access to land and the use of tools, no Hebrew, as long as the law was obeyed, need be poor. Taxation was a single tax of one tenth of all produce of the soil or the flock. This prevented all extortion of financiers. The whole system of laws was connected with a ritual to connect the political law with the thought of God. Great religious festivals were organized in connection with the national history and with the seasons. The Levites administered the law in connection with the temple or religious gatherings. The people, in solemn assemblies, repeated the curses and blessings of the Law. The whole law of the land was connected with the religious Sabbatical feasts. One day in seven the laborer found complete rest. One year in seven the land was to go untilled; the slave was to go free; one year in seven times seven was the year of jubilee, when land reverted to the owner and every mortgage was wiped off. Religion was thus associated with relief from labor and release from debt. There was no king; those ruled who showed themselves inspired of God; the nation was organized by tribes, families, and other divisions. Such was, in brief, the Hebrew social polity. In practise it was overthrown. The Hebrew people eventually chose a king, and found slavery and captivity. Some think the law was never fulfilled; that the law we have summarized was only very gradually developed. With the history we are not here concerned. Christian socialists believe that it needed the Spirit of Christ to fulfil the law. (See CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.) Socialists argue that the world was not yet ready for socialism. Individualists claim that it was an impossible and impractical legalism.

Religious Sanctions

REFERENCE: Canon W. H. Fremantle, *The World, the Subject of Redemption.*

JUDICIARY SYSTEM UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN: (For other countries, see those countries.)

I. UNITED STATES.

The judiciary system of the U. S., on account of the size of the country and the involved relation of federal and state courts, is very much more complicated and involved than in any other, and in no other country does the judiciary play the important political part that it does in the U. S.; for in no country except the U. S. is the Supreme Court of justice also the Supreme Court of legislative judgment.

We consider (*a*) the Federal Courts; (*b*) the Supreme Court; (*c*) the State Courts; (*d*) the Miscarriage of Justice.

a. The Federal Courts.—The constitution gives to federal courts jurisdiction in

1. All cases in law and equity arising under the constitution, the laws of the U. S., treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority, and in general all cases concerning the country as a whole, ministers, and consuls.

2. Controversies between two or more states, between citizens of different states, between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

The federal courts are of three kinds—the Supreme Court at Washington, circuit, and district

courts. The Supreme Court has nine judges—a chief justice (salary, $13,000) and eight associate judges (salaries, $12,500). They are nominated for life by the president and confirmed by the Senate, and are removable only by impeachment. Only once has a judge of the Supreme Court been impeached—Samuel Chase, of Maryland, in 1804–5, and then unsuccessfully. The Supreme Court sits from October to July of each year. Six judges must be present to pronounce a decision, and every case is discust by the whole body twice over.

The circuit courts number nine, each with its own judges (salaries, $7,000), and to each is allotted a judge of the Supreme Court. A Circuit Court of Appeals was established in 1891, to attempt to relieve the overtaxed Supreme Court. District courts number 91, and there has been established at Washington a special Court of Claims. All federal judges are appointed for life (subject to impeachment), as the Supreme judges, tho the constitution does not state that this should be so. The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in cases affecting ambassadors, and where a state is a party, is original; in all other cases it is appellate.

Jurisdiction

The criminal jurisdiction of the federal courts, which extends to all offenses against federal law, is purely statutory. "The U. S. as such can have no common law. It derives its powers from the grant of the people made by the constitution, and they are all to be found in the written law, and not elsewhere" (Cooley's "Principles," p. 131).

Each federal court has attached to it a U. S. marshal, to carry out its decisions, and he can call on good citizens for help, and, if necessary, apply to Washington to obtain the aid of the federal troops.

On the somewhat complicated point as to the relation of federal and state law, Mr. Bryce says ("The American Commonwealth," 1st ed. pp. 247, 248):

> The U. S. is a federation of commonwealths, each of which has its own constitution and laws. The federal constitution not only gives certain powers to Congress, as the national legislature, but recognizes certain powers in the states, in virtue whereof their respective peoples have enacted fundamental state laws (the state constitutions) and have enabled their respective legislatures to pass state statutes. However, as the nation takes precedence of the states, the federal constitution, which is the supreme law of the land everywhere, and the statutes duly made by Congress under it, are preferred to all state constitutions and statutes; and if any conflict arise between them, the latter must give way. The same phenomenon therefore occurs as in the case of an inconsistency between the constitution and a congressional statute. Where it is shown that a state constitution or statute infringes either the federal constitution or a federal (i. e., congressional) statute, the state constitution or statute must be held and declared invalid. And this declaration must, of course, proceed from the courts, nor solely from the federal courts; because when a state court decides against its own statutes or constitution in favor of a federal law, its decision is final.

b. The Supreme Court.—The constitution of the U. S. is above the power of Congress to change. It was ratified and made binding not by Congress, but by the people, and can be amended only by the people in appointed ways—a most difficult and slow process. Congress can therefore legislate only subject to the limits the constitution sets. The tenth amendment to the constitution, adopted in 1791, distinctly says: "The powers not delegated to the U. S. by the constitution nor prohibited by it to the states are reserved to the states respectively or to the people."

The body that finally decides what is constitutional is the Supreme Court. Any law that the Supreme Court decides unconstitutional is illegal. This gives the Supreme Court enormous power. After long debate Congress passed an income tax (*q. v.*), and there is no question that such a tax was desired by a large majority of the people; but the Supreme Court decided by one vote that the bill was unconstitutional, and the bill did not become law. In such a case a single corrupt judge could subvert the will of the whole people save as by slow process the constitution is amended. This to an extent makes the judiciary supreme over Congress and the executive, and (except by the slow process of constitutional amendment) to a degree supreme over the people. It is true that the Supreme Court does not formally act on legislative bills—its power is only one of interpretation. It simply decides the individual case brought before it according to the law, and where laws conflict, according to the highest law, that is the constitution; but this practically enables it to pass upon any bill enacted by Congress. And this power of interpretation is the greater for two reasons: (1) That a wrong decision is not easily reversed. In England, if the courts find that a law means what the people do not desire, the law can easily be amended. In the U. S. a wrong interpretation of the constitution is most difficult to reverse. (2) The constitution, being of necessity brief, the opportunity for interpretation is very broad. Hence in practise the Supreme Court has enormous power. It is true that this power has not been frequently corruptly used. The Supreme Court has not by many been considered venal or even unfair; but the trouble is that the people often have more to fear from just decisions than unjust. A decision flagrantly unjust or venal could be more easily reversed; but a just decision that the constitution does not allow of a certain measure is difficult to reverse, even tho the whole people desire it. Yet, to Democrats, at least, what the large majority desire ought to be legal. Legislation ought to belong in usufruct to the living. A free people ought not to be fettered by a constitution enacted a century ago under conditions utterly different from the present. Yet if the Supreme Court decides a bill unconstitutional, it cannot hold, no matter what the people will, save by slow process of amendment; and the more honest the judges are the more difficult to change the decision. In cases where a U. S. official, like the president, deems that the Supreme Court has made a mistake in the interpretation of the constitution, it has been claimed that he must follow the best judgment he has and disobey the Supreme Court, since, in his judgment, to obey the court would violate the constitution he is first of all bound to obey. President Jackson attacked the U. S. Bank as illegal, tho the Supreme Court had decided it legal. Jefferson denounced a judgment of Chief Justice Marshall. Majorities in Congress have claimed the same right; but recently both executive and legislative have receded from claiming this right, and certainly in case of a just decision it would be impossible to disobey it on this ground.

Dangerous Powers

The constitution does not limit the number of supreme judges, and some claim that the will of the people could be realized by appointing judges who would decide that the will of the people was constitutional; but such a procedure would be looked upon as revolutionary by many, if not by

most. The seriousness of this feature of the constitution cannot, therefore, be easily exaggerated. It is true that thus far no great evils have seemed to arise. John Fiske says of the Supreme Court ("Civil Government in the U. S." p. 252):

> It is peculiarly American, and for its exalted character and priceless services it is an institution of which Americans may well be proud.

Mr. Bryce says ("The American Commonwealth," 1st ed., pp. 406, 407):

> The rigid constitution of the U. S. has rendered and renders inestimable service. It opposes obstacles to rash and hasty changes. It secures time for deliberation. . . . It forms the mind and temper of the people. It trains them to habits of legality. . . . It familiarizes them with, it attaches them by ties of pride and reverence to, those fundamental truths on which the constitution is based.

And again (p. 271):

> The credit and dignity of the Supreme Court stand very high. No one of its members has ever been suspected of corruption, and comparatively few have allowed their political sympathies to disturb their official judgment.

But in spite of this favorable view two things must be remembered: (1) that the longer the country moves from the conditions when the constitution was framed, the more must its requirements fetter and be unsuited to the needs and wishes of the people; (2) the more political questions turn upon industrial and financial questions, the more likely is the Supreme Court to be out of touch with the masses of the country. Almost of necessity the supreme judges come from the class of the most educated, the most successful, the most wealthy; this must be so almost inevitably from the nature of the case; almost inevitably, therefore, with the best of will, they must judge from their environment, their education, their experience. Whether they will understand the common people is, therefore, especially in industrial matters, at least questionable. Without, then, reflection upon the purity of the Supreme Court, its power under the constitution is open to the gravest question. It is not necessary. In England it is not so. In England, Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, the Act of Settlement, the Acts of Union with Scotland and Ireland are merely ordinary laws which can be repealed by Parliament at any moment. There is no constitution superior to the legislature. All laws are made by the legislature and all can be repealed by it; nor is the institution necessary even to a republic.

Unnecessary

Says Mr. Bryce ("The American Commonwealth," pp. 259, 260):

> The case of Switzerland shows that the American plan is not the only one possible to a federation. The Swiss Federal Court, while instituted in imitation of the American, is not the only authority competent to determine whether a canonical law is void because inconsistent with the federal constitution, for in some cases recourse must be had not to the court but to the Federal Council, which is a sort of executive cabinet of the confederation. And the Federal Court is bound to enforce every law passed by the federal legislature, even if it violate the constitution. In other words, the Swiss constitution has reserved some points of canonical law for an authority not judicial, but political, and has made the federal legislature the sole judge of its own powers, the authorized interpreter of the constitution, and an interpreter not likely to proceed on purely legal grounds.

Some radicals believe that the cure for America lies in one constitutional amendment giving to Congress the power of action, within certain limits, without reference to the constitution. A large number find the cure in the adoption of the referendum (*q. v.*).

c. State Judiciary.—The judiciary in every state includes three sets of courts: A supreme court or court of appeals; superior courts of record; local courts; but the particular names and relations of these several tribunals and the arrangements for criminal business vary greatly from state to state. There are courts of common pleas, probate courts, surrogate courts, prerogative courts, courts of oyer and terminer, orphans' courts, courts of general sessions of the peace and jail delivery, quarter sessions, hustings' courts, county courts, etc.

The jurisdiction of state courts is complete. There is no appeal to federal courts except on matters pertaining to federal law. Each state recognizes the judgments of the courts of a sister state, gives credit to its public acts and records, and delivers up to its justice any fugitive from its jurisdiction charged with a crime. Of course the courts of one state are not bound either by law or usage to follow the reported decisions of those of another state. They use such decisions merely for their own enlightenment, and as some evidence of the common law, just as they use the English law reports. Each state makes its own law, and these laws vary enormously not only between states, but also from time to time.

Concerning the purity of the state judiciary, Mr. Bryce says ("The American Commonwealth," p. 507):

> Any one of the three phenomena I have described—popular elections, short terms, and small salaries—would be sufficient to lower the character of the judiciary. Popular elections throw the choice into the hands of political parties—that is to say, of knots of wirepullers, inclined to use every office as a means of rewarding political services, and garrisoning with grateful partizans posts which may conceivably become of political importance. Short terms . . . oblige the judge to remember and keep on good terms with those who have made him what he is, and in whose hands his fortunes lie. . . . Small salaries prevent able men from offering themselves for places whose incomes are perhaps only one tenth of what a leading barrister can make by private practise. . . . The mischief is serious, but I must own that it is smaller than a European observer is prepared to expect.

The reasons given for this lack of the worst results Mr. Bryce considers the presence in every state of federal tribunals, the power of public opinion, and lastly the power of the professional influence of the bar. Nevertheless, great scandals have arisen. (See CORRUPTION.)

Lawyers in the U. S., differently from those in Europe, are allowed to plead in any court they will. Almost absolute liberty is given. The result is an intense competition, and not unfrequently a low tone for the profession.

This freedom allows of great injustice to the poor. Judgments are often pronounced, not upon absolute equity, but upon whether the accused has in court been proven to have violated a law. Especially where the laws are as involved as in the U. S., a shrewd lawyer, unless opposed by one equally shrewd, can find some loophole in the law for almost any client, at least in civil practise. A wealthy corporation can afford to employ the shrewdest counsel. The poor usually cannot. Therefore the poor are usually in such cases helpless. Of the injustice of this to the poor we speak in the next section. Of its effect upon the lawyers we speak now. It means that in most cases success for the lawyer lies in shrewdly defending or serving the interests of the great corporations, as the railroads, etc. To do this requires of necessity no actual dishonesty, but simply the development of ability

Corporation Lawyers

to see shrewd ways of avoiding or using the requirements of law. The average successful lawyer is the corporation lawyer. He becomes accustomed to viewing things not from the standpoint of equity, but of shrewd interpretation in favor of his corporation. This is what he is paid to do. Involving at first at least no absolute dishonesty, it leads too often to a blunting of the moral sense. Even where this does not result, by his interests, his ambitions, his associations, his professional instinct, above all, his social environment, he becomes honestly the partizan of the corporation. He goes into the legislature and finds there abundant opportunity to serve his former clients, and by his training is led even unconsciously to do so. The financial prizes in this line are very large. Corporation lawyers, in what is considered perfectly legitimate practise, can make as much as $100,000 a year, while $50,000 is not infrequent. With 114,000 lawyers in the U. S., in 1900 competing for these prizes, many of them poor, the temptation to rise by serving the interests of wealth becomes well-nigh irresistible. A very few succeed by championing the cause of labor, but usually they lose professional and social caste, so that many who for political reasons might choose the side of the poor are deterred by family and social claims. Under these circumstances, without the necessity of implying any unusual corruption on the part of the lawyers, the people are, and especially the labor people, not without reason, growing suspicious of corporation attorneys, and particularly of their presence in legislatures, where, however, they form the large majority in the House of Representatives.

d. The Miscarriage of Justice.—The miscarriage of justice in modern courts is not mainly due to unjust judges or corrupt lawyers, but to the present judicial system. Professor Ely writes in the *Christian Advocate*:

> Perhaps no current phrase is more frequently heard than that all men are equal before the law. It belongs to a class of phrases which cover facts and prevent thought. Nothing could be farther from the truth, for it is possible to mention at least six respects in which legal inequality exists to-day in the U. S.
>
> 1. All men are supposed to be familiar with the law, and ignorance of the law excuses no one. How, then, can we talk about the equality of the law, when the law is so complicated, and only few can know it? In addition to the comparatively few who can know it, there are a few wealthy individuals and corporations who can employ well-trained experts in the law to inform them of the law in so far as it is important for them to know it. Compare the situation in this respect of a great railway corporation and a labor organization with which it may be engaged in conflict. It is not at all unlikely that some of the officers of the corporation may themselves be trained lawyers, receiving salaries of from $5,000 to $25,000, and in addition to this the corporation is certain to have in its constant employment attorneys receiving high salaries, and who give advice upon every step taken. The counselors of the corporation are familiar with every twist and turn of the law, and know the purport of conflicting judicial decisions, so hard for the ordinary man to understand.
>
> **Expense of Litigation**
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> The highest salary ever received by an officer of a labor organization was $5,000, and it is believed that at the present time no one receives over $3,000. No labor organization can keep in its constant employ able attorneys, for, on the one hand, it cannot pay sufficiently high salaries to secure the best talent, and, on the other, the position of attorney for working men is not calculated to lead to further advancement. . . .
>
> 2. The law affords very unequal protection to the rich and to the poor. The avenues of justice are in one way and another closed to the poor and ignorant. If ignorance itself of the proper methods of securing redress is not a sufficient barrier, fees of one kind and another and heavy court charges deter the poorer members of the community from seeking justice at law. When poor people have a case in the courts to protect them against their employers, or others with larger economic resources, the case may be delayed from time to time, may be appealed from one court to another, and it may be transferred from one jurisdiction to another. Railway corporations engaged in interstate commerce like to transfer cases to the U. S. courts, and thus they can put their antagonists to the expense of long journeys. These are some of the ways by means of which the resources of the poorer party can be exhausted and justice defeated. Often the poor man does not know how to take the first step to secure justice, and when he takes the first step it often happens that he is exhausted before he can take the last one.
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> The secretary of the Chicago Bureau of Justice, to which reference has already been made, in his second annual report speaks about the inaccessibility of the means of legal redress for wage-earners, and generally for the poorer members of the community. He says that it is necessary that the fee system should be abolished, both in so far as it relates to justices of the peace and to constables. . . .
>
> 3. We must consider the inequality of the law itself. The law in the U. S. is not so framed expressly that an offense committed by an employer or a rich man receives one kind of punishment, and the offense committed by an employee or a poor man receives a different kind of punishment, but the penalties are so framed that they bear with unequal severity upon the various social classes, and thus offenses apt to be committed by the rich are not likely to be visited by such heavy penalties as those to which the poorer people are specially liable.
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> I am glad to be able to quote so good an authority, a man so highly esteemed, as the late Josiah Quincy, who in his "Figures of the Past" thus describes one kind of legal inequality: "It is no disrespect to the majesty of the law to maintain that it has not yet sloughed off all its barbarisms. So long as a punishment of a money fine is accepted from the rich, and the alternative imprisonment is exacted from the poor, the equality of all men before the law is but a sounding phrase."
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> 4. We have under the next heading to notice the unequal administration of even equal law. The devices which are open to those who can employ the best legal counsel for escaping the penalties of the law on the one hand, and for bringing them to bear heavily on opponents on the other hand, are well known to all. Again,
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> **Unequal Administration**
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> I am glad to be able to make a quotation, in order to have additional confirmation of my position, altho I think no honest and well-informed man will attempt to dispute it. It excited no surprize a few years ago when Mr. Walling, ex-Superintendent of Police of New York City, said, "Altho, of course, all things are possible, yet I would not count as among probable contingencies under the present system of government in New York the hanging of any one of its millionaires, no matter how unprovoked or premeditated the murder he might have committed."
>
> Many examples of unequal administration of the law can be given—in fact, so many that it seems almost absurd to mention any concrete cases. Nevertheless, I will give one or two illustrations in order to direct the thought of my readers, and to lead to further observation on their part. Railways are again instructive. A few years ago a terrible accident occurred in Massachusetts. The railway directors had disregarded the express recommendations of the railway commissioners of Massachusetts to test the safety of the bridge properly. There were no automatic brakes, and there were not so many brakemen as the law requires. A prominent paper of New York of high standing said that the case was clearly one of a preventable accident, and that it was deemed in law criminal negligence. The writer of the editorial stated that the parties responsible could be indicted and punished, and suggested that an example of punishment would teach railway managers a useful lesson. Is it necessary to tell my readers that no attempt was made to enforce the law? Every reader knows it before I state it, and he knows, furthermore, that the law in such cases is not likely to be enforced. Suppose, on the other hand, that the leaders of a great labor organization, in their desire to raise wages, or for any pecuniary reasons, should take a course resulting in loss of life, is there one of my readers who does not know that the law would lay a very heavy hand on these labor leaders? It happened not long ago that certain directors of a great corporation were indicted for an accident which resulted in a horrible death of passengers. How tenderly and considerately they were treated when they were brought before the court was described by the daily press, and the bail was fixt at $5,000, a mere nothing for men of vast wealth. About the same time a labor leader was indicted in New York for conspiracy and extortion. This leader was at the time in Pennsylvania, and bail was at first altogether refused, and finally was fixt at $20,000, an enormous sum for such a person, probably more than he and a half dozen of his best friends together were worth.
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> Taxation reveals another kind of unequal administration. The property of the rich is rarely assessed at so high a relative rate as the property of the poor. . . .
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> 5. A fifth kind of legal inequality is seen in the failure to provide laws needed by the masses when contrasted with the readiness to provide laws needed by the few rich, especially powerful corporations. . . .
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> 6. The last kind of legal inequality relates to the use of more or less corrupt means for defeating the ends of justice. These means, which of course should not exist at all, are

accessible only to the few. Jury-bribing is one, but that is coarse and clumsy. There are many more refined processes. A friend of mine was employed in a large law office which was concerned especially with railway cases. He tells me that the lawyers in this office secure a list of all names on the jury list in all places along the line of the railway for which they are attorneys. They found out before cases were tried the personal opinions in regard to railways of every single man who could be drawn for jury service, and they challenged the names of those who were regarded as unfriendly to railways. He said that it thus becomes impossible for any one to recover damages. I will mention only two other devices under this head. One is through influence with the appointing power to secure the appointment of judges friendly to railway interests where judges are appointed, and through influence with politicians to secure the nomination of judges by both parties favorable to these same interests.

II. Great Britain.

The judicial system of Great Britain and Ireland is much more simple. In England and Wales the principal courts with criminal jurisdiction are the High Court of Justice, the courts of oyer and terminer and jail delivery (assizes), the general or quarter sessions, the petty sessions courts, and the Central Criminal Court. Two or more justices of the peace, sitting with a metropolitan or borough police magistrate or other stipendary magistrate, constitute a petty sessions court. Two justices constitute a court of "quarter sessions," meeting quarterly in "general sessions" at other times. Assize courts also meet quarterly in appointed towns, held by a commissioner, nominated by the crown, usually from the King's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice, but sometimes merely a king's counsel. The Central Criminal is for the city of London. The petty sessions deal with minor offenses, and greater offenses are usually investigated by them and then tried in sessions or assizes. At least twelve and not over twenty-three citizens of the district form a grand jury, and if they find a true bill, the case is tried before a judge and petty jury of twelve, from which there is ordinarily no appeal. If declared innocent the accused cannot be tried again on the charge; if convicted on questions of law (not of fact), the judge may reserve the case for the Court of Crown Cases Reserved.

In Scotland borough magistrates and justices of the peace try minor cases; county sheriffs are the criminal judges, and if they try cases with a jury there can be no appeal. The supreme court is the High Court of Justice, and consists of all the judges of the Court of Sessions. One judge can and usually does try most cases.

In Ireland the system is not essentially different from that of England and Wales. (For other countries, see those countries.)

JURY, TRIAL BY: A "petit" jury is a body of twelve men selected and sworn to determine the facts as to a suit or an indictment and to find their verdict according to the evidence presented to them. A "grand" jury is one of not less than twelve or more than twenty-three, of whom twelve must agree, to decide whether there is a sufficient reasonable probability that a person has committed an offense to justify presenting or holding him for trial before a petit jury. The grand jury still has generally the right to some extent to inquire into criminal offenses of its own motion.

The jury, as known in England and America, is the descendant of the Frankish and Norman use of the inquisition, i. e., the practise of ascertaining facts by summoning together by public authority a number of men most likely and most competent, as living in the place where the facts occurred, to know and tell the truth. By a slow, but logical, process of development, it is now established that the jury must base their verdict only on the evidence submitted to them. The judges have now adequate power to set aside verdicts which they consider contrary to the evidence or to the instructions given by the court as to the law, and to reduce damages. It is clearly established that the jury are to deal only with the facts, and that all matters of law are to be left to the judge in civil cases, and so almost everywhere in criminal cases. Almost everywhere, provision is made for waiver of jury trial by consent and for sending to masters or auditors cases which appear to be too long or complex for the jury, even tho the parties may still insist upon a retrial before a jury. Great pains are taken everywhere to secure impartial juries. The parties in civil cases, and the accused in criminal, have ample opportunity to object to jurors for cause and to some extent without assigning cause.

There is now, as there always has been, some complaint of the jury system, but nothing more satisfactory has yet been developed. In criminal cases, many men who might be competent are disqualified because they have, or think they have, formed an opinion on newspaper reports. Men of intelligence and otherwise good character are rarely willing to do their share of the public duty by serving on juries, while others not fit for those duties are eager to undertake them, attracted by the pay, generally more than that of an unskilled laborer. That this is nothing new may be seen from the recital in the statute of 13 Edward I., 38, in 1285, of the practise of putting on diseased, decrepit and poor men, and sparing the rich. The abolition of the requirement of uniformity in verdicts is often and frequently urged.

For a thorough and interesting account of the development of the modern English and American jury and of the consequent formation of a great body of law as to evidence, see "A Preliminary Treatise on Evidence," by James B. Thayer, professor at the Harvard Law School.

Robert H. Gardiner.

JUSTI, HERMAN: Commissioner of Illinois Coal Operators' Association; born Louisville, Ky., 1851; attended public schools until fifteenth year; first worked for Louisville Board of Trade as messenger and statistician; at nineteen worked in the iron and hardware business of W. B. Belknap & Co., and in 1875 was admitted to a partnership in the firm, from which he retired in the spring of 1882 and went abroad. Returning to the United States, settled in Nashville, Tenn., and became in turn merchant, trust officer, bank president, until 1898, when he moved to Illinois and engaged in the coal-mining industry. Here he conceived the idea of settling disputes with labor through a commission selected by the employers and in 1900 became the first Commissioner of the Illinois Coal Operators' Association, which position he still holds. He is a member of the American Economic Association and the American Society of Social Science. Mr. Justi maintains that the relations existing between capital and labor should be purely business relations and that the methods employed to avoid and settle labor disputes should be business methods. He opposes the incorporation of labor organizations, but believes that labor organizations should put in trust with some responsible trustee a sufficient fund to compensate individual employers where loss has resulted

to them because of failure to carry out contracts. He has written many papers, and makes many addresses on labor questions, among which are: "Conciliation and Arbitration in the Coal Mining Industry"; "The Organization of Capital"; "The Open Shop versus the Closed Shop"; "Labor Problem in the South." *Address*: Fisher Building, Chicago, Ill.

JUVENILE COURTS: Courts where offenders under sixteen or eighteen are heard before a special judge appointed for that purpose. The objects of the juvenile courts are: (1) to keep young offenders from the ordinary courts with their hardened criminals and loafers; (2) to enable the judge to pay particular attention to each case—an impossibility in ordinary courts with their volume of business; (3) to make investigations about an offender beforehand, so as to know his or her antecedents; (4) to make punishment educational rather than punitive; (5) to sentence for indeterminate periods, so as to put the offenders on their good behavior, and thus to evoke every spark of honor and manliness in their hearts.

A corollary of the preceding principles is the sentencing of youthful offenders to industrial schools and reformatories, rather than to jails, in order to avoid the contact with hardened offenders. It is generally considered, too, that parents, guardians, and employers should be held to a certain extent responsible for the waywardness of their wards, and they are accordingly often reprimanded, fined, and placed on good behavior. Judge Lindsey (*q. v.*), of Denver, who has had great success with these courts, had a law passed as to contributory delinquency of parents, employers, and adults, in order to emphasize their joint responsibility and accountability before the law.

A judge in a juvenile court has a large amount of power, because sentence to jail, to an industrial school, or suspension in charge of a probation officer, are left to his discretion. He must consequently be a man of exceptional qualities, understanding child nature and having sufficient patience and acumen to make a thorough investigation of every case. If a judge has to hear too many cases, the very object for which juvenile courts were created is defeated. If this institution is to do its beneficial work properly, the judges should be chosen for their special fitness—not for political service—they should not be burdened with too many cases, and, finally, they should be men of absolute probity and integrity. In the hands of a mere "machine man" this court would become an additional danger, owing to the large discretionary powers the law puts into the magistrate's hand.

The necessity for these courts may be seen from the following figures. In 1901 the 65 reformatories in the United States had an average attendance of 19,410; since their establishment, about 1830, these institutions have harbored 210,000 children. Judge Lindsey found that Denver alone had sent 2,136 boys and girls to jail from 1896–1901 for terms varying from 3 to 30 days; and that about 5,000 of them were sentenced yearly in the U. S. He has heard about 2,000 cases from 1901–5; and Judge Mack, of Chicago, is hearing about 4,000 in a year. Over 37 cities and 22 states in the union have introduced these courts; and in many cities, and nearly all the remaining states, bills for that purpose are pending. Canada, England, Australia, and other states have followed this example.

The beneficial effect from a purely economical point of view may be inferred from the fact that Colorado is said to have saved about $270,000 during four years of Judge Lindsey's tenure of the magistrate's bench. The saving in other respects is, of course, outside the realm of figures. But the fact that the state now assumes the guardianship of the children for the purpose of assisting them to a normal and healthy maturity, and having these courts sit as chanceries rather than courts of law, has undoubtedly saved many youthful offenders from a career of crime.

Massachusetts was the first state to introduce juvenile courts in 1898; Chicago followed, 1899; Denver in 1901; the institution has since been introduced all over the country. (See also PROBATION AND PROBATION OFFICERS; LINDSEY, BEN B.)

REFERENCES: Ben B. Lindsey, *The Just Judge*, in *McClure's Magazine*, Oct. to Dec., 1906; *Century*, Dec., 1906; *Review of Reviews*, March, 1906; *American Magazine*, Feb., 1906.

JYSZKIEWICS, COUNT, VLADISLAV YUZEFOVICH: Russian representative from Warsaw (Autonomist); born 1865. He is a large landowner, and a graduate of St. Petersburg Law School. He began public service in the Ministry of Justice, and was at one time a judge in Riga. He is one of the prominent members of the Society for the Encouragement of Industry and Commerce, also a champion of the rights of the Polish people.

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KANSAS CITY: Kansas City, owing its rapid growth mainly to its being the second railroad center in the United States and the main distributing point for the area west of the Missouri River, is perhaps more purely a commercial city than any in the U. S. It stands only ninth among American cities in manufacturing, but second as a railroad center, in meat-packing, in milling, and first as a market for agricultural implements and for lumber. It has also been called "the most American of cities," because it attracted a comparatively small number of foreigners and has been built up on "American" lines. It is in this light of somewhat special sociological interest.

It is interesting, therefore, to note that among American cities it has been somewhat notably free from large "graft," partly due to the fact that its poorer class of citizens have been less ignorant than in most large cities, partly that its richer corporations have had not so much local as sectional interests, and not a little due to the fact that prominent citizens, largely led by the independent paper, *The Star*, early undertook for business reasons to make Kansas City a good city to live in, knowing that otherwise the city could not meet the formidable competition of other cities, since its importance was in its railroad connections, and not in its local activities. It

has been noted as having produced a political boss who has been honest. It is also a fact that the intelligence of all classes of citizens has led them to take an unusually informed interest in civic affairs. Its adopted constitutions have, as a result, been unusually progressive. Its charter of 1875, replacing the original charter of 1853, is thought to be the first "home-made" charter in the U. S., being drafted and presented to the legislature by a committee of thirteen citizens chosen at a mass-meeting. In 1889, however, it was changed, the city meanwhile having grown from 50,000 to 100,000 on lines progressive for the time, tho the boards of public works and of the police, which had the power of licensing and controlling the saloons, were created by the state, while the schools and libraries were also under state law. It was said that the city did not rule the police, but the police the city. There was alliance with the saloon element and corruption at elections and in other ways, tho no large graft. Therefore a new charter was drafted in 1904, but defeated in the legislature in 1905 by the police and saloon element. Nevertheless, the discussion of this charter, which was very near to the ideals of the National Municipal League, prepared the way for the adoption of the Galveston idea (*q. v.*) of municipal government, which Kansas City is considering. This civic spirit has been largely led by the Civic League, established in 1901.

Charters

In other ways the city has been progressive. It expends a larger proportion of its revenue than most cities on good public schools; it has a fine library, city water-works, and other progressive features. The "Kansas City spirit," however, is largely commercial, resulting in the city's having a banking business with resources of over $100,000,000, and large modern business buildings and hotels, side by side with those very primitive and small. It has many fine residences, with a large number of homes of families of moderate means and very few under conditions of overcrowding and poverty. The Bethel Home Settlement, the Institutional Church, an efficient charity organization society, with other agencies of this nature, work among the poor. Sunday closing has been enforced in the saloons, tho, as shown above, and as seems almost inevitable in a railroad and commercial center, with an unusual proportion of a transient population, the saloon and social evils have no little power.

Among the more important reform organizations are the:

Anti-Saloon League, 506 Kansas City Life Building.
Associated Charities, 1115 Charlotte Street.
Civic League, 20 Water-works Building.
Labor Headquarters, 1112 Locust Street.
Salvation Army, 1300 Walnut Street.
Socialist Headquarters, 1400 Grand Avenue.
Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 6904 Washington Park Boulevard.
Young Men's Christian Association, 810 Wyandotte Street.
Young Women's Christian Association, 1024 Bart Avenue.

KARYEYEV, NICHOLAS IVANOVICH: Russian historian; representative of St. Petersburg in the First and Second Doumas; born in 1850 at Moscow, where he visited the Gymnasium and later the university, graduating in philology. He taught history in one of the gymnasia of Moscow; became professor in the university, 1878–79; in Warsaw, 1879–84; and St. Petersburg, 1885–1901, and is now professor at the Women's High School in that city—an imperial institution of high rank. He is also the editor of the Russian *Historical Review*, and has not always defended the crown, as his imprisonment testifies. Nevertheless, he is a member of the St. Petersburg Municipal Council, and represented that city in the Douma. He is a Constitutional Democrat and author of several historical works.

KAUFMANN, MORITZ: Author; born in Germany, he early went to Ireland, and graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, and was lecturer there 1899–1900. Entering the Church of England, he became rector of Ingworth and vicar of Calthorpe. He has been a lifelong student of socialism, and has written numberless magazine articles and accounts of socialism, with several books, such as "Socialism: its Nature, its Dangers, and its Remedies Considered"; "Utopias from Sir Thomas Moore to Karl Marx"; "Christian Socialism"; "Charles Kingsley, Christian Socialist and Social Reformer"; "Socialism and Modern Thought." *Address*: Ingworth, Norwich, England.

KAUTSKY, KARL: Socialist; born in 1854; editor of *Die Neue Zeitung*, the leading German Socialist review, and also, with E. Bernstein, of *Die Geschichte der Sozialismus*. He has been a voluminous writer. Among his books are: "Thomas Moore und seine Utopie"; "Der Arbeiterschutz, besonders der internationale Arbeiterschutz"; "Gesetzgebung und der Achtstundentag"; "Die Klassengesetze von 1789"; "Karl Marx, Oekonomische Lehren, Das Erfurter Programm in seinem grundsätzlichen Theil"; "Der Parlamentarismus, die Volksgesetzgebung und die Sozialdemokratie."

KAWEAH was a cooperative colony located in Tulare County, Cal. In 1884 a number of Californians decided to form a cooperative colony, and in 1885 filed their claims, forty-five in number, to some government land near the Kaweah River, under the Timber Act of June 3, 1878. Commissioner Sparks, however, ordered a suspension of their claims on the ground that he doubted if they were bona-fide settlers.

The colonists, conscious that they were bona-fide settlers and had acted legally every way, believed that in due time their claim must be acknowledged, refused to spend any money in Washington to push it, and went ahead, opening up the land and building a road eighteen miles long through land the timber companies had considered inaccessible. By 1890 they were prepared to haul lumber for the market. Their claims, meanwhile, dragged along uncompleted. The colony was organized on a cooperative plan in 1886. Shares were $500, one fifth of which had to be paid before residence was allowed. A socialistic paper was published. All went reasonably well till 1890. Then, at least as the colonists believe, the timber companies of California, fearing their competition, plotted their overthrow. A bill was hurried through Congress on the last day of its session, Oct. 1, 1890, reserving land for the Yosemite National Park, and including in it the land the colonists had taken up. Stories were circulated that the colonists were cutting down the big trees of the Yosemite, which, tho near the colony, the colonists had not touched, and offered to guarantee not to touch. The colonists claimed that they had legally entered their claims, that judgment on them had been suspended only to be sure that they were bona-fide settlers, and that since this was the case, they could not be dispos-

sest except by eminent domain, with compensation. They were, however, dispossest. The trustees were accused of illegally cutting down five trees which the colonists argued they had done legally. The papers where the trial took place were filled with editorials against the socialistic leaders, and they were condemned to pay $300 each for cutting down five trees. Appeal was taken.

On Feb. 25, 1891, Lewis A. Groff, Land Commissioner at Washington, submitted to Secretary of the Interior Noble a full and elaborate report concerning the title of the colonists to their lands, in which the commissioner maintains that the colonists had faithfully complied with every requirement of the land laws, and shows that the General Land Office was possest of no legal reason why their patents should not be at once issued.

But, in spite of this report, Secretary Noble rendered a decision in which he ordered the colonists' entries to be canceled, on the ground that their titles were not *perfected*, that "Congress, in the exercise of its authority, has made other and final disposition of the lands."

The colony, already financially hurt, was broken up by this decision.

See Hinds's "American Communities."

KELLEY, MRS. FLORENCE: General secretary National Consumers' League; born in 1859 at Philadelphia, Pa.; graduated from Cornell University 1882; studied at Zurich, Switzerland, and at Heidelberg, 1883–86. Member of the bar of Illinois; Chief State Inspector of Factories for the State of Illinois, 1893–97. Associate editor of *Charities*. She is author of the following: "Some Ethical Gains Through Legislation"; "Reports of the Illinois State Department of Factory Inspection, 1893–96"; "Reports of the National Consumers' League." *Address*: Consumers' League, 105 E. 22d Street, New York.

KELLEY, G. D.: English Labor M.P.; born at Ruskington. Learned lithographic printing with a firm in the city of York. When the Amalgamated Society of Lithographic Printers was founded he became its secretary. He is also secretary of several trades councils, was president of International Association of Lithographers' Congress at Milan, 1904, and for six years one of Manchester's city councilors. Kelley was elected to Parliament for Manchester, S. W., in 1906. Indorsed by the Labor Representative Committee. *Address*: 63 Upper Brook Street, Manchester.

KETTELER, WILHELM EMANUEL, FREIHERR VON: Bishop of the Roman Catholic Church; born at Munster, 1811; was educated there, and under the Jesuits at Brug, and at the universities of Göttingen, Heidelberg, and München; entered the public service as "Referendar," 1834–38, but siding with the Church against the State, he studied under Döllinger, and was ordained priest in 1844. Located at Mayence, was very popular and untiring in his work, especially during an epidemic, and was elected to the Germanic Parliament at Frankfort. In 1848 he preached at Mainz on social subjects to five or six thousand people, and in 1850 was made Bishop of Mainz. Untiring in his devotion to his people, he started various church associations for working men, and is considered the founder of the Catholic Socialism of Germany, a movement which, tho of some size and political influence, is, however, quite different from English Christian Socialism.

Acquainted with, and perhaps influenced by, Lassalle, von Ketteler's ideas were in many points radically socialistic, tho always from a Church standpoint, conceiving of all social reforms as to be carried out under the patronage of the Church. Bishop von Ketteler's main published work is "Die Arbeiterfrage und das Christentum." Died in 1875. (See CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.)

KIDD, BENJAMIN: Sociologist author; born in England, 1858. From 1877–96 in the English Home Civil Service. He has been a frequent and interesting contributor to the magazines, tho not always over his name, notably to *The Nineteenth Century, Review of Reviews, The English Illustrated, Cornhill, Longman's*, and others. His "Social Evolution" (1894) aroused remarkable interest. It argues that progress inevitably depends on natural selection and the struggle for existence, and that socialism, arising from the short-sighted working-class opposition to this struggle, cannot endure, but will end in increased State activity, not in owning or conducting industry, but in insuring competition by preventing all monopolies. Religion, he believes, has played a large part in civilization, by its superrational sanctions teaching an altruism the effect of which has been to lift up the weaker portion of the community to a place where they can more effectually compete with the stronger, and subordinating the individual to the necessary conditions of the struggle, for which otherwise there is no sanction in the individual's own reason. In "Principles of Western Civilization" (1902) he treats Western civilization as an integrating organism, from the standpoint of the increasing control over the present by the future. "The Control of the Tropics" (1898) deals with the subjects implied in the title. (See BIOLOGY; EVOLUTION.) *Address*: The Warders, Tonbridge, Kent, England.

KINDERGARTEN is the German name (meaning "garden of children") given by Friedrich Froebel (*q. v.*) to the "play school" invented by him for furthering the physical, moral, and intellectual growth of children. Froebel's observation of nature and his fondness for analogies drawn from trees and plants made him attach especial importance to the early years of childhood.

Pestalozzi, Comenius, and others, who attached much importance to the first years of life, looked to the mother as the sole educator. But, as in the case of the poor, the mother might not have time to attend to her children. Pestalozzi planned and Oberlin formed day asylums for young children. Schools of this kind took in the Netherlands the name of "play school," and in England of "infant schools." Froebel's conceptions differed, however, materially from those of the infant schools. He held that children should be educated physically, morally, and intellectually at once; that the essence of all education was to be found in rightly directed but spontaneous action, that at their age the most suitable and natural employment was play, especially games in which to imitate the parts they themselves will have to fill in after years. Froebel agreed with Montaigne that the games of children were "their most serious occupations."

Froebel embodied his ideas in "The Mother

Play and Children's Songs." His principles for child education prior to entering the regular school were: 1. The law of the connection of opposites, or the law of harmony and equilibrium. 2. The law of development, according to which the child is supposed to pass through the same stages as mankind. 3. The law of education through symbols, e. g., the nine "gifts" and "occupations"—being partly an attempt to develop the child by various simple figures, plain or solid, partly a preparation for future usefulness.

History

The first kindergarten was opened at Blankenburg, near Rudolstadt, in 1840, but after a needy existence of eight years was closed for want of funds. In 1851 the Prussian Government declared that "schools founded on Froebel's principles or principles like them could not be allowed." But the idea had far too much vitality to be starved or frowned down. As early as 1854 it was introduced into England by the then famous Ronges.

The great propagandist of Froebelism, the Baroness Marenholtz-Bülow, drew the attention of the French to the kindergarten from the year 1855, and Michelet declared that Froebel had "solved the problem of human education."

After 1872 the system spread rapidly, and is now more or less adopted in all European public-school systems, especially on the Continent. It has been most developed, however, in the United States. In 1854 Mr. Henry Barnard, of Connecticut, declared it "by far the most original, attractive, and philosophical form of infant development the world has yet seen," and wrote about it in the *Journal of Education* in 1856. Soon after, Miss Elizabeth Peabody, of Boston, established the first kindergarten in this country. In 1871 an American Froebel Union was established in Boston, merged later into the Froebel Institute of North America, established by Mr. W. N. Hailmann in 1882, and to-day kindergartens exist in all portions of the country. (See EDUCATION.)

Statistics

Since most of the kindergartens are private institutions, no accurate figures can be obtained. Their growth in the U. S. is evidenced by these numbers: 1873, 43; 1882, 348; 1892, 1,311; 1898, 4,363. Of the total number in 1898 reports were received by the Commissioner of Education from 2,884 kindergartens with 5,764 teachers and 143,720 pupils. In 1903–4 there were 353 communities in the U. S. with over 4,000 population reporting 2,997 public kindergartens with 4,534 teachers and 191,882 pupils, an increase over 1902–3 of 14.2 per cent of communities, 10.3 of schools, 8.4 of pupils, and 12.6 of teachers. The private kindergartens were estimated in 1904–5 to have 105,932 pupils. Japan had in 1901 in all 254 kindergartens with 671 teachers and 23,671 pupils.

REFERENCES: *Froebel's Educational Laws*, by Hughes, 1899; *The Kindergarten Messenger*, a periodical.

KINGSLEY, CHARLES: Author; Christian Socialist; born at Holne Vicarage, Dartmoor, Devonshire, 1819; educated at private schools, King's College, London, Magdalen College, Cambridge (graduating in 1842), the same year ordained curate of Eversley, in Hampshire, his home through all his life. In 1848 he published his first work, a drama, "The Saint's Tragedy," and soon after "Twenty-five Village Sermons." In 1849, stirred by the Chartist movement and by the sufferings, particularly among the agricultural laborers and the sweated tailors of London, he threw himself into the Christian Socialist movement with the little company of clergymen and laymen that gathered around Frederick D. Maurice (*q. v.*) as leader. He declared himself in one passionate address "a Church of England parson and a Chartist."

In "Politics for the People" and the "Christian Socialist" (see CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM), he wrote "Letters to the Chartists," signed "Parson Lot." In his "Cheap Clothes and Nasty" he made a burning plea for the sweated tailors. Perhaps, however, he did his best work for social reform in his novels "Yeast" and "Alton Locke." With Maurice, he advocated and sought to establish cooperative shops. In politics he was a Tory. He wrote: "I expect nothing from the advocates of *laissez-faire*, the pedants whose glory is in the shame of society, who arrogantly talk of economics as of a science, so completely perfected, so universal and all important, that common humanity and morality, reason and religion must be pooh-poohed down." The Bible he considered the poor man's comforter and the rich man's warning. His program, however, was not radical. If he wrote: "My only quarrel with the Charter is that it does not go far enough in reform," he meant, he explains farther on, that the Chartists erred only in "fancying that legislative reform is social reform, or that man's heart can be changed by act of Parliament."

"We must touch the workman at all his points of interest," he wrote to Mr. Ludlow, "first and foremost at association, but also at political rights, as grounded both on the Christian ideal of the Church and on the historic facts of the Anglo-Saxon race. Then national education, sanitary and dwelling-house reform, the free sale of land and corresponding reform of the land laws, moral improvement of the family relation, public places of recreation—on which point I am very earnest."

In later life, altho not giving up his views, he greatly modified his expressions, and is said to have regretted his earlier intensity. He devoted himself to ecclesiastical and parochial and sanitary reforms. "Politics and political economy," he said in 1857, "may go their way for me. If I can help to save the lives of a few thousand working people and their children, I may earn the blessing of God."

In 1860 he was made professor of history at Cambridge, resigning in 1869. He became Canon of Chester, and, in 1873, of Westminster. He paid a lecture visit to America. Died at Eversley in 1875. Kingsley wrote "Hypatia" (1853), "Westward Ho" (1855), besides numerous other stories, volumes of sermons, etc.

KLEIN, GUSTAV ADOLF, DR., JR.: Imperial Privy Councilor, President of Senate in the Imperial Insurance Department; born at Darmstadt, Germany, 1863; studied jurisprudence, political economy, administration, and statistics at Berlin and Leipsic. In 1890 was Royal Prussian Gerichtsassessor. From 1891 to 1897 a member of the Imperial Statistical Department at Berlin; since 1895, Regierungsrat; since 1897 in the Imperial Insurance Department. From 1891 to 1897 he was engaged in compiling criminal and bankruptcy statistics, and the statistics of sick in-

surance; and since 1897 of the statistics of accident insurance. Author: "Atlas and Statistics of Workmen's Insurance"; "German Workmen's Insurance." *Address*: Imperial Insurance Department, Berlin, Germany.

KNEIS, CARL G. A.: Professor of national economics at Heidelberg, and one of the German Socialists of the chair (*q. v.*). His "Die Politische Oekonomie vom Standpunkte der Geschichtlichen Methode" (1853, 2d ed., 1883) formulates and completes with great precision the canons of the historical school (*q. v.*) of Hildebrand and Roscher (*q. v.*). He challenges absolutism in economics, and teaches that political economy should vary in different times and countries. His "Geld und Kredit" (1873–79) has become a classic.

KNIGHTS OF LABOR, THE: The order of the Knights of Labor was first organized as a local secret society in Philadelphia in 1869 by ten garment cutters. They had previously been organized as a trade-union, but dissolved this union and organized the new society mainly under the lead of Uriah S. Stephens, one of their number. The names of the others were James L. Wright, Robert C. Macauley, Joseph S. Kennedy, William Cook, Robert W. Keen, James M. Hilsee, David Westcott, W. H. Phillips, Washington Shields. On Dec. 30th the new society declared itself Local Assembly No. 1 of the Knights of Labor. Mr. Stephens was elected Master Workman. They decided to admit to their number working men, no matter of what occupation. They grew slowly; but a second assembly was not organized till 1872. During that year, however, twenty-seven assemblies were organized in Philadelphia. The first assembly organized outside of Philadelphia was an assembly of gold-beaters in New York City. Christmas Day, 1873, the first district assembly was formed. A general assembly was not formed till 1878, at Reading, Pa., when Mr. Stephens was chosen Grand Master Workman. Up to this time the order had elicited little general notice; it was strictly secret, with ritual and educational work in the principles of the labor movement. The following declaration of principles was adopted at this assembly, having been written in substance by Mr. G. E. McNeill (*q. v.*) for a labor congress at Rochester in 1874. It became from this time the principles of the order.

The alarming development and aggressiveness of the power of money and corporations under the present industrial and political systems will inevitably lead to the hopeless degradation of the people. It is imperative, if we desire to enjoy the full blessings of life, that unjust accumulation and this power for evil of aggregated wealth shall be prevented. This much-desired object can be accomplished only by the united efforts of those who obey the divine injunction: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." Therefore we have formed the Order of the Knights of Labor for the purpose of organizing, educating, and directing the power of the industrial masses.

It is not a political party, it is more—for in it are crystallized sentiments and measures for the benefit of the whole people; but it should be borne in mind, when exercising the right of suffrage, that most of the objects herein set forth can only be obtained through legislation, and that it is the duty, regardless of party, of all to assist in nominating and supporting with their votes such candidates as will support these measures. No one shall, however, be compelled to vote with the majority.

Calling upon all who believe in securing "the greatest good to the greatest number" to join and assist us, we declare to the world that our aims are:

1. To make industrial and moral worth, not wealth, the true standard of individual and national greatness.

2. To secure to the workers the full enjoyment of the wealth they create; sufficient leisure in which to develop their intellectual, moral, and social faculties; all of the benefits, recreations, and pleasures of association; in a word, to enable them to share in the gains and honor of advancing civilization.

In order to secure these results, we demand at the hands of the law-making power of municipality, state, and nation:

3. The establishment of the Referendum in the making of all laws.

4. The establishment of bureaus of labor statistics, that we may arrive at a correct knowledge of the educational, moral, and financial condition of the laboring masses and the establishment of free state labor bureaus.

5. The land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of all the people, and should not be subject to speculative traffic. Occupancy and use should be the only title to the possession of land. Taxes upon land should be levied upon its full value for use, exclusive of improvements, and should be sufficient to take for the community all unearned increment.

6. The abrogation of all laws that do not bear equally upon capitalists and laborers, and the removal of unjust technicalities, delays, and discriminations in the administration of justice.

7. The adoption of measures providing for the health and safety of those engaged in mining, manufacturing, and building industries, and for indemnification to those engaged therein for injuries received through lack of necessary safeguards.

8. The recognition, by incorporation, of orders and other associations organized by the workers to improve their condition and to protect their rights.

9. The enactment of laws to compel corporations to pay their employees weekly, in lawful money, for the labor of the preceding week, and giving mechanics and laborers a first lien upon the product of their labor to the extent of their full wages.

10. The abolition of the contract system on national, state, and municipal works.

11. The enactment of laws providing for arbitration between employers and employed, and to enforce the decision of the arbitrators.

12. The prohibition, by law, of the employment of children under fifteen years of age; the compulsory attendance at school for at least ten months in the year of all children between the ages of seven and fifteen years; and the furnishing at the expense of the state of free text-books.

13. That a graduated tax on incomes and inheritances be levied.

14. To prohibit the hiring out of convict labor.

15. The establishment of a national monetary system, in which a circulating medium in necessary quantity shall issue directly to the people, without the intervention of banks; that all the national issue shall be full legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private; and that the government shall not guarantee or recognize any private banks or create any banking corporations.

16. That interest-bearing bonds, bills of credit or notes shall never be issued by the government, but that, when need arises, the emergency shall be met by issue of legal-tender, non-interest-bearing money.

17. That the importation of foreign labor under contract be prohibited.

18. That in connection with the post-office the government shall provide facilities for deposits of savings of the people in small sums.

19. That the government shall obtain possession, under the right of eminent domain, of all telegraphs, telephones, and railroads; and that hereafter no charter or license be issued to any corporation for construction or operation of any means of transporting intelligence, passengers, or freight.

And while making the foregoing demands upon the state and national governments, we will endeavor to associate our own labors:

20. To establish cooperative institutions, such as will tend to supersede the wage system, by the introduction of a cooperative industrial system.

21. To secure for both sexes equal rights.

22. To gain some of the benefits of labor-saving machinery by a gradual reduction of the hours of labor to eight per day.

23. To persuade employers to agree to arbitrate all differences which may arise between them and their employees, in order that the bonds of sympathy between them may be strengthened and that strikes may be rendered unnecessary.

At the third annual General Assembly, Mr. T. V. Powderly (*q. v.*) was elected Grand Master Workman, and annually reelected till 1893. The order now began rapid growth and attracted general attention. There were at one time 700 local assemblies with some 500,000 members. Each year saw new growth. In the winter of 1885–86 there seemed to be a rush into organization. The railroad strikes in the Southwest (see STRIKES) and the excitement over the so-called Chicago anarchists (*q. v.*) turned the attention of working men everywhere to labor organization. At the

General Assembly of 1886 delegates were present representing 800,000 members, and it was claimed that the total membership was over 1,000,000. The growth was too fast. Men, without understanding the principles of the order, voted rash strikes. The general executive committee undertook too centralized an authority. Massing men of various callings into the same assembly, and failing sufficiently to respect the autonomy of the different trades, an opposition to this policy sprang up, eventuating ultimately in a split which culminated at the General Assembly of 1886, and resulted in the formation of the American Federation of Labor (*q. v.*), which does recognize the autonomy of each craft, and only federates the organizations of the various crafts into one general federation for general purposes. Since then the Knights of Labor have gone down and the Federation has grown. The order, however, was still for many years very powerful. In 1887 extensive headquarters were purchased in Philadelphia. A footing, too, was gained for the order in England and Belgium. Cooperative experiments were made, but proved unsuccessful. The order entered into political alliances with the Farmers' Alliance (*q. v.*), but little resulted from it save education.

In 1890 a journal was commenced called *The Journal of United Labor*, and later made a weekly and called *The Journal of the Knights of Labor*. The order continually losing ground, in 1893 dissensions led to the defeat of Mr. Powderly for reelection as General Master Workman, and Mr. J. R. Sovereign (*q. v.*) was elected in his place. Dissensions and desertions from the order have continued; it has mainly been used for political purposes, till at present the order numbers only a very few thousand men, with Simon Burns as Grand Master Workman, 518 Fourth Avenue, Pittsburg, Pa. (See TRADE-UNIONS.)

KNIGHTS OF ST. CRISPIN: The order of the Knights of St. Crispin was an organization in the shoe trade, first conceived by Newell Daniels, of Milford, Mass., in 1864. He moved West, and the first lodge of the order was organized in Milwaukee, Wis., in 1867. It spread East, and by 1868 a grand lodge meeting was held in Rochester, representing sixty chapters. Martin Gavin was chosen the first presiding officer. The aim of the order was to unite all shoe-workers, to obtain the control of the trade. During the next few years the order grew very rapidly, claiming 400 lodges and 40,000 members at one time, making it among the largest trade-unions of the world. It established a journal, attempted cooperation, entered politics; it conducted strikes and won many, but the reaction came, and divisions sprang up and led to desertions, till in 1874 it had almost disappeared. In 1875 it was revived in Massachusetts and defeated an attempt of the Lynn manufacturers to make their employees promise to belong to no organization. The revival, however, was temporary, and by 1878 the order was practically extinct. It had aimed at too much, and failed save in educating its members for wiser efforts.

REFERENCE: McNeill, *The Labor Movement.*

KORESHAN UNITY, THE: A communistic colony of the Koreshan Church in Estero, Fla. The first community of the order was established at Chicago, Ill., in 1886, and the colony at Estero in 1894, in 1903 the Chicago community removing to Estero, with printing-plant, machine-shop, and other industries.

The Koreshan Unity is a religio-social organization, owning about 7,000 acres of land in Lee County, Fla., valued at over $100,000. The total cost of machinery and tools owned by the community is $18,675; the total assets, $276,000; liabilities, $20,594.

The Koreshan Colony is communistic and celibate. There is, however, an auxiliary order which admits of monogamic marital relations. The membership of the colony, embracing three settlements, is 200. The members of the auxiliary society (Arch-Triumphant) number 500. The total adherents to the Koreshan doctrines in various degrees of acceptance they estimate to be 10,000 throughout the world.

The church system is called the Koreshan Ecclesia. Its aim is the application of the laws of life and love to God and the neighbor for the attainment of immortality in the flesh.

Its Universology was founded in 1870 by Dr. Cyrus R. Teed, formerly of New York, and he is the Prime Counselor of the community. The title of the Pre-Eminent of the Koreshan Unity, the head of the church and its orders, is Victoria Gratia, who holds her position by appointment by the Founder.

The members of the colony are engaged in printing and publishing, boat-building, agriculture, orange-growing, pattern-making, metal-work, and steam-laundering. Lumber for buildings is supplied by their own sawmill, and cabinet-work and fine wood-work are turned out.

The colony publishes *The Flaming Sword*, a monthly. *Address*: V. G. Morrow, editor, Estero, Lee Co., Fla.

KOVALEVSKY, MAKSIM MAKSIMOVITCH: Russian publicist, author, and sociologist; member of the First and Second Douma, from Kharkov; born in 1851; a graduate of Kharkov University, he studied afterward in Berlin, Paris, London, and was professor of civil law at the University of Moscow, 1877–87, but was discharged during the reactionary period. Afterward he traveled and lectured in Stockholm and Oxford. He founded the party of Democratic Reformers, with a program similar to that of the Constitutional Democrats. He established the "Free French University in Paris for Russian Youths" while living there, and was editor of *Strana* ("Country"), a paper devoted to various reforms. He is author of "The Origin of Modern Democracy;" "Tableau des origines et de l'évolution de la famille et de la propriété," 1900; "La régime économique de la Russie," 1898; "Les questions sociales au moyen-âge," 1902.

KROPOTKINE, PETER ALEXEYEVITCH: Prince; anarchist; born in Moscow 1842; studied at St. Petersburg; in 1862 joined a regiment of Cossacks as lieutenant, but resigned and traveled for five years in eastern Siberia, collecting geological and geographical information. In 1867 he returned to St. Petersburg, studying science, and acting as secretary to the Geographical Society. In 1872 paid a visit to Belgium, and became interested in the International, along with Bakounin (*q. v.*). Returning to Russia, he joined the revolutionary circles, under the name of Borodin, and gave many secret lectures. Arrested in 1874, he was confined in the prison of St. Peter and St. Paul, but at the request of leading scientists was

allowed to continue his writings on the "Glacial Period." His health failing, he was transferred to the Military Hospital, whence in 1876 he escaped to England. In 1877 went to Switzerland; in 1879 founded the paper *Le Révolté* at Geneva (in 1885 transferred to Paris). Expelled from here, he was arrested, in 1883, in France, condemned to five years' imprisonment, but liberated by the President of the French Republic. In 1886 he helped to found the English anarchist-communist paper *Freedom*. He has since resided at Harrow-on-the-Hill, near London. He takes high rank as a geographer and geologist, and is the leader of the anarchist movement in England. His title of Prince he repudiates. He has written many articles and tracts: "Paroles d'un Révolté"; "Coming Anarchy"; "Scientific Basis of Anarchy"; "Appeal to the Young," etc. *Address*: Bromley, Kent, England.

KRUPP STEEL WORKS, SOCIAL WORK AT: This firm, the largest steel factory of Germany, and the largest gun establishment in the world, had in its employ in all 41,600 persons (4,064 officials) on July 1, 1903, when it was turned into a stock company. The principal works are near Essen, but the company has over fifteen subsidiary companies and over 500 branches in Germany and other parts of Europe.

Already in 1861 the number of persons in the employ of the Krupp Steel Works at Essen had increased till the dwelling capacity of Essen was overtaxed. The firm began to think of methods to improve the situation. The first start in this direction was made in 1861–62. Two rows of houses, one with six dwellings and the other with four, were built for the foremen of the factory.

In the summer months of 1863 the first colony of workmen's dwellings, known as *Alt-Westend*, was built, and the houses rented to the employees. The buildings were simple, and, in the words of Mr. Alfred Krupp, intended for poor families who must save, but desire a healthful dwelling.

A second colony, called *Neu-Westend*, was completed in the winter of 1871–72 for 20,000 workmen.

In July, 1891, there were 3,659 dwellings (not including 43 dwellings given to widows rent free). There has been a net income of 2.5 on the capital invested, and this has been spent on other local improvements.

In 1903 there were 4,300 dwellings at Essen, arranged in 9 "colonies." The houses in the 4 older settlements, the 2 Westends, Schederhof, and Nordhof are not remarkable in any way. Cronenberg is, however, built on better lines. It has about 3,000 inhabitants who are housed in 1,750 dwellings of two- and three-story flats; each building is surrounded by small gardens, one for each family. The rent is seventy-five cents a week for a flat of three rooms, attic and cellar, and seventy-five cents a year for the garden. The streets and the market place are lined with trees.

Baumhof, built in 1890, at a little distance from the town, on cheaper land, offered the opportunity for a step forward. The buildings are detached, have two stories, accommodate three or four families, and are surrounded by larger gardens. The rent for five rooms and garden is about eighty-five cents per week, including porch and lobby $1.

Alfredshof, erected 1894, still ranks as one of the model villages, and is surpassed only by Altenhof, built a few years later, and on more generous lines. Altenhof is intended exclusively for aged employees and their widows; it contains 183 dwellings, all rent free, 159 each of three rooms for men with wives or daughters, 24 for widows. Every family in these two colonies has a large garden and a separate entrance. The roads are wide, lined with trees, well laid out, and connect the numerous small parks. The rental at Alfredshof is low, considering the accommodations. A detached house, facing an open space, with garden, porch, and lobby, parlor, reception-room, kitchen, two bedrooms, and cellars plus an attic, and free water, rents at $1.50 a week.

The latest colony, Friedrichshof, is in some respects a return to the block system. But the mistakes of the buildings in the older colonies are avoided. Each block has a different design, altho in harmony with the others, and is surrounded by a large garden. The building line is, moreover, broken, so that each block gets plenty of sunshine. Every family has ample space, and the rooms on the fourth story are reserved for families whose needs have grown since they occupied a lower story.

Every colony has a market-place, beer-hall, a cooperative store, park, and music pavilion. The blocks for the firemen and foremen at the works proper and in Cronenberg are beautifully designed, contain three rooms, with closets, pantry, cellar, attic for each family, and a common laundry; rent, $1.35 per week. There are bath-houses in every colony and at the works.

In addition to the 4,300 workmen's dwellings at Essen, the company owns 700 in four other colonies, Bredeney, Annen, Gaarden, and Bochum.

Dining-halls for single men are among the provisions made by the firm. At Essen there are 6 dining-rooms, *Menagen*, for workmen; 1 restaurant for officials at the magnificent club-house; and halls, where the employees bring their own lunch and buy coffee, milk, rolls, etc., at cost. The *Menagen* have had varying fortunes; started in 1856 with 200 men, they provided meals for 1,775 in 1873, 500 in 1875, 800 in 1894, and now about 2,000. At the Gruson works of the company in Buckan about 1,000 men take their meals in 3 dining-halls; and the same number in Bochum; in the latter to the playing of an orchestrion.

Where opportunity for bathing is scarce, the company provides baths at nominal charges, e. g., at the mines near Hanover for 1,100 men; shower and tub cost 10 to 15 pfennigs; steam, 1 mark.

In order to provide the necessaries of life at reasonable prices, Friedrich Krupp started a co-operative society for his employees in 1868. The firm managed it for a number of years, charging only enough to cover expenses; but later the society became cooperative in reality, profits being divided at the end of each year on the basis of the cash purchases of each member. This *Kansun-Austalt* has its own stores, bakeries, mill, butcher and tailor shops, shoe stores, etc. A building association has existed for many years.

There are a number of schools connected with the colonies. In addition to the elementary instruction required by the State, several schools provide instruction in various subjects of immediate practical value, e. g., arithmetic, drawing, etc., for apprentices; sewing, dressmaking,

cooking, housekeeping for girls, whose small fees are returned in the form of savings-bank deposits.

An extensive system of sick, accident, and old-age insurance exists in addition to those legally required by the State, both for employees and officials. All superannuated workmen and officials are pensioned; the former, or their widows, being provided for at Altenhof. The firm spends about 250,000 marks per annum on pensions alone, only about 25 per cent of which is required by the Imperial Insurance Law. The total outlay of the firm in regular contributions to the various insurance, pension, and benevolent agencies amounted to about 3,100,000 mk. in 1902. A board of physicians has been formed whose sole duty is to look after the health of the employees and their families. Two other funds were established by F. A. Krupp in 1887. One was a gift of 1,000,000 mk., the interest of which is to be distributed in pensions to those employees who need them but cannot get them owing to some technicality; and to those whose regular pensions are insufficient to keep them from want. The other was a gift of 500,000 mk. to the city of Essen, the interest to be applied for moral and material improvements of working men. It is at present devoted to building laborers' dwellings, that being considered the most pressing need.

In order to make provision for recreation and for the social and intellectual development of his men, Mr. Krupp built club-houses for the officials of various grades, and established a literary society and two libraries—one general with over 38,000 volumes, the other technical with over 40,000. About 1,100 papers and magazines are provided for the different reading-rooms.

Lest his men might not be able to avail themselves of these numerous means for development and recreation by too long hours or weariness, the firm voluntarily reduced hours of labor from eleven and a half to ten.

RUDOLPH M. BINDER.

REFERENCES: *Alfred Krupp*, by Blencke, 1898; *Friedrich Alfred Krupp*, by Klein und Hehemann, 1903; *Model Factories and Villages*, by Budgett Meakin, 1905.

L

LABOR: As correctly used in economic science this term may be defined as work done by mind or body in producing wealth (see PRODUCTION; WEALTH). The word, however, is often popularly used to represent the class who mainly live by labor, in contradistinction to capital, meaning thereby those who mainly live by capital. This is not to deny, however, that many capitalists also labor and that the work of the supervision of industry and the production of capital is not true labor.

Even those who maintain, as did Adam Smith, and as most German Socialists and American trade-unionists still do, that labor is the sole source of VALUE, never claim that manual labor is the only kind of productive labor. Every one recognizes the need and value of the labor of management, the labor of the mind, in various ways. Manual and artizan labor is principally referred to in such phrases as "the labor movement," not because it is regarded as the only kind, but because it is that kind of labor which those who engage in the movement believe to have been most wronged in the past and most to need having wrongs righted in the present. All Socialists, all trade-unionists, all working men recognize at least some kinds of mental labor as necessary factors in production. (For the kinds of labor that some consider unproductive, see PRODUCTION.) Some have limited the word labor to painful labor. Jevons says ("Political Economy," v.): "Labor, I should say, is any painful exertion of mind or body undergone partly or wholly with a view to future good." But this is undoubtedly misleading, if the word painful be understood in its ordinary sense, and partakes too much of views now generally condemned which largely put a despite on manual labor. The labor of an artist, of an inventor, of a teacher, of a carpenter, of a farmer, need by no manner of means be always painful. Ruskin's definition is: ("Unto this Last.") "Labor is the contest of the life of man with an opposite; the term life including his intellect, soul, and physical power, contending with question, difficulty, trial, or material force."

Of the importance of the part played by labor in production there is no question and need be no statement. To the problems connected with labor this encyclopedia is devoted. (Concerning the reward of labor, see WAGES. Concerning the statistics of laborers, see OCCUPATIONS. Concerning the condition of laborers, see POVERTY; WAGES; WEALTH. Concerning the history of labor in the past, see SLAVERY; MIDDLE AGES; GILDS. Concerning the history of the labor movement in modern times, see the different countries; and TRADE-UNIONISM; EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT; SOCIALISM; ANARCHISM, etc.

LABOR BUREAUS: (see also LABOR EXCHANGE, and for Labour Bureaux as the term is used in England, see PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS): Labor bureaus, in the American sense of the term, are government bureaus (state or national) which concern themselves with matters relating to labor.

In the French Revolution of 1848 a department of labor was established (see ATELIERS NATIONAUX), and employment bureaus have existed from early times; but the first Bureau of Labor, in the American sense of the word, was the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, established June 23, 1869, as the result of an agitation conducted by the Boston Eight-Hour League (see EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT), mainly led by Mr. George E. McNeill, with the aid of Wendell Phillips and others. The first chief of the bureau was General H. K. Oliver, with Mr. George E. McNeill as deputy. Pennsylvania was the next state to follow, establishing a bureau in 1872, other states falling into line later, till now (1907) there are in the United States, including the federal bureau, thirty-three labor bureaus. These offices have various titles, but their duties are similar, and consist almost solely in gathering statistics of various kinds that bear in some way upon the condition or the interests of labor. The work they do is of somewhat varying value, according to the character of the men in charge, and according to the amount of money placed at

their disposal for the collecting of statistics. The statistics collected by some of them will scarcely bear any scientific analysis, while those of even the best of them—a place often accorded to the Massachusetts bureau—are often sharply criticized. Nevertheless, the good they have done in collecting information can scarcely be exaggerated, and most of their reports are reliable and of great value.

The bureaus of South Dakota and Utah have been discontinued. That of Kentucky, up to date, has not concerned itself with the immediate interests of labor.

The National Bureau of Labor at Washington, D. C., was created as an office in the Department of the Interior by act of Congress, approved June 27, 1884, and organized Jan. 22, 1885, by the appointment of Carroll D. Wright, of Massachusetts, as commissioner, who held the office till 1905, when his successor, Dr. Charles P. Neill, was appointed. This bureau, in 1888, became the Department of Labor. This act was the result of a demand on the part of the Knights of Labor and other labor organizations. The bureau now, however, is connected with the Department of Commerce and Labor.

The chief officer of each of the state bureaus is located at the capital of the state in which he serves, with three exceptions, in Maryland, at Baltimore; in California, at San Francisco; and in Louisiana, at New Orleans. The salaries paid the commissioners are $5,000 for the U. S.; $3,500 for New York; $3,000 for California and Massachusetts, and from $2,500 to $1,200 in other states. The Secretary of State is ex-officio commissioner of labor in Colorado and the governor in Nebraska. The U. S. Federal Department of Labor spends some $175,000 per year and has 103 employees; New York spends $130,400, with twenty-two employees; Illinois, $52,450, with five employees; Massachusetts, $31,674, with twenty-five employees. No other state has over six employees.

Congress occasionally directs special investigations to be made, and appropriates money for the purpose, as in the case of an inquiry into the statistics of marriage and divorce and into the industrial and technical school systems. It also provides by special acts for the printing and binding of the annual reports. These are usually sent free of cost to all persons in the U. S. who apply for them if the supply admits. They are also sent in exchange to all government officials or other persons in foreign countries who have rendered the department a service by forwarding to it their own publications. If the supply is not exhausted, they are sent to other distinguished foreigners who express a wish for them.

In Nov., 1895, the department commenced issuing a *Bulletin* of about 250–300 pages, issued every other month.

The following are the most important reports of the U. S. Bureau:

1886. No. 1. Industrial Depressions.[1]
1886. " 2. Convict Labor.[1]
1888. " 4. Working Women in Large Cities.[1]
1889. " 5. Railroad Labor.[1]
1890. " 6. Cost of Production: Iron, Steel, Coal, etc.[1]
1891. " 7. Cost of Production: The Textiles and Glass (two volumes).[1]
1892. " 8. Industrial Education.[1]
1893. " 9. Building and Loan Associations.[1]
1895–6. " 11. Work and Wages of Men, Women, and Children.
1897. " 12. Economic Aspect of the Liquor Problem.
1898. No. 13. Hand and Machine Labor (two volumes).
1899. " 14. Water, Gas, and Electric-light Plants under Private and Municipal Ownership.
1901. " 16. Strikes and Lockouts (Jan. 1, 1881, to Dec. 31, 1900).
1902. " 17. Trade and Technical Education.
1904. " 19. Wages and Hours of Labor.
1905. " 20. Convict Labor.
1906. " 21. Strikes and Lockouts.

[1] Bulletin out of print.

Special Reports

1889. No. 1. Marriage and Divorce.[1]
1893. " 4. Compulsory Insurance in Germany, etc.[1]
1893. " 5. The Gothenburg System of Liquor Traffic.[1]
1894. " 7. The Slums of Baltimore, Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia.[1]
1895. " 8. The Housing of the Working People (with plans and illustrations).[1]
1904. " 10. Labor Laws of the U. S.[1]
1904. " 11. Regulation and Restriction of Output.
1905. " 12. Coal Mine Labor in Europe.

Some Leading Articles of the Bulletin

The Bulletin is issued every other month

No. 1. Private and Public Debt in the U. S., by George K. Holmes.
" 4. The Sweating System, by Henry White.
" 6. Cooperative Distribution, by Edward W. Bemis, Ph.D.
" 7. Industrial Communities, by W. F. Willoughby.
" 8. Railway Relief Departments, by Emory R. Johnson, Ph.D.
" 10. Condition of the Negro in Various Cities. Building and Loan Associations.[1]
" 13. The Anthracite Mine Laborers, by G. O. Virtue, Ph.D.
" 15. Boarding Homes and Clubs for Working Women, by Mary S. Ferguson.[1]
The Trade-Union Label, by John Graham Brooks.
" 17. Brotherhood Relief and Insurance of Railway Employees, by E. R. Johnson, Ph.D.
" 18. Wages in the U. S. and Europe, 1870 to 1898.
" 21. Pawnbroking in Europe and the U. S., by W. R. Patterson, Ph.D.
" 22. Benefit Features of American Trade-Unions, by Edward M. Bemis, Ph.D.[1]
The Negro in the Black Belt: Some Social Sketches, by W. E. B. Du Bois, Ph.D.
" 26. Protection of Workmen in their Employment, by Stephen D. Fessenden.
" 29. Trusts and Industrial Combinations, by J. W. Jenks, Ph.D.[1]
" 31. Betterment of Industrial Conditions, by Victor H. Olmstead.
Present Status of Employers' Liability in the U. S., by Stephen D. Fessenden.
" 32. Accidents to Labor as Regulated by Law in the U. S., by W. F. Willoughby.
" 35. Cooperative Communities in the U. S., by Rev. Alexander Kent.
" 37. Railway Employees in the U. S., by Samuel McCune Lindsay, Ph.D.
" 40. Workmen's Compensation Acts of Foreign Countries, by Adna F. Weber.
" 43. Report to the President on Anthracite Coal Strike, by Carroll D. Wright.
" 44. Factory Sanitation and Labor Protection, by C. F. W. Doehring, Ph.D.
" 46. Report of Anthracite Coal Strike Commission.
" 48. Farm Colonies of the Salvation Army, by Commander Booth Tucker.
Labor Conditions in New Zealand, by Victor S. Clark, Ph.D.
" 52. Child Labor in the U. S., by Hannah R. Sewall, Ph.D.
" 53. Wages and Cost of Living.
" 54. The Value and Influence of Labor Statistics, by Carroll D. Wright.
Strikes and Lockouts in the U. S., 1881 to 1900, by G. W. W. Hanger.
Wages in the U. S. and Europe, 1890 to 1903, by G. W. W. Hanger.
Cost of Living and Retail Prices in the U. S., 1890 to 1903, by G. W. W. Hanger.
Wholesale Prices in the U. S., 1890 to 1903, by G. W. W. Hanger.
Housing of the Working People of the U. S. by Employers, by G. W. W. Hanger.
Public Baths in the U. S., by G. W. W. Hanger.
Trade and Technical Education in the U. S.
Hand and Machine Labor in the U. S.
Labor Legislation in the U. S., by G. A. Weber.
" 55. Building and Loan Associations in the U. S., by G. W. W. Hanger.[1]
" 56. Labor Conditions in Australia, by Victor S. Clark, Ph.D.

[1] Bulletin out of print.

No. 57. Street Railway Employment in the U. S., by Walter E. Weyl, Ph.D.
" 58. Labor Conditions in the Philippines, by Victor S. Clark, Ph.D.
" 59. Laws Relating to Child Labor in European Countries.
" 60. Government Industrial Arbitration, by Leonard W. Hatch, A.M.
" 61. Labor Conditions in Porto Rico, by Walter E. Weyl, Ph.D.[1]
" 62. Municipal Ownership in Great Britain, by Frederic C. Howe, Ph.D.[1]
Laws Relating to the Employment of Children in the U. S.[1]
" 63. Course of Wholesale Prices, 1890 to 1905.
" 64. Conditions of Living Among the Poor, by S. E. Forman.
Benefit Features of British Trade Unions, by Walter E. Weyl, Ph.D.
" 65. Wages and Hours of Labor in Manufacturing Industries, 1890 to 1905.[1]
Retail Prices of Food, 1890 to 1905.
" 66. Third Report of the Commissioner of Labor on Hawaii.
" 67. Conditions of Entrance to the Principal Trades, by Walter E. Weyl, Ph.D., and A. M. Sakolski, Ph.D.
" 68. Free Public Employment Offices in the U. S., by J. E. Conner, Ph.D.
" 70. The Italian on the Land, by Emily Meade Fogg.
A Short History of Labor Legislation in Great Britain, by A. Maurice Low.
The British Workmen's Compensation Acts, by L. Packer.
" 71. Wages and Hours of Labor in Manufacturing Industry, 1890 to 1906.

In Great Britain a Labor Department of the Board of Trade was created in 1893, and issues the *Board of Trade Labour Gazette* monthly, an annual report (almost purely statistical), and special reports on labor in foreign lands, wages and hours of labor, etc. In Europe and elsewhere various governmental offices or bureaus or departments cover this ground under the following names and with the following publications:

Austria.—Arbeitsstatisches Amt in K. K. Handelsministeriums (1898) publishes *Soziale Rundschau*, a monthly bulletin.
Argentina.—Departmento National del Trabajo (1907), *Boletin*, Q.
Belgium.—Office du Travail (1895) publishes *Revue du Travail* semi-monthly and annual reports.
Canada.—Department of Labor (1900) publishes a *Labor Gazette* monthly.
Denmark.—Bureau de Statistique de l'État (1850) publishes *Communications Statistiques* irregularly.
France.—Office du Travail (1891) publishes *Bulletin de l'Office du Travail* monthly, and an *Annuaire Statistique*.
Germany.—Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt Abteilung für Arbeiterstatistik (1902) publishes *Reichs-Arbeitsblatt* monthly, and bulletins irregularly.
Italy.—Ufficio del Lavoro (1902) publishes *Bollettino del Ufficio del Lavoro* monthly.
Netherlands.—Centraal Bureau voor de Statistik (1892) publishes *Maandschrift* monthly.
New South Wales.—Department of Labor and Industry (1895) *Annual Report and Statistics*.
New Zealand.—Department of Labor (1891) publishes *Journal of the Department of Labor* monthly.
Norway.—*Det Statistiske Central Bureau* (1902) publishes statistics irregularly.
Russia.—Comité Central de Statistique (proposed).
Spain.—Instituto de Reformas Sociales (1903). Monthly bulletin.
Sweden.—Afdelning för Arbetsstatistik (1902). Annual report and *Sociala Meddelanden*, Q.
Switzerland.—Secretariat Ouvrier Suisse (1886). Annual reports.

G. W. W. HANGER.

LABOR CHECKS: An idea put forth by some Utopian Socialists (among others, Lawrence Gronlund) according to which, under socialism, every one will work for the common good, and will be paid checks stating that he has labored so many hours, these checks to be good for purchases at the various stores of the commonwealth. English Fabian Socialists reject and laugh at the whole idea. Most Socialists, however, neither reject nor accept the idea, believing that socialism, as distinctly evolutionary, will work its way step by step, and leave such details as labor checks to be devolved when the time comes, if it then seem wise. (See SOCIALISM.)

[1] Bulletin out of print.

LABOR CHURCH: A movement in England which began in 1891, mainly under the initiative of John Trevor, to organize the religious impulses of the labor movement. The first Labor Church service was held in Charlton Town Hall, Manchester, on Sunday, Oct. 4, 1891, consisting of the singing of hymns, reading, prayer, and an address by John Trevor. Different speakers spoke alternate Sundays with Mr. Trevor, and in November a Labor Church was organized with the following principles:

1. That the Labor movement is a religious movement.
2. That the religion of the Labor movement is not a class religion, but unites members of all classes in working for the abolition of commercial slavery.
3. That the religion of the Labor movement is not sectarian or dogmatic, but free religion, leaving each man free to develop his own relations with the power that brought him into being.
4. That the emancipation of labor can only be realized so far as men learn both the economic and moral laws of God, and heartily endeavor to obey them.
5. That the development of personal character and the improvement of social conditions are both essential to man's emancipation from moral and social bondage.

During the winter of 1892–93 several more churches were formed, in each case the demand being entirely local and spontaneous, and in July, 1893, a conference of Labor Church delegates was called and a Labor Church Union was formed. At this conference ten churches were represented; a constitution was drafted, which was confirmed by a later conference, and a council was appointed.

By 1894 there were twenty-four Labor churches in England and Scotland.

For some years the movement showed considerable vitality. Labor Church Sunday-schools were formed and in some places the Labor churches attracted large audiences. Gradually, however, the movement waned before its many difficulties. Want of funds and failing health prevented Mr. Trevor from giving all his time to the movement. In 1900 there were some fifteen Labor churches. In 1902 there was some revival of interest and in 1903 a conference was held at Hyde, Cheshire, and a new impetus given to the movement. The statement of principles now reads:

That the Labor Church exists to give expression to the religion of the Labor movement.
That the religion of the Labor movement is not theological but respects each individual's personal convictions upon this question.
That the religion of the Labor movement seeks the realization of universal well-being by the establishment of socialism—a commonwealth founded upon justice and love.
That the religion of the Labor movement declares that improvement of social conditions and the development of personal character are both essential to emancipation from social and moral bondage, and to that end insists upon the duty of studying the economic and moral forces of society.

Under this new impulse new churches have been and are being formed, so that there are now (1907) upward of thirty Labor churches in the country. A revised hymn-book was published in 1906.

A pamphlet is in preparation dealing with "The Labour Church and Its Principles" and may be had from John Mitchell, Hon. Sec. L. C. U., 13, Moorwell Place, Eccleshill, Bradford, England. Also, any other information relating thereto, including Labor Church Sunday-Schools.

JOHN MITCHELL.

In 1894 a Labor Church was started by Herbert N. Casson, at that time a militant Socialist, in Lynn, Mass., but continued only two or three years. In some other countries labor or socialistic services or Sunday-schools have been started, but have had little or no permanent life. See, however, SOCIALIST SUNDAY-SCHOOLS UNION, Alfred Russel, Secretary, 366 New City Road, Glasgow. For a fuller account of the Labor Church in England, see an article by John Trevor, in the first edition of this encyclopedia.

LABOR COLONIES: The idea of the farm and labor colony is a comparatively new one, altho such colonies have been established in Germany for twenty-three years and in Holland for over eighty years.

There can be no doubt that the idea of the colony originated with the feeling of social reformers that the land question and the unemployed question were inseparable, that for several classes of the unemployed almost the only resource is work on the land, which, at any rate, offers to the workless a chance of productive and useful employment. General Van Den Bosch, the founder of the Society of Beneficence in Holland, realized the truth of this when he started the first Dutch labor colony at Frederiksoord in 1818 with the motto, "Help the people and improve the land."

If there were no land needing cultivation, or if land, as in England, were not at the present time going out of cultivation, the case for drastic action would not be strong, but the soil cries out for labor and many great tracts of the country have become a wilderness. Bring the waste labor in contact with the waste land and both will be improved, or, as Commander Booth Tucker of the Salvation Army put it to Mr. Rider Haggard, "put the waste labor on the waste land by means of the waste capital and thus convert this trinity of waste into a unity of production." This much we can say without seeming in any sense to run the risk of exaggeration, that such an experiment is worth making everywhere. It is only a very broad generalization, but it gives a clue to the sort of line all who are interested in farm and labor colonies are beginning to take.

Whatever type of colony we may think it desirable to start, there are several important questions to be answered. Is our expenditure a real saving? Does this method of treatment conduce to the upbuilding of the man and the reclamation of the land? Are there any illustrations showing that such men as the colony helps have been made self-supporting? If such results can be achieved in any measure, are we justified in pursuing our experiments and in urging others to attempt them?

I. Colonies for the Unemployable

Before proceeding to deal with labor colonies that are especially suited to the various classes of the unemployed, it is necessary to clear the way by a short statement respecting the labor colony method of treating the so-called unemployable, including in our category not only the vagrant and the mendicant, but also those who are physically incapable of following ordinary industrial employment in the town. We may begin with this latter class. Generally speaking, men who are unemployable in the ordinary sense owing to physical causes, and yet might be employed on the land with good results to themselves, are the epileptic and the feeble-minded.

The Defective

The adult epileptic is still in a sad plight as compared with many other sections of the community who have suffered from misfortune or sickness. Some of them, a large number, are to be found in our workhouses, where they receive a treatment which cannot be said to be either scientific or humane. The majority of them are still to be found living in the homes of the very poor, a grievous burden to the family itself, and somewhat of a trial to all the neighbors. Many of these epileptics, gradually becoming feeble-minded, suffer ill-usage from rough and foolish lads, and in any case little or nothing is done to lighten their sad condition or to make them useful to the community.

In many cases they can be employed in healthy outdoor labor such as will interest and occupy them to the required extent without taxing too much an enfeebled brain or greatly fatiguing the body. Such work can best be found upon the land, and a colony offers employment which is not only conducive to health but also will allow of an epileptic being employed in a great variety of ways. In such a colony the work would necessarily be under the advice and guidance of the medical man, but in almost any case some proportion of the food required to maintain him could be produced by this necessary and beneficial labor. It is unfortunate that so few of these colonies are in existence. What the Christian Union for Social Service is doing for epileptic children at Lingfield and Starnthwaite in England, ought to be done for adult epileptics in all parts of the world.

The Chalfont Colony in England is in its infancy, but has already completely justified its existence. This colony has gradually increased in efficiency of organization as well as in size year by year. In 1895 the average number of colonists was twenty-four, the total expenditure £1,719, the cost of maintenance of each colonist being £71 12*s.* 6*d.*, but in 1901, with an average of 134½ colonists, the cost was only £5,333, the per capita cost of maintenance being reduced by 55 per cent. On the average in the colony there are about twice as many males as females. The male colonists are principally employed in the building department, carpentering, plumbing, painting, bricklaying, and smiths' work; the remainder are chiefly occupied in farm and garden work, while about half a dozen are engaged in basket-making. They take it in turn to give their services in the home as required. Of the female colonists nearly half are employed in the laundry, the remainder chiefly occupied by the housework and needlework, but a good deal of stress is laid on the necessity of plenty of fresh air daily.

The colony at Bielefeld in Germany is by far the most important colony of its sort in the world. Over 2,000 epileptics are there cared for, and altho many of them are children, a large number of adults are being treated, and some permanent cures effected. Of late years greater care in diagnosis and in the use of bromide have resulted in a larger percentage of cures, while the open-air work on the land, both in the neighborhood of Bielefeld and at the Wilhelmsdorf Colony, has very greatly contributed to the success with which adult patients have been treated.

What has been said with regard to epileptics applies with equal force to the *feeble-minded*, who are a constant responsibility in our workhouses and asylums, where the treatment is costly, when

under the conditions which special colonies offer the best of them might contribute something to the cost of their maintenance by labor, while their mental faculties might be trained in various ways. So far as the children are concerned, all that need be said is that epileptic and feeble-minded children become unemployable in later years, so that the colonies for them which have already been established are fulfilling a very real and pressing need.

The same treatment might also be meted out to the inebriate, who is far more likely to recover under the healthy and normal influences which he or she finds in a country colony. Granted the right kind of management, there is no reason in the world why such colonies should not be the most potent means in restoring to the ranks of the employed those who have put themselves outside the pale of citizenship by habits of intemperance.

But perhaps the largest section of the unemployable is the vagrant and tramp class to be found in the U. S. as well as in Europe—both men and women who are quite capable of working, but who have degenerated and become demoralized, it may be by lack of work, possibly by lack of training, or by evil conditions in their youth. The vagrant is constantly on the lookout for opportunities of obtaining food and lodging without giving work in return. He habitually depends upon charity, and finally becomes a danger to the whole community. Whatever causes may have contributed toward the making of the vagrant, whether hereditary disposition or lack of training in youth, physical deficiency, or unemployment, the truth is that a nomad class has been created which the casual ward of the workhouse does nothing to destroy but rather tends to encourage. A Departmental Committee on Vagrancy in England has recently reported on the subject. There seems to be a general consensus of opinion in the committee that some modification of the Belgian penal system will have to be introduced, and that feeling found expression in the report issued in 1906.

Several small commissions have visited the colony at Merxplas, near Antwerp, which, with two other colonies, is the Belgian Government's attempt to stamp out mendicity. In Belgium vagrancy is not, strictly speaking, a penal offense, but it is regarded as so much of a social danger as to require special treatment, and by Article 13 of the Law of 1891 the *Juge de Paix* has authority to order the removal of a vagrant convicted of begging to the great penal colony at Merxplas known as a "Dépôt de Mendicité." The methods employed appear to be much more strictly repressive than redemptive. M. Stroobant, who is at the head of this colony, stated emphatically that the object of Merxplas was repressive. To quote his own words: "It taught men to work and to work regularly; it saved them from their own vices—the vices that had brought them there—but it did not seem to prevent them from going back over and over again." The colony compels men to work at agriculture, manufactures, forestry, and household employment. Soldiers conduct the agriculturists to their various fields, altho it is not very difficult for colonists to escape. This seems to cause no anxiety to the director, who says that if they can get work and are willing to do it, all the better, and that if they are unwilling to work they are sure to fall into the hands of the police and be returned again to the colony.

Vagrants

Merxplas is practically self-supporting, and whatever the disadvantages, there is no comparison so far as cost is concerned between the Belgian system and the casual ward system of England. Including the small wages that are paid to the colonists—and the wage system ought certainly to be adopted in England at a compulsory labor colony—and taking even the aged and infirm into account, the entire cost is under £10 per head per annum, and the small wages will account for at least half of this.

In addition to the colony at Merxplas with 4,500 men, there is one at Wortel and another at Hoogstraeten, the three colonies between them possessing about 3,000 acres of land. The two latter colonies form one establishment and are known as a *maison de refuge*. They are not penal in the strict sense, and are tending to become rather the resort of the aged and the infirm. The number of colonists is greatly increased by severe weather. Hoogstraeten would have about 800 in summer and about 1,500 in winter; Wortel 450 in summer and perhaps three times that number in winter. Very few of the colonists are young men, and the conclusion to which we are forced—and with this conclusion both M. Leroy, the "Director Principal," and M. Stroobant, the director at Merxplas, agree—is that the genuine unemployed man is relieved outside the colony, and that almost the only men who are sent to the colony are professional beggars or habitual drunkards.

A similar system, not so thoroughly carried out, prevails in Holland, where there are three government colonies which may be described as penal for beggars and tramps, Veenhuizen and Hoorn being for men, and the national workhouse at Leiden for women. The former is for vagabondage proper, while at the two latter habitual drunkards are also admitted. The present population of Veenhuizen is about 3,600, divided into three sections, and the work consists chiefly of forestry, agriculture, gardening, and various handicrafts, such as weaving, carpentering, masonry, smiths' work, and the manufacture of furniture, boots, and clothing. The colonist prisoners enjoy a certain amount of freedom within the colony, and have a very small allowance for wages.

II. Colonies for the Lower Class of the Unemployed

In considering the question as to how far the labor and farm colonies may be of assistance to the unemployed we have to remember that the unemployed themselves can be broken up into many classes, and that for each of these classes some provision should be made whether in the town or in the country. It has not yet been definitely proposed that skilled men who are usually employed during a large portion of the year, but who are thrown out of work by some severe depression in trade which affects large districts of the country, should be assisted at a labor colony, but for almost every other class such a method might very well be adopted, altho each class would have to be considered separately, and modifications of the colony system would have to be introduced to suit their varying needs and circumstances.

The section which bulks most largely in the public imagination, and in all our large industrial centers is perhaps the most difficult problem, is the class of unskilled laborers. What is wanted

for this class of man is a colony which will utilize his services to the fullest possible extent, and meanwhile, by this inducement to regular work, so increase his physical powers and capabilities that he may be able once again, if necessary, to obtain a situation in the regular ranks of industry. There can be no harm done in trying to restore hope and strength to the thousands of men who, owing to lack of work, enterprise, or character, have become hopeless and demoralized.

The Inefficient

To meet the need of such men boards of guardians in England have for many years been attempting to discover some expedient, and the labor colony has often been suggested, but until quite recently no board was in a position to be able to make such an experiment until the Poplar Guardians obtained possession of a farm at Laindon in Essex. Mr. Joseph Fels offered the board that, if they would open up and maintain a farm colony somewhat on the lines of the successful experiments made both in England and abroad, he would be willing to purchase a suitable tract of land and place it at the disposal of the Guardians free of rent. He submitted a definite offer of 100 acres of land at a peppercorn rent for a period of three years, with the option of purchase at or before the expiration of that term for the price originally paid for the land. The local government board gave their consent, and a farm of 100 acres at Dunton, near Laindon, was purchased by Mr. Fels for the sum of £2,125, including a house and farm buildings, and full possession of the farm was obtained by the Guardians on March 5, 1904. Beginning with six men in June, 1904, the number rapidly grew to 100 in August, and since that time fifty additional men who were unemployed have been sent down under a separate regulation through the Central Unemployed Committee from the borough of Poplar. These men on the whole have worked to the satisfaction of the superintendent, and as a result of their work, not only has a large reservoir capable of storing 200,000 gallons of water been constructed, but a considerable portion of the farm has been thoroughly dug and planted, and progress made in the work of recovering much of the land that up to recent times was derelict.

Since that date a similar farm has been purchased by the West Ham Board of Guardians, and that such outlets for the waste labor of the workhouse will not be uncommon in the near future is evidenced by the fact that nearly a dozen boards are seriously considering the question of following the example of Poplar.

Starting, then, with the unskilled but able-bodied inmate of the workhouse, we come to the unskilled laborer, married or unmarried, who has received not so much direct relief from the poor-law as indirect charitable contributions from benevolently disposed persons and societies. We have many examples of the attempts that have been made both in England and abroad to meet this special difficulty, but none of them have taken account of the need for classification if effectual remedy is to be applied.

Generally speaking, it may be said that the colonies which serve the purpose above indicated are modeled on the German plan—a plan which is not wholly successful owing to this lack of classification. In England we have the Salvation Army Colony of Hadleigh, the Lingfield Training Farm, Libury Hall (a colony founded by the German Labor Colony Central Board), while in Germany there are about thirty colonies under this same board, capable of receiving in all some 4,000 men. All these colonies are run by philanthropy, tho the German colonies are subsidized by the provincial governments.

The Labor Colonies Central Board was founded in Oct., 1888, on the initiative of Pastor Von Bodelschwingh, who started Wilhelmsdorf the year before. The colonies now under the board (thirty country and three town) are charitable institutions on religious lines, to which all able-bodied men able to work are admitted without distinction of character or religion so long as there is room. The only form of punishment is dismissal, and colonists dismissed for bad behavior cannot be admitted into another colony without the consent of the colony which discharged them.

The colonies are supported by (*a*) grants from the provincial governments, (*b*) municipalities, (*c*) donations, subscriptions, collections. The colonies are scattered throughout the length and breadth of the German Empire, and it is quite probable that the number will be increased. The average amount needed to be made up by subscriptions and donations after deducting the profit or adding the loss on the farms and industries is between five and six shillings per colonist per week; the expenses of administration and interest on borrowed capital are included. So far as possible an attempt is made to arrange for the fluctuation of the labor market, since there are nearly twice as many men in a colony in winter as in summer. The result is that the winter work is supplemented by the reclamation of waste land either on the colonies themselves or on the property of neighboring landowners. One difficulty we may foresee in the future is the impossibility of obtaining more land to reclaim in the neighborhood of the colonies. It may be necessary in this case to sell or lease the farms and to establish other colonies elsewhere. There is a growing feeling—a feeling which the writer found was strongly exprest at Bielefeld—that it would be necessary in the future to classify somewhat more strictly than in the past.

The radical fault of all the German colonies is the admixture of classes. Varying reports have been received and published with regard to these colonies, but a careful investigation on the spot seems to show that the Board of Trade report has somewhat exaggerated the number of men who may be called "criminal." Roughly speaking, 20 per cent would be criminal, 20 per cent first offenders (that is to say, men charged with mendicancy or vagrancy), about 50 per cent men of somewhat weak will—deficient in some respect or below par in physical and mental ability—while about 10 per cent would be willing and industrious men of good character unemployed through no fault of their own. It is, however, for the 50 per cent referred to that this class of colony is required. A much more satisfactory result would be produced if the criminal could be separated off from the man of fairly good character, and if again the genuine unemployed could be given a trial in another colony where opportunity would be offered, if necessary, of permanent work upon the land.

The best results that have been produced in Germany can be witnessed at Luhlerheim. The British Board of Trade report gives Wilhelmsdorf as an example, but Wilhelmsdorf, tho the oldest of these colonies, is somewhat handicapped by

being closely connected with the epileptic colony at Bielefeld, the result being a larger proportion of mentally and physically "below par" men than would otherwise be the case. Luhlerheim has the advantage of a rather exceptional man in the person of Herr Siemon, who was at the head of the farming work of the Rauhe Haus, near Hamburg. He has created out of somewhat uncompromising material in the shape both of waste land and waste labor, what must be regarded as an extremely successful labor colony. The buildings have been, in the main, constructed by the colonists with a very little paid skilled assistance. The colony itself is gradually being transformed from a tract of barren and sandy soil, which refused to grow anything owing to the hard ocherous spit beneath the surface, into a fertile and productive farm. The cow-sheds and piggeries, two very important factors in the success of the colony, were constructed by the colonists under skilled superintendence. The general result witnessed is the partial reclamation, at all events, of a large percentage of the men at a cost of something like two shillings and sevenpence per head per week—about half the cost of any other colony in Germany, and less than half the cost of any similar experiment in England. If Luhlerheim could pick and choose its men, rejecting only those who have any radical moral or physical defect, it might almost become self-supporting. What is needed in Germany is the establishment of colonies side by side with the existing institutions into which could be drafted either the worst or the best of the men who from time to time resort to these harbors of refuge. Classification in this respect would, I feel confident, result in real economy, and it would at the same time render the scientific and reformative treatment of the lowest type much more possible.

German Colonies

Returning for a moment to the English colonies, we are struck with the fact that both Hadleigh and Lingfield labor under peculiar difficulties owing to the inadequate financial support which they receive, especially from the authorities which are most indebted to these colonies for assistance. The provincial governments in Germany do, at any rate, subsidize the colonies to some extent (about one third of the cost being derived from such sources), but in England both Hadleigh and Lingfield, apart from private subscriptions, have only the Boards of Guardians to look to, if we except the work of the Mansion House Fund and Central Unemployed Committee in connection with Hadleigh during the last two winters. In any case, the financial support derivable from such sources barely covers the cost of maintenance, and the men who are sent by Boards of Guardians, so far from being selected with a view to their permanent benefit, are often the hopeless ne'er-do-wells who would cost such boards a larger sum if they remained in the workhouse.

In this sense especially, apart from its work among epileptic children, Lingfield may be regarded as a sort of subsidized Poor Law Colony, and it is to the credit of the director and those in charge that satisfactory results have been obtained to a very considerable extent. This colony consists of a farm of 250 acres, and has now been in existence for over nine years. It accommodates some fifty or sixty men of various types, thus described by the director, the Rev. J. L. Brooks:

English Colonies

(1) Youths with physical defects; others dull-witted or half-witted. These were, for a considerable time, the only cases that Guardians would send.
(2) Men at the other end of life, nearly all over fifty years of age. A few of these would spend the remainder of their days in the workhouse; but, on the land, would be able partly or wholly to maintain themselves for some years.
(3) The ne'er-do-well sons of lower middle-class homes, who are exceedingly difficult to direct.
(4) The drunkards. Of these last the colony has had, among the 500 men who have been through it, 120.

He claims, however, to have been able to rehabilitate and restore to mental, moral, and physical health, 33 per cent of the cases put in his hands, and surely there can be no question whatever that if Lingfield can do this with the material at its command it is an institution which should receive consideration at the hands of the State. The cost is not extravagant as compared with the poor-law. It works out at nine shillings per week per man, exclusive of clothing, the chief item being food, four shillings and tenpence per week; lodging and laundry, two shillings and twopence; superintendence, one shilling and sixpence; waste and medical care, sixpence. In such a colony farming cannot be made to pay, that goes without saying; the real assets may be described as the "helpless lives made useful, waste lives reclaimed, the drunkards restored, and mischief prevented."

Hadleigh is a larger colony, run on somewhat different lines by the Salvation Army. It consists of an area of about 3,000 acres of which some 400 are let off at present to a farmer. It is situated four miles from Southend. The land is a stiff clay, rather poor and cold in character, but it is rapidly improving in value. About 100 acres are planted with fruit-trees, and the total receipts from the fruit farm, its pastures, market gardens, chicken farms, and brick works in 1904 amounted to over £33,000. The population on the land near by has as a result of the colony greatly increased, and Hadleigh village now numbers over 1,300, and in many respects is quite thriving. Here again the difficulty crops up of the great mixture of men which Hadleigh receives—many of them taken from the shelters in the town, some supplied by Boards of Guardians, while a few are capable, willing workers who are unemployed for the time being, or who have come down through misfortune; the remainder are weak, unsatisfactory men sent by philanthropic societies, by relatives and friends. The best of these men Hadleigh seems to have little difficulty in restoring once more to a permanent occupation, or if they cannot be so restored they are usually emigrated. The majority require a longer period of treatment than the colony, for many reasons, is able to give, and the result is that much of the labor is thrown away. Both Hadleigh and Lingfield should be subsidized by the government, and thus enabled to deal exclusively with the men who need the reforming and reclaiming influence which such men as their officers are able to bring to bear.

The Church Army also has a small labor colony, the Newdigate Farm Home. It is really an emigration test farm situated at Holmwood, near Dorking, and consists of 150 acres of heavy clay soil, which when it was purchased by the Church Army in 1899 was practically derelict. The buildings on the estate only afforded accommodation for a manager and his family and about eight men, but a dormitory, dining-room, and

workshop have been built, providing accommodation for a further sixteen men. The land is now in a fair state of cultivation, about fifty acres being under crops, while there are three acres of garden and orchard. During the year 1905, after testing and training, sixty men and youths were emigrated. At the present moment the Church Army is contemplating a very large extension of this colony work, and a valuable estate has already been offered for this purpose.

Libury Hall, at Great Munden, Herts, is an actual example of the German method in England, with this only in its favor, that the German in England who happens to be out of work is a man of rather better type than the average colonist in Germany. The scheme is to some extent one of repatriation, and many men have been sent back to their fatherland through its instrumentality. Mr. E. D. Court, a local government board inspector, has given an account of this work from which I make the following extract:

> The object and working of the colony might be stated thus: The mission of the colony being not to give alms nor money, but to help by affording opportunity to work, the freehold of 300 acres of suitable land in Hertfordshire was purchased. About thirty-five acres of this is occupied by buildings, poultry runs and duck ponds, willow bed, gravel pit, fruit and vegetable garden, and wood; thirty acres by meadow, and the remainder is sown or planted with wheat, rye, barley, oats, potatoes, beans, swedes, turnips, artichokes, clover, rape, mustard, vetches, and sainfoin. A basket-weaving shop on a large scale was erected, with a carpenter's shop and smithy, and large well-ventilated stables, cow-sheds, and piggeries, also small shops for tailor and shoemaker, a bake-house, laundry (now being greatly enlarged), dairy, kitchen, etc. In all these departments, as well as in cleaning the house, work is found, but the great majority of men are employed out of doors, the stronger men in digging gravel, breaking flints, making roads, and so on; the weaker in the garden or looking after the poultry. There are sixteen cart-horses, and about the same number of milch cows, and useful experience has been gained by intending emigrants looking after them. Beds were at first provided for ninety men, sixty-four of them in one large dormitory, divided into sixteen cubicles. Later, to meet the winter pressure, room for twenty more beds was found by cutting off a part of the basket-weaving department, and it is proposed shortly to build for 150 more men. About 869, or more than two thirds of those received, have been distinctly benefited. As to financial position, the colony is not self-supporting so far, and probably never will be. The buildings have involved large expenditure, and the expenses are heavy. For ten weeks' work a man receives not only board and lodging, but, if necessary, clothing, and a sovereign is spent on his return journey to Germany, while he is given tokens to the value of one pence and a half a night during his stay at the colony unless he misbehaves. On the other hand, the average stay is a little under eight weeks, and for the first three weeks, owing to poor condition and so on, not very much work is done. Also there is difficulty in finding a market for some articles.

Turning to Scotland we find one illustration of this type of colony, started partly as a result of "General" Booth's book on "Darkest England." The committee appointed recommended the establishment of a farm colony, and in 1897 the Scottish Labor Colony Association was formed to carry out the objects of the original Labor Centers Board. The farm of Mid Locharwoods, consisting of 490 acres of land excellently situated eight miles south of Dumfries, was purchased, 150 acres being good arable land, and the rest reclaimed or unreclaimed moss land. The moss land lies at one extremity of Lochar Moss, so that there are great possibilities of expansion in the operation of the colony. The peat is used as fuel, and the land reclaimed by liming and claying is capable of growing good crops of turnips, cabbages, carrots, and potatoes. The colonists are chiefly taken from a shelter in Glasgow and are not of the very best type. The colony receives nothing from the poor-law authorities in Scotland, who have no power to make grants for the able-bodied, however destitute. It is therefore dependent almost entirely on voluntary subscriptions, the loss on each man being four shillings and one penny per head per week. The colony received during the year 1904 about sixty-seven men, and forty of these left with every prospect of doing well.

There are still several other colonies that need a word or two of description. Switzerland possesses two, the one for the Canton of Berne at Tannenhof, the other at Herdern, in the Canton of Thurgau. The former, established in 1889, consists of 160 acres of land, with accommodation for fifty inmates; while Herdern, established in 1895, has now about 250 acres, and can take in nearly 100 colonists. As in Germany, the great pressure comes in winter. A very considerable proportion of the colonists are between forty and sixty, and many of them for this reason alone would be unable to obtain situations, but practically no one is refused who is at all able-bodied except on the score of previous expulsion for bad behavior. There is a very small wage paid at both colonies, not amounting to more than threepence or fourpence per day, but remuneration is given for the labor of the colonists chiefly in the form of clothing and boots. Nearly 50 per cent find work on leaving the colony or have it found for them by the colony authorities. The finances are furnished partly by contributions from public authorities and partly by private donations and subscriptions. The Swiss colonies make the same mistake as the German in the mixing of the various classes, in respect of which practise Sir C. Green, in his report on the Swiss Labor Colonies, makes this interesting remark: "Moreover, the fact that these colonies admit the criminal element, even with the laudable intention of reforming them and refitting them morally and materially, seems to constitute the most serious obstacle to the adoption of the system as a relief for bona-fide working men, whose only fault, or their worst, consists in their inability to find the means to earn their daily bread."

Other Countries

The French colony of La Chalmelle is situated in the Forêt de Traconne, about fifty miles from Paris, the nearest station being Les Essarts-la-Forestière. The colony was founded in Jan., 1892, at the instance of M. Georges Berry, and consists of about 370 acres of rather poor quality land. Since 1900 it has been possible to accommodate about fifty-five men at a time, admission being granted to those who are recommended by the directors of the night refuges in Paris. Roughly speaking, the colony, which is a municipal institution run by the Council of Paris, costs the City Council on the average about £1,800 a year, about £1,000 being received as a result of the sale of produce and in other ways. A special effort is made by the directors of the refuges through the agency of the colony, to return persons connected with agriculture once more to the soil. Some 74 per cent of those who enter the colony are connected with agriculture, chiefly country laborers who flock to Paris at the end of the harvest and vintage, and in the course of the winter find themselves stranded. The majority are between twenty and forty, so that, both in respect of occupation and of age, La Chalmelle is a much more hopeful experiment. The length of stay in the colony is not long. Out of 820 men, 436 left in less than two months, and an additional 249 in

less than four months, while of those who left 59.9 per cent obtained situations. During the year about 250 workmen come and go and half of these seem to derive very material benefit from their stay at La Chalmelle. Even with the rest much more good might be done if criminals, drunken vagabonds, and the habitués of the night refuges could be excluded or sent to another institution.

III. Colonies for Better Type of the Unemployed

Perhaps the most famous example of the type of colony that helps the unemployed is Frederickssoord, which is situated in Friesland, northeast of the Zuyder-Zee, about nine miles from Steenwyk. It is one of three, the other two being Willemsoord and Wilhelminasoord. These colonies consist of 10,000 acres of heath and sand and are now under cultivation by town-bred men, many of them over forty years of age, who have failed to get work in the town, and have, therefore, been sent out by the Society of Beneficence, which was founded in 1818 by General Van Den Bosch. The colonists are admitted on the recommendation of charitable associations and societies working in the big cities of Holland. Most of them are unskilled laborers, and very few of them have any knowledge of agricultural work. Fredericksoord, the best known of the three, has a population of 1,900, and the work on which colonists are engaged is chiefly agricultural, although it includes dairying, brick-making, mat-making, and basket work.

These three colonies receive married men with their families, as well as unmarried men. At Fredericksoord there are at least 400 families. The new men on arrival at the colony are placed on one of the five large farms, and there given work under skilled superintendence. Provided that their behavior is good they may remain on the colony all their lives, but in certain cases where a man has shown ability to learn the trade of agriculture, after a probation of at least two years, he is given a free farm of about seven acres and a half. As a rule a colonist is not capable of earning his own living until he has been something like two years in the colony, so that two years is the shortest probation possible if a man is to qualify for the position of a free farmer. Sometimes men are in the colony four or five years before they obtain this promotion. At the present moment there are about 150 free farms of from six acres and a quarter to seven acres and a half; the majority of them are in good condition. These holdings are cultivated on what is practically a life tenure. Rent is paid to the colony, which provides stock and seeds and the necessary credit. If the free farmer conducts himself well in the opinion of the director, he can hold his farm until his death, while frequently in such a case the widow is allowed to retain the holding providing that she can cultivate it herself with the aid of the members of her family. In a few cases the daughter of a free farmer who marries the son of a colonist takes over the farm, but there is no legal right to a holding under any circumstances, and a farmer might possibly be expelled without compensation for improvement. It is needless to say that such cases are very few and far between. Besides growing enough food to provide the family a free farmer will have two or three milch sheep and four or five pigs; for the rest the principal produce is butter and potatoes. Generally speaking, the credit of the farmers is improving, and there are very few bad debts; no interest is charged on loans, but the amount due to the colony by the free farmers is steadily decreasing, being only £1,691 in 1902; the loans advanced in that year only amounted to £47 5s.

Similarly, Willemsoord, which has an area of over 5,000 acres, is doing good work in establishing these small freeholders, nearly all of whom are so occupied on their own piece of land that they have no need to work as agricultural laborers, and are, in fact, entirely self-supporting. At Willemsoord, in addition to the particular trades already mentioned, there is a certain amount of blacksmithing, tailoring, and carpentering. The colony possesses six large farms, upon which the men are taught and trained, a chosen few being drafted off, as at Frederisksoord, on to free farms.

What general conclusions may we draw? It perhaps ought to be pointed out that the colonies are not so well managed as in Germany. There is at present a noticeable lack of enterprise, and new ideas which ought to be readily entertained do not find much favor. The total population of the colonies tends to decrease, a result which may be due either to the increase of employment in the large towns like Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and The Hague, or to the growing disinclination of the unemployed to go to a colony where very few, comparatively speaking, have the chance or the opportunity of becoming independent. One point which militates against the success of the colonies is the age of the average man. If he is over forty and has not succeeded in the town, the chances are that he will not be wholly successful in the country. Then again, the colonies have, perhaps, in their desire to make both ends meet, made a mistake in encouraging the authorities to send paupers on private contracts. The number of such paupers is on the increase, which is very noticeable during the periods of severe depression or hard winter. Financially, the colonies cannot be considered altogether a failure, for if we take it for granted, as the latest figures seem to imply, that each colonist, man, woman, and child, costs the benevolent societies and other charities from £1 10s. to £2 per annum, we must at the same time admit that this is a small sum as compared with the amount that would have been expended on the same people in the town, while the result of their labor has been for their physical and moral good and the enrichment of the land.

In Germany, as long ago as 1886, the idea of Heimat-kolonisten (home colonists) was broached, and at Freiderichwilhelmsdorf, near Walsdorf, about three miles from Bremerhaven, twelve colonists were taken on the understanding that it meant permanent settlement if they proved industrious and capable. At the present time there are only four or five colonists permanently settled on farms of their own, but some forty or fifty are in the probation stage working on the farm.

Another and still more successful experiment was made in Dec., 1898, by the Executive Committee of the Town Labor Colony at Hamburg. It acquired an estate of over 900 acres at Schäferhof, in Holstein, and there seems every hope that many men who are at present working there will eventually find permanent settlement. It is perhaps worth while quoting the words of a member of the Colonies Central Board, in a speech delivered on Nov. 1, 1903:

Whereas up till now the colonies have had a constant succession of inmates who, on account of their want of strength and skill, have been hardly able to do as much as one half or one quarter of a man's work, we have in our permanently settled inmates at our home colony at Schäferhof got together a set of workmen who have, so far, done really wonderfully good work. Our home colonists, who now number 100, not only do all the agricultural work on the Schäferhof estate of over 875 acres, but also, even in the first four years, when there were many fewer colonists, they helped us to build a big cow-house to accommodate beasts, a colonists' house with cubicles for sixty men, and a splendid greenhouse, which last, indeed, they built entirely themselves. Besides this they have in the same period put 113 acres of heath and moorland into cultivation, and have macadamized a length of 2,040 yards of field roads, which they carried out in an altogether satisfactory manner, and for which they broke up about 400 cubic yards of stone. In the last two years they have planted out and tended 7,854,500 saplings for other people, and 83,000 oak, fir, apple, and pear-tree saplings for the colony.

The only colony in England which at all approximates to the Schäferhof experiment is that situated at Hollesley Bay, near Woodbridge, in Suffolk. It was offered to the Central Unemployed Committee of London by Mr. Joseph Fels on exactly the same conditions as Sumpner's Farm at Laindon was offered to the Poplar Board of Guardians, and has now been purchased with the consent of the Local Government Board for that committee under the Unemployed Workmen Act. The Hollesley Farm consists of an estate of 1,200 acres, taken over formally and legally by the committee in Feb., 1905. It was originally a colonial college, in which training and instruction in agriculture was given, and in many respects it was very well suited for colony purposes. About 500 out of the 1,300 acres are arable land, and the rest pasture, while a considerable amount is woodland and heath, part of which has already been brought under cultivation. The buildings of the college are in every way suited for this experiment, and twenty-three cottages on the estate will provide accommodation for about 300 men. There are farm-buildings and well-fitted workshops—for example, carpenter's, blacksmith's, and wheelwright's, together with a shoeing forge—and a great deal of expense will thus be avoided, while practically all the repairs that are required in such a colony could be carried out on the spot.

Three special objects are kept in view by the committee for the conduct of the colony:

(1) The provision of special work for periods of exceptional distress.

(2) The provision of more continuous work for men who are not only in exceptional need of employment, but who have either already lived upon the land or show a marked aptitude for country life.

(3) The establishment of suitable men and families in agricultural or other rural industries.

In the case of No. 1, as is quite natural, the work of the selected men who are out of employment during a period of exceptional distress will not be so much agricultural as road-making, reclaiming heath land, strengthening the sea wall, brick-making, and the general repair work of the colony. All this can be done without interfering with ordinary industry.

In the case of Nos. 2 and 3, Hollesley Bay will more closely approximate to the type of colony with which we are dealing at present. Taking class No. 2, it is suggested that there should be two stages—(*a*) a probationary period of three months, during which the men might live in the colony buildings, their wives and children being supported in London; and (*b*) a second stage, providing that the period of probation proves the men to have the necessary strength and ability for agricultural work. In this case it is proposed that the wives and children of the men shall be brought down from London, and that cottages be allotted to these families for a period of from six to nine months. Some cottages have already been built and are in occupation.

Following on this second stage in the treatment of class 2 is the definite establishment of selected men and families in agricultural or other rural industries, and it is hoped that not only may ordinary farm or market gardening situations be found for good men, but that finally some of these men may be established on small holdings in the neighborhood of the colony, and this hope would be held out to all who distinguish themselves by industry and capability. Hollesley Bay will be seen thus, supposing that these plans can be carried out, to offer the most constructive attempt yet made, either in England or on the Continent, to deal with the question of unemployed labor; and providing that the small holdings idea can be carried into effect and gradually developed upon cooperative lines, the experiment ought to result not only in the absorption of a certain class of genuine unemployed men, but also in the quickening up of rural industries.

During this last year emigration and the colony settlement idea has received considerable impetus, as a result of the report issued by Mr. Rider Haggard after a visit as government commissioner to the U. S. Mr. Rider Haggard was instructed by the English Government to investigate agricultural and industrial settlements which have been established by the Salvation Army. These settlements were established with the idea of facilitating the flow of suitable men and women from the great cities of the U. S. to the land, and the commissioner's special object was to ascertain how far an analogous system might be with advantage applied in the emigration of the urban population of the United Kingdom to different parts of the British Empire. It was also suggested that Mr. Haggard, after inspecting the settlements, should report on the possibility of such emigration to Canada, conferring with Earl Grey, the governor-general.

Mr. Haggard's report gives the result of his investigations at the Salvation Army land settlements in Colorado and California, namely, Fort Amity and Fort Romie. On the whole the two experiments seem to Mr. Haggard, who is very optimistic on the subject, to be eminently successful, and to demonstrate in the case of Fort Romie that indigent people of the agricultural laborer class can be settled upon land and there do well, and in the case of Fort Amity that such persons can even be taken from towns and yet prosper. In both cases they are nearly self-supporting, for tho nominally there has been a total loss of about £10,000 on the two, Mr. Haggard attributes the loss to certain exceptional difficulties, to the high rate of interest the Salvation Army has to pay, and the charges which should not have been included.

To quote Mr. Haggard's own words:

Broadly stated, these results may be said to include the turning of a block of waste prairie land into a prosperous settlement, where a population of about 270 persons are living in happiness, health, and comfort, with a good prospect of becoming entirely independent and, in sundry instances, comparatively wealthy.

Mr. Haggard suggests that these colonies or settlements might well be established by an arrangement between the British and Canadian

Governments, and he has drawn up a scheme and given a financial estimate whereby land which the Canadian Government is willing to grant, 360 sq. m., or 240,000 acres, should be divided up between 1,500 families, or about 7,500 people. The cost of emigrating and establishing such a number in Canada he puts down roughly at £200 per family, or £300,000 in all, and he suggests that the interest on such a loan should be guaranteed by his Majesty's government, or perhaps by a combination of the two governments. He adds that the municipalities might be empowered to join in the guaranty. For the management of such a vast organization he suggests the appointment of a superintendent of land settlements, or a board representative of the Colonial Office, the Colonies, and the Treasury, whereof the superintendent would be a member. The expenses and salary of his office would be a charge on the land settlements loan.

PERCY ALDEN, M.P.

REFERENCES: See UNEMPLOYED.

LABOR COPARTNERSHIP ASSOCIATION, THE: This association, formerly known as the Labor Association, was founded at Derby, England, in the year 1884. Its object is "to bring about an organization of industry based on the principle of labor copartnership; that is to say, a system in which all those engaged shall share in the profits, capital, control, and responsibility." With this view, it seeks, first, in the cooperative movement to aid by its propaganda and advice all forms of production based on the above principle; and, second, to induce employers and employed in other businesses to adopt schemes of profit-sharing and investment tending in the same direction.

One of the first tasks of the association was to compile statistics of the copartnership societies at work at the end of 1883. It was but a meager showing of fifteen societies and a trade of £160,751, compared with 128 societies in 1906 and a trade of £3,806,156. (See COOPERATION, PRODUCTIVE.) To this growth the association has contributed by a steady propaganda of leaflets, lectures, etc. More recently, however, the association has largely diverted its activities from the formation of cooperative societies toward that of encouraging private firms to practise copartnership. In this direction its most signal success has been with the gas companies; the total amount of 7,138 workers' earnings which were capitalized by five companies reached £368,548 in June, 1906. The (London) South Metropolitan Gas Company bulked largely in the figures, Sir George Livesey being a stout supporter of the copartnership principle. Three of the employees of this company sit on the Board of Directors.

Attention has also been given by the Labor Copartnership Association to the new housing societies. (See HOUSING QUESTION.)

The Cooperative Productive Federation (*Secretary*, Mr. R. Halstead, 17 Marlborough Road, Leicester), advises with regard to trade, opening up markets, and obtaining capital, while the association continues its general propaganda work. *Secretary*, Mr. Henry Vivian, M.P., 6 Bloomsburg Square, London, W. C. HENRY VIVIAN.

LABOR DAY is a holiday in the United States for working men on the first Monday of September, usually celebrated by parades of labor organizations, addresses, picnics, etc. It was first held in a few states in 1887, and is now a legal holiday in about half the states. In Europe, May 1 is usually celebrated as a labor festival, and has been taken advantage of by Socialists for gigantic demonstrations. In some countries disturbances on this day have caused the governments to forbid its celebration.

Thirty-six states of the union and the District of Columbia make Labor Day a legal holiday. This wide observance gives the celebration almost a national character. A Labor Day was celebrated in New York City in 1882, but not till 1887 was Labor Day made a legal holiday.

LABOR EXCHANGES (Bourses de Travail) are buildings or institutions established by the governments (municipal or state) of some countries in Europe, and particularly France and Italy, as headquarters for labor organizations and similar societies. The first Labor Exchange was started in Paris 1887, after some abortive beginnings in 1848 and under the Third Empire. In 1887, however, the Paris *Bourse de Travail* was founded and was given an annual subsidy of 150,000 francs, and an old building in the Rue Jean Jacques Rousseau. In 1892 a fine new building was provided in the Rue Château d'Eau, at a cost of 3,000,000 fr. Lit by electricity, heated and commodious, it became the headquarters of over 200 unions. It became, however, also, to a certain extent, the headquarters for socialistic and sometimes revolutionary movements, and for a while was closed by the government in 1894. Similar labor exchanges have been started in many French cities. From the first they have had Labor Registrars or Employment Bureaus connected with them, and latterly these have become important. (See PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS; BELGIUM; ITALY.)

LABOR LEAGUE, NATIONAL WOMEN'S: This is a national league established in England in 1906, to work for labor representation in connection with the Labor Party.

The purpose of the league is large, for the members engage to take an active interest in all better work. *Address*: 34 St. Thomas's Mansions Westminster Bridge, London, S. W.

LABOR PARTY, THE: The name adopted in England, in 1906, by the LABOR REPRESENTATION COMMITTEE (which see) after its phenomenal success in the parliamentary election of Jan., 1906.

The Labor Party is a federation consisting of trade-unions, trades councils, Socialist societies, and local labor associations. A local labor association in any constituency is eligible for affiliation provided that the local trades council has been consulted in the first instance. Cooperative societies are also eligible. Its object is declared to be to organize and maintain a parliamentary Labor Party, with its own whips and policy; and to secure the election of candidates for whose candidatures an affiliated society has made itself financially responsible and who have been selected by a regularly convened conference in the constituency. All such candidates shall pledge themselves to accept this constitution, to abide by the decisions of the group, and to appear before their constituencies under the title of Labor candidates only.

The affairs of the committee of the Labor Party are transacted by an executive committee of thirteen members, of whom nine represent the trade-

unions, one the trades councils, and three the Socialist societies.

A parliamentary fund is raised in order to assist the main objects. This fund is maintained by a levy upon the affiliated societies at the rate of two pence per member per annum. According to the present arrangements the Labor Party pays 25 per cent of the election expenses of its candidates, and £200 per annum to such candidates elected to Parliament.

The seventh annual conference of the Labor Party was held in Belfast in January, 1907, under the presidency of J. J. Stephenson, and there were 347 delegates in attendance. The membership was reported at 998,538, an increase of 77,000 over the previous year. The parliamentary fund had received £5,000 in subscriptions, and £7,177 had been paid out. The net balance in hand was £4,793.

The party is practically, tho not technically, a Socialist party, and at least twenty of its representatives in Parliament are avowed Socialists, while all its other members favor most Socialist measures. The measures indorsed at the congresses include: An adult suffrage measure; national measures for dealing with unemployment; taxation of unearned increment; secular education and free meals for children; minimum wage of thirty shillings for government employees; compulsory early closing and abolition of "living in" for shop assistants; local veto on liquor traffic, and prohibition of publication of betting news.

Of the fifty Labor members in Parliament, thirty were indorsed by the Labor Representation Committee, thirteen were miners' candidates, and seven were other trade-union candidates. Of the thirty indorsed by the Labor Representation Committee, four were nominated by the Independent Labor Party only, thirteen by the Independent Labor Party and trade-unions, twelve by trade-unions only, and one by the Social Democratic Federation and a trade-union.

Labor M.P.'s

In February, 1906, J. Keir Hardie was elected Parliamentary Chairman of the Labor Party. It is estimated that the total Labor Party vote in 1906 was 350,643; not including the votes for Labor or other candidates unaffiliated with the Labor Party. The *Chairman* of the Labor Party executive is Walter Hudson, M.P.; its *Secretary*, J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., 28 Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S. W.

LABOR REPRESENTATION COMMITTEE (now the English Labor Party): A political committee first formed in Great Britain, in 1900, by representatives of various trade-union bodies and Socialist societies, to indorse and support the candidates nominated by its constituent unions and societies.

The committee originated in a resolution adopted by the Trade-Union Congress at Plymouth, in 1899, to summon "a conference of trade-union, cooperative, socialistic, and other working-class organizations," to consider labor political representation. This conference was held Feb. 20–28, 1900, in London, attended by 129 delegates, representing societies with a membership of 568,177, of which 22,861 were Socialists and the balance trade-unionists. A Labor Representation Committee was formed with practical unanimity and has met with great success. Annual conferences have been held since, at Manchester (1901), Birmingham (1902), Newcastle-on-Tyne (1903), Bradford (1904), Liverpool (1905), London (1906). At this last congress it was voted to adopt the name The Labor Party.

Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald has been secretary of the committee from the beginning. The general election of 1900 was held before the committee was well under way, but fifteen candidates were indorsed by it and two were returned to Parliament, Richard Bell at Derby, and Keir Hardie at Merthyr Tydvil. In Aug., 1902, D. J. Shackleton was returned at a by-election in Lancashire practically unopposed. In 1903 William Crooks and A. Henderson were elected to Parliament at by-elections in Woolwich and Barnard Castle. Forty seats were also won in municipal contests. In 1904 the committee commenced paying its representatives in Parliament £200 each, raised by a penny levy on its 969,800 members. One by-election was won, and another in 1905, but both members died. In the general election of Jan., 1906, the committee indorsed fifty-three candidates and elected thirty members to Parliament, estimated to represent 331 votes. Besides these, twenty others, nominated by trade-union bodies, were elected, making a Labor group of fifty members, independent of other parties and not including fourteen other Labor members, like John Burns, W. R. Crewel, and others affiliated with the Liberal Party, and still a few other Fabian Socialists or Independents affiliated with the Liberal Party, but voting with the Labor group on many labor measures. It was this success that made the Labor Representation Committee at its 1906 congress vote to call itself The Labor Party. In 1900 the committee represented societies with 375,931 members; in 1906 the 231 societies and unions represented in the committee had 921,280 members. (See Labor Party.)

LAFARGUE, PAUL: Socialist; born at Santiago, Cuba, 1842. Studying medicine in Paris, he took part in the Commune of 1871, and then fled to Spain and England, where he married a daughter of Karl Marx. In 1880, with Guesde (*q. v.*), he organized Marxist socialism in France, since which date Socialism of this type has steadily grown in France. (See France and Social Reform.) Lafargue was imprisoned in 1883 and again in 1891, but was liberated on being elected to the Assembly from Lille, tho in the next election defeated. Author: "Le Matérialisme économique de Karl Marx" (1884); "Le Droit à la Paresse" (1887); "The Evolution of Property" (1891); "Le Socialisme utopique" (1892); "Cours d'économie sociale" (1884); "Le Communisme et l'Evolution économique" (1892); "Le Socialisme et la Conquête des Pouvoirs publics" (1899).

"LAISSEZ-FAIRE": The watchword of the classical individualistic political economy of Adam Smith and his school, tho it is said to have been used by a French merchant, Legendre, as early as 1680, in answer to a question by Colbert as to what should be done for industry. By 1735 the Marquis of Argenson said that *Laissez-Faire* should be the watchword of every government. (See Individualism; Physiocrats; Smith, Adam; Political Economy.)

LAMENNAIS, HUGUES FÉLICITÉ ROBERT, ABBÉ DE: French reformer; born 1782 at St. Malo, France. At first skeptical, the materialism of France drove him to the Church, and he re-

ceived the tonsure in 1811, and the priesthood in 1817, becoming a teacher at St. Malo. Supporting monarchy, he attacked Napoleon, and was compelled to flee to England. Returning to France, he published his "Essai sur l'Indifférence en Matière de Religion," 4 vols., 1817–20, and other works. In 1830 he founded the journal *L'Avenir*, with the motto, "God and liberty, the Pope and the people." He found many disciples, among them Lacordaire and Montalembert. Denounced at Rome, in 1831 he went to Rome and waited seven months in vain for an audience with the Pope. His faith shaken by what he saw, he hovered between Romanism and democracy. In 1832 a papal encyclical indirectly condemned *L'Avenir*, and drove Lamennais from the Church. After living for a while in silence, he startled the world in 1834 by his burning "Les paroles d'un croyant" (The Words of a Believer). In this he declares Christianity to be love and service, and the French Church to be opposed to this. The Pope condemned this, and Lamennais answered in his "Affaire de Rome" (1836). In his "Le Livre du Peuple" (1837); "Esquisse d'une Philosophie" (1841–43); "De la Religion" (1841); "Du Passé et de l'Avenir du Peuple" (1842), he appeared as "the prophet of democracy," and of the alliance of Christianity and socialism. In 1839 he published a pamphlet, for which he was imprisoned twelve months. In 1848 he was elected to the Constituent Assembly, but after the *coup d'état* withdrew from public life and died in 1854, rejecting to the last all overtures of the Church, and was buried, in accordance with his will, in a nameless grave at Père la Chaise. His passionate belief was that religion is the root of all true progress in all aspects of life—in manners, politics, art, science, philosophy. He, like Mazzini, laid emphasis upon duties rather than rights. He asks why it is that the people have not conquered their rights and held them fast, seeing that the privileged classes are so inferior in numbers; and the reason he assigns is that while the people have in their hands that which overthrows, they have not had in their hearts that which builds up. "Do good," he writes, "by good means. Do not confound the strength wielded by justice and charity with the brute force of ferocity and violence. When fraternity shall be in the hearts of the people, it will not be long before it finds its way into their laws."

LAMPÉRIÈRE, ANNA M. J.: Formerly director of the École Normale, Paris; delegate to a number of congresses which aim at social betterment. She was born Nov. 19, 1854, at Lisieux, Calvados, Normandy, France, and early became interested in social and educational problems. In 1879 she was appointed director of the École Normale—the youngest appointee ever receiving that honor. She was a delegate to the "Congress of Social and Moral Reforms" at Chicago, 1893, being especially commissioned to investigate the "sweating system." Mme. Lampérière is still actively engaged in promoting the work of the "Groupe d'Initiative jour l'Éducation Sociale," and is particularly interested in the section for the social education of women. The articles which have come from her pen indicate sufficiently the line of her literary and practical work: "Le Patronage scolaire" (1894); "L'Éducation Sociale du Femme" (1896); "Fondation du Progrés Feminin" (1897), all in the *Temps*. She was actively engaged both with her pen and as a delegate to the educational departments at the Expositions in Paris, 1900, and in St. Louis, 1903. She believes that woman is destined to take a higher place in society than she has in the past; for this purpose education along purely intellectual and general social lines is necessary, since her interests are identical with those of an advanced and enlightened society. Mme. Lampérière is the author of "Le Rôle Sociale de la Femme" (1898); Report to the Minister of Education in 1900 and 1903; and has in preparation "L'Éducation Sociale de la Femme." *Address*: Mme. Anna M. J. Lampérière, 46 rue de St. André-des-Arts, Paris, or "Cottage bleu," Lisieux, Calvados, France.

LAND: We consider in this article (1) the history of land tenure, in the development of modern conditions, a subject of large importance as it shows how comparatively modern is the present institution of private property in land, and how largely modern titles are based, not on justice or equity, but on robbery, extortion, and violence. (2) We notice the existing facts as to land ownership; (3) the economic and moral results of this ownership; (4) the various propositions for land reform; (5) the arguments for and against the private ownership of land.

(For fuller consideration of subsidiary points in the history of the past and the facts of the present, see PRIMITIVE PROPERTY; MARK; MANOR; MIR; COMMUNISM; FEUDALISM; MIDDLE AGES; METAYER; AGRICULTURE; FARMERS' MOVEMENT; SLUMS; TENEMENTS; MORTGAGES; WEALTH. For a discussion of the economic principles entering into the land question, see RENT; WAGES. For fuller development of the various proposals for reform on the land questions, see ANARCHISM; COMMUNISM; COOPERATIVE FARMING; LABOR COLONIES; SINGLE TAX; SOCIALISM.)

I. The Development of Modern Conditions

Primitive Property

Land at the beginning of human history was wholly unappropriated. Each man helped himself to what he would and what he could. The world was a No Man's Land. But the preservation of life compelled the weak to seek protection by placing themselves under some strong leader. Leaders were glad to protect those who would slave for them; the rearing of the young compelled some sort of a more or less permanent habitation and defense from attack of man and of beast. Consciousness of kin and of kind drew men together; gradually property arose. Then land became appropriated, but under what forms is a matter of debate. One school of thought—led notably by Laveleye (*q. v.*)—has found in the forms of modern savage life, in the remnants and traditions of the Russian *mir*, the Javan *dessa*, the Indian communal village, the Slavic communal families, the German *mark*, the Swiss *allmend*, the English *manor*, the Greek and Roman public feasts, the family communities of various out-of-the-way sections of Western Europe, evidence of a primitive communal holding of land, where little groups of men and women, perhaps patriarchal families, appropriated land collectively and tilled it for the common gold. This view has been sharply criticized, notably by Fustél de Coulanges (*q. v.*). It is argued that the evidence does not prove a primitive communism but rather a primitive slavery, land being held, perhaps by tribes, but not by communal tribes; rather by despots, tyrants, bullies, who, with the aid of their minions, would seize and defend and till certain portions of the soil. Perhaps the true view is midway between these two extremes. The horde or the patriarchal family (*q. v.*) was undoubtedly the first unit that owned land; but this was probably anything but a democratic unit or a communal colony. Slave labor, the wife or wives perhaps being the first slaves, undoubtedly first tilled the soil in large and permanent ways. Babylon, Egypt, Persia, rested on slave labor, toiling for lords of the soil, who in turn followed despotic kings defended by slave armies. Out of this condition in Japan, China, and through Asia generally, a serfdom gradually developed, following in a rude way the feudal forms we best study in Europe. Japan only very recently has thrown off feudalism. Outside of civilized countries the land is yet held to-day by savage tribes, by

feudal lords or by men under despots, as in Mohammedan countries, despised and tyrannized cultivators of the soil.

It is in Greece and Rome that we find the real beginnings of individual ownership of land. In Greece, the city-State was supreme. It conquered the land and parceled out the territory among the free citizens, the assignments being tilled by slaves. Mines and some lands were held by the State, however, and worked for the State by slaves. Rome began in the same way. Two *jugera* (one acre and a quarter) were originally assigned to each household. Households were combined in *gentes* and the *gentes* in the State. The State, however, held some land, and perhaps rented some of it.

Greece and Rome

But by the time of Servius Tullius the original private portion of many households must have been greatly but unequally enlarged, for his new military organization was based on the obligation of service imposed on the freeholders (*assidui*) as distinguished from the mere laborers and breeders of children (*proletarii*).

Class distinctions based on landownership thus early began. The wealthy had their lands tilled by slaves. The poor landowners, unable to sustain themselves, hired themselves as laborers or sold themselves or their children into slavery. Finally the poorer citizens rebelled; they assembled on the Mons Sacer and threatened Rome. It was the commencement of the long struggle over agrarian laws.

The object of these laws is well illustrated in the Licinian law (387 A.U.C.). It enacted that no citizen should hold more than 500 *jugera* of the public lands; that no one should graze more than 100 oxen and 500 sheep on the common lands; and that every landowner should be obliged to employ a number of free laborers proportioned to that of his slaves.

Such laws pacified the people for the time, but had little permanent effect.

Successful wars gave a temporary outlet to labor in the formation of agricultural colonies, but at the same time immensely increased the number of slaves, who were treated as mere beasts of toil, to be worked out or sold off when no longer profitable.

Great estates tilled by slaves grew. The Gracchi demanded a distribution of the State lands among the people, but the demand was stifled in blood. Later, Julius Cæsar to an extent yielded; but it was too late. Great estates created an aristocracy. The Roman Empire grew corrupt with a few great owners of the soil in power and luxury, and the mass of the people enslaved and poor. Pliny's famous utterance sums it up: "*Latifundia perdidere Italiam*" ("Natural History," 18. 6. 7. § 35. "Great estates overthrew Italy"). Then the Goth came.

The exact connection between the Roman system and feudalism is not fully clear. The origins of feudalism itself are disputed (see FEUDALISM); but the great Roman villas, tilled by poor freedmen dependent on their lords, as well as by slaves, undoubtedly contributed at least somewhat to feudalism. Gradually under feudalism, and partly due to the Christian Church (see CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM), chattel slavery disappeared in Europe, but the slaves and poor freedmen became serfs of the soil, entitled to some rights, but tied to the villa or manor, and compelled to render service to the lord of the soil. The *mark* (*q. v.*) had been previously the typical organization in German land tenure. It is disputed just how it was organized, but it was undoubtedly in general a tribal organization. Cicero says ("De Bell. Gall.," vi.) of the Germans of his time:

> No one has a fixed quantity of land or boundaries of his property, but the magistrates and chiefs every year assign to the communities and families who live together as much land and in such spots as they think suitable, and require them in the following year to remove to another allotment.

Tacitus describes it later in the same general way. Perhaps out of this organization, blending with the Roman system, came feudalism. As the Carlovingian Empire arose and then dissolved, the various kings would assign different portions of their kingdom to the great barons to rule over and defend. They, in their turn, would similarly subdivide their territories, and this would produce feudalism. The system seems to have first arisen in Germany; but in England it is best studied, particularly in tracing its development into modern conditions, because in Germany various systems, as we shall see, existed side by side, while in England the development is clearer.

Alfred Russel Wallace ("Land Nationalization," pp. 22–25) has summed up in a few lines the essence of feudalism as far as land tenure is concerned, and its development into modern English landlordism. He says:

> The actual system of land tenure and all existing rights of property in land in this country may be said to have originated at the Norman Conquest, when the whole land of the kingdom became vested in the crown. All the great landed estates were then granted as fiefs by the sovereign; and their holders were obliged to render military and other service proportionate to the extent and population of their lands. These estates were also subject to various fines, on marriage or on transmission to an heir; they were not allowed to be sold or alienated without the permission of the sovereign; and on the death of the owner without heirs the whole reverted to the crown. Any breach of fealty or the commission of any act of felony also entailed the loss of the estate. The great vassals were usually endowed with civil and criminal jurisdiction over the inhabitants of their estates, and were altogether more in the position of subordinate rulers than mere landlords in the modern sense of the term.
>
> These immediate vassals of the crown again granted lands in fief, on various payments or services, and in process of time these fiefs were allowed to be divided or sold, and the payment or service to be commuted for fixt sums of money. . . .
>
> The "lords of the soil" were the chiefs and protectors of the community which lived on their estates, while every individual, down to the villein and serf, possest definite rights and privileges in connection with the land, which, tho they might be infringed by force or rapine, were fully recognized by custom and law.
>
> But as time rolled on this system became modified in a variety of ways, tho always for the benefit of the lord, and to the injury of the inferior landholder. As the king obtained more power and the attractions of court life became greater, the nobles and great landowners came to look upon their estates chiefly as sources of revenue to be spent in the capital or in foreign lands. The employment of foreign mercenaries and the rise of standing armies enabled the king to dispense with the military service of his vassals, and by self-made laws this and other burdens on the land were gradually thrown off, and were replaced to a great extent by taxes on the mercantile and landless classes. The ingenuity of lawyers and direct landlord legislation steadily increased the powers of great landowners and encroached upon the rights of the people, till at length the monstrous doctrine arose that a landless Englishman has no right whatever to the enjoyment even of the unenclosed commons and heaths and the mountain and forest wastes of his native country, but is everywhere, in the eye of the law, a trespasser whenever he ventures off a public road or pathway. The lord of the manor is said to be the "owner of the soil," and the surrounding freeholders and copyholders have certain rights of pasture, fern or turf cutting; but the dwellers in the adjacent towns and villages, and all who are mere Englishmen, have no rights whatever, so that if the two former classes agree, the common can be (as hundreds of commons have been) enclosed, and divided among them. It has thus come to pass that at the present day the owners of land, whether acquired by inheritance or purchase, treat it solely as so much *property* to be made the most of, quite irrespective of any rights of the *people* who live upon it. They now claim a power which no government, however despotic, has ever openly claimed—that of treating the land exclusively as a source of personal wealth, to which they have an indefeasible right, even at the sacrifice of all that the people who live upon the land hold most dear.

Feudalism

But even this does not bring out the whole situation. When the custom grew up of the baron's making a money payment to the king in place of service, it involved more than first appears. It enabled the king to hire a *standing army* rather than depend upon turbulent barons. The barons preferred it because they in turn could get money in place of service from their dependents, and so could live where they would, *escaping duties, tho maintaining income.* But this was not all. The king, wanting more money, some one suggested that he get money not only from the barons, but from their dependents. It was overlooked or ignored that the dependents were already paying the king *through the barons*, and that the barons were only entitled to payment from their dependents *as representatives of the king.* The dependents thus found themselves called upon to pay

both the king and the barons. Even this was not all. When the barons found their dependents paying the king, they said: "This money is the king's; what money comes to us is ours." The king's payment they called *tax*; their payment they called *rent*—in other words, they set up the claim to own as properties, from which they could collect rent, the lands they had been given to rule over for the king. In substantially such a process, tho disguised, often unconscious to the barons themselves, lies the genesis of the landownership of modern England.

Robbery of the Land

Nor is even this all. Wars in the Middle Ages were fought by the nobility. Gradually the barons grew impoverished and needed money. The development of the Flemish wool market gave them an opportunity. Claiming to own the land, they began to enclose the commons, to evict the peasantry, and turn the land into sheepwalks.

Eden, in his "History of the Poor," gives a quotation from "A Compendious or Briefe Examination of Certayne Complaints," published in 1581, which says, "these sheep is the cause of all these mischiefs, for they have driven husbandry out of the country, by the which was increased before all kinds of victuals, and now altogether sheep, sheep, sheep."

The landless class was also swollen by the evicted monks and nuns from the monasteries suppressed by Henry VIII. How many of these there were can be seen when it is remembered that good authority estimates one third of the whole of England at this time to have been Church land.

Nor is the enclosure of commons by any means a practise of the past alone. It ended in that form, but later took the form of reclaiming waste land. Under the Georges, enclosure became a settled policy. Some 2,000 enclosure bills were passed before the General Enclosure Act of 1801, and about 2,000 more before the Act of 1845. Lawrence's "New System of Agriculture," published in 1726, states that "it is believed that one half part of the kingdom are commons, and a third of all of the kingdom is what we call common fields." In 1879 only 264,000 acres were common out of 32,597,398 acres.

Says S. W. Thackeray ("The Land and the Community," p. 47):

> The annual report of the Enclosure Commissioners for 1867 shows that during the 150 years previous no less than 7,660,413 acres were added to the cultivated area; that is, about one third of the total of 25,451,626 acres in cultivation in that year. The commissioners remark that such enclosures, being often made without any compensation to the smaller commoners, have deprived agricultural laborers of ancient rights over the waste, and disabled the occupants of new cottages from acquiring new rights.
>
> Nor must it be supposed that the number of landed proprietors was in any way increased by this process of enclosure. The area enclosed was divided among those, and those only, who already possest common rights by virtue of their holding freeholds or copyholds, and the very idea of recognizing in law any public interest in open wastes or forests is entirely modern. The lion's share was always reserved for the lord of the manor, and immense accessions of territory were thus secured by powerful landowners in days when the landed interest was paramount in the legislature no less than in local administration. The chief sufferers at the time were poor laborers, holding cottages at will of their landlords, who lost the privilege of turning out pigs, geese, and fowls on the common, and for whom, of course, no compensation was provided, or even thought of.

Such is the way that English land property has been developed by encroachments on the rights of the people. Not even yet does the *law* recognize full private property in English land, but in practise it is only too real.

Sir Frederick Pollock says in "English Land Laws":

> It is commonly supposed that land belongs to its owner in the same sense as money or a watch; this is not the theory of English law since the Norman Conquest, nor has it been so in its full significance at any time. No absolute ownership of land is recognized by our law books, except in the crown. All lands are supposed to be held immediately or mediately of the crown, tho no rent or services may be payable and no grant from the crown on record.

Williams says ("Real Property"):

> The first thing the student has to do is to get rid of the idea of absolute ownership (of land). Such an idea is quite unknown to the English law. No man is in law the absolute owner of lands (p. 16).
>
> All landowners are merely tenants in the eye of the law (p. 55).

Says Mr. Thackeray:

> The first sign of an awakening of the public mind to a consciousness of the true meaning of what was going on was in 1836, when in an enclosure act of that year it was stipulated that no enclosures should be made within ten miles of London or within corresponding distances of smaller towns. Next, in 1845, when the General Enclosure Act was passed, which applied to all "common lands," it was enacted that manorial wastes must not be enclosed without the previous sanction of Parliament. In 1852 a later act made the consent of Parliament necessary in *all* cases under the Enclosure Act.

The development of land property in other countries, so far as it differs from the English development, we consider in speaking of each country. The English theory has been copied in the main in the United States and Australasia. Wherever Englishmen have discovered land they have claimed it for the crown, and the crown has assigned it for the most part in fee simple to companies or to individual proprietors. In English colonies all land is held from the crown. Titles in the older states of the U. S. originated in this way. William Penn purchased land from the Indians, but it was assigned to proprietors by the crown, and Pennsylvania became a proprietary colony. In most of the colonies charters were given to companies, and these companies gave land to individuals. Since the Revolution the federal government has been the owner of all land not already owned by individuals, but has sold it to settlers, under the Homestead Act, for a song, or has given it to towns, states, or railroads.

The United States

II. Existing Conditions of Landownership

In the U. S., according to the census of 1900, only 64.4 per cent of the families owned homes, and only 31.8 per cent or less than one third of the families owned unmortgaged homes. In the great cities conditions are much worse. The following tables from the census give the facts:

OWNERSHIP OF HOMES

State or Territory	Per Cent of Families Having Homes				Per Cent of Farm Families Having Homes			
	Owned			Hired	Owned			Hired
	Total	Free	Mortgaged		Total	Free	Mortgaged	
United States	46.5	31.8	14.7	53.5	64.4	44.4	20.0	35.6
N. Atlantic div.	38.0	22.3	15.7	62.0	78.2	48.2	30.0	21.8
S. Atlantic div.	40.7	33.2	7.5	59.3	55.2	45.9	9.3	44.8
N. Central div.	55.7	35.3	20.4	44.3	72.3	42.2	30.1	27.7
S. Central div.	43.4	36.1	7.3	56.6	51.2	42.3	8.9	48.8
Western div.	53.4	42.7	10.7	46.6	81.0	63.4	17.6	19.0

OWNERSHIP OF HOMES, 1890 AND 1900

KIND OF FAMILY	Number of families	PER CENT OF FAMILIES HAVING HOMES— Owned			Hired
		Total	Free	Mortgaged	
1900					
All families	16,187,715	46.5	31.8	14.7	53.5
Farm families	5,698,901	64.4	44.4	20.0	35.6
Other families	10,488,814	36.3	23.4	12.9	63.7
1890					
All families	12,690,152	47.8	34.4	13.4	52.2
Farm families	4,767,179	65.9	47.3	18.6	34.1
Other families	7,922,973	36.9	26.7	10.2	63.1

RACE OR AGE OF HEAD	PER CENT OF PRIVATE FARM FAMILIES HAVING HOMES				PER CENT OF OTHER PRIVATE FAMILIES HAVING HOMES			
	Owned			Hired	Owned			Hired
	Total	Free	Mortgaged		Total	Free	Mortgaged	
Total	64.4	44.4	20.0	35.6	36.5	24.8	11.7	63.5
White	70.3	48.2	22.1	29.7	38.3	25.8	12.5	61.7
Negro	25.3	18.3	7.0	74.7	19.0	14.5	4.5	81.0
Indian	95.6	90.2	5.4	4.4	86.6	86.0	0.6	13.4
Mongolian	8.8	6.3	2.5	91.2	8.5	8.0	0.5	91.5
White—								
Native	68.2	48.1	20.1	31.8	39.1	27.0	12.1	60.9
Foreign-b'n.	81.2	48.4	32.8	18.8	36.7	23.5	13.2	63.3
Total	64.4	44.4	20.0	35.6	36.5	24.8	11.7	63.5

In 1900 only 46.7 per cent of "private families," or less than one half of the families of our country, owned their own homes; only 32 per cent, less than one third, owned unmortgaged homes. From 1890 to 1900 the number of families owning their own homes *fell* from 47.8 to 46.5 per cent; mortgaged homes increased from 13.4 to 14.7 per cent. Of farm families, in 1900, 64.4 per cent owned a home and only 44 per cent an unmortgaged home. (For cities, see CITIES.) From 1890 to 1900 the number of farm tenants increased from 34.1 per cent to 35.6 per cent.

STATE OR TERRITORY	PER CENT OF FARMS OPERATED BY— Owners		Cash tenants		Share tenants	
	1900	1880	1900	1880	1900	1880
United States	64.7	74.5	13.1	8.0	22.2	17.5
Continental U. S.	64.7	74.5	13.1	8.0	22.2	17.5
North Atlantic Division	79.2	84.0	9.8	7.0	11.0	9.0
South Atlantic Division	55.8	63.9	17.9	11.6	26.3	24.5
North Central Division	72.1	79.5	9.5	5.2	18.4	15.3
South Central Division	51.4	63.8	17.3	11.8	31.3	24.4
Western Division	83.4	86.0	7.7	5.5	8.9	8.5

Thus from 1880 to 1900 the percentage of farms operated by owners fell from 74.5 per cent to 64.7 per cent; farms operated by cash tenants increased from 8 per cent to 13.1 per cent, and farms operated by share tenants from 17.5 per cent to 22.2 per cent.

AVERAGE NUMBER OF ACRES PER FARM

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS	1900	1890	1880	1870	1860	1850
The United States	146.6	136.5	133.7	153.3	199.2	202.6
North Atlantic	96.5	95.3	97.7	104.3	108.1	112.6
South Atlantic	108.4	133.6	157.4	241.1	352.8	376.4
North Central	144.5	133.4	121.9	123.7	139.7	143.3
South Central	155.4	144.0	150.6	194.4	321.3	291.0
Western	386.1	324.1	312.9	336.4	366.9	694.9
Alaska and Hawaii[1]	1,142.1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

[1] No report prior to 1900.

Of this table the Census says:

For the U. S. the average size of farms decreased from 1850 until 1880, since which year it has steadily increased. . . . The increase or decrease in the average size of farms, therefore, is due to the changes incident to the adjustment of the agricultural operations of each locality to those branches of husbandry to which it is best adapted (dairy, vegetable farms, etc.). It may be said that the average area of farms tends to approximate the area from which the farmer possessing average capital can secure the largest returns

PER CENT OF FARMS BY AREAS

Census Year	Under 10	10 and under 20	20 and under 50	50 and under 100	100 and under 500	500 and under 1,000	1,000 and over
1900	4.7	7.1	21.9	23.8	39.9	1.8	0.8
1890	3.3	5.8	19.8	24.6	44.0	1.8	0.7
1880	3.5	6.3	19.5	25.8	42.3	1.9	0.7

The Census says:

During the twenty years from 1880 to 1900, the number of farms for the entire country increased in every group. The greatest absolute increase was in the group of farms containing 100 and less than 500 acres, which was from 1,695,983 to 2,290,424, a gain of 594,441, or 35.0 per cent. The next largest gain was in the group containing over 20 and less than 50 acres, which showed an increase from 781,574 to 1,257,785, a gain of 476,211, or 60.9 per cent. In the group with 50 to 100 acres the increase was from 1,032,810 to 1,366,167, a gain of 333,357, or 32.3 per cent. . . .

The number of farms containing between 20 and 50 acres decreased in the North Atlantic Division, but increased in all the others, the greatest gains being in the South Atlantic and South Central States. . . .

The Western States showed the greatest increase of any division in the number of farms containing from ten to twenty acres, which, like that in the next larger group, is incidental to the growth of irrigation. No other division reported any noteworthy change in the relative number of farms of this area.

All of the geographic divisions recorded an increased number of farms containing less than ten acres, due in part to the inclusion of small dairy farms, poultry farms, florists' establishments, and similar farms of small size not included in previous census reports, and in part to an actual increase in the number of small farms.

Very large holdings of land certainly exist in the U. S. The number of large "gentlemen's estates" is notoriously on the increase. Foreigners own large sections of land. The Texas Land Syndicate, in which the Duke of Rutland and Lord Beresford are largely interested, is said to own 3,000,000 acres in Texas. The British Land Company owns 300,000 acres in Kansas. Sir Edward Reed is said to own 1,000,000 acres in Florida, and Lady Gordon and the Marquis of Dalhousie 2,000,000 acres. It is estimated that at least 150,000,000 acres of the public domain have been stolen by large land syndicates,

or thirty states of the size of Massachusetts. Yet towards 50,000,000 people own no home at all.

Great Britain

Land in Great Britain is probably in fewer hands than in any other country. It has been said that 710 men own one quarter of England, that seventy men own one half of Scotland, and that 13,000 men, or little more than one thirtieth of 1 per cent of the population, own two thirds of the whole United Kingdom. It was also stated that during the Victorian reign 1,225,000 persons died of starvation, 3,668,000 persons were evicted by landlords, and that from 1870–90, 1,000,000 acres of land had gone out of cultivation. In 1688 England was a nation of small properties, three fifths of the agriculturists owning land. Three centuries later scarcely one fifth own any land. In 1895 over 84 per cent of the 520,106 holdings in Great Britain were rented by the occupiers, less than 12 per cent were owned by the occupiers, and the balance were partly rented and partly owned. The following tables give the facts for 1895:

Number of Agricultural Holdings

Classification		England	Wales	Scotland	Great Britain	Per cent of holdings, Great Britain	Per cent of acreage, Great Britain
Not Above	above						
1 acre	5 acres	87,055	10,763	20,150	117,968	22.68	1.13
5	20	108,115	18,569	23,104	149,818	28.80	5.12
20	50	62,446	12,400	10,817	85,663	16.47	8.79
50	100	46,574	10,217	9,834	66,625	12.81	15.00
100	300	60,381	7,896	12,968	81,245	15.62	42.59
300	500	11,112	386	2,070	13,568	2.61	15.70
500	1,000	3,942	54	620	4,616	0.89	9.21
1,000	.....	524	3	76	603	0.12	2.46
		380,179	60,288	79,639	520,106	100.00	100.00

Percentage

Classification		Rented	Owned by occupiers
Above 1 acre	Not above 5 acres	1.12	1.16
5	20	5.15	4.93
20	50	9.00	7.57
50	100	15.57	11.52
100	300	43.99	34.17
300	500	15.38	17.65
500	1,000	8.06	16.16
1,000	....	1.73	6.84
		100.00	100.00

Of modern landlordism in Great Britain Mr. Alfred Russel Wallace, the eminent scientist, writes ("Land Nationalization," ch. v.):

In England pure landlordism is seen at its best. Its characteristics have been determined by the great and popular class of country squires and by numerous wealthy peers owning large ancestral estates, who have usually lived among their tenants, have been accustomed to treat them liberally, and have had sympathy with their pursuits and a desire for their prosperity.

Yet here landlords have been known to evict a whole village, to evict all who did not belong to the State Church, to house their tenants in damp, decaying, neglected cottages, without repairs, and to act as no government would dare, while Mr. Wallace quotes from G. C. Brodrick in his "English Land and English Landlords," where he says:

"The landed interest of England is estimated to have received a sum exceeding the national revenue from railway companies alone *over and above the market price of the land thus sold.*" The italics are mine, to call attention to the fact that this sum of £70,000,000 or £80,000,000 paid to the landlords is a permanent injury to the community, by increasing to that extent the unproductive capital expenditure of the railway companies of the kingdom; while no class has received so much benefit from railways as the landlords, in the enormous increase given thereby to the value of their estates, so that if they had freely given the land required to construct the lines, they would still have been gainers.

Landlordism in Ireland has not been worse, tho its worst developments have been till recently more common. To-day in Ireland (*q. v.*) the tenant is better defended than in England, Scotland, or the U. S. Of the past Mr. Wallace says (ch. xiii.):

Mr. T. P. O'Connor tells us that in the four years 1849–52 there were 221,845 evictions, whole townlands being depopulated and their human inhabitants driven out to make room for cattle and sheep, as being more profitable to the landlords. . . . A report to the Poor Law Commissioners states that many occupiers were forced out of their homes at night in winter, even sick women and children not being allowed to stay in the houses till morning!

And the power to do all this, be it remembered, is a necessary consequence of unrestricted private property in land. The following account of an eye-witness is taken from a published pastoral letter of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Meath:

Ireland

"The horrid scenes that I then witnessed I must remember all my life long. The wailing of women; the screams, the terror, the consternation of children; the speechless agony of honest, industrious men, wrung tears of grief from all who saw them. *I saw the officers and men of a large police force,* who were obliged to attend on the occasion, *cry like children* at beholding the cruel sufferings of the very people whom they would be obliged to butcher, had they offered the least resistance. . . . *The landed proprietors in a circle all round—and for many miles in every direction—warned their tenantry, with threats of direct vengeance, against the humanity of extending to any of them the hospitality of a single night's shelter.* Many of these poor people were unable to emigrate with their families; while at home the hand of every man was thus raised against them."

Perhaps the worst landlordism has been in Scotland. Says Mr. Wallace (ch. iv.):

Under the old system the Highland chief was a petty sovereign, who retained civil and criminal jurisdiction over his clansmen and the power of making war on other chiefs and clans. But these clansmen were never either serfs or vassals, but free men; and the clan was really a great family, all the members of which were supposed to be, and often actually were, of one blood. It was a true patriarchal system, totally distinct from the feudal system of Europe; and tho every clansman owed fealty and military service, as well as certain dues or payments, to his chief, these were given through love and duty rather than through fear, and every petty clansman held his land and his rights to pasture and wood and turf, and to hunt and fish over the mountains and lakes, by the same title as the chieftain held his more extensive lands and privileges. As well exprest by an able writer in the *Westminster Review*—"No error could be grosser than that of viewing the chiefs as unlimited proprietors, not only of the arable land, but of the whole territory of the mountain, lake, river, and seashore, held and won during hundreds of years by the broadswords of the clansmen. Could any MacLean admit, even in a dream, that his chief could clear Mull of all the MacLeans and replace them with Campbells; or the MacIntosh people his lands with MacDonalds, and drive away his own race, any more than Louis Napoleon could evict all the population of France and supply their place with English and German colonists?" Yet this very power and right the English Government, in its aristocratic selfishness, bestowed upon the chiefs, when, after the great rebellion of 1745, it took away their privileges of war and criminal jurisdiction, and endeavored to assimilate them to the nobles and great landowners of England. The rights of the clansmen were entirely left out of consideration. . . . By hundreds and thousands at a time the occupiers of the soil were driven from their homes, and were many of them forced to leave the country which they had so bravely defended on many a hard-won battle-field. . . .

Scotland

As to the nature and extent of this extermination Dr. Macdonald says:

"The extermination of the Highlanders has been carried on for many years as systematically and relentlessly as of the

North American Indians. . . . They were forced away from that which was near and dear to their hearts, and their patriotism was treated with contemptuous mockery."

Again: "I know a glen, now inhabited by two shepherds and two gamekeepers, which at one time sent out its thousand fighting men And this is but one out of many that might be cited to show how the Highlands have been depopulated. Loyal, peaceable, and high-spirited peasantry have been driven from their native land—as the Jews were expelled from Spain, or the Huguenots from France—to make room for grouse, sheep, and deer. . . ."

Other Countries

For statistics of landownership, see each country. See also Agriculture. France is the typical land of peasant proprietorship, but here only 9 per cent of her population hold agricultural land. In Austria 14 per cent hold such land, and in Russia 11 per cent, but many of these holdings are so minute as not to furnish a living to the owner. In Russia 1 per cent of the families are said to own 40 per cent of the land. In Prussia, in 1859, 22,000 nobles are said to have owned 37,900,000 acres, or nearly half the cultivated land, while the crown held 11,200,000 acres more, or five eighths of the land in the hands of 1 per cent of the people. But in the next ten years 16,700,000 acres of the lands of the nobility were broken up into farms for the peasantry. Professor Parsons, who gives these facts, presents the following table of concentration of wealth ("The Story of New Zealand," p. 737):

Concentration of Wealth

Country	Average area of estates (farming land), acres.	Per cent of population holding agricultural land.
United States	134	8
Australia	380	5
New Zealand	150	15
United Kingdom	390	5
France	32	9
Germany	37	5
Denmark	115	3
Holland	45	3.05
Belgium	18	5
Sweden	300	4
Norway	200	3.75
Austria	20	14
Spain	95	4.25
Italy	36	4
Russia	31	11

III. The Meaning of Landownership

Man is "a land animal." He cannot produce; he cannot propagate his kind; he cannot live, without land. This is patent to all. Yet it is frequently forgotten in economic discussions. Men interest themselves in this and that so-called "practical question," and overlook the fundamental fact and necessity of human life. Yet no man ever denied or can deny the absolute necessity of land to human life. John Stuart Mill begins his "Principles of Political Economy" with the words: "The requisites of production are two, labor and appropriate natural objects—i. e., land. Says Cardinal Manning:

> The land question means hunger, thirst, nakedness, notice to quit, labor spent in vain, the toil of years seized upon, the breaking up of homes, the misery, sicknesses, death of parents, children, wives, the despair and wildness which spring up in the hearts of the poor when legal force, like a sharp harrow, goes over the most sensitive and vital right of mankind. All this is contained in the land question.

Economic Value of Land

The only misunderstanding on this point can come from a failure to realize what is meant in economic discussion by the word *land*. It means not only the earth surface of the world; it means the surface of the whole world, earth and water, all that is in the earth and in the water except man and the labor of man. Says Jevons ("Political Economy Primer," p. 26): "When we speak of land we really mean any source of materials, any natural agent." Economists thus use the word land because among all natural agents land is so far the most important that it can be used to represent all the rest. Air is equally necessary to life, but under ordinary circumstances air cannot be appropriated, and hence has no exchange or commercial value. Under those few circumstances, as in a crowded city, where air cannot be freely obtained, it has a commerical value, but it for the most part goes with the land, and may be economically considered as a part of land. Remembering, then, what is meant by land, there can be no question of the fundamental importance of land to human life, and what results must be involved in its monopolization. But before we analyze this, notice one other point. We stand to-day on the land question at a crisis in the world's history. For the first time in the history of the world all the land in the northern temperate, and, indeed, almost all in the lower temperate zone, has been appropriated. Now the northern temperate zone has been thus far the only zone which has produced the great controlling civilizations of the world. Down to the present time any persons or companies of persons desiring more land could move somewhere in the north temperate zone and find good land wholly or very nearly wholly unappropriated. From the fields and vales of Asia, early in the history of the world, gigantic nomadic tribes and hordes poured westward, to find new grazing fields in eastern Europe; later they overran Europe, founding the Greek and Roman civilizations, the early Celtic races. Still later, in the migration of the Goths, were planted the civilizations we know to-day. When this migration was substantially completed, Columbus discovered a new world, and Europe overflowed to the Atlantic coast of the American continent. Since then civilization has spread across the continent, till at last, in our day, population has reached the Pacific coast, filled all spaces, and completed the belt of the world. By irrigation and other processes some land now worthless may be reclaimed; here and there small tracts of land may yet be had almost for the asking; population in many sections is scarce; but, roughly speaking, all the land is appropriated; the U. S. public domain nearly all sold; the best land all occupied. What is left is either inferior soil or to be made useful only at unusual cost. The modern movement of the Goths is filling up our cities. The significance of this condition in the world's history cannot be overestimated.

Let us, then, now examine some of the chief results of land monopolization. Among the first results must be the dependence in all civilized countries of those who have not land upon those who have. If, as we have seen, land is necessary to production and to life, the masses in all countries must be dependent on those who own the soil. Alike under the Czar and in "free" America, plutocracy reigns and must reign, while the people are dependent on the few for the first neces-

sities of existence. Says an old Saxon proverb: "The landless man is an unfree man." Henry George says ("Social Problems," ch. xv.):

Slavery

That a people can be enslaved just as effectually by making property of their lands as by making property of their bodies is a truth that conquerors in all ages have recognized, and that as society developed the strong and unscrupulous who desired to live off the labor of others have been prompt to see. The coarser form of slavery, in which each particular slave is the property of a particular owner, is only fitted for a rude state of society, and with social development entails more and more care, trouble, and expense upon the owner. But by making property of the land instead of the person, much care, supervision, and expense are saved the proprietors; and tho no particular slave is owned by a particular master, yet the one class still appropriates the labor of the other class as before. . . .

We have abolished negro slavery in the United States. But how small is the real benefit to the slave!

But what comes of this land slavery? First, the horrors of the overcrowded city. Unable to obtain land in the country on which they can get a living, the landless, or the peasants, as in Russia, from allotments too small to support life, crowd into the great cities and produce the slums. What that means is well known. (See SLUMS.) But it has its effects on the country also. Says Mr. George (idem, ch. xxi.):

Poverty

As the cities grow, unwholesomely crowding people together till they are packed in tiers, family above family, so are they unwholesomely separated in the country. The tendency, everywhere that this process of urban concentration is going on, is to make the life of the country poor and hard, and to rob it of the social stimulus and social gratifications that are so necessary to human beings. The old healthy social life of village and townland is everywhere disappearing. In England, Scotland, and Ireland the thinning out of population in the agricultural districts is as marked as is its concentration in cities and large towns. In Ireland, as you ride along the roads, your car-driver, if he be an old man, will point out to you spot after spot which, when he was a boy, were the sites of populous hamlets, echoing in the summer evenings with the laughter of children and the joyous sports of young people; but now utterly desolate, showing, as the only evidences of human occupation, the isolated cabins of miserable herds. In Scotland, where in such cities as Glasgow human beings are so crowded together that two thirds of the families live in a single room, where if you go through the streets of a Saturday night you will think, if you have ever seen the Terra del Fuegans, that these poor creatures might envy them; there are wide tracts once populous now given up to cattle, to grouse, and to deer—glens that once sent out their thousand fighting men now tenanted by a couple of gamekeepers. So across the Tweed, while London, Liverpool, Leeds, Manchester, and Nottingham have grown, the village life of "merrie England" is all but extinct. . . .

So in the agricultural districts of our older states the same tendency may be beheld; but it is in the newest states that its fullest expression is to be found—in ranches measured by square miles, where half-savage cowboys, whose social life is confined to the excitement of the "round up" or a periodical "drunk" in a railroad town, are the only diversions; and in bonanza farms, where in the spring the eye wearies of seas of waving grain before resting on a single home—farms where the cultivators are lodged in barracks, and only the superintendent enjoys the luxury of a wife.

But out of this condition spring not only the horrors of the slums, but low wages for all wage-workers. The wage of the man at work is lowered by the competition of the man out of work. Trade-unions force up and keep up wages for a few; but a crisis comes, and in the majority of trades the workman, having no land to live on to tide himself over a hard day, is unable to keep up his dues, and the trade-union is broken up. In many unskilled trades, organization is all but impossible, because of the unemployed, who will and must compete at any price. In the U. S. organized labor includes only some 7 per cent of the persons in the U. S. engaged in gainful occupations. The main occasion of competition is the lack of opportunity upon the soil.

But the monopolization of land produces not only the extremely poor but the extremely rich.

The Unearned Increment

Men acquire a little money by work; but the great fortunes are made by investment, and often by speculation. The great sphere for investment and speculation is land. Men invest in Western mortgages, in mines, above all in city and suburban real estate. They do nothing, but their money grows. The result is *unearned increment.* Land in cities is valuable simply because it is in the midst of population. A store in New York City is worth more than a store in the country, because it has more purchasers; more people pass its windows. As the city grows in size the land rises in value. The owner of the land does nothing. He may sleep, live in luxury, gamble, idle, be an angel or a voluptuary; it matters not what he is or what he does; so long as he is a landowner his land may rise in value. Such rise in rent is *unearned increment.* It is produced, not by him, but by the community which gives the land its value . . . On the present site of Chicago in 1816 there was not a white person, and the land was practically valueless; the census of 1890 estimates the real estate value of the city at $1,330,000,000.

The Illinois Labor Bureau in 1895 ("Eighth Annual Report," pp. 104–253) made a careful investigation of land values in the city of Chicago. The most valuable section is known as the "South Side," and its boundaries are the Chicago River on the north and west, Twelfth Street on the south, and Lake Michigan on the east. Exclusive of streets it contains 351.42 acres. All the great stores, wholesale and retail, the high office buildings, and the great banking institutions are found within this area. Deducting 30 acres of public land owned by the nation, state, county, and cities, and 55.13 acres owned and used by the railroads, there remain 266.29 acres belonging to individuals and private corporations. This the bureau estimates to be worth $319,000,000 for the land alone, without reckoning the improvements, worth as much more. Of this the largest holder, Marshall Field, owns $11,000,000, and the next largest holder, Levi Z. Leiter, $10,500,000. There are in all 1,198 owners of this $319,000,000, of whom 18, or 1½ per cent, own $65,000,000, or over 20 per cent of the total. Eighty-eight persons own $136,000,000, which is nearly one half of the business center of the city of Chicago ("Report," p. 247).

According to this same report (p. 370), one quarter acre in Chicago in 1830 was worth $20; in 1840, $1,500; in 1850, $17,500; in 1860, $28,000; in 1870, $120,000; in 1880, $130,000; in 1890, $900,000; in 1894, $1,250,000.

It is by such leaps that those who bought land fifty, thirty, twenty, even ten years ago, have made fortunes without doing themselves any economically productive work.

Moral Evils

Present conditions as to land, too, are the potent cause of innumerable moral ills. People are shocked to-day at the growing tide of social immorality, licentiousness among the wealthy, laxity among the poor. When the poor cannot get work, when they are crowded into rotting tenements, where privacy is impossible, where modesty can scarcely be, where children are compelled to grow up amid ribaldry, drunkenness and prostitution are all but inevitable. They become still more inevitable when thousands of idle young men from the luxurious classes set the example of profligacy to still more thousands of young men of the lower and middle classes. Other moral evils arise. The opportunities to make wealth by land investment develop the love of speculation, and in unexpected circles, even among women. Honest labor becomes despised. Life in the great cities becomes among the poor a desperate scramble for existence; among the wealthy a debasing struggle to grow more wealthy without work.

From these moral evils result political evils. When the many are poor and the few are rich; when the corporations need votes and the professional politicians need money, political purity becomes scarce. The greatest steals, too, from the national government have been land steals on the part of railroads through land grants on conditions never fulfilled; land steals on the part of great syndicates under the cover of homestead laws. Great estates and great fortunes are slaying democracy in America. Such are some of the results of the present conditions of land monopoly among all civilized peoples.

IV. Land Reforms

1. Some would seek reform by increasing the number who own small land holdings. The classic argument for this view is John Stuart Mill's. In his "Principles of Political Economy" he devotes many pages to collecting testimony to show the advantages of peasant proprietorship. Among many other workers, he quotes Sismondi as saying ("Studies in Political Economy," Essay iii.):

Small Holdings

> Wherever we find peasant proprietors, we also find the comfort, security, confidence in the future, and independence which assure at once happiness and virtue. The peasant who with his children does all the work of his little inheritance, who pays no rent to any one above him, nor wages to any one below, who regulates his production by his consumption, who eats his own corn, drinks his own wine, is clothed in his own hemp and wool, cares little for the prices of the market; for he has little to sell and little to buy, and is never ruined by revulsions of trade. . . . Of all cultivators he is the happiest, and at the same time the land nowhere occupies, and feeds amply without becoming exhausted, so many inhabitants as where they are proprietors. Finally, of all cultivators the peasant proprietor is the one who gives most encouragement to commerce and manufactures, because he is the richest.

Arthur Young is quoted as saying ("Travels in France, 1787–89," vol. i., p. 88, and vol. ii., p. 51):

> "The magic of *property* turns sand to gold." And again, "Give a man the secure possession of a bleak rock, and he will turn it into a garden; give him a nine years' lease of a garden, and he will convert it into a desert."

Considerations such as these have induced many European economists, except perhaps in England, to believe that in peasant proprietorship or the owning of the land in small holdings lies the solution of the land question.

Those who would meet the land problem in this way look for reform to the abolition of all laws or customs, as in England, of entail, or any expedient for keeping large estates in one family. They seek laws facilitating land transfer; they hope for cooperative agriculture (*q. v.*). In the cities and industrial communities their main reliance is building associations, enabling the workman to buy a home.

Small Holding Associations

The objections to this view are very great. No one who knows the present condition of the peasant proprietors in continental Europe believes them much if any more prosperous than the agricultural classes of England under a system of landlordism. In Russia, the peasant proprietors cannot live. (For France, see AGRICULTURE.)

The majority of English economists therefore have preferred:

2. The system of the ownership of the soil in large properties and the renting of it to tenants, protected, however, by laws of tenant-right, etc. The small owner cannot apply capital to land. Small farming is uneconomic farming. If this was so in the past, it is particularly so to-day. Marshall says ("Economics of Industry," Book I., ch. ix.):

> Recent events (1885) have again increased the difficulties against which peasant proprietors have had to contend. Great importations of grain and meat from new countries have lowered prices, but the burden of the fall has been borne in England chiefly by the landlords and farmers. The laborers have on the average at least as much of the necessaries, comforts, and luxuries of life as at any previous time; and this in spite of the fact that many of the ablest and strongest of them have migrated to the towns or to new countries. But the peasant proprietors, particularly of arable land, have nothing to shield them from the full effects of the fall in prices. Many of them have lost nearly all their little margin of savings and not a few are in debt. Even those who are in outward appearance prosperous frequently work harder and live more sparely than the English laborers.
>
> Mr. D. A. Wells says ("Recent Economic Changes," p. 461) "that the only possible future for agriculture, prosecuted for the sake of producing the great staples of food, is to be found in large farms, worked with ample capital, especially in the form of machinery, and with labor organized somewhat after the factory system, is coming to be the opinion of many of the best authorities both in the United States and Europe."

The day of the small farmer under the present industrial system seems over. He cannot compete with bonanza farms tilled and worked with expensive machinery, well stocked, etc. Under the present system of landownershp the future means large farms owned by capitalists, with the mass of the people as their tenants. This is the ideal of the second class of those who look for reform without radical change. They say, let the world copy England. Let there be large estates owned by rich capitalists, perhaps by syndicates; let them be worked by tenants, protected by the law, well paid, and prosperous.

Large Holdings

But this view will not endure. For better or for worse, democracy has the future. Even in England to-day, where this system has been carried farthest, where the landed aristocracy furnishes undoubtedly the best landlords of the world —even in England, step by step, democracy is replacing the landlord's power. Above all, as we shall in a moment see, is the sense of justice demanding to-day that the land be for all, and not be monopolized by the few. We come, therefore, to consider radical proposals for land reform.

3. Undoubtedly most distinctively land reformers advocate the plan of the *single tax*, prominently advocated in Mr. Henry George's "Progress and Poverty." For a full consideration of this proposition, see SINGLE TAX; we simply outline it here. It proposes that an annual tax should be put on all land equal to the full rental value of the land *apart from improvements*. This would leave in the landowner's hand, untaxed, all the improvements or labor he has put on the land, but tax away from him into the hands of the State for the equitable good of the community all natural land value. No titles need be changed in this way; no labor would be discouraged; the results of no labor would be taken, but the value of the land itself, which no individual has created, and which equity demands should belong to all, would be taken for all. Especially in cities, where enormous values have been created by the presence of the community, would the value of the land be taken for the community which created it. The results of this plan would be to kill landlordism without discouraging honest labor. This would be the case because land, being taxed its full rental value, only those would hold land who got something out of it more than its rental value, and

The Single Tax

this could only be done by putting value into it. The landlord would be taxed out of existence; those who by useful labor put value into the land could alone be its owners.

It is one of the best features of the system, that it could be brought in gradually by simply raising the rate of land taxes every few years, till finally they equal the whole rental value. This process is now actually going on in Australasia.

Nor would the system bring hardship on small farmers and the holders of small lots, because it would bring so much money into the State that there would need to be no other tax; it would be a *single tax*. It would abolish all the direct and indirect taxes which to-day press upon the consumers of the land. In free-trade countries it would make unnecessary all other direct taxes, and in protective countries it would do away with all those protective tariffs which raise the price of all the commodities the poor have to buy. (For a full discussion of this, see SINGLE TAX.)

Nor would it, too, necessitate the socialistic expansion of the State. Placing one tax, and that the easiest to collect, in place of all, and opening up land so that every man could have opportunity to work, it could largely reduce the machinery of the State, giving democratic freedom and opportunity to all.

The supreme argument, however, for the proposition is that it would conform to the strictest justice by placing all on an exact natural equality in all but their own abilities. Those who held the best land would have to pay for it the exact amount of its superiority to other land, because all would pay the whole rental value. Each man would then get exactly according to his ability. Such is the argument.

4. We come next to consider a proposition akin to this and yet very different—that of the anarchists, or extreme individualists, who would do away with all government and all taxation, establishing a so-called system of "free land," or land to belong to those who can use it and defend it, either by personal defense or by cooperating to defend each other's land.

5. At the opposite extremes from this lie the various proposals of communists, nationalists,

Socialist View

Socialists, land nationalizers, who would vest all title in the community and have the land owned and operated by cooperative commonwealths. This would mean, of course, socialism with all that that entails. It is utterly different from the proposition of the single tax. The single tax would diminish the sphere of the State; socialism would exalt the State. We here only state the various propositions, leaving them to be discust under their various heads.

V. Argument For and Against Private Property in Land

The argument for private ownership of the land may be divided into two: the argument from expediency and the argument from justice.

Arguments for Private Ownership

Most economists to-day argue from expediency. They maintain that the argument from justice is so uncertain and the theory of natural rights so open to debate that it can settle nothing. One man declares this to be just, another that; the argument from expediency they consider the only one we can appeal to, and this the opponents of land nationalization, or of the single tax, declare to be strongly in favor of the private ownership of land. John Stuart Mill, tho later converted to a theory of land nationalization coupled with a scheme for compensating landlords, and still later (see MILL) converted to the belief that the single tax was the best way in which to realize the equal right in the value of his soil, in his earlier works made a strong plea from expediency for individual ownership of the soil. He says ("Dissertations and Discussions," vol. v.):

> The great majority of mankind will work much harder and make much greater pecuniary sacrifices for themselves and their immediate descendants than for the public. In order, therefore, to give the greatest encouragement to production, it has been thought right that individuals should have an exclusive property in land, so that they may have the most possible to gain by making the land as productive as they can, and may be in no danger of being hindered from doing so by the interference of any one else. This is the reason usually assigned for allowing the land to be private property, and it is the best reason that can be given.

Later economists dwell on the claim that any radical change in land tenures could not safely, if it could justly, be enacted without compensation, and that with compensation the change would be of doubtful worth to the community.

Professor Hadley ("Economics," 1896, p. 472) may be quoted as representative of this view. He says:

> The principle that private property must not be taken without compensation is no mere accidental phrase let fall by courts or constitution makers. It is an axiom of political science. If the progress of society renders the abolition of an institution necessary, compensation follows as a matter of course. . . . This is the critical weakness in land nationalization plans, like that with which John Stuart Mill's name was identified. The advocates of this plan proposed that England should buy out the landowners and appropriate the future gain in value. No fault could be found with the equity of this proposal. But as a fiscal measure it was radically defective. Leaving out of account the inevitable losses due to a scheme of quasi-compulsory purchase, the scheme must have ended in disaster, because the lands which it was proposed to buy have fallen in value instead of rising. . . . These arguments do not militate against reforms in taxation, which shall carry us in the general direction indicated by the single-tax theory. Wagner, after an investigation of the subject whose thoroughness is worthy of the highest praise whether we can accept his conclusions or not, is inclined to look with favor on public appropriation of future increments in the value of city real estate as distinct from agricultural land. Without going so far as Wagner, most economists would be willing to agree that more taxes should be assessed upon economic rent and less upon improvements.

Professor Sidgwick, writing from the standpoint of "utilitarian individualism," puts substantially the same view in other words when he says ("Elements of Politics," chap. v.):

> If it is granted, as I should grant, that the landless members of the community have a legitimate claim to the compensation for the opportunities of applying labor to land from which they are excluded by its appropriation, then the question as to the manner in which this compensation is to be taken can only be decided, I conceive, by a careful balance of expediencies. On the one hand, it is for the general good that the individual cultivator's energy and enterprise should be encouraged as much as possible, and complete ownership is the most simple and effective way of encouraging it; on the other hand, it seems probable that the prospective increase of value, accruing independently of the owner's energy and enterprise, will not be adequately represented in the sum received for the land, so that the compensation thus directly secured to future generations for the opportunities from which they are excluded is not likely to be adequate. In practically deciding the question we have to take into account considerations that do not fall within the scope of the present discussion, since we cannot but be partly influenced by the moral and intellectual qualities likely to be possest by the government that, if the system of leases be adopted, would have the delicate task of artificially providing for the lessee that encouragement of industry and thrift which the system of private ownership gives him naturally.

This is the view probably held by most professorial economists to-day. The more popular

argument from expediency claims that the whole history of the world shows that civilization, prosperity, and progress have gone with private property in land, and that to subvert this institution would be to revert to barbarism and discourage thrift and industry. This argument is undoubtedly the main popular argument on this side. It is repeated by its supporters over and over again, and in a thousand forms. Mr. J. C. Spence, in a tract on "Property in Land," published by the Liberty and Property Defense League, says:

> The whole history of agriculture might be claimed as evidence that land held in common by a tribe or a people can never be put to its best uses; that fixity of tenure is essential to improvement, and that no tenure is so perfect as absolute ownership. The fact that manufactures and commerce prosper best where least hampered by State interference indicates that the proper treatment of the land question is the abolition of all artificial restrictions on its absolute ownership.

But the supporters of private property in land do not only argue from expediency, they also argue from justice. Mr. Herbert Spencer, who, in his "Social Statics," written in 1851, declared that equity "does not permit property in land," in his "Justice" (1891) says that tho this be true, nevertheless, the State having long allowed the claims of the landowners, to tax away or to legislate away the value of their lands would be unjust, while to compensate them would cost more than it is worth; and that even if titles to land do ultimately rest on robbery and injustice in the original ownership, the landless to-day cannot be shown to represent those from whom the land was originally taken.

Another form of the argument that land nationalization or even the system of the single tax would be unjust is the claim that the value of land to-day, even in the cities, does not come from the mere natural sources or even from the mere growth of the community, but to a very large extent at least from the labor, the industry, the wit and invention of landowners, and that hence to legislate or tax away land values would rob the landowners of the results of their labors and their fathers', and hence both be unjust and inexpedient in discouraging industry and progress. In the *Political Science Quarterly* (vol. vi., pp. 625–634) Mr. C. B. Spahr argues that land in New York City is worth *per family* $4,000; in Ohio, $2,000; and in Mississippi, $400; and that therefore the value of the land cannot be measured merely by the number of people on it, but does depend very largely on the improvement of the land. The pouring of Hungarians and Italians into certain portions of New York City does not raise, but lowers the value of land in that vicinity. Therefore land values come not merely from population or economic rent, but from the use made of the soil, from the activities of the city; to tax land values to the full would therefore tax and discourage those whose energy and improvements have largely, tho it is admitted not wholly, made land valuable to-day. Mr. Edward Atkinson follows the same line of argument (Single Tax discussion before the American Social Association, Sept. 5, 1890) when he says:

> Put two men of different capacity on land of the same quality, and on the same crop one will get a large rent, the other will barely get a subsistence. Deal with two lots of land in the same city; put a good building on one and a poor building on the other; one will yield a large rent, the other no rent at all. It is neither the quality of the land nor the possession of the land which governs the income; it is the labor and capital applied to the land, and, more than all, the mental capacity (i. e., the mental faculty), which is the prime factor in all production. Land itself possesses no value. The price paid for it is paid for the choice of lots.
>
> Economic rent is a mere hypothesis based on the supposed action of an economic man, like whom no man ever existed. It is not a working theory, and may be safely disregarded in the consideration of the subject with which we are now attempting to deal.

This argument thus claims that the value of the land of old countries like England, great centers like New York City, rich farming communities like Ohio, depends not primarily on growth of population or fertility of soil, but on what the owners of the soil have done and are doing, so that to take the value would be unjust and unwise. Such are the main arguments against all forms of land nationalization or a single tax.

Arguments against Private Ownership

To this it must be answered, first, that few if any radical land reformers propose to-day to compensate taxed landowners. They argue that if it be true that equity does not permit property in land, injustice does not become justice by lapse of time, and that therefore the landowners have no equity in the land. They ask with Mr. Spencer himself, against his own later views: "How long does it take for what was originally a wrong to grow into a right?" Land reformers, however, do not propose suddenly to tax or legislate away landed property. They propose to do it gradually and with full warning by gradually raising the tax slightly every few years, so giving present proprietors full warning to prepare for the new conditions. This does away with the whole argument that land nationalization with compensation would not pay. Even the economists quoted above favor increased taxation of land values.

As for the argument from expediency, land reformers quote all the evils we have shown above to prove the inexpediency of private property in land. A single tax would preserve all the good points in the present system and do away only with its wrongs. The real user of the soil, so long as he used it productively, would, under the single tax—and the Socialists claim under socialism—have security of tenure. It would give all the spur to honest labor now given by private capital. It is rent only that would be destroyed.

The main argument against private landownership is its absolute injustice, as declared by Mr. Spencer himself, and by an overwhelming consensus of the deepest thinkers of all ages. Granted that the owners of the soil have contributed to human advance, they have had vastly more opportunity to do so. Put the children of the slums, *from their birth*, under the conditions of the land aristocracy of England, and who will say whether they might not have done at least as much. (See HEREDITY; ENVIRONMENT.) As it is, the poor, the landless, have at least equaled the land class in making the inventions and progress of the world. All that justice asks is equal opportunity for all and it is absolutely certain that this cannot possibly be where millions are deferred from access to the land.

7. We close this article by quoting the opinions of some thinkers whose weight and honesty of utterance are beyond question:

> Herbert Spencer (in 1851; for his later view, see above): "Equity does not permit property in land. For if one portion of the earth's surface may justly become the possession of an individual, held for his sole use and benefit, as a thing to which he has an exclusive right, then other portions of its

surface may be so held, and our planet must then lapse into private hands. It follows that if the landowners have a valid right to its surface, all who are not landowners have no right at all to its surface" ("Social Statics").

"Briefly reviewing the argument, we see that the right of each man to the use of the earth, limited only by the like rights of his fellow men, is immediately deducible from the law of equal freedom. We see that the maintenance of this right necessarily forbids private property in land. On examination all existing titles to such property turn out to be invalid; those founded on reclamation inclusive. It appears that not even an equal apportionment of the earth among its present inhabitants could generate a legitimate proprietorship. We find that if pushed to its ultimate consequences a claim to exclusive possession of the soil involves a landowning despotism. We further find that such a claim is constantly denied by the enactments of our legislature. And we find, lastly, that the theory of the coheirship of all men to the soil is consistent with the highest civilization; and that, however difficult it may be to embody that theory in fact, equity sternly commands it to be done" ("Social Statics").

There is reason to suspect that the inhabited area, which cannot be produced by labor, will eventually be distinguished as something which may not be privately possest" ("Letter to the *Times*," Nov. 7, 1889).

Émile de Laveleye ("Primitive Property"): "The general principles of jurists commend the universal custom of primitive nations, which reserved to the tribe the collective ownership of the soil."

Bishop Nulty: "The land of every country is the common property of the people of that country."

Richard Cobden: "I warn ministers, and I warn landowners and the aristocracy of this country, against forcing upon the attention of the middle and industrial classes the subject of taxation. For great as I believe the grievance of the protective system, mighty as I consider the fraud and injustice of the corn laws, I verily believe, if you were to bring forward the history of taxation in this country for the last one hundred and fifty years, you will find as black a record against the landowners as even in the corn law itself. I warn them against ripping up the subject of taxation. If they want another league at the death of this one, if they want another organization and a motive, then let them force the middle and industrial classes to understand how they have been cheated, robbed, and bamboozled."

Grant Allen (*Contemporary Review*, May, 1889): "Not one solitary square inch of English soil remains unclaimed on which the landless citizen can legally lay his head, without paying tax and toll to somebody; in other words, without giving a part of his own labor, or the product of his labor, to one of the squatting and tabooing class (the landlords), in exchange for their permission (which they can withhold if they choose) merely to go on existing upon the ground which was originally common to all alike, and has been unjustly seized upon (through what particular process matters little) by the ancestors or predecessors of the present monopolists."

Opinions

Mr. Gladstone ("Speech at West Calder," Nov. 27, 1879): "Those persons who possess large portions of the earth's space are not altogether in the same position as the possessors of mere personalty. Personalty does not impose limitations on the action and industry of man and the well-being of the community as possession of land does, and therefore I freely own that compulsory expropriation is a thing which is admissible, and even sound in principle."

("Speech at Hawarden," Oct., 1889): "I fully admit this—I stated it long ago in Midlothian, and I say it now without the slightest doubt—that if the time came when the British nation found that the land should be nationalized, and it would be wise to do it, they have a perfect right to do it."

Thomas Carlyle: "The notion of selling for certain bits of metal the Iliad of Homer, how much more the land of the world Creator, is a ridiculous impossibility."

J. A. Froude: "Under the feudal system the proprietor was the crown, *as representing the nation*; while the subordinate tenures were held with duties attached to them, and were *liable, on non-fulfilment, to forfeiture.*"

"Land never was private property in that personal sense in which we speak of a thing as our own, with which we may do as we please."

"Land, properlv speaking, cannot be owned by any man. It belongs to all the human race."

Frederic Harrison ("Lecture to the Edinburgh Philosophic Institution," Jan., 1884): "They must be ready to act on the ancient principle of the English law, that the nation was the ultimate owner of the soil."

Rousseau ("Discours sur l'Origine de l'Inégalité parmi les Hommes," 1753): "The first man who, having enclosed a plot of ground, took upon himself to say, 'This is mine,' and found people silly enough to believe him, was the real founder of civil society. How many crimes, how many wars, how many murders, how much misery and horror, would have been spared the human race if some one, tearing up the fence and filling in the ditch, had cried out to his fellows: 'Give no heed to this impostor; you are lost if you forget that the produce belongs to all, *the land to none*!'"

Prof. F. W. Newman: "The history of the gradual, stealthy, but really nefarious revolution, in which land*lords*, by their own legislative power and their influence over lawyers, changed themselves into land*owners* needs to be popularized."

Sir Henry Maine ("Village Communities"): "The terrible problem of pauperism began to press on English statesmen as soon as the old English cultivating groups (in which land was collectively, and not privately, owned) began distinctly to fall to pieces."

John Ruskin ("Time and Tide"): "Bodies of men, land, water, and air are the principle of those things which are not, and which it is criminal to consider as, personal or exchangeable property."

The Right Hon. John Morley ("Interview at Newcastle," Nov., 1889): "I have always thought our forefathers made a great mistake when they did not reserve the minerals to the nation."

("Speech in the House of Commons," May 6, 1890): "The question of the unearned increment will have to be faced. It is unendurable that great increments which have been formed by the industry of others should be absorbed by people who have contributed nothing to that increase."

Sir William Blackstone ("Commentaries"): "Accurately and strictly speaking, there is no foundation in nature or in natural law why a set of words on parchment should convey the dominion of land."

Ralph Waldo Emerson: "While another man has no land, my title to mine, your title to yours, is at once vitiated."

Judge Hughes ("Speech at Church Congress," 1888): "The first thing which the democracy will write upon the slate will be the nationalization of the land."

Alfred Russel Wallace ("Malay Archipelago," 1868): "We permit absolute possession of the soil of our country with no legal rights of existence on the soil to the vast majority who do not possess it. A great landholder may legally convert his whole property into a forest or hunting ground, and expel every human being who has hitherto lived upon it. In a thickly populated country like England, where almost every acre has its owner and occupier, this is a power of legally destroying his fellow creatures; and that such a power should exist, and be exercised by individuals, in however small a degree, indicates that as regards true social science we are still in a state of barbarism."

Adam Smith ("Wealth of Nations"): "The rent of land, therefore, considered as the price paid for the use of the land, is naturally a monopoly price. It is not at all proportional to what the landlord may have laid out upon the improvement of the land, or to what he can afford to take; but to what the farmer can afford to give."

John Stuart Mill ("Principles of Political Economy"): "The essential principle of property being to assure to persons what they have produced by their labor and accumulated by their abstinence, this principle cannot apply to what is not the produce of labor, the raw material of the earth." "No man made the land; it is the original inheritance of the whole species." "The land of every country belongs to the people of that country."

General Francis Walker ("First Lessons in Political Economy"): "It certainly is true that any increase in the rental value or selling value of land is due not to the exertions and sacrifices of the owners of the land, but to the exertions and sacrifices of the community. It is certainly true that economic rent tends to increase with the growth of wealth and population, and that thus a larger and larger share of the product of industry tends to pass into the hands of the owners of land, not because they have done more for society, but because society has greater need of that which they control."

Prof. Alfred Marshall ("Principles of Economics"): "All writers on economics are compelled to make a distinction between land and other things."

REFERENCES: For the history of land tenures, see De Laveleye's *Primitive Property*; Maine's *Early History of Institutions*; Fustil de Coulange's *Origin of Property in Land* (tr.); S. W. Thackeray's *The Land and the Community*; J. S. Mill's *Political Economy* (chaps. on land). For the various views to-day as to land, see F. A. Walker's *Land and Its Rent*, 1883; Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* and other writings; A. R. Wallace's *Land Nationalization*; Henry George, Jr., *The Menace of Privilege* (1905); W. H. Dawson, *The Unearned Increment* (1890); T. G. Shearman, *Natural Taxation* (1895); W. H. Malloch, *Progress from Property*; John Rae, *Contemporary Socialism* (3d ed., chap. xii.); G. L. Bolen, *Getting a Living* (chap. i.); *Political Science Quarterly*, vi., 625; *Quarterly Journal of Economics* (v., 357 and 494, and vii., 433).

LAND BANKS. See BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS; COOPERATIVE BANKS.

LAND LAW REFORM ASSOCIATION: This society is the successor of the Land Tenure Reform Association, founded more than thirty years ago, of which John Stuart Mill was president. It comprizes two associations: The Leasehold

Enfranchisement Association, founded in 1883, and the Free Land League, founded in 1885. An amalgamation of these two bodies took place in 1896. In 1897 an investigation was undertaken into the condition of the cottages in the villages of England and Wales. The association holds conferences and issues tracts. *President*, Sir Walter Foster, M.P.; *Organizing Secretary*, C. E. Hecht, 21 John Street, Adelphi, London, W. C.

LAND NATIONALIZATION: The substitution of national for private ownership of land is a scheme of general economic and social reform. It is not merely a sectional change or remedy for a particular grievance, but is claimed as a measure of wide, even universal, significance. It is primarily an economic reform, securing a more equitable distribution and an increased production of wealth. Attainment of this end implies solution of the chief modern social problems.

According to the land nationalization theory, the evils popularly attributed to competition are really due to competition in connection with a faulty system of land tenure. Private ownership, the basis of the land systems of the countries otherwise most advanced, is unsuited to modern conditions. It is inconsistent with the best use of land, as it imposes public burdens upon those who carry on the work of the world, while exempting those who merely charge for the use of natural opportunities; and it especially favors those who keep land wholly or partially idle, impeding present production for possible future gain to themselves. This system is regarded as the chief cause of difficulty in obtaining remunerative employment. That there should be a floating body of unemployed, tending to become unemployable, is unnatural and perplexing in the present stage of knowledge and mechanical efficiency. Private ownership of land, thus directly injurious to labor, is also obstructive to the most profitable employment of capital—using the term in its proper significance as an aid to production.

Advocates of land nationalization hold that the only satisfactory course is to abolish private ownership, all land becoming vested in the community, as represented by the State. (The character of the State will be materially altered in consequence, in the direction of conformity with the common welfare.)

All persons occupying land would do so as state tenants, with security of possession subject to payment of the annual value. This, like all values, would still depend upon competition, the business of officials being to estimate its amount.

Scope and Aims

The character of competition for land would alter; no person would have any inducement to take more than he required for use, to hold for a possible rise in value. The tendency would be to take the least quantity convenient, instead of, as now, the most he can get. (The advantage in a "new" settlement is easily realized.) The objection of a possible "corner" in land has been suggested; but any combination to render it scarce would raise values against itself as much as against others.

The change proposed is obviously a great movement toward equality of opportunity, though its full significance is only grasped by study and examination.

It appears late in the history of civilization to devise a land system upon scientific principles; this is probably because of the complex and elusive nature of economic problems. So the reforms advocated have hitherto been chiefly based upon private ownership—itself the cause of the need for reform.

Peasant Proprietorship

The ideal of reformers was long that of widely diffused private ownership, which naturally appeals to an energetic people suffering through "great estates." It is advisable to slightly compare land nationalization proposals with the ideals which they are displacing; but a thorough comparison would occupy much space.

At its best, small ownership has a tendency to render a nation non-progressive. Even regarded as a system it lacks stability. The small owner is tempted to mortgage, to obtain more working capital, and even, with the same object, to sell his property and continue in occupation as tenant. This is rendered possible because land fetches a higher price than other investments yielding the same income. It is for many reasons a favorite investment. It confers power and social distinction (particularly in Great Britain); its owners form an influential class, successful in obtaining privileges, including exemption from taxation; and there is always hope of increase in value. It becomes preeminently an investment for the rich; the relationship of landlord and tenant is assured, and its persistent development leads its advocates to claim it as the natural order, while its opponents are driven to artificial means of promoting subdivision.

Systems based upon private ownership, however subdivided, of land, have the evident defect that the idle or improvident may sell their interest and live temporarily on the proceeds. Thus there is a reversion to inequality, a tendency to establish an idle wealthy and an idle pauper class, both supported by others. Legislation restricting sale or mortgage, or guaranteeing possession of the homestead, creates new difficulties and frauds.

Under land nationalization these difficulties simply do not arise; the occupier has no salable interest other than in improvements, yet is placed in a better position, where it becomes easier to do right and less tempting to do wrong

Land nationalization cannot properly be defined as either Socialist or individualist. With the ideal exprest by "the utmost freedom for every one, consistent with not infringing the equal freedom of others," land nationalization is completely in accord. Although liberalism, the political expression of the idea of equal freedom, long favored private ownership, tempered by diffusion, it was rather as an expedient than an ideal, no better plan being recognized as practical. Failure of this system in working is responsible for most of the attacks upon liberalism and individualism, with special reference to what has been called the "Manchester School of Political Economy."

Socialist or Individualist?

Through the influence of Henry George and others, the subject is now better understood; the liberal attitude with regard to land has become modified, and is still progressing. "Free Trade in Land" (freedom to buy and sell) has declined, and land nationalization principles, expounded by the great individualist philosopher, Herbert

Spencer, in "Social Statics," have gained acceptance.[1]

Though land nationalization is not essentially socialistic, Socialists advocate it as part of their program, it being fully recognized that their other proposals would be useless without it. Yet many Socialists could hardly be called land nationalizers, they having little idea of the probable working of the system, or belief in social improvement short of complete state organization of industry.

Land nationalization leaves untouched the question of competitive *versus* state industry. It permits the best working of both systems, and facilitates such changes between the two as may be found expedient, thus favoring the evolution of a "mixed" organization, such as will probably best suit human needs. GEO. CROSOER.

LAND NATIONALIZATION SOCIETY, THE: The society was founded in 1881, as a result of the book "Land Nationalisation: its Necessity and Its Aims," by Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, well known as contemporary with Darwin in connection with the doctrine of natural selection, and author of several popular works. By a coincidence he was also contemporary with Henry George in important work in social science. He showed that private ownership of land was contrary to justice and expediency. He advocated compulsory State purchase, with preference for payment by terminable annuities, thus striking at the custom of perpetual bequest, which he had long regarded as mischievous.

The influence of Henry George's views caused a division in the movement, some persons favoring taxation of land values but opposing direct compensation.

For many years the society did much to popularize the idea of public ownership, at first without much support from practical politicians. They regarded its policy with timidity. The value of the land of Great Britain is an unknown quantity; there is no annual taxation of land values, and no separate valuation. Unoccupied land is not assessed, and occupied land chiefly in proportion to improvements. There was a fear of purchase at inflated prices, leading to increased taxation. The enormous prices obtained for public purchases of land under compulsion acted as a warning against larger operations; though one merit of land nationalization proposals is that they can be effected by instalments. But attention began to be given to the principle of imposing moderate taxation upon the value of land *as declared by owners*, such value being taken as the price at which the State might purchase if it desired; this tending to secure correct returns. A bill embodying this principle was introduced into Parliament by Mr. J. W. Logan in 1904, and by Dr. MacNamara in 1905 and 1906; but, with the drawback of not being a government measure, it has not become law, though well supported. Whereas, a few years ago, it was difficult to get members of Parliament to support the principle of public ownership, there are now seventy who are vice-presidents of the society, and many others who favor its proposals. A "Public Landownership Committee" has just been formed (June, 1906) in the House of Commons in support of the movement and to watch other legislation in its interest. There are already 120 members. It is not intended to exaggerate the progress of the movement, and it must be admitted that many of its supporters do not realize the indirect benefits involved in it, and do not necessarily give it the first place as regards its importance. Further, the Land Nationalization Society's income has seldom reached £1,000, a very small amount for what has been done, and especially for what needs doing. In these matters, however, improvement may reasonably be expected.

The principle of national ownership of land is embodied in an important (government) measure, the Small Holdings Bill, now (July, 1907) before Parliament. This proposes to give local authorities power to purchase land by compulsion, to retain the ownership of such land, to expend capital in improvements, and to let as small holdings, i. e., farms of five to fifty acres. Tho the measure is of limited application, it contrasts most favorably with the plan under which the land of Ireland is being converted into small freeholds, at great cost to the British taxpayer, and with considerable economic disturbance.

There is also a bill for the separate valuation of land in Scotland, which should be followed by a similar measure relating to the rest of the United Kingdom, and, later, by a reform of the system of local taxation and other important changes.

The *secretary* of the society is Mr. Joseph Hyder, and the office at 432 Strand, London, W. C. GEO. CROSOER.

LAND RESTORATION LEAGUE, THE ENGLISH (since 1902 The English League for Taxation of Land Values): Formed in 1883, as the Land Reform Union, to advocate the principles of Henry George's "Progress and Poverty." Among the earliest members were Miss Helen Taylor, the Rev. Stewart Headlam, William Saunders, J. L. Joynes (late one of the masters in Eton College), Professor Symes (Nottingham), Minor-Canon Shuttleworth, G. B. Shaw, S. Olivier, Rev. P. H. Wicksteed, etc. From the first the new society entered on its campaign with marked vigor and success. A number of leaflets were issued, including a summary of the argument of Herbert Spencer's famous ninth chapter of "Social Statics," the accuracy of which, after more than ten years of uninterrupted publication, was later violently impugned by Mr. Spencer and vigorously and successfully defended by the league in the public press. A monthly paper, *The Christian Socialist*, was founded by members of the committee of the new society, and a guaranty fund raised for an extended "Henry George campaign." Mr. George visited England and addrest large meetings in London and the principal provincial towns. At the first annual meeting (May, 1884) the name of the society was changed to "English Land Restoration League." A manifesto drafted by Henry George was issued and the league settled down to its long siege of the citadel of landlordism. The history of the next few years is an unbroken record of great activity —lectures without number in the London clubs, meetings in town halls, open-air meetings in the parks and open spaces, conferences on the land question, newspaper correspondence, a voluminous output of leaflets and pamphlets, an occasional "Henry George campaign," Mr. Frederick Verender being its active secretary. The league has taken an active part in all the parliamentary

[1] It may be remarked that Herbert Spencer never withdrew his advocacy of the *principle*, though he later wrote against what he regarded as a danger of prematurely forcing its adoption,

and municipal elections. In 1891 a special fund was raised for village propaganda. A "red van" was fitted out, and a successful campaign was carried on and continued each year. In 1902, however, the league adopted its present name. (See League for the Taxation of Land Values, The English.)

LAND TRANSFER REFORM: Under the ordinary forms of proving title to land great expense is always involved, especially if the land has been transferred a number of times. Indeed, this expense of securing an abstract in such cases and having the title properly examined by a competent lawyer reduces by a heavy percentage the amount received by the seller.

Again, there is frequently great difficulty in securing any clear title to land. An abstract cannot show a clear title; even the careful opinion of a well-trained real estate lawyer is only a ground for a presumptive opinion. If the land has been sold and bought several times, especially if some years have elapsed since such transfer, no one can be sure of his title. Court records show many an instance of innocent purchasers losing land fairly paid for through the defects of the present system of proving titles.

The Torrens system of land transfer, originating in Australia and applied in Manitoba, British Columbia, and Ontario, where the system has been in use for many years and with universal success, has been invented to meet this evil.

The system provides that any landowner may take his evidence of title to the land transfer office provided by law, and upon proving his title to the satisfaction of the registrar, who acts in behalf of the State, may have his land registered to him as owner, and may receive from the office a certificate to this effect. This registration gives him an indefeasible title; and if he wishes to sell, it is not necessary for him to trace his title beyond the one registration in the land transfer office. The government guarantees that title. In case of sale, he fills out a simple memorandum of the transfer; this, with his certificate, is taken to the registrar. The transfer is then entered upon the registrar's book and upon the certificate, and the transfer is accomplished. The purchaser has now the indefeasible title with the government guaranty. It is the *registration* that transfers the title—not the filling out of the memorandum of transfer, nor signing any certificate.

LANGE, FRIEDRICH ALBERT: German philosopher and economist, best known as the author of "The History of Materialism." He was born at Wald, near Solingen, Württemberg, in 1828; studied in Zurich and Bonn; was instructor at the gymnasium in Cologne, 1852–55; privat-docent at Bonn, 1856–58; professor of philosophy at Zurich, 1870–73, and at Marburg, 1873–75.

His political career began in 1862 at Duisburg when the school authorities warned instructors in the gymnasium from taking any active or even passive part in politics. Lange called a meeting of his colleagues and declared that this "admonition need not be heeded." He had to leave Duisburg, but continued his opposition to Bismarck both by word and pen. In 1864 he was elected a committee, with Bebel and Hirsch, to represent the Labor-Union. In 1865 he warned the working men against the teachings of Lassalle and his confrères.

Having for years waged an unsuccessful war against the government party and denounced their craze for annexation and changes of mind, he became disgusted with German politics and went to Winterthur, Switzerland, where he established the *Winterthurer Landbote*, teaching at the same time in the gymnasium. He joined the Democratic Party and fought untiringly for a revision of the cantonal constitution. Owing to the partiality of the Swiss people for France during the Franco-Prussian War in 1870–71, he became embittered, and abandoned politics forever. He was author of "Die Arbeiterfrage in ihrer Bedeutung für Gegenwart und Zukunft," 1865; "J. St. Mill's Ansichten über die Sociale Frage," 1866; "History of Materialism," 1862. "Logische Studien" appeared posthumously in 1877. His "History of Materialism" was begun and published in one year. He died in 1875.

LANGUAGES: The spread of a common language is one of the most important of social factors. Latin was once invariably the universal language and is to-day in Latin countries and in the Roman Catholic Church. Later, French became to some extent the language of international diplomacy. To-day English is much the most widely spoken of existing languages.

Number and Per Cent Speaking

	1801[1]	1900	1801	1890
English	20,520,000	136,000,000	12.7	30.2
French	31,450,000	53,000,000	19.4	11.6
German	30,320,000	83,000,000	18.7	18.4
Italian	15,070,000	38,000,000	9.3	8.4
Spanish	26,190,000	45,000,000	16.2	10.0
Portuguese	7,480,000	14,000,000	4.7	3.1
Russian	30,770,000	80,000,000	19.0	17.8

[1] Mulhall's estimate.

Many attempts have been made at developing or creating a new international language. By far the most successful of these is now *Esperanto*, the invention of Dr. Zamenhof, of Warsaw, who in 1887 published a brochure, "An International Language, by Dr. Esperanto." At first little success rewarded him, but since 1897 its progress has been rapid and uninterrupted. There are now about three hundred groups, situated in all parts of the world, forming centers of active propaganda.

It has over twenty journals and magazines which circulate in every civilized country.

The distinguishing feature of Esperanto is its simplicity. The grammar is free from irregularities, and the number of grammatical forms has been reduced to a minimum. The vocabulary consists of some 3,000 international roots, but from each root a large number of additional words can be formed by means of prefixes and suffixes. The alphabet consists of 28 letters which have an invariable sound. The language is thus easy to learn and has been used at International congresses, notably at the Congress of Christian Endeavorers in 1906. A World Esperanto Congress was held at Cambridge, England, in 1907.

LANSBURY, GEORGE: Member of the British Poor Law Commission; born 1859 at Haleworth, Suffolk. Passed most of his life in East London in the coal trade, later in veneer

works, where he is now a partner. He was a member and honorary secretary of the Bow and Bromley Liberal and Radical Association for a short time, and joined the Social Democratic Federation in 1892. He was elected Guardian in Poplar, and borough councilor in 1903. He has contested Walworth, Bow, and Bromley, and Middlesbrough for Parliament, as a candidate of the Social Democratic Federation, the Independent Labor Party. He is a member of the Royal Commission on Poor-Laws, also of the Central Unemployment Body, and chairman of the Working Colonies Committee. He established the first labor colony at Hollesley Bay, Suffolk, and was largely instrumental in the establishment of the first poor-law colony at Laindon, Essex. His interest in all kinds of philanthropic endeavors is manifested through membership in Independent Labor Party, Christian Social Union, and by being treasurer of the Poplar Labor Representation Committee. *Address*: 103 St. Stephen's Road, Bow, E. London.

LASSALLE, FERDINAND: German Socialist leader; born in 1825 at Breslau, Germany, of wealthy Jewish parentage. He studied at Breslau and Berlin, devoting himself to philosophy. Humboldt called him "Das Wunderkind." Savigny called his "Das System der erworbenen Rechte" (1861) "the ablest legal book since the sixteenth century." At Berlin, Lassalle, becoming a great favorite, in 1845 met the Countess Hatzfeldt, and for some eight years defended her cause before thirty-six tribunals on a question of property. In the Revolution of 1848, as an ardent republican, he was indicted for treason at Düsseldorf, and imprisoned six months. On coming out of prison, he devoted himself to literary and philosophical work, living, however, completely as a man of the world. In 1854 the Hatzfeldt affair was settled, and Lassalle gave himself to the completion of his "Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunkeln von Ephesus," which he published in 1858. He was now to enter on his Socialist career. Having lectured on constitutional themes, Lassalle was invited to lecture, on April 12, 1862, before an Artizans' Association in Berlin. It has been called the birthday of German socialism. He traced philosophically and historically the development of the State and of society, and argued that as the French Revolution freed the third estate, so the Revolution of '48 meant the freedom of the fourth estate. When the lecture was printed, the whole edition of 3,000 copies was seized, and Lassalle prosecuted for incendiary utterances. He defended himself, appealing to science, but was condemned to pay a fine. Lassalle then threw himself into social agitation of every kind. He corresponded with Rodbertus (*q. v.*), but could not draw that philosopher from his books. In 1863 the Leipsic Workingman's Association was undecided whether to follow the cooperative movement of Schulze-Delitzsch (see COOPERATIVE BANKS) or a more radical social policy. It now wrote Lassalle, calling on him to outline a policy; and he did so in an "Open Letter," which has been called the charter of German socialism. Lassalle advocated the formation of cooperative societies with state aid. He was invited to appear, together with Schulze-Delitzsch, before the Leipsic workmen, to advocate their respective plans. Schulze-Delitzsch did not appear, but Lassalle did; 1,300 delegates were present. Lassalle delivered two addresses, and after forty delegates had left the hall cheering for Schulze-Delitzsch, the rest voted for Lassalle, 400 to 1. This led to the organization, May 23, 1863, in Leipsic, of the Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein (Universal German Workingman's Association), which was destined to grow into the Social Democratic Party of Germany. Into this movement Lassalle put all his energy. The apathy of the working men was his chief obstacle, but he succeeded in rousing them. He made speech after speech, wrote tract after tract, held meeting after meeting. All the time he was fighting in the courts prosecution after prosecution, defending himself, and usually winning. Berlin, Leipsic, Frankfort, and the industrial centers on the Rhine were the chief scenes of his activity. His greatest success was on the Rhine, where, in the summer of 1863 and 1864, his travels as missionary of the new gospel resembled a triumphal procession. He claimed that he had converted the king, Bismarck, and Bishop von Ketteler, of Mayence (*q. v.*). Bismarck certainly received this remarkable man into his friendship, a friendship which may be regarded as historic because of its political results. (See BISMARCK; GERMANY.)

Socialistic Activity

The task of winning Berlin over seemed an impossible one; but Lassalle loved difficulties. "Berlin *must* be mine," he wrote, "before six months are passed. I will invest it. Let me only have 200 working men and I shall have 2,000, and soon the whole of them." Already he had prepared the way for operations by the circulation of 16,000 copies of an "Address to the Working Men of Berlin," in which he endeavored to show that the Progressists were unmanning the artizan; he also sought support for his Productive Associations. Two principal factors played against Lassalle's prospects of success in Berlin. The one was the predominance of the Progressist Party, which controlled the press, and the other was the hostility of the police. It is not a little singular that Lassalle was perpetually being denounced as a tool of the reaction, while at the same time the emissaries of the law were ever dogging his steps and serving him with indictments for high treason.

At the end of June Lassalle was compelled to recruit his strength in Switzerland, and he remained absent from the scene of agitation until September.

The association did not make the progress which Lassalle had expected. In August, when it had existed a quarter of a year, the members only numbered between 900 and 1,000, Hamburg and Harburg having together 230; Elberfeld, 223; and Leipsic, 150, while Berlin had only 20. Lassalle had already shown that he was discouraged, but he urged his followers to fresh energy. During the winter of 1863–64 Lassalle's time was divided between the work of his association and an extensive series of disputes with law courts and official bodies. In Jan., 1864, he produced a volume of nearly 300 pages against Schulze-Delitzsch, in tone undignified, sometimes coarse, yet always strong. But Lassalle's main work was for the association. In Aug., 1864, however, he went for a vacation to Switzerland, and found there a Fräulein von Donnegis, whom he had met previously; they became betrothed. As she was induced by her parents to reject him, he fought

a duel over her and was wounded, and died the night of Aug. 30–31. He was buried, amid the universal lamentations of the working men, in the Jewish cemetery at Breslau. The Countess Hatzfeldt was at his side when he died, and continued to aid the association after his death. There was some division, but the association grew till it joined the movement organized by Marx, and with it formed the Social Democratic Party of modern Germany.

But his death in itself worked for socialism. It created the greatest interest. Heine called him the Messiah of the nineteenth century. The people called him the Father of Social Democracy. Until Lassalle entered public life the working classes had been without organization, and had wandered about like sheep without a shepherd. Thus the more advanced organizations which followed the Universal Association owe their existence and success largely to his almost unaided exertions.

Lassalle did not lay claim to any special originality as a socialistic thinker, nor did he publish any systematic statement of his views.

His Views

His aim was not scientific or theoretic completeness, but the practical one of organizing and emancipating the working classes; and his plans were promulgated in occasional speeches and pamphlets, as the crises of his agitation seemed to demand. Yet his leading ideas are sufficiently clear and simple. Like a true Hegelian, he saw three stages in the development of labor: the ancient and feudal period, which, through the subjection of the laborer, sought solidarity without freedom; the reign of capital and the middle classes, established in 1789, which sought freedom by destroying solidarity; and the new era, beginning in 1848, which would reconcile solidarity with freedom by introducing the principle of association.

His chief insistence was on what he called and has since been called (*q. v.*) "the iron law of wages," a simple development of Ricardo's teaching. He argues:

> The simple workingman who has only his two hands possesses nothing unless he is able to sell his labor to others. He may sell it cheap or dear, but the price, more or less high, does not depend on himself alone; it is the result of the bargain he makes with his employer. This latter pays as little as he possibly can, and since he can choose from among a vast number of laborers, he prefers the one who will work at the lowest rate. The laborers are thus obliged to lower their prices in competition with one another. In every kind of labor it must therefore result—and such is actually the case—that the wages of the laborer are limited to the exact amount necessary to keep him alive.

He was not a force revolutionist, and hence his immunity in the courts.

References: W. H. Dawson's *German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle* (1888).

LATIN AMERICA (For statistics, see Population; Agriculture; Finances; Railroads; Postal Service, etc.): Latin America may be said to include the vast majority of Central and of South America. From the standpoint of social reform in the past and present, the countries of this vast region, perhaps, scarcely merit individual notice in a compact work; yet from the standpoint of the future they give promise of being of great significance. Those who have most studied the subject believe that Latin America is on the verge of a forward movement which will astonish the world.

I. Central America

Few people have a correct impression of the size of Central America. If Central America were lifted up bodily and laid down on our Atlantic Coast it would hide all New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. In short, it has a combined area of approximately 167,000 sq. m. Individually, aside from Salvador, already mentioned, the states could be compared as follows: Honduras to Pennsylvania, 45,000 sq. m.; Guatemala to Mississippi, 47,000; Nicaragua to New York, 49,000; Costa Rica to Vermont and New Hampshire, 18,000. As to population, Salvador, with only 7,000 sq. m., has more than 1,000,000 inhabitants; a density of population far greater than that of New Hampshire or Vermont. Guatemala has probably now nearly 1,500,000, a density of population greater than that of Louisiana. Honduras has the largest area of unused country, with Nicaragua next, but the development of the banana industry and the demand for valuable timber grown in the low interior sections are destined to make every unknown part accessible and open to exploitation.

Too strong emphasis cannot be placed on the varied riches and possibilities of these five republics. Taken as a whole, they possess more agricultural and timber wealth than mining potentialities, but they are developing rapidly along all three lines.

The number of recent disturbances in Central America has given the impression abroad that these nations are always in a state of strife, and hence that commerce and material progress have little to encourage them. A consideration, however, of the figures of their foreign trade with the world at large, and with the United States in particular, demonstrates that despite warlike struggles at frequent intervals they have time and money to do a very fair business with the outside world.

Concerning climate, large sections are located either at such an altitude or in such relation to prevailing winds that the temperature seldom becomes too hot for ordinary comfort, and never too cold. Even in the lower and so-called fever, malarial, and mosquito districts, it is wonderful what a change can be wrought by clearing away the jungle, providing good sewerage, pure water, and general sanitary conditions.

If one assumes that because there are occasional revolutions in Central America and the climate is somewhat tropical, there is not a considerable element of highly educated and refined men and women in the chief cities and towns, he labors under great error. A large proportion of the well-to-do people have traveled abroad and send their sons or daughters to the U. S. and Europe for educational advantages in addition to their home schools. Each country has produced writers, historians, poets, novelists, jurists, doctors and surgeons, as well as statesmen.

Guatemala City, for instance, is a remarkable capital, with nearly 100,000 people, which will become a popular point for travelers and tourists from the U. S. when the Pan-American Railroad or the new line from the Caribbean shore is completed. In fact, Guatemala has a splendid future before it, but the world has only recently begun to appreciate its resources and possibilities. Much might also be said of the conditions and attractions of the other Central American capitals like San José, Managua, Tegucigalpa, and San

Salvador, but there is not space in this brief article.

The total foreign commerce, exports and imports, of the five republics amounted last year to the considerable total of $56,133,000. Of this, exports were $32,170,000 and imports $23,963,000, or a favorable balance of nearly $10,000,000. The share of the U. S. in the above trade is interesting to note, because it averaged about half. The total was $26,376,000, of which exports to the U. S. were $14,992,000, and imports from the U. S. $11,384,000.

Some of the principal articles which are exported and imported: Central Americans sell abroad coffee, bananas, rubber, cacao, dyewoods, valuable lumber, like mahogany and other cabinet woods, hides and skins, rice, sugar, indigo, balsam, tobacco, and minerals. They buy cotton and woolen cloth, machinery, railway, electric, and mining outfits, wheat flour, drugs, and medicines, iron and steel manufactures, sacks for export of coffee and fruit, canned provisions, and a host of lesser articles.

Industrial conditions are yet largely undeveloped. Wages are low; labor ineffective, and general education backward; yet the characteristic fact on all these lines is the making to a new life.

II. South America

South America is distinctly the land of tomorrow. It is a continent of vast and varied possibilities. The traveler and the scholar or the merchant and the promoter will find its peoples, problems, and potentialities of impelling interest. And yet the ignorance prevailing generally throughout the United States in regard to this great southern continent is almost appalling. More attention is given by the press of Europe to South America in a week than by all the papers of the U. S. in a year.

How many people realize that Brazil could completely cover the U. S. proper and still have room for another New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia combined? That out of the Amazon River flows every day three times the volume of water that flows from the Mississippi, and out of the Parana twice that of the North American queen of waters. These great South American streams afford incomparable opportunities for interior navigation and the development of commerce.

In Argentina, located in the south temperate zone, with a climate like that of the U. S., could be placed all that part of our country east of the Mississippi River plus the first tier of states west of it.

Bolivia is comfortably half a dozen times larger than the combined areas of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware.

Peru would obscure, if placed over them on the map, California, Oregon, Washington, Nevada, Arizona, Utah, and Idaho.

Paraguay is four times bigger than Indiana, while little Uruguay could wrap within its limits North Dakota.

Texas could be lost twice in Venezuela and still leave room for Kentucky and Tennessee.

Buenos Ayres, the capital of Argentina, is the largest city in the world south of the equator; it is the second Latin city, ranking after Paris, in all the world; it now has a population of 1,100,000 and is growing faster than any city in the U. S. excepting New York or Chicago.

A mistake is frequently made in considering the climate of our neighboring continent. Because it is called *South* America, the general supposition seems to be that it is all hot.

It is not remembered that vast sections of Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, and Brazil possess wide-reaching high plateaus where, on account of the elevation above the sea, the temperature is so equable and favorable that there can be grown all the products of the temperate zone. Altitude effects a very remarkable physical phenomenon in climate. If a man standing on the equator, at sea-level, mounts a mule and rides straight up into the mountains for 5,280 feet, or one mile, he will experience as great a change of temperature and vegetation as if he traveled 1,500 miles due north by land or sea.

The foreign commerce of South America tells a convincing story. The total foreign trade—exports and imports—of the ten independent South American republics—Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela—and of the British, French, and Dutch Guianas, exceeded in 1905 the sum of $1,200,000,000.

When one speaks or writes of Brazil, he has difficulty in finding adjectives which will describe truthfully the opportunities in that country. The simple facts—that Brazil covers a greater area than the U. S. proper; that out of the Amazon River every day flows three or four times more water than out of the Mississippi; that this gigantic stream is navigable for thousands of miles; that the city of Rio de Janeiro, its capital, has now a population of 800,000 and spent more money last year for public improvements than any city of the U. S., excepting New York; and that to-day the central government and the different states are expending larger sums for harbor and river improvements than the government or states of the U. S.—indicate its resources.

All over Brazil new towns and cities are springing up. Back in the interior, which has heretofore been described as a jungle, are being found mountains of iron and coal and forests of valuable timber, upon which the world must largely draw for its supply in the future.

Argentina is, however, the wonderland of South America. In the year 1906 it carried on a foreign trade, exports and imports, amounting, in all, to $562,000,000. This, tho true, seems almost incredible when we realize that the country has yet only about 6,000,000 people. The Argentine Republic, with a comparatively small population, carries on a larger foreign commerce than Japan with 40,000,000 or China with 300,000,000 of people. Her trade with the rest of the world is nearly $100 per head, or proportionately greater than any other country.

The railway systems of the republic rival, in proportion to population, the railroad systems of the U. S. and European countries. The cities of the interior are growing rapidly, and the vast agricultural possibilities of her plains and the mineral wealth of her mountains seem almost limitless.

South America is undoubtedly entering upon a new industrial and material movement. Its development during the next ten years will arrest the attention of the world. Its mining wealth and resources alone, especially those of gold, copper, silver, tin, platinum, and nitrate in the Andean states of Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Chile, are of immeasurable value.

A recent issue of a Berlin financial paper estimated that $2,000,000,000 would be invested during the next decade in South American railways.

All over South America elaborate programs for new roads are being worked out. Argentina is already gridironed with excellent systems. Chile is pushing lines in all directions. Brazil is preparing to penetrate her vast jungles and connect distant points with Rio de Janeiro. Bolivia is spending more than $50,000,000 in new work, while Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Venezuela are considering various practical and needed plans for new construction.

There is no limit to the demands upon capital for legitimate railway-building, electric tramways, electric lights, water-works, factories, sewerage works, telephone and telegraph systems, agricultural extension, stock-raising, and kindred undertakings.

Immigration is pouring into Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, and Chile.

Industrial Development

While the Spanish language is the common tongue of all South America except Brazil, it must be remembered that the latter has a population of nearly 20,000,000 and occupies nearly half the area of the continent. Portuguese is spoken throughout its limits, and Spanish is seldom heard among its people.

Industrial conditions are more advanced than in Central America, and yet leave much to be desired.

Mr. John V. Noel, late chief of the Latin-American press section at the Pan-American Exposition, writes of the social conditions in *Social Progress* (1905):

> Generally speaking, there are in the Latin-American countries two classes: the governing and the governed. The former are not inclined to grant reforms unless compelled to. The latter have not reached, as a rule, that condition of intelligence or freedom to demand or force legislation for their betterment and protection. The lower classes, especially the majority of those millions of Indians who constitute the numerical force in Mexico, Central and South America, are victims of the peon system and slaves to all purposes, according to our standards. Opprest from the days of Spanish conquerors, they have been stoical and happy in their fashion, careless of the morrow. Climatic conditions have thereon a direct bearing. The stern realities of life do not influence them in lands where starvation is impossible and where a few palm-leaves furnish shelter. Occasional outbreaks from this passive and contented attitude take place, such as the dock strikes at Valparaiso, Chile, or the cigarmakers at Havana. It may be stated in a general way that the people, meaning the masses, have not come to realize the necessity for improvement in their methods of living, sanitation, customs, and general surroundings, or have never broached the question as to whether they are receiving a fair share of the general purse in return for their contribution of labor.
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> There is a constantly growing tendency, however, among those whom the accident of birth and blood or of political fortune has placed in a commanding position to adopt modern ideas and champion measures which experience in older countries has suggested—a tedious and thankless task, which the apathy of the people in general and Spanish-inherited procrastinating tendency emphasizes. In the matter of sanitation, great improvements, however, have been made. The severe pure food laws rigidly enforced in the Argentine and other Latin-American countries may well serve as an example to other nations. In Chile the standard of education is very high, and an educational congress and school exhibit, held in the early part of the year, reflected great credit upon that progressive nation. In all countries there are, however, earnest men and women working courageously and trying to give light and educate their people in many reformatory efforts, such as sanitation, prevention of cruelty to children and animals, moral customs, and in general for a higher standard of living and thinking.

See article INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF AMERICAN REPUBLICS; which bureau can supply further information.

LAUGHLIN, JAMES LAURENCE: Economist; born Deerfield, Ohio, 1850. Was educated at Harvard University, and appointed instructor in political economy in that university in 1878, becoming assistant professor in 1883; 1888–90 was president of the Philadelphia Manufacturers' Fire Insurance Company. In 1890 became professor of political economy and finance at Cornell, and in 1892 head professor of political economy at the University of Chicago. Member of the Monetary Commission, 1898. He is known as an advocate of gold monometalism, and as a leader among the more conservative economists of the United States. He is author of "Anglo-Saxon Legal Procedure"; "The Study of Political Economy"; "The History of Bimetallism in the U. S."; "The Elements of Political Economy"; "Principles of Money" (1903); "Reciprocity" (1903); "Industrial America" (1905). *Address*: 5747 Lexington Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

LAVATORIES in economic and hygienic science are the euphemism for the public convenience of water-closets and urinals provided in most European cities, altho, strictly speaking, the lavatory is that part of the convenience provided with set bowls, soap, and towels. They are usually free, but in some cases a small fee is charged for the use of these conveniences, and frequently those charging the fee are self-supporting. Paris and other continental cities provide urinals on the sidewalk or in small buildings.

Many of the conveniences in London are underground. An ornamental iron railing, an inscription tablet, and a lamp are the indications of the convenience. That in Piccadilly Circus, in front of the "Criterion," is one of the largest. The estimated number of people using this convenience in one year is 5,000,000. The initial cost was about £3,500. The fee is generally a penny.

To avoid any hesitancy in visiting a public convenience London has *ladies' châlets*. These are built in open sites in the parks or at the junctions of streets. It is also a part of the scheme that they shall be self-supporting.

This kind of a convenience is divided into two parts—a shop for the sale of millinery or small notions and the lavatory, the entrance to which is through the shop. It was found that the accommodations for men were much more ample than for the women, hence it was hoped that the châlets would obviate that difficulty. The expense of these conveniences is about £400, and it is calculated that each will yield a rental of £12, which amount defrays the interest on the cost, while the income from the lavatory meets the operating expenses with a possible margin of profit, dependent on the location. A parcel room is often an additional adjunct of this system.

LAVELEYE, ÉMILE LOUIS VICTOR DE: Professor; writer; born Bruges, 1822. Studied at Bruges, the Collège Stanislas in Paris, and the University of Ghent. In 1865 became professor of political economy at Liège University. In politics a Liberal, in religion a liberal Roman Catholic. He was a constant contributor to the *Revue de deux mondes*, and a voluminous writer. Among his best-known books are his works on agricultural economics and on bimetalism—e. g., "La Question d'or"; "De la propriété et de ses formes primitives," translated into English by G. S. Mar; "Socialisme contemporaine." Died

Jan. 3, 1892. Laveleye was considered a liberal academic Socialist.

LAWRENCE, FREDERICK WILLIAM PETHICK: English barrister-at-law, journalist, Socialist; born 1871; educated Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. Fellow of Trinity, 1897; visited India, Australia, New Zealand, China, Japan, and United States of America; lived in the Mansfield House, University Settlement. Went to South Africa, 1900; on return became honorary secretary of South African Women's and Children's Redress Fund; obtained a controlling interest in the *Echo*, and edited the paper 1902–5; editor of the *Labor Record and Review* and "The Reformers' Year Book." He is author of "Local Variations in Wages" (joint); "The Heart of the Empire." *Address*: 87 Clement's Inn, Strand, W. C., London, England.

LAWSON, SIR WILFRID: Temperance reformer; born 1829, son of Sir Wilfrid Lawson, of Aspatria, Cumberland, and succeeded to the title and estates of his father, who died in 1867. A lifelong advocate and supporter of the temperance movement, he became its chief representative in Parliament, being elected for Carlisle in 1859. In March, 1864, he first moved for leave to introduce the measure known as the Permissive Bill, the main principle of which is the giving to two thirds of the inhabitants of any parish or township an absolute veto upon all licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquors granted within their districts. The bill was supported by forty members. At the general election of 1865 he was defeated, but was successful as a supporter of Gladstone in 1868 and represented Carlisle until 1885. He succeeded, in 1880, in carrying his "Local Option" resolution by a majority of twenty-six. In 1885 he stood for the new Cockermouth division of Cumberland, but was defeated. In 1886, as a Gladstonian Liberal, he gained the seat by a large majority, and again in 1892 and 1895, but was defeated in 1900.

He was president of the United Kingdom Temperance Alliance, and active in all temperance work. He died in 1896.

LEAGUE OF AMERICAN MUNICIPALITIES: Organized Oct. 28–30, 1907. The objects of the League of American Municipalities are: The general improvement and facilitation of every branch of municipal administration by the following means: First. The perpetuation of the organization as an agency for the cooperation of American cities in the practical study of all questions pertaining to municipal administration. Second. The holding of annual conventions for the discussion of contemporaneous municipal affairs. Third. The establishment and maintenance of a central bureau of information for the collection, compilation, and dissemination of statistics, reports, and all kinds of information relative to municipal government. The membership of the League includes nearly all of the important cities in this country and Canada. *Secretary*, John MacVicar, 18 Broadway, New York.

LEAGUE FOR THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES, THE ENGLISH AND THE SCOTCH: **The English League** for the taxation of land values is the name adopted in 1902 by the Land Restoration League (which see). The league was at that time reorganized. The object of the league is explained in its title. At the general election, Jan., 1906, sixty members of the league stood as candidates, of whom forty-five were successful. The president of the league has promoted a Sessional Committee for the advocacy of the taxation of land values, which has been joined by about 280 members. Draft clauses for the valuation of land have been prepared, and submitted to the government. At the suggestion of the committee, the government has issued as a White paper a translation of Prussian State documents as to the introduction of the Assessment Real Estate on the basis of its market value for local purposes. The league has an organ, *Land Values* (*id.*), published monthly in connection with the Scotch. Its *President* is J. H. Whitley, M. P.; *General Secretary*, Frederick Verinder, 376 and 377, Strand, London, W. C.

The Scotch League for the taxation of land values was until 1904 carried on under the name of the Scottish Single Tax League. There is also a league in Edinburgh. Hon. secretary, G. D. Valentine, 13, Pitt Street. During the general election the league published half a million copies of "Land Taxation" leaflets and questions to candidates. It uses the paper *Land Values*, with the English league. Its *President* is James Fairlie (Falkirk). *Secretary*, John Paul, 13 Dundas Street, Glasgow.

LEASE, MARY E.: Lecturer and writer; born Ridgway, Pa., 1853; removed to Kansas and was admitted to the bar 1885. Entering politics in the interests of the Union Labor Party and the Farmers' Alliance, she made 161 speeches in the campaign of 1900, resulting in the election of William A. Peffer as United States senator and defeating Senator Ingalls. She was appointed President of the State Board of Charities. In 1903 she was strongly supported for the position of United States senator. She has since that date mainly given her attention to magazine articles on economic and political themes. She is author of "The Problem of Civilization Solved" and numerous articles. *Address*: 80 East 121st Street, New York.

LECLAIRE, EDMÉ JEAN: Introducer of profit-sharing; born 1801; at the age of seventeen he arrived penniless in Paris; became a journeyman house painter; 1827 set up on his own account, and was successful; 1834 was chosen to paint the Bank of France and other large buildings. By a series of experiments he learned how to avoid the use of poisonous white lead. Feb. 15, 1842, Leclaire announced his intention of introducing a system of profit-sharing among his men. He was laughed at and suspected by his men; but when he divided 12,266 francs among them—$50 on an average to a man—they ceased to laugh; 1842–47 an average of $3,750 was divided among about eighty men; 1838 he established a mutual aid society among his men; 1853 he organized a complete system of profit-sharing; in 1860 established a system of old-age pensions; 1864 the society became incorporated as the Mutual Aid Society. In 1865 Leclaire retired and became *maire* of Herblay, where he died July 10, 1872. The month before his death the Maison Leclaire divided $10,000 between about 600 men. The society still lives. (See Profit-Sharing.)

As with many who have applied genius to philanthropy, the fountain of Leclaire's enthusiasm was essentially religious, tho of a kind un-

connected with the special dogmas of any particular Christian body. How intensely he held the "great commandment" of Christian morality appears from the following words written in sight of death, when he felt "sincerity" to be "more than ever a duty":

I believe in the God who has written in our hearts the law of duty, the law of progress, the law of the sacrifice of one's self for others. I submit myself to His will, I bow before the mysteries of His power and of our destiny. I am the humble disciple of Him who has told us to do to others what we would have others do to us, and to love our neighbor as ourselves; it is in this sense that I desire to remain a Christian until my last breath.

LECLAIRE, ILL.: A cooperative village at Edwardsville, Ill., near St. Louis, Mo., founded in 1890 by Mr. N. O. Nelson (*q. v.*), the millionaire cooperator of St. Louis, for the employees in his factory (for making plumbers' supplies).

Leclaire differs from almost all "model villages" in the extent to which Mr. Nelson has induced his employees to develop their own homes, rather than to depend on him to create a village for them. As a true Tolstoyan, Mr. Nelson would have no compulsion, and not much leading. He has simply himself lived among his employees, conducted his own business firmly, built his own attractive and practical house, developed his own garden; and has shown his employees how they could go and do the same, out of their wages. Leclaire differs, too, from most other model villages in that it sells lots outright, on the instalment plan, to the employees, and then allows the employee landowner, subject to a very few restrictions, to do what he will with his own. Tho the houses are not all, and the place is not all, quite so artistic as it might be otherwise, it is free, and has the grace of freedom and variety, and lack of artificiality and stiffness. There are some 100 houses in all (only 12 rented, the rest belonging to the employees). The houses average 26 by 33 feet, on about one third of an acre. They are mainly wood, and usually of one story. The rented houses rent for $10 to $13 per month, and the land is sold for from $2 to $2.50 per front foot. It shows what well-treated American workmen will do for themselves with homes and gardens, when given the opportunity. Cooperation has developed a club-house, bowling-alleys, billiard-rooms, tennis courts, school, kindergarten, industrial school, library, and public hall.

LEDNICKI, ALEXANDER: Russian-Polish journalist and politician; born in 1866. He is a graduate of the college of Minsk and of the Demidoff Law Lyceum (1889); was admitted to the Moscow bar, and became a member of the Lawyers' Council (1904). He represented Minsk in the first Duma where he joined the Constitutional Democrats, and soon became the most prominent and radical member of this party from Poland. He is chairman of the Moscow Society for Popular Amendments, of the Polish Benevolent Society, and a contributor to the newspapers, notably to *Russkaya Mysl* (Russian Thought), *Ruskiya Viyedomosti* (Russian News), and others.

LEE, ALGERNON: Editor of *The Worker*; born Dubuque, Iowa, 1873; educated in public schools, Fishkill, N. Y., Minneapolis, Minn., and University of Minnesota; has been actively connected with the Socialist movement since 1895; delegate to National Convention of Socialist Party at Chicago, 1904, and to International Socialist Congresses at Amsterdam, 1904, and Stuttgart, 1906. Mr. Lee is a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Party for 1906; he is a Socialist of the strict party type; has been editor of *The Worker*, Socialist weekly paper, since 1899. *Address*: 15 Spruce Street, New York.

LEE, H. W.: General secretary of the Social Democratic Federation; born 1865 in London. In 1883 he attended a meeting of Bradlaugh's and read "Socialism Made Plain"; both events were causes for joining the Social Democratic Federation. He gave up his employment to become assistant secretary of the Federation in Aug., 1885, under Champion, and was elected general secretary a few months later. He has completed twenty-one years in that office, and has declined municipal or parliamentary honors, since he enjoys his present work and gives it his whole attention. *Address*: 21a Maiden Lane, Covent Garden, W. C., London, England.

LEIPZIGER, HENRY M.: Supervisor of Lectures, New York City Board of Education; born Manchester, England, 1854; attended Manchester Grammar School, but coming to America in 1865, was educated in the public schools and the College of the City of New York; studied law at Columbia Law School, graduating LL.B. in 1875. Early took a deep interest in associations of a philanthropic and cultural character, especially public libraries and young men's associations. Devoted much study to industrial education; in 1884 selected to organize the Hebrew Technical Institute, one of the pioneer schools for instruction in the manual arts in the United States. Received in 1888 the degree Ph.D. from Columbia University. In 1890 was commissioned to organize the public lecture system of New York, a work which has expanded until it is now become practically a thoroughly organized system for the education of adults. The system is being adopted in other cities. Chairman, 1887–1903, of the Aguilar Public Library. Dr. Leipziger believes that true social reform comes best through the diffusion of education, and that the schoolhouse should therefore become a social and civic center for the adults as well as the children of the community. He believes also that social reform will be largely advanced by adapting the school to the "all round" training of the child by the State maintaining technical and trade schools as well as the so-called English and classical schools. *Address*: Board of Education, New York.

LEO, VICTOR: Imperial councilor and member of the Imperial Statistical Office in Berlin; also of the International Statistical Institute, and officer of the Legion of Honor. He was born Nov. 9, 1871, in London, England, but studied in the universities of Berlin, Freiburg, Rome, and also in Paris; received the degree of Ph.D., and after passing the civil service examinations from 1892 to 1897, became a member of the Imperial Commission to the Paris Exposition of 1900. In 1902 he entered upon his present position and became editor of the *Reichs Arbeitsblatt*. Politically he is a conservative and believes that the State should assist wherever men are not able to help themselves. He is the author of "Die Anklagen gegen die Goldwährung" (1901); "Entwickelungstendenzen des Welthandels" (1901); "Der Staat und die Kartelle" (1902);

"Deutschlands Welthandelsstellung im Bild" (1904); "Die Versicherung gegen die Folgen der Arbeitslosigkeit" (1906). *Address*: Grunewald, Berlin, Germany, Parkstrasse 26.

LE PLAY, PIERRE GUILLAUME FREDERIC: Sociologist; born at La Ravière, Saint Sauveur, in 1806. Deeply imprest with the sorrows of the poor around his early home, he came to Paris to study in the École Polytechnique. Graduating with honors, he started, in 1829, with Reynaud, and traveled for many years through all Europe studying social facts. In 1840 he was appointed to the chair of metallurgy in the School of Mines, and later was Inspector-General of Mines. Coming under notice of the emperor, he was repeatedly appointed head of various scientific expeditions, particularly that of 1867. In 1855 he published "Les ouvriers européens." In 1856 he founded "La société internationale des études pratiques d'économie sociale." In 1864 he published "La réforme sociale en France deduite de l'observation comparée des peuples européens"; in 1870, "L'organisation du travail." In 1872 founded "Les unions de la paix sociale," which, in 1890, had 3,000 members. In 1881 commenced "La réforme sociale," the organ of these unions. In its first number it declared that France, in the present century, had had eleven revolutions and nineteen successive constitutions, as the result of utter chaos in social ideas. Hence it argued the need for conclusions drawn from the patient study of facts. Le Play is often called a Liberal Christian Socialist; yet, tho a Roman Catholic, he does not emphasize religion, and is as opposed to socialism as to *laissez-faire*. He simply desired truth drawn from facts, and set himself and his followers to collecting these. His remedy for social ills is a rehabilitation of the powers once vested in the father of a family and in the conductor of a workshop. The family organization is not to be patriarchal, but what he calls the *famille souche*, with a restoration of the now limited freedom of bequest. H. Higgs has written the best English account of Le Play in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Boston, July, 1890.

LEROY-BEAULIEU, PIERRE PAUL: Journalist; economist; born 1843, at Saumur; studying in Paris, Bonn, and Berlin, he traveled extensively in England and on the Continent, and held editorial positions upon the staff of several prominent journals and magazines; was professor of finance in the School of Political Science. In 1880 succeeded Michel Chevalier at the Collège de France. Leroy-Beaulieu is an adherent of the liberal school. His chief work is his "Traité des sciences des finances," the best French work on the subject, and full of learning and research. He is also well known for his "Le Collectivisme"; "La répartition des richesses"; "L'état moderne et ses fonctions". He is the editor of *L'economiste Française*. *Address*: Avenue Bois de Boulogne 27, Paris, France.

LESLIE, THOMAS EDWARD CLIFFE: Professor of jurisprudence; born in Ireland in 1837. He was called to the English bar, but turned his attention to literature, and contributed to the quarterly magazines. Professor of jurisprudence and political economy in Queen's College, Belfast, for twenty-five years. Died in 1882. Cossa says of him in "Introduction to Political Economy":

> His learned and eminently readable tracts on applied economics all take up questions of reform, and he is especially pointed in his arguments against indirect taxation, and in favor of emancipating land tenure from the last remnants of feudal bondage. His schooling was partly under Sir Henry Maine and partly acquired by his own frequent and extended travels. By this means he acquired convictions regarding the historical development of economics which led him to take a position unique in Great Britain, where he was for a long time the solitary and always the most enthusiastic adherent of views which Roscher and Knies defended in Germany. The manuscript of his most extensive work was lost in 1872, so that all that we now have to represent him is scattered through various reviews in the shape of essays. . . . He rejects in so many words the fundamental principle of the classical schools—their conception of the desire for wealth upon which all their deductions depend—because it is at one and the same time too vague and too one-sided.

LEVASSEUR, PIERRE ÉMILE: Political economist; born in 1828, at Paris, France; educated at Bourbon College, later known as Lycée Bonaparte; entered the Normal School in 1849; from 1852 to 1854 was assistant professor of the Lycée d'Alençon. After this was professor of rhetoric at Besançon. Appointed professor of history in the Lycée Napoléon at Paris in 1861. Member of various scientific societies and of the Committee on Historical Works, was elected in 1868 a member of the Academy of Moral and Political Science in place of M. Duchatel. Since 1876 has occupied the chair of history and economics and of geography in the Collège de France, and the chair of statistics and economic geography in School of Political Science, and has taken part in all international congresses of statistics held in Europe during recent years. Member of the Section of Agricultural Legislation, Société Centrale d'Agriculture, president of the Commission of Statistics and Primary Education, and an officer of the Legion of Honor. Dr. Levasseur has won consecutively three competitive prizes of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences for papers on historical and economic questions relating to the working classes in France. Author of a number of valuable contributions to economic magazines and reviews. He is best known by his almost encyclopedic work upon the "Condition of the Working Classes in France Before and Since the Revolution." *Address*: Collège de France, Paris.

LEVELERS, THE: A radical party in the army of the Long Parliament, formed when the army had overawed Parliament and sent Charles I. to Hampton Court in 1647. The reforms proposed by it included the leveling of all ranks and the equalization of all titles and estates in the whole kingdom. Some of the officers were cashiered in 1649, but the party continued its propaganda after Cromwell's departure for Ireland and raised mutinies in the army. Their organ, *The Leveler*, demanded in *politics*: (1) The impartial authority of the law; (2) the power of Parliament for legislation; (3) absolute equality before the law; (4) arming of the people for enforcing the law and protecting their liberty. In *religion*: (1) Absolute liberty of conscience; (2) freedom of interpretation and of action according to the dictates of conscience; (3) a distinction in religion between its aspects as revelation—which is a private affair—and as action, which is subject to the temporal authorities; (4) discontinuation of all strife about theological doctrines and forms of worship. The sect was short-lived, and disappeared at the time of the Restoration.

LEVIN, SHMARYA: Russian journalist and Zionistic preacher in the synagogue of Vilna; born

1867. He graduated from the College of Minsk in 1886 and from the University of Berlin in 1894 with the degree of Ph.D. Afterward he was a rabbi for a time, but interested himself in politics and represented Vilna at the first Duma, where he joined the Constitutional Democrats.

LIBERAL PARTY, THE (ENGLISH): The following statement by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman is reprinted (in brief) by permission from the *World Work*, Chicago, March, 1905:

What is the Liberal policy? Our very name gives the answer. We stand for liberty. Our policy is the policy of freedom. It is the policy of freedom in all things that affect the life of the people, freedom of conscience, freedom of trade, internal and external; freedom of industry, of combination and cooperation; from class ascendency, from injurious privileges and monopolies; freedom for each man to make the best use of the powers and faculties implanted in him; and with the view of securing and guarding these and other interests, freedom of Parliament, for all to elect to the governing body of the nation the representatives of their own choice.

That is the Liberal policy.

It may accurately be said that there is practically but one great impediment in the way of a sweeping improvement which would elevate the physical and moral welfare of the people. This is the interest, and the overdue regard to the interest, of the landowner, and the political and social influence that he and his class can exercise. Let the value of land be assessed independently of the buildings upon it, and upon such valuation let contributions be made to those public services which create the value.

What is our rating system? It is a tax upon industry and labor, upon enterprise, upon improvement; it is a tax which is the direct cause of much of the suffering and overcrowding in the towns. Overcrowding is not a symptom only, but a cause of poverty, because it demoralizes its victims and forces them to find relief in excesses. By throwing the taxes on site values, communities which have created these values will be set free, free in the sense that they can expand, free to direct their own destinies.

Principles

Foremost among our domestic duties is the succor of the masses who are in poverty. If it can be shown that poverty, whether it be material poverty or poverty of physique and of energy, is associated with economic conditions which, tho supported by the laws of the country, are nevertheless contrary to economic laws and considerations and to public policy, the State can intervene without fear of doing harm. Is there any lack of such conditions among us? I fear not. The country is still largely governed by castes, and it has to compete with nations which have shaken off feudal ways and privileges which we continue to tolerate.

First of all, the whole range of reforms which seem to be necessary in order to simplify and complete our electoral and legislative machinery is the simplification of registration. The abolition of the plural vote, the reduction of electoral expenses, the removal of every bar to the free choice of electors, and, above all, the adjustment of the relations between the two houses of Parliament, are changes which the workingman ought to claim as his birthright. It is these that will give him the power to obtain, with the consent and cooperation of other classes of the community, changes which he especially desires and demands, without waiting upon the condescending benevolence or the grudging necessities of the hereditary House.

It cannot be too often repeated and enforced that the way to go to work to organize the home market is not the crude and unequal and exploded method of setting up tariffs. It is to raise the standard of living, abolishing those centers of stagnant misery which are a disgrace to our name, and when once the home market is so organized the demand for labor will be larger and more sustained, and more capable of insuring itself against fluctuation.

The wisest course is to attack these bad conditions boldly and fearlessly; to abolish them, or, if we cannot do that, to modify them; deal rigorously with vested interests and monopolies which cause public injury or stand in the way of improvement; enlarge the powers of local authorities, readjust our taxing system, and so alter our land laws as to increase the supply of houses and of available land in towns, and alike equalize burdens local as well as imperial; give—as far as laws and customs can give it—a chance to every man.

The condemnation of the Education Act, as ignoring popular rights, as excluding from their proper share of influence the parent and the taxpayer, the two classes most concerned, and as writing upon the door of entry to a great and honorable and beneficent profession a sectarian test—that is a standing condemnation which time can never wither. It must be put an end to as soon as possible, and the public, whose money is taken, and who as patriots and as parents are intensely interested in the character and quality and nature of the education given to children at the most receptive period of their lives, must have the command in this matter, and not any self-constituted body of managers, or any man, whether he be parson or layman.

Measures

Another great object will be to improve our land system and our agricultural conditions so as to keep more men on the soil and take others back to it. It is not in our colonies only, and our dependencies across the seas, that we have a great estate to develop; we have it here under our eyes. Let us try the experiment of getting the people on the soil and encouraging them to engage all their energies in its improvement. We must try to get rid of anything that hinders the development of agriculture, restrictions that we have outgrown, and habits that belong to a patriarchal state of things.

There is a general awakening and broadening of view on this subject. There is a growing belief in cooperative methods, both in purchase, transit, dairying, and in the application of scientific processes, in the adoption of what may be called a forward policy to meet the changes and surmount the difficulties which time has brought with it.

I hold that there are three main divisions of operation for the amelioration of the condition of the rural population. First of all, it is necessary to provide healthy, comfortable homes in the country. Secondly, there is the furnishing to the laborer in the country the opportunity of a career, so that by industry and intelligence he may raise himself. Third, there should be freedom in that career.

I stand by my ideal and I object to that of the

past government as to the armaments which we need. The difference between us is crucial and fundamental. I claim that we are not called upon to vie, and it would be the height of folly for us to attempt to vie, with our great military continental neighbors.

It is necessary for our position, for the nature and character of this empire, that we have a very strong navy having full command of the sea. But the increase of our navy estimates has been 90 per cent since 1895. Is this race forced upon us by the ambitions and actions of other powers, or is it in any degree our ambitions, our actions that are forcing it upon them? But there is another line of defense which comes before army and navy, and that is "friendly relations with other countries."

The insane race and rivalry of armament does not conduce to the strengthening of these friendly relations. The authoritative unanimous voice and opinion and direction of all the great powers of the world demanded at The Hague their limitation for the material and moral welfare of humanity. Overtures to this effect have been made and rejected. Let us make them again and again until we succeed. A great step was accomplished for civilization and humanity when a shrine was set up consecrated to the common interests, common conscience, and the common purposes of the human race.

The question of the better government of Ireland directly and imperatively concerns both parties. The principle of self-government, the principle that the elective element shall be the governing element in Ireland, remains, in my view, the only principle consonant with our constitutional habits and practise, and, above all, the only principle that will ever work. Freedom is our key-note. Freedom and equality.

HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.

LIBERTY: Few words in the English language are more used in the literature of social reform than the word *liberty*, yet few words have been less carefully defined. What definitions have been given have been often contradictory and often utterly unphilosophical. Cicero says: "The essence of liberty is to live just as you choose" (*potestas vivendi ut velis*) ("De Officiis," Book I., chap. xx.). This is perhaps to-day both the popular and the abstract conception of liberty; but all science, philosophy, and experience agree to-day in declaring that no such liberty is possible to a finite being. The following quotations will show to what an extent modern science denies that there is any freedom of the will:

"I know of no writer not a theologian pure and simple that goes the length of claiming this for the will" (George Lacy, in "Liberty and Law," p. 53). "The terms have no application to the subject" (Bain's "Emotion and Will," chap. xi.). "Man's volitions are not self-caused, but determined by spiritual antecedents, in such sorts that when the antecedents are the same, the volitions will always be the same" (Mill on Hamilton, pp. 492–3). "There is nothing existing in the world which is absolutely alone—entirely free from inseparable relationship to some other thing or things. Freedom, therefore, is only intelligible as meaning the being free from some kind of restraint" (Argyle, "Reign of Law," chap. vi.). "The will of the animal, as well as that of man, is never free" (E. Haeckel, "History of Creation," vol. i., p. 237). "The feelings in my consciousness in the moment of voluntary choice have been preceded by facts out of my consciousness, which are related to them in a uniform manner, so that if the previous facts had been accurately known, the voluntary choice might have been predicted" (W. K. Clifford, "Right and Wrong," p. 162). "Psychical changes either conform to law or they do not. If they do not conform to law, no science of psychology is possible. If they do conform to law, there cannot be any such thing as free will" (H. Spencer, "Principles of Psychology," part. iv., § 20).

Many theologians and some philosophers assert the freedom of the will, but even they usually maintain that the will is only free within the limits of its own moral nature.

Says T. D. Woolsey:

For a finite being, moral excellence, united with the greatest perfection of intellect pertaining to human nature, will make the best course of action certain within his sphere of existence (Johnson's "Cyclopedia," article "Liberty").

It follows that moral deficiencies and lower grades of intellect make lower causes of action equally necessary. As for experience, from the child who cries for the moon to the absolute monarch or the beggar, who both have their wills continually crossed, all life shows that no man can do whatever he will. Scientifically, philosophically, experimentally, absolute freedom for finite beings is an impossibility.

Says F. J. Stephens ("Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," p. 13):

Freedom is only intelligible as meaning the being free from some particular kind of restraint; therefore, in political science, when one speaks of political, economic, or other liberty, one should explain from what kind of restraints freedom is meant.

"From excessive liberty tyranny springs as certainly as a tree from its roots" (Plato's "Republic.").

Economic freedom may not mean liberty, because one may still be the slave of social laws. Hence, in considerations of liberty, freedom must be balanced with freedom, and the greatest amount of freedom chosen. Thus, moved by various considerations and influenced by various social, political, and industrial environments, liberty has been very variously conceived, as the following definitions will show:

"Liberty consists in the safe and sacred possession of a man's property" (Fox, quoted by W. Roscher, vol. i., p. 236). "Political liberty consists in security or, at all events, in the opinion that we enjoy security" (Montesquieu, "Spirit of the Laws," book 12, chap. ii.). "Liberty is the freedom to do what the law permits" (Montesquieu, "Spirit of the Laws," book 2, chap. iii.). Bentham makes liberty to consist in the freedom to follow fourteen specific sources of pleasure, which he names ("Principles of Morals," vol. i., chap. v.). Mill says that liberty "is the principle that the sole end for which mankind are warranted individually or collectively in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number is self-protection" ("Liberty" on p. 6, People's Edition). According to Sheldon Amos, "Liberty on its positive side denotes the fulness of individual existence. On its negative side it denotes the necessary restraint on all which is needed to promote the greatest possible amount of liberty for each" ("Science of Law," p. 90).

For other conceptions of liberty and a discussion of the ways by which it is proposed to secure to-day the highest amount of liberty, see ANARCHISM; INDIVIDUALISM; SINGLE TAX; SOCIALISM; SPENCER.

LIBERTY PARTY: The abolitionists (*q. v.*) at Warsaw, N. Y., having informally nominated, in 1839, James G. Birney for president and Thomas Earle for vice-president, the nominations were confirmed by a convention, ostensibly national, that met at Albany, April 1, 1840, and adopted the name "Liberty Party." Its platform was the abolition of slavery. The candidates received 7,059 votes in spite of their having declined the nominations. On Aug. 30, 1844, the national convention of the party met. The topic of greatest interest at that time was the annexation of Texas, and the consequent increase in slave territory. Birney and Thomas Morris, of Ohio, were nominated. The total vote for Birney was 62,263. Had the electoral vote of

New York gone to Clay, it would have elected him. In that state the popular vote stood: Polk, 237,588; Clay, 232,482; Birney, 15,812. Had Birney not been nominated, it is probable that enough of his vote to elect Clay would have been so cast—certainly none of it would have gone to Polk. This lesson was not forgotten, and the party did not again name its own candidates. In 1848 and 1852 it supported the Free Soil Party, and thereafter the Republican Party (*q. v.*).

LIBERTY AND PROPERTY DEFENSE LEAGUE, THE: Founded for the purpose of maintaining freedom of contract, upholding proprietary rights, and resisting socialistic legislation, the Liberty and Property Defense League has from its inception in 1882 occupied a unique position in English politics. Associated with neither of the two great political parties in the state, it has consistently opposed the tendency toward socialism which, during each succeeding year of the last quarter of a century, has become more and more marked in the legislation of the British Parliament.

Federated with the league are 220 defense and protection societies, representing railways, shipping, tramways, water companies, manufactures, land and house property, liquor, mining, and the other industries, and the representatives of these bodies form a powerful committee for the purpose of watching the progress of bills through Parliament, and taking steps to oppose or amend such bills. Chairman, the Earl of Wemyss; offices, 25, Victoria Street, S. W.

LIBRARIES, PUBLIC: Probably the oldest libraries known are the Babylonish tablets, found in the mounds of Mesopotamia, and supposed to have been prepared for public instruction about 650 B.C. Pisistratus is said to have founded a library at Athens 537 B.C., but this is not clear. Strabo says that Aristotle was the first collector of a library, and that his library descended to the Romans. The story of the great Alexandrian library founded by Ptolemy Soter, with from 100,000 to 700,000 manuscripts (according to different authors), and burned by the Caliph Omar, is now considered to be a myth, at least as to its size. Many Romans collected libraries. Plutarch says the library of Lucullus was open to all. Pliny says the library of Pollio was the first public library in Rome. St. Jerome says that St. Pamphilus, of Cesarea, in 309, collected 30,000 volumes, chiefly religious, to be lent; if this be true, it was probably the first lending library. The libraries of the Middle Ages were small. The still existing library of the Swiss abbey of St. Gall was one of the first, and claims an antiquity of 1,000 years. The first library in England is said to have consisted of nine manuscripts brought by Augustine in 596. As late as Henry VIII. the royal library had only 329 volumes. Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, had, in 1490, 50,000 volumes, destroyed by the Turks in 1530. Lorenzo de' Medici, in Florence, established the great Laurentian Library. In 1556 the Royal Library of France, then containing 2,000 volumes, received by royal ordinance the privilege of obtaining a copy of every book printed in France. By 1789 it had 200,000 volumes, and is to-day the largest library in the world. Germany has the greatest number of important libraries of any country. The library of the British Museum was founded in 1753. The first library in the United States was that of Harvard College, begun in 1638.

History

Benjamin Franklin, after considerable effort, founded, in 1732, the Philadelphia Library Company, the "mother of all the subscription libraries in North America."

In Scotland, in 1816, Samuel Brown, of Haddington, following in part the methods of London booksellers, established a system of free itinerating libraries, loaning without cost packages of fifty books to villages and neighborhoods.

This system was copied in this country in the school district libraries which were started in the State of New York in 1835, and a few years afterward were in successful operation in several New England states, in Ohio, Michigan, and other states farther West.

Public libraries are seldom specialized, because they have to serve a mixed constituency. Local needs often determine, however, the choice of books to some extent. Owing to the rapid increase of these institutions a larger number of experts is needed for proper administration, and library schools have been established to supply trained men and women. Some of these schools, e. g., that of New York State, require since 1902 graduation from a registered college for admission. The Illinois State School since 1903 demands three years' college work for admission and grants a degree for two years additional and special library work.

Several organizations promote the special interests of librarians and their work, e. g., the American Library Association, with its organ *Public Libraries*. England has the Library Association of the United Kingdom; Australia a National Library Association; Germany a Verein Deutscher Bibliothekäre; France, Denmark, Italy, Switzerland, Japan, etc., have similar societies. The first international congress of librarians was held in London, 1877.

The support of the libraries is usually borne by the municipality or the State. New York State organized a library department in 1891, and grants towns and villages an amount equal to that raised in the commune up to $200 per annum. Other states have committees.

The twelve largest libraries are: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, with 2,600,000 volumes, 250,000 maps, 102,000 manuscripts in 1894; British Museum, London, with 2,000,000 volumes, 200,000 maps, 100,000 pieces of musical compositions, 50,000 manuscripts in 1900; Imperial Public Library, St. Petersburg, 1,330,000 volumes in 1902; Königlische Bibliothek, Berlin, 1,200,000 volumes in 1902; Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., 1,000,000 volumes in 1900; Königlische Hof und Staatsbibliothek, Munich, 1,000,000 volumes in 1902; K. and K. Hofbibliothek, Vienna, 900,000 in 1901; Universitätsbibliothek, Strassburg, 814,000 in 1902; Public Library, Boston, 812,000 in 1902; Public Museum, Moscow, 800,000 in 1900; Public Library, New York, 787,775 in 1902; Bodleian Library, Oxford, 600,000 in 1900.

Statistics

The Library of Congress has a floor space of nearly eight acres with 45 miles of shelving and room for 2,200,000 octavo volumes, and capable of being extended to a capacity of 4,000,000. The number of public libraries in the U. S. was 6,869 in 1903 with 54,419,000 volumes.

LIEBKNECHT, WILHELM: Editor, legislator; born 1826, at Leipsic; he studied at Giessen, Berlin, and Marburg. In the Revolution of 1848 took part at Baden, and was imprisoned from September to May; fled to Switzerland and then to England, where he remained till 1862; was much with Marx, and earnestly espoused his views. In 1862 returned to Germany, and edited the *North German Gazette* till it became a Bismarckian organ, when Liebknecht joined Lassalle's agitation. Became the leader of the International Party in Germany, won Bebel to socialism, and with him worked for the amalgamation of the movements started by Lassalle and Marx, thus forming the Social Democratic Party, of which he and Bebel are still the main leaders. In 1865 was ordered to quit Prussia; went to Leipsic and edited a democratic journal till it was suppressed in 1866. Returning to Berlin, was imprisoned three months. In 1867 he was returned to the North German Diet by a Saxon constituency and thereafter served regularly in the legislature until his death. Imprisoned in 1870, and again for two years beginning in 1872. In 1881 he was expelled from Leipsic under the Socialist law. Liebknecht was not an original thinker, but of high intellectual attainments, and a good writer. He died in 1900. Author of a work on the land question, "Zur Grund und Bodenfrage," etc.

LIFE-SAVING SERVICE, THE UNITED STATES: This service commenced in a small way in 1849 with an appropriation of $20,000 by Congress. Previous to this the only organized attempts in this direction were of humane societies like that of Massachusetts, established in 1789. In 1871 the present U. S. service was established. To-day the ocean and lake coasts of the U. S. are picketed with the stations of the life-saving service attached to the U. S. Treasury Department.

At the close of the last fiscal year the life-saving establishment embraced 278 stations, 200 being on the Atlantic coast, 60 on the lakes, 17 on the Pacific coast, and 1 at the falls of the Ohio, Louisville, Ky.

There is also a U. S. Volunteer Life-saving Service Corps with 1,900 stations and 22,000 enrolled members. It has saved 6,557 lives in twelve years and has awarded 1,705 honor medals.

The following table gives the results:

	Year ending June 30, 1906	Since introduction of life-saving system in 1871, to June 30, 1906
Disasters	357	16,479
Value property involved	$14,736,350	$242,683,699
Value property saved	$11,972,280	$192,024,612
Value property lost	$2,764,070	$50,659,087
Persons involved	4,099	116,442
Persons lost	19	1,127
Shipwrecked persons succored at stations	811	19,741
Days' succor afforded	1,727	47,555
Vessels totally lost on U. S. coasts	49	.....

In addition to the foregoing there were 491 casualties to smaller craft, such as sailboats, rowboats, etc., on which there were 1,221 persons, of whom 1,211 were saved and 10 lost. The cost of the maintenance of the service during the year was $1,832,465.93.

In Great Britain the Royal National Lifeboat Institution was organized in 1824 and has now over 300 stations.

In France, a private society, the Société Centrale de Sauvetage des Naufragés, founded in 1865, is subsidized by the government.

Germany has a similar society, the German Society for the Rescue of the Shipwrecked, founded 1865.

Belgium had a small society as early as 1838, and Denmark in 1858. Most other civilized countries have followed suit. Japan in 1890. China is said to have had such a society for centuries.

LIGHTING, ELECTRIC AND GAS, PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF (for a discussion of the general principles of, pro and con, see PUBLIC OWNERSHIP): In this article we present briefly the facts in the United States; as to Great Britain and Europe, see MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

I. Electricity

According to the twelfth census (Bulletin 5) there were in the U. S. in 1902 3,620 central electric-lighting and power stations, of which the census gives the following table:

CENTRAL ELECTRIC STATIONS, 1902, AND WAGES OF EMPLOYEES

ITEMS	Private stations	Municipal stations	No. employees	Wages per day $
Number of stations	2,805	815	133	Less than 0.75
Cost of construction and equipment	$482,719,879	$22,020,473	229	.075 to 0.99
Earnings from operation	$77,349,749	[1]$6,836,856	990	1.00 to 1.24
Income from all other sources	$1,385,751	$128,249	1,613	1.25 to 1.49
Gross income	$78,735,500	$6,965,105	3,380	1.50 to 1.74
Total expenses	$62,835,388	$5,245,987	2,314	1.75 to 1.99
			4,089	2.00 to 2.24
Salaried officials and clerks			1,807	2.25 to 2.49
Average number	6,046	950	1,899	2.50 to 2.74
Salaries	$5,206,199	$457,381	823	2.75 to 2.99
			832	3.00 to 3.24
Wage-earners:			309	3.25 to 3.49
Average number	20,863	2,467	191	3.50 to 3.74
Wages	$13,560,771	$1,422,341	43	3.75 to 3.99
			123	4.00 to 4.24
Output of stations:			24	4.25 to 4.49
Kilowatt hours—total for year	2,257,598,213	195,904,439	16	4.50 to 4.74
Total number of arc lamps	334,903	50,795	8	4.75 to 4.99
Total number of incandescent lamps	16,616,593	1,577,451	55	5.00 and over
Total	.....	.....	18,878	.....

[1] Includes estimated income from public service.

This table shows that of the total number of municipal plants, only 22 per cent were publicly owned and operated. It is also true that the kilowatt-hour output of these stations was only 7.8 per cent of the total energy and the capacity of all the dynamos in the municipal plants only 9.4 per cent of the total, which means that the municipal plants of the U. S. are yet but comparatively few, and in the smaller cities and towns.

They are nevertheless rapidly growing. Of the 574 municipal and private plants started prior to 1899 only 11.4 per cent were municipal, while of the 1,502 central lighting stations during the next seven years 21.2 per cent were municipal, and of the 1,544 stations started between 1896 and 1902, 27.8 per cent were municipal. It is probable that the reason for municipal ownership being more developed in smaller cities is because there is less profit for private companies in such cities and therefore less inducement to them to oppose municipal undertakings. What this means can be seen in the extent to which private companies are willing to spend money in large cities to mold opinion against public ownership. Professor Gray reports (Report of the Public Ownership Commission of the National Civic Federation, vol. ii., p. 135) that the New Haven Water Company, without apparently committing any illegal act, spent $20,000 in molding public opinion and in lobbying through the city government and the state legislature a contract against public ownership.

Nevertheless, in spite of the opposition of private companies, municipal ownership is on the increase and wherever tried seems to have given satisfaction, as shown by the following quotations from the writer's report in the Public Ownership Report (see below).

There were investigated representative municipal and private plants, including the municipal plants of Chicago, Detroit, Allegheny, South Norwalk, and Jacksonville, Fla. The private plants which it was purposed to compare with these largely declined investigation. Nevertheless, what could be done was done (see Report) and some comparisons made.

Of South Norwalk, the expert, Professor Gray, reports: "The citizens seemed to take an enthusiastic and indeed admiring interest in the plant. In fact, the plant seems to be the one thing in South Norwalk in which the citizens take more pride and interest than in anything else in the city." The rates charged at South Norwalk of course cannot be as low as in a larger city or where fuel is cheaper; but in spite of these difficulties the rates are lower than are charged by many large private plants for a similar class of users.

Next to South Norwalk the most successful municipal electric-lighting plant is probably that of Detroit. If it were allowed to do a commercial business, its success would be undoubtedly greater than is possible with only the lighting of streets and public buildings. The city has, however, largely improved the service for the city over the former private system and has much reduced cost.

Of Chicago and Allegheny my report to the Civic Federation says:

The Chicago and Allegheny municipal lighting plants do not show as low operating expenses, the difference in the cost of coal being considered, as does Detroit, yet these plants are a remarkable confirmation of the wisdom of municipal ownership. They show that even in cities where political conditions are not of the best, and where good engineering is not fully observed in the construction of the plants, nevertheless municipal management may be justified. . . . Municipal ownership of electric light in Chicago started, as it did in the case of water in that city and of many other municipal undertakings elsewhere, because of dissatisfaction with private ownership. The critics of municipal plants, when they detect faults in public management, must bear in mind that the private management which preceded it and led to public ownership was often worse than what has followed. . . . The spoils system has been singularly kept out of the Chicago plant, as is well brought out in Schedule L. With this condition, but with the serious handicaps already referred to, the question has been raised whether the municipal undertaking could stand comparison with the up-to-date and enormous private lighting company of Chicago in the cost of street lighting. Fortunately such a comparison is possible, because it has been made for our commission by Messrs. Marwick, Mitchell & Co. . . . In a study of the labor conditions of the public and private plants in Chicago in 1901, Prof. John R. Commons, our expert on labor in the present investigation, found that the wages of the city electric plants ranged from 8.1 per cent to 66.8 per cent higher per hour than those paid by the private company, while the average wages were probably 35 to 45 per cent higher, which meant that the total operating costs were 12 to 15 per cent more than they would have been had the wages been the same as in the private plants. ("Municipal Affairs," March, 1902, pp. 109–110.)

. . . It is encouraging that the plant, however, in face of these high wages for an eight-hour day, has yet been able to make several hundred thousand dollars profit during the past twenty years above depreciation, taxes, and interest, in comparison with what private companies would have charged. This is, of course, on the assumption that the private companies, as above pointed out, had continued, as they doubtless would have done, to charge more for lights supplied from expensive underground conduits than from cheaper overhead construction.

The Edison and Commonwealth companies of Chicago, which are practically one, offered in 1906 to sell electricity to the city for $75 per year for each arc lamp supplied from overhead construction, but this was on condition that the city should grant important concessions in other directions. When these concessions were vetoed by Mayor Dunne, the best the city could get for arc lights supplied from overhead construction was $90 each per year.

In view of the above and other facts, the conclusion arrived at by the writer in reviewing the reports of the expert of the reports of the Federation, and which he has embodied in his portion of the report, is as follows:

It appears to the writer to be conclusively demonstrated from the above facts that in both water, gas, and electricity the municipal plants have done far better for the taxpayer and consumer than the private plants in anything like a similar situation. Prices have been lowered and the plants have been largely or wholly paid for out of earnings, where there were any, or may be considered to have been mostly or entirely paid for out of the difference between the prices charged by private companies in the neighborhood and the construction and operating costs of the municipal plants. In this method of computation all questions of depreciation are met. It is thus established that even where the management is no better and the freedom from political entanglements is no greater than in private plants, nevertheless the municipality has gained. This has been due to one of the great inherent advantages of municipal management, namely, the fact that all earnings above interest charges at 4 per cent or thereabouts on the original cost of construction, are available for reducing the capital charges and relieving the ultimate burden of such charges upon future consumers or patrons, or the earnings may be in part devoted to free public service, as in the case of many water departments. It has been established beyond question that there is less typhoid in cities having municipal water-works, which is good evidence of the purity of the public water-supply. The scope of this investigation has not led to a full development of the far larger public use of municipal than of private services, but such data as have been gathered indicate that there are more arc lights per 100,000 of population and far more use of incandescent lighting in public schools and other city buildings than where such services are furnished by a private company. In Detroit and Allegheny it has been easier to get appropriations for lighting the schools from the municipal plant than in securing appropriations to pay the prices charged for similar service by the private company.

Enough has been said about the political and labor conditions in the report of Professor Commons, and in the references in the above chapters. It is believed, however, that the largest benefit of municipal management has come in the case of the majority of the municipal undertakings investigated through the freeing of the department from political evils, and in freeing the city from the desire of investors in the plant to secure a weak or corrupt city government. Where such good results have not followed, but where instead the spoils system has prevailed, it has appeared that the monopolies in private hands were equally enmeshed in politics. The general conclusions of the study of American conditions show that in our better governed cities there is greater superiority of municipal management over private management in neighboring places than is the case in Great Britain.

II. Gas

Brown's Directory of the American Gas Companies for 1907 gives the following list of municipal gas-works in the U. S. and Canada with their output during 1906:

UNITED STATES

CITIES	Feet output	CITIES	Feet output
Holyoke, Mass.	136,970,000	Gilroy, Cal....	4,000,000
Middleboro, Mass.....	1,874,600	Alexandria, Va.	44,000,000
Wakefield, Mass.....	25,000,000	Charlottesville, Va.....	19,000,000
Westfield, Mass.....	18,150,500	Danville, Va...	42,000,000
Norwich, Conn.	40,000,000	Fredericksburg, Va....	8,834,000
Bellefontaine, Ohio.....	40,000,000	Richmond, Va.	410,000,000
Hamilton, Ohio	73,000,000	Wheeling, W. Va.....	116,000,000
Escanaba, Mich.....	1,200,000	Cartersville, Ga.....	6,300,000
Adams, Minn..	.....	Dalton, Ga....	9,000,000
Duluth, Minn..	151,000,000	Talladega, Ala.	5,000,000
West Minneapolis, Minn.	1,594,450	Henderson, Ky.	23,000,000
Dell Rapids, S. Dak.....	1,838,000	Total.....	1,182,761,550
De Smet, S. Dak.....	2,000,000	Number of plants.....	25
Rich Hill, Mo..	3,000,000	Average size of 24 plants...	49,281,731

CANADA

CITIES	Feet output	CITIES	Feet output
Moncton, N. B.	4,500,000	Waterloo, Ont.	.....
Sorel, Que....	4,000,000		
Belleville, Ont.	15,000,000	Total.....	190,250,000
Berlin, Ont....	25,000,000	Number of plants.....	10
Brockville, Ont.....	26,750,000	Average size of 9 plants.....	21,138,889
Guelph, Ont...	30,000,000		
Kingston, Ont.	30,000,000	Total sales of 33 plants in United States and Canada..	1,373,011,550
Owen Sound, Ont.....	16,000,000		
St. Thomas, Ont.....	39,000,000		

The largest and oldest municipal gas-works in the U. S., or indeed in all North America, is that of Richmond, Va., with a population in 1906, as estimated by the U. S. Government, of 87,246. The city constructed the plant, in 1852. At the close of the war the plant, like all business in Richmond, was dilapidated and the records are not at hand for the earlier years. A report was made by an expert accountant, Mr. H. D. Boudar, April 15, 1897, and reprinted in subsequent annual reports. This shows that during the thirty years ending with 1896 the earnings of the plant had not only taken care of all the reconstruction since the war, but had paid back to the city its previous outlays, and had turned over in cash $135,906.31. Since the plant had been paid for out of earnings it was not necessary to allow the city interest on the plant as had been done in the above computations. Taking this latter fact into consideration, the accountant reported: "This surplus ($135,906.31) must be still further increased by the difference between the value of gas furnished the city for public consumption and the interest allowed the city on the cost of the works, etc., say $358,074.23, making a total surplus of $493,980.54 after repaying the city for its investment."

The accountant further asserted that the net revenue up to 1886 more than reimbursed the city for its outlay.

Since 1896 the gas-works, as appears from its last annual report, has turned into the city treasury $622,208.55 in cash, and $40,000 a year, or $400,000 in all, as a nominal interest charge on the assumed value of the plant. Since the plant, however, had been paid for out of earnings and there is no bonded debt, this $400,000 is to be considered as part of the profits, making a total profit of $1,022,208.55 less expenditures, amounting to less than half of this amount which has been put into extensions during this same ten-year period.

The city must also be credited with the value of the gas used in the streets and public buildings, and worth at $1 a thousand feet over $25,000 in 1906, and from $20,000 to $30,000 every year during the last ten years. The plant therefore has netted the city over and above the plant itself and its extensions about $500,000 in cash and $250,000 from the gas during the last ten years, and $500,000 during the previous thirty years.

Richmond, also, was one of the first cities in the South to reduce the price of gas to $1, which it did in 1893.

A committee of the city council was authorized in 1905 to hire a gas expert to suggest plans for enlargement and improvement of the works. To the surprize of most of the people of Richmond he recommended the lease or sale of the works, and indulged in many criticisms of the management. The controvesy that arose thereafter showed that many of his criticisms were mistaken and that the failure to make needed improvements in the works and distributing system previously had been due to the great need of the city for funds in other directions. It would have been, however, more profitable in the long run for the city to have been more liberal in its improvement of the gas-works, for operating expenses would thus have been reduced. This is one of the weaknesses of many municipal plants. The earnings go into the city treasury instead of being used for the improvement of the plant and the reduction in price. Richmond, however, is now seriously at work increasing the capacity of the plant and rendering it possible to have greater economies in the production of gas. Fortunately, there is every evidence of honest management. The labor force is well paid, contented, and efficient. Politics does not seem to have any place, and the council with only one dissenting vote decided to reject all propositions for either lease or sale.

Richmond

The sale of gas to private consumers in 1906 was 318,661,000 feet, and for the street lamps 25,200,000 feet.

Another municipal plant of much age and reputation is that of Bellefontaine, Ohio, population 6,649 in 1900, which was built in 1873. Its last annual report for the year 1906 shows a profit for the year of $2,724.70 after paying out $11,096.16 for extensions and for the reduction of bonds issued for some recent extensions. Since the plant has been almost entirely paid for out of earnings, there is no interest charge of any importance. It may be remarked that neither in Bellefontaine nor Richmond is any allowance made for taxes that a private plant would pay, but these taxes are not large. At five cents per 1,000 feet, which is a common figure in private gas companies, they would amount to only about $1,600 in Bellefontaine, and about $16,000 in Richmond.

The city for some time has charged $1.25 for gas for illuminating purposes, and seventy-five cents for fuel purposes, and sold in 1906 11,411,400 feet for lighting, and 22,636,200 feet for fuel

purposes, and also 1,674,320 feet for public uses. The leakage and condensation was 8 per cent. This was normal for such a plant. The leakage at Richmond, 15.2 per cent, was high, tho often found in private works. Bellefontaine on Jan 1, 1907, reduced the price of gas for fuel purposes to fifty cents per 1,000 feet.

While the oldest municipal gas-works is Richmond, yet Alexandria, Va., was started only one year later, namely, in 1853. In its report for the year ending May 31, 1907, it states that out of the profits there was transferred to the city for that year $15,500, making a total amount transferred up to date $235,590.75 in cash, while $193,206.63 has been put into the plant out of earnings. All the plant had thus been paid for. The sales of 34,474,500 feet to private consumers in 1905–6 yielded $39,964.65, or $1.16 per 1,000 feet. In addition to this and to the cash already referred to as delivered to the city treasury, there was used by the city without charge 4,849,000 feet of gas, which at the prevailing rate would have been worth $5,334, or over twice what the taxes would have been if the works had been in the hands of a private company. This publicly used gas was equal to over thirteen cents per 1,000 feet of all the gas sold to private consumers or used by the city.

Two municipal plants are generally recognized as failures: Philadelphia, Pa., and Hamilton, Ohio, but even they have justified their existence as municipal plants. Philadelphia was badly managed, the spoils system prevailed, strong engineers were not put in charge, and there was not sufficient money appropriated by the city councils for improvements. Nevertheless, the plant during the approximately fifty-six years of its existence prior to its lease in 1897 to the United Gas Improvement Company had paid for itself out of earnings, and during four fifths of the time had furnished gas at a lower price than the private companies in New York City. When the property was leased ten years ago, Philadelphia by virtue of its ownership was able to secure much better terms than New York City was then enjoying, or is now enjoying, and in twenty more years the plant comes back to the city with large improvements. The lease seems to have been secured by bringing much pressure to bear on the city government in 1897. Even prior thereto the refusal of the city councils to make improvements in the management and character of the plant seems to have been partly due to outside influence. The city government at the time of the city lease voted down a proposition for a referendum vote, and the people only a week previous had approved the appropriation of $1,000,000 for the improvement of the works. The private company has undoubtedly given excellent service, but showed the dangers of the situation when it participated in a movement for lengthening the lease from thirty years to seventy-five years in 1905, altho the city government had not been elected on that issue or with any public discussion of that question.

Philadelphia

The city of Hamilton through its municipal plant secured a reduction in the price of gas from $2 per 1,000 feet to 80 cents, but failed to take advantage of the opportunity it had to buy out the existing private company at a reasonable price. A fierce competition ensued. The city plant appears to have had neither non-partizan nor efficient management, and finally was sold in 1907 to a natural-gas company.

The lessons of these two plants point to the fact that any large and permanent success in municipal ownership can only be expected where a community has reached such a stage of political development as to have reasonable promise of responding to the stimulus which municipal ownership usually creates in the better developed of our cities. The great growth of municipal ownership, however, as shown by the table, indicates that the movement toward public management, which has been so very promising in water and in the smaller electric-light plants, is now beginning to affect the gas industry.

Wheeling, W. Va., whose population is estimated by the U. S. Government as 41,494 in 1906, has suffered seriously from the spoils system, and from the fact that the town became discouraged over the consequences of a very unwise contract with a natural-gas company. The city should have bought the gas at wholesale at the city limits and supplied it to all desiring the same. Instead of that, the city gave a contract to this company to pipe its streets, but to sell only for fuel uses except in streets where the city had no mains. Inasmuch, however, as this gas is sold for eighteen cents and can be used with Welsbach mantles for lighting, the city has had difficulty in preventing its use for that purpose, and has been discouraged in the improvement of its artificial-gas works. Had the proper policy been followed the city would have ceased to make artificial gas as long as natural gas lasts and have supplied the cheaper gas. Fortunately the city, despite all these handicaps, has had a brilliant success financially. It has supplied gas for seventy-five cents since 1887, and to-day has only three rivals for as low a price as seventy-five cents for general lighting purposes, one of these being the municipal plant of Duluth, Minn., and the other two being the large private plants of Cleveland and Cincinnati, but Wheeling started the seventy-five-cent rate long before any of the others.

Wheeling, W. Va.

The city, however, in spite of this low charge and of the fact that even prior to 1888 it took the lead in reduction of price, has paid for its entire plant out of earnings and turned into the city treasury for the construction of an electric-light plant and other purposes about $400,000.

Although politics has greatly hampered the success of the plant, it is interesting to note that it has likewise largely entered into the relations of the street-railways and private electric-light and natural-gas companies to the city government.

Great efforts were made, 1897–1902, at Holyoke, Mass. (estimated population in 1906, 50,778), to secure an electric-light and gas plant for commercial and public uses. Under the Massachusetts law a city cannot construct and operate a lighting plant if there is a private enterprise already in the field unless the city first buys out the latter provided it desires to sell. In all cases the companies have decided to sell. The supreme court of the state has appointed a commission in each instance. These commissions have usually forced cities to pay not merely the structural value of the plant including a liberal allowance for property which had to be scrapped immediately after city purchase, but have also forced the cities to pay for the capitalization of the earnings at the time of purchase.

Holyoke, Mass.

After a tedious litigation which cost the city

and private company about $300,000, Holyoke began to operate both the gas and electric-light plants in Dec., 1902. Altho handicapped by a large purchase price and the costs of litigation, the city has reduced the price from $1.34 to $1.21, while during the previous seven years of private ownership there had been no decrease in price. The consumption has increased from 83,592,000 feet in 1901–2 to 121,570,000 feet in 1905–6. The cost of gas after paying interest and a very large depreciation and sinking-fund charge of five per cent on the cost of the plant was only $1.10. On account of the price of coal and oil, all gas companies of Massachusetts have larger costs than in most other sections of the country east of the Missouri River.

Duluth has made the most striking success of any city with its municipal gas-works. When the city bought the gas-works in 1898 the price was $1.90 for light and $1 for fuel, but the city rapidly reduced the price (Oct. 1, 1905) to seventy-five cents for both light and fuel uses and fifty cents when the gas is used in gas-engines and furnaces. The consumption has increased from 25,309,363 feet in 1899 to 151,004,300 feet in 1906. In spite of these low charges the earnings of the department are ample to pay the interest and keep up the repairs. It is somewhat doubtful whether a sufficient amount is being laid aside for depreciation, but with the rapid increase of business it is probable that henceforth depreciation charges will be covered by the earnings unless the price is still further reduced.

Duluth, Minn.

The city for a time after the purchase of the plant manufactured its gas, but in 1904 was able to make so good a contract for the purchase of its gas from a coke-oven plant, as do private companies in Boston, Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee, and elsewhere, that it has been no longer necessary for the city to run its own plant. It is kept in condition to operate whenever the necessity may arise.

It is remarkable that, following the lead of Alexandria and Richmond, two other Virginia cities, Danville and Charlottesville, began municipal gas-works in 1876, and Fredericksburg in 1893; Henderson, Ky., dates from 1866, but today the developments are mostly in the North and in Canada, where the higher standards of municipal government render a large measure of success more likely. EDWARD W. BEMIS.

REFERENCES: See PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

LINCOLN LEGION, THE: A temperance organization standing for Gospel temperance and pledge signing, organized at Oberlin, Ohio, in 1903, under the auspices of the Anti-Saloon League (*q. v.*). The name is derived from a pledge taken in his early days, worked for, and administered by Abraham Lincoln. The Lincoln pledge, which is made the pledge of the order, is as follows: "Whereas, the use of alcoholic liquors as a beverage is productive of pauperism, degradation, and crime, and believing it our duty to discourage that which produces more evil than good, we therefore pledge ourselves to abstain from the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage."

Enrolled signers are formed into a very simple order by hundreds, thousands, county divisions, and state divisions. It is expected that in each locality at least one annual reunion shall be held, preferably upon Lincoln's birthday. Several hundred thousand persons are now enrolled. Superintendent, Howard H. Russell, D.D., 103 East 125th Street, New York City.

LINDERBERG, FERNANDO: Director Sociale Secretariate and Bibliotek; writer; Socialist; born 1854, Copenhagen, Denmark; educated in the country until sixteen years of age; learned gardening and lived as a gardener until his twenty-fifth year. In 1880 began the publication of *Folkebladet*, a weekly paper for the working people; later published various historical writings for the people; in 1895 wrote a larger work on socialism and competition, and other writings on social questions and the labor movement. His latest and most important work treats of the relation of Christianity to social evolution. Mr. Linderberg had a *privat stipendium* from 1896–98 to enable him to study the social questions and movements in Germany, Switzerland, and England. On his return to Copenhagen he organized in 1898 a committee for promoting the knowledge of social conditions and problems; in 1900 the Social Secretariate and Library whose aim is to follow and further the enlightenment of social conditions and movements abroad and at home partly as the Fabian Society and partly as the Christian Social Union in England and the American Institute of Social Service.[1] He is the author of "Frikonkurrencen og Socialismen"; "Werner Sombart and the Socialistic Working Movement"; "Henry George"; "Karl Marx"; "Kristendommen og den sociale Udvikling." *Address:* Sagasvej 14, Copenhagen, Denmark.

LINDSAY, SAMUEL McCUNE: Professor of social legislation in Columbia University, and director of the New York School of Philanthropy; born in Pittsburg, Pa., 1869; educated in public and private schools in Philadelphia; graduated from the University of Pennsylvania (1889). In 1894 he was appointed instructor in sociology in the University of Pennsylvania, and later professor. Expert for the Senate Finance Committee at the time of the Brussels Monetary Conference, 1892; special agent for the United States Industrial Commission, 1900 to 1902; 1902 to 1904 Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico; secretary of the National Child Labor Committee; 1904 a member of the Board of Public Education of the city of Philadelphia, 1906–7; is first vice-president and for several years was president of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. His chief interest is in the problems of public education and child labor, upon which he has written extensively. Among the more important contributions are: "Die Preisbewegung der Edelmetalle (Jena, 1893); "Social Aspects of Philadelphia Relief Work" (Philadelphia, 1895); "Railway Labor in the U. S." (Washington, 1902); "History of the Establishment of the Public School System in Porto Rico" (Washington, 1905); "Child Labor." Edited three Annual Reports of the National Child Labor Committee (New York, 1905–7).

LINDSEY, BEN. B.: Judge of the Juvenile Court; born in Jackson, Tenn., 1869; educated in public schools. On Jan. 8, 1901, he was appointed judge in the Denver County Court, where he sat over a number of children's cases. He soon found that sending minors to jail served mainly to get boys into contact with hardened criminals.

[1] Mr. Linderberg is a Fabian Socialist.

His principle was that institutions should serve man, and not man become a slave to institutions. So he had a law passed authorizing a Juvenile Court with large discretionary powers. In order to attack juvenile crime as a whole he formed the "Kids' Citizens League," which put boys on their honor. He interested adults in the children through his "Juvenile Association for the Betterment and Protection of Children," and had sand piles, playgrounds, swimming-pools, etc., provided for them. To prevent temptation of young girls he succeeded in getting the winerooms closed, and had the law concerning child labor made stricter and properly enforced. He found that adults were often partly responsible for juvenile crimes, and so he had the "Contributory Delinquency Law Against Adults" passed, which held negligent parents, employers, etc., accountable. He freed Denver from the tyranny of the corporations by having the election law revised. The boys sentenced to the industrial school at Golden are put on their honor, and go unattended; only three out of several hundred have betrayed his trust. He travels and lectures on children's problems during vacation. Author: "Problems of the Children." *Address*: Denver, Col.

LIQUOR CONSUMPTION (see also LIQUOR TRAFFIC; INTEMPERANCE, for the evils of drinking; and TEMPERANCE, for what is done for their reform): In this article simple facts and statistics of liquor consumption are given.

THE UNITED STATES

Compiled from the Statistical Abstract of the U. S., 1906

PER CAPITA

	Wines, consumption per capita	Malt liquors, consumption per capita	Spirits, consumption per capita	Consumption per capita of all wines and liquors
	Gallons	*Gallons*	*Proof Gallons*	*Gallons*
1840	0.29	1.36	2.52	4.17
1850	.27	1.58	2.23	4.08
1851	.....	.....	.....	.....
1852	.....	.....	.....	.....
1853	.....	.....	.....	.....
1854	.....	.....	.....	.....
1855	.....	.....	.....	.....
1856	.....	.....	.....	.....
1857	.....	.....	.....	.....
1858	.....	.....	.....	.....
1859	.....	.....	.....	.....
1860	.35	3.22	2.86	6.43
1861	.....	.....	.....	.....
1862	.....	.....	.....	.....
1863	.....	1.87	.52	.....
1864	.....	2.87	2.55	.....
1865	.....	3.27	.50	.....
1866	.....	4.49	.44	.....
1867	.....	5.33	.44	.....
1868	.....	5.17	.23	.....
1869	.....	5.23	1.68	.....
1870	.32	5.31	2.07	7.70
1871	.40	6.10	1.62	8.12
1872	.41	6.66	1.68	8.75
1873	.45	7.21	1.63	9.30
1874	.48	7.00	1.51	8.99
1875	.45	6.71	1.50	8.67
1876	.45	6.83	1.33	8.61
1877	.47	6.58	1.28	8.33
1878	.47	6.68	1.09	8.24
1879	.50	7.05	1.11	8.66
1880	.56	8.26	1.27	10.08
1881	.47	8.65	1.38	10.50
1882	.49	10.03	1.40	11.92
1883	.48	10.27	1.46	12.21
1884	.37	10.74	1.48	12.60
1885	.39	10.62	1.27	12.28
1886	.45	11.20	1.28	12.92
1887	.55	12.23	1.21	13.99
1888	.61	12.80	1.26	14.67
1889	.56	12.72	1.32	14.60
1890	.46	13.66	1.40	15.53
1891	.46	15.31	1.43	17.19
1892	.43	15.17	1.49	17.10
1893	.48	16.20	1.52	18.20
1894	.32	15.32	1.34	16.96
1895	.30	15.13	1.14	16.57
1896	.27	15.84	1.01	17.12
1897	.53	14.94	1.02	16.49
1898	.28	15.96	1.12	17.36
1899	.35	15.28	1.18	16.81
1900	.39	16.01	1.25	17.68
1901	.37	16.20	1.31	17.90
1902	.63	17.49	1.36	19.49
1903	.48	18.04	1.46	19.98
1904	.53	18.28	1.48	20.35
1905	.42	18.50	1.45	20.38
1906	.55	20.20	1.51	22.27

AMOUNT

Year ended June 30—	Distilled Spirits Consumed			
	Domestic[1]		Imported for consumption	Total[2]
	From fruit	All other		
	Proof Gallons	*Proof Gallons*	*Proof Gallons*	*Proof Gallons*
1884	1,137,056	78,479,845	1,511,680	81,128,581
1889	1,294,858	77,802,483	1,515,817	80,613,158
1894	1,430,553	88,046,771	1,063,885	90,541,209
1900	1,386,361	94,265,035	1,705,998	97,357,394
1905	1,595,021	116,544,802	2,730,425	120,870,248
1906	1,781,643	122,961,612	3,011,289	127,754,544

Year ended June 30—	Wines Consumed		
	Domestic[3]	Imported for consumption	Total[2]
	Gallons	*Gallons*	*Gallons*
1884	17,402,938	3,078,989	20,481,927
1889	29,610,104	4,535,606	34,145,710
1894	18,040,385	3,842,455	21,882,840
1900	26,242,492	3,745,975	29,988,467
1905	29,369,408	5,690,309	35,059,717
1906	39,847,044	6,638,179	46,485,223

Year ended June 30—	Malt Liquors Consumed			Total consumption of wines and liquors[2]
	Domestic[3]	Imported for consumption	Total[2]	
	Gallons	*Gallons*	*Gallons*	*Gallons*
1884	588,005,609	2,010,908	590,016,517	691,627,025
1889	777,420,207	2,477,219	779,897,426	894,656,294
1894	1,033,378,273	2,940,949	1,036,319,222	1,148,743,271
1900	1,218,123,252	3,316,908	1,221,440,160	1,348,786,021
1905	1,532,949,602	5,201,168	1,538,150,770	1,694,080,735
1906	1,694,021,375	5,964,267	1,699,985,642	1,874,225,409

[1] Since 1885 includes domestic spirits exported and returned.
[2] Does not include data with respect to commerce between the U. S. and insular possessions from 1901 to date.
[3] Product less domestic exports.

NOTES.—(1) The production of domestic wines was estimated by the Department of Agriculture, by Mr. Charles McK. Loeser, president of the Wine and Spirit Traders' Society of New York, and other well-informed persons, except that the production for 1889 is that officially reported by the Bureau of the Census Department of Commerce and Labor. (2) The consumption of domestic spirituous and malt liquors is derived from reports of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue.

Great Britain

From statistics published annually in *The Times*, by Dr. Dawson Burns

Liquors Consumed in 1905	Quantities	Cost, 1905	Total annual cost	
British spirits, 26*s.* 6*d.* per gallon	32,598,932	£43,193,585	1905...	£164,167,941
Other spirits, 26*s.* 6*d.* per gallon	6,770,334	8,971,355	1904...	168,987,165
			1903...	174,445,271
Total spirits (gallons)	39,369,766	52,164,940	1902...	179,499,817
Beer, 60*s.* per barrel (barrels)	33,250,654	99,751,962	1901...	181,738,243
Wine, 18*s.* per gallon (gallons)	11,945,599	10,751,039	1900...	184,881,196
British wines, cider, etc., estimated 2*s.* per gallon (gallons)	15,000,000	1,500,000	1899...	185,927,227
		£164,167,941		

This decreased annual expenditure on drink is notwithstanding an increasing population.

Dr. Burns figures the consumption per head as follows:

England

Liquors	Quantities consumed	Per head	Expenditure	Per head
		Gals.	£	£ *s.* *d.*
British spirits	22,305,046	.....	29,554,186	. .. ..
Other spirits	5,496,567	.....	7,282,951	. .. ..
Total spirits (gals.)	27,801,613	.8	36,837,137	1 1 6
Beer (barrels)	29,670,987	31.3	89,012,961	2 12 2
Wine (gals.)	10,153,759	.3	9,138,383	0 5 4
Other liquors (gals.)	14,000,000	.4	1,400,000	0 0 10
			136,388,481	3 19 10

Scotland

British spirits	6,667,156	.....	8,833,982	. .. ..
Other spirits	689,143	.....	913,115	. .. ..
Total spirits (gals.)	7,356,299	1.6	9,747,097	2 1 8
Beer (barrels)	1,188,929	9.0	3,566,787	0 15 3
Wine (gals.)	1,194,560	.3	1,075,104	0 4 7
Other liquors (gals.)	500,000	.01	50,000	0 0 3
			14,438,988	3 1 9

Ireland

Liquors	Quantities consumed	Per head	Expenditure	Per head
		Gals.	£	£ *s.* *d.*
British spirits	3,626,730	.....	4,805,417	. .. ..
Other spirits	585,124	.....	775,289	. .. ..
Total spirits (gals.)	4,211,854	1.0	5,580,706	1 5 5
Beer (barrels)	2,390,738	2.0	7,172,214	1 12 8
Wine (gals.)	597,280	.1	537,552	0 2 6
Other liquors (gals.)	500,000	.1	50,000	0 0 3
			13,340,472	3 0 10

It should be noted that the official returns do not specify the quantities of beer and wine consumed in each kingdom. It is estimated, however, that 25 per cent of the beer paying duty in Scotland and Ireland is consumed in England; and that of the wine consumed 85 per cent is used in England, 10 per cent in Scotland, and 5 per cent in Ireland.

It would thus seem that of the United Kingdom England is consuming by far the largest amount of wine.

Other Countries

Per Capita Consumption of Alcoholic Beverages [1]

	Wine				Beer				Spirits 50 Per Cent Alcohol				Absolute Alcohol
	1885–89	1890–94	1895–98	1900	1885–89	1890–94	1895–98	1900	1885–89	1890–94	1895–98	1900	1900
Austria	3.87	3.83	3.44	.....	11.5	13.2	15.16	.....	1.8	2.2	2.4	....	2.08
Belgium	.72	.82	.91	.....	36.9	39.7	43.92	.....	1.96	2.14	2.00	....	2.83
Canada	.11[7]	.09[8]	.09	.....	3.6[7]	3.5[10]	3.56	.....	.78[12]	.75[8]	.66	....	.52
Denmark	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	18.4[9]	19.70	.....	3.2	3.3	3.3	....	2.43
France	20.2	23.9	24.30	25.4	4.7	4.9	5.25	6.2	1.68	1.90	1.89	2.02	3.56
German Empire	1.14[2]	1.28	1.38	1.45	20.6	23.5	25.40	27.5[11]	1.78[13]	1.97	1.90	1.94	2.08
Holland	.46	.44	.42	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.97	1.96	1.87	....	1.00
Hungary	5.01	1.89	2.31	.....	.9	.15	2.13	.....	2.4	2.3	2.33	....	1.50
Italy	21.2	21.5	17.92	.....	.18	.15	.11	.....	.33	.29	.24	....	2.30
New Zealand	.18[7]	.14[8]	.14	.....	7.6[7]	7.4[10]	7.97	.....	.71[12]	.65[7]	.65	....	.73
Norway	.19[3]	.25[5]	.37	.....	3.3	4.5	4.12	.....	.69	.76	.67	....	.52
Portugal	.....	.....	20.33	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.11	.09	....	2.07
Russia	.....	.....	.60	.....	.74	.69	.92	.....	1.43	1.09	1.05	....	.61
Spain	16.2	17.9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.90[4]	.76	.....	.....	2.33
Sweden	.....	.05[6]	.13	.....	5.3	6.8	8.6	.....	1.6	1.5	1.6	....	1.16
Switzerland	.....	.....	15.32	.....	8.2	10.9	14.12	.....	.....	1.38	1.32	....	2.76
United Kingdom	.37	.38	.39	.39	27.5	29.8	30.60	31.7	.93	1.01	1.00	1.12	2.08
United States	.43	.36	.28	.33	9.7	12.6	12.6	13.3[11]	1.05	1.19	.93	1.06	1.00

[1] The figures for 1899–1900 are from statistics published by the Board of Trade of Great Britain and Ireland. All others from Rowntree and Sherwell's "The Temperance Problem and Social Reform." [2] 1889. [3] 1886–90. [4] 1887–89. [5] 1891–94. [6] 1893–94. [7] 1888–92. [8] 1894. [9] 1892–94. [10] 1893. [11] 1899. [12] 1888–92. [13] 1888–89. Alcohol strength of beer taken at 5 per cent for the United Kingdom and 4 per cent elsewhere. Wine taken at 15 per cent in the United Kingdom and United States, 12 per cent in Italy, 10 per cent elsewhere, except that in Norway it has been taken at 15 per cent since 1896. For the English colonies beer has been taken at 5 per cent and wine at 12 per cent.

CONSUMPTION OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES (1902)

COUNTRY	WINE		BEER		SPIRITS	
	Gallons consumed	Gallons per head	Gallons consumed	Gallons per head	Gallons consumed	Gallons per head
Australian Commonwealth	4,296,000	1.11	47,976,000	12.4	3,297,000	.85
Austria	119,218,000	4.4	409,772,000	15.4	68,728,000	2.64
Belgium	6,952,000	1.01	320,738,000	47.1	12,694,000	1.87
Bulgaria	27,038,000	4.0	946,000	.25	770,000	.20
Cape (no figures available)						
Denmark			51,529,000	20.8	8,085,000	3.25
Dominion of Canada	496,000	.09	28,038,000	5.1	4,346,000	.8
France	930,138,000	24.0	184,888,000	4.8	55,396,000	1.43
German Empire	66,198,000	1.14	1,484,692,000	25.5	105,556,000	1.85
Holland	1,980,000	.37			9,328,000	1.76
Hungary	69,410,000	3.5	29,700,000	1.5	39,972,000	1.98
Italy	884,114,000	27.0	5,126,000	.16	8,932,000	1.27
Natal			312,000	.33	364,000	.38
Newfoundland	7,200	.03	72,000	.34	67,000	.3
New Zealand	126,000	.16	7,381,000	9.2	602,000	.75
Norway			8,756,000	3.9	1,672,000	.75
Portugal	87,142,000	17.1				
Rumania	22,990,000	2.2	1,320,000	.21	6,996,000	1.12
Russian Empire			125,304,000	.89	144,655,000	1.03
Servia	5,830,000	7.0	1,408,000	.54		
Spain	321,816,000	17.2				
Sweden			64,724,000	12.5	8,932,000	1.72
Switzerland	51,854,000	15.0	45,452,000	13.6		
United Kingdom	15,281,000	.36	1,270,828,000	30.3	44,078,000	1.05
United States	32,253,000	4.0	1,207,750,000	15.0	96,672,000	1.22

THE DRINK EXPENDITURE IN TWELVE PRINCIPAL TOWNS IN 1905

London	£18,779,996	Sheffield	£1,748,828
Liverpool	2,994,144	Bristol	1,386,356
Glasgow	2,489,062	Bradford	1,151,612
Manchester	2,253,520	Dublin	1,148,379
Birmingham	2,173,100	Belfast	1,086,837
Leeds	1,818,324	Edinburgh	1,035,038

Of the progress since 1881, Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell say ("The Taxation of the Liquor Trade"): Taking the whole of the United Kingdom, they point out that "the number of public-houses has fallen from 96,727 in 1881 to 91,502 in 1904, a decrease of 5,225, or 5.4 per cent. Meantime the population has increased from less than 35,000,000 to nearly 43,000,000, an increase of 23 per cent. The estimated national expenditure upon alcoholic beverages has also increased during the same period by at least £23,000,000, or 16 per cent."

LIQUOR TRAFFIC, THE: The total cost, direct and indirect, of the liquor traffic of any country, no man knows or can know. Various estimates have been made at different times of the "drink bill" of various nations, but the amount of these depends very largely on the extent to which the costs of the administration of justice, crime, and pauperism are attributed to drink. On this point authorities differ. (See POVERTY, CAUSES OF.) All are agreed only that the contribution of drink to such cost is enormous and that the annual drink bill of each principal nation runs into hundreds of millions of dollars. Only actual figures can be given as to portions of the cost of the liquor traffic. The problems of drink, poverty, and unemployment are, moreover, so interwoven that it is practically impossible to separate them. They should always be treated as a whole, if one would like to get a picture of their dire influence. They must, nevertheless, be treated separately, in order to become intelligible.

I. The United States

(For the consumption of liquor in the United States, see LIQUOR, CONSUMPTION OF.) The following are the statistics of production:

FERMENTED LIQUORS AND DISTILLED SPIRITS PRODUCED, AND DISTILLED SPIRITS TAX PAID FOR CONSUMPTION

[From reports of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue]

YEAR (ended June 30)	Production of fermented liquors	PRODUCTION OF DISTILLED SPIRITS, EXCLUSIVE OF BRANDY DISTILLED FROM FRUIT								
		Bourbon whisky	Rye whisky	Alcohol	Rum	Gin	High wines	Pure neutral or cologne spirits	Miscellaneous	Total
	Barrels[1]	*Tax. gall.*	*Tax. gall.*	*Tax. gall.*	*Tax. gall.*	*Tax. gall.*	*Tax. gall.*	*Tax. gall.*	*Tax. gall.*	*Tax. gall.*
1881	14,311,028	33,632,615	9,931,609	22,988,969	2,118,506	549,596	14,363,581	23,556,608	10,586,666	117,728,150
1886	20,710,933	19,318,819	7,842,540	11,247,877	1,799,952	656,607	2,396,248	26,538,581	10,543,756	80,344,380
1891	30,497,209	29,931,415	14,345,389	12,260,821	1,784,312	1,293,874	1,007,070	35,356,126	19,983,382	115,962,389
1896	35,859,250	16,935,862	9,153,066	9,960,301	1,490,228	1,098,376	198,299	25,564,738	22,187,833	86,588,703
1901	[2] 40,614,258	26,209,804	18,263,709	10,775,117	1,724,582	1,636,299	454,627	30,228,804	35,227,657	124,520,599
1906	[2] 54,724,553	24,968,943	21,469,720	11,173,614	1,730,102	2,323,289	179,313	59,626,733	24,194,411	145,666,125

[1] Of not more than 31 gallons.

[2] Includes fermented liquors removed from breweries for export free of tax.

FERMENTED LIQUORS AND DISTILLED SPIRITS PRODUCED, AND DISTILLED SPIRITS TAX PAID FOR CONSUMPTION—*Continued*

[From reports of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue]

YEAR (ended June 30)	Production of fruit brandy, including apple, peach, and grape	Total production of distilled spirits	Distilled spirits other than fruit brandy [tax paid for consumption]
	Tax. gall.	*Tax. gall.*	*Tax. gall.*
1881	1,799,861	119,528,011	67,426,000
1886	1,504,880	81,849,260	69,295,361
1891	1,804,712	117,767,101	87,254,001
1896	3,403,852	89,992,555	67,039,910
1901	4,047,602	128,568,201	99,267,732
1906	4,444,072	150,110,197	122,732,822

U. S. INTERNAL REVENUE RECEIPTS, 1906

Spirits

Spirits distilled from apples, peaches, grapes, pears, pineapples, oranges, apricots, berries, prunes, figs, and cherries	$1,959,807.28
Spirits distilled from materials other than apples, peaches, grapes, pears, pineapples, oranges, apricots, berries, prunes, figs, and cherries	135,006,104.21
Rectifiers (special tax)	314,362.91
Wine made in imitation of champagne, and liquors produced by being rectified, etc.	7.20
Retail liquor dealers (special tax)	5,407,981.31
Wholesale liquor dealers (special tax)	600,326.63
Manufacturers of stills (special tax)	1,391.66
Stills and worms manufactured (special tax)	3,456.67
Stamps for distilled spirits intended for export	2,345.25
Case stamps for distilled spirits bottled in bond	98,272.00
Total	$143,394,055.12

IMPORTS INTO UNITED STATES

	1897	1900	1903	1906
Malt liquors:				
Duty, gallons	2,964,644	3,310,320	4,258,818	5,977,651
Duty, dollars	1,580,293	1,727,256	2,087,741	2,738,855
Spirits distilled:				
Duty, gallons	3,021,465	2,482,020	3,229,526	3,287,612
Duty, dollars	3,850,114	3,609,831	4,834,580	5,524,767
Wines:				
Champagne and other sparkling, duty, dozen bottles	228,628	310,149	407,944	415,394
Still wines:				
In casks, duty, gallons	2,997,952	2,533,828	3,753,211	4,482,499
In other coverings, duty, dozen bottles	309,281	315,920	440,869	546,688
Total wines, duty, dollars	6,862,465	7,421,495	10,249,296	10,993,968
Total spirits, wines, and malt liquors, dollars	12,272,872	12,758,582	17,171,617	19,257,590

The census of 1900 gives the following statistics of persons engaged in the U. S. in the liquor traffic:

OCCUPATION	Male	Female	Total
Saloon-keepers	81,789	2,086	83,875
Bartenders	88,497	440	88,937
Retail dealers in liquors and wines	12,928	191	13,119
Bottlers (not soda- and mineral-water)	8,942	776	9,718
Brewers and maltsters	20,709	275	20,984
Distillers and rectifiers	3,115	30	3,145
Hotel-keepers	46,386	8,545	54,931
	262,366	12,343	274,709

Besides these must be included a large number of druggists, grocers, restaurant- and café-keepers, waiters, and employees in transportation, etc.

The National Temperance Almanac for 1907 gives the statistics, taken from government sources, presented in tabular form on p. 720.

As to the total amount of money invested in the liquor traffic, we have only estimates. *The National Temperance Almanac* (1907) estimates the *direct* cost at $1,500,000,000, and compares this with $273,000,000 spent for public schools, $25,000,000 for clergymen's salaries, and $689,592,000, the net earnings of railroads. An estimate was made by an American delegate to the International Congress against Alcoholism at Stockholm (Aug., 1907), putting the total capital in the U. S. invested in the liquor traffic, in 1907, at $415,000,000. One should remember, tho, that figures vary, and that even under the most favorable circumstances they do not give a true idea of the actual state of affairs. For instance, one can never state exactly what percentage is used in the trades; 20, 25, or 30.

Fermented and Malt Liquors

Ale, beer, lager-beer, porter, and other similar fermented liquors	$54,651,636.63
Brewers (special tax)	162,637.57
Retail dealers in malt liquors (special tax)	311,698.04
Wholesale dealers in malt liquors (special tax)	515,886.32
Total	$55,641,858.56

CITIES

In New York City the number of liquor-tax certificates in force (1906) were, for hotels, 2,459, and saloons, clubs, etc., 8,317. The net revenue from licenses was $11,470,142 (of which $5,735,223 went to the state).

For Chicago, Mr. G. K. Turner (in *McClure's Magazine*, April, 1907) gives the following suggestive figures which may serve to show the extent and methods of the liquor trade in other cities. He says (in brief):

In 1906 the receipts in the retail liquor trade in Chicago were over $100,000,000; they were probably about $115,000,000. There are 7,300 licensed liquor sellers in Chicago, and in addition about a thousand places where liquor is sold illegally. The only business which approaches this in number of establishments, according to the Chicago directory, is the grocery trade, which has about 5,200. The city spends at least half as much for what it drinks as for what it eats—not counting the cost of the cooking and serving of food.

Liquor Traffic Methods

The great central power in the liquor business in America is the brewery. In the past thirty-five years the per-capita consumption of spirituous liquor in the U. S. has increased not at all. The per-capita consumption of malt liquor has trebled. This increase has come, partly because of the demand for a milder drink, but largely also because of another fact: because the breweries own or control the great majority of the saloons of American cities. They have a distinct policy: If there are not as many saloons as there can be, supply them. This is what has been done in Chicago. Fully 90 per cent of the Chicago saloons are under some obligation to the brewery; with at least 80 per cent this obligation is a serious one.

Almost every saloon-keeper sells the beer of one brewer only. There is now one retail liquor dealer to every 285 people,

1906

States and Territories	Rectifiers	Retail liquor dealers	Wholesale liquor dealers	Manufacturers of stills	Brewers	Retail dealers in malt liquors	Wholesale dealers in malt liquors
Alabama	10	1,779	90	.....	5	365	70
Alaska	1	580	12	.....	9	3	12
Arizona	6	1,275	23	.....	3	14	40
Arkansas	4	1,495	60	.....	1	95	73
California	161	15,561	596	3	112	345	306
Colorado	11	3,011	96	.....	11	187	215
Connecticut	31	3,524	66	1	25	114	209
Delaware	7	435	7	.....	6	13	12
District of Columbia	19	992	31	.....	5	81	25
Florida	4	881	32	.....	2	126	52
Georgia	19	1,551	78	1	5	267	53
Hawaii	3	367	48	.....	1	5	5
Idaho	27	1,335	25	.....	15	39	62
Illinois	194	23,058	408	4	124	1,530	919
Indiana	31	9,330	88	.....	46	796	514
Indian Territory	.....	130	.....	.....	.....	346	45
Iowa	17	4,353	78	.....	22	591	513
Kansas	1	3,425	28	.....	2	594	119
Kentucky	74	4,050	253	3	22	395	116
Louisiana	30	4,707	120	.....	10	150	90
Maine	.....	128	2	.....	4	471	24
Maryland	84	4,801	192	1	20	102	127
Massachusetts	160	4,931	206	.....	37	142	418
Michigan	9	9,101	91	.....	96	499	335
Minnesota	66	6,558	120	.....	84	1,036	528
Mississippi	2	575	28	.....	.....	32	21
Missouri	107	8,953	206	1	60	718	492
Montana	24	2,098	59	.....	23	124	143
Nebraska	10	2,605	45	.....	18	204	515
Nevada	.....	1,481	36	.....	6	11	56
New Hampshire	2	912	21	.....	5	60	73
New Jersey	78	10,900	180	2	46	280	402
New Mexico	5	986	25	.....	2	12	40
New York	420	34,264	1,191	8	238	460	597
North Carolina	18	774	39	1	.....	227	25
North Dakota	2	977	7	.....	.....	605	67
Ohio	156	18,633	433	12	128	360	657
Oklahoma	2	1,155	16	.....	3	123	144
Oregon	25	2,357	63	.....	28	44	72
Pennsylvania	338	18,591	589	4	244	699	1,083
Rhode Island	17	1,922	46	.....	6	29	56
South Carolina	1	498	5	.....	1	58	13
South Dakota	3	1,293	22	.....	4	104	107
Tennessee	41	2,192	93	.....	4	142	115
Texas	19	3,249	58	.....	17	2,666	343
Utah	14	956	24	.....	5	55	43
Vermont	1	228	2	.....	.....	77	18
Virginia	32	2,502	56	.....	7	151	76
Washington	33	3,780	78	.....	42	103	151
West Virginia	12	1,734	36	.....	31	447	224
Wisconsin	71	11,777	118	.....	159	810	445
Wyoming	3	650	75	.....	3	187	11
Total for year ended June 30, 1906	2,405	243,400	6,311	41	1,747	17,094	10,871

disregarding, of course, the 1,000 unlicensed dealers. In the laboring wards the licensed saloons run as many as one to every 150.

Chicago expended not less than $55,000,000 for beer in 1906.

II. Other Countries

Dr. Dawson Burns, who is considered the best authority on the subject in the United Kingdom, says (*Daily Mail Year Book*, 1907):

Great Britain

The total expenditure in the United Kingdom on distilled and fermented liquors in 1905 may be taken at £164,167,941, which amount, compared with the expenditure in 1904, shows a decrease of £4,819,224. On spirits there was a decrease of £1,857,169; on beer, of £2,922,093; on wine, of £39,962.

As this is the sixth year showing a consecutive annual decreased expenditure on alcoholic liquors, it will be interesting to enumerate each annual decrease since 1899, when the estimated expenditure was £185,927,227—1900 showed a decrease of £1,046,031; 1901, £3,142,953; 1902, £2,238,426; 1903, £5,054,546; 1904, £5,458,106; 1905, £4,819,224; decrease in six years, £21,759,286.

But it should be further observed that the population of the United Kingdom has increased since 1899 to the extent of 2,659,834, or about 6½ per cent; and, if the expenditure had proportionately increased, it would have amounted in 1905 to £198,012,495. But it not only failed to rise to that amount, but fell to £164,167,941, thus giving an actual and proportional decrease of £33,844,554.

Dr. Burns estimates the drink expenditure for 1905 of London at £18,779,906; Liverpool, £2,799,144; Glasgow, £2,449,062; Manchester, £2,253,520; Birmingham, £2,173,100. The capital value of breweries, distilleries, and their licensed property, and of all licensed houses and the trade in all forms in the United Kingdom, was estimated in 1898 to be £230,000,000. The number of breweries licensed 1905–6 was 5,142, compared with 9,050 in 1894–95, there being a strong tendency to combination of the trade in a few large firms.

The German Empire spent (1905–6) 2,826,000,000 marks for alcoholic drinks, compared with 419,000,000 mk. for public schools, according to Dr. Waldschmidt. (*Der Alkoholismus*, March, 1906.) For other countries the extent of the traffic can only be estimated from the amount of their liquor consumption. (See Liquor, Consumption of.)

Reference: See Temperance.

LIST, FRIEDRICH: German Nationalist; born at Reutlingen, Württemberg, in 1789. Professor of political economy at Tübingen in 1817, he resigned in 1819 to devote himself to the development of German industry. Elected to the Diet of Württemberg, he exposed the vices of the administration, and was condemned in 1822 to ten months' imprisonment. Fled to Switzerland, but returning in 1824, was imprisoned at Asperg, later was pardoned and allowed to emigrate to the United States. He settled in Pennsylvania, published here his "Outlines of a New System of Political Economy" (1827), in which he attacked the ideas of Adam Smith, and outlined an economy on a national basis. Having discovered a deposit of anthracite on his grounds, he was able to return to Europe in 1833 with an independent fortune. Settled at Augsburg and devoted himself to an agitation for a suitable system of railway lines and to economic writing. In a fit of despondency he shot himself, Nov. 30, 1846.

Ingram says of him:

> Another element of opposition [to the *laissez-faire* school in Germany] was represented by Friedrich List (1798–1846), a man of great intellectual vigor as well as practical energy, and notable as having powerfully contributed by his writings to the formation of the German Zollverein. His principal work is entitled "Das Nationale System der Politischen Oekonomie" (1841; 6th ed., 1877; Eng. trans., 1885). . . . It was particularly against the cosmopolitan principle in the modern economical system that he protested, and against the absolute doctrine of free trade, which was in harmony with that principle. He gave prominence to the national idea, and insisted on the special requirements of each nation according to its circumstances and especially to the degree of its development. . . . The nation having a continuous life, its true wealth consists—and this is List's fundamental doctrine—not in the quantity of exchange-values which it possesses, but in the full and many-sided development of its productive powers.

LIVERMORE, MARY ASHTON (née **RICE**): Temperance advocate, woman suffragist, lecturer; born in Boston, 1821. Was a pupil and for some time a teacher in the female seminary in Charlestown, Mass. Left this to teach a family school in Virginia, and remained there three years, to return North a radical abolitionist. While teaching at Duxbury, Mass., she met Daniel P. Livermore, a Universalist clergyman, whom she married, devoting herself to aiding his temperance labors. In 1862 she became one of the agents of the northwestern branch of the United States Sanitary Commission, and during that year traveled throughout the Northwest, everywhere organizing sanitary aid societies. In the spring of 1863 she made a tour of the hospitals and military posts on the Mississippi.

After the war she labored in the woman's suffrage and temperance movements. In 1869 she established the *Agitator*, a woman's suffrage paper, but in 1870 became editor of the *Woman's Journal* of Boston. In 1872 she resigned to devote herself to the platform, and for years spoke five nights in the week for five months in the year.

Mrs. Livermore was much interested in politics; was twice sent by the Republicans of her town as delegate to the Massachusetts State Republican Convention, charged with the presentation of woman suffrage resolutions, which were accepted and incorporated into the party platform. She was for ten years president of the Massachusetts Woman's Christian Temperance Union. President of the Woman's Congress during the first two years of its organization, she also served as president of the American Woman Suffrage Association. She died in 1905.

LIVERPOOL: An English city of considerable antiquity. It has been identified as the British port called *Portus Segantiorum* by Ptolemy, the geographer of Alexandria, and dates therefore from the Roman occupation of Britain. The origin of the modern name is doubtful, but the most probable derivation is from the Teutonic *hlith* = a slope; thus Liverpool or Litherpool, as it was sometimes written, may mean the "pool on the slope." The topography of the city gives some support to this theory. The earliest charter of Liverpool was granted by Henry II. in 1173. King John granted a charter in 1207, and the history of Liverpool as a borough may be said to date from the latter year. The growth of the population was slow until the end of the eighteenth century. In 1700 the population was but 5,700 persons. Gradually the maritime and commercial business of the port assumed important dimensions. Beginning with Ireland and the coastwise trade, the merchants rapidly extended their operations to the Virginian tobacco trade, the West Indies, North America, and the west coast of Africa, the latter eventually becoming the most important market. Many of the ships were "privateers," adding the spoils of warfare to the profits of commerce, and quite a large number were engaged in the slave trade between the Guinea coast and the West Indies. From a return made in the year 1771 it appears that 105 ships sailed from Liverpool to Africa, and carried to the West Indies 28,200 negroes. In 1788, when suppression of slavery was agitated, it was stated that the profit to Liverpool from the slave trade amounted to £300,000 per annum. In 1801 the population of the city had risen to 77,000; by 1851 it rose to 375,955; by 1901, to 686,332; and by 1904 to 723,430.

History

The system of docks for which Liverpool is world-famous originated in 1708, when Thomas Steers recommended and carried out the conversion of the "Pool" into a wet dock by impounding the water with flood-gates, so as to keep vessels afloat regardless of tide. The flood-gate had been employed in ancient times, and by the Dutch and Italians at a more modern period, in connection with canals and irrigation, but Liverpool was the first to utilize it in a tidal estuary for the purpose of neutralizing its ebbs and flows. The first dock was opened in 1715. There are now in existence 63 wet docks, the largest of them being capable of accommodating the largest of steamships. The total water area of the docks is about 700 acres with a lineal quayage of about 50 miles. There are also numerous graving docks for repair work. Many of the docks are surrounded by warehouses for the storing of cargo. The Tobacco Warehouse at Stanley Dock, 125 feet high, with a floor area of 36 acres, is probably the largest warehouse in the world, and is capable of storing 60,000 hogsheads of tobacco. Special warehouses have been provided for grain, wool, and general produce. A landing stage for enabling passengers to land and embark at any state of the tide, extends for 2,478 feet along the river-front. The entire Dock Estate, a property of enormous value, is controlled and managed by a body of twenty-eight gentlemen known as the Mersey Docks and Harbor Board, constituted by act

Docks

The Dock Estate

of Parliament. Twenty-four of these are elected by the dock ratepayers, i. e., persons paying rates and dues on ships and goods, and the remaining four are appointed by a commission consisting of three members of the British Government. The aggregate tonnage entering and clearing at Liverpool during the year ending June 30, 1906, was 32,295,712 tons. There is perhaps no greater monument to the wisdom and efficiency of public management than the Liverpool Dock Estate. Without the incentive of individual gain, the representatives of the commercial community devote their best energies to the consolidation and enlargement of the public estate; they receive no remuneration whatever for their services—the position being regarded as an honor to be attained only by the best men in the various branches of trade. No interest, political or otherwise, is allowed the slightest footing in the councils of the board, and it would be difficult to find another instance of services so impersonal, yet highly expert and laborious, being given without any inducement save public spirit and honorable distinction.

Public Ownership

Among the public services which are municipally controlled and managed in Liverpool only the more important can be described here. The Electricity Supply Department of the City Council took over by purchase in 1896 the undertaking of a private company which had operated in the city from 1883. The purchase price was £400,000 and the business had then a total plant capacity of 10,000 horse power. The pressure of supply was 110 volts. Immediately on taking over the system the municipality increased the pressure, and erected new generating stations. On Dec. 31, 1905, the capital expended amounted to £1,849,775, and the surplus profit, after paying all working costs and charges for interest and sinking fund for the year 1905, exceeded £50,775—a large portion of which was handed over to the general fund of the city in reduction of rating. During the year 1905 the department supplied in lighting and power, including supply to the Tramway Department, a total of 31,452,323 units at a charge which averaged 3.172*d.* per unit to private users, 2*d.* per unit for public purposes other than tramway power, and 1.107*d.* for tramway power. The charges have been several times reduced since the service was municipalized. The department is at present (1906) considering a scheme for supplying motors to small workshops on the hire system in order to increase the use of electricity for industrial purposes.

Tramways

The Tramway Department has been similarly successful. Taking over by purchase in 1897 the undertaking of a joint stock company, the city speedily converted the horse tramway into an electric system. The capital expenditure Dec. 31, 1905, stood at £1,898,812, and the length of track operated was 104 miles. The surplus, after paying interest on loan capital, and setting aside sinking fund and depreciation, reserve, and renewal funds, amounted in 1905 to £27,108, which was transferred to general rate account and there served to reduce the rates levied upon the citizens. The success of the municipal tramway undertaking was achieved upon fares greatly reduced (a passenger is carried two miles and a half for 1*d.*), wages of employees increased, and hours of labor shortened by about one third.

Housing

The proper housing of the poorer citizens has for many years exercised the ingenuity of the Liverpool City Council. As far back as 1869 six blocks of cottages, known as St. Martin's Cottages, were erected out of funds of "Capital Personal Estate" belonging to the city. At a later period extensive clearances of slum property were made and the cleared sites were offered for sale on condition that workmen's dwellings at cheap rents should be erected. No purchaser coming forward, the City Council proceeded to erect the Victoria Square Dwellings and the Juvenal Street Laborers' Dwellings (371 tenements in all). These were opened in 1885 and 1890. It was found that, owing to the rent charge being somewhat higher than that of the demolished property, the new dwellings were tenanted by a class of workers superior to the former tenants of the site, the latter being crowded together in "sublet" houses in the neighborhood. It was felt to be desirable to rehouse the poorest of the poor, and eventually a new type of dwelling was designed—plain, but substantial and thoroughly sanitary—in which it was possible to accommodate the former tenants of the slum at a rent averaging about 1*s.* per room. A large number of dwellings have now been built, and the greatest care is taken to let these corporation tenements only to tenants who have actually been dispossest or are about to be dispossest by the slum demolitions of the City Council. Modifications of the original design are frequently made in the direction of greater comfort and convenience. In 1905 the Eldon Street Dwellings were opened. These houses, three stories high, comprizing twelve three-roomed tenements, were built of crusht clinker (from the Council's refuse destructors) and Portland cement, molded into slabs, each slab forming a complete side or roof of a room, openings for doors and windows, as well as fireplaces and flues, being formed in the molding. The staircases, balconies, and chimneys above the roof are similarly molded in blocks. Owing to the difficulty and expense of transporting and hoisting the heavy slabs, this small experiment proved to be expensive. On a larger scale, however, it is expected to work out cheaper than the ordinary brick and mortar dwelling.

According to a report dated March 21, 1906, the Council had erected 1,820 tenements in all, with 4,359 rooms. The cost or valuation of the land for housing purposes and the cost of buildings amounted together to £356,705. The gross annual rental was £17,799. There were also in course of erection or projected, 340 tenements consisting of 951 rooms. For the year 1905 the net receipts, after deducting repairs and expenses, were £7,312—a little over 2 per cent on the capital outlay. It will be seen therefore that the result is not sufficient to pay interest and sinking-fund, and the housing scheme thus necessitates a small charge upon the rates.

The Council has hitherto confined its building operations to the central part of the city. It will before long be compelled to turn its attention to the suburbs where private builders are erecting houses which are likely to deteriorate into slums in a very few years. During the last half century many building by-laws have been made to check the tendency to overcrowd the houses

upon a given area, but much remains to be done. Reformers are demanding increased powers for controlling the planning of streets and building areas on the outskirts of great cities so that ample space shall be secured about every dwelling.

Besides the important departments mentioned above, the city owns landed estate yielding about £100,000 per annum; it has constructed important engineering works for the purpose of procuring a constant and plentiful supply of pure water from the mountains of Wales; it owns and manages six markets which bring in a net revenue of £16,000 a year; it manufactures paving slabs from street refuse; it owns and works two large sewage farms producing crops of rye-grass, cabbages, potatoes, mangel-wurzels, and beet-root, the income from the produce covering the expenses of the farms; it paves its own streets and constructs its own sewers; it collects and disposes of all the refuse of the streets and houses; it constructs its tramways and repairs the cars. Besides these useful undertakings the city provides parks, gardens, recreation grounds, botanic gardens, palm-houses, aviaries, museums, art-gallery, libraries, baths, wash-houses, hospitals, and convalescent homes for the pleasure, health, or instruction of the citizens. Liverpool municipal effort has also largely contributed to the founding of the local university; and numerous elementary and secondary schools, technical schools, a nautical college, industrial schools, are controlled and managed by the City Council. A very recent departure was the establishment of depots for the sale of sterilized milk for infants. It is hoped by this venture to reduce the rate of infant mortality. In addition to the constructive work carried on directly by this enterprising municipality, there is a vast amount done in the way of inspection of private enterprise. A bacteriological department analyzes food and drugs; the medical officer's department inspects bakehouses, common lodging-houses, canal-boats, shippens, milk-shops, insanitary property, workshops where offensive trades are conducted, and endeavors to diminish the smoke nuisance. A special staff of female sanitary inspectors is occupied in visitation among the poorer classes in order to instruct mothers in the care of infants; they also inspect workshops where women are employed, assist the Police-Aided Clothing Association in clothing poor children, and render other useful services.

JOHN EDWARDS.

REFERENCES: Pictou's *Memorials of Liverpool, Handbook compiled for the Congress of the Royal Institution of Public Health*, 1903; Annual Reports of the Medical Officer of Health, Reports of Proceedings of the City Council, Reports of various Committees of the City Council, Reports and Pamphlets of Liverpool Housing Association, Publications of the Liverpool Fabian Society.

LLOYD-GEORGE, DAVID: President of the English Board of Trade (1905) and M.P.; born in 1863, at Manchester, England; educated in the Church School at Llanstymdury and privately. Read law and was admitted to practise as a solicitor in 1884. An eager and enthusiastic Liberal, Mr. Lloyd-George has always been active in politics and has had a most strenuous career. In 1890 was elected to Parliament for the Carnarvon District, North Wales. At the defeat of the Conservatives and the coming in of the Liberal Party in 1905 he was given a portfolio as President of the Board of Trade in the new cabinet formed by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. *Address*: Brynawel, Criccieth, Carnarvon, Wales.

LLOYD, HENRY DEMOREST: Socialist author; born New York City, 1847; educated public schools, Dr. Anthon's School, and Columbia College, class of '67. Studied at Columbia Law School, LL.D.; admitted to New York bar in 1869 and to bar of Chicago in 1872, but never practised. In 1871 he took an active part in the overthrow of Tammany and the Tweed Ring. He was secretary of the American Free Trade League, 1868 to 1872. Delegate for New York to Liberal Republican Convention at Cincinnati in 1872 he opposed the nomination of Horace Greeley. From 1872 to 1885 he was successively literary and financial editor and editorial writer on his *Chicago Tribune*, beginning here his study and observation of the great industrial combinations then forming. In 1881 he published "The Story of the Great Monopoly," the first arraignment of the Standard Oil Company and the railroads in granting it discriminating rebates. This was followed by other articles in like vein, notably "The Lords of Industry." He endeavored to save the lives of the Chicago anarchists, thinking them unjustly condemned. Lloyd gave much time to active work in the labor struggles of his time, was counsel for the Anthracite Miners before the Coal Strike Commission in 1902, and worked earnestly in 1903 for public ownership of the street railways of Chicago. It was in these last labors for the people that he contracted the illness of which he died in Sept., 1903. He was a radical opponent of the private use of public wealth, believing that the producers should own the wealth they produced. His ideals worked toward a cooperative commonwealth where social love would replace the present strife, and could see no limit to the development of man, who in his function of creator is to redeem both himself and society. Politically he believed party to be a necessary evil for the present and had determined to join the Socialists as being the only party which avowed a social ideal, international as well as national, and offered a program for the next great step, namely—the extension of the democratic principles to industry. In addition to the works already mentioned he wrote "Wealth Against Commonwealth"; "Labor Co-partnership"; "A Country Without Strikes"; "Newest England," etc.

LOBBY: "The lobby" is the name given to persons who undertake to influence the members of a legislature and thereby to secure the passing of bills. The term includes both those who, since they hang about the chamber, and make a regular profession of working upon members, are called "lobbyists" and those persons who on any particular occasion may come up to advocate, by argument or solicitation, any particular measure in which they happen to be interested. The name, therefore, does not necessarily impute any improper motive or conduct, tho it is commonly used in an unfavorable sense.

Says Mr. A. R. Spofford, Librarian of Congress, in the *American Cyclopedia of Political Science*, article "Lobby":

> What is known as lobbying by no means implies in all cases the use of money to affect legislation. This corruption is frequently wholly absent in cases where the lobby is most industrious, numerous, persistent, and successful. By casual interviews, by informal conversation, by formal presentation

of facts and arguments, by printed appeals in pamphlet form, by newspaper communications and leading articles, by personal introductions from or through men of supposed influence by dinners, receptions, and other entertainments, by the arts of social life and the charms of feminine attraction, the public man is beset to look favorably upon the measure which interested parties seek to have enacted.

Unfortunately, however, the lobby usually degenerates till it is mainly a lobby in the bad sense. This results almost inevitably from methods of legislation, particularly in the United States. In the U. S. legislatures all business goes before committees—not only private bills, but public bills—often involving great pecuniary interests. To give a bill a fair chance of passing, the committee must be induced to report in favor of it. The committees have no quasi-judicial rules of procedure, but inquire into the subject, and usually by giving hearings on the subject to interested parties. If the committee can be gained the bill usually passes. The fate of a bill, therefore, often really lies in the hands of a few men, tho the responsibility can be thrown on the whole legislature. This gives enormous opportunity for corruption. Great corporations are sometimes interested to the extent of millions on the wording of a bill. Politicians of the lowest type can, therefore, get large bribes from corrupt corporations. This all but compels other corporations to bribe likewise. If the corporation does not, the corrupt corporation will gain the legislation. As a result, the average corporation that seeks a bill goes to the legislature with money in its hand, and still oftener it goes with money to buy off legislation that would injure, legislation often simply introduced to make the corporation pay for preventing its passage, or legislative blackmail. The corporation often has to spend money to gain a perfectly just and right bill. It is on this all but inevitable result of present industrial and commercial methods that the lobby fattens. Nor does the money always need to be corruptly spent. A sharp lobbyist, who knows the ins and outs of legislative practise, who knows many of the legislators, who knows who is corruptible and who not, who knows how to bring political influence to bear in this way or that, can often obtain or defeat legislation without the use of money. He may sell his influence, and the corporation money go into his pocket without his buying the legislators. It is in such ways that around almost all American legislatures has grown up "a third house," which is sometimes more influential than the other two. (See CORRUPTION.)

Efforts have been made to check the practise of lobbying, both in Congress and in state legislatures. Statutes have been passed severely punishing any person who offers any money or value to any member with a view to influence his vote. It has been repeatedly held by the courts that "contracts which have for their object to influence legislation in any other manner than by such open and public presentation of facts, arguments, and appeals to reason as are recognized as proper and legitimate with all public bodies must be held void."

It has been attempted to lessen lobbying by restricting the legislatures. Some states enacted a law compelling all lobbyists to be registered, that it may be known who they are and whom they represent, and exacting an account of all money spent in lobbying. Lobbies have been formed to represent the public interest, but they have no definite organization.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND: Perhaps the most concise way of stating the present position of local government in England is to give the chief items in the accounts of the money received and spent by our local councils. The following figures are taken from the "Annual Report of the Local Government Board, 1905," which deals with the financial year 1902–3. The total receipts of local authorities in England and Wales were (the earlier figures are given for comparison):

1879–80.....	£52,600,000	1901–2.....	£121,500,000
1900–1.....	111,900,000	1902–3.....	129,000,000

Analysing the last year's accounts more closely we find that the total included receipts from:

Rates, £50,000,000 (as compared with £22,000,000 in 1879–1880).

Gas.....	£7,000,000	Tramways.....	£3,750,000
Water-works....	4,000,000	Electricity.....	1,750,000

The total expenditure of these local authorities for this same year 1902–3 was £128,960,000; made up of the following chief items:

Repayment and interest of loans.	£20,280,000
Highways.....	16,600,000
Poor relief.....	15,500,000
Education.....	13,300,000
Tramways.....	7,000,000
Gas.....	6,300,000
Water.....	6,000,000
Police.....	5,900,000
Electricity.....	5,300,000
Sewage.....	4,500,000

The loans outstanding at the end of the year amounted to £370,500,000. All the above figures clearly demonstrate the vast increase in the importance of local government activities and the enormous nature of the sums already involved. It is useful to remember that the national revenue of Great Britain in 1903 was £151,550,000; while the national debt stood at about £650,000,000. There are periodical, perhaps incessant, outcries that the local councils are spending too much money, but this is mainly the criticism of irresponsible persons who do not know the facts. The rational citizen has quite decided that the local councils are making a profitable use of the public money; and that an active policy on the part of the councils is an essential part of civilization. "Municipal trading" is pushing out its boundaries every day, just because it has been demonstrated beyond dispute that the public interest is better served by a public council than by a private company whose chief object is private gain.

Such being, in barest outline, the statistical facts of English local government, it remains to point out the more important problems which arise in this department of our public affairs. There are two problems which most urgently call for solution.

Problems

(1) *The law concerning English local government is in a state of extreme confusion, and must be made precise and clear.* It is a rash deed to write down a generalization from the data of social science, but we may say that the Municipal Corporation Act of 1835 was the first attempt to reduce medieval chaos to modern order in the affairs of local government. Until 1835 the power of local government had been the power to govern a neighborhood as the authorities of that place pleased; there was little attempt to force them to consider the wider interests of the whole nation; each borough had its own customs. The

Act of 1835 laid down a uniform code which was to apply to the bulk of the boroughs of England. This modern process of national uniformity has been continued and extended until at the present time we find our local affairs in the hands of various public bodies (Parish, District, both urban and rural, Borough, and County Councils, Boards of Guardians, and Magistrates), who are called to administer their duties under the terms of comprehensive acts of which the chief are the Local Government Acts of 1888 and 1894, the Municipal Corporations Act of 1882, and the Public Health Act of 1875. So far stated the position seems fairly simple, but closer examination reveals a very remarkable state of things; for example, the Public Health Act, 1875, requires 2,200 closely printed pages of notes and references to over 600 other acts of Parliament to explain its meaning. It is necessary to read innumerable acts of Parliament besides the Municipal Corporations Act before a citizen can understand the powers of borough councils. Besides the main Poor Law Acts of 1601, 1834, and 1868, there are 400 other acts bearing on the subject and explained in 1,800 reported cases. The law of rating is scattered in almost 100 acts and 1,200 cases. Further, special subjects of local government are dealt with by separate acts on tramways, electricity, gas, water, small holdings, allotments, housing for the working classes, burials, police, highways; to enter the domain of local government is immediately to be faced by a long row—many long rows—of acts of Parliament and law books. The layman is helpless in this confusion; be it whispered, the lawyer is often hard prest for an answer. If the people are to govern, if democracy is to be aught but a theory, then the law must be made infinitely more understandable. It must be still more codified and also revised toward more simplicity. There is, for example, no need for district councils; their work could be easily distributed between the Parish Councils and the County Councils. The District Council area is too small for economical administration; it is too large for its members to intimately know the needs of the inhabitants. Then the Boards of Guardians must be abolished and their duties handed over to the County Councils. Come what may, simple law is the price of democratic control.

(2) *The complicated business of local government must ultimately be conducted by the professional expert. The problem before the elected councilors is how to choose the expert official.* It is clear, for example, that the best managers of the city tramways, the electricity supply station, the municipal water-works, are not likely to be chosen by way of the ballot-box; the matter requires detailed discussion which would not be appropriate to the election platform. We must learn to conduct our public affairs as men of sound business sense. The problem is exactly the one before the shareholders in a private company. It is perhaps the greatest merit of the Education Act of 1902 that it will serve as a model for future local government in England. Its "Education Committee" system seems the most hopeful method of finding the proper officials. This system is, briefly, the County Council appoints a number of its own members to sit as an Education Committee; and also coopts a certain number of persons who have special knowledge of education; the whole committee controls the education of its area through the officials whom it selects. This judicious combination of members elected directly by the people and members chosen, indirectly, for their special knowledge, is the basis of a new method in local government, which is perhaps its most significant recent development. The other important fact in this Education Act is that it selects the County Council as the proper authority to undertake great public affairs. No other local governing area is large enough to pay for the very best men or to administer with the utmost economy. The County Council is marked out as the most important administrative body in future English local government.

G. R. S. Taylor.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT INFORMATION BUREAU, THE: This bureau, conducted by the Independent Labor Party, and the Fabian Society of London, England, was formed for the purpose of giving information on the work and powers of municipal bodies, boards of guardians, and other local authorities. The bureau has not been long in existence, and unfortunately is not so well known as it should be; nevertheless the continued prosperity and widening usefulness of the society shows how deeply the work done for its members is appreciated. *Address*: The Fabian Society, 3 Clements Inn, Strand, London, W. C.

LOCAL OPTION: The privilege granted to a political division, as a county or town, of determining whether the sale of intoxicants shall be prohibited within its limits. Local option is prohibition brought down to the level of a workable public sentiment. The difference between the local optionist and the extreme prohibitionist is not in kind but in the size of the political units. Local option crystallizes public sentiment in a given community and brings it to bear upon the liquor question for immediate results. State-wide prohibition is after all but a large kind of local option.

The principle of local option does not refuse to abolish saloons where it can, because it cannot yet abolish them everywhere it would. It is sometimes argued that local option is a compromise with evil. This is not the case. It is prohibitory to the full extent of the public sentiment existing.

It is likewise argued that the saloon is an evil demanding the enactment of prohibitory laws the same as theft or murder. But persons presenting this argument forget that all agree that to steal or murder is wrong, but all do not agree that the traffic in intoxicating liquors is wrong. Vast numbers of our population, who must be regarded as good citizens because they are thrifty and law-abiding, do not believe that the traffic in and use of intoxicating liquors is wrong. With these people a long course of education is necessary to bring them to a full realization and recognition of the immorality and crime attendant upon the traffic in intoxicating liquors.

There are few better methods of education for accomplishing this work than the operation of the local-option principle. The agitation leading up to the annual or biennial local-option elections in the different political units is of immense educational value, and furnishes its advocates frequent and full opportunities for the discussion of the prohibition principle. Every municipality, township, or county that abolishes the saloons is, by the beneficial effects of this act,

a standing argument for the extension of the principle to the larger political units. As the steam in the boiler increases in pressure with the action of the engine, so does the public sentiment of the people develop in proportion to the frequency of the opportunities of putting it into effective operation.

The solution of the liquor problem is too great a task to be accomplished by any one church or political party. We are coming steadily to recognize the necessity of bringing to bear upon it the mobilized public sentiment of all churches and all parties. This can be done only by the separation of the question from all other essential public and political issues of government. Such a separation allows the Church to assume its proper place in the problem of temperance reform, and furnishes frequent opportunities for the exercise of its gifts and graces.

Again, laws abolishing the liquor traffic are not self-acting. No law is operative that has not a public sentiment behind it. The merits of local option may be seen most clearly in what has already been accomplished. The states of Louisiana, Kentucky, Florida, Texas, West Virginia, Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina, Mississippi, and South Carolina, containing a population of 27,000,000, taken as a whole are in point of territory seven eighths prohibition. This has been brought about entirely through local-option laws. In many of the Northern states from large and increasing territory the saloon is being abolished by the application of improved local-option laws which are being enacted by the various state legislatures. While the South is much in advance of the North because of the absence of the foreign population, nevertheless most rapid strides are being made in most of the Northern states. Ohio, for example, which because of its many large cities ranks third or fourth as a saloon state, is rapidly abolishing the traffic. Of the 1,371 townships in the state nearly 1,100 of them have abolished saloons. Of the 763 incorporated villages and cities about 470 are now dry.

Extent

The effort to put these local-option laws in operation has developed a sustained public sentiment, which in most instances compels the enforcement of the law. It has unified and given direction to the efforts of the Church against the liquor traffic. The operation of the law makes possible increased legislation for its application to still larger political units. Hence we conclude that local option is the gradual and natural approach to the ultimate overthrow of the beverage liquor traffic. (See TEMPERANCE.)

PURLEY A. BAKER.

LOCAL PROHIBITION: Term commonly applied to the policy of refusing license to sell intoxicating liquors in municipalities, townships, and counties. It commonly rests upon state statutes giving subdivisions to the state local option (that is, local choice). In a few cases local prohibition is secured for some community by direct act of the legislature, and in some cities, for example Chicago, sections are sometimes placed under a prohibitory policy by the city council. The earliest local option in America was granted in Indiana by the laws of 1832. In 1833 the legislature in Georgia gave local option, to be exercised by the local courts, to two counties in that state. Between 1833 and 1850 many communities in different states secured the right and voted out the legal traffic in liquor. With the rise of the idea of state prohibition interest in local prohibition grew less and was heard of again but little, until after the Civil War. New York readopted a local-option system in 1873, and it has come to be part of the laws of the majority of the states. The theory has three classes of advocates: temperance people who seek to obtain some advantage against the saloon without encountering partizan opposition; politicians who welcome it as an outlet for temperance sentiment without disturbance to party politics; liquor dealers who accept it as a last resort to segregate dangerous temperance sentiment and ward off prohibition of wider extent.

The growth of the Anti-Saloon League, which works almost solely for local prohibition, has caused a wide revival of interest in the subject during the last ten years. The league has introduced the idea of option by "residence districts" in cities, and in the State of Ohio has secured legislation with such provisions.

It needs to be noted that local prohibition deals only with the local evils of the liquor traffic and makes no attempt to cope with its wider financial and political problems. The manufactures and products of a no-license town are sold in license cities in competition with the saloon. The no-license town shares in the bad government made inevitable by the debauchery of politics by the liquor traffic. The youth reared amid clean surroundings go out to find the temptations of the saloon as soon as they pass beyond the shadow of the hearth-tree. Excepting a few of the Southern states, local prohibition has never approached the removal of the saloon from a whole state, and even in the South the centers of population and influence are commonly held by the saloon, either by legal provisions that deprive cities of option on the question, or through the control of the cities by the saloon element.

In favor of the local prohibition theory its advocates urge the principle of "home rule"; against the adoption of local prohibition, the liquor interests present the usual contention of tyranny and alleged "failure."

Radical Prohibitionists deny the right of the legislature to grant local option to a town or county, asserting that the sale of liquor is no more a question for local determination than is horse stealing or the propagation of typhoid fever. The Prohibitionists insist also that, by means of local prohibition, the public conscience is salved, and that the citizens of no-license towns or counties, relieved of the more repulsive manifestations of the liquor traffic, lose sight of its wider evils and forget their responsibility for the state and national features of the problem. Local option being granted, however, Prohibitionists commonly favor the use of the opportunity to perform what they consider a duty neglected by the legislature.

Of the local advantages of local prohibition there has never been ground to doubt, whenever the policy has had opportunity for fair test. No-license towns and no-license cities, compared with license towns and cities, invariably show less crime, less pauperism, and commonly a better condition of public health. Massachusetts has furnished numerous illustrations, the most marked being instances in which in alternate years the same city has had license and no-license. Interesting literature upon this question

is published by the National Temperance Society of New York.

The table which follows shows, with substantial accuracy, the degree to which local prohibition prevails in the principal states. Absolute accuracy is almost impossible, since the facts are not recorded in many states, the local authorities having little control. Colorado and Oregon have newly adopted local-option laws, and Delaware, in which there is already considerable prohibition territory, is upon the eve of a local-option election which is expected to eliminate the saloon from almost the whole state. Georgia, which has just adopted a state prohibitory law, had 125 of its 146 counties under local prohibition before that law was adopted.

State	Number of counties, towns, cities, etc.	Number under local prohibition
Alabama	66 counties	20
Arkansas	75 counties	56
California	.....	Parts of some 8 or 10 counties
Connecticut	168 towns ..	89
Delaware	.....	About one half the state
Florida	46 counties	35
Illinois	.....	10 counties, 500 cities and villages, half of Chicago
Indiana	.....	About 150 towns
Iowa	99 counties	56
Kentucky	119 counties	87
Louisiana	59 parishes	18
Maryland	23 counties	14
Massachusetts	33 cities . 321 towns.	19 249
Michigan	83 counties	1 and a few towns
Minnesota	.....	About ¾ of the rural districts
Mississippi	77 counties	56
New Hampshire	11 cities. 224 towns.	6 183
New Jersey	.....	About 200 towns and cities
New York	933 towns..	308
North Carolina	97 counties	70
Ohio	768 towns..	480
Pennsylvania	.....	1 county and a few towns
South Carolina	41 counties	18
South Dakota	.....	Possibly 15 per cent of the state
Tennessee	All the state under local prohibition except 5 municipalities.	
Texas	243 counties	140 and parts of 55
Vermont	6 cities . 241 towns.	3 cities 208 towns
Virginia	100 counties	72
West Virginia	55 counties	22
Wisconsin	118 cities.. 206 villages 1,104 towns	5 16 223

Oklahoma, which may be admitted to the union as a prohibition state, has many towns under local prohibition. In judging the value of local prohibition indicated in the table above it must be remembered that a very large part of the townships and counties mentioned lie in close proximity to license territory. For example, many of the no-license towns of Wisconsin contain license villages. In New Hampshire the excise boards are empowered to grant hotel licenses in towns that vote no-license. In New York, where there are 308 no-license towns, it is possible in only two small sections of the state to establish a home fifteen miles away from a saloon.

Wm. P. F. Ferguson.

LOCKE, JOHN: Philosopher; born at Wrington, Somersetshire, England, in 1632. His father, a small landowner and attorney at Pensford, was a strict but genial Puritan. "From the time that I knew anything," Locke wrote in 1660, "I found myself in a storm which has continued to this time." Entered Westminster School, and in 1652 went to Oxford. Took his degree of A.B. in 1656, A.M. in 1658; made tutor of Christ Church in 1660, and lectured in Greek, rhetoric, and philosophy the following year. Locke was particularly attracted to the works of Descartes, which first gave him a taste for philosophical subjects.

In 1673 became secretary of the Board of Trade under Earl of Shaftesbury.

Among the writings of Locke during this period is an essay on the "Roman Commonwealth." But the most significant of all is an "Essay Concerning Toleration" (1666).

The fall of Shaftesbury in 1675 enabled Locke to spend four years of quiet in France, at which time at intervals his "Essay on the Human Understanding" was in process of construction, and here he enjoyed the society of distinguished men of letters and science; returned to London in 1679. After Shaftesbury's second downfall Locke retired in voluntary exile to Holland. The "Essay" was finished in 1687. He returned to England in 1689, and his fame as an author was established throughout Europe. He declined the embassy to Brandenburg, and accepted instead the modest office of commissioner of appeals. While in London (1689–90) he published his chief works on social polity, the "Epistola de Tolerantia," addrest to Limborch, and the "Two Treatises on Government," in defense of the sovereignty of the people; his "Essay on the Human Understanding" appeared in 1690. Locke died Oct. 28, 1704, at Oates, in Essex, where Sir Francis Masham had given him a home for many years. He passed away, as he declared, "in perfect charity with all men, and in sincere communion with the whole Church of Christ, by whatever names Christ's followers call themselves."

Locke is of importance in social reform because he is the intellectual father of the eighteenth-century philosophy, which, in France particularly, produced revolutionary ideas. Says Cousin:

> Placed between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries he forms the transition from one to the other. In fact, run over all the sensualistic philosophers of the eighteenth century, there is not one who does not invoke the authority of Locke, and I do not speak merely of metaphysicians, but of moralists, publicists, and critics.

The essence of Locke's philosophy is that there are no "innate ideas." He says:

> Let us suppose the mind to be, as we say, white paper, void of all characters, without any ideas: how comes it to be furnished? Whence has it all the materials of reason and knowledge? To this I answer, in one word, from experience; in that all knowledge is founded, and from that it ultimately derives itself ("Essay on the Human Understanding," Book II.).

From his standpoint materialistic and un-Christian philosophers argued, as Locke did not, an individualistic revolt against the authority both of State and Church. As Locke in his "Civil Government" argued against arbitrary rule, they argued against all rule. (See POLITICAL SCIENCE; NATIONAL LIBERTY.)

LOCKWOOD, BELVA ANN BENNETT McNALL: Woman suffragist; temperance reformer; born in Royalton, N. Y., 1830; graduated Genesee College, 1857; A.M. Syracuse University, 1871; graduated National University Law School, 1873. In 1879 secured passage of bill admitting women to United States Supreme Court. Mrs. Lockwood was attorney of record for 6,000 Eastern and emigrant Cherokees, carrying her case successfully through Congress, the U. S. Court of Claims, and the Supreme Court of the U. S., making extended legal arguments before these bodies with the result that the Supreme Court gave judgment for the Cherokees *versus* the U. S. in the sum of about $5,000,000; secured passage of bill in 1873 giving to women employees of the government equal pay with men for the same work; and with others, in 1896, a bill giving to women of the District of Columbia equal property rights, and equal guardianship of their children, with men; six times a delegate to Universal Peace Congresses held in Europe. Mrs. Lockwood was nominated at San Francisco in 1884 by the Equal Rights Party for the Presidency of the U. S., and again by the same party in 1898 at its convention in Des Moines, Iowa. She has written many articles and brochures on peace and arbitration, and notably an exhaustive paper on "The Legal and Political Status of the Women of the U. S.," published in the Swiss *Jahrbuch* of 1897. *Address*: 619 F Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

LODGING-HOUSES: In every great city the cheap lodging-houses where the homeless poor can pass a night if they are not yet absolutely destitute or dependent upon charity, are among the most wretched spots to be found, and often centers of vice, if not of crime. In Germany, and to a less extent in the United States and other countries, however, clean and cheap lodging-houses have been opened by private charity. New York has some 105 such houses accommodating 16,000 lodgers.

The best known examples of these are the two Mills hotels, in New York City, erected by the philanthropy of Mr. D. O. Mills, and giving attractive hotel accommodation for 2,250 men for twenty-five to forty cents per night. Yet they have paid a fair return.

Boston, New York, Chicago, and other American cities have also established municipal lodging-houses where those who cannot pay can do some work, like splitting wood, and are aided in securing work.

Municipal lodging-houses are found in almost all English cities.

As long ago as 1853 Huddersfield established a municipal common lodging-house, and twenty years later Glasgow tried the same experiment on a larger scale. Since 1879 the corporation has maintained six lodging-houses for men and one for women, in which beds are let at from 3*d.* to 4½*d.* per night. Merely as a commercial experiment this proved a success. The result upon the character of the inmates is, however, far more important than any pecuniary result. These municipal lodging-houses are admirably managed; there is a recreation room, in which lectures are delivered, and music produced, while all possible facilities are provided for washing clothes, cooking, etc.

Paris has three institutes (*refuge de nuits*) absolutely free and where the unemployed are helped to find work.

For Germany, see RELIEF SHELTERS.

The Salvation Army in most cities, the Church Army in London, and similar religious organizations in various cities maintain many such shelters, for ten cents a night, or fifteen cents with a breakfast.

LOMBROSO, CESARE: Specialist in insanity and criminal anthropology; born at Venice, 1836; studied medicine at Turin, and entering the army in the campaign of 1859, was soon made surgeon. In 1862 he took a professorship in diseases of the mind at Pavia, and later became director of an establishment for the insane at Pisaro. From here he went to Turin as professor of medical law and of psychiatry. He has written many works, particularly on criminology (*q. v.*) and criminal anthropology (*q. v.*), on which he is a leading authority. *Address*: 26 Via Lequano, Torino, Italy.

LONDON: London is of special interest in social reform because of its size, giving its social problems an extent which compels attention, and because of its importance, as in a sense the commercial metropolis of the world. "A province covered with houses," it exceeds all Ireland or Scotland in population. It is the largest city in the world.

Growth

Originating, it is supposed, in the Celtic *Llyndin* (Lake Fort), Latinized into *Londinum*, Tacitus mentions it in 61 A.D. as a trading center. In 809 it was the capital of the East Saxons, and was made by William the Conqueror (1066) the capital of England and given a special charter. Since then it has steadily grown, and latterly by absorbing whole towns and villages, as will be seen by the following table:

YEAR	Population	Percentage of England
1350	90,000	3.60
1600	180,000	3.27
1700	550,000	9.16
1801	864,055	9.72
1851	2,362,236	13.18
1881	3,814,571	14.69
1891	4,232,118	15.39
1901	4,536,541	14.49
1906	4,721,217	14.59

POLICE DISTRICTS	POPULATION	
	1891	1901
County of London	4,190,615	4,509,618
60 parishes in Middlesex	542,894	792,316
39 parishes in Surrey	295,759	384,529
19 parishes in Kent	117,121	151,066
15 parishes in Essex	413,679	672,184
16 parishes in Herts	36,036	44,736
City of London	37,702	26,923
Total: "Greater London"	5,633,806	6,581,372

The name London was formerly only applicable to the City with an area of a little over one square mile, and the outside districts grew up without any homogeneity and without a common name until 1855, when they became officially known as the Metropolis. This area became in 1889 the administrative County of London, 118 sq. m. in extent, and as such includes the City, in which, however, certain services are performed by the Corporation which are in the rest of the county performed by the County Council. The administrative County of London had in 1901 a population of 4,536,541.

Greater London or the Metropolis under the Metropolitan and the City Police is made up of all parishes of which any part is within eleven miles of Charing Cross, or of which the whole is within fifteen miles of Charing Cross. It is 693 sq. m. in extent and contains a population of (1906) 7,113,561.

London, except the square-mile City, had no unity of government (which was till 1855). But by the Metropolis Management Act of 1855, a comprehensive system of local administration was provided for the parishes. The ratepayers of each parish elected a vestry of from 18 to 120 members, to whom were added the rector, churchwardens, and in some parishes the district rectors also. In twenty-three cases these bodies were administrative vestries which were given direct control of the local sewers, roads, sanitation, etc. The remaining parishes were grouped into fifteen districts under the administration of district boards appointed by the parish vestries.

Administration

At the head of the system was the Metropolitan Board of Works. It consisted originally of forty-five members, appointed by the City Corporation, the twenty-three vestries, and the fifteen district boards.

Between 1855 and 1888 many changes were made in the details of the Metropolis management system in the direction of direct representation and the constitution of manageable areas. The franchise, too, was extended to that of parochial voters.

The London Government Act of 1899 abolished the vestries and district boards and the parish overseers outside the city, and created the metropolitan borough councils.

The reform of 1899 still left nearly 300 different authorities engaged in the work of public administration in London. The following are the authorities:

London County Council, elected by parochial electors.
Common Council of the City of London, elected by City voters.
Twenty-eight Metropolitan Borough Councils, elected by parochial electors.
Commissioners of Metropolitan Police, appointed by the Home Office to perform functions which in the City of London and everywhere else in England are in the hands of the county or municipal authorities.
Metropolitan Asylums Board, appointed by the Local Government Board and the Boards of Guardians to provide Imbecile Asylums and Fever Hospitals.
Two Sick Asylums Boards, appointed by certain Boards of Guardians to make joint provision for infirmaries.
Four School District Boards, appointed by certain Boards of Guardians to provide joint poor-law schools.
Thirty-one Boards of Guardians, elected by the parochial voters to administer the poor-law.
One hundred and twelve Vestries of City Parishes.
One hundred and fourteen Boards of Overseers of City Parishes.
Metropolitan Water Board, appointed by the County Councils, Metropolitan Borough Councils, Municipal Corporations, and Urban District Councils in the metropolitan water area.
Thames Conservancy Board.
Lea Conservancy Board.

The jurisdiction of the last three bodies and of the police, however, extends far beyond the County of London.

The County Council authority extends over the City for some common purposes, but not for all, while the City Corporation has jurisdiction within the County of London and beyond for markets and port sanitation.

Since the passing of the Local Government Act of 1888 more than 200 measures have been placed upon the statute book giving further powers to the County Council!

In 1903 a bill was passed for the abolition of the School Board and the transfer of the work of that authority to the London County Council, and in December of the previous year a measure was

	Total expenditure	Receipts in aid	Effect of transfers from local to county funds	Distribution of Charge Between	
				Imperial taxation	Rates
London County Council:	£	£	£	£	£
General county account	2,233,395	209,181	+ 581,110	554,104	2,050,079
Special county account	982,272	619,508	+ 71	10,837	381,659
Equalization fund	.....	.....	+ 993,933	.....	993,933
London School Board	3,118,551	13,435	.....	812,580	2,348,496
Metropolitan Asylums Board	767,573	2,844	— 69,966	.....	648 326
Local Government Board	1,722,249	331,302	.....	687,525	724 411
Metropolitan Police—Proportion Common Poor Fund	1,424	.....	+ 1,552,396	.....	1,558,546
Total county authorities	8,825,464	1,176,270	+ 3,057,544	2,065,046	8,705,450
City Corporation:					
City Police	119,364	8,553	.....	.....	115,623
Special rate	35,204	.....	.....	.....	38,036
Consolidated and sewer rates	382,519	82,055	— 5,923	.....	323,772
Other accounts	678,588	678,215	— 373	.....	.....
Ward rates	7,557	.....	.....	.....	6,276
Metropolitan Borough Councils	4,245,303	852,236	— 1,026,666	.....	2,282,460
Market Trustees	11,152	11,152	.....	.....	.....
Guardians	3,417,832	93,636	— 2,024,582	1,211	1,236,024
City Overseers	25,658	945	.....	.....	33,195
Total local authorities	8,923,177	1,726,792	— 3,057,544	1,211	4,035,386
Total	17,748,641	2,903,062	.....	2,066,257	12,740,836

+ Increase. — Decrease.

passed for the purchase of the London Water Companies' undertakings, and their administration by a Water Board.

No complete statement of the expenditure of all the local authorities in London is regularly published, but many of the details are included throughout the Local Taxation returns for England and Wales, from which, for the most part, the figures on page 729 have been compiled for the last year for which statistics are available.

The total given above does not represent the whole expenditure. There must be added the expenditure out of borrowed capital, amounting (in the same year) to £6,149,204. This gives a gross expenditure of £23,897,845, or about £5 5*s.* per head of population, of which £3 18*s.* per head is for current expenditure.

Most of the loans of the other bodies are made through the London County Council, which thus acts as banker to the other public bodies. In March, 1903, 1904, and 1905, the loan liabilities of the Council were:

	1903	1904	1905
Consolidated stock...	£53,761,638	£58,761,638	£63,902,465
London county bills	1,966,160	982,739	1,415,294
Former county loans.	171,765	143,372	117,980
Consolidated Loans Fund advances to capital accounts and to late School Board.....	896,034	854,167	3,574,677
Public Works Loans Commissioners part debt of late School Board.....	.....	.....	2,285,221
Overdrawn balance..	831,342	389,165	291,538
	£57,626,939	£61,131,081	£71,587,175

There are five electorates in London: (1) the Parliamentary Borough; (2) the Parliamentary County; (3) the County Council; (4) the Parochial; and (5) the Common Council; of these only the County Council and the Parochial franchises are identical. Until 1901 the County Council differed in part from the Parochial franchise; but by the London County Council Electors' Qualification Act, 1900, the two electorates were assimilated. The chief alteration was the addition of lodger service, married women, and ownership voters to the County Council franchise, thereby increasing that electorate. The main conditions for the Parliamentary and County Council franchises are to be householders (or servants) with occupation and residence within the borough for twelve months previous to July 15th, or to be occupiers with occupation within the borough as above and residence within seven miles of the borough for six months previous to July 15th, or to be lodgers with occupation and residence as above in qualifying rooms in one definite place within the borough.

Electorate

For Parliamentary purposes London is divided into fifty-eight constituencies, with one member each, except the City, which returns two members. The total electorate at last election (Jan., 1906) was 620,424. There were no uncontested seats, whereas at the previous general election (Oct., 1900) there were no contests in twelve constituencies. Liberal and Labor candidates polled 250,362 votes, and Conservatives 234,216. The results of the last and five previous elections in London were as follows:

	1885	1886	1892	1895	1900	1906
Conservative.....	36	48	36	51	51	19
Liberal.....	23	11	23	8	8	40
Majority.....	[1]13	[1]37	[1]13	[1]43	[1]43	[2]21

[1] Conservative majority. [2] Liberal majority.

The Liberal Unionists are included in the Conservatives.

In 1905 there were 894,368 children of the elementary school class in London, and there was accommodation in council schools for 588,703, and in voluntary schools for 209,119—total, 797,822. There were at that date 545 council schools open, and seven projected, which, with the projected enlargements of six existing schools, together will provide 805,606 school places. In addition to the above there are fifty sites for future requirements; the accommodation to be provided has not yet been settled.

In 1885 the average attendance on the board (now L. C. C.) schools was 298,317. In 1906 it was 495,901. For voluntary schools the figures are 167,242 in 1885 and 165,603 in 1906.

In addition there were 185 cookery centers, 144 laundry centers; and 36 housewifery centers, 200 manual training centers, 75 centers for the instruction of mentally defective children, 17 centers for the instruction of physically defective children, 12 centers for the education of the deaf, 10 centers for the blind. The Council has seven industrial schools, two truant schools, three day industrial schools, an industrial home for little boys, and several residential schools for the defective. Secondary schools are also being somewhat rapidly developed.

For higher education the Council has adopted the policy of subsidizing existing institutions, polytechnics, technical institutes, trade and workshop classes, art schools, some eight colleges, several secondary schools.

In 1902 a Metropolitan Water Board was created which in 1903 took over the plants of the private companies, paying the companies £30,000,000 in cash and debentures of £11,000,000, the companies having claimed £50,000,000.

For electric supply and street lighting the Board of Trade can grant orders, to be confirmed by Parliament, for installation by companies or municipal bodies, the preference being given to the latter. Companies once installed cannot be bought out except by friendly agreement for forty-two years, for the "then value," without additional pay for good-will. Some sixteen municipal undertakings have been begun.

London's gas is supplied by three principal gas companies consolidated from fifteen in 1870, which in 1905 received some £6,000,000 with gross profits of some £1,500,000. The price raised from 2*s.* to 2*s.* 11*d.*

Municipal Ownership

As to tramways, of the 120 miles of tramway in London practically all the lines in the County of London have been acquired by the Council. According to the London Manual for 1905, the results have been as follows:

(1) The relief of rates from the profits of the undertaking.

(2) The institution of all-night car services.

(3) The running of workmen's cars at reduced fares.

(4) Reduced fares for ordinary passengers on many of the principal routes.

(5) The removal of advertisements from the windows of the cars.

(6) The institution of a ten-hours day (or sixty hours per week) for all tramway employees.

(7) The recognition of the principle of "one day's rest in seven."

(8) Increased wages for employees.

(9) Provision of uniforms for drivers and conductors.

The tramways, however, as yet play a minor part in London's transit systems. It is estimated that the metropolitan and other railroads bring 1,000,000 people into the city every day. The omnibuses carried 265,500,000 passengers in 1900. Cabs and carriages are very numerous and cheap. The underground railroads carry some 160,000,000 per year.

For the large work done by the London County Council on the housing question, see HOUSING.

But the problem still remains unsolved and acute. (See OVERCROWDING.) The death-rate of London, however, has steadily fallen since the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1881 the death-rate was 21.6 per 1,000, less than that of the twenty other largest cities of England; in 1899, 19.4, and in 1904 (for administrative county area), 16.1, much less than the birth-rate. Nevertheless conditions are anything but satisfactory. Says a Fabian tract, No. 45 (1904):

Poverty

"As regards the four millions of persons in the metropolis, Mr. Charles Booth tells us that 37,610, or 0.9 per cent, are in the lowest class (occasional laborers, loafers, and semi-criminals); 316,834, or 7.5 per cent, in the next (casual labor, hand-to-mouth existence, *chronic want*); 938,293, or 22.3 per cent, form 'the poor' (including alike those whose earnings are small, because of irregularity of employment, and those whose work, tho regular, is ill paid). These classes, on or below the 'poverty line' of *earnings not exceeding a guinea a week per family*, number together 1,292,737, or 30.7 per cent of the whole population. To these must be added 99,830 inmates of workhouses, hospitals, prisons, industrial schools, etc., making altogether nearly 1,400,000 persons in this one city alone whose condition even the most optimistic social student can hardly deem satisfactory ('Labor and Life of the People,' edited by Charles Booth, 1891, vol. ii., pp. 20–21).

"The ultimate fate of these victims it is not easy adequately to realize. In London alone, in 1902, no less than thirty-four persons, of whom twenty-four were fifty years old and upward, were certified by the verdicts of coroners' juries to have died of starvation, or accelerated by privation. Actual starvation is, however, returned as the cause of death in but a few cases annually; and it is well known that many thousands of deaths are directly due to long-continued underfeeding and exposure. Young children especially suffer.

"In London one person at least in every four will die in the workhouse, hospital, or lunatic asylum. In 1900, out of 84,534 deaths, 48,955 being twenty years of age and upward, 13,542 were in workhouses, 10,572 in hospitals, and 345 in lunatic asylums, or, altogether, 24,459 in public institutions (Registrar-General's Report)."

London's markets have long been a scandal in the opinion of the Fabian Socialists. A Fabian tract says:

"The Corporation of the City is the largest owner of London's market property, levying an annual market revenue of about £217,000 against an expenditure of some £95,000 and a payment of £96,000 for interest on market debt. The parish of St. Saviour, Southwark, absorbs a net annual income of over £7,000 from the Borough Market, which is virtually a subsidy levied on London's potato supply in aid of the local rates, and so of the local landlords.

"Out of the total, moreover, the Duke of Bedford draws at least £15,000 a year from Covent Garden; and Sir Julian Goldsmid, M.P., a clear £5,000 a year net rental from his monopoly of the right to hold a market by Spital Church. This is an utterly unjustifiable tax on the food of the people.

"These monopoly rights are derived, not from any express charter or enactment, but by an old inference of the common law. What Charles II. gave to the Duke of Bedford's ancestor and Sir Julian Goldsmid's predecessor was merely the permission to hold a market; it is the lawyers who invented the doctrine that such a permission implies the prohibition of competing markets within about six miles and two thirds."

The London County Council is claiming that the various local authorities have the right to establish smaller retail markets and is taking steps in this direction. Various proposals are being put forth for municipalizing the port of London and buying out the dock companies.

The immense importance of the port of London may be gathered from the fact that the total tonnage entered in 1904 was 17,073,852 tons. Liverpool, which ranks next in the United Kingdom in the quantity and importance of its shipping, had a tonnage entered of 11,083,856 tons. Of continental ports Hamburg comes first with 9,611,732 tons, which is equal to 56.3 per cent of London's total. Then follow Antwerp with 9,400,335 tons, or 55 per cent, and Rotterdam with a total of 7,657,907 tons, equivalent to 44.7 per cent of that of London.

Commerce

In 1901 the total valuation was £39,643,618; in 1906 it was £43,486,437, an increase of £3,842,819 in the quinquennium. Between 1901 and 1905 the average of the supplemental lists, which may be taken as the average annual value of new property, was £503,362. The increase of the revaluation of 1906 over the 1905 valuation was, however, £1,829,371, and the excess of this over the average annual value of new property may be taken as representing the increase in the general value of property in London, and as indicating to some extent the "unearned increment" of five years. It amounted to £1,326,000. Included in the quinquennial valuation of 1901 are the ratable values of the following special properties: Railways, £2,307,864; tramways (including, L. C. C.), £140,575; gas, £923,924; electricity, £202,729; water, £634,206; canals, £19,192; docks, £226,770; hydraulic, £30,018; telephones and telegraphs, £32,456. Total, £4,517,734.

The total gross value (used for king's taxes) is £52,928,707; but as there is no gross valuation put upon government property, the total gross value of London corresponding to the total ratable value cannot be given. On the basis of the known values, however, the gross rental value

of London may be put at £53,643,000, gross value being on an average 23 per cent higher than ratable value.

The supreme control of the London police force is vested in a chief commissioner (appointed by and acting under the control of the Home Office), who is assisted in his task by three assistant commissioners and five chief constables. The strength of the force Jan. 1, 1905, was 30 superintendents, 539 inspectors 2,148 sergeants, and 14,129 constables, giving a total of 16,846; but of these nearly 2,000 were retained by the government for service at the dockyards, military stations, and other State establishments. The cost is over £1,750,000, and the revenue is derived from the proceeds of a 5*d.* rate and from a government grant qual to a 4*d.* rate.

(See also LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL; LONDON REFORM UNION.) ROBERT DONALD.

REFERENCES: *The London Manual*, Robert Donald, editor; Loftie's *London City, Its History, Streets, Traffic, Buildings, and People* (1891); Herbert Fry, *London in* 1899; Besant's *London* (1902); C. Booth's *Life and Labor of the People in London* (17 vols., 1889 to 1902).

Some helpful addresses:
London Reform Union, Trafalgar Buildings, Northumberland Avenue, W. C.
Fabian Society, 3 Clement's Inn, Strand, W. C.
Independent Labor Party, 23 Bride Lane, Fleet Street, E. C.
Labor Party, 28 Victoria Street, Westminster, S. W.
Social Democratic Federation, 21a Maiden Lane, Covent Garden, W. C.
London Arbitration Board, London Chamber of Commerce, Oxford Court, near 109 Cannon Street, E. C.
General Federation of Trade-Unions, Temple Chamber, Temple Avenue, E. C.
International Cooperative Alliance, 22 Red Lion Square, W. C.
Cobden Club, 28 Victoria Street, S. W.
English League for Taxation of Land Values, 376–7 Strand, W. C.
London School of Economics, Clare Market, Kingsway, W. C.
National Educational Association, Surrey House, Victoria Embankment, W. C.
Garden City Association, 348 Birkbeck Bank Chambers, W. C.
Land Nationalization Society, 432 West Strand, W. C.
National Housing Reform Council, 432 West Strand, W. C.
Central Public House Trust Association, 15 Dean's Yard, Westminster, S. W.
United Temperance Council, Memorial Hall, Farrington Street, E. C.
Charity Organization Society, 15 Buckingham Street, W. C.
Salvation Army Headquarters, Queen Victoria Street, E. C.
Church Army, 130 Edgewall Road, N. W.
Guild of St. Matthew, 376 Strand, W. C.
British Institute of Social Service, 11 Southampton Row, S. W.
British Women's Temperance Association, 47 Victoria Street, S. W.
Central Society for Women's Suffrage, 25 Victoria Street, S. W.
Women's Industrial Council, 7 John Street, Adelphi, W. C.
National Union of Women Workers, 9 Southampton Street, High Holborn.
Young Woman's Christian Association, 25 George Street, Hanover Square, W.
Toynbee Hall, 28 Commercial Street, E.
Mansfield House, Canning Town, E.
Oxford House, Snape Street, Bethnal Green, E.
Maurice Hostel, 64 Britannia Street, City Road.

LONDON, JACK: Socialist, novelist; born in San Francisco, Cal., 1876; educated in the University of California. To gain material for writing he became (1893) successively sailor, gold-miner, salmon-fisher, oyster pirate, fish-patrol, longshoreman, seal hunter in Bering Sea, and in 1900 began writing his very successful novels. But became interested in social subjects and eventually a Socialist. To get further experience he tramped over the United States and Canada, more than once getting into jail, and living also as a vagabond in East London. He went to the Klondike in the gold rush of 1897, then as war correspondent to Japan and Manchuria. He was nominated Socialist candidate for the mayoralty of Oakland, Cal., and has done much lecturing for the Socialist Party. In 1906 he started on a seven years' cruise around the world, in a fifty-foot yacht. Among his novels are: "The Son of the Wolf" (1900); "The Call of the Wild," "The Sea Wolf" (1904); "The Game" (1905); "Before Adam" (1907). His main Socialist writing: "War of the Classes." *Address*: Glen Ellen, Sonoma County, Cal.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL, THE: The London County Council was established in 1889 by act of Parliament under the Local Government Act of 1888. (See LONDON.)

The Council consists of 19 aldermen, 118 councilors, and a chairman. Aldermen serve 6 years, and 9 or 10 must retire every 3 years, but may be reelected. The councilors are elected for 3 years. The councilors are elected directly by the rate-payers; and they elect the aldermen from their own members. The positions of aldermen and councilors vary only in regard to the term of office.

The powers and duties of the Council may be grouped under four heads: *First*, those formerly belonging to the Metropolitan Board of Works, e. g., raising and borrowing money, and loaning money to the councils of the metropolitan boroughs; drainage, and the sanctioning of local sewers; fire-brigade; parks and open spaces; construction of embankments; Thames crossings—bridges, tunnels, and ferries; street improvements—building lines, width of new streets, naming and numbering of streets; supervising buildings and district surveyors; dangerous structures; construction of theaters, music halls, artizans' dwellings; cattle diseases; testing of gas, gas-meters, and electric meters; protection of infants' life, etc. *Second*, powers transferred from former county judges affecting the granting of music and dancing licenses; provision of asylums for pauper lunatics, of reformatory and industrial schools; testing weights and measures; county buildings; coroners, and other minor matters. *Third*, powers transferred from various sources in regard to highways, licensing of theaters, slaughter-houses, cattle-yards; supervision of common lodging-houses, etc. *Fourth*, new powers in regard to the registration of voters, public health, historic buildings; inspection of factories and fire-escapes; suppression of nuisances; regulation of traffic; administration of the Shop Hours' and Shop Seats' Acts, of the Employment of Children Act, of the Midwives Act; reformatories for inebriates; registration of automobiles; the establishment of a steamboat service on the Thames, etc. Since the passing of the Education Act (London, 1903), the Council has become the authority for all public education in the county, both elementary and higher. As the central representative body of London, the Council is interested in numerous other affairs, and has delegates on all the important boards in London.

The Council elects numerous committees which report at the weekly meeting. The *Finance Committee* is the most important and has many statutory powers, since the Council is the principal money-raising body for all the different local boards in the county. It has a gross debt of £74,500,000. The annual expenditure amounts to £15,000,000, more than one third of which goes for education.

No costs, debt, or liability exceeding £50 may be incurred by the Council, except on a resolution passed on an estimate submitted by the Finance Committee. The *Asylums Committee* have special powers under the Lunacy Acts, and manage eight asylums. An experimental working colony for 300 male epileptics has been established on the Horton estate, and a new asylum for 2,000 patients is in course of erection. The different institutions provide for 17,000 patients. The *Housing of the Working Classes Committee* perform the duties conveyed to the Council by the Housing of the Working Classes acts, including the clearance of insanitary areas and the building of dwellings for working men. The Council has established a model municipal lodging-house for men at Parker Street, Drury Lane; and another for 800 men at Mill Lane, Deptford. In 1906 a third house of this class was opened. The Council has also built a large number of houses on estates in the suburbs, which are self-supporting. The *Bridges Committee* are concerned with the crossings and embankments of the Thames.

The most popular work of the Council is that connected with parks and open spaces.

The *Main Drainage Committee* have in charge the disposal of sewage. There are 290 miles of main, storm-relief, intercepting, and outfall sewers; nine pumping-stations and two sewage precipitation stations. The sewage of London is conveyed to Barking and Crossness, and there the solid matters held in suspension are precipitated, the harmless effluent being allowed to flow into the river. The Council obtained an act in 1900 for a comprehensive scheme of enlarging the main drainage system, and this was supplemented in 1904 by a scheme of extensive flood relief works. Work on these schemes is well under way. The total expenditure on main drainage up to March 31, 1905, was £9,633,000.

The Council has gradually bought up the different tramway systems of London, and is now in possession of all the tramways with the exception of a few miles, chiefly in the northwest—the system of the London Southern Company having been acquired in 1906. The Council leased one of the purchased lines to the North Metropolitan Tramways Company for a period of years expiring in 1910. But in 1906 the Council compensated the company for the surrender of the lease and took over the working of the line with a view to reconstructing all London tramways for the purpose of installing electric traction. The lines south of the river are furnished with an electric system, and 60 miles of double track are already equipped and working. The total of mileage of tramways under the Council is 110; 50 miles north and 60 south of the river. The system is extended constantly. The total capital outlay on tramways up to March 31, 1906, was £4,724,477; the outstanding debt, £4,274,459; the yearly revenue is about £1,400,000.

The *Education Committee* is composed of 38 members of the Council and 5 cooptated lady members. During 1904–5 the Council had a staff of about 20,000 teachers, 17,000 of whom were engaged in public elementary schools; there was an administrative staff of 500, and a corps of about 400 attendance officers. The average roll of public elementary schools was about 750,000. The estimates of expenditure for 1906–7 for education is £5,177,132, of which £4,322,798 is for elementary and £854,334 for higher education. The latter includes now evening schools, pupil teachers' centers, secondary schools, polytechnics, and technical schools, and university teaching.

The charge falling on the rates, after deducting grants and other receipts in aid, is £3,441,990, or 1*s.* 7*d.* in the pound—an increase of 1*d.* in the pound over 1905–6.

The attempt of the Council to provide better facilities for traffic on the Thames by means of a good steamboat service has not been financially successful, and the boats have been laid off over the winter of 1906–7 until spring.

The Council obtained authority from Parliament in 1906 to build a new county hall.

The Council has two principal sources of revenue —the sale of stock and the county rate. The Imperial Exchequer makes contributions, chiefly for education. The current expenses, interest on debt, are paid out of the rates; disbursements in behalf of working-class dwellings and street improvements are generally recouped from receipts. Capital expenditures and current expenses of tramways are wholly covered by receipts. Permanent disbursements, e. g., purchase of tramways, are met by the sale of stock or bonds. During the year 1906 the Council issued no London County Council Consolidated stock, but provided for its capital expenses partly by stock issue of 1905, partly by London County bills. All borrowings of the Council are subject to the provision of a sinking-fund—under treasury approval—sufficient to repay all expenditure within sixty years. The total stock now outstanding amounts to £67,000,000. The rating for 1906–7 is 2*s.* 9¼*d.* per pound over the whole county, including the city; and a further rate of 2¾*d.* per pound over the county outside the city—owing to street improvements in the new parts. This includes 1*s.* 7*d.* for education.

The assessable value of the county on April 6, 1906, was £43,477,772; the estimated amount of a 3*s.* rate per pound for 1906–7 is £6,460,246.

The Council from its beginning until the last election has had a majority of Progressives, including such well-known Labor and Fabian leaders as John Burns, Sidney Webb, Graham Wallas, W. Crooks, W. C. Steadman, H. Gosling, and others.

THE RESULT OF ELECTIONS LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL

	Councilors			Aldermen			Prog. majority
	Prog.	Mod.	Ind.	Prog.	Mod.	Ind.	
1889....	73	45	.....	18	1	.....	45
1892....	83	34	1	17	1	1	65
1895....	58	59	1	12	5	2	6
1898....	69	48	1	12	7	.....	25
1901....	84	31	3	14	5	.....	62
1904....	83	34	1	14	5	.....	58
1907....	36	79	3	.....	.....	.....	(1)

[1] A majority of 40 councilors for the Moderates.

In 1907 the elections favored the Moderates, largely owing to desperate efforts on the part of private interests to defeat the Progressive program of municipalism and using the immediately increased expenditures as their weapon, while ignoring the prospective and partly realized income from the expenditures.

LORIA, ACHILLE: Professor of economy; born at Mantua, Italy, 1857. He held a pro-

fessorship first at Sienna, and since then has been at Padua. Cossa places him among the ablest of Italian economists, and says of his views: "In criticizing the established order of things economic he goes with the Socialists, lavishing upon them expressions of attachment with a profusion which is quite out of place, and yet he will none of their schemes and remedies, and abides steadfastly in the expectation that the course of nature will heal social wounds by a simple process which is already at work and consists in the 'diffusion' of property and the 'elision' of rent." Author: "La rendita fondiaria e la sua elisione naturale"; "La legge di popolazione ed il sistemà sociale"; "Carlo Darwin e l'economia politica"; "Analisi della proprietà capitalista" (2 vols.).

LOS ANGELES FELLOWSHIP, THE: An association of people united together for the purpose of encouraging trustful and unselfish living. Other than this purpose, this young and virile organization authorizes no platform, program, or creed. The fellowship is the direct outgrowth of a series of addresses delivered in southern California by the Rev. B. F. Mills during the winter and spring of 1904. It is not a church in the technical sense, but yet in the best sense it means to be thoroughly religious and to endeavor to be what a church ought to be and do all that a living church should do for the community. The founder of the fellowship declares: "This society means to meet the demand of our time, a time when, as Mazzini says, 'The old world passes away but a new world comes into existence.'" It proposes to minister to every need of humanity, individually and collectively. The object of this organization is nothing less and it could be nothing greater than the attempt to put the true content into the idea of religion.

The officers of the society are not rulers but administrators.

The fellowship has adopted the two great modern principles of the initiative and referendum and of the recall or imperative mandate, by which methods the entire membership is enabled to partake in the government of the fellowship and in the administration of its affairs. The officers are Benjamin Fay Mills, Permanent Minister and President of the Council; Mary Russell Mills, Senior Associate Minister; Clarence Thompson, Assistant Minister, and a Board of Trustees. Clark R. Mahan, Associate Secretary. Offices, 434 South Hill Street, Los Angeles, Cal.

LOTTERIES. See GAMBLING.

LOVEJOY, ELIJAH PARISH: Abolitionist; born at Albion, Me., 1802. Studying theology at Princeton, was ordained a Presbyterian minister in 1833, and became editor of the St. Louis *Observer*, a religious paper. While disclaiming any connection with the abolitionists, he nevertheless wrote sympathetically of the antislavery agitation, which was then beginning. This greatly offended many of the citizens, and the feeling against him increased in bitterness, until finally the office of the *Observer* was destroyed by a mob. He then resolved to remove his paper to Alton, Ill., but as soon as his press was brought there a mob broke it into fragments. The town reimbursed him for his loss, and another press was procured, only to be destroyed by the mob. He bought a third press, but it met the same fate. By this time the question had become serious. A convention comprizing many of the noblest men in Illinois was held at Upper Alton. It supported him and bought another press, which arrived Nov. 7, 1837. At midnight a mob of thirty or forty men came from the neighboring drink-shops and commenced to throw stones at the warehouse, to fire shots, and at last attempted to burn it. The roof being set on fire, Mr. Lovejoy and several others stepped out and were fired upon by the rioters. One of the bullets struck Mr. Lovejoy, who only lived long enough to return to the warehouse.

LOVEJOY, OWEN R.: Secretary (1907) of the National Child Labor Committee; born 1866 at Jamestown, Mich. Graduated from Albion College, 1893. Minister in Methodist Episcopal Church in Michigan (1893–1900) and in Congregational Church, Mt. Vernon, N. Y. (1900–6). Assistant secretary of the National Child Labor Committee since 1905, mainly engaged in investigation of child-employing industries in the Northern states. He believes that society is to become politically and industrially democratic and free in the production and use of the ever-increasing store of wealth, through the development of higher ethical standards and systematic training for industrial efficiency.

LOVETT, WILLIAM: Chartist; born near Penzance, Eng., 1800. He was apprenticed to a ropemaker, then moved to London in 1821, where he found a precarious living in cabinet-making and by opening a confectionery store. Joining the First London cooperative association he became (1830) secretary of the British Association for Promoting Cooperative Knowledge, which, however, failed in three or four years. Becoming acquainted with Owen Coblett and others, he became active in various reforms—for the opening of museums on Sunday, against stamp-duties on papers, etc. In 1831 he refused to serve in the militia and execution was levied on his furniture, tho this led to Parliament's abolishing drawing. He was arrested in 1832 for taking part in a procession (rioting), but was soon acquitted. He joined the National Union of the Working Classes (1831) and the London Working Men's Association (1836). He drafted the bill afterward circulated as the "People's Charter." (See CHARTISM.) He was secretary of the first Chartist's Convention. He was imprisoned several times, once for twelve months. In 1844 he organized a society for political refugees, called Democratic Friends of All Nations. In 1848, with Hume and Cobden, he formed a People's League to try and unite the middle classes and the working men. For this he was much criticized by O'Connor and other Chartists, and after this he largely devoted himself to educational reform. He tried teaching and wrote extensively. He died in 1877. His main works are: "Chartism" (1841); school text-books, and an "Autobiography." (See CHARTISM.)

LUDLOW: One of the best model villages in America, near Springfield, Mass., where the Ludlow Manufacturing Associates (jute and hemp mills) offer over 500 attractive houses to their employees. No land can be bought, at any price, in the portion of the village owned by the company, and on which all the houses stand. The houses, tho built on streets somewhat scattered

and picturesquely placed, are built too closely together (tho they do allow of small gardens in front and behind), and tho with considerable variety in their own architecture, are in too stiff rows to be altogether pleasing. Nevertheless, the company does offer wonderfully convenient and attractive houses, at marvelously low rents for what is offered. Rents, across the river, outside the company's grounds, are almost twice as high for equal accommodations. Yet the company finds that it pays, and more than pays. Commencing in a small way, it is now steadily and rapidly putting up new streets of buildings. And the employees appreciate them. Wages in Ludlow are not high, yet the employees are more than content. An almost luxurious memorial clubhouse with appointments of parlors, billiards, gymnasium, swimming-baths, etc., offer both the men and young women unusual opportunities. A fair house, eight rooms and bath, rents for $10.75 per month. Running water is furnished all the houses and baths, gas for cooking, steam-heat, and electric-heat can be had at only slight additional cost. Attractive apartments for girls only can be had at $2.75 per week for a single room and full board. Boys and girls earn from $4 to $6 per week, and women (spinners) from $6.50 to $9. (See MODEL VILLAGES.)

LUDLOW, JOHN MALCOLM: English lawyer associated with Maurice and Kingsley in their Christian socialism, and to a degree the originator of the movement. A letter of his to Maurice, written from Paris in 1848, and describing the French Socialist movement of that period, seems first to have directly turned Maurice's thoughts in the direction of Christian socialism. Ludlow was associated with Maurice and Kingsley in the weekly paper, *Politics for the People*, and in 1850 he became editor of the *Christian Socialist*, which became in 1851 the *Journal of the Association*. He also wrote for the series "Tracts by Christian Socialists." Among those who started in 1850 the first association of cooperative working tailors Ludlow was prominent, and was one of the convening committee of the first cooperative congress in London, in 1860, together with Kingsley, Hughes, and Neale. After that date he took little prominent part in social reform save to write certain able articles on the early Christian Socialists in *The Economic Review* (Oct., 1893) and *The Atlantic Monthly* (Jan., 1896). *Address*: 35 Upper Addison Gardens, W. London, England.

LUTHER AND SOCIAL REFORM: A well-known modern writer has represented the German Reformation as mainly an economic revolt. Such a view is inadequate. At heart the movement was deeply religious, and even its theological aspects became, as the years passed, increasingly important. But this much is true—the beginning of the movement was a protest against an economic injustice, and this tangible economic side of the revolt was what brought to it the support of the people and the secular rulers. Luther became a force to be reckoned with by pope and emperor when he was seen to be striking at great social wrongs When the popular religious life, the intellectual power of humanism, the new patriotism—the whole revolutionary upheaval of medieval life that marked the age—seemed in Luther to have found a voice, he became the central figure in Germany and the leader of a great national movement.

This gave popular force to the famous Theses. Ostensibly academic propositions from a scholar and for scholars, they were really words of earnest practical appeal and warning. That indulgences deceive and debase the people was their theme, and the monetary aspect of this wrong Luther keeps well to the fore.

"Christians should be taught," he says, "that he who gives to a poor man, or lends to a needy man, does better than if he bought pardons. Because by a work of charity, charity increases, and the man becomes better, while, by means of pardons, he does not become better, but only freer from punishment" (Thesis 43).

The wrong that he attacks is a gross form of the world-old substitution of churchism for true religion. The words which set Germany on fire were directed not against wrong theology, but against a church which had become a great financial system, enormously corrupt, but also enormously efficient in extorting the money of the people. Because the evil was grown intolerable and Luther's words rang true, men of every class rallied to his side. The princes with their increasing territorial power protected him from the common fate of heretics. The towns with their rapidly growing wealth and influence backed his program of reform. And the opprest peasantry hailed him as their prophet.

Economic Views

In 1520 Luther, the acknowledged leader of radical Germany, presented in three treatises his full position. The address "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation concerning the Reformation of the Christian Commonwealth" outlined in twenty-seven specific recommendations his positive program. Seven of these, a fourth of the whole, concern distinctly social questions. One urges the reform of popular education. Two discourage religious pilgrimages.

"Let the priest tell [the intending pilgrim] to spend his money, and the labor a pilgrimage would cost, on a thousandfold better work, namely, on his family and on his poor neighbors."

In the same spirit he denounced monasticism and the numberless saints' days. Granted their holy origin and the pope's approval, they must be abolished because in men's use of them they dishonor God. So he attacked begging, even when encouraged by religion, as an economic menace, and proposed that each town should feed its own poor and no others. To strip such questions of all pretense to sacredness and consider them merely in relation to the common good was a great advance step, as it was also a return to the attitude of Jesus. Many a genuine wrong fortified by the name of religion can be destroyed when we insist on regarding it only as economically and socially bad.

The last recommendation addrest to the secular affairs takes up what he regarded as the great social perils of his time. Were he to have used modern terms he would have named them extravagance and debt, the unrestrained power of the trusts, intemperance, and the social evil. Luther was afraid of the increasing tide of imports, particularly of expensive luxuries. He could not understand the use of credit, and so, in true medieval fashion, condemns it as an invention of the devil. But with all his foggy economics, the earnestness of his warning persuades us that he saw a real menace to society. And we, who live in a like time of rapidly increasing

wealth and rising values, may recognize it as money-madness, with its accompaniments of extravagance, speculation, debt, and greed. Related to this was the menace of the powerful commercial companies, like the Fuggers of Augsburg. In the then unsettled state of Germany, commerce ran many risks, but its profits were even greater. The questions we are still asking about this source of wealth were already in Luther's mind.

"Is it possible," he says, "that in a single man's lifetime such great wealth should be collected together, if all were done rightly and according to God's will? I am not skilled in accounts. But I do not understand how it is possible for 100 guilders to gain twenty in a year, or how one guilder can gain another, and that not out of the soil, or by cattle, seeing that possessions depend not on the wit of men, but on the blessing of God."

This was the May-time of the Reformation. Luther was writing on great questions of theology and the Church, but also on things that imperiled sobriety and industry among the people. In the social reforms he urged he was conservative, with no thought of a reorganization of the whole social structure, but he was not narrow. The whole scope of life, even down to its basis of economic justice, occupied his vision.

The Reformation marked a long step forward in the slow progress toward democracy. Only in democracy could its essential principles find complete expression. But, since a man seldom understands all the implications of his teaching, we may well ask Luther's attitude toward the democratic ideal. In "The Liberty of the Christian Man" (1520) he defends the thesis that the Christian man is free of all restraint, but is also under obligations to serve all. In particular, the priest is no different from any ordinary Christian, save in that he has a special task to perform. So of every class in society. One is not superior to another, but each has his own duty to perform for the whole body. And to Luther this was more than the beautiful dream that, through the centuries, has found so many noble expositions. In the "Address to the Nobility" he argued frankly that not the consecration of pope or bishop, but the consent of the people, gives authority to priest or bishop.

"For, since we are all priests alike, no man may put himself forward, or take upon himself, without our consent and election, to do that which we have all alike power to do." "We teach clearly, according to the Apostle, that every town should elect a pious, learned citizen from the congregation, and charge him with the office of minister."

And not only did he carry this into practise, but writing to the Bohemian churches in 1523 he further maintained the right of the congregations of a district to elect a bishop, and so build up a national church on a democratic basis.

Such radical views of the structure of the Church would readily spread to the secular power.

Reactionary Views

A treatise of 1523 on "The Temporal Authority" is in spirit thoroughly revolutionary. But this marked the high tide of Luther's iconoclastic teaching. The radical movement at Wittenberg during his concealment at the Wartburg seems to have thoroughly frightened him. The Reformation movement had now acquired momentum. And Luther was no longer the free lance of revolt, but a leader weighed down by the responsibility of power. In 1525 came the fearful events of the Peasants' War. In his "Exhortation to Peace," published at the height of the rising, Luther was inclined to favor their claims. Only a month later came another pamphlet, "Against the Murderous and Thievish Bands of Peasants," of which the best we can say is that it was written in the heat of violent passion.

"Crush them," he says of the peasants, "strangle them and pierce them, in secret places and in sight of men, he who can, even as one would strike dead a mad dog."

The wrongs of the peasants were undoubted. But in the play of great political forces, the Lutheran movement was in gravest danger. The rise of the peasants at just this time seemed to imperil the whole cause. So for the sake of the new Church he abandoned the cause of the people. At first the religious motive had led him directly to the social problems and wrongs in the life of his nation. But now the success of an institution usurped the chief place in his thought. His Church loomed larger to him than justice or the needs of men. Such a step once taken could not be retraced. As the years passed the Reformation from being a popular movement became a semipolitical issue of the princes. The place of the disowned authority of Rome was taken by the secular rulers. To-day there is no place for the democratic or representative element in the Lutheran churches of Germany. Naturally such a Church is not among the forces that work for democracy and freedom.

HARRIE R. CHAMBERLIN.

LUXURY, says Prof. Émile de Laveleye, "consists in the consumption of what has cost great labor to produce, for the satisfaction of spurious needs." So defining it, he condemns it, and says: "Luxury is pernicious to the individual and fatal to society. Primitive Christianity reproved it in the name of charity and humility; political economy condemns it in the name of utility, and justice condemns it in the name of equity."

Prof. R. T. Ely writes in the *Kingdom* (June 5, 1896):

> A newspaper writer, speaking of certain extravagant social events which occurred a few years since, used these words: "Murmurs against luxury may be heard among people in straitened circumstances when the lavish expenditures and sumptuous pleasures of great society entertainments are discust. But such persons are prone to forget that these expenditures that seem so prodigal go in large part to benefit the working people." We cannot consider now all the economic fallacies involved in arguments of this kind. They have been exposed over and over again by able men. It may, however, simply be pointed out that the same expenditure made in behalf of others would give equal employment to labor. Let us take the case of a man who contributes $1,000,000 for a public building, and contrast it with the case of a man who spends $1,000,000 on his own private house. Labor has equal employment in both cases, but the benefit of the toil accrues to the public in the one case and in the other to the selfish enjoyment of an individual. Another comparison: Contrast the expenditure of $10,000 for an evening's entertainment with an expenditure of $10,000 for books for a public library. Labor is alike employed in both cases, but in the second case the enjoyment is more widely diffused and is of a far more enduring character. This attempted justification is precisely on a line with that which people advance for the maintenance of gambling-dens and the support of the traffic in intoxicating beverages.

Yet tho this view is supported by all moralists and all economists, the development of luxuries and extravagance goes on in all modern cities and perhaps most of all in New York City and among

Americans of the wealthiest class. Mr. Cleveland Moffett, writing in *Success* in 1906 on "The Shameful Misuse of Wealth," gives many instances. We read of $1,000 a year spent on clothes for a poodle; dog collars set with pearls or diamonds; dogs themselves worth $3,000–$5,000 (St. Bernards, $7,000); ordinary families among the wealthy with 24 servants; chefs with salaries of $5,000 to $10,000. We read of dinners of every extravagance, dinners served on golden dishes, appendicitis dinners, horseback dinners on luxuriously trapped horses, monkey dinners, bull and bear dinners, dinners with opera singers as centerpieces, clown dinners, singing-bird dinners, and even a dinner given by a New Yorker where the table represented an Egyptian desert and the guests dug up jewels with gold shovels and picks. The jewelry worn by the wealthy in New York has been estimated at $200,000,000. Pearl necklaces for women cost $200,000 or more; twenty men in New York are said to wear link cuff buttons costing $5,000. The estimate is made for New York that for dress 100 women spend each $30,000 annually, or $3,000,000; 1,000 women spend each $15,000 annually, or $15,000,000; 5,000 women spend each $5,000 annually, or $25,000,000; 6,100 women spend each $50,000 annually, or an annual total of $43,000,000.

Yachts for the wealthy cost from $500,000–$750,000 and cost fortunes annually to maintain. W. K. Vanderbilt's private car is valued at $50,000. Single individuals have 17 automobiles. On cottages at Newport $100,000 are spent for a stone wall or $100 for a tree. To prevent ennui the men gamble for $10,000 in an evening; women for smaller amounts. Ladies have strange pets—snakes, pigs, lions, and bears. Their poodles have gold-filled teeth, are sent in victorias for fresh air, accompanied by liveried servants, or taken to the opera. And so through all the nauseating round.

In Europe it is much the same, tho perhaps with less tawdry display of wealth. In England and Wales people spend annually in licenses alone: For carriages, £513,261; armorial bearings, £68,479; male servants, £148,690; killing game, £581,232.

LUZZATTI, LUIGI: Italian statesman; born 1841, of Jewish parents, in Venice. He studied law and political sciences, and taught for a short time at the Instituto Tecnico in Milan, and later accepted a professorship of political economy and constitutional law at the University of Padua (1867). Elected to the House of Deputies in 1871, he soon became prominent in matters of finance, and was appointed Minister of the Treasury in Rudini's cabinet of 1891–92 and 1896–98. His principal activity in philanthropy consists in the establishment of numerous savings-banks and mutual relief associations.

LYNCHING (for statistics, see HOMICIDES): The following article, by Cardinal Gibbons, is condensed by his permission from *The North American Review* for Oct., 1905:

It is a law of all Christian and civilized nations, based on the Mosaic ordinance, that all deliberate murderers and other atrocious criminals shall expiate their transgressions by the death penalty.

But private individuals, how exalted soever may be their station and influence in the community, or how grievous soever the offense, cannot constitute themselves the agents for punishing the guilty. A claim of this kind would destroy or imperil security of life, and lead to indiscriminate bloodshed.

The prerogative of exacting life for life, and blood for blood, is vested exclusively in the public authorities, who are charged with maintaining the peace and good order of the commonwealth.

But even civil rulers are forbidden to make an arbitrary use of their prerogatives, at least in times of peace. Their powers are strictly defined. They can pronounce sentence of death only after a judicial verdict has been rendered. The Constitution of the United States expressly provides that no man may be condemned to death till declared guilty after a judicial trial.

I admit that there are exceptional times and circumstances when summary executions may be tolerated and condoned; when, for instance, a territory is suddenly occupied by a mixed and heterogeneous population, and is in a formative state; when the civil law and the usual machinery and appliances of a stable government are not yet established. On occasions like this, the recognized leaders of the people may punish notorious criminals in the interests of social order. But it is manifest that this method of chastising offenders cannot be tolerated in a state where the courts of justice are in free operation.

What aggravates the crime of lynch law is the circumstance that not unfrequently it sentences to death an innocent person, while the guilty party escapes. Cases of mistaken identity and ungrounded suspicion are liable to occur when we consider the excited frame of mind of the unhappy victim of violence and lust, and the eagerness of an outraged community to avenge an atrocious and brutal crime.

Unfortunately, also, the lynching of one individual is sometimes attended by the accidental and promiscuous slaying or wounding of bystanders in the conflict.

Another deplorable result of lynching is that public sympathy is sometimes drawn from the innocent victim of lust and murder, and is transferred for the time being to the brute who outraged and killed her. Her defenseless condition, her agonies and cries for help, her vain entreaties, her dishonor worse than death, culminating often in torture and murder in order to cover the crime—all this horrible picture fades from view and is almost forgotten, while the iniquity of the human fiend is condoned or palliated on account of the lawless manner in which his crime was expiated. He often becomes the hero of the hour, and is regarded by some even as a martyr. And, while the malefactor's crime is almost lost sight of, and he becomes the object of morbid pity, popular denunciation falls on the heads of those who participated in his summary execution.

If, indeed, the illegal and violent infliction of the death penalty on criminals had a deterrent effect on other evil-disposed persons, and acted as a warning to them, that circumstance, while not justifying lynch law, might at least offer some excuse or palliation for its exercise. But experience shows that it rather increases instead of diminishing the calendar of crime. Far from terrorizing the colored race who are the usual sufferers from hasty executions, it inflames them with indignation, and excites them to perpetrate deeds of violence on the weaker sex as much from a spirit of revenge, and from a triumph in the humiliation of their victims, as from a desire to gratify their animal passions.

Let us now examine into the principal grounds of excuse for the exercise of lynch law. One of the causes of hasty and violent executions without the forms of law is the needless and often irritating delay in bringing a notorious criminal to the bar of justice, and the infliction of punishment inadequate to the enormity of the offense.

Yet another crying evil and incentive to lynching is the wide interval that so often interposes between a criminal's conviction and the execution of the sentence, and the defeat of justice by needless procrastination. Human life is indeed precious and sacred, but the effort to guard it has gone beyond reasonable bounds. It is blessed to be merciful, but mercy should not be exercised at the expense of justice and social order. Misplaced clemency often works infinite harm to the community.

Of late years the difficulty of carrying out the judgment of the court (in murder trials especially) has greatly increased from the widened application of pleas in bar—notably that of insanity. When a conviction has been reached, innumerable obstacles generally stay the execution. The many grounds of exception allowed to counsel, the appeals from one court to another of higher jurisdiction, involving an enormous expense to the commonwealth, the long periods of time intervening between the terms of the lower and higher courts, the impossibility of recalling the original witnesses by reason of their death or removal to distant parts of the country, the apathy or fading interest of the friends of the prosecution, the untiring efforts of the advocates and friends of the accused, the facility with which signatures for pardon are obtained, with the final application for mercy to the governor—all these circumstances have combined to throw around the transgressor an extravagant protective system, and have gone far to rob jury trials of their substance and efficacy.

When the crime of the accused has been manifestly proved, and no extenuating circumstances can be advanced, the lawyers for the defense have often recourse to the plea of insanity as a last resource. Medical experts are always available to testify to the moral irresponsibility of the culprit, bewildering the jury by their technical phrases. This subterfuge not unfrequently succeeds in defeating the ends of justice, tho the sanity of the guilty party had never before been called in question.

A sovereign remedy for the suppression of lynching and for the restoration of the law's supremacy is found in a speedy trial and conviction of the accused, if he is found guilty, followed by the rigorous execution of the sentence.

It would be a great blessing for society if our lawmakers were to revise the criminal code now in force, and to sweep away, or at least considerably diminish, the barriers which interpose between the crime and its punishment. A prompt execution of the verdict would strike terror into evil-doers, and satisfy the public conscience.

But it is far more merciful to stop crime than to punish it by legislation. It is better to remove the cause than to repair its evil effects. From data before me, I infer that about 70 per cent of those who perished by lynching in the Southern states between 1885 and 1903 belonged to the colored population. If the deep-rooted antipathy between the white and the black races were removed, or assuaged, these violent executions would be considerably diminished.

This blessed result can be accomplished only by submission to the teachings of the Gospel, which proclaims the equality of all men before God.

J. Card. Gibbons.

M

MABLY, GABRIEL BONNOT DE: Political economist; born in Grenoble, 1709. Pursued his studies with the Jesuits of Lyons; entered the Seminary of St. Sulpice, but later became secretary to his relative, the Cardinal of Teucin, Minister of Foreign Affairs. The true minister was Mably. However, a misunderstanding arose between the minister and his secretary, and Mably withdrew to devote himself to political science. Already in 1742 his "Parallèle des Romains et des Français par rapport au gouvernement" had established his fame. In 1748 appeared the "Droit public de l'Europe fondé sur les traités"; afterward the "Entretiens de Phocion sur le rapport de la morale avec la politique" (1763); "Doutes proposés aux philosophes économistes sur l'ordre naturel des sociétés" (1768); "De la législation, ou Principes des lois" (1770); "Observations sur le gouvernement et les lois des États-Unis d'Amérique" (1784)—a curious work, in which he predicts the approaching downfall of the new republic "unless it turn away from the line of commercialism in which it is involved." Invited by the Polish Diet to prepare a code of laws for Poland, his "Gouvernement de Pologne" appeared in 1781.

Mably died in 1785, author also of several posthumous works, among them "Les Droits et les Devoirs du Citoyen."

The economic ideas of Mably are scattered through all his works; they form a complete system and make him one of the first thinkers of his age.

MACARTHUR, MARY R. (MISS): Secretary Women's Trade-Union League; born at Glasgow, Scotland, 1880. Joined National Union of Shop Assistants and Clerks in 1900; was elected first president of Ayr Branch, and afterward became its secretary. Elected first president of Scottish National Council of Shop Assistants' Union; was also elected first woman member of the National Executive of the Union. In 1903 Miss Macarthur was appointed secretary of the Women's Trade-Union League; has attended Scottish Trade-Union Congress and British Trade-Union Congress annually since 1903. She represented the Women's Trade-Union League at the Women's International Congress at Berlin in 1904. Miss Macarthur is at present the only woman member of the Executive of the London Trades' Council she has been very successful as an organizer of women's trade-unions; during the past few years has been instrumental in adding many thousands to the ranks of the British women trade-unionists. In politics she is a Socialist and a member of the Independent Labor Party. Author of many articles and papers published in *The Labor Record*

and other newspapers and periodicals. *Address:* Women's Trade-Union League, Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell Road, London, E. C.

McBRIDE, JOHN: American labor leader; born in Wayne County, Ohio, in 1854; commenced working in the mines at the age of nine. In 1870 he joined the Miners' Union; in 1883 was elected its president. In 1881 was nominated to the state legislature, and tho defeated, was renominated and elected in 1883 and again in 1885. In 1886 was Democratic candidate for Secretary of State. In 1894 was elected president of the American Federation of Labor (*q. v.*), but defeated in 1895.

McCULLOCH, JOHN RAMSAY: Editor; author; born at Whithorn, Scotland, 1789; became editor of *The Scotsman*, a Liberal organ, and one of the editors of *The Edinburgh Review*. He wrote the article on political economy in the supplement to the "Encyclopædia Britannica" (1824), and expanded it in 1825 into the "Principles of Political Economy, with a Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Science." In 1828–32 he was professor of that science in the University of London. In 1838 was controller of the royal stationary office, and received a pension of £200. One of the first to develop free-trade views. His "Dictionary, Practical, Theoretical and Historical, of Commerce and Commercial Navigation" and a "Dictionary, Geographical, Statistical, Historical, of the Various Countries, Places, and Principal Natural Objects of the World" were long standard authorities. Died at Westminster in 1864.

MacDONALD, ALEXANDER: Miner; Commissioner on Labor Laws; born 1821 in Lanarkshire, the son of a miner; worked in the pit at the age of eight years. Having an ardent desire for education, prepared himself for Glasgow University; entered in 1846, working as a miner in the summer; became a leader of the miners all over Scotland. In 1850 became a school-teacher; in 1857 gave this up to give all his time to agitation on behalf of the miners. In 1863, on the formation of the National Union of Miners, was elected president. Meanwhile, by some commercial speculations acquired a modest fortune, which enabled him to devote all his time to advocating a parliamentary program among the miners. In the general election for 1874 was returned to Parliament for Stafford with Mr. Bright (*q. v.*), the first Labor member. He was appointed on the Royal Commission on Labor Laws, and brought in a minority report. Died in 1881.

MACDONALD, JAMES RAMSAY: English Socialist and Labor M.P.; born Lossiemouth, 1866, his parents being agricultural laborers. Worked as a clerk in London, but also studied and taught. In 1888 he became secretary to Mr. T. Lough, M.P. A contributor to the reform press, he was one of the pioneers of socialism in the south of England, joined the Independent Labor Party, and was chosen on its administrative council, and on the executive of the Fabian Society. In 1900, on the formation of the Labor Representation Committee, he was elected its first secretary, and so continued, till last year it became the Labor Party, with Mr. Macdonald as its secretary and Parliamentary whip. He has also served the London County Council, 1901–4. Strongly opposed to the Boer War, in 1903 he went to South Africa, and wrote "What I Saw in South Africa." He has been editor of the *Socialist Library*, and writer of numerous articles on Socialist and Labor topics. In 1906 he was elected to Parliament for Leicester. *Address:* 3, Lincoln's Inn Field, London, W. C.

McGLYNN, EDWARD: Priest; born New York City, 1837; was educated at the College of the Propaganda in Rome. Entering the Roman Catholic priesthood, became in 1866 pastor of St. Stephen's Church, in New York City, where he rapidly gained influence and popularity. His opposition to the establishment of parochial schools and his advocacy of the land doctrines of Henry George (*q. v.*) brought him into disfavor with the Church, and he was summoned to Rome, and, on refusing to go, excommunicated. In 1887 he aided in founding the Anti-Poverty Society (*q.v.*) and became its president, lecturing on its principles before enthusiastic audiences in New York City and elsewhere. In 1893 he was reconciled to the Church, tho without renouncing his economic views; the ban of excommunication was removed, and he was restored to his rank and to office in the Church. Died in 1899.

McGUIRE, PETER J.: First vice-president of the American Federation of Labor; born New York City, 1852; was educated in public schools and evening classes at the Cooper Institute; in 1867 apprenticed as a wood joiner; joined the union of his craft in 1872, and interested himself in the labor movement. In 1880 secured the passage of labor bills in Missouri and organized the labor bureau of that state; became a Greenbacker in 1876 and stumped Missouri in 1880. In 1881 organized the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners (*q. v.*); was arrested that year for conspiracy, but acquitted. In 1881 was delegate to the International Working Men's Congress in Switzerland, and studied industrial conditions in Europe. In 1882 he became general secretary of the Brotherhood of Carpenters; has addrest many thousand meetings in all portions of the United States; was for years vice-president of the American Federation of Labor.

McKENZIE, HON. JOHN: Minister of Lands in New Zealand; born in Rosshire, Scotland, 1838; went to New Zealand in 1866 and became a prosperous farmer. For over thirty years he has held important political positions, as member of Parliament and later Minister of Lands. In this position he mainly has carried out New Zealand's new policy of "land for the people."

McMAHON, JOHN R.: Author and journalist; born 1875 at Roy Bareilly, India, of missionary parents. Entered New York journalism 1893; private in 202d Regiment, New York Volunteers, in Spanish-American War, 1898. Resumed journalism in work on newspapers, magazine stories, dramatic collaboration. He is author of "Toilers and Idlers," a socialistic novel (1907), and in politics is a supporter of socialism.

McNEILL, GEORGE E.: Sometimes called "The Father of the American Federation of Labor"; born in Amesbury, Mass., 1836, his father one of the early workers in the antislavery movement, a friend of John G. Whittier. He

worked as a boy in the woolen mills of his native town, organized a union among the boys, took part in a strike, and was blacklisted. In 1856 he went to Boston and earned a precarious living in many occupations. He joined the Sons of Temperance and wrote for temperance papers. Becoming convinced, however, that intemperance was largely the result and not the cause of poverty, he gave his life to the Labor movement. He first became prominent as a writer and worker for *The Daily Voice*, a Boston Labor paper, and spoke for this all over New England. Coming to believe with Ira Steward (*q. v.*) in the Eight-Hour Philosophy (*q. v.*) as the main philosophy of labor, he became its main spokesman and imbued the whole American Labor movement with its views. He was an active member of the great Eight-Hour League, and had much to do with the establishment of the ten-hour law of Massachusetts; he founded the Working Men's Institute, and in cooperation with Wendell Phillips, Governor Claflin, and others, led to the establishment of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, the first labor bureau. Upon its organization in 1869, he was made deputy chief, but displaced for political reasons in 1873, the bureau having shown that the Massachusetts savings-banks received their capital largely not from working men but from capitalists. (See LABOR BUREAUS.) He was president of the famous Boston Eight-Hour League for eight years. (See EIGHT-HOUR DAY.)

He joined the Sovereigns of Industry, and became state secretary. Upon the formation of the International Labor Union of America was made president; in that capacity addrest public meetings all over the United States. He was connected as editor or associate editor with the *New York Labor Standard*, *Fall River Labor Standard*, Paterson (N. J.) *Labor Standard*, Paterson *Home Journal*, as well as *The Voice*. He founded the *Labor Leader* at Boston. He was an active member of the Labor Congress at Rochester in 1874, and there wrote a declaration of principles later adopted by the Knights of Labor (*q. v.*).

He served for a time as a member of the school committee of the city of Cambridge, Mass. He joined the Knights of Labor in 1883; became prominent in District 30 of that order, when District 30 was the largest district of the largest labor organization that had existed up to that time, and was appointed district treasurer in 1884. He favored, however, the principle of trade autonomy for each trade, and on that issue, differing from Mr. Powderly (*q. v.*), he largely led in the movement which resulted in the formation of the American Federation of Labor (*q. v.*), and became one of its foremost councilors, the intimate friend and adviser of Mr. Gompers (*q. v.*). He was successful as arbitrator of differences between employers and employees; notably in the great horse-car strike in Boston, 1885, and in the case of the employees of the Union Pacific Railroad. In 1886 he was the working men's candidate for Mayor of Boston. The first systematic history of the Labor movement in America was undertaken by McNeill, resulting in the publication of "The Labor Movement, or the Problem of To-day," in 1886, edited and the larger portion written by himself. He was appointed by the Governor of Massachusetts a Commissioner of Manual Training (1892); later on taxation, and on codification of laws. Mr. McNeill was an independent and radical Democrat, his economic ideals being those of trade-union socialism. He was an ardent Anti-Imperialist, and a constant speaker and writer in protest against every kind of oppression. In 1883 he founded the Massachusetts Mutual Accident Association, and, after years of struggle, found in this pecuniary success. He wrote some verse—"Unfrequented Paths." He was in religion a Christian Socialist (and warden of the Church of the Carpenter). (See BLISS, W. D. P.) He died in 1906.

MACHIAVELLI, NICCOLÒ DI BERNARDO: Writer and diplomat; born Florence, 1469, of middle-class parentage. A man of affairs rather than a student, he grew up in the brilliant court of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and after the reestablishment of the republic in 1498 he was, till the return of the Medici in 1512, chancellor or secretary of the second chancery in Florence, thrown intimately with public men, and sent on repeated embassies to Cesare Borgia, Pope Julius II., the Emperor Maximilian, Louis XII. of France, and the various Italian states. The return of the Medici ended his public career, tho he sought favor with them, and in 1521 was commissioned by them to write a history of Florence; but in 1527 the Medici were again driven from Florence, and Machiavelli died in disappointment the same year.

His political writings have made his reputation. "Dell l'arte della guerra" (1520) advocates the present system of standing armies instead of the Middle Age use of mercenaries. His "Lettere familiari" and "Istorie Fiorentine" (1525) give unrivaled insight into his times. His "Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio" gives his ideas of republican government; but his great work is "Il Principe," in which he considers absolute monarchy, and has made the word *machiavellism* a synonym for evil. There has been interminable discussion whether Machiavelli wrote this book satirically, cynically, immorally, or honestly. It is a remorseless and scientific examination of the principles and methods an absolute monarch as a matter of fact follows and seemingly must follow in order to succeed. All factors of rights and morals are eliminated. Every point is proved and illustrated from contemporary history. Some of his principles need a Cesare Borgia to execute. Like the "Discorsi," it was published after his death in 1532. (See POLITICAL SCIENCE.) Machiavelli was undoubtedly a man of the world, but he always seems to have been true to Florence, and to have had a true, devoted wife in Marietta Corsini.

MACHINERY: The importance of machinery in production can scarcely be overestimated. The part that it has played in the development of the modern labor problem can scarcely be put too strongly. We shall consider: I. The Facts of Machine Production; II. Social Results; III. The Right Use of Machinery.

I. THE FACTS OF MACHINE PRODUCTION.

Tools and machinery are not identical; a tool is an instrument, usually simple, tho, as in the case of the lathe and potter's wheel, sometimes complex, which is guided and directed by the skill of the craftsman. When the tool grows complex, and is not guided by the individual skill of the craftsman, but by a mechanism which governs its action, it is called a machine. Ma-

chinery usually includes motor mechanism transmitting mechanism, and working or tool mechanism.

Machinery increases man's productivity in two ways. It enables him, as with the steam-hammer, to concentrate enormous power upon a fixt point, and to make motion regular and continuous. Says Mr. J. A. Hobson ("The Evolution of Modern Capitalism," pp. 51, 52):

Machinery can increase the scope of man's productive ability in two ways: The difficulty of concentrating a large mass of human force upon a given point at the same time provides certain quantitative limits to the productive efficiency of the human body. The steam-hammer can perform certain work which is quantitatively outside the limit of the physical power of any number of men working with simple tools and drawing their motor power from their own bodies. The other limit to the productive power of man arises from the imperfect continuity of human effort and the imperfect command of its direction. . . . Machinery can also do work which is too fine or delicate for human fingers, or which would require abnormal skill if executed by hand. . . .

Use

The continuity and regularity of machine-work are also reflected in certain economies of measurement. The faculty of self-registering, which belongs potentially to all machinery, and which is more utilized every day, performs several services which may be summed up by saying that they enable us to know exactly what is going on. When to self-registration is applied the faculty of self-regulation, within certain limits a new economy of force and knowledge is added. But machinery can also register and regulate the expenditure of human power. Babbage well says: "One of the most singular advantages we derive from machinery is in the check which it affords against the inattention, the idleness or the knavery of human agents." . . .

These are the sources of all the improvements of economies imputed to machine production. All improvements in machinery, as applied to industrial arts, take therefore one of the following forms:

(1) Rearrangement or improvement of machinery so as to utilize more fully the productive power of nature or man. Improvements enabling one man to tend more spindles, or enabling the same engine at the same boiler pressure to turn more wheels, belong to this order of improvement.

(2) Economies in the source of power. These will fall under four heads: 1. Substitution of cheaper for dearer kinds of human power. Displacement of men's labor by women's or children's. 2. Substitution of mechanical power for human power. Most great improvements in the "labor-saving" character of machinery properly come under this head. 3. Economies in fuel or in steam. The most momentous illustration is the adoption of the hot blast and the substitution of raw coal for coke in the iron trade. 4. The substitution of a new mechanical motor for an old one derived from the same or from different stores of energy—e. g., steam for water-power, natural gas for steam.

(3) Extended application of machinery. New industrial arts owing their origin to scientific inventions and their practise to machinery arise for utilizing waste products. Under "waste products" we may include (*a*) natural materials, the services of which were not recognized or could not be utilized without machinery—e. g., nitrates and other "waste" products of the soil; (*b*) the refuse of manufacturing processes which figured as "waste" until some unsuspected use was found for it.

The development of machinery may be divided into four periods:

1. The period of the earlier mechanical inventions, marking the displacement of domestic by factory industry (1764–85).

2. The period of application of steam to manufacturing (1785–1814).

3. The period of steam locomotion, with its bearing on industry (1814–56).

4. The period of the construction of machinery by machinery (1856–66).

Important dates in the development of machinery are the invention of Hargreave's spinning-jenny (1764), Arkwright's mill (1771), Crompton's mule (1779), Cartwright's power-loom and Watt's engine for cotton-mills (1785), Whitney's cotton-gin (1792), Stephenson's locomotive (1814), the opening of the first railway (1822), the hot blast (1829), ring-spinning (1841). The revolution in the industrial world created by machinery has been often dwelt upon. The following facts are taken from the first report of the United States Commissioner of Labor for 1886:

In the timber business twelve laborers with a Bucker machine will dress 12,000 staves. The same number of men by hand labor would have drest in the same time only 2,500. In the manufacture of paper a machine now used for drying and cutting, run by four men and six girls, will do the work formerly done by 100 persons, and do it much better. In the manufacture of wall-paper the best evidence puts the displacement in the proportion of 100 to 1. In a phosphate mine in South Carolina ten men accomplish with machinery what 100 men handle without it in the same time. There has been a displacement of 50 per cent in the manufacture of rubber boots and shoes. In South Carolina pottery the product is ten times greater by machine processes than by muscular labor. In the manufacture of saws, experienced men consider that there has been a displacement of three men out of five. In the weaving of silk the displacement has been 95 per cent, and in the winding of silk 90 per cent. A large soap manufacturing concern carefully estimates the displacement of labor in its works at 50 per cent. In making wine in California a crushing machine has been introduced with which one man can crush and stem 80 tons of grapes in a day, representing an amount of work formerly requiring eight men. In woolen goods modern machinery has reduced muscular labor 33 per cent in the carding department, 50 per cent in the spinning, and 25 per cent in the weaving. In some kinds of spinning 100 to 1 represents the displacement. In the whole United States in 1886 the machinery was equal to 3,500,000 horse-power. If men only had been employed, it would have required 21,000,000 to turn out the actual total product; the real number was 4,000,000. To do the work accomplished in 1886 in the U. S. by power machinery and on the railways would have required men representing a population of 172,500,000. The actual population of the U. S. in 1886 was something under 60,000,000, or a little more than one third.

Commenting on these very remarkable statistics, the Labor Commissioner says: "The apparent evils resulting from the introduction of machinery and the consequent subdivision of labor have to a large extent, of course, been offset by advantages gained; but it must stand as a positive statement, which cannot be successfully controverted, that this wonderful introduction and extension of power machinery is one of the prime causes, if not the prime cause, of the novel industrial condition in which the manufacturing nations find themselves."

Machinery, too, has revolutionized agriculture. Mr. D. A. Wells considers it to have made greater changes here than in any other occupation. He says ("Recent Economic Changes"):

In respect to no other one article has change in the conditions of production and distribution been productive of such momentous consequences as in the case of wheat. On the great wheat-fields of the State of Dakota, where machinery is applied to agriculture to such an extent that the requirement for manual labor has been reduced to a minimum, the annual product of one man's labor, working to the best advantage, is understood to be now equivalent to the production of 5,500 bushels of wheat. In the great mills of Minnesota, the labor of another one man for a year, under similar conditions as regards machinery, is in like manner equivalent to the conversion of this unit of 5,500 bushels of wheat into 1,000 barrels of flour, leaving 500 bushels for seed purposes; and altho the conditions for analysis of the next step in the way of results are more difficult, it is reasonably certain that the year's labor of one and a half men more—or, at the most, two men—employed in railroad transportation, is equivalent to putting this 1,000 barrels of flour on a dock in New York ready for exportation, where the addition of a fraction of a cent a pound to the price will further transport and deliver it at almost any port of Europe.

Agriculture

Here, then, we have the labor of three men for one year, working with machinery, resulting in the producing all the flour that 1,000 other men ordinarily eat in a year, allowing one barrel of flour for the average consumption of each adult. Before such a result the question of wages paid in the different branches of flour production and transportation becomes an insignificant factor in determining a market; and, accordingly, American flour grown in Dakota and ground in Minneapolis, from 1,000 to 1,500 miles from the nearest seaboard, and under the auspices of men paid from $1.50 to $2.50 per day for their labor, is sold in European markets at rates which are determinative of the prices which Russian peasants, Egyptian "fellahs," and Indian "ryots" can obtain in the same markets for similar grain. (See AGRICULTURE.)

Mr. Hobson says (as above):

It must not be forgotten that by far the most important factor in the decline of English agricultural employment is the

transport machinery which has brought the produce of distant countries into direct competition with English agricultural produce.

Of England, Mr. William Clarke, in the "Fabian Essays," says:

A cotton-mill in one of the dismal "hell-holes" called towns in Lancashire is a wonderful place, full of bewildering machines. Here is a machine called an "opener," by which 15,000 pounds of cotton can be opened in fifty-six hours. There is a throstle, the spindles of which make from 6,000 to 7,000 revolutions per minute. Here is a man who, with the aid of two piecers to take up and join the broken ends, can work 2,000 spindles. Among the distinct separate machines used are opener, scutcher, and lap machine, drawing frame, slubbing frame, intermediate frame, roving frame, throstle, self-acting mule and hand mule, doubling frame, and mule doublers or twiners. By means of these appliances the following results have been attained: Within eight years, from 1792 to 1800, the quantity of cotton exported from the U. S. to Lancashire had increased from 138,000 pounds to 18,000,000 pounds. In 1801 Lancashire took 84,000 bales of cotton from the U. S.; in 1876 she took 2,075,000 bales; and whereas in the former year only 14,000 bales came from India, in 1876 from that country came 775,000 bales, besides a great increase in Brazilian cotton, and a new import of 332,000 bales from Egypt. In 1805 1,000,000 pieces of calico were sold in the Blackburn market during the whole year; and that was considered a very large sale. In 1884, according to Ellison's "Annual Review of the Cotton Trade," there were exported 4,417,000,000 yards of piece goods, besides the vast quantity produced for home consumption. In 1875, in place of the little cottages with their hand-looms of a century before, Lancashire contained 2,655 cotton factories with 37,515,772 spinning-spindles and 463,118 power-looms; and she produced yarn and piece goods to the weight of 1,088,890,000 pounds, and of the value of £95,447,000. See, too, how through the use of machinery the cost of production has been lowered. In 1790 the price of spinning the yarn known technically as No. 100 was 4*s.* per pound; in 1826 it had been reduced to 6½*d.* The sale price of yarn No. 100 in 1786 was 38*s.*; in 1793 it was reduced to 15*s.* 1*d.*; in 1803 to 8*s.* 4*d.*; in 1876 to 2*s.* 6*d.* The decreased cost in each case followed on economy in production, itself dependent on increased differentiation in machinery; that in turn involving larger and larger capital; and that again necessitating aggregation and the crushing out of small concerns which could not command machinery or sell at a profit in competition with it.

England

And this process is by no means an ended one. Mr. Carroll D. Wright, in his "Industrial Evolution of the U. S.," chap. xxvii., gives some instances of recent improvements in machinery:

One of the latest sextuple stereotype perfecting presses manufactured by R. Hoe & Co., of New York, has an aggregate running capacity of 72,000 eight-page papers per hour; that is to say, one of these perfected presses, run by one pressman and four skilled laborers, will print, cut at the top, fold, paste, and count (with supplement inserted if desired) 72,000 eight-page papers in one hour. To do the presswork alone for this number of papers would take, on the old plan, a man and a boy, working ten hours per day, 100 days. By the use of Goodyear's sewing-machine for turned shoes one man will sew 250 pairs in one day. It would require eight men, working by hand, to sew the same number in the same time. By the use of a heel-shaver or trimmer one man will trim 300 pairs of shoes a day, while formerly three men would have been required to do the same work; and with the McKay machine one operator will handle 300 pairs of shoes in one day, while without the machine he could handle but five pairs in the same time. So, in nailing on heels, one man, with the aid of machinery, can heel 300 pairs of shoes per day. In the days of the single-spindle hand-wheel, one spinner, working fifty-six hours continuously, could spin five hanks of No. 32 twist. At the present time, with one pair of self-acting mule-spinning machines, having 2,124 spindles, one spinner, with the assistance of two small boys, can produce 55,098 hanks of No. 32 twist in the same time. . . . Even in power machinery, a weaver formerly tended but one loom. Now one weaver minds all the way from two to ten looms, according to the grade of goods. In a large establishment in New Hampshire, improved machinery, even within ten years, has reduced muscular labor 50 per cent in the production of the same quality of goods. In weaving in the olden time, in this country, a fair adult hand-loom weaver wove from forty-two to forty-eight yards of common shirting per week. Now a weaver, tending six power-looms in a cotton factory, will produce 1,500 yards and over in a single week; and a very recent invention will enable a weaver to double this product.

In many lines of manufactures new machinery has to be put in every few years to keep up with the competition. Steamers ten years old are usually worthless for fast voyages.

In his "Recent Economic Changes," chap. ii., Mr. D. A. Wells says:

The power capable of being exerted by the steam-engines of the world in existence and working in the year 1887 has been estimated by the Bureau of Statistics at Berlin as equivalent to that of 200,000,000 horses, representing approximately 1,000,000,000 men; or at least three times the working population of the earth, whose total number of inhabitants is probably about 1,460,000,000. The application and use of steam alone up to date (1889) has accordingly more than trebled man's working-power, and by enabling him to economize his physical strength has given him greater leisure, comfort, and abundance, and also greater opportunity for that mental training which is essential to a higher development. And yet it is certain that four fifths of the steam-engines now working in the world have been constructed during the last quarter of a century, or since 1865.

But the present steam-engine will probably be discarded. Many believe that the use of electricity as a motor power will still more revolutionize industry. (See ELECTRICITY. For further illustrations of the productive power of machinery, see PRODUCTIVITY.)

II. Social Results

In his "Political Economy," Book IV., chap. vi., John Stuart Mill wrote his oft-quoted words: "Hitherto it is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lengthened the day's toil of any human being." This is considered by many an exaggeration. If hours of labor were at first lengthened by the introduction of machinery they are to-day steadily being lessened. (See EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT.) If machinery has developed the factory system, that to-day is by no means what it was. The most evil results of machinery are thus temporary, its good results permanent. Realizing what machinery means in the way of cheapened production and how it makes it possible that wage-earners should own a hundred commodities that the wealthy could not have a hundred years ago, most economists believe that machinery has been to the vast benefit of working men as of all classes. There are, however, two sides to this. The most serious discussion has been on the question of how far machinery has permanently displaced labor. Writers like Mr. Carroll D. Wright claim that if machinery has displaced labor in one direction it has created more employment for them in others. Mr. Wright shows, e.g., in his "Industrial Evolution of the U. S.," chap. xxviii., that the average per capita consumption of cotton in this country was 5.9 pounds in 1830, 13.91 pounds in 1880, and 19 pounds in 1890, which figures, he says, "clearly and positively indicate that the labor necessary for such consumption has been kept up to the standard, if not beyond the standard, of the olden time—that is, as to the number of people employed." In iron he says the increase has been as great proportionally: 105.64 pounds in 1870, 204.90 pounds in 1880, and 283.38 pounds in 1890. In steel it was 46 pounds in 1880 and 144 in 1890. Many occupations have been created. He says (we abridge his words):

If we could examine scientifically the number of created occupations, the claim that inventions have displaced labor on the whole would be conclusively and emphatically refuted. In telegraphy thousands and thousands of people are employed where no one has ever been displaced. Electroplating, a modern device, has not only added wonderfully to the employed list by its direct influence, but indirectly by the introduction of a class of goods which can be secured by all persons,

The railroads offer another grand illustration of the expansion of labor. It now requires more than three quarters of a million of people to operate our railroads, and this means a population of nearly four millions, or one sixteenth of the whole population of the country. The displacement of the stage-coach and the stage-driver was nothing compared to the expansion of labor which the railroad systems of the country have created. As a means of expansion of labor the sewing-machine is a striking illustration. It has displaced no one; it has increased demand, and it has been the means of establishing great workshops to supply the thousands of machines that are sold throughout the world.

Creates Work

The expansion of values as the result of the influence of machinery has been quite as marvelous as in any other direction, for educated labor, supplemented by machinery, has developed small quantities of inexpensive material into products of great value. This truth is illustrated by taking cotton and iron ore as the starting-point. A pound of cotton, costing at the time this calculation was made but 13 cents, has been developed into muslin which sold in the market for 80 cents, and into chintz which sold for $4. Seventy-five cents' worth of common iron ore has been developed into $5 worth of bar iron, or into $10 worth of horseshoes, or into $180 worth of table knives, or into $6,800 worth of fine needles, or into $29,480 worth of shirt buttons, or $200,000 worth of watch-springs, or $400,000 worth of hair-springs, and the same quantity of common iron ore can be made into $2,500,000 worth of pallet arbors.

The illustrations given, both of the expansion of labor and the expansion of values, are sufficiently suggestive of a line of study which, carried in any direction, will show that machinery is the friend and not the enemy of man, especially when man is considered as a part of society and not as an individual.

Mr. Hobson, however, who has made a more minute analysis, comes to less pronounced results. He says (as above, pp. 234, 235):

Facts and figures seem to support the following conclusions:

1. That along with the increased application of machinery to the textile and other staple manufactures there has been in these industries a decrease of employment relative to the growth of the working population.

2. That in the transport industries the increase of employment is in inverse proportion to the introduction of machinery into the several branches as a dominating factor.

3. That the considerable diminution of agricultural employment is not compensated by any proportionate increase of manufacturing employment, but that the displaced agricultural labor finds employment in such branches of the transport and distributive trade as are less subject to machinery. . . .

So far, therefore, as the statistics of employments present a just register of the influence of machinery upon demand for labor, we are driven to conclude that the net influence of machinery is to diminish employment so far as those industries are concerned into which machinery directly enters, and to increase the demand in those industries which machinery affects but slightly or indirectly. If this is true of England, which, having the start in the development of the factory system, has to a larger extent than any other country specialized in the arts of manufacture, it is probable that the net effect of machinery upon the demand for labor throughout the industrial world has been to throw a larger proportion of the population into industries where machinery does not directly enter.

Effect on Employment

Machinery has, too, Mr. Hobson argues, a greater effect in increasing the irregularity of employment. He says:

While it is the interest of each producer of machine-made goods to give regular employment, some wider industrial force compels him to irregularity. What is this force? It is uncontrolled machinery. In the several units of machine production, the individual factories or mills, we have admirable order and accurate adjustment of parts; in the aggregate of machine production we have no organization, but a chaos of haphazard speculation. "Industry has not yet adapted itself to the changes in the environment produced by machinery." That is all. . . .

When production was slower, markets narrower, credit less developed, there was less danger of this big miscalculation, and the corrective forces of industry were more speedily effective. But modern machinery has enormously expanded the size of markets, the scale of competition, the complexity of demand, and production is no longer for a small, local, present demand, but for a large, world, future demand. Hence machinery is the direct material cause of these great fluctuations which bring, as their most evil consequence, irregularity of wages and employment.

How far does this tend to right itself? Professor Nicholson believes that time will compel a better adjustment between machinery and its environment.

"The enormous development of steam communication and the spread of the telegraph over the whole globe have caused modern industry to develop from a gigantic starfish, any of whose members might be destroyed without affecting the rest, into a *μέγα ζῶον* which is convulsed in agony by a slight injury in one part. A depression of trade is now felt as keenly in America and even in our colonies as it is here. Still, in the process of time, with the increase of organization and decrease of unsound speculation, this extension of the market must lead to greater stability of prices; but at present the disturbing forces often outweigh altogether the supposed principal elements."

The organization of capital under the pressure of these forces is doubtless proceeding, and such organization, when it has proceeded far enough, will indisputably lead to a decrease of unsound speculation. But these steps in organization have been taken precisely in those industries which employ large quantities of fixt capital, and the admitted fact that severe fluctuations still take place in these industries is proof that the steadying influences of such organization have not yet had time to assert themselves to much purpose. The competition of larger and larger masses of organized capital seems to induce heavier speculation and larger fluctuations. Not until a whole species of capital is organized into some form or degree of "combination" is the steadying influence of organization able to predominate.

But there is also another force which, in England, at any rate, under the increased application of machinery, makes for an increase rather than a diminution of speculative production. It has been seen that the proportion of workers engaged in producing comforts and luxuries is growing, while the proportion of those producing the prime necessaries of life is declining. How far the operation of the law of diminishing returns will allow this tendency to proceed we cannot here discuss. But statistics show that this is the present tendency both in England and in the U. S. . . .

So long, then, as a community grows in numbers, so long as individuals desire to satisfy more fully their present wants and continue to develop new wants, forming a higher or more intricate standard of consumption, there is no evidence to justify the conclusion that machinery has the effect of causing a net diminution in demand for labor, tho it tends to diminish the proportion of employment in the "manufacturing" industries; but there is strong reason to believe that it tends to make employment more unstable, more precarious of tenure, and more fluctuating in market value.

(See also OCCUPATIONS; UNEMPLOYMENT.)

Less discust but perhaps more important is the effect of machinery upon the *quality* of labor. Some believe that machinery improves labor, taking it out of tenements and rude huts into factories, which are now usually comparatively hygienic (for proof, see article SWEATING, where it is shown how terrible are the conditions in trades not using machinery). Others argue, too, that machinery replaces muscular labor by higher forms of labor. Professor Marshall inclines to this view ("Principles of Economics," 2d ed., pp. 314, 322). Others dwell upon the educative effect of machinery, teaching inventiveness, love of order, cooperation, etc. But there is another side to the question. Says Mr. Hobson (as above, chap. ix.):

As regards those workers who pass from ordinary manual work to the tending of machinery, there is a good deal of evidence to show that, in the typical machine industries, their new work taxes their physical vigor quite as severely as the old work. Prof. Shield Nicholson quotes the following striking statement from the *Cotton Factory Times*: "It is quite a common occurrence to hear young men who are on the best side of thirty years of age declare they are so worked up with the long mules, coarse counts, quick speeds, and inferior material, that they are fit for nothing at night, only going to bed and taking as much rest as circumstances will allow. There are few people who will credit such statements; nevertheless they are true, and can be verified any day in the great majority of the mills in the spinning districts."

Schulze-Gaevernitz shows that the tendency in modern cotton-spinning and weaving, especially in England, has been both to increase the number of spindles and looms which an operative is called upon to tend, and to increase the speed of spinning. "A worker tends to-day more than twice or nearly three times as much machinery as his father did; the number of machines in use has increased more than fivefold since that time, while the workers have not quite doubled their numbers." With regard to speed, "since the beginning of the seventies the speed of the spinning-machines alone has increased about 15 per cent" ("Der Grossbetrieb," pp. 120–157). . . . "There is a temptation," as Mr. Cunningham says, "to treat

the machine as the main element in production, and to make it the measure of what a man ought to do, instead of regarding the man as the first consideration, and the machine as the instrument which helps him; the machine may be made the primary consideration, and the man may be treated as a mere slave who tends it" ("Uses and Abuses of Money," p. 111). . . .

The factory is organized with military precision, the individual's work is definitely fixt for him; he has nothing to say as to the plan of his work or its final completion or its ultimate use. "The constant employment on one sixty-fourth part of a shoe not only offers no encouragement to mental activity, but dulls by its monotony the brains of the employee to such an extent that the power to think and reason is almost lost" ("Contemporary Review," 1889, p. 392).

Dr. Arlidge expresses a decided opinion: "Generally speaking, it may be asserted of machinery that it calls for little or no brain exertion on the part of those connected with its operations; it arouses no interest, and has nothing in it to quicken or brighten the intelligence, tho it may sharpen the sight and stimulate muscular activity in some one limited direction" ("Diseases of Occupations," pp. 25, 26).

Effect on Character

A locomotive superintendent of a railway was recently questioned as to the quality of engine-driving. "After twenty years' experience he declared emphatically that the very best engine-drivers were those who were most mechanical and unintelligent in their work, who cared least about the internal mechanism of the engine." Yet engine-driving is far less mechanical and monotonous than ordinary tending of machinery.

Mr. Hobson concludes:

The net influence of machinery upon the quality of labor, then, is found to differ widely according to the relation which subsists between the worker and the machine. Its educative influence, intellectual and moral, upon those concerned with the invention, management, and direction of machine industry, and upon all whose work is about machinery, but who are not detailed machine-tenders, is of a distinctly elevating character. Its effect, however, upon machine-tenders in cases where, by the duration of the working-day or the intensity of the physical effort, it exhausts the productive energy of the worker, is to depress vitality and lower him in the scale of humanity by an excessive habit of conformity to the automatic movements of a non-human motor. This human injury is not adequately compensated by the education in routine and regularity which it confers, or by the slight understanding of the large cooperative purposes and methods of machine industry which his position enables him to acquire.

Machinery is, too, the creator of the factory system and the factory town. It is this, perhaps, which makes it most unpopular with the worker. Says Mr. Robert Blatchford ("Merrie England," chap. iii.):

My reasons for attacking the factory system are:
1. Because it is ugly, disagreeable, and mechanical.
2. Because it is injurious to public health.
3. Because it is unnecessary.
4. Because it is a danger to the national existence.

The Manchester school will tell you that the destiny of this country is to become "the workshop of the world."

I say that is not true; and that it would be a thing to deplore if it were true. The idea that this country is to be the "workshop of the world" is a wilder dream than any that the wildest Socialist ever cherished. But if this country did become the "workshop of the world," it would at the same time become the most horrible and the most miserable country the world has ever known.

Let us be practical and look at the facts.

First, as to the question of beauty and pleasantness. You know the factory districts of Lancashire. I ask you is it not true that they are ugly and dirty and smoky and disagreeable? Compare the busy towns of Lancashire, of Staffordshire, of Durham, and of South Wales, with the country towns of Surrey, Suffolk, and Hants. . . .

I know that the Manchester school will tell you that this is mere "sentiment." But compare their actions with their words. . . .

To make wealth for themselves they destroy the beauty and the health of your dwelling-places; and then they sit in their suburban villas, or on the hills and terraces of the lovely southern countries, and sneer at the "sentimentality" of the men who ask you to cherish beauty and to prize health.

Or they point out to you the value of the "wages" which the factory system brings you, reminding you that you have carpets on your floors, and pianos in your parlors, and a week's holiday at Blackpool once a year.

But how much health or pleasure can you get out of a cheap and vulgar carpet? And what is the use of a piano if you have neither leisure nor means to learn to play it? And why should you prize that one week in the crowded, noisy watering-place, if health and fresh air and the great salt sea are mere sentimental follies?

III. The Right Use of Machinery

Some writers, like John Ruskin, imply, if they do not state, that there is no right use of machinery. They say that it must destroy art and life and beauty. (See Art.) Ruskin says in "Fors Clavigera":

A man and a woman, with their children properly trained, are able easily to cultivate as much ground as will feed them; to build as much wall and roof as will lodge them, and to spin and weave as much cloth as will clothe them. They can all be perfectly happy and healthy in doing this. Supposing that they invent machinery which will build, plow, thrash, cook, and weave, and that they have none of these things any more to do, but may read, or cricket, all day long, I believe myself that they will neither be so good nor so happy as without the machines. . . . No machines will increase the possibilities of life. They only increase the possibilities of idleness. . . . There was a rocky valley between Buxton and Bakewell, once upon a time, divine as the Vale of Tempe; you might have seen the gods there morning and evening—Apollo and all the sweet muses of the Light—walking in fair procession on the lawns of it, and to and fro among the pinnacles of its crags. You cared neither for gods nor grass, but for cash (which you did not know the way to get); you thought you could get it by what the *Times* calls "Railroad Enterprise." You enterprised a railroad through the valley—you blasted its rocks away, heaped thousands of tons of shale into its lovely stream. The valley is gone, and the gods with it; and now, every fool in Buxton can be at Bakewell in half an hour, and every fool in Bakewell at Buxton; which you think a lucrative process of exchange.

Wiser, however, seems the position of those who believe that machinery should be largely used, but used to increase the simplicity of life, not its complexity. Mr. Blatchford, whom we have quoted above as opposed to the factory system, would make English life more agricultural and less manufacturing, but he would have machines do even more than they do to-day, only as the servant of the whole community, not as the property of capitalists for whom wage-workers slave. He says:

I propose to make our material lives simple; to spend as little time and labor as possible upon the production of food, clothing, houses, and fuel, in order that we may have more leisure. And I propose to employ that leisure in the enjoyment of life and the acquirement of knowledge. . . . Let us go back to our Manchester street of 100 working-class families. Suppose, instead of keeping up the wasteful system I described, we abolish all those miserable and imperfect drying-grounds, wringing-machines, wash-kitchens, and kitchen-ranges, and arrange the street on communal lines.

We set up one laundry, with all the best machinery; we set up one big drying-field; we set up one great kitchen, one general dining-hall, and one pleasant tea-garden. Then we buy all the provisions and other things in large quantities, and we appoint certain wives as cooks and laundresses, or, as is the case with many military duties, we let the wives take the duties in turn. . . .

So with the housework when we had simple houses and furniture. Imagine the difference between the cleaning of all the knives by a rapid knife machine turned by an engine, and the drudgery of 100 wives scrubbing at 100 clumsy knife-boards.

Says another socialistic writer:

At present machinery competes against man. Under proper conditions machinery will serve man. There is no doubt at all that this is the future of machinery; and just as trees grow while the country gentleman is asleep, so while humanity will be amusing itself, or enjoying cultivated leisure—which, and not labor, is the aim of man—or making beautiful things, or reading beautiful things, or simply contemplating the world with admiration and delight, machinery will be doing all the necessary and unpleasant work. The fact is that civilization requires slaves. The Greeks were quite right there. Unless there are slaves to do the ugly, horrible, uninteresting work, culture and contemplation become almost impossible. Human slavery is wrong, insecure, and demoralizing. On mechanical slavery, on the slavery of the machine, the future of the world depends. . . . A great deal of nonsense is being written and talked nowadays about the dignity of manual labor. There is nothing necessarily dignified about manual labor at all, and most of it is absolutely degrading. It is mentally and morally injurious to man to do anything in which he does not find pleasure, and many forms of labor are quite pleasureless activities, and should be regarded as such. To sweep a slushy crossing for eight hours

on a day when the east wind is blowing is a disgusting occupation. To sweep it with mental, moral, or physical dignity seems to me to be impossible. To sweep it with joy would be appalling. Man is made for something better than disturbing dirt. All work of that kind should be done by a machine.

And I have no doubt that it will be so. Up to the present man has been, to a certain extent, the slave of machinery, and there is something tragic in the fact that as soon as man had invented a machine to do his work he began to starve. This, however, is, of course, the result of our property system and our system of competition. One man owns a machine which does the work of 500 men. Five hundred men are, in consequence, thrown out of employment, and, having no work to do, become hungry and take to thieving. The one man secures the produce of the machine and keeps it, and has 500 times as much as he should have, and probably, which is of much more importance, a great deal more than he really wants. Were that machine the property of all, every one would benefit by it. It would be an immense advantage to the community. All unintellectual labor; all monotonous dull labor; all labor that deals with dreadful things, and involves unpleasant conditions, must be done by machinery. Machinery must work for us in coal-mines, and do all sanitary services, and be the stoker of steamers, and clean the streets, and run messages on wet days, and do anything that is tedious or distressing.

REFERENCES: J. A. Hobson's *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism* (1894); J. S. Nicholson's *Effect of Machinery on Wages* (1892); Cooke Taylor's *The Modern Factory System* (1891); Charles Allen's *The Effect of the Factory System* (1904); Carroll D. Wright's *The Industrial Evolution of the U. S.* (1901).

MADDISON, FRED: Labor member British Parliament for Burnley; born 1856 at Boston, Lincolnshire; educated in a Wesleyan school at Hull; learned the compositor's trade; was the first workman member of the Hull Corporation; and was elected president of the Trade-Union Congress in 1886. Later he was editor of *The Railway Review*, the official organ of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, until 1897, and was offered a position in the Labor Department of the Board of Trade in 1902. He sat for Parliament for the Brightside division of Sheffield from 1897 to 1900, and was returned for Burnley in 1906 by Labor votes. *Address*: 12, Acris Street, Wandsworth, London, S. W., England.

MAGNA CHARTA ("Great Charter"): An instrument signed at Runnymede, June 15, 1215, by King John of England, forced thereto by the barons of the kingdom, led by Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury. Besides restraining certain royal prerogatives that had been abused, and introducing various improvements into the law, it provided for the protection of every freeman from loss of life, liberty, or property, except by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land, while the king was compelled to say, "We will sell to no man; we will not deny or delay to any man right or justice." Magna Charta was the foundation of English liberties, and its chief protective provisions have been incorporated in the Constitution of the United States and the separate states. (See JURY.)

MAHAIM, ERNEST A. J.: Professor at the University of Liège; born 1865 in Morniquies, Hainaut, Belgium; educated at University of Liège; took all his degrees to the faculty of law there, Doctor of Law, Doctor of Political Science, Special Doctor in Public Law and Political Science; was the preferred pupil of the Belgian economist, Émile de Laveleye; studied two years abroad: in Berlin, where he met Schmoller and Wagner; in Vienna, in Paris, and in England. Mahaim is one of the founders of the International Association for the Legal Protection of Working Men.

Professor Mahaim believes in the "Socialism of the Chair," being largely for the interference of the State in social questions without adopting, however, the collectivist views. He is author of "Études sur l'Association professionelle," "La politique Commercial de la Belgique," "Enquête sur la situation hygienique des habitations ouvriers a Liège et dans les communes suburbaines," "Enquête sur la situation hygienique des habitations ouvriers dans les communes, Angleur, Grivegnee, Bressoux, et Inpille." Has also written numerous papers on housing questions, etc., for the great periodicals and reviews of London, Paris, Berlin, and Brussels. *Address*: 9 Avenue du Hêtre, Comte, Sclessin, Belgium.

MAILLY, WILLIAM: Member of National Executive Committee, Socialist Party; born in Pittsburg, Pa., 1871; spent boyhood in Scotland and England; left school at the age of twelve; worked as errand boy and clerk until return to United States in 1889. Worked in mines and at other manual labor in Illinois and Alabama, and at Nashville, Tenn., as bookkeeper. First active in labor movement in United Mine Workers' Union in Alabama, 1893. Since then has continuously done journalistic work both for labor and socialistic party; has acted as organizer both for unions and Socialist Party; was state secretary of Massachusetts Socialist Party in 1902 and national secretary of the party 1903–4. Mr. Mailly believes in a social revolution to be brought about by organization of working class into the Socialist Party; he believes that the political and economic organizations should be kept separate and distinct, but should work together to resist all encroachments of the capitalist class upon the liberties of the workers, whether in the political or economic field; labor-unions at present perform a useful function, tho largely negative in results; but the Socialist Party has the greater function of achieving the ultimate emancipation of labor from the capitalist class ownership and capitalist class rule. Since Feb., 1905, he has been one of the publishers of *The Socialist*. *Address*: 239 East 84th Street, New York.

MAINE, SIR HENRY JAMES SUMNER, LL.D.: Professor of international law; born in England, 1822; educated at Pembroke College, Cambridge; was afterward a tutor in Trinity College. In 1847 he was appointed regius professor of civil law in the university, but resigned in 1854 to become reader on jurisprudence at the Middle Temple. From 1862–69 he resided in India as law member of the supreme government. On returning to England he was elected professor of jurisprudence at Oxford; next year was made a member of the council of the Secretary of State for India, and was knighted. In 1875 he published as a pamphlet a lecture delivered at Cambridge on "The Effects of Observation of India on Modern European Thought." In 1877 he was elected master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge; in 1887 professor of international law. He died at Cannes in 1888. Among his numerous works are "Roman Law and Legal Education"; "Ancient Law"; "Village Communities"; "Lectures on the Early History of Institutions"; "Early Law and Custom"; "Popular Government"; "International Law."

MAINE LAW, THE: Maine was the first of the United States to pass a vigorous prohibitory act. It was first outlined by General James Appleton,

but perhaps owes most to Neal Dow (*q. v.*). A crude prohibitory law was passed in 1846, but in June, 1851, the law that has since been known as the Maine Law was enacted. (See PROHIBITION.)

MALON, BENOIT: French Socialist; born near St. Étienne, 1841; worked first as a day-laborer, later as a dyer. In 1868 he joined the International, and was imprisoned for three months. On being released he was made one of the society's organizers, and secretary of a cooperative store founded by himself at Puteaux. He later joined the editorial staff of *The Marseillaise*. In 1870 he was again imprisoned for a year. Released by the revolutionaries (Sept. 4th), he was thenceforth a firm opponent of the government. In 1871 he was elected member of the National Assembly, but soon left and joined the Paris Commune. On its overthrow he escaped to Switzerland, where he began publishing a journal, *La Revanche*, which, in 1872, was supprest by the government. In Switzerland Malon joined Bakursin's Alliance, and fought zealously against the London Council of the International. Leaving Switzerland he traveled through Italy, and at the close of the "seventies" settled in Lugano, where he published a weekly, *Le Socialisme Progressif*, which, however, existed only a short time. In 1879 he went to Zurich, and in 1880, on being granted an amnesty, returned to Paris. At first he inclined toward Marxism; but later, when he had commenced publishing the *Emancipation* at Lyon, he was won by Brousse and became a strenuous opponent of Guesde and Lafargue. From about 1885 until his death in 1893, Malon edited the *Revue Socialiste*. His main works are: "L'Internationale, son Histoire et ses Principes" (1872); "Exposé des Écoles Socialistes Françaises" (1872); "Il Socialismo, suo Passato, suo Presente e suo Avvenire" (1875); "Histoire Critique de l'Economie Politique" (1876); "Le Nouveau Parti" (1881); "Le Parti Ouvrier en France" (1882); "Histoire du Socialisme et des Prolétaires" (5 vols., 1881–84); "Le Socialisme Réformiste" (1885); "La Morale Sociale" (1887); "Le Socialisme Intégral" (1890–91).

MALTHUS, THOMAS ROBERT (see MALTHUSIANISM): English sociological writer; born Albury, Surrey, England, 1766; was graduated with honors at Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1788, and in 1797 became a fellow of the college. He entered holy orders and divided his time between the university and a small parish in Surrey. In 1798 published the first edition of his great work under the title "An Essay on the Principle of Population as it Affects the Future Improvement of Society, with Remarks on the Speculations of Mr. Godwin, M. Condorcet, and other Writers." The book aroused very general interest and discussion, and Mr. Malthus went abroad and traveled in Sweden, Norway, France, and portions of Russia, collecting material for a new edition, which appeared in 1803, and was, in his own words, "a new book." He had found, upon investigating the subject, that "much more had been done" upon it "than he had been aware of." It had "been treated in such a manner by some of the French economists, occasionally by Montesquieu, and, among our own writers, by Dr. Franklin, Sir James Steuart, Mr. Arthur Young, and Mr. Townsend, as to create a natural surprize that it had not excited more of the public attention." "Much, however," he thought, "remained yet to be done. The comparison between the increase of population and food had not, perhaps, been stated with sufficient force and precision," and "few inquiries had been made into the various modes by which the level" between population and the means of subsistence "is effected." The first desideratum here mentioned —the want, namely, of an accurate statement of the relation between the increase of population and food—Malthus supposed he supplied by the celebrated proposition that "population increases in a geometrical, food in an arithmetical, ratio."

This exact mathematical proposition, however, he introduced but incidentally, and omitted in later editions, contenting himself with the general proposition that population, unless checked by war, poverty, etc., tended to increase faster than sustenance. His book ran through various editions, the last of which during his lifetime appeared in 1826 and bore the modified title, "An Essay on the Principles of Population, or a View of its Past and Present Effects on Human Happiness, with an Inquiry into the Future Removal or Mitigation of the Evils which It Occasions."

In 1805 Malthus was appointed professor of modern history and political economy in the East India Company's College at Haileybury. This situation he retained till his death in 1834.

Besides his great work, Malthus wrote "Observations on the Effect of the Corn Laws" (1815); "An Inquiry into the Nature and Progress of Rent" (1815); "Principles of Political Economy" (1820); and "Definitions in Political Economy" (1827). His views on rent were of especial importance, and are believed by some to be the origin of the famous Ricardian law of rent. (See RICARDO; POLITICAL ECONOMY.) The "Encyclopædia Britannica" says of Malthus:

> Malthus was one of the most amiable, candid, and cultured of men. In all his private relations he was not only without reproach, but distinguished for the beauty of his character. He bore the popular abuse and misrepresentation without the slightest murmur or sourness of temper. The aim of his inquiries was to promote the happiness of mankind, which could be better accomplished by pointing out the real possibilities of progress than by indulging in vague dreams of perfectibility apart from the actual facts which condition human life.

The only checks on population advocated by Malthus are the moral checks of abstinence from marriage and sexual intercourse. Other checks like war come in as merely natural checks.

MALTHUSIANISM (see MALTHUS) may be defined as the theory, first popularized, tho not first taught, by Malthus, that population has a tendency to multiply faster than subsistence, and that some people must necessarily, therefore, fail to have food unless the race as a whole adopts some measures to prevent the natural increase of its numbers. This is undoubtedly one of the most contested and yet most important questions in social science.

Mr. Benjamin Kidd says ("Social Evolution," chap. viii.): "Underneath all Socialist ideals there yawns the problem of population." Individualism (*q. v.*) rests one of its main arguments upon Malthusianism.

There are two strongly contested views or sets of views upon the subject, but before we can notice these we must see a little more exactly what is meant to-day by Malthusianism. The doctrine as now held by its advocates is not exactly the view advocated by Malthus. Malthus himself somewhat modified his views in the successive editions of his book. (See MALTHUS.) He

omitted from the later editions any exact mathematical statement of the relation between population and sustenance. Secondly, Malthus and the earlier Malthusians based their theory on an asserted general tendency in all animate creation to increase beyond the nourishment prepared for it, as evidenced in the vegetable and animal worlds, in the savage and semisavage civilizations, and even in civilized communities.

Modern Malthusianism, as illustrated, for example, in Pres. A. T. Hadley's "Economics" (1896, pp. 41–51), takes a more scientific form. It carefully analyzes the difference between the birth-rate and death-rate of various countries; it finds in agriculture a law of diminishing returns (*q. v.*); it argues that the pressure of population and consequent family responsibility has largely produced the present surplus of food in civilized countries, so that the removal of this pressure would diminish the supply; above all it connects itself with the evolutionary principle of the necessity of natural selection to progress (see EVOLUTION), and contends that a removal of the pressure of population would mean biological degeneration.

Statement

The correctness of this view is asserted and denied. Most individualists and some Socialists accept the theory at least far enough to admit that there is a tendency for population to outstrip sustenance. The individualists usually assert it to be a necessary principle, and that it cannot be prevented without interfering with social progress. Says President Hadley (as above, p. 41): "If poverty is inevitable and simply represents a sacrifice of individuals for the sake of the progress of the race, we may and must view with resignation a number of evils which can only be made worse by attempting to eradicate them." Socialist Malthusians, however, while admitting that population does tend to outstrip sustenance, argue that competition is not the only path to progress, and that there may and should be found some way of limiting population to the means of sustenance. They urge that not enough attention has been given to the biological principle of progress by functional adaptation and by cooperation of organisms. John Stuart Mill, accepting the Malthusian doctrine, argues that socialism is the state of society most favorable to limiting population to means of sustenance. He says ("Political Economy," Book II., chap. i.):

Results

> Another of the objections to communism is similar to that so often urged against poor-laws: that if every member of the community were assured of subsistence for himself and any number of children, on the sole condition of willingness to work, prudential restraint on the multiplication of mankind would be at an end, and population would start forward at a rate which would reduce the community through successive stages of increasing discomfort to actual starvation. There would certainly be much ground for this apprehension if communism provided no motives to restraint equivalent to those which it would take away. But communism is precisely the state of things in which opinion might be expected to declare itself with greatest intensity against this kind of selfish intemperance. Any augmentation of numbers which diminished the comfort or increased the toil of the mass would then cause (which now it does not) immediate and unmistakable inconvenience to every individual in the association; inconvenience which could not then be imputed to the avarice of employers or the unjust privileges of the rich. In such altered circumstances opinion could not fail to reprobate, and if reprobation did not suffice, to repress by penalties of some description this or any other culpable self-indulgence at the expense of the community. The communistic scheme, instead of being peculiarly open to the objection drawn from danger of overpopulation, has the recommendation of tending in an especial degree to the prevention of that evil.

Many, however, deny the correctness of the Malthusian theory. Professor Marshall ("Economics of Industry," p. 31) says:

> Malthus's statements with regard to the misery that has existed in past ages have been confirmed by more recent historians; but the practical conclusions that he deduced from them are more liable to be disputed. For he could not foresee the inventions and discoveries which were just about to be made when he wrote. He could not foresee how the growth of steam traffic would enable England, on the one hand, to import food from countries where there was a scanty population; and, on the other, to send out her surplus population to cultivate new soils, and to spread the energy and genius of the English people over the earth.

Professor Symes says ("Political Economy," pp. 10, 11):

> There seems no sufficient ground for the assertion that population tends to increase more rapidly than production. In England it is certain that production has increased far more rapidly than population during the past century, and it may fairly be questioned whether the density of the population has not been one of the causes of the high average productiveness of English laborers. These not only support themselves, but produce enough to support a large class in idle luxury, a large class in pauperism, a large class who live by crime, and many classes who labor with more or less advantage to the community, but not at work which is directly productive of material wealth. The idle rich and the idle poor, clergymen, schoolmasters, actors, musicians, thieves, domestic servants, and others, have to live on what the directly productive classes produce; and tho in all communities there must be a certain proportion of non-producers, it is doubtful whether a thinly populated country could possibly support so large a proportion as England does at the present day.
>
> On the whole, then, we conclude that every increase of population opens up opportunities for fresh and superior ways of applying labor, and that if the community avails itself of these, the produce of its labor will, in most cases, be more than proportionately increased.

Objection

Many seem to forget, too, the enormously increased power of providing food made potent by modern science. Says Mr. D. A. Wells ("Recent Economic Changes"):

> Forty years ago a deficient harvest in any one of the countries of Europe entailed a vast amount of suffering and starvation on their population. To-day the deficiency of any local crop of wheat is comparatively of little consequence, for the prices of cereals in every country readily accessible by railroad and steamships are now regulated not by any local conditions, but by the combined production and consumption of the world; and the day of famines for the people of all such countries has passed forever. The extent to which all local advantages in respect to the supply and prices of food have been equalized in recent years through the railway service of the United States is demonstrated by the fact that a full year's requirement of meat and bread for an adult person can now be moved from the points of their most abundant and cheapest production, 1,000 miles, for a cost not in excess of the single day's wages of an average American mechanic or artizan.
>
> Great improvements have been made during the last ten or twenty years in the breeding of live stock and its economical management, whereby a greatly increased product of animal food can be obtained from a given number with comparatively little increased labor or expense. In the matter of dairy produce, recognized authorities in England estimate that the average increase in the yield of milk per cow in that country has been at least 40 gallons per annum since 1878; and this for the 3,500,000 cows in milk, owned by British farmers, "means 140,000,000 extra gallons of milk over and above what the same animals yielded in 1878; and at 6*d.* per gallon would amount to an extra return of no less than £3,500,000 for the United Kingdom, or £1 per cow." . . .
>
> Furthermore, not only has the supply of food increased, but the variety of food available to the masses has become greater. Nearly all tropical fruits that will bear transportation have become as cheap in non-tropical countries as the domestic fruits of the latter, and even cheaper. . . . Thirty or forty years ago fish in its most acceptable form—viz., fresh—was only available to consumers living in close proximity to the ocean; but now fish caught on the waters of the North Pacific, and transported more than 2,000 miles, are daily supplied to the markets of the Atlantic slope of the U. S.; and sea products of the coast of the latter, transported 2,000 miles, are regularly furnished in a fresh condition to British markets. To this it should be added that on the very possibility of propagation which Malthus says applied to the animal and vegetable world, the supply of vegetable

Marvelous Increase of Food Supply

and animal (including fish) food can be, under proper care, almost indefinitely multiplied. What can be done is shown in part in Japan. Recent investigations by Professor Rein, of the University of Bonn, Germany, show "that with an area about the same as the state of California (157,000 sq. m.), and with only one tenth of such area practically available for cultivation, Japan supports a population of 36,000,000 almost entirely from her own product. Making due allowance for what may be eked out of the nine tenths taken up by forest, desert, and mountain, it appears that the incredible number of 2,560 inhabitants are supported from each square mile of cultivated land, or four to the acre. It is well known that this can be done on a small scale, but its application to a nation is marvelous." Nothing is wasted in Japan; everything is utilized, and all arable land has been brought to the highest state of cultivation.

There is thus, however, to say the least, no very pressing fear of the world's being unable to sustain its population from lack of food. In the U. S., to ignore all the rest of the world, if our population were as dense as that of France, we should have, this side of Alaska, 555,000,000; if as dense as that of Germany, 658,000,000; if as dense as that of England and Wales, 1,452,000,000; if as dense as that of Belgium, 1,574,000,000, or more that the present estimated population of the globe.

Many opponents of Malthusianism also argue that with increasing civilization and popular education fecundity will, on biological principles, decrease.

The American Cary argued the physiological theory that the total sum of nutriment received by an organized body directs itself, in largest proportion, to the parts of the system which are most used, and that this meant a diminution in the fecundity of human beings, in spite of more abundant feeding, through the greater use of their brains incident to an advanced civilization.

Nevertheless, there is strong evidence claimed for Malthusianism. The possible natural productivity of the human race is undoubtedly very large. It has been calculated by some that population may double itself in thirteen years. Malthus considered it safer to argue that it could at least double itself in twenty-five years. Mill says on this point ("Political Economy," Book I., chap. x., § 2):

Evidence for Malthusianism

The power of multiplication inherent in all organic life may be regarded as infinite. There is no one species of vegetable or animal which, if the earth were entirely abandoned to it and to the things on which it feeds, would not in a small number of years overspread every region of the globe of which the climate was compatible with its existence. . . . It is but a moderate case of fecundity in animals to be capable of quadrupling their numbers in a single year; if they only do as much in half a century, 10,000 will have swelled within two centuries to upward of 2,500,000. The capacity of increase is necessarily in a geometrical progression; the numerical ratio alone is different.

To this property of organized beings the human species forms no exception. Its power of increase is indefinite, and the actual multiplication would be extraordinarily rapid if the power were exercised to the utmost. It never is exercised to the utmost, and yet in the most favorable circumstances known to exist, which are those of a fertile region colonized from an industrious and civilized community, population has continued for several generations, independently of fresh immigration, to double itself in not much more than twenty years. That the capacity of multiplication in the human species exceeds even this is evident if we consider how great is the ordinary number of children to a family where the climate is good and early marriages usual, and how small a proportion of them die before the age of maturity in the present state of hygienic knowledge where the locality is healthy and the family adequately provided with the means of living. It is a very low estimate of the capacity of increase, if we only assume that in a good sanitary condition of the people each generation may be double the number of the generation which preceded it.

Pres. A. T. Hadley (as above, p. 42) says:

The physiological possibilities of the birth-rate in the human race, when not restrained by intellectual, social, or moral conditions, are thought to be as high as 60 per 1,000, tho no statistics show a birth-rate as large as this over any considerable extent of space or time. . . . The difference between the birth-rate and the death-rate in any one year represents the rate of increase of population for that year. If the birth-rate is 45 per 1,000 and the death-rate 25 per 1,000, the increase of population is 20 per 1,000, or 2 per cent. (For the facts as to birth-rates and death-rates, see BIRTH-RATES and DEATH-RATES.)

As to the fact that modern civilizations have an oversupply of food, President Hadley argues (idem, pp. 47–51) that this is due to competitive and individualistic family responsibility, and under socialistic conditions would disappear. In uncivilized countries he says there is no surplus of food. The history of the English poor-law, he argues, shows that natural selection has not done its work. Criminals and paupers habitually defy the principle that every man should earn a living for himself and his family. As to the assertion that fecundity necessarily tends to decrease with civilization, President Hadley denies that we have any reason for believing this. He says (p. 48):

It is true that as society exists at present high comfort and low birth-rate are commonly associated, because comfort is made to depend upon prudence. Let the comfort be made independent of prudence, as in the case of the pauper or criminal, and the birth-rate tends to increase rather than diminish. It may not be exactly true, as some Malthusians would have us believe, that the low birth-rate is the cause of the comfort; but it is much farther from the truth to assert that the comfort is the cause of the low birth-rate. Both are the results of a common cause, the exercise of prudence, which gives high comfort and low birth-rate to those who are capable of practising it.

Finally, as to the future, President Hadley argues (p. 43) that tho improvements in the arts of producing and utilizing food may increase the power of the world's sustenance, "it is a fact thoroughly established by observation that in any given stage of the arts there is a certain point beyond which increased application of labor and capital does not obtain correspondingly increased supplies of food from a given area."

The views thus quoted present, perhaps, a fair statement of the present condition of the problem. We have quoted President Hadley on the Malthusian side rather than any biologist, because President Hadley is among the latest economists to treat the subject, and because the question is practically to-day economic or psychologic rather than biologic. All authorities are agreed that as a matter of fact in civilized countries to-day there is abundance of food if it were rightly distributed, and that science can at least increase this supply for a considerable time under modern social conditions.

Controversy

The only question is, What has produced this condition in modern countries? President Hadley, e. g., says that "no amount of facts such as are accumulated by writers like Nitti will prove anything against the Malthusian theory. Statistics show that high comfort and low birth-rate go hand in hand. They are absolutely incapable of showing which is cause and which is effect.' Individualists say it is individual responsibility and pressure of existence that causes a low birth-rate, so that under Socialist conditions, removing pressure, you would not have the present supply of food. Socialists claim that under socialism you would increase supply and not increase the rate of human fecundity; and this is mainly a psychologic problem. (See INDIVIDUALISM; SOCIALISM.) As for the problem which is purely biologic, how far progress depends on the strug-

gle for existence and natural selection, see Evolution; Individualism; Socialism; Sociology.

One other view, however, must be here noticed. Many writers and workers for social reform accept the Malthusian theory as to the tendency to overpopulation, and argue that it is moral and necessary and humane to check population, especially among the poor, by physical means. This view is sometimes called *Neo-Malthusianism*, and is earnestly defended on moral and humanitarian grounds. Richard Carlisle, Dr. Charles Knowlton, R. D. Owen, James Watson, and later Austin Holyoake, Charles Bradlaugh, and Mrs. Annie Besant (who has since, we believe, given up belief in Malthusianism), were the most active in popularizing this theory among the poor, and in spite of misrepresentation, abuse, persecution, and prosecution in the courts, continued the propaganda, supported by such men as John Stuart Mill, George J. Holyoake, Robert Dale Owen, and a long list of physicians. Knowing well and horrified by the conditions of life in the slums, seeing the suffering involved in large families, feeling that under conditions where modesty and privacy were all but impossible (see Slums), and hope equally faint, late marriages inevitably mean early prostitution, they argued that Neo-Malthusianism was the most moral course. Women, they said, in the slums were but slaves, sometimes of drunken husbands, at best of foul surroundings. Neo-Malthusianism, they said, was the only practical escape from overpopulation and wretched demoralization. Boldly, therefore, they preached as right what they said the wealthy denounced but practised.

Neo-Malthusianism

References: For further consideration of this question, and for the modern literature of the question, see Birth-Rates and Death-Rates; also Sociology.

MANCHESTER, ENGLAND: Incorporated as a municipality only in 1878, but its municipal industries in magnitude excel to-day those of any other provincial city in Great Britain. Its undertakings not only serve Manchester, but its smaller neighbors. It is the center of an aggregate population of over a million, to whom it supplies water. The area of its gas supply extends to 30,422 acres, and includes 14 outlying townships. Its own population is 631,465 on 19,698 acres. The city possesses the most profitable markets in the country—yielding in 1904–5 a surplus of £14,000 to the municipal exchequer. Its gas undertaking paid over in 1905 £60,000 in aid of rates. Manchester can boast of being the birthplace of free libraries. Infectious diseases, hospitals, cemeteries, slaughter-houses, and laborers' dwellings are also under its control. It has been liberal in its provision of parks for the people. It keeps up a municipal art gallery and a museum. But by far the greatest work of the Manchester Corporation—its boldest municipal enterprise—is its assistance of the Manchester Ship Canal. To maintain that undertaking it has advanced £5,000,000, and elects 11 members to the Board of Directors against 10 nominated by the company, and it is provided by the Manchester Ship Canal (Finance) Act, 1904, that the right of the corporation to appoint a majority of one on the directorate shall continue in perpetuity. By the provisions of the same act the rate of interest on the £5,000,000 is reduced from 4½ to 3⅛ per cent, making the annual payment £160,000, which amount is payable in perpetuity, and if in any year the revenue of the company is insufficient to pay the whole of this amount the balance may be provided by the issue of 3½ per cent preference stock. The city has in hand a large housing scheme and additional sewage disposal works. A great tramway scheme has just been completed. The tramway service has been municipalized and electricity introduced.

On the passing of the Housing Act (1890), Manchester began to develop and has now 1,313 artizans' dwellings. There are 13 sets of baths in the city. The bathers, in 1905, numbered 1,220,463. There are 4 municipal cemeteries. The Manchester public libraries include a central reference library with over 133,000 volumes, 19 lending libraries with news-rooms, reading-rooms, and also, with two exceptions, with children's reading-rooms. The libraries contain 358,287 volumes. The 17 city markets cover an area of 28 acres, and are very profitable, valued at £998,534. The Cleansing Department of Manchester is the largest in the kingdom. The department is a great manufacturing concern: it makes manure, oil, soap, tallow, mortar; it has two large estates of 3,681 acres, upon which part of the refuse of the city is disposed of, and has workshops where it makes implements, vans, railway trucks, brushes, machines, etc. Nearly 2,000 men are employed by the department, which has over 425 horses and 500 vans and carts. The following are significant figures: Average city rate for year ending March 31, 1906, 6*s.* 8$\frac{1}{10}$*d.* Cost of police (net ordinary payments for last financial year), £72,742; fire brigade, £16,621; hospitals and infectious diseases, £45,386; parks and open spaces, £56,754; lunatic asylums, £17,788; street lighting, £73,563; improvements and buildings, £82,776; highways and sewers, £113,247; sewerage and sewage disposal, £67,972.

MANDELLO, JULIUS GEORGE: Professor of political economy; born in 1868; studied economics and politics in the Universities of Budapest, Geneva, and Strasburg. In 1890 he took the degree of Doctor of Political Sciences, and in 1900 became professor of political economy and finance at the Royal Faculty of Law and Political Science in Pozsony, Hungary. Traveled extensively, spending much of his time in France, Germany, Belgium, and the United States. In England he lectured before the British Association for the Advancement of Science in Oxford, and for one term at the London School of Economics and Political Science of London University on the factory laws of Europe. In 1896 became a fellow in commons at St. John's College, Cambridge, England. Member British Economic Association; American Academy Political and Social Sciences; American Statistical Association. Member also of Institut International de Sociologie and Institut International de Statistique, general secretary of Hungarian Economic Association. Correspondent International Labor Bureau in Basle, editor of Hungarian "Economic Dictionary," and the Hungarian "Economic Review." Besides university lectures and addresses before scientific bodies, Dr. Mandello has lectured a great deal for the university extension and at workmen's clubs, etc. Author of many books and articles on economics, statistics, and social science. *Address*: I. Tábor utca, Budapest, Hungary.

MANGER, HON. SAMUEL: Member of Federal Parliament of Australia for Melbourne, Vic-

toria; born at Seelong, Nov. 12, 1857. He was educated in the national schools, and became a retail hatter. He was and is still interested in social reform. He is the honorary secretary of the Anti-Sweating League of Victoria, the leader of the Temperance Party in the House of Representatives, president and superintendent of the United Victoria Fire Brigades. He secured the passage of the Fire Brigade Bill, and has represented the government on the board for over twenty years, and was for thirteen years a member of the governing board. He was elected to the Victorian Assembly 1878–1901, and to the first Federal House of Representatives with an overwhelming majority in 1901; reelected 1903. He is a progressive in politics. He is interested in fraternal orders and was Chief Ruler of the Independent Order of Rechabites. *Address*: 66 Bourke Street, Melbourne.

MANN, HORACE: Educationalist; philanthropist; born 1796, at Franklin, Mass. His father was a farmer in limited circumstances, and the son was early taught self-reliance and independence by a severe and frugal life. He graduated at Brown University in 1819; was admitted to the bar 1823; elected to the legislature 1827; in that body was active in the interests of education, public charities, and laws for the suppression of lotteries and intemperance. In the practise of his profession he adopted the principle never to take the unjust side of any case, and is said to have gained four fifths of the cases entrusted to him, as all juries felt perfect confidence in the honesty of his purpose; 1837–48 was secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education; introduced a thorough reform into the school system of the state, establishing normal schools, and instituting county educational conventions; opposed corporal punishment in school discipline. He visited Europe, investigated the condition of the schools, and embodied his observations in a published report. By his lectures and writings he awakened an interest in the cause of education that had never been so strongly felt before. For eleven years he labored fifteen hours a day in the interests of better education. In 1848 he was elected to Congress. His first speech in that body was in advocacy of its right and duty to exclude slavery from the territories. "I consider no evil as great as slavery," he said. Opposing Webster on this question, he was defeated by one vote; but on appealing to the people as an independent antislavery candidate, he was reelected and served till 1853. He was nominated for Governor of Massachusetts by the Free Soil Party, but was unsuccessful. He was chosen president of Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, accepted the office, and continued in it until his death in 1859.

MANN, JOHN, JR.: Socialist; born in 1863 at Glasgow, Scotland; a graduate of the University of Glasgow, he is now practising as a chartered accountant in Glasgow and London. Mr. Mann has for many years taken an active interest in practical social work, more particularly in connection with housing experiments in Glasgow, and also in the formation and development of the Public House Trust movement, a scheme for controlling the saloons in the interest of the public and for handing over the profits to foster counter attractions. *Address*: 142, St. Vincent Street, Glasgow, Scotland.

MANN, TOM: English Labor leader, now in Australia; born at Foleshill, Warwickshire, 1856, the son of a colliery clerk. At the age of nine he worked in coal-mines, dragging on his hands and knees heavy trolleys through low, dark passages. He gradually worked his way up, coming to serve an apprenticeship as machinist in Birmingham, and in 1877 going to London as an engineer. He also had a short experience of work in the United States. He early became interested in social movements, and manifested a religious bent. When he came to London he took a Sunday-school class at St. Stephen's, Westminster, but later joined the Swedenborgians. He became an ardent teetotaler at Birmingham, and started "A Mutual Improvement Society." In 1885 he joined the Social Democratic Federation, for which he worked as a lecturer and organizer, taking also a prominent part in the eight-hour agitation. Mr. Mann especially worked among the dockers, and a trade-union was formed, of which he was elected president. In the great London dock strikes (*q. v.*), which almost marks an epoch in the English Labor movement, he was one of the chief leaders, and contributed largely to its satisfactory result. In 1891, appointed by the Conservative administration a member of the Royal Commission of Labor, he signed the minority report; was later chosen first secretary of the London Reform Union; left this post, however, in a year to become the general secretary of the Independent Labor Party (*q. v.*). In 1894 and 1895 Mann was an unsuccessful candidate for Parliament, but polled a large vote. A few years later he went to Australia and is now a Socialist leader there.

MANNING, HENRY EDWARD: Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church. He was born in 1807 at Totteridge, Hertfordshire; received his education at Harrow and Balliol College, Oxford. After his ordination in the Church of England, in 1832, he was appointed rector of Lovington and Graffham. In 1851, however, he made submission to Rome, and was sent to Rome for further studies. In 1857 he came in close touch with Cardinal Wiseman as provost of the Chapter of Westminster, and was appointed Archbishop of Westminster in 1865, and Cardinal in 1875. During the Vatican Council of 1870 he was a strong advocate of papal infallibility. In his official position he was indefatigable in all kinds of good works, e. g., the care of the poor, the temperance movement, and education, and in his utterances often very radical. He was, with the Bishop of London and the Lord Mayor, one of the committee which settled the dock laborers' strike in 1889. He wrote numerous works, chiefly on ecclesiastical and religious matters. Died Jan. 14, 1892. (See Roman Catholic Church; also Christian Socialism.)

MANOR: The name given in medieval England to a landed estate. The exact nature of the English manor is, however, in dispute. Professor Nasse argues in a work on "Agricultural Communities of the Middle Ages in England," that down to the Norman Conquest agricultural England was tilled by communities of free peasant proprietors, similar to the communal conception of the German *mark* (*q. v.*). Mr. F. Seebohm, in his "The English Village Communities and the English Manor," has contested this opinion, and argues that the manor, as the estate of a lord or

thane with villeins under him, was the original and universal system in England. Both views find defenders. (See PRIMITIVE PROPERTY.) Authorities at present seem to incline to the views of Seebohm, with, however, some modifications, finding no trace of communal holding, but rather of a feudalism by no means light. (See FEUDALISM.)

MANSFIELD HOUSE: One of the leading and most successful social settlements in East London (Canning Town), founded in 1890, under Congregational auspices, largely under the lead of Mr. Perry Alden, M. P. (*q. v.*). (See SETTLEMENTS.)

MANSION HOUSE COUNCIL ON THE DWELLINGS OF THE POOR: This important council began its work in the year 1884, but was reorganized in 1903. The objects of the council as stated in the scheme of reorganization are:

1. To study all questions relating to housing and sanitation, especially in London and its suburbs; to watch parliamentary action, and to influence public opinion in connection with the same, and generally to act as a bureau of information in regard to such matters.
2. To encourage and press for efficient sanitary administration on the part of the central and local authorities, and to undertake inspection, where expedient, for testing the efficiency of such administration.
3. To form and assist the work of sanitary aid committees in London and its suburbs and to affiliate to the council, when desired, any other societies or committees working on similar lines within that area.
4. To cooperate with bodies carrying on similar work in other places.

The executive committee of the council promotes the formation of local committees, to consist of persons interested in the sanitary wellbeing of some special locality and willing to give their services to promote sanitary reform. Such local committees, however, shall pursue their work according to the rules and methods prescribed by the council and shall be affiliated to the council. The Lord Mayor of London is the president of the council, and among its vice-presidents is the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, the president of the London Congregational Union, and the chief rabbi of the Jews. *Secretary's offices*: 31, Imperial Buildings, Ludgate Circus, London, E. C., England.

MANUFACTURES (see also FACTORY LEGISLATION; INDUSTRIAL BETTERMENT, etc.): We are concerned here simply with the facts and statistics of manufactures.

EXPORTS OF DOMESTIC MANUFACTURES

(From the U. S. Bulletin of Commerce and Finance, Sept., 1904)

COUNTRIES	1880	1903	INCREASE	
			Total	Per cent
	Dollars	*Dollars*	*Dollars*	
United Kingdom.	964,540,000	1,142,595,000	178,055,000	18.46
United States	102,856,015	[1] 452,445,629	349,589,610	339.85
Germany	460,279,000	780,926,000	320,647,000	69.66
France	339,186,000	405,794,000	66,608,004	19.64

[1] Fiscal year 1904.

The chief countries exporting manufactures at the present time are the United Kingdom, Germany, France, and the United States. These four countries supply about three fourths of the

INCREASE*

[Figures for mechanical and neighborhood industries, 1905, are estimates based on percentages of increase over 1900 shown for factory industries]

	DATE OF CENSUS						PER CENT OF INCREASE				
	1905[1]	1900[1]	1890	1880	1870	1860	1900 to 1905	1890 to 1900	1880 to 1890	1870 to 1880	1860 to 1870
Number of establishments	533,769	512,254	355,415	253,852	252,148	140,433	4.2	44.1	40.0	0.7	79.6
Capital	$13,872,035,371	$9,817,434,799	$6,525,156,486	$2,790,272,606	$2,118,208,769	$1,009,855,715	41.3	50.5	133.9	31.7	109.8
Salaried officials, clerks, etc., number	566,175	396,759	261,009	(3)	(3)	(3)	42.7	43.9	.....	.....	.....
Salaries	$609,200,251	$403,711,233	[2] $391,988,208	(3)	(3)	(3)	50.9	3.0	.....	.....	.....
Wage-earners, average number	6,152,443	5,308,406	4,251,613	2,732,595	2,053,996	1,311,246	15.9	24.9	55.6	33.0	56.6
Total wages	$3,014,389,372	$2,322,333,877	$1,891,228,321	$947,953,795	$775,584,343	$378,878,066	29.8	22.8	99.5	22.2	104.7
Men 16 years and over	4,792,874	4,110,527	3,327,042	2,019,035	1,615,598	1,040,349	16.6	23.5	64.8	25.0	55.3
Wages	$2,649,747,837	$2,016,677,789	$1,659,234,483	(3)	(3)	(3)	30.4	21.5	.....	.....	.....
Women 16 years and over	1,194,083	1,029,296	803,686	531,639	323,770	270,897	16.0	28.1	51.2	64.2	19.5
Wages	$356,992,855	$279,994,396	$215,367,976	(3)	(3)	(3)	27.5	30.0	.....	.....	.....
Children under 16 years	167,066	168,583	120,885	181,921	114,628	(3)	4 0.9	39.5	33.6	58.7	.....
Wages	$29,228,667	$25,661,692	$16,625,862	(3)	(3)	(3)	13.9	54.3	.....	.....	.....
Miscellaneous expenses	$1,051,603,535	$1,027,755,778	$631,225,035	(3)	(3)	(3)	60.7	62.8	.....	.....	.....
Cost of materials used	$9,497,619,851	$7,345,413,651	$5,102,044,076	$3,396,823,549	$2,488,427,242	$1,031,605,092	29.3	42.3	52.0	36.5	141.2
Value of products, including custom work and repairing	$16,866,706,985	$13,004,400,143	$9,372,437,283	$5,369,579,191	$4,232,325,442	$1,885,861,676	29.7	38.8	74.5	26.9	124.4

* The Census explains that the data for the different censuses being not taken on exactly the same basis are only in a general way and not absolutely comparable.
[1] Totals for 1900 and 1905 are exclusive of statistics for governmental establishments and for Hawaii.
[2] Includes proprietors and firm members, with their salaries; number only reported in 1900 and 1905, but not included in this table.
[3] Not reported separately.
[4] Decrease.
[5] Not reported.

ESTABLISHMENTS CLASSIFIED BY NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES, 1900

STATE OR TERRITORY	ESTABLISHMENTS CLASSIFIED BY NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED, NOT INCLUDING PROPRIETORS AND FIRM MEMBERS							
	Hand trades			Manufactures				
	Total establishments	No. employees	Over 20	Total establishments	No. employees	Under 5	501 to 1,000	Over 1,000
Continental United States	215,814	68,823	7,773	296,377	41,686	125,880	1,063	443
North Atlantic Division	91,144	26,253	4,042	113,121	14,622	44,352	613	270
South Atlantic Division	14,684	4,927	508	32,495	5,062	13,319	85	34
North Central Division	82,303	27,376	2,430	100,164	15,736	45,700	275	122
South Central Division	15,325	6,076	382	35,717	4,269	16,496	44	8
Western Division	12,358	4,191	411	14,880	1,997	6,013	46	9

STATE OR TERRITORY	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION WAGE-EARNERS IN						HORSE-POWER	PER CENT OF INCREASE	
	1900			1890					
	Men at least 16 years of age	Women at least 16 years of age	Children under 16 years of age	Men at least 16 years of age	Women at least 15 years of age	Children	1900	1890 to 1900	1880 to 1890
Continental United States	77.4	19.4	3.2	78.3	18.9	2.8	11,298,119	89.8	74.6
North Atlantic Division	73.0	24.1	2.9	73.2	24.1	2.7	5,253,826	69.3	71.5
South Atlantic Division	74.2	18.3	7.5	75.6	18.3	6.1	1,054,956	125.1	59.3
North Central Division	83.4	14.3	2.3	86.2	11.6	2.2	3,285,686	88.5	69.5
South Central Division	86.5	9.6	3.9	85.2	11.0	3.8	1,283,643	190.3	110.0
Western Division	86.1	12.2	1.7	86.8	11.2	2.0	420,008	114.2	188.6

THE UNITED STATES, 1905
(All tables compiled from the Census)

	Total	Urban[1]	Rural
Number of establishments	216,262	113,101	103,161
Capital	$12,686,265,673	$8,566,221,283	$4,120,044,390
Salaried officials, clerks, etc., number	519,751	386,713	133,038
Salaries	$574,761,231	$438,685,154	$136,076,077
Wage-earners, average number	5,470,321	3,624,829	1,845,492
Total wages	$2,611,540,532	$1,796,277,612	$815,262,920
Men 16 years and over	4,244,538	2,689,883	1,554,655
Wages	$2,266,273,317	$1,521,141,741	$745,131,576
Women 16 years and over	1,065,884	836,836	229,048
Wages	$317,279,008	$256,932,754	$60,346,254
Children under 16 years	159,899	98,110	61,789
Wages	$27,988,207	$18,203,117	$9,785,090
Miscellaneous expenses	$1,455,019,473	$1,110,261,278	$344,758,195
Cost of materials used	$8,503,949,756	$5,849,805,532	$2,654,144,224
Value of products, including custom work and repairing	$14,802,147,087	$10,310,285,063	$4,491,862,024

[1] Includes municipalities having a population in 1900 of at least 8,000.

manufactures entering the international markets of the world, the total exports of manufactures from these countries being, in round terms, $3,000,000,000, and the total value of manufactures entering the world's international markets being about $4,000,000,000. A study, however, of the relative growth of manufacture and of exportations of manufactures in these four countries indicates that the U. S. is making more rapid gains than any other of the group.

Studies of production of manufactures as a whole are extremely difficult because no country other than the U. S. makes any measurement, by census or otherwise, of the value of its manufactures as a whole. Estimates have been made by Mulhall and other statisticians of the value of the manufactures produced in the principal countries of the world at various dates. These estimates of the value of manufactures produced in the United Kingdom, Germany, France, and the U. S. are for the years 1888 and 1900, respectively, as follows:

ESTIMATED VALUE OF MANUFACTURES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, GERMANY, FRANCE, AND THE UNITED STATES, 1888 AND 1900

[Figures of 1888 are Mulhall's estimates, those of 1900 for European countries are estimates of W. J. Clark, those of 1900 for U. S. are census figures of gross production]

COUNTRIES	1888	1900	INCREASE	
			Amount	Per cent
	Dollars	*Dollars*	*Dollars*	
United Kingdom	3,990,000,000	5,000,000,000	1,010,000,000	25
Germany	2,837,000,000	4,600,000,000	1,763,000,000	62
France	2,360,000,000	3,450,000,000	1,090,000,000	46
Total	9,187,000,000	13,030,000,000	3,863,000,000	42
United States	7,022,000,000	13,004,000,000	5,982,000,000	85

These figures are in all cases estimates, except those of the census of 1900.

GROUPS OF INDUSTRIES

1905 AND 1900

GROUP	Census	Number of establishments	Capital	SALARIED OFFICIALS, CLERKS, ETC.		WAGE-EARNERS AND WAGES					Miscellaneous expenses	Cost of materials used	Value of products, including custom work and repairing
						Total		Average number					
				Number	Salaries	Average number	Wages	Men 16 years and over	Women 16 years and over	Children under 16 years			
United States	1905	216,262	$12,686,265,673	519,751	$574,761,231	5,470,321	$2,611,540,532	4,244,538	1,065,884	159,899	$1,455,019,473	$8,503,949,756	$14,802,147,087
	1900	207,562	8,978,825,200	364,202	380,889,091	4,715,023	2,009,735,799	3,635,236	918,511	161,276	905,600,225	6,577,614,074	11,411,121,122
1. Food and kindred products	1905	45,790	1,173,151,276	53,224	51,456,814	354,054	164,601,803	264,682	79,804	9,568	131,773,642	2,304,416,564	2,845,234,900
	1900	41,159	900,927,187	45,134	38,560,214	301,305	125,338,403	227,282	63,091	10,932	75,614,321	1,778,644,270	2,193,791,594
2. Textiles	1905	17,042	1,744,169,234	61,907	69,281,415	1,156,305	419,841,630	492,161	582,630	81,514	199,066,264	1,246,562,061	2,147,441,418
	1900	17,647	1,340,633,629	43,558	50,350,266	1,022,123	341,651,466	423,573	521,284	77,266	128,154,477	894,846,961	1,628,606,214
3. Iron and steel and their products	1905	14,239	2,331,498,157	82,112	100,444,686	857,298	482,357,503	830,274	18,510	8,514	166,896,587	1,179,981,458	2,176,739,726
	1900	13,874	1,538,459,831	50,098	58,431,506	737,986	384,233,365	716,186	13,779	8,021	91,955,596	993,965,831	1,806,278,241
4. Lumber and its remanufactures	1905	32,726	1,013,827,138	45,555	48,571,861	735,945	336,058,173	708,357	16,673	10,915	130,850,824	518,908,150	1,223,730,336
	1900	35,181	730,067,675	32,410	29,992,488	672,655	253,626,194	647,508	13,229	11,918	64,067,774	481,761,505	1,009,778,057
5. Leather and its finished products	1905	4,915	440,777,194	17,233	18,372,722	255,368	116,694,140	182,126	65,843	7,399	40,737,343	471,112,921	705,747,470
	1900	5,313	327,804,674	14,391	14,486,571	241,662	98,726,363	169,886	65,310	6,466	21,752,239	390,678,471	569,619,254
6. Paper and printing	1905	30,787	798,758,312	80,009	81,808,311	350,205	185,547,791	250,375	90,580	9,250	138,245,437	308,269,655	857,112,256
	1900	26,605	557,131,055	48,120	48,898,355	297,320	139,950,715	211,378	73,886	12,056	75,971,854	213,701,954	605,114,847
7. Liquors and beverages	1905	6,381	659,547,620	12,647	21,421,353	68,340	45,146,285	66,309	1,191	840	223,446,420	139,854,147	501,266,605
	1900	5,740	515,160,244	9,864	15,925,442	55,120	33,217,604	53,210	952	958	186,025,355	93,815,032	382,898,381
8. Chemicals and allied products	1905	9,680	1,504,728,510	45,071	49,864,233	210,165	93,965,248	187,881	20,491	1,793	128,879,323	609,351,160	1,031,965,263
	1900	8,812	1,139,093,102	34,417	36,972,907	182,227	71,594,508	162,517	17,817	1,893	73,608,984	437,637,550	735,432,542
9. Clay, glass, and stone products	1905	10,775	553,846,682	18,768	21,555,724	285,365	148,471,903	265,049	10,854	9,462	37,822,036	123,124,392	391,230,422
	1900	11,527	335,400,558	12,790	13,079,228	231,753	102,867,056	211,832	9,307	10,614	18,144,850	85,168,409	270,726,065
10. Metals and metal products, other than iron and steel	1905	6,310	598,340,758	19,471	24,854,590	211,706	117,599,837	176,478	31,348	3,880	41,595,062	644,367,583	922,262,456
	1900	5,505	389,735,215	13,092	15,519,850	171,963	87,198,156	141,347	26,137	4,479	19,504,372	481,190,510	710,525,157
11. Tobacco	1905	16,828	323,983,501	9,236	8,800,434	159,408	62,640,303	85,691	66,301	7,416	80,145,016	126,088,608	331,117,681
	1900	14,959	111,517,318	7,836	8,593,077	132,526	47,975,331	76,218	49,330	6,978	78,915,293	92,866,542	263,713,173
12. Vehicles for land transportation	1905	7,285	447,697,020	24,632	24,334,118	384,577	221,860,517	381,283	2,196	1,098	29,107,649	334,244,377	643,924,442
	1900	8,739	394,235,576	16,338	15,169,197	314,340	163,698,574	310,810	2,237	1,293	19,662,679	267,129,730	505,094,454
13. Shipbuilding	1905	1,097	121,623,700	2,480	3,339,741	50,754	29,241,087	49,915	65	774	5,255,506	37,463,179	82,769,239
	1900	1,107	77,341,001	1,405	2,007,237	46,747	24,824,738	45,711	34	1,002	3,684,811	33,474,896	74,532,277
14. Miscellaneous industries	1905	12,377	974,316,571	47,406	50,655,229	390,831	187,514,312	303,957	79,398	7,476	101,198,364	460,205,501	941,604,873
	1900	11,394	621,318,135	34,749	32,902,753	307,296	134,833,266	237,778	62,118	7,400	48,537,620	332,732,413	655,010,866

POWER EMPLOYED

	Date of Census		Per cent of increase 1900 to 1905
	1905	1870	
Total horse-power	14,464,940	2,346,142	39.0
Owned:			
Steam	10,664,560	1,215,711	31.0
Gas	289,514	.....	114.9
Water	1,647,969	1,130,431	13.3
Electric	1,138,208	.....	266.4
All other	91,784	.....	83.6
Rented	632,905	.....	98.1

GREAT BRITAIN

No official statements are made in Great Britain concerning the total value and growth of her manufactures, but it is generally understood that manufactures constitute quite four fifths of the exports of the United Kingdom, and of these statistics are given.

EXPORTS OF ARTICLES WHOLLY OR MAINLY MANUFACTURED

1891	£211,071,300	1901	£223,823,211
1893	186,578,295	1902	227,537,027
1895	192,743,374	1903	234,787,859
1897	197,109,161	1904	243,825,894
1899[1]	219,590,874	1905	269,767,795

[1] Beginning 1899, the exports include the value of ship and boats (new) with their machinery.

In England and Wales 56.9 per cent of the breadwinners are engaged in manufactures and mining; the highest percentage in the world, except Scotland, which is 58.1. In Ireland, 30.7 per cent. (For other details, see COMMERCE.)

GERMANY

For recent statistics, see COMMERCE. No manufacturers' census has been made since 1895. The number of persons employed in the German Empire in trades, manufactures, commerce, etc., according to the census of June 14, 1895, was as follows ("Statistik des Deutschen Reiches," Band 119):

NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS AND OF PERSONS EMPLOYED

Establishments Groups	Small, 1–5 persons		Medium, 6–50 persons		Large, 51 persons and over		Total	
	Establishments	Persons	Establishments	Persons	Establishments	Persons	Establishments	Persons
All Industries:								
Total 1895	2,934,723	4,770,669	191,301	2,454,333	18,953	3,044,267	3,144,977	10,269,269
Total 1882	2,882,768	4,335,822	112,715	1,391,720	9,974	1,613,247	3,005,457	7,340,789
Increase in per cent of 1895 over 1882	1.8	10.0	69.7	76.3	90.0	88.7	4.6	39.9
Industries According to Classes in 1895:								
A. Gardening, cattle-raising, fishing	39,698	70,091	2,571	25,853	52	7,184	42,321	103,128
B. Manufacturing, independent of mining and building trades	1,989,572	3,191,125	139,459	1,902,049	17,941	2,907,329	2,146,972	8,000,503
C. Commerce and transportation, independent of hotels, inns, and saloons	905,453	1,509,453	49,271	526,431	960	129,754	955,684	2,165,638

MARK, THE: In the Middle Ages, in Germany, a tract of land belonging in common to a community of freemen who divided the cultivated portion or *arable mark* among their individual members, used the *common* or *ordinary mark* together for pasturage or general purposes, and dwelt in the village *mark* or central portion. Whether it did or not, the *mark* seems to evidence the early organization of the Germanic tribes, from whence the English came, as they are described by Tacitus. According to Green's "History of the English People," the members of the community holding the *mark* were freeholders, or *ceorls*, tho there were among them *eorls*, distinguished by nobler blood, and from whom the *ealdormen* were chosen as rulers in peace or leaders in war. The choice, however, was purely voluntary, and the *ceorls* had no special legal privileges; and tho preliminary discussions rested with the *eorls*, the clash of arms of the *ceorls* was the final decision. The *witen*, or wise men, of the village met and settled disputes, and later, in England, came together as the *witenagemot*, the origin of Parliament. (For the much-discust question on whether these *marks* indicate an original communal holding of soil, see PRIMITIVE PROPERTY.) The probability seems to be that the organization was communal, not individualistic; but the communities were more patriarchal than those of equal freemen. (See MANOR.)

MARKHAM, EDWIN: American poet, Socialist; born in Oregon City, Ore., 1852. Spent early life on a California ranch; worked his way through school; became a teacher, and superintendent of schools, then principal of the Observation School of the University of California. In 1897 he wrote "The Man with the Hoe," a poem which attracted universal attention, and has been called "the psalm of labor" and "the battle-cry of the next thousand years." He is now writing an epic poem to be called "Eternitas," which will embody his ripest thought on the life here and hereafter. He meanwhile writes largely for journals and magazines. He believes that the Golden Rule should be the working principle in all social affairs—that Fraternity in Action is the marrow of all gospels and the fulfilment of all revelations.

He believes that Christ's kingdom was intended to be an actual social order—the working-form of God on earth. This would give body to the word of Christ; build his Comrade Kingdom, and make possible on earth the practise of the Sermon on the Mount. His principal works are: "The Man with the Hoe, and Other Poems"; "Lincoln, and Other Poems"; "Virgilia, and Other Poems"; "The Hoe-Man in the Making" (series on child

labor); "Remarkable Pages from Thomas Lake Harris: Seer and Social Worker" (2 vols.). *Address*: Westerleigh, West New Brighton, New York.

MARRIAGES (for the history, the social and ethical problems involved, and a general discussion of the marriage question, see articles FAMILY and DIVORCE): We give here statistics as to marriages.

THE UNITED STATES

In the United States, according to the census of 1870, the proportion of the married to the total population was 37.8; in 1880 it was 37.7; in 1890, 35.7; in 1900, 36.5; but of the last figure the census says "the losses in proportion of the unmarried among the total population are due to a decrease in the proportion of children."

Few states publish the statistics of marriages,

MARRIAGES IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

(*From the Annuaire Statistique Générale de la France* [1])

	NUMBER OF THOUSAND MARRIAGES															
	Austria	Hungary	Belgium	Denmark	England and Wales	Scotland	Ireland	France	Germany	Italy	Netherlands	Norway	Russia [2]	Sweden	Switzerland	Japan
1801–5	....	....	....	8	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	7	....	19	....	....
1806–10	....	....	....	8	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	6	....	21	....	....
1811–15	....	....	....	9	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	7	....	22	....	....
1816–20	....	....	....	10	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	8	....	22	....	....
1821–25	111	....	....	9	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	9	....	24	....	....
1826–30	129	....	....	10	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	8	....	22	....	....
1831–35	132	....	30	10	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	8	....	22	....	....
1836–40	134	....	31	9	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	8	....	21	....	....
1841–45	140	....	29	10	128	....	....	....	276	....	22	10	....	23	....	....
1846–50	150	....	29	11	143	....	....	....	276	....	23	11	....	26	....	....
1851–55	134	....	31	14	158	....	....	....	271	....	25	11	....	26	....	....
1856–60	148	....	36	13	162	21	....	....	298	....	26	12	....	29	....	....
1861–65	159	....	36	12	173	22	....	....	325	....	28	11	....	28	....	....
1866–70	132	....	37	13	181	23	29	....	348	178	29	11	641	25	18	....
1871–75	191	166	40	15	200	26	26	....	393	210	31	13	670	30	22	....
1876–80	168	150	38	15	192	25	24	....	345	210	31	13	650	50	21	....
1881–85	170	164	39	16	202	26	22	....	355	232	30	13	712	30	20	....
1886–90	181	151	43	15	207	26	21	....	381	232	31	13	736	29	21	....
1891–95	193	160	47	16	225	28	22	....	404	220	34	13	802	28	22	....
1896–1900	206	159	55	18	253	32	22	....	457	228	37	15	[3] 898	31	25	[4] 297
1901	214	170	57	18	259	31	22	....	468	235	40	15	862	31	25	378
1902	207	169	56	18	261	32	23	....	457	238	40	14	....	31	25	395
1903	213	160	54	17	261	32	22	....	463	237	39	13	....	30	25	371
1904	210	182	56	18	257	32	22	298	477	247	40	13	....	30	25	....
1905	....	170	56	18	260	31	23	302	....	255	41	....	....	30	26	....

[1] Since 1903, the figures are mainly from the *Statesman's Year Book*.
[2] Not including Finland, Poland, or the Caucasus.
[3] Russia in Europe, 1899.
[4] 1899.

PERSONS PER 1,000 OF POPULATION

	Austria	Hungary	Belgium	Denmark	England and Wales	Scotland	Ireland	France	Germany	Italy	Netherlands	Norway	Russia	Sweden	Switzerland	Japan
1801–5	....	....	....	17.0	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	15.3	....	15.9	....	....
1806–10	....	....	....	15.4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	13.9	....	17.2	....	....
1811–15	....	....	....	17.6	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	16.5	....	17.9	....	....
1816–20	....	....	....	16.8	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	17.6	....	17.1	....	....
1821–25	15.3	....	....	16.4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	17.4	....	17.8	....	....
1826–30	16.8	....	....	16.2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	15.6	....	15.6	....	....
1831–35	16.8	....	14.4	16.8	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	14.5	....	15.0	....	....
1836–40	16.5	....	14.7	14.3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	13.3	....	13.6	....	....
1841–45	16.3	....	13.1	15.8	15.7	....	....	....	16.4	....	14.8	15.8	....	14.4	....	....
1846–50	17.8	....	13.3	15.8	16.5	....	....	....	15.8	....	15.0	15.4	....	14.6	....	....
1851–55	15.1	....	13.6	18.4	17.2	....	....	....	15.0	....	15.6	15.6	....	14.6	....	....
1856–60	16.2	....	15.7	17.0	16.7	13.8	....	....	16.2	....	16.0	15.0	....	15.8	....	....
1861–65	16.5	....	14.6	14.6	16.8	14.0	....	....	16.8	....	16.6	13.8	....	14.2	....	....
1866–70	18.2	....	14.9	15.2	16.4	13.8	11.4	....	17.2	14.0	16.2	12.8	19.8	12.0	....	....
1871–75	18.2	21.6	15.1	15.8	17.1	14.9	9.8	....	18.9	15.6	16.6	14.6	19.6	14.0	16.0	....
1876–80	15.6	19.4	13.8	15.6	15.3	13.8	9.1	....	15.7	15.1	15.6	14.5	17.7	13.2	14.8	....
1881–85	15.8	21.5	13.7	15.4	15.1	13.8	8.7	....	15.4	15.0	14.2	13.4	18.2	12.8	13.8	....
1886–90	15.4	17.8	14.2	14.0	14.7	13.0	8.6	....	15.8	15.4	14.0	13.2	17.4	12.2	14.1	....
1891–95	16.0	18.0	15.2	13.8	15.1	13.6	9.5	....	15.9	14.8	14.5	12.9	17.9	11.5	14.5	....
1896–1900	16.0	17.0	16.6	15.0	16.1	14.6	9.9	....	16.8	14.3	14.9	13.8	....	12.1	15.6	....
1901	16.4	17.6	16.6	14.4	15.9	14.0	10.1	....	16.5	14.5	15.4	13.2	[1] 18.4	12.1	15.2	17.4
1902	15.5	17.2	16.3	14.3	15.9	14.1	10.3	....	15.8	14.5	15.1	12.8	....	11.9	15.0	16.8
1903	15.4	16.2	15.8	14.2	15.2	14.0	16.4	15.0	15.8	14.4	14.8	12.0	....	11.6	15.0	....
1904	....	....	....	14.4	....	....	....	15.2	16.0	....	14.8	11.8	....	....	14.8	....

1904, Australia, 14.2; New Zealand, 16.2.
[1] Russia in Europe, 1894.

PER CENT OF MARITAL CONDITION, UNITED STATES

RACE, NATIVITY, NATIVITY OF PARENTS, OR MARITAL CONDITION	MALES												FEMALES											
	Total	15 years and over	15 to 19 years	20 to 24 years	25 to 29 years	30 to 34 years	35 to 44 years	45 to 54 years	55 to 64 years	65 years and over	Age unknown		Total	15 years and over	15 to 19 years	20 to 24 years	25 to 29 years	30 to 34 years	35 to 44 years	45 to 54 years	55 to 64 years	65 years and over	Age unknown	
Total males	38,816,448	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	1	37,178,127	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	1
Single	23,492,923	40.2	98.8	77.6	45.8	27.6	16.9	10.3	7.6	5.7	28.6	2	20,491,042	31.2	88.7	51.6	27.5	16.6	11.1	7.8	6.6	6.0	24.6	2
Married	13,956,314	54.5	1.0	21.6	52.5	69.8	78.8	82.2	79.7	67.1	28.5	3	13,813,787	56.9	10.9	46.5	68.9	78.0	79.5	73.9	60.5	34.2	40.1	3
Widowed	1,178,008	4.6	(1)	0.4	1.2	2.0	3.6	6.8	11.9	26.4	3.5	4	2,717,839	11.2	0.2	1.4	2.9	4.6	8.6	17.6	32.3	59.3	15.7	4
Divorced	84,237	0.3	(1)	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.3	5	114,677	0.5	0.1	0.4	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.3	0.7	5
Unknown	104,966	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.3	39.1	6	40,782	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	18.9	6
White	34,201,735											7	32,607,461											7
Single	20,565,745	40.2	99.0	79.5	47.3	28.1	17.0	10.3	7.7	5.8	28.7	8	17,868,294	31.4	89.6	53.5	28.5	17.1	11.5	8.1	6.9	6.1	26.3	8
Married	12,456,349	54.6	0.9	19.8	51.3	69.6	79.1	82.5	80.0	66.9	23.8	9	12,322,697	57.3	10.1	45.2	68.8	78.5	80.3	74.8	61.2	34.7	37.2	9
Widowed	1,020,406	4.5	(1)	0.3	1.0	1.8	3.3	6.4	11.6	26.5	3.1	10	2,291,949	10.7	0.1	0.9	2.1	3.7	7.5	16.4	31.3	58.7	12.3	10
Divorced	72,766	0.3	(1)	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.3	11	91,754	0.4	0.1	0.3	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.5	11
Unknown	86,469	0.4	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.3	44.1	12	32,767	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	23.7	12
Negro	4,386,547											13	4,447,447											13
Single	2,786,580	39.2	97.9	64.3	32.9	21.0	13.2	7.2	5.3	4.6	28.2	14	2,559,682	29.9	83.2	39.7	20.6	12.9	8.0	5.1	4.1	4.3	21.5	14
Married	1,423,039	54.0	1.7	33.8	63.3	73.7	79.1	81.4	78.6	69.6	47.4	15	1,444,533	53.7	15.7	54.6	69.4	73.1	72.3	65.3	51.9	28.9	45.6	15
Widowed	151,245	5.8	0.1	1.1	2.8	4.3	6.7	10.5	15.3	25.0	5.5	16	414,151	15.4	0.9	4.7	8.6	12.4	18.3	28.6	43.2	66.0	23.1	16
Divorced	11,028	0.4	(1)	0.2	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.4	0.4	17	22,043	0.8	0.1	0.8	1.2	1.4	1.2	0.8	0.5	0.3	1.2	17
Unknown	14,655	0.6	0.3	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.4	18.5	18	7,038	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.5	8.6	18
Native white	28,686,450											19	27,908,929											19
Single	18,762,111	43.5	99.0	79.1	46.6	27.8	16.7	9.9	7.2	5.3	27.4	20	16,746,736	34.5	89.6	53.6	29.2	18.2	12.4	8.9	7.9	7.1	27.0	20
Married	9,100,725	51.8	0.9	20.3	51.9	69.7	79.1	82.9	80.9	68.6	21.5	21	9,467,043	55.5	10.1	45.1	68.0	77.3	79.3	74.9	61.7	34.1	36.4	21
Widowed	693,967	4.0	(1)	0.3	1.1	1.9	3.5	6.4	11.1	25.4	2.6	22	1,589,353	9.3	0.1	0.9	2.2	3.8	7.5	15.4	29.7	58.3	9.5	22
Divorced	59,419	0.3	(1)	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.3	23	79,236	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.3	0.5	23
Unknown	70,228	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	48.2	24	26,561	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	26.6	24
Foreign born, white	5,515,285											25	4,698,532											25
Single	1,803,634	29.4	99.1	82.3	49.8	29.0	17.8	11.4	8.7	6.7	35.3	26	1,121,558	19.6	88.9	53.3	25.4	13.1	8.4	6.0	4.7	4.1	23.2	26
Married	3,355,624	63.8	0.7	17.1	49.2	69.3	79.0	81.6	78.1	63.8	35.5	27	2,855,654	64.2	10.9	45.8	72.5	83.1	83.8	74.6	61.0	35.9	40.8	27
Widowed	326,439	6.2	(1)	0.2	0.6	1.3	2.7	6.4	12.5	28.8	5.7	28	702,596	15.8	0.1	0.6	1.7	3.4	7.4	18.9	34.7	59.5	24.6	28
Divorced	13,347	0.3	(1)	(1)	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.3	29	12,518	0.3	(1)	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.3	29
Unknown	16,241	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	23.2	30	6,206	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3	11.1	30
Native white, both parents native	20,849,847											31	20,099,515											31
Single	12,956,535	39.7	98.7	75.9	42.1	24.4	14.7	9.0	6.7	5.1	26.4	32	11,428,302	31.0	87.4	48.7	25.2	15.7	10.9	8.5	7.8	7.0	25.6	32
Married	7,194,236	54.9	1.2	23.3	56.2	72.9	80.9	83.8	81.5	68.9	20.6	33	7,253,852	57.7	12.2	49.8	71.8	79.7	80.8	75.6	62.1	34.2	36.4	33
Widowed	587,910	4.5	(1)	0.4	1.2	2.1	3.6	6.5	11.0	25.3	2.5	34	1,332,393	10.6	0.2	1.1	2.3	3.8	7.4	15.1	29.5	58.3	9.5	34
Divorced	47,997	0.4	(1)	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.5	0.3	35	62,595	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.3	0.5	35
Unknown	63,169	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	50.2	36	22,373	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	28.0	36
Native white, one or both parents foreign born	7,836,603											37	7,809,414											37
Single	5,805,576	54.5	99.6	86.7	56.9	35.7	21.8	14.0	10.5	7.6	43.2	38	5,318,434	44.4	94.9	64.8	37.7	23.6	16.0	10.7	8.5	7.9	42.3	38
Married	1,906,489	42.7	0.3	12.9	42.0	62.2	74.5	79.0	76.7	65.4	36.1	39	2,213,191	49.4	5.0	34.3	60.0	72.1	75.4	71.5	58.8	32.3	36.4	39
Widowed	106,057	2.4	(1)	0.2	0.7	1.7	3.2	6.3	11.9	26.1	3.1	40	256,960	5.7	(1)	0.6	1.8	3.7	7.9	17.1	32.0	59.3	9.3	40
Divorced	11,422	0.2	(1)	(1)	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.8	0.7	0.4	41	16,641	0.4	(1)	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.3	0.3	41
Unknown	7,059	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	17.2	42	4,188	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	11.7	42

[1] Less than one tenth of 1 per cent.

MARITAL CONDITION PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES

For every 1,000 Persons of Fifteen Years or Over

(*From the Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*)

Country	Males				Females				Together			
	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced
Germany	405	547	45	1	352	519	124	3	378	533	86	2
Austria	419	535	44	.....	366	510	123	.....	384	529	86	.....
Italy	390	548	61	.....	317	548	134	.....	353	548	98	.....
Switzerland	453	487	54	4	409	459	123	7	430	473	89	6
France	374	551	72	1	313	537	147	2	343	544	110	2
Belgium	434	507	56	1	394	494	109	2	414	501	83	1
Netherlands	427	516	55	1	399	493	104	2	413	504	80	1
Denmark	395	546	56	1	375	502	119	2	384	523	89	2
Sweden	434	505	59	1	412	468	117	2	422	485	89	1
Norway	412	526	60	.....	414	469	115	.....	413	496	89	.....
England, Wales	411	536	52	.....	395	496	108	.....	402	515	81	.....
Scotland	470	477	51	.....	444	442	112	.....	457	459	83	.....
Ireland	559	382	58	.....	496	370	132	.....	527	376	96	.....
United States	402	547	46	3	312	570	112	4	358	558	78	4
Argentina	530	426	43	.....	419	470	110	.....	478	446	74	.....
Queensland	571	390	36	.....	373	547	78	.....	489	455	54	.....
New Zealand	528	432	38	.....	432	492	74	.....	483	460	55	.....

but the states which do give the following returns:

PROPORTION OF PERSONS MARRIED TO 1,000 OF POPULATION

Compiled from State Reports

	1870	1880	1890	1900	1905
Connecticut	18.0	15.2	16.8	14.2	16.0
Massachusetts	20.2	17.4	18.6	17.2	18.1
Michigan	16.4	18.2	17.8	19.2	19.6
Ohio	19.0	18.0	18.0	17.6	19.1
Rhode Island	21.6	20.2	18.4	18.4	19.9
Vermont	17.6	16.2	17.4	16.6	....

MARSHALL, ALFRED: Professor of political economy; born in London, 1842; educated there and at St. John's College, Cambridge. He was elected fellow of his college in 1865, lecturer on moral science in 1868, which post he held till 1877, when he was appointed principal of University College, Bristol. In 1879 he published his "Economics of Industry," in connection with his wife (*née* Paley). In 1881 ill health sent him abroad; in 1883 he was appointed lecturer on political economy at Balliol College, Oxford; in 1884 he was elected to the chair of political economy at Cambridge University, formerly held by Professor Fawcett. His work, "The Principles of Economics," published in 1890–91, is considered by many economists the most important recent English treatise on the subject. In 1903 he issued "The New Cambridge Curriculum in Economics." *Address*: Balliol Croft, 6 Wadingley Road, Cambridge, England.

MARX, KARL: Philosopher; economist; Socialist; born in 1818 at Treves of Jewish parentage. Studying at Jena, Bonn, and Berlin, he attracted early attention by his attainments in philosophy, and became a devoted Hegelian. In 1842 edited the *Rheinische Zeitung*, of Cologne, till it was supprest a year later for its radical utterances. Then went to Paris and made the acquaintance and friendship of Heine, Bakounin, Proudhon, Ruge, above all, of Engels. The two formed an intellectual partnership, and until Marx's death in 1883 worked together in communistic agitation.

In Paris Marx undertook, with Arnold Ruge, the publication of an edition of Hegel's "Philosophy of Jurisprudence," besides other literary labors; but having employed a paper, *Vorwärts*, to attack Prussia, the Prussian Government in 1846 asked his expulsion from France, which was granted, and he went to Brussels. Here Engels joined him, and the two formed a German Working Men's Association, having as its organ the *Deutsche Brüsseler Zeitung*. Their activity attracted the notice of a German communist league of Paris, which sent in 1847 to Marx in Brussels, and to Engels in Paris, asking them to enter the organization, and promising that a congress should be convened in London. The congress was held in the summer of 1847. As a result of this congress and of another held at the end of the year, the theories of Marx were generally accepted and he was asked to undertake with Engels the drawing up of a communist manifesto, which appeared early in the following year. (See MANIFESTO.) The manifesto was later adopted as the creed of the communists or Socialists.

The Manifesto

In 1848 the February Revolution broke out. The Brussels authorities feared disturbance, and compelled Marx to change Belgian for French soil. Marx was not at all unwilling, and he proceeded to Paris. A manifesto was at once drawn up for circulation in Germany, in which seventeen demands were advanced by the Communist Party. These demands comprized the proclamation of a republic; payment of members of Parliament so that working men might be eligible for election; the conversion of "princely and other feudal estates," with mines, etc., into State property; the appropriation of all means of transport, as railways, canals, steamships, roads, and posts, by the State; the restriction of the law of succession; the introduction of heavy progressive taxes and the abolition of excise duties; the establishment of national workshops; State guaranty to all work people of an existence and provision for the incapable; and universal and free education. Shortly afterward Marx returned to Ger-

many, and along with Engels, Wolff, and Freiligrath founded the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* at Cologne, the first number appearing on June 1, 1848. For his utterances Marx had twice to appear at the Assizes, but he was each time acquitted. In May, 1849, there were risings in Dresden and the Rhine Province, and Marx was not slow to give them his editorial benediction. The newspaper was supprest, and the last number appeared, printed in red ink, on June 19.

Expelled from Prussia, Marx first went to Paris, but, refused residence there, he went to England. His studies were frequently broken, for it was necessary to earn a livelihood, and the duties of correspondent to the New York *Tribune*, which Marx fulfilled for eight years, consumed a large part of his time. His "Zur Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie" bears the date Jan., 1859, a work containing the principles which were afterward to be developed in "Das Kapital." While carrying on his studies Marx came again prominently to the front in 1863 and 1864, when new endeavors were made to unite the working classes of various countries. The result of the agitation was the formation on May 28, 1864, of the International Working Men's Association. (See INTERNATIONAL.) Three years later Marx published the first volume of his great economic work, "Das Kapital." Upon this work rests the reputation of Marx as a political economist.

Marx's later public life was identified with the International (*q. v.*), of which he was the first president. He became leader of the wing which favored the development of communism by the orderly political capture of the State, as opposed to Bakounin, the leader of the anarchist communist wing, which proposed to establish communism on the violent overturn of the State. (See ANARCHISM.) Out of Marx's policy has grown the German and now world-wide political Socialist movement, which, accepting the economics taught by Marx, looks to him as its founder. Some believe that this turning of the communistic movement into political channels will be looked upon as Marx's greatest deed—a deed more important than his economic teachings, which, however brilliantly stated, are not peculiar to him. The English-reading public, however, has never done justice to Marx's economic teachings, because it has derived its notion of those teachings mainly from the first volume of "Das Kapital," which was long alone of Marx's writings translated into English. This volume, tho brilliant, is almost purely analytic and critical of the capitalistic movement and economics. His more constructive works are much less known. The reason for the first volume of "Das Kapital" being the one alone translated was that Marx never lived himself to edit the remaining two volumes, tho after his death they were published by Engels from Karl Marx's notes (the second volume in 1885, the third in 1895). Marx died in London, March 14, 1883. One of his daughters married the French Socialist La Fargue (*q. v.*), and the other the English Socialist Edward Aveling (*q. v.*).

The International

"Das Kapital."

The best brief account of Marx's economic teachings is to be found in Professor Laveleye's "Socialism of To-day" (chap. iv.). We refer the reader to the article CAPITAL for a critical review by Professor Böhm-Bawerk:

Marx bases his system on principles formulated by Adam Smith, Ricardo, Bastiat, and their followers.

In respect of value, says Marx, commodities intended for exchange are crystallized labor. The unit of labor is an average day's work, which varies in different countries and at different times, but which may be considered a fixt quantity in a given community. An article possesses economic or exchange value only because it represents labor. What can be obtained without labor, like air and water, has no exchange value.

How is the quantity of values of an article to be measured? By the quantity of labor that it contains. The quantity of labor is itself measured by the duration of the labor, by days and hours. Here Marx makes a correction in the theory of Smith and Ricardo, and forestalls an objection. It might be said that, if it is the duration of the labor that creates the value of the products, a coat which took a tailor twice as long to make as was necessary would therefore be twice as valuable. Not so, replies Marx; the measure of the value of things is the duration of the labor on the average requisite, performed with the average amount of skill and diligence, and in the normal industrial conditions at any given time.

From these premises our author concludes that labor becomes more productive and creates more utilities to no purpose; it does not produce more value. In fact, if labor measured by time is the sole source of value, articles manufactured in greater quantity in the same lapse of time, all put together, represent no more value, because each individual article is worth less. By the strictly logical chain of these abstractions we arrive at this singular result, that all the inventions of science, all the improvements of manufacture, produce more utilities without increasing the sum total of exchange values. How, then, does the capitalist make money? First of all he buys machines, tools, raw materials, and then, in order to work up the materials, he purchases the workman's "labor force," *arbeitskraft*, the sole source of all value. He sets the laborer to work to change, by means of the tools and machines, the raw materials into manufactured articles, and sells them for more than they cost him to make. In this way he obtains a greater value, "surplus value" (*mehrwerth*). The money, temporarily transformed into wages and merchandise, reappears under its original form, but more or less increased in amount; it has brought forth young—capital is born.

Analysis of Value

This would seem to conflict with the principle laid down above, that exchange does not create new value. The manufacturer has only made exchanges, and yet he finds himself in possession of a greater value. The explanation of the mystery is as follows: The capitalist pays for labor its exchange value, and thus obtains its value in use. Labor force has the unique characteristic of producing more than it costs to be produced. He who buys it and sets it to work for his gain enjoys then the source of all wealth. The capitalist pays for labor its value. What is the value of labor? Like all other merchandise, it is worth what it costs in time and trouble to be produced; that is to say, its cost of production. The cost of production of labor is the food and different commodities necessary to support the laborer and the children destined to succeed him. The value of all these commodities is measured in its turn by the time that it takes to produce them. In short, then, according to Marx, the value of labor is equivalent to the sum of hours required to create what the maintenance of the laborer demands. But to produce the commodities necessary for the existence of the laborer and his family during a day, a whole day's work is not needed. Marx supposes that five or six hours suffice. If, then, the laborer worked for himself, he could obtain all he needed in a half day, and the rest of his time he might devote to leisure or to procuring superfluities; but the slave of antiquity, the serf of the Middle Ages, when gaining his freedom in the existing social order, did not at the same time acquire property. He is therefore obliged to place himself in the service of those who possess the land and the instruments of production. These naturally require him to work for them the whole day of twelve hours or more. In six hours the laborer produces the equivalent of his subsistence; this is what Marx terms "the necessary labor"; during the remaining six hours he produces the "surplus value," the *mehrwerth*, to the profit of his employers. The capitalist pays the laborer for his labor-power at its value; that is to say, by giving him the amount of money which, representing six hours' labor, permits him to buy the necessaries of life; but as he thus obtains the free disposal of this productive force for which he has paid, he acquires everything it produces during the entire day. He therefore exchanges the produce of six hours against the labor of twelve hours, and puts in his pocket, as net profit, the produce of the six hours beyond the "necessary labor." From this surplus, pocketed by the employer, capital comes into being.

The Capitalist Process

The capitalist has different methods of increasing his profits. The first consists in multiplying the number of his workmen. The second method is to lengthen the working-day. The longer the laborer works beyond the necessary time which represents his wages, the greater the profit he

brings to his master. The third method consists in diminishing the duration of the "necessary labor," the hours which the laborer must work to produce his maintenance. This is done by rendering the labor more productive. As hours of labor obtain the same price, no matter what they produce, if twice as many articles can be made in the hour, each article will cost one half less and the laborer will have one half less to spend on living; he will therefore be able to sell his labor force for a remuneration reduced by one half. All these deductions appear to be irrefutable, and we thus arrive at this singular conclusion, that the more the employment of machines and of improved methods increases the productivity of labor, the lower wages fall and the greater the profits of the capitalist become.

According to Marx, the capitalist régime is of recent origin. It dates from the sixteenth century, when the large proprietors, impoverished by the wars of the Middle Ages, gradually drove their retainers from the soil, and thus formed a landless proletariat compelled to compete for wages. History is to Marx a portion of natural history. He says in the preface to the first edition: "My standpoint from which the evolution of the economic formation of society is received as a process of natural history, can less than any other make the individual responsible for relations whose creatures he socially remains, however much he may subjectively raise himself above them."

According to Marx, the capitalistic era is a necessary epoch which must in time give place to communistic production. Capitalistic production, by compelling workmen to work for simply what is necessary to support life, cuts off its own market, since the workman has no money left to buy with! Hence capital is compelled to turn to commerce to supply it with ever new fields and markets for it to exploit. But this ends. There are no more new worlds for it to conquer, and so it is working its own ruin. Marx says: "One capitalist ever kills many. Hand in hand with this centralization, or the expropriation of many capitalists by few, are developed the cooperative form of the labor process—and that on a constantly increasing scale—the intelligent application of science to technical purposes, the systematic exploitation of the soil, the transformation of the means of labor into means of labor only usable in common, the economizing of all means of production by their use for production by combined social labor, the entwining of all nations in the net of the world market, and thus the international character of the capitalist régime. With the steady decrease of the capital magnates, who usurp and monopolize all the advantages of this process of transformation, the mass of want, oppression, servitude, degradation, and spoliation grows; but the revolt of the laboring class—swelling ever in numbers, and disciplined, united, and organized by the mechanism of the capitalist process of production itself—spreads at the same time. The capitalist monopoly becomes a fetter on the mode of production with and under which it has originated. The centralization of the means of production and the socialization of labor reach a point at which they become no longer compatible with their capitalist integument, and this is burst asunder. The last hour of capitalist private property strikes. The expropriators are expropriated.

The Present Situation

In the first case there is the expropriation of the mass of the people by a few usurpers, but in the latter the expropriation of a few usurpers by the mass of the people.

Marx would make land and all the instruments of production collective and social property. He would go further; he would have all subjects of the State share equally in labor and the produce of labor. His future State is a Labor State in which labor will be compulsory on all who are capable. In "Capital" we find him developing the idea of uniting agriculture with industry, which is advanced in the Communist Manifesto written in 1847. He would have great variety in the labor of the individual, so that he may be as many-sided as possible.

On account of its intellectual brilliancy and acumen, and the influence it has had on Germans, it has been called distinctively "Scientific Socialism"; yet to-day it is not accepted by many scientific Socialists, much less other political economists. In its merciless logic and Hegelian dialectic, it is indeed scarcely possible to pick a flaw; but some Socialists say that it starts from a wrong premise. Marx's error is not his, but inherited from Adam Smith and Ricardo. Labor is not the only source of value. If Adam Smith and Ricardo are right in saying that it is, then Marxian socialism follows. It takes more than labor to produce value. Labor is only one of the elements. Socialists who do not follow Marx's economics arrive at his results, but through other channels. (See SOCIALISM; VALUE.) The acumen of Marx's analysis of the orthodox economics and his contribution to the development of political socialism are, however, beyond all question. The best account of Marx is in Dawson's "German Socialism" (1888).

MASSONIUS, PIOTR: Polish member of the Russian Duma; born in 1862. Representative (autonomist) from Minsk government. He is a small landowner, and graduate of Minsk College, the School of Pure Science of Warsaw University, and Leipsic University with the degree of Ph.D. Massonius published a series of works on esthetic criticism and Polish history. For a time he was editor of the *Reforma*.

MASTERMAN, CHARLES FREDERICK GURNEY: English Member of Parliament; author; editor; lecturer; born at Rotherfield Hall, Sussex, England, in 1873; educated at Weymouth School and Christ's College, Cambridge. First class in natural sciences tripos, 1895; first class in moral sciences, 1896. President of the Cambridge Union, 1896; fellow of Christ's College, 1900. Elected to Parliament as a progressive Liberal from West Ham, 1906. Literary editor of London *Daily News*; writer for *The Independent Review*; *Speaker Contemporary*. Active in the Christian Social Union. Lecturer for the Cambridge and London University Extension Societies; served as secretary for Children's Country Holiday Fund and as a Guardian of the Poor for the District of Camberwell. Author: "Tennyson as a Religious Leader," "The Heart of the Empire," "From the Abyss," "In Peril of Change." *Address*: 10 Addington Square, Camberwell, London, S. E.

MAURICE, JOHN FREDERICK DENISON: Founder of Christian Socialism; born Normanston, Suffolk, England, 1805; son of a Unitarian minister. Graduating at Trinity, Cambridge, he took a degree in law, but early devoted himself to writing on religious and social questions, particularly in *The Athenæum*. In 1831 he entered the Church of England, and went to Oxford and obtained a second class in classics in 1831. His first curacy was at Bubbenhall, Warwickshire, but from 1836–46 was chaplain at Guy's Hospital, London. His writings were already attracting attention. In 1835 he wrote "Subscription *vs.* Bondage," and an article subsequently enlarged into his "Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy" (1850–57). In his "Kingdom of Christ" (1838), "Lectures on Education" (1839), "Reasons for not Joining a Party in the Church" (1841), he laid the foundations for the theological views of which in the present century he is undoubtedly the great master, with his high conception of the Church and the nation, and yet with a catholic conception of Christianity that found room in it for what—tho he himself repudiated the name—has been later called "Broad Church" divinity. He was chaplain at Lincoln's Inn 1846–59; it is to this period that his Christian Socialist activities belong. (For a full account of this movement, see CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.) His attention was first prominently called to socialism and its moral significance by Ludlow, but Maurice became the "master" of the little school of thinkers and workers that gathered round, and he proposed the name Christian Socialism, saying that it was the only name that would deliver us to the conflict we must sooner or later wage with unsocial Christians and with unchristian Socialists. He contributed largely to the literature

of the movement, and entered earnestly into the practical details of establishing cooperative tailors' stores; but when this movement had become somewhat established (see COOPERATION) he withdrew to devote himself more purely to educational and intellectual work. He was one of the prime movers in establishing the Working Men's College and the Queen's College for Women and in 1854 became principal of the former. In 1840 he had been made professor of English literature and history at King's College, and in 1846 professor of divinity, but in 1853 he was deprived of his chair because of his theological and social views. 1860–69 he was incumbent of St. Peter's, De Vere Street. In 1866 he was chosen professor of moral philosophy at Cambridge, whence he published "Social Morality" (1869). Died in London in 1872. His writings were numerous and varied. Those bearing directly on social themes we have mentioned. His "Life," edited by his son, appeared in 1884.

MAXWELL, GEORGE HEBARD: Executive chairman of the National Irrigation Association and American Homecroft Society; born 1860, Sonoma, Cal. From 1879 to 1882 he was official stenographer United States Circuit Court and Superior Court; admitted to the bar 1882; in active law practise in California for seventeen years; organized the National Irrigation Association in 1899, and managed campaign for national irrigation ending in passage by Congress of National Irrigation Act in 1902. He organized the Homecrofters' Gild of the Talisman, 1906, and American Homecroft Society, 1907, to accomplish the slogan of the Homecrofters, "Every child in a garden—every mother in a homecroft—and individual industrial independence for every worker in a home of his own on the land."

He is author of "The First Book of the Homecrofters," and "Lectures and Public Addresses." *Address*: 1409 Fisher Building, Chicago, Ill.

MAYOR AND MAYORALTY: The mayor is the governor of a city. The word is said to have been first used in 1189, when Richard I. substituted a mayor for the two bailiffs of London. In Europe the mayor is not usually elected by the voters, but by the City Council. In England he is usually chosen only for one year. In Germany he may be elected for life, and may be chosen from any city; so that the mayor of a large city is usually one who has shown ability in a smaller city. In Paris the prefect of the Seine corresponds to the mayor, tho there are *maires* of each arrondissement in the city. (See PARIS.)

In America the mayors were chosen by the Council in New York till 1834; in Philadelphia, till 1839; but at present most mayors are elected by the people. Their terms of office vary from one year to four years. Their powers, too, materially vary. They usually have a veto power in the Council, the power of appointment and removal, with the consent of the City Council; but in 1882 Brooklyn, under Mr. Seth Low, commenced allowing the mayor to make his own appointments—thinking thus to fix responsibility—and for a while there was a general tendency to increase the power of the mayors. Under a good mayor it worked well. But under a bad mayor it works ill, and the general tendency at present is to put more power in the Council and less power with the mayor. (See CITY.)

MAZZINI, GIUSEPPE: Italian patriot; born Genoa, Italy, 1808. His first tutor was an old priest who taught him Latin, but his omnivorous reading was not directed by any master. At the age of thirteen he attended classes in the faculty of arts at the university, later studied anatomy to follow his father's profession, but finally (1826) graduated in laws, and for some time was occupied in the *Ufficio dei Poveri*. From birth sentiments of social equality were engendered in him by the example of his parents; and very early the degraded political condition of his country began to prey upon his mind. Patriotic enthusiasm gained absolute sway over his spirit, and led him to renounce his cherished idea of a life of literature for the political arena. But in the mean time the "republican instincts," which he tells us he had inherited from his mother, had been developing. His articles accordingly became more and more suggestive of advanced liberalism in politics, and led to the suppression by government of the *Indicatore Genovese* and the *Indicatore Livornese* successively. Mazzini joined the Carbonari, and was entrusted with a secret mission in Tuscany, but in 1830 was betrayed. He was imprisoned in the fortress of Savona on the western Riviera for about six months, when, through deficiency of evidence, he was released, but upon conditions involving so many restrictions that he preferred to leave the country. He went accordingly to France, living chiefly in Marseilles. Here, in presence of "those symbols of the infinite, the sky and the sea," and having access to no books but "a Tacitus, a Byron, and a Bible," he conceived the great mission or "apostolate" (as he himself called it) of his life, and organized a society destined to become famous throughout Europe, *La Giovine Italia*, or Young Italy. Its avowed aims were to be the liberation of Italy, both from foreign and domestic tyranny, and its unification under a republican form of government; the means to be used were education, and, where advisable, insurrection by guerrilla bands; the motto was "God and the people," and the banner was to bear on one side the words "Unity" and "Independence" and on the other "Liberty," "Equality," and "Humanity." In April, 1831, Charles Albert succeeded to the Sardinian throne, and Mazzini, as he afterward confest, "the interpreter of a hope which he did not share," wrote the new king a letter, urging him to take the lead in the impending struggle for Italian independence. Its bold and outspoken words produced a great sensation, but so deep was the offense it gave to the Sardinian Government, that orders were issued for the immediate arrest and imprisonment of the author should he attempt to cross the frontier. Toward the end of the same year appeared the important Young Italy manifesto. "Congregations" were formed at Genoa, Leghorn, and elsewhere. Banished from Marseilles in consequence of the extensive operations of the society, Mazzini resorted to concealment for several months, principally in Switzerland.

Revolution

The first fruits of *La Giovine Italia* was the revolutionary expedition of Savoy, organized by Mazzini at Geneva, but defeated by the royal troops. Sentence of death, *par contumace*, was recorded against Mazzini in the Sardinian courts for his participation in the affair; but he soon recommenced with increased vigor his revolutionary operations. A new association, entitled "New Europe," and based on principles of European

rights and enfranchisement, was inaugurated by the exertions of Mazzini in Switzerland. In 1837 Mazzini quitted Switzerland for England, and finally took up his abode in London, where for many months he had to carry on a hard fight with poverty. Ultimately he was able to earn a livelihood by writing review articles, some of which have been reprinted, and are of the highest order of literary merit; they include papers on "Italian Literature since 1830," "Lamennais," "George Sand," "Byron and Goethe," "Lamartine," "Carlyle," and "The Minor Works of Dante." In 1839 he entered into relations with the revolutionary committees sitting in Malta and Paris, and in 1840 he originated a working men's association, and the weekly journal entitled *Apostolato Popolare*, in which the treatise "On the Duties of Man" was commenced. Among the labors undertaken by Mazzini was a free evening school conducted by himself and a few others for some years, at which several hundreds of Italian children received at least the rudiments of secular and religious education. Mazzini did not share the enthusiastic hopes raised in the ranks of the Liberal Party throughout Europe by the first acts of Pius IX., in 1846, but at the same time he availed himself of the opportunity to publish a letter address to the new Pope. The revolutionary leaders had long been in correspondence with Mazzini, and their action, along with the revolution in Paris, brought him to Italy, where he took an active part in the events which dragged Charles Albert into an unprofitable war with Austria; he actually for a short time bore arms under Garibaldi immediately before the reoccupation of Milan, but ultimately, after vain attempts to maintain the insurrection in the mountain districts, found it necessary to retire to Lugano. In the beginning of the following year he was nominated a member of the short-lived government of Tuscany formed after the flight of the Grand Duke, and almost simultaneously, when Rome had, in consequence of the withdrawal of Pius IX., been proclaimed a republic, he was declared a member of the constituent assembly there. A month afterward Mazzini was appointed a member of the triumvirate, with supreme executive power. His tenure of supreme authority was marked by wisdom, moderation, and success. On the surrender of Rome, by Mazzini's advice, however, he quitted the city, and subsequently returned to London. At his instigation risings in Milan (1853) and in Piedmont (1857) were attempted. The Sicilian expedition of 1860 owed as much to the organization of Mazzini as to the command of Garibaldi. In 1865 he was elected by Messina deputy to the Italian Parliament; but the election, to which he himself as a republican would have declined to accede, was canceled by the Parliament. In 1865, after the session of Venice to Italy, his sentence of death was at last removed, but he declined to accept such an "offer of oblivion and pardon for having loved Italy above all earthly things." In 1870 he set out for Sicily, but was arrested at sea and carried to Gaeta, where he was imprisoned for two months. Events soon made it evident that there was little danger to fear from a contemplated rising, and the occasion of the birth of a prince was seized for restoring him to liberty. The remainder of his life, spent partly in London and partly at Lugano, presents no noteworthy incidents. For some time his health had been far from satisfactory, and he died at Pisa, March 10, 1872. The Italian Parliament by a unanimous vote exprest the national sorrow; an eloquent tribute was pronounced by the president, and a public funeral took place at Pisa, his remains being later conveyed to Genoa. Mazzini said of himself, "I am but a voice crying *action*," but he was in very deed far more. In his "Duties of Man," address to working men, he gives perhaps the fullest expression to thoughts which make many consider him the greatest prophet of the nineteenth century. His watchwords were "duties," and not "rights"; self-sacrifice, and not self-seeking; association, and not competition; democracy, and not government; humanity, and not the individual; God, and not the opinions of mankind. Opposing both socialism and Christianity as they were presented to him, he said:

His Views

> Working men, brothers! When Christ came and changed the face of the world, He spoke not of rights to the rich, who needed not to achieve them; nor to the poor, who would doubtless have abused them, in imitation of the rich; He spoke not of utility, nor of interest, to a people whom interest and utility had corrupted; He spoke of duty, He spoke of love, of sacrifice, and of faith; and He said that they should be first among all who had contributed most by their labor to the good of all. And the word of Christ breathed in the ear of a society in which all true life was extinct, recalled it to existence, conquered the millions, conquered the world, and caused the education of the human race to ascend one degree on the scale of progress.

REFERENCES: A translation of his main writings appeared in 1891. There are cheap editions of his *Duties of Man*, of his *Thoughts on Democracy in Europe*, and his literary essays.

MEAD, EDWIN DOAK: Author; editor; born in 1849 at Chesterfield, N. H. He spent his boyhood on a farm and in the village store, but in 1866 entered the employ of Ticknor & Fields, publishers, of Boston. From 1875 to 1879 he studied at English and German universities and returned to America in 1879, since which time he has been engaged in lecturing and other literary work. He was editor of *New England Magazine* 1889–1901; for several years president of Good Citizenship Society and the XXth Century Club of Boston. At present is director of Old South Historical Work in the city of Boston, and editor of the *International Library*. Greatly interested in the movement for universal peace, he was appointed delegate for American Peace Society to the congresses held in Glasgow, Rouen, Lucerne, and was chairman of the executive committee at the congress held in Boston in 1894. Mr. Mead is especially devoted to the better organization of the world and the using of the enormous amounts of money now wasted on great armaments in constructive efforts for the education and general welfare of the people. He works for free trade and for the public control of transportation and other important interests. He is author of "Martin Luther: A Study of the Reformation," "The Philosophy of Carlyle," "The Roman Church and the Public Schools," "Organize the World," "The Influence of Emerson," "The Principles of the Founders," etc. *Address*: 39 Newbury Street, Boston, Mass.

MENNONITES: A sect of Anabaptists (*q. v.*), followers of Menno Simons, and found in Switzerland, Germany, France, Russia, and America. First appearing in Switzerland in 1525, in 1683 a colony was established at Germantown, Pa. In 1871 many of them fled from Russia to America. At first they refused to swear in courts or bear arms, and lived a quiet industrial life. They have

now abandoned any unusual social views. (See ANABAPTISTS.)

MERCANTILISTS: Mercantilists is the name given to a school of political economy, if it can be called a school, which advocated the belief generally held till the end of the last century that wealth consists in gold and silver, and that therefore the importation of gold and silver and exportation of goods to obtain gold should be encouraged by the State, and the exportation of gold and silver and importation of goods should be discouraged as much as possible. How this leads to the balance-of-trade theory (*q. v.*) is at once apparent.

The mercantile system, also called Colbertism, restrictive system, and commercial system, obtained from the early part of the sixteenth century until late in the eighteenth century, and its influence is still felt. Most prominent among the statesmen who were mercantilists may be named Colbert, of France; Frederick the Great, of Prussia; and Cromwell, of England. Serra, an Italian, early in the seventeenth century presented a moderate and systematic statement of their views in a work entitled "A Brief Treatise on Causes which make Gold and Silver Abound where there are no Mines." Thomas Mun, in England, a generation later, wrote a valuable treatise from the standpoint of the mercantilists, called "England's Treasure by Foreign Trade; or, the Balance of our Trade the Rule of our Treasure," while Sir James Steuart's "Inquiries into the Principles of Political Economy," published in 1767, may be regarded as closing the development of the theory of mercantilism.

To-day no one holds this view to be correct. (See BALANCE OF TRADE; FREE TRADE; PROTECTION.)

MERCER, JOHN EDWARD: Bishop of Tasmania, Australia; born in 1856 at Bradford, England; writer on sociological topics; educated at Rossall School, Lancashire. He was the first Rossall School missionary to Newton Heath, Manchester, where he stayed for seven years. Later he had a parish for the working classes in the outskirts of Manchester for five years. He was vice-chairman of the Manchester branch of the Christian Social Union, and chairman of the Manchester Social Club; also honorary life member of the Manchester Statistical Society. He is in sympathy with the modern "Social Movement" in the direction of securing greater equality of opportunity and a more equitable distribution of wealth. Author: "Conditions of Life in a Manchester Slum"; "Social Equality"; "What is the World External to Mind?" He was Moorhouse lecturer for 1906–7 on "The Soul of Progress." *Address*: Bishopscourt, Fitzroy Place, Hobart, Tasmania.

MERCHANTS' GILDS. See GILDS.

MESLIER, JEAN: French priest and Socialist; born at Mazeray-en-Champagne, 1664. The son of poor parents, he attracted the attention of a priest who taught him Latin, and secured him a free scholarship. On obtaining his theological degree, he was ordained priest of Etrépigny, where he officiated until his death in 1729 or 1733. It was rumored that he committed suicide.

Meslier served the Church faithfully, and did not deem it consistent with his clerical duties to voice his socialistic views. Upon his death, however, a "testament" was found in which he set forth his political creed. "I have seen and learned the mistakes, abuses, vanities, follies, and sins of humanity, and I have hated them and abhorred them. During my life I have not dared to speak my thoughts, but I will at least voice them dying." After criticizing religion, and especially the Christian Church, whose founder he considered an impostor, Meslier points out the great disparity between the conditions of men, arguing throughout in favor of the lowly and oppressed, and advising them to stand shoulder to shoulder against the tyrants of the earth.

Meslier's "testament" attracted great attention, especially through Voltaire, who, in 1762, made an abstract of the work. The entire work appeared in three volumes (Amsterdam, 1864) under the title "Le Testament de Jean Meslier."

METAYER, THE (from Latin *medieta*, half), is one who cultivates a farm or land for the owner on condition of retaining a portion, usually one half, of the produce, the owner generally furnishing the stock and tools. *Metayage*, or the metayer system, prevails in Italy, southern France, and to a large extent in the south of the United States.

METHODISM AND SOCIAL REFORM: The evangelization of the masses was the distinctive purpose of John Wesley, the founder of Methodism; but unintentionally and unconsciously to himself, for the fact was not recognized during his lifetime, John Wesley became not only the greatest social reformer of the day, but possibly the greatest in all the history of England. The influence of his work is felt to this day not only in the country where Methodism was born, but in every land where Methodists dwell.

Tribute to the influence of Methodism as a factor in social reform has been paid by the foremost historians. "The man who did most to reform the social life of England in the last century was John Wesley," writes W. Moore Ede, in his history of "The Attitude of the Church to Some of the Social Problems of Town Life." "The Methodists themselves were the least result of the Methodist revival," writes J. R. Green in his "History of the English People." "The noblest result of the religious revival," continues Green, "was the steady attempt, which has never ceased from that day to this, to remedy the guilt, the physical suffering, and the social degradation of the profligate and the poor." Thomas C. Hall, in his work on "The Social Meaning of Modern Religious Movements in England," says: "Probably no factor, nay no four or five factors together, may be said to have had the same social influence for the future of England's empire as the Methodist phase of the evangelical revival. One of the great blessings of this social activity of the evangelical political party was the close union brought about by it with the rising trade-unions of England. There is no prouder chapter in the history of the working democracy than the history of trade-unionism. Its quiet, steady, temperate, cautious advance has been largely due to the character of the men whom Methodism trained, and the sympathy and support extended by men who dared the reproaches of their own class in society and struggled for their brethren against selfishness, prejudice, and slander to secure justice and righteousness.

The results of Methodist activity to which these historians bear tribute were due to the influence upon the character and life of his followers of the type of religion which John Wesley preached, to the interest of the Methodists in the poor and ignorant, and especially to the two institutions which were distinctive of Methodism—the class meeting and the local or lay preacher.

Wesley

John Wesley was in very truth "an apostle of the poor." His interest in the relief of the poor began while he was a fellow at Oxford University. One of the rigidly observed, if not required, rules of the Holy Club was that its members should give away in relief of the poor all they had left after providing for their own necessities. Wesley in later years wrote: "One of them had £30 a year. He lived on £28 and gave away 40 shillings. The next year, receiving £60, he still lived on £28 and gave away £32. The third year he received £90 and gave away £62. The fourth year he received £120; still he lived as before, on £28, and gave to the poor all the rest." This "one" was John Wesley; and the rule here laid down he observed to the end of his life, never spending upon himself more than £28 a year. As his private income increased his charities increased. His private charities during his lifetime aggregated to $150,000.

Early in the history of the Methodist movement Wesley began to utilize his societies (his organizations were not recognized as churches until after his death) for the relief of those in need and the distrest. He began systematic relief work as early as Nov., 1740. Under date of Nov. 3, 1740, he writes in his journal, that in order to aid those who are out of work he took twelve of the poorest and a teacher into the society room where they were employed for four months in carding and spinning cotton. He divided London into twenty-three districts and appointed two persons to visit the poor and sick in each district and relieve their need. The visitors were enjoined to observe strictly four rules: "(1) Be plain and open in dealing with souls. (2) Be mild, tender, patient. (3) Be cleanly in all you do for the sick. (4) Be not nice." Wesley never exhibited greater sagacity than in these four rules, "Upon reflection," wrote he, "I saw how exactly, in this also, we had copied after the primitive Church. What were the ancient deacons? What was Phœbe, the deaconess, but such a visitor of the sick?"

Out of the work performed by these visitors has come the organization and the work to-day of the "sisters" in the Wesleyan Church in England and the deaconesses in the Methodist Church in America. The first Methodist deaconess was Mary Bosanquet, afterward the wife of the eminent John Fletcher. She also founded the first Methodist orphanage, which was the forerunner of many similar institutions in England, Canada, and 14 in the United States, conducted by the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Methodist Episcopal Church also has 57 deaconess homes, 24 stations in this country, 19 deaconess homes in Europe, 9 in India, 2 in China, and 1 in Africa, employing in 1907 792 deaconesses and 436 probationers who are preparing to become deaconesses. These deaconesses during the year made over 418,000 visits to the poor in their homes, nursed 5,500 sick in their homes and 12,000 sick in hospitals.

As a result of his efforts to help the poor and the sick, Wesley started, in connection with his headquarters in London called the Foundry, a medical dispensary—the first free dispensary—after which the Finsbury Dispensary in London, twenty years later, was modeled. The expense of relieving the poor at their homes became so great, and the profit was, comparatively, so little, that Wesley resolved to try whether they might not receive more benefit in the hospitals. He found hospital treatment to be less expensive; but no more good was done than before. He asked the advice of several physicians for the sick, but without advantage. He saw the poor people pining away, and several families ruined, and that without remedy. Finally, as a desperate expedient, he said: "I will prepare and give them physic myself." This he was competent to do. For more than twenty-five years he had made anatomy and physic the diversion of his "leisure hours." His knowledge of medicine was extensive, and his common sense made it of practical value to many persons. His "Primitive Physic," of which at least twenty-three editions were issued before his death, grew out of his medical efforts for the relief of the poor. Medical aid to the poor has always been a distinctive feature of Methodism. Under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church alone in this country there are twenty-five hospitals, much of the service in which is free to poor patients. There are besides hospitals and free dispensaries in foreign lands.

One of Wesley's earliest charities was a widows' home. He had observed for some years many who, altho not sick, were not able to provide for themselves and had no relatives or friends who took enough interest in their welfare to provide for them. These persons were chiefly feeble, aged widows. Wesley leased two houses near by and fitted them up so that they were warm and clean. He took in as many widows as there were room for and provided them with things needful for the body. There are now many Methodist old people's homes, ten of them in American cities under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Popular Education

The Methodists were the first to provide schools in England on an extensive scale for the education of the children of the poor. F. V. P. Painter, in his "History of Education," says: "Prior to the beginning of the present century (1800) the education of the masses of England was almost entirely neglected. To Robert Raikes, the founder of the Sunday-school, belongs the honor of having first awakened an interest in popular education." But it was a Methodist woman, Sophia Cooke, afterward the wife of Samuel Bradburn, one of Wesley's preachers, who suggested the idea of the Sunday-school to Robert Raikes, and fourteen years before Raikes began his school at Gloucester, Hannah Ball, a young Methodist lady, had a Sunday-school at High Wycombe. Forty years before Raikes began his Sunday-school, the Methodist colliers at Kingswood, after a sermon preached by George Whitefield in an open field, contributed $100 toward the erection of a school. Four days later the foundation was laid. Whitefield collected $200 and Wesley raised the balance. The Kingswood school is one of the historic Methodist institutions. John Wesley also established a school in his own house in London, in which were gathered sixty children over six years of age. Schools were a part of the work of many of his societies in all parts of the country.

The educational spirit displayed by Wesley and his followers in England was early manifested in America. In 1780 small subscriptions were secured for a seminary, and at the General Conference of 1784, at which the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized, Cokebury College was provided for, and Sept. 17, 1787, it was opened. Connected with this mother Methodist Church there are 192 schools—54 colleges and universities, 47 classical seminaries, 12 institutions exclusively for women, in the U. S.; 55 foreign mission schools, and 24 theological institutions. In these schools during the year 1906–7 there were about 57,000 students. There are fifteen other branches of American Methodism, and these together have probably as many more schools with perhaps as many students. Of these other Methodist churches the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, conducts 190 schools with about 34,500 students.

John Wesley also provided a literature for his people. Indeed he may be said to have been the father of cheap literature. He wrote or compiled hundreds of volumes, including pamphlets, books, and magazines. Many of his publications were in the form of penny tracts. By these publications he created an appetite for reading among his followers. His publications were the beginnings of the Wesleyan Book Rooms in London and Toronto and the Methodist Book Concerns in New York, Cincinnati, and Nashville. The establishments in New York and Cincinnati are the largest denominational publishing houses in the world. They have a capital of $4,200,000 and their annual sales aggregate about $2,500,000.

In the course of his labors John Wesley found many who were not, strictly speaking, so poor that they needed alms, but yet frequently were in want of a small supply of money. Some of these persons were in business and a small loan for a few weeks or months would tide them over difficulty. But there was no one of whom they could borrow, except the pawnbroker, and to place themselves in his debt was almost to abandon hope. Wesley resolved to try in some way to help such persons. So he devised the scheme of a loan fund. This was started in 1746, about 150 years before a similar scheme was begun by a philanthropic gentleman in New York. John Wesley exhorted those who had an abundance of this world's goods to assist their needy brethren. Fifty pounds (about $250) were contributed. This sum was placed in the hands of two stewards, who were present every Tuesday morning in order to lend to those who desired any small sum, not exceeding twenty shillings (about $5), which was to be repaid within three months. The amount which one person might borrow was afterward increased to five pounds (about $25). Out of this loan fund no less than 255 persons were relieved in eighteen months. This loan fund, or "lending stock," as an institution of the Methodist societies continued for a number of years. Among its beneficiaries was a cobbler named James Lackington, who in 1775 borrowed £5 with which to start a second-hand book shop in connection with his shoe shop. This new business grew more rapidly than his cobbling and in the course of time he gave up the latter. The book business developed into the largest second-hand book store in London, if not in the world. It made its proprietor immensely wealthy, and the year Wesley died, Lackington's profits from his business amounted to $25,000.

Early in his career Wesley became a pronounced opponent of African slavery. In 1758 a Mr. Gilbert of Antigua visited England, bringing with him four slaves. Two of these were converted under Wesley's preaching, and laid the foundation of the Wesleyan missions in the West Indies, which did much to prepare the slaves of those islands for emancipation. Wesley and the Methodists and the forces which the revival movement called into being were the power which enabled Wilberforce and his associates to compel Parliament to abolish slavery in the English possessions. Wesley denounced American slavery as "the vilest that ever saw the sun." His hostility to slavery was exprest in a volume entitled "Thoughts on Slavery." It was scattered widely in Europe and America, and probably exerted a greater influence upon the public conscience than any other book ever written. The Methodist Episcopal Church at its first conference, in 1784, pronounced slavery to be "contrary to the golden law of God . . . and the unalienable right of mankind, as well as every principle of the Revolution." The first person arrested in America for utterances against slavery was a Methodist preacher, the Rev. Jacob Gruber. Slavery divided the Church in 1846.

Among the most important contributions of Methodism to social reform has been its relation to the trade-union movement. But for the Methodist revival the trade-union as it is known to-day in England would have had no existence.

Labor Leaders

The miner is the pioneer of the Labor movement. In Methodism he found a faith in keeping with his sturdy, hopeful nature. His attachment for that church is of long standing, and dates back to the time when Wesley discoursed to the pitmen of Northumberland and Durham, who received him with open arms. With the conversion of their souls, many of the miners seemed to receive the gift of tongues and not alone power to tell of the experience of salvation in their hearts, but a consciousness of the social and industrial wrongs of which they were the victims, and to protest against them. Soon they began to organize, and found their leaders among their class leaders and local preachers, who in the class meeting and pulpit had learned to think on their feet and express themselves from the platform in forcible speech. They learned also in their religious meetings the power of organization. "Can there be any more striking tribute to the influence of Methodism upon the mining community," wrote Mr. T. R. Threlfall, secretary of the Labor Electoral Association in 1890, "than the fact that the five miners' members in the House of Commons have all been trained in the Methodist Church, four being past or present local preachers? In the Parliament of 1885 there were six." Mr. Threlfall stated that of the delegates attending the great miners' conferences, when from three hundred thousand to four hundred thousand men are occasionally represented, "it is no exaggeration to say that fully one half served an apprenticeship as local preachers."

The first Labor member of Parliament and the longest in service, Mr. Thomas Burt, is the son of a Methodist miner and local preacher. Next to Mr. Burt the most noted and influential labor leader has been Joseph Arch, organizer of the Agricultural Laborers' Union. He was a local preacher of the Primitive Methodist Church, and his power was due to that fact. Thorold Rogers,

in his great work, "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," says: "I do not believe that the mass of peasants could have been moved at all had it not been for the organization of the Primitive Methodists."

That the Methodist Episcopal Church retains its interest in the conflict between capital and labor is indicated by the following from the address of the Board of Bishops to the General Conference of 1904: "In all this contention (between employers and employees) it need hardly be said that the sympathy of the Church must, to a large extent, be with those concerning whom Abraham Lincoln quaintly said, 'The Lord must like the common people, else He would not have made so many of them,' doubtless having in mind the fact that when Jesus was on earth 'the common people heard Him gladly.' In spite of all the blunders made by labor leaders and the indefensible acts of their followers, philanthropic men must wish them success in every lawful effort to better their condition and secure their rights. But they must learn from their real friends that every act of violence hurts their cause and that law and order must be maintained at all hazards."

Methodist laymen and local preachers are still among the foremost labor leaders in England, and not a few Methodists are leaders in the Labor movement in America. The first two parliamentary secretaries of the Trade-Union Congress of England, Henry Broadhurst and Charles Fenwick, were Methodists. Mr. Broadhurst was also the first representative of labor to hold a cabinet position. The first representative of labor to be knighted by the king, Edward VII. (1907), Sir W. S. Crossman, a working stone-mason, is a Methodist belonging to the United Methodist Church.

Methodist labor leaders, like their founder, John Wesley, are almost invariably ardent advocates of temperance. In the temperance movement Methodists have always been active and are so to-day. No Methodist minister could habitually use alcoholic liquors as a beverage and remain in the ministry. Indeed there is no vice or evil which affects society injuriously to which Methodism is not strongly antagonistic.

D. D. THOMPSON.

MEXICO: A federated republic, its present constitution dating from 1857. Composed of 27 states and 3 territories. Area, 767,080 sq. m., with a population (1900) of 13,606,000, or 17.7 per square mile. Of these 19 per cent only are white, 48 per cent of mixed race, and 38 of Indian race. Of the mixed and Indian races few can be called civilized. Foreigners number 57,507, of whom some 16,000 were Spanish and 15,000 of the United States. There are about 2,000,000 educated whites. The capital of Mexico has a population of 400,000; Guadalajara, 101,000; Leon, 63,000; Monterey, 62,000; San Luis Potosi, 61,000.

Statistics

The prevailing religion is Roman Catholic, but there is no State Church and all religions are tolerated. Education is backward, tho it is now free and compulsory and much progress is being made. There were (1904) 9,194 government schools (besides infant schools) with 620,476 pupils, 382,507 boys and 237,969 girls. Industry is backward and agriculture very primitive. Mining employs 100,000, the mineral wealth being very great, particularly of gold and silver. Mexico is the largest silver-producing country of the world. The total mineral output was over $100,000,000 in 1904. Coffee and cotton are cultivated to a considerable extent, tho the chief agricultural products are wheat and sugar, and to a less extent pinequin, oranges, dyewood, maize, rice, and tobacco. In 1904 there were 119 cotton factories with 27,706 employees, and 466 tobacco factories. The exports, including bullion, in 1906, were $135,027,000 ($92,633,000 to the U. S.); the imports were $109,884,000 ($72,509 from the U. S.). Mexico had, in 1906, 13,515 miles of railway. The Tehuantepec Railway, now completed, connecting the two oceans, will compete with the Panama Railway; there are 34,996 miles of telegraphs, 2,466 post-offices, transmitting 77,807,143 newspapers or printed materials, 64,752,789 letters or cards. The mercantile marine comprizes 32 steamers and 29 sailing vessels.

The government of Mexico is in general similar to that of the U. S., with executive, legislative, and judicial branches. The president is elected for six years by electors chosen by popular vote. The Congress consists of a House of Representatives elected biannually by adult male suffrage and senators similarly chosen, two for each state. Each state has its own constitution and local government. The revenue (1906) was $51,269,008; expenditure, $48,314,646. The funded debt, 445,899,901 Mexican pesos (about $220,000,000), at 3–5 per cent. The peace strength of the army is 34,500 (officers and men), with a nominal war strength of 79,600. There is a small fleet navy of 4 gunboats and a few other vessels, manned by 198 officers and 965 men. Army and navy are being strengthened. (For general industrial conditions, see LATIN AMERICA.) Rapid progress, however, is now being made under the present generally satisfactory and stable administration of President Diaz, who has been in power almost continually since he began in 1875 as a military dictator. Currency questions which have long been unsettled are being settled and a gold reserve accumulated. Large loans have been favorably located abroad. Railways are extending, new factories being built, and many new colonies receiving concessions from the government. Fear of yellow fever and bubonic plague has been mainly banished by efficient government action.

MICHAELIS, OTTO: Editor; born at Lubeck, Westphalia, 1826. Studied law at Bonn and Berlin; was deprived of his position in consequence of the excitements of 1848. Then betook himself to Berlin, where he became assistant editor of the *Abendzeitung*, and after its suppression, editor of the *Nationalzeitung*. In 1861 was elected to the Prussian House of Deputies; 1867 to the North German Reichstag. He held several political posts, but as his free-trade principles brought him into conflict with the financial policy of the government, he retired. Died Dec. 12, 1890.

MICHEL, LOUISE: Anarchist; born Veoncourt, Haute-Marne, France, 1839. Winning distinction by musical and poetical talents, she opened a school at Montmartre, Paris, in 1860, but early became an active revolutionist. During the Commune worked on committees and fought at barricades in man's uniform; was captured and condemned to death, a sentence changed to transportation; went through all the horrors of the Versailles prisons, and was transported to New Caledonia. After nine years the

amnesty allowed her to return, a more determined anarchist than ever. Several times imprisoned, she escaped to London, and started an international school in Fitzroy Street. A remarkable speaker, she was often heard in London, addressing Hyde Park meetings and venting in vehement French her hatred of the bourgeoisie, who shed the blood of her comrades. She died in 1905. She was author of "Memoirs" and "The Microbes of Society," a novel.

MIDDLE AGES: The Middle Ages, which are usually made to reach from about the fifth century to the thirteenth, form a period of great economic and sociologic importance. Dr. Ingram, in his "History of Political Economy," says of the Middle Ages:

> They represent a vast transition, in which the germs of a new world were deposited, but in which little was fully elaborated. There is scarcely anything in the later movement of European society which we do not find there, tho as yet, for the most part, crude and undeveloped. . . .

(For details, see CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM; CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM; FEUDALISM; GILDS; LAND; MONASTICISM; EDUCATION; FAMILY; SERFDOM; SLAVERY; WOMAN, etc.)

MIKHAYLITCHENKO, MITROFAN IVANOVICH: Russian member of the Duma; born in 1871; representative (Social Democrat) from the Yekaterinoslaf province for the first Duma; peasant of the village Uritzovo, Voronezh Province; graduate of a Zemstvo school. Served in different estates as manual laborer or clerk, afterward as miner in Shcherbinsk mines. When elected he was working at the Voznesensk mines as a locksmith.

MILITARISM (for the movement against militarism, see articles: PEACE MOVEMENT; INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION; INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION; AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY; PEACE SOCIETY, English. See also NAVY): The following table, with its enormous total of $1,781,663,179,

THE MILITARISM OF THE WORLD

COUNTRY	ARMY			NAVY			Total annual expenditure	Expenditure per capita
	Peace strength	War footing	Annual expenditure	Peace forces	War forces	Expenditure		
Russian Empire	1,200,000	4,000,000	$189,038,557	69,000	100,000	$58,347,212	$247,385,769	$1.73
France and colonies	662,000	1,290,000	155,997,227	53,247	102,500	62,433,963	218,431,190	5.58
Germany	614,000	1,760,000	186,774,500	33,500	143,500	58,223,500	244,998,000	4.06
Austria-Hungary	387,452	1,234,000	65,065,000	8,318	11,993	5,920,124	70,985,124	1.44
Italy	260,000	[6]750,000	55,421,634	27,000	.....	24,676,794	80,098,428	2.33
Turkey [3]	235,200	[6]800,000	[6]27,500,000	31,000	.....	[6]7,500,000	35,000,000	1.46
India [1]	229,000	[6]401,097	100,391,365	.....	.....	.....	100,391,365	0.43
Japan	220,000	800,000	25,230,192	36,080	.....	14,457,036	39,687,228	0.78
Great Britain [2]	204,100	[6]800,000	133,256,500	129,000	152,000	147,044,000	280,300,500	6.41
China (old) [4]	120,000	800,000	[6]26,250,000	.....	.....	.....	26,250,000	0.06
Spain	120,000	300,000	31,824,700	25,700	.....	7,293,400	39,118,100	2.03
United States [5]	75,557	200,000	103,686,775	46,050	.....	102,091,680	205,778,455	2.45
Belgium	50,000	143,000	See total	1,150	.....	See total	12,812,421	1.78
Bulgaria	47,520	112,000	5,700,000	No navy		.....	5,700,000	1.54
Holland	41,055	108,000	10,850,000	10,760	25,000	7,082,265	17,932,265	3.26
Rumania	36,410	136,000	9,000,000	No navy		.....	9,000,000	1.40
Sweden	35,000	110,000	11,420,400	8,000	.....	3,752,000	15,172,400	2.86
Portugal	33,446	111,000	7,992,540	3,200	5,000	4,023,604	12,016,144	2.02
Persia	30,000	75,000	[6]7,800,000	No navy		.....	7,800,000	0.82
Greece	29,000	62,000	3,656,500	4,000	7,300	1,516,673	5,173,173	2.15
Brazil	29,000	.....	14,268,250	8,500	.....	9,471,250	23,739,500	1.36
Servia	27,500	110,000	4,062,336	No navy		.....	4,062,336	1.50
Mexico	26,600	75,000	8,826,380	1,400	.....	See total	8,826,380	0.65
Argentina	18,000	120,000	8,127,000	6,000	.....	6,317,033	14,444,033	2.52
Norway	18,000	70,000	3,275,000	2,000	4,600	1,246,590	4,521,590	1.96
Egypt [7]	16,000	.....	3,000,000	No navy		.....	3,000,000	0.30
Chile	15,000	34,000	5,054,669	7,000	.....	5,453,348	10,508,017	3.28
Denmark	14,000	50,000	3,082,884	4,000	6,800	2,620,853	5,703,737	2.11
Venezuela	10,000	50,000	2,210,913	No navy		.....	2,210,913	1.61
Uruguay	5,800	35,000	2,235,000	No navy		.....	2,235,000	2.23
Colombia	5,000	.....	1,775,582	600	700	See total	1,775,582	0.41
Peru	4,000	25,000	See total	1,245	.....	See total	2,457,330	0.52
Bolivia	2,430	60,000	1,336,358	No navy		.....	1,336,358	0.58
Switzerland	142,000	235,000	7,912,431	No navy		.....	7,912,431	2.39
Canada	55,765	167,295	4,196,000	No navy		.....	4,196,000	0.78
Montenegro [8]	25,000	30,000	40,600	No navy		.....	40,600	0.88
Australia	16,589	69,414	5,184,410	900	1,185	See total	5,184,410	1.27
New Zealand	11,000	18,545	1,172,450	No navy		.....	1,172,450	1.32
Transvaal Colony	9,346	.....	2,223,000	No navy		.....	2,223,000	0.95
Natal	6,336	13,000	727,450	No navy		.....	727,450	0.65
Cape Colony	2,500	8,000	1,355,500	No navy		.....	1,355,500	0.50
Total all countries [9]	5,089,606	15,162,351	$1,236,922,103	517,650	.....	$529,471,325	$1,781,663,179	$1.765

[1] Cost and number of native troops, under chiefs and rajahs, not included.

[2] The report of Great Britain includes the minor colonies, not mentioned separately, e. g., Ceylon, Hongkong, etc.; the expenses of which are borne chiefly by the mother country; the small contributions of these countries toward military expenses are included under Great Britain.

[3] Turkey does not publish its budgets; the expenses here given are estimates of the ministry of war for 1907 and 1908.

[4] The army of China is being reorganized; the old army is that of 1905; the new one, as planned, will have 432,000 men.

[5] The army of the U. S. as given includes native troops in the Philippines and native and Indian scouts. The appropriations of the states for their militia are not included in this expenditure.

[6] Estimated.

[7] War expenditure includes £100,000 for English army of occupation (4,880 men in 1906).

[8] The tribesmen and clansmen furnish their own arms; that is the reason why the expenses of the State for the militia are so low.

[9] The two columns for expenditures added do not make the grand total as given, because the army and navy expenses for Belgium and Peru are found combined under total expenditure of their respective columns only.

shows the extent to which the world lies burdened under a load of militarism. Yet it must be remembered that this is only the direct annual expenditure for armies and navies. To this vast sum must be added a very large portion of the national debts of the world, which to a large extent, particularly with the larger debts, and, not seldom absolutely wholly, may be considered war debts. To this must still be added the enormous sums spent, e. g., in the United States, for pensions to officers and soldiers, which are not included in the table. And these are only the public costs. Besides this are the private losses, of life and health and property, incurred by war, besides the incalculable economic loss involved in the diversion of millions of people, in times of peace as well as of war, to the service of the army and navy, a burden which robs many a country for years of its best young manhood and to escape which much of the best young blood of Europe emigrates to the New World. Moreover, no European country pays its soldiers sufficient wages for them to live, save for the barest necessities, without more or less support from their family—estimated in the case of Germany, e. g., to amount *at the very least* to 100 marks per year, or $15,000,000 annually. The table also indicates to an extent the uselessness of all this enormous waste if only international agreement as to disarmament can be reached, because in this list will be found countries like Switzerland with no standing army, save a militia, and countries with practically no navy, like Belgium; which, altho adjoining countries bristling with guns, are as safe or safer than those countries, simply by virtue of international agreement. In making comparisons, however, between countries, even as to the per-capita military expenditure, the circumstances of each country must be remembered. The U. S., for example, in proportion to the size of its standing army has a much higher expenditure than Russia, because in the U. S. wages are high, and the U. S. pays her soldiers a respectable European wage besides their living, while Russia virtually pays her million soldiers nothing besides maintenance. Other differences between countries must be taken into account. The same amount of money represents very different values in different countries. Nations differ still more in their ability to pay the same per-capita expenditure. Still other differences exist. Only in a very general way can the statistics be considered comparable. We have grouped at the end those countries which on the whole may be said to have no standing army, but depend only on a constabulary or militia. Yet in other countries, which are generally considered to have a standing army, the army really amounts to little more than a constabulary. Again, different countries have very different systems of reserves. Generally speaking, in this table we have only enumerated for their war strength reserves to the age of thirty-two or thereabouts. The real fighting strength of countries like the U. S., with small standing armies and depending in case of war largely on volunteers, it is impossible to estimate. Extraordinary expenses have been averaged. Yet when all is said such a statement, particularly of the per-capita expenditure, and still more of the final totals, have deep significance.

Explanation of Table

One fact that stands is the very great cost of navies compared with armies, an expenditure in which the U. S. now figures very high.

MILITIA (from Latin *miles*, a soldier) is that portion of the military strength of a nation enrolled for discipline and practise, but local in organization, and only called into actual service when necessary. It is the organized national reserve, and includes the "voluntary" organizations of Great Britain and the United States, the National Guard of France, and the Landwehr and Landsturm of Germany. The British system of volunteers originated in the old Anglo-Saxon *fyrd*, and the warlike features of the ancient *posse comitatus*. The British Government appoints lord-lieutenants of counties empowered to command voluntary organizations or to place a levy by ballot upon all non-exempted persons. As a matter of fact, the volunteers are usually sufficient. The militia of the United Kingdom in 1907 (including the militia reserve, 7,700; yeomanry, 27,638, and volunteers, 337,072) is 495,447.

In the U. S. the militia is under the control of Congress in time of war, and in time of peace under the states, subject, however, to the consent and general control of Congress. As a matter of fact the only effective militia are the uniformed voluntary organizations maintained in many of the states as National or State Guards.

In the War of the Revolution there were 231,971 continentals or regulars and 56,163 militia. In the War of the Rebellion there were received into service 2,690,401 men; when hostilities ceased there were 1,000,516 men in service, of whom 978,000 were volunteers, and the national enrolment at the same time exhibited an available reserve of 2,254,063 men. In 1907 the National Guards numbered about 115,000 officers and men. The number liable to serve is about 16,000,000, but are untrained.

MILL, JAMES: Man of letters; economist; born near Montrose, Scotland, 1773; educated at the University of Edinburgh. Was licensed as a preacher in Scottish National Church, 1798; but, changing his religious views, became a tutor in the family of Sir John Stuart, and accompanied him to London in 1802 to begin a literary life.

His first venture was a periodical entitled *The Literary Journal*, in 1803, continued under his editorship till the end of 1806.

In 1806 he commenced his "History of British India," which he carried on along with other literary work, and published in the winter of 1817–1818. The impression produced by this history was such that, in 1819, he was appointed to the post of assistant examiner of Indian correspondence. In 1832 appointed head of the examiner's office, where he had the control of all the departments of Indian administration—political, judicial, and financial—managed by the secret committee of the court of directors. Shortly after appointment to the India House he contributed the articles on government, education, jurisprudence, law of nations, liberty of the press, colonies, and prison discipline to the "Encyclopædia Britannica." In 1821–22 he published his "Elements of Political Economy," a work prepared primarily with a view to the education of his son, John Stuart Mill.

In 1808 he became acquainted with Jeremy Bentham, and was for many years Bentham's chief companion and ally; he was not, however, a mere disciple of Bentham, but a man of profound and original thought and learned in all the departments of philosophy. Between 1806 and 1818

he wrote a great many articles for various periodicals, his principal topics being education, reform, freedom of the press, prison discipline. He contributed largely to the *Westminster Review*. In 1829 published "An Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind." Died at Kensington, 1836.

MILL, JOHN STUART: Philosopher; economist; born in London, 1806; son of the Benthamite philosopher, James Mill (*q.v.*). Educated by his father, he showed phenomenal precociousness, tho subjected to the strictest mental discipline; he is said to have begun Greek at the age of three, and by the age of twelve to have read most of the leading Greek and Latin authors. At the age of fourteen he took a complete course in political economy and then had a year's travel in Europe, and returned to aid his father in literary work, imbibing his father's liberalism and skepticism. He studied law with John Austin, another Benthamite. In 1823 became clerk in the India House, and remained thirty-seven years, rising from grade to grade. The *Westminster Review* was established in 1823 as a Benthamite organ, and Mill began contributing to it at once. In 1843 he published his "Logic" in two volumes; "Some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy" (1844); "Principles of Political Economy with Some of Their Applications to Social Philosophy" (1848), an epoch-making book. In it political economy is no longer "the dismal science" of cold theory, but the practical study how to cure economic evils; tho on the whole of the orthodox school, it is, nevertheless, progressive. In 1859 he published "Liberty," also "Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform," "Representative Government" (1861); "Utilitarianism" (1862). "Subjection of Women" was Mill's next work, tho not published till 1869. In 1865 appeared his "Examination of Hamilton's Philosophy." The same year he was elected to Parliament for Westminster, tho he refused to make any canvass for the office. His parliamentary career, however, was short and not marked. His subscription to the election expenses of Mr. Bradlaugh and other independent acts cost him his seat in 1868, and he retired to literary life at Avignon. Here he wrote many articles and essays, and for his last public work was engaged in the starting of the Land Tenure Reform Association. His "Autobiography" appeared in 1873, and created great interest; and in it Mill relates, step by step, the development of his views. Beginning as a Benthamite, and working for the utilitarian greatest good of the greatest number, in the autumn of 1826, he tells us, he suddenly asked himself the following question: "Suppose that all your objects in life were realized; that all the changes in institutions and opinions which you are looking forward to could be completely effected at this very instant—would this be a great joy and happiness to you? and an irrepressible self-consciousness distinctly answered No! At this my heart sank within me. The whole foundation on which my life was constructed fell down." From that change he went on, he tells us, to materially change his views. He adopted what he later found was Carlyle's anti-self-consciousness theory, of happiness not as an end, but to be attained only by having another aim, the happiness of others, or some art, etc. He learned to add the susceptibilities to intellect culture. He came also finally to change his social views to a position where he could say of himself and his wife: "Our ideal of ultimate improvement went far beyond democracy, and would class us decidedly under the general name of Socialists. . . . The social problem of the future we considered to be, how to unite the greatest liberty of action with a common ownership in the raw material of the globe, and an equal participation of all the benefits of combined labor" ("Autobiography," 1873). He died at Avignon in 1873. After his death his essays on socialism were published.

MILLIONAIRES. See WEALTH.

MILLS, BENJAMIN FAY: Social and ethical reform worker; born at Rahway, N. J., 1857; educated at Phillips (Andover) Academy; first graduate of Lake Forest University, Ill.; ordained to ministry in Congregational Church, 1878; pastor Rutland, Vt.; a very prominent revivalist, 1886–97; withdrew from orthodox church, 1897, on account of liberal views; conducted independent religious movement in Boston, Mass., 1897–99; minister of Unitarian Church, Oakland, Cal., 1899–1903; founder and first permanent minister of a new religious organization, the Los Angeles Fellowship, "an Association for the Encouragment of Trustful and Unselfish Living." Editor of *The Fellowship Magazine*. Mr. Mills delivers frequent addresses along constructive religious and sociological lines. He is author of "Twentieth Century Religion," 2 vols.; "The Divine Adventure," "Power from on High," "Victory through Surrender," etc. *Address*: Los Angeles, Cal.

MILLS, DARIUS OGDEN: American financier; philanthropist; born in Westchester County, N. Y., Sept. 5, 1825. Started on a commercial career in New York City when seventeen years old. He went to Buffalo in 1847 and was appointed cashier of the Merchants' Bank of Erie County. Two years later he removed to San Francisco, whence he traded with the different mining districts. Subsequently he settled as a general merchant in Sacramento, and also bought gold dust. Later he established the banking firm of D. O. Mills & Co., now the leading bank of inner California. From 1864 to 1873 he served as president of the Bank of California. Soon after his retirement his successor caused its wreck and he was called upon to reestablish it. This he achieved within three years. He then returned to New York, where he engaged in real estate and built the Mills Building on Broad Street and three Mills Hotels—establishments where food and lodging can be obtained at a minimum cost.

MILLS, HERBERT ELMER: Economist; born at Salem, N. H., 1861; educated at Universities of Rochester and Cornell. He is author of "The French Revolution in San Domingo" (1891); "Practical Economic Problems" (1893); "The Labor Problem" (1895). Since 1890 Professor Mills has held the chair of economics at Vassar College. *Address*: Academy Street, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

MILLS, HERBERT V.: Unitarian minister; born 1856, in Accrington. Apprenticed as an engineer, he left this position and eventually became a Unitarian minister, with a chapel at Hamilton Road, Liverpool, and more recently at Market Place, Kendal. He founded the Home Coloniza-

tion Society in 1887, and is now a leading director of the Starnwaite Colony, an experiment at employing the unemployed. (See LABOR COLONIES.) Author: "Poverty and the State," and other books and essays.

MINERS' UNIONS (for the United States, see articles UNITED MINE WORKERS; WESTERN FEDERATION OF LABOR): In Great Britain the miners' unions are among the strongest trade-union bodies. There were in 1904 some 69 unions (50 registered), with 2,197 branches and 501,248 members. Of these the strongest unions are the Durham miners (89,914 members), organized in 1869; the Yorkshire miners (56,690), 1858; the Northumberland miners (23,364), 1863; the Derbyshire miners (24,429), 1880; the Nottingham miners (20,982), 1880; the Lanarkshire, Scotland, miners (25,500) and the Lancashire and Cheshire Miners' Federation (33,301), 1897; and the large South Wales Miners' Federation (117,097), 1898. A general (British) Miners' Association was formed as early as 1841, but did not endure, tho for a time largely influential. The present Miners' Federation of Great Britain (organized 1887), including the large majority of the miners, and is one of the strongest trade-union bodies in the world. By its size and strength it plays a leading part in the British Trade-Union Congress and has developed international relations with Continental miners. Historically the miners have always been somewhat in the lead, in reaching early effective organization, in getting the sliding scale and arbitration, in entering political activity, altho doing this before the present socialistic movements, their representatives were elected largely as Liberals, and many of the unions have so continued, so as to form a class by themselves known as miners' members, distinct from the Labor Party, and on most points less radical. (For other countries, see those countries.)

MINIMUM WAGE: On July 18, 1874, Mr. Lloyd Jones, a journalist in active touch with trade-unionists, wrote in *The Beehive*, a labor paper, against the sliding scale then prevalent in many industries, particularly in the Northumberland mines. He declared the sliding scale dangerous and demanded that a minimum wage should be fixed, below which wages should not fall under any conditions. Other writers, notably Professor Beesly, supported Mr. Jones, and ever since the minimum or living wage has been much discust, and recently widely advocated, especially in England. One of the points in the early discussion was the question whether the State had any right to interfere with the private compensation between employer and employee. This seems no longer a questionable matter since the State has enforced a number of laws embodying this principle—laws passed by legislative bodies in very many countries.

It appears from the studies of Charles Booth in London, and Mr. R. S. Rowntree in York, that about 12,000,000 people in Great Britain alone are living just on or below the level of bare subsistence. The agitation in behalf of a minimum wage has already such an effect that public authorities in England, both central and municipal, have introduced clauses into their contracts to the effect that wages must not fall below a certain standard for specified work. Investigations, however, soon brought out the fact that the law was circumvented, not directly but indirectly, by the contractors paying a correspondingly lower price on work done for private customers, for instance in the tailor's trade.

The agitation in England is now occupied with the education of the public in this respect and with the passing of laws which will obviate the possibility of acts of injustice like the one just mentioned. It is proposed that all employers be compelled to pay a minimum wage, not in one locality only, not in one line of industry only, but everywhere and in all lines of work. The agitators have found, however, that all well-organized trades had already largely taken care of this matter as far as they were concerned. The question narrowed itself down, consequently, to the unorganized trades and to women wage-earners. The discovery was made, moreover, that the cost of food and clothing was practically the same all over Great Britain, but that rents varied greatly. The agitators propose, therefore, that a central board should be appointed for the purpose of finding out what wages will suffice to maintain workers in physical and mental health in the different localities, and to fix the minimum wage accordingly. It is proposed that local boards will be entrusted with the administration of the Minimum Wage Act—to be passed upon the recommendation of the central board.

The advocates of this plan point to the great success which similar laws have had in Australasia, especially in Victoria and New Zealand, where wages have risen all around instead of the minimum wage becoming the standard wage as some people feared. They point also to the fact that, since the real difference in the cost of living is *rent*, both employers and employees would be willing to go to the country, where this item is so much lower. The direct benefit of such a law would be the decrease of pauperism; the indirect but vastly more important one the increase of physical and mental efficiency of the working men.

Concerning the working of the Australasian minimum wages laws Fabian Tract on "The Case for a Legal Minimum Wage" says:

Australian Laws

The New Zealand Arbitration Acts, the effect of which has been the institution of legal minimum rates of wages on the basis of what each trade arbitrated upon will bear, entails upon the members and officials of the Conciliation Boards and the Court of Arbitration a vast amount of labor in settling multitudinous points of great difficulty which would not arise here under a minimum wage law. Some idea of what those labors have been may be formed from the following quotation from "State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand," by the Hon. William Pember Reeves:

"The trades that have come under the awards of the tribunals have been those of the bootmakers, seamen, gold-miners, coal-miners, printers, tailors, millers, carpenters, plumbers, painters, molders, drivers, saddlers, tailoresses, dressmakers, sawmillers, engineers, iron-workers, furniture-makers, bakers, confectioners, butchers, grocers' assistants, and others of less importance. The questions arbitrated upon have already included most of the hard nuts which students of labor conflicts know so well. Among them are hours of labor, holidays, the amount of day wages, the price to be paid for piece-work, the proportion of apprentices, the facilities to be allowed to trade-union officials for interviews with their men, the right of employers to engage non-unionists, or to discharge or refuse to engage unionists, the conduct of unionists in refusing to work side by side with 'free laborers,' and pressure exerted by employers to induce them to join a private benefit society."

Yet, in spite of the hardness of the nuts mentioned by Mr. Reeves, they have been successfully cracked without any serious strain upon the machinery provided for the purpose, or any strong or widely spread dissatisfaction arising with the methods adopted.

Again, the Shops and Factories Act of the State of Victoria, Australia, which so far is the boldest experiment entered upon for the stamping out of sweating and industrial parasitism, necessitates an elaborate system of inquiry and inspection

in each trade brought under the act. The measure, besides being one for the regulation of factories and shops on the ordinary lines, also contains clauses which make it an actual minimum wage law, and accordingly deserves special attention.

The act as passed in 1896 provided for the appointment of special boards to fix wages and piece-work rates for persons employed either inside or outside factories in making clothing or wearing apparel or furniture, or in breadmaking or baking, or in the business of a butcher or seller of meat. Special boards might be appointed for any process, trade, or business usually or frequently carried on in a factory or workroom provided a resolution had been passed by either House of Parliament declaring it to be expedient to appoint such a board. The special boards were to consist of not less than four or more than ten members and a chairman, and to hold office for two years. Half the members (elected as prescribed) were to be representatives of employers and half of employees. If the employers' or employees' representatives were not elected the Governor in Council was given the power to appoint representatives. He was also empowered to fill all vacancies. The members of a board might elect a chairman (not being one of such members); if they did not elect a chairman the Governor in Council might appoint one. The members of these boards were to be paid 10*s*. per full day, 5*s*. per half day, the chairman £1 per day with traveling allowances. A board might fix either time rates or piece-work rates, or both; might also fix the hours for which the rate of wages was determined, and the payment for overtime, and in fixing wages might take into consideration the nature, kind, and class of work, and the mode and manner in which the work was to be done, the age and sex of the workers, and any matter which might be prescribed by regulation. A board could settle the proportion of apprentices or improvers to be employed in any process, trade, or business, and the wage to be paid to them; and in fixing such wage might consider age, sex, and experience. The determination of a special board was to apply to every city and town and might be extended by the Governor in Council to any borough or shire or part of a shire. A board could determine that manufacturers might be allowed to fix piece-work rates based on the minimum wage. That is to say, the board, after fixing time wages itself, might leave it to employers to pay a fair equivalent to their piece-workers. The Chief Inspector might, however, challenge any rate so paid, and the employer might have to justify it before the board.

The boards set up for the baking, clothing, bootmaking, shirt-making, and underclothing trades, in spite of intricate complications, found it possible to arrive at determinations which have given general satisfaction. The furniture trade board had the most onerous task, as certain sections of the trade are in the hands of the Chinese, whose idea of honoring factory acts of this kind is to contravene them. Though collusion between Chinese masters and their Chinese workpeople to outwit the inspector in matters of wages and hours was glaringly obvious, the cunning of the yellow man was too often superior to that of the representative of the law when it became a question of securing legal proof that the regulations had been broken. Yet even here sweating has been checked to a very great extent, and the conditions of the trade in 1901 were reported as far superior to those prevailing before the establishment of the wages board.

It is important to note that the alleged tendency of a minimum wage to become the maximum has not shown itself. In May, 1902, the Chief Inspector asserted that whereas in the clothing trade, in 1901, the minimum wage for adult males was 45*s*. per week, the average paid was 53*s*. 6*d*. For adult females the minimum was 20*s*., the average, 22*s*. 3*d*. He instanced similar differences in the boot, furniture, and shirt-making trades.

Owing to the favorable results of the working of these six boards, twenty-six other trades have been brought under the operation of the act—among others, the aerated water trade, artificial manure making, bedstead making, brassworking, brewing, brickmaking, coopering, dressmaking, jam-making, iron-molders, pastry cooks, plate-glass making, stonecutting, tinsmithing, woodworking, etc., etc.

By the end of 1904 determinations had been made by the above thirty-two boards, except in the case of the tinsmiths, where the fixing of piece-work rates caused delay. In all cases rises in wages had been made, and in nearly every instance the staff of inspectors reported that the decisions of the boards had been acted upon without any serious friction taking place. In two industries only does it appear that trouble arises. One is the furniture trade, which suffers from the blight of yellow labor. According to the Chief Inspector's report of Dec., 1904, a case of evasion by a white firm engaged in the furniture trade was discovered, and the employer was compelled to hand over to his underpaid workmen the sum of £40 each. It should be mentioned in passing that a weakness of the act is that no provision appears to be made for punishing the men as well as the employers in a case of collusion. The other of the two troubled trades is that of dressmaking. Here dissatisfaction has been caused by the low minimum wage fixt by the board, which, following the example of all the other boards, based its award upon the principle of giving what the trade would bear.

In 1903 a court was created in order that appeals against the determinations of the wages boards might be heard. By Dec., 1904, only one case had come before the court —an appeal by the employers in the artificial manure industry against a decision fixing a minimum wage of 40*s*. 6*d*. The employers were successful, the award being reduced to 36*s*. This dearth of employment for the Appeal Court may fairly be taken as further evidence that the act is working smoothly.

The Victorian Act, 1896, was intended as an experiment to be tried for three years only. In 1899 it was amended slightly and extended for two years plus a session of Parliament. In 1902, when a sudden dissolution of the Victorian Parliament endangered it, an act was got through again extending its life, this time until 1905. The Chief Inspector of Factories, in Dec., 1904, reported strongly in favor of the act being made a permanent one. Last year (1905) the act was again renewed.

References: *Fabian Tract* 128 (1906); Parsons, *The Story of New Zealand*, pp. 787–790.

MINING (for statistics of production, see articles Coal; Gold and Silver; Iron. See Miners' Unions; United Miners of America; Western Federation of Miners):

The following article, contributed by Mr. Peter Roberts, presents the economic and industrial conditions in coal-mining in the United States. (For other countries, see those countries; also Wages, etc.)

The value of a mine depends upon the cost per ton the coal can be produced, which varies in every mine. In no industry are fortunes made more rapidly and in none are they lost as quickly if conditions are unfavorable. Cost of mining depends upon the depth at which coal is found, the capital necessary to develop it, the purity and thickness of the seam, the ease or difficulty in developing the mine, the amount of water encountered, the character of the floor and roof, the amount of gas encountered, the presence of faults, and the market reputation of the coal. Another item that must be considered is the labor-supply and the quality of the men available.

The capital sunk in the 6,000-odd mines in the U. S. cannot be accurately estimated. In the anthracite industry it takes $500,000 to sink shafts, develop the mines, and build the necessary equipment to get out the coal and prepare 2,500 tons per day for market. A bituminous mining-plant is not as expensive; the average bituminous plant of the above capacity would not cost more than half the above sum. Of course, it largely depends upon the geological conditions of the coal-fields to be developed. Taking the coal industry in general, it requires a capital of $2.50 for every ton of coal marketed.

Wages of Employees

The item of labor expenses is by far the most important in the coal industry. The wages of the mine employees depend upon the price paid per ton and the number of tons mined. Those paid by the day depend upon the amount paid per day, and the number of days worked in the year.

The contests about wages have been long and often. The lowest point reached per ton, in modern times, was in 1897, when miners were paid about forty-five cents per ton for mining bituminous coal. The rate to-day is double that. The wage of day-workers is regulated by the price paid per ton for mining. Skilled workmen get from $2.50 to $3 a day, helpers from $1.75 to $2. Wages in the anthracite and bituminous mines are about the same to-day, but the length of the work-day in the former is nine hours and in the latter, where the United Mine Workers' Association is dominant, eight hours.

The bane of mine workers is intermittent labor.

Taking the employees as a whole, the average year would not give them 220 days' employment, while years of industrial depression cuts the figure down thirty or fifty days. This is inevitable and caused by the average atmospheric temperature of the year, the change of the seasons, the variation of industrial activity, and the excessive development of mining-plants beyond market capacity.

Intermittent Labor

Intermittent labor is the cause of industrial friction. Three dollars a day for eight or nine hours is good pay for men of the skill and training needed in mining, but as they get only 200 days' work in the year, the annual wage is hardly enough to meet the requirements of a family living according to the American standard of living. If the wages fall from 20 to 30 per cent and coincident with the fall of wage, fewer days' employment at the mines, we see that the $600 a year may easily be cut one half. These conditions have occurred and may yet occur in the industry and produce the grave crises which have attracted world-wide attention.

Another fact that has aggravated labor conditions in this industry is the advent of so many foreign-speaking men into the industry. More than 60 per cent of the labor employed in the mines of Pennsylvania is non-English-speaking. The Slav, Lett, Italian, and Magyar have a standard of living much lower than the American, hence they are able to work for lower wages, and still save money to enable them to live during days of idleness. This replacement of English-speaking employees has gone on for the last twenty years, so that to-day the majority of the labor force in the industry is from the southeastern countries of Europe. The competition between these two elements of the mining labor force goes on daily. The mining of coal becomes daily more difficult and the English-speaking miner cannot compete with the Slav or Italian; the one pushes out the other, and mining communities that were once abodes of prosperous English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, and German wage-earners are to-day wholly given over to the "foreigners."

The recent immigrants from southeastern Europe have sturdy bodies and willing hands, but they are ignorant, superstitious, unclean, and intemperate. These qualities are prominent in communities settled by them, so that their homes are far from what American homes are, the prevalence of the saloon is astounding, and the record of crime is appalling.

Foreign Laborers

The "foreigners" are found not only in Pennsylvania, but in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Colorado, and West Virginia. Farther south in the Appalachian fields, in Kentucky and Tennessee and Alabama, the presence of the negro and mountain white—men who work for seventy-five cents and $1 a day—keeps out the "foreigner." Another cause is that, coming to the states above mentioned, the "foreigner" who knows not a word of English can earn from $1.75 to $2 a day as soon as he enters the coal-fields.

The truck system is found in many coal operations. It is invariably the accompaniment of individual operators; large corporations, when they come into control, do away with it and run their collieries on a cash-payment basis. The truck system is often a necessity. An operation opened in the mountains of West Virginia, far from towns and inhabited localities, must introduce the truck system. The operator must not only open the mines but he must also build houses for his employees, secure them the means of subsistence, and keep on hand the articles of comfort and luxury needed by the families. The operator often builds the house of worship and the schoolhouse; every inch of land is owned or leased by him, which is the first condition of the operation. If the operator wishes to exploit his workmen, there is nothing to stop him under these conditions. That operators do so is too well known, but it should also be known that some of the best examples of capitalists' generous dealing toward their employees is found in the coal industry.

Truck System

The curse of the truck system has been justly denounced and legislated against in many states in the Union, but it should be known that it is found in its worst forms under individual operators, and whatever evils may be charged against large corporations that come into control of large areas of the coal-fields, it should be said to their credit that coincident with their control the truck system is discontinued.

Monopolistic Control

The anthracite coal-fields are practically all under the control of a monopoly. The product is a natural monopoly, and the eight railroads that tap the territory are bound together by a community of interest that makes their policy one. Railroad interests also control the coal industry in Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, Illinois, as well as large portions of Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. The drift of modern times is toward monopolistic control of the coal-fields of the U. S., and what has taken place in the anthracite field will ultimately come to pass in the bituminous fields.

The evils of monopoly are so well known that the average reader can count them on his fingertips. There is another side to the question. Unrestricted competition of coal operators in the anthracite fields was the curse of the industry. Auction sales of coal in New York were common, and the price realized did not pay the cost of mining. The individual operators who sold out to the Philadelphia & Reading Coal & Iron Company in the early seventies of the eighteenth century were bankrupt because of free competition, and the mines were idle when the large corporation took up the properties. The same is true to-day in the bituminous fields where free competition prevails. I know men who have mined coal at a loss, and others who have not made more than three cents a ton on their operations. The system is also wasteful. Under the frenzy of the struggle for existence, individual operators produce recklessly, having no thought of the demand of the market, and thus one of the most precious resources of the country is thrown on the public at prices that make economy impossible. This fuel supply of the U. S. is to secure her the empire of the world in the near future, and altho the present supply is fabulous, yet a thousand years in the life of a nation is not great, and we should mine to-day looking to the interests of the generations yet unborn and the glory yet to be realized in our beloved country. There is no paganism as fatal as that included in the policy "after us the deluge."

If then this source of power is to be conserved for the greatest possible use for the nation, some system should be devised that will eliminate the evils of free competition as well as those of crushing monopolies.

The trade of anthracite coal is in a healthful condition and will possibly continue so to the end.

The Coal Trade

The production of the anthracite collieries is at its maximum and it hardly meets the market demand. The latter continues to grow with the increase of population in the New England States, in New York, Delaware, New Jersey, and eastern Pennsylvania; but the production of the collieries will not rise to any appreciable extent, and after staying at the maximum for a time, it will decline. This puts a premium upon anthracite coal, the domestic fuel par excellence, and the future is full of promise to those who hold large areas of the tonnage still to be mined in northeastern Pennsylvania.

The bituminous trade is far from being in a like condition. Competition prevails and prices are often fatal to operators who work their mines on very small margins. The natural tendency in the competitive districts—those of the northern section of the Appalachian fields, and the eastern and western interior—is to drive out the individual operator and bring in the strong corporation. The individual cannot stand the strain of conflict, and the giants invariably agree to divide the prizes.

It is highly important that our industries and manufacturers should have cheap fuel, but it is also important that the contents of our coal-fields should be paid for, that the wear and tear in men and machinery be replaced, that the loss incident to the maiming of some 8,000 persons, and the killing of about 2,000 persons, each year, should be paid for by those who depend for their comfort in homes, and their power in shops and factories, upon the product of the mines in which these men are injured. PETER ROBERTS.

MIR, THE (from Russian *miru*, concord, peace), is the name of the Russian community of peasants. From the most ancient times the rural population of Russia has been organized into these *mirs*. The land of the *mir* is held in common, the part of it devoted to cultivation being allotted by general vote to the several families on varying terms. Redivisions and equalizations of lots are made periodically; the portion used for dwelling portions is usually theoretically held in common, but practically divided for long periods; the land for grazing is usually undivided. Each *mir* governs itself in all local matters through its elected officers. Widows or women temporarily deprived of their husbands may vote. The land is divided with attempt at equality in proportion to the needs and abilities of each family. Adjacent *mirs* are united into *volasts* or small cantons. The system, however, is changing. (See RUSSIA.) The freeing of the serfs and division of the soil gave each too little land to enable him to live, and the lords are gradually buying or getting it back. The great difference between the *mir* and the *mark* (*q. v.*) is that the members of the *mir* had no voice in the general government. (See MARK; MANOR; PRIMITIVE PROPERTY.)

MITCHELL, JOHN: President of United Mine Workers of America; born at Braidwood, Ill., 1870. Attended, at intervals, the district school. At the age of thirteen worked in the mines; when sixteen he joined the Knights of Labor. During this period he became deeply interested in social and economic subjects and gave much time to reading, gaining information concerning them. Prominently identified with the United Mine Workers of America shortly after the formation of the association in 1890, he was made an officer for the Illinois district. A member of the legislative committee of the Illinois miners, he assisted in securing the passage of "Gross Weight" and other important mining laws. Elected national vice-president of United Mine Workers in Jan., 1898, in September of that year he was appointed acting president. In 1899 was elected president of the mine workers, and, without opposition, has been reelected to the position every year since; is also second vice-president of the American Federation of Labor. In the great anthracite coal strike of 1902 Mr. Mitchell did splendid service to the cause of labor, and gave to the people of the United States a new conception of the real work and mission of a labor leader. (See COAL STRIKE.) Mr. Mitchell believes in independent political action by wage-workers and trade-unionists, and is a strong advocate of the management of industry through joint trade agreements. He is the author of "Organized Labor; Its Problems, Purposes, and Ideals." *Address*: State Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind.

MODEL VILLAGES: A term now generally applied to villages or groups of houses, more or less conveniently and attractively built and in more or less attractive surroundings, to provide housing for working people, the houses being either built by some employing firm and leased to their employees, or built by the employees themselves on land sold to them by the firm, or through the aid of some loan fund provided by the firm. The first-named system, whereby the firm owns and leases the houses on favorable terms to its employees, is much the most common system, but model villages based on very various relations between firms and their employees can be found. We give below only examples from such villages which are continually developed.

I. EUROPE

The first model village was probably that of Bessbrook, near Newry, in Ireland, built in 1846 by Messrs. Richardson for the 2,500 workers in their linen-mills. It was a great advance on the hovels of most Irish laboring folk of the day, and many social and educational features with a hall and library were introduced. It has, however, been largely neglected by the present management, tho good houses of 4 rooms can yet be had there for 3*s.* a week, and 2-room houses for 1*s.* 6*d.* a week. The once famous Saltaire, built in 1853, on the outskirts of Bradford, by Sir Thomas Salt, for the 3,000 to 4,000 employees in his woolen-mills, is also now much neglected. Its 1,000 stone houses, built on rectangular lines, on narrow stone-paved streets without any trees, make it far below present ideals, but it, too, was a great advance for its day. A park of 14 acres adds some beauty, and houses with 3 or 4 rooms, scullery and small back yard can be had for 3*s.* 6*d.* Very different, far more attractive, and almost ideal model villages are those at Bourneville, near Birmingham, commenced in 1879 by George Cadbury, Port Sunlight, near Birkenhead, founded by W. H. Lever in 1888, and Earswick, near York, more recently begun by Joseph Rowntree. But these are c

Great Britain

importance enough to merit special articles. (See BOURNEVILLE; PORT SUNLIGHT; ROWNTREE.) Other less ambitious English model villages are Street for the boot factory of the Messrs. Clark, near Glastonbury, with attractive houses with 5 rooms and a good garden for 4*s.* to 5*s.* per week, having also a fine village institute, gymnasium, library, and temperance inn. Messrs. Chivres, at Histon, near Cambridge, are doing much the same thing. The 2,000 houses of the Westinghouse Company near Manchester are much less attractive, tho with more improvements (hot and cold water, electric light, etc.), for 6*s.* to 9*s.* per week, and with library, bath, club-house, and playground. Vickerstown, opposite Barrow, built by Vickers Sons and Maxim, is even less ideal. Aintree, built by W. P. Hartley, near Liverpool, is more progressive, where small but quite attractive houses with a garden can be had for 2*s.* 6*d.* or 3*s.* 6*d.* a week. At Cedar Road, near by, also built by W. P. Hartley, small houses can be bought at 12*s.* 6*d.* a month for £100, the cost of the houses being £250 to £300.

(For English garden cities, see GARDEN CITIES.) On the Continent various model villages exist, notably those of the Krupp works in Germany, near Essen, but for these, see KRUPP STEEL WORKS. At Arlen, in Baden, Mr. Ten Brink has erected many cottages, which he sells to his employees with £10 down. The Augsburg Carding and Spinning Company have houses near their mills, with gardens and lawns. Mr. Peters, at Neviges, sells and rents to his weavers houses not themselves attractive, but at low rents and with gardens and fruit-trees. The North German Jute Factory at Schiffbeck lets a few hundred houses at 2 to 3 marks per week. The Badische Anilin and Sado-Fabrik, in Bavaria, in two separate villages provides some 700 families with houses at very low rentals. Messrs. Villeroy and Boch at Mettlach do the same. The United Machine Building Company of Nuremberg has 100 block houses for its 4,000 employees, and for its works at Gustafsberg, near Mayence, some 1,500 houses in 425 separate attractive dwellings, each with a garden. More interesting, however, in Germany are the housing efforts of the State, as at the Prussian State mines at Saarbrück, where toward 50 per cent of the employees, through government loans, have become owners of houses, while even more of interest are the growing number of workmen's cooperative societies, developing houses with the aid of State loans. But on both these subjects, see HOUSING.

The Continent

In France several firms have erected large numbers of dwellings for their employees which, tho as a whole not very attractive, usually have some garden, and are rented or sold on very favorable terms. Among the firms doing this are the Anzin Mining Company, near Valenciennes (for 3,000 employees); Jules Chagot & Co., of the Planzy mines (1,000 houses); Schneider & Co., of the Creusot Steel Mills (1,200 houses); Harmel Bros., at Warmeriville, near Rheims (182 dwellings); Sainte Bros., at Flexecourt (1,000 houses). Schools and cooperative stores are also started in these villages. The best French model village, however, is Noisiel, sur Seine, begun in 1874, by Mr. Menier. (See NOISIEL.) Italy has an industrial model village at Crispi, near Capriate, Lombardy (mainly block houses), and one built by Mr. Achille Fazzari in Calabrina. The Humanitarian Society of Milan is, however, doing more (see UMANITARIA). In Austria, Dornbirn, of the Hammerle Cotton Mills, is a very picturesque model village, with small houses among creepers, vines, and gardens of fruit-trees, let at $25 per year or sold at $1,000 to $1,500. Baron Ringhofer at Prague has aided a large number of employees in his machine works at Smichof, to build, through a workmen's dwelling company, and a new attractive village is now being developed.

Holland has a small but very attractive model village, Agneta Park, in Delft, owned by a "Common Property Society," formed in 1887 by Mr. Van Marken, of the Van Marken Yeast and Spirit Works. There is a cooperative store, recreation park, and lake; the houses themselves are attractive, Mr. Marken's own house being also in the village. The tenants, instead of becoming owners of the houses, are given interest-bearing stock in the company.

II. THE UNITED STATES

While the United States as yet has produced no Bourneville nor Port Sunlight, the table accompanying this article will show that not a few American manufacturing companies have done something, at least, to provide more or less model homes in attractive and healthy surroundings for their employees.

The table does not pretend to be complete; nor does it show all that is being done in the way of housing even by the firms which are listed here. Most of the companies here named provide a wider range of houses than this table indicates. They provide, in almost all cases, houses both at higher and lower rentals than are here indicated —houses at higher rentals for foremen and expert artizans earning the higher salaries, and houses at lower rentals, perhaps with three, four, and even more families to a house, for unskilled operatives earning the smaller wages. But to include either of these in our table would be to mislead. Houses with three or four families are not ordinarily to be considered model houses, even tho they be improvements on old-time factory tenements; and high-priced houses for foremen and experts with fancy salaries would not be typical.

The first so-called "model village" in the U. S. does not appear on our list. This was Pullman, erected in 1880–84, ten miles from what was then Chicago, but is now engulfed in the city, and no longer in any sense a model village. It has passed somewhat into a byword, as a failure, because of the paternalism in it practised by the Pullman Company and resented by many of its residents. But it was by no means completely a failure and was in its day a notable step forward. Its eight miles of street, mostly sixty feet wide, all tree-planted, with lawns on either side; its 1,550 red brick two-story houses, with small gardens in front and entries behind; its open square in the center surrounded by an Italian arcade; its stores, theater, church, schools, and library, made it in many ways more of a model village than some we have tabulated on our list. Its failure was not due to financial causes.

One of the smaller model villages of the U. S. is most interesting and most important because it is one of the very few such model villages in America where the workmen mainly buy their houses, and absolutely unique in the freedom and initiative left to the workman. This is Leclaire, Ill., commenced by Mr. N. O. Nelson (*q. v.*), of St.

Louis, in 1890. But for it, see especial article LECLAIRE. (See also HOPEDALE for the model village developed in the place of that name out of a former Christian Socialist colony. For Ludlow, also see LUDLOW.)

At Whitinsville, Mass., the Whitin Machine Works Company has done quite a little for the housing of its employees. If it has not erected a model village, it is largely because Whitinsville itself may be called a model New England village. The company has, however, provided over 500 houses, besides an admirable boarding-house for single men. The houses are built mainly in rows, are neat, and at least an improvement on the old-time factory tenement, tho not themselves attractive artistically, and with too much sameness. Progress, however, is seen in the "New Village," showing that the company has succeeded enough in the plan to go on and improve upon it. About 3 per cent is earned on the capital invested, tho the rents average scarcely one tenth of the wages earned by heads of families in Whitinsville.

The Cumberland Mills Company of Westbrook, Me., has houses for its employees, but has not built any new tenements for over twenty years, merely keeping up and renting the old buildings at low rents, because the company finds it a better policy to loan money at 4 or 5 per cent to its permanent employees to enable them to obtain their own homes. This allows more freedom and, the company believes, produces better results.

Most of the New England cotton-mills provide some housing for their employees. Indeed, the assistant agent of the Draper Company writes that the large cotton-mills of New England located in small towns or villages almost without exception are obliged to furnish housing for their employees. He says: "The Grosvenor-Dale Company of North Grosvenor Dale, Conn., a mill with about 3,600 looms, has a large number of houses and takes much interest in this line of work. The Lonsdale Company of Providence, R. I., have cotton-mills at various places within a short distance of Providence, and in nearly all cases have provided houses. Mr. Robert Knight, of the firm of B. B. & R. Knight of Providence, also represents very large cotton interests and in a large share of the cases, if not in all, they provide houses." Besides these in New England should be mentioned the Plymouth Cordage Company of North Plymouth, Mass., the Peacedale Manufacturing Company of Peacedale, R. I. (interested also in profit-sharing), the Willimantic Linen Company of Willimantic, Conn., and the Cheney Brothers' silk-mills of South Manchester, Conn. This last-named place is indeed one of the most beautiful industrial villages in the world. It seems one large park of velvet lawns, with some fourteen handsome residences of families of Cheneys, and surrounded by the houses of the employees, most of them detached cottages and each in its own garden. The Cheneys say they are not philanthropists, only they live there and like to have their homes look nice.

"MODEL VILLAGES" DEVELOPED BY MANUFACTURING COMPANIES IN THE UNITED STATES

COMPANIES	Average number of stories in buildings	Number of dwellings	Rent per month	Usual number of rooms in dwellings	Average size of dwellings	Remarks
			Dollars		*Feet*	
Colorado Fuel and Iron Co., Pueblo, Col.	1 and 2	.....	8–12	4–6	.....	
J. B. & J. M. Cornell Co., Cold Spring, N. Y.	2 and attic	.....	12–15	8–9	30 x 19	Rent 5 per cent on investment
The Draper Co., Hopedale, Mass.	2	250	8–12	6–8	.....	2–4 per cent on investment
Ludlow Manufacturing Co., Ludlow, Mass.	2	500	6.75-9.50	4–9	31 x 25	3–5 per cent on investment Cost $1,200–$2,000
Maryland Steel Co., Sparrows Point, Md.	2	800	12	6	12 x 37	
Nelson Valve Co., Wyndmore, Pa.	2	14	9–16½	6–0	.....	7½–11 per cent on house
N. O. Nelson Co., St. Louis, Mo.	1	100	10–13	3–6	26 x 33	Lots ⅛ of an acre; mainly sold at $2 to $2.50 per front foot
Niagara Development Co., Niagara Falls, N. Y.	2	112	9–37	4–8	23 x 24	
Peacedale Manufacturing Co., Peacedale, R. I.	.....	.....	8–12	7–8	.....	
Pelzer Manufacturing Co., Pelzer, S. C.	Mainly 1	1,000	2	4	30 x 16	2½–3 per cent on investment Houses 90 feet apart
Plymouth Cordage Co., North Plymouth, Mass.	.....	.....	7–9	8–9	29 x 28	
S. D. Warren & Co., Westbrook, Me.	2	96	9–12	5–9	24 x 27	3 per cent on investment
Westinghouse Air Brake Co., Wilmerding, Pa.	2	360	14	5	25 x 30	
Whitin Machine Works, Whitinsville, Mass.	2 and 3	600	.....	5–8	24 x 30	4 per cent on investment
Willimantic Linen Co., Willimantic, Conn.	.....	.....	5½–8	6	.....	

Most of the houses are of wood, modern style, with water, but with bath and other improvements only for the higher rentals. Almost all have very small gardens in front and behind, but usually are built in rows, tho not in blocks.

Outside of New England conditions are more varied. Some of the most useful industrial villages are not the most beautiful. The Pelzer Manufacturing Company in Pelzer, S. C., supply a thousand cottages for their nearly 3,000 employees, and at the low rent of $2 per month for a cottage of four rooms, not supposed to make direct return on the capital invested. Yet are the houses of immense value to the cotton operatives of the South and the company is abundantly repaid every year from a pure business standpoint in the increased efficiency and steadiness of their employees. The company aims at "absolute industrial control coupled with a large regard for the general welfare of its employees."

The Colorado Fuel & Iron Company provide houses in their forty different mining communities, an immense advance on the rough-and-tumble private shanties of most mining-camps. They are for the most part neat and convenient, with four to six rooms. Special irrigated land is provided where the tenants can raise their own vegetables, and the company does considerably in supplying schools and social clubs.

At Gary, Ind., the U. S. Steel Company is spending millions of dollars in developing a new city with a monster steel plant, and is erecting

dwelling-houses of four to ten rooms each and two and three stories in height, for use of the employees. Philanthropy has little part in it. It is a "business proposition," a recognition that good drainage, comfort, and accessibility in workmen's homes are reflected in increased factory efficiency. Saloons and speculators are barred by clauses in the deeds, because liquor saps the energy of workmen. The company will not control the town, putting a premium on property-holding. It will have its own council, mayor, school board, political parties, and it will come as near self-government as the average American town.

REFERENCES: *Model Factories and Villages*, by Budgett Meakin (1905), to which we are largely indebted for the foregoing information; *Bulletin of the U. S. Bureau of Labor*, No. 54. See also HOUSING.

MOLINARI, GUSTAVE DE: Belgian economist; born 1819 at Liège. He studied medicine in Brussels, and wrote several works on medicine. Afterward settling in Paris, he turned his attention to political science and economy. Returning to Brussels in 1852, he was made professor of political economy at the Musée Royal de l'Industrie Belge. Since 1881, however, he has lived in Paris as editor-in-chief of the *Journal des Économistes*. With his brother Eugen he founded two periodicals, the *Économiste belge* and *La bourse du travail*. Among his writings are "Questions à économie politique et du droit politique" (2 vols., 1861) et "Comment se résoudra la question sociale" (1896).

MONARCHY (from Greek *μοναρχία*, the rule of one) is the form of government in which the supreme power is actually or nominally lodged in the hands of one person, a king or queen. England is a monarchy, because, altho the King of England is believed by many to have less power in government than the President of the United States, and tho the governing power is in the hands of his ministers, who are subject to Parliament, all government and legislation is in the name of the king or the ruling monarch. Monarchies are classed as limited or constitutional and absolute or despotic, according as the sovereign is or is not limited in his power and functions by the laws or constitutions of the realm. More or less limited monarchies have nearly always existed. From the fifteenth to the close of the eighteenth century monarchies became almost absolute. To-day, except in Asia, absolute monarchy has all but disappeared. Monarchies are usually successive—i. e., their monarchs succeed by inheritance. There have been, however, elective monarchies, where the monarchs were elected, as formerly in Poland. The German Roman Empire was nominally elective, but for many centuries at the last the heir of the monarch was invariably elected. (For the principles involved in monarchies, see STATE.)

MONASTICISM has had large social and economic relations. It doubtless began in the East, but has entered more or less into almost all religious systems. (See ESSENES.) The founder of Christian monasticism is generally believed to be St. Anthony. At first the personal seclusion of individuals was deemed essential, but the isolation became less and less. By degrees the monastery became the school for practical, philanthropic, and social Christian life. The monks divided their time between manual labor and their devotions, giving to the poor the surplus product of their work. Cloisters for females began to be established. In the eighth century a kind of a middle order between monks and clergy was formed. Most of these had a common house and table; and some branches renounced all their possessions and claimed no private property. Some orders kept schools, and some nursed the sick. In the first part of the thirteenth century the two mendicant orders arose—the Franciscans and Dominicans, the former especially, with its vows of poverty, after the example of its great founder, St. Francis of Assisi, developing great unworldliness and bringing to the lowly great spirituality and practical help. This, however, gradually changed and it was by these two orders that monachism was raised to the height of its power, influence, and prosperity. The poorer members wandered over Europe, instructing the people and attracting general admiration for their sanctity and self-denial. Their advice was eagerly sought in secular and political affairs. They became elevated to college professorships. At last their great influence drew upon them the hostility of the clergy, and their vast riches and prosperity brought about the envy of the nobility, and the ultimate degeneracy and downfall of the monks themselves. Again and again reforms were inaugurated only to be overwhelmed by the growing tide of self-indulgence. Laxity was followed by lust, ownership by avarice, liberality by ungodliness, and honest industry by every manner of corruption. This continued until the general confiscation of their lands and abolition of their privileges, when in a few years no less than 3,000 monasteries were broken up in Europe.

Altho the Reformation rejected monachism, several types of it have been and are still found in Protestantism. In Germany both Lutherans and Evangelicals have formed houses of deacons and deaconesses for the purpose of teaching, healing the sick, visiting prisoners, etc. In the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church of this country various brotherhoods and sisterhoods have been formed at various times, and have recently been somewhat multiplied, imitating to some extent medieval monastic associations with some modern features. Monastic orders, however, have endured and done large work for education and for charity, tho they are opposed to-day and have been or are being driven out of most Roman Catholic countries on the ground of agitating and plotting against the State in its efforts at secular education and democratic government. In connection with the American Roman Catholic Church, there are over 300 nunneries and 128 monasteries. C.

MONEY (see CURRENCY for a historical sketch of United States currency, and BANKS AND BANKING; BIMETALISM; CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY; FINANCE; GREENBACK PARTY; GOLD AND SILVER; PAPER MONEY, for especial topics): In this article we treat of money in general, describing the economic nature and function of money, with a sketch of the history of money.

Definition

To define the word money is both easy and difficult. It is not difficult to define it in almost any one of two or three meanings; but the trouble is that the word is used, and even by writers of repute, in more senses than one, and

these various senses are so various that no definition can be made to cover them all. It will be necessary, therefore, to give at least three distinct definitions.

1. Money is sometimes used, altho with the least authority, to mean gold and silver or other metal currency, in contradistinction from paper currency. This use is uncommon, and almost never found in economic writings, but is sometimes met with in popular speech.

2. By money is sometimes meant whatever the law declares to be "legal tender" in exchange or in payment of debt. "Legal tender" is that which the law compels a person to receive in payment of debt. This is money in its narrowest sense. It has the "fiat" of government upon it—i. e., government declares or "makes it" to be money. Any man can offer such money to his creditor and compel him to take it at its face value; if the creditor refuse, the debtor is no longer legally liable for the debt. This is the legal sense, and a frequent sense of the word in political economy: but usually, for the sake of clearness, the phrase "legal tender" is used for such money.

3. Money is ordinarily used in political economy to mean any article ordinarily in use as a medium of exchange. It has been said that in this sense "Money is that money does" (Walker). To give a more exact definition, we may use Mr. Walker's, which has been widely adopted:

"Money is that which passes freely from hand to hand throughout the community in final discharge of debts and full payment for commodities, being accepted equally without reference to the character or credit of the person who offers it, and without the intention of the person who receives it to consume it or enjoy it, or apply it to any other use than, in turn, to tender it to others in discharge of debts or full payment for commodities" ("Money, Trade and Industry," p. 4).

Functions of Money

The first function of money is to be a medium of exchange. When our earliest ancestors desired to exchange any goods, they did it by direct barter or exchange of goods.

The operation is also called truck (French, *troc*, barter). Among uncivilized races trade is still carried on in this way; a traveler going into the interior of South Africa takes a stock of beads, knives, pieces of iron, looking-glasses, etc., in order that he may always have something which the natives will like to receive in exchange for food or services. People still occasionally barter things in England or the United States, but this is seldom done, owing to the trouble which it gives.

These difficulties have early caused all races at all civilized to adopt some one article as a common medium of exchange or money. Thus, money being exchangeable by custom, or by law if it be legal tender, a man who has any article to sell sells it for money to anybody who will buy it, not having to seek an article in exchange, because, having got the money, he can go and buy whatever article he himself wants from any person who has the article he desires. Thus money fulfils its first function of being a medium of exchange.

A second function hardly inferior in importance to the one just mentioned is that of affording a ready means of estimating the comparative value of different commodities. Indeed, it may be reasonably maintained that the idea of general value could not be formed without the existence of money. The adoption of some one commodity renders the comparison of values easy. "The chosen commodity becomes a common denominator or common measure of value in terms of which we estimate the values of all other goods" (Jevons).

A third function of money soon develops itself. Commerce cannot advance far before people begin to borrow and lend, and debts of various origin are contracted. One of the most distinctive features of advancing civilization is the increasing tendency of people to trust each other. Now a contract implies something to be done in the future, and for estimating the value of that future act a standard is required; and money, which already acts as a medium of exchange and as a measure of value at a given time, performs a third function by affording an approximate means of estimating the value of the future act, and in this respect may be regarded as a standard of value, or, as it is sometimes said, of deferred payments.

As we shall see later, this is one of the most important uses of money; but now we pass on. Money sometimes also serves a fourth purpose—that of embodying value in a convenient form for conveyance to distant places. Something which is very valuable, altho of little bulk and weight, and which will be recognized as very valuable in every part of the world, is necessary for this purpose. The current money of a country is perhaps more likely to fulfil these conditions than anything else, altho diamonds and other precious stones and articles of exceptional beauty and rarity might be employed.

Such are the main economic functions that money is designed to fulfil.

We pass on to consider what are the qualities that should characterize the commodity we adopt as money. The first quality needed is general acceptability. Money cannot discharge its prime function unless everybody, or almost everybody, is willing to accept it. This general acceptability can, however, be secured to a great extent by means of a law making any kind of commodity legal tender—i. e., requiring all who are subject to the law to accept it as a full and final discharge of obligations. If, however, the government chooses an unsuitable commodity, the law will be evaded and barter will be resorted to.

Qualities of Good Money

The second quality which it is desirable that money should possess is durability, and that without deterioration. Cattle and wheat are used as money by some savage tribes, but both of these lack this quality. Gold and jewels possess it in a high degree.

The third of the desirable qualities is portability. Cattle are good in this respect, as they carry themselves. Wheat is bad, as its value compared to its bulk is low. Gold is good; but from this point of view diamonds would be still better.

The fourth and fifth of the desirable qualities are divisibility and uniformity. Under the latter we may include that the quality is easily defined. Hitherto jewels have seemed even more suitable than gold for money, but they do not fulfil these requirements. Their value is not easily tested or attested; and to divide them is difficult and destructive of their value. Metals, on the other

hand, are easily coined in any degree of purity. The stamp, edges, etc., serve to prevent wilful mutilation, and as gold and silver possess also the qualities of durability and portability in a high degree, they have, very largely, been adopted as money.

There is, however, a sixth quality very desirable in money, which gold and silver do not possess to anything like the extent that could be wished. This quality may be described as steadiness of value. We have seen that money is generally used as a standard of deferred payments. Now, if the delays in payment were always brief, gold and silver would admirably fulfil this purpose. A hundredweight of gold will exchange to-day for about the same quantity of most other commodities as it would have done six months ago. But if the interval is a long one the fluctuations in the exchange value of gold are very serious.

How this evil can be best remedied is to-day the most discust monetary question. (See CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY; BIMETALISM.) We pass on to notice one more desirable quality in money which is what Jevons calls cognizability. He says:

> By this name we may denote the capability of a substance for being easily recognized and distinguished from all other substances. As a medium of exchange, money has to be continually handed about, and it will occasion great trouble if every person receiving currency has to scrutinize, weigh, and test it. If it requires any skill to discriminate good money from bad, poor ignorant people are sure to be imposed upon. Hence the medium of exchange should have certain distinct marks which nobody can mistake. Precious stones, even if in other respects good as money, could not be so used, because only a skilled lapidary can surely distinguish between true and imitation gems.
>
> Under cognizability we may properly include what has been aptly called impressibility, namely, the capability of a substance to receive such an impression, seal, or design as shall establish its character as current money of certain value.

We may now consider some of the general principles which govern the use of money, confining our attention to those which apply to all money. (For a discussion of fiat, paper, or representative money, see PAPER MONEY.)

Standard of Value

The first principle is that the supreme quality in money is that it should express a standard of value which will not vary. But value (*q. v.*) merely expresses the exchange ratio between commodities, and this is always more or less changing. It is impossible, therefore, to get a standard which will never change, and the best that can be done is to approximate this. Which money does this best is disputed; some think it is gold; others gold and silver used together; others paper money issued in certain quantities. (For these various views, see BIMETALISM; PAPER MONEY.)

Secondly, we must recognize the force of habit in using particular forms of money and having confidence in it. Jevons says on this point:

"No one can possibly understand many social phenomena unless he constantly bears in mind the force of habit and social convention. This is strikingly true in our subject of money. Over and over again powerful rulers have endeavored to put new coins into circulation or withdraw old ones, but the instincts of self-interest or habit in the people have been too strong for laws and penalties."

The third principle that we most notice and one of the most important is the so-called Gresham's Law (from Sir Thomas Gresham, who lived in England in the Elizabethan period). This law asserts that when two or more kinds of legal money contend for use in the market, the worst kind of money that is legal will drive the better kinds out of circulation. The reason is simple. When a person pays out any money he inclines to get rid of the worst money he has with which he can legally settle the account. He keeps the best money himself. Consequently the worst money circulates the most and the best is hoarded or driven out of circulation. Hence the necessity of keeping all the money in circulation at par, unless a nation is willing to go to the exclusive use of the worst money.

A fourth principle, and perhaps in modern times the most important of all, is that the quantity of money should be commensurate with the demand for a medium of exchange, because if the amount of money in a country is not increased in proportion to the demand for it, it will rise in value, and thus become a variable standard. Hence the money that is most invariable in value will be that which varies in quantity most exactly in conformity with the demand for it. Hence a currency inelastic in quantity may be the most dishonest money, and a currency elastic in quantity may be made the most honest.

An elastic currency, however, may also be made dishonest. It depends wholly on how it is varied in quantity. So far as quantity is concerned it should vary exactly with the demand, thus, so far as quantity is concerned, being perfectly stable in value. An elastic currency, therefore, at least permits of stability of value; an inelastic currency cannot be honest unless there is no change either in the population of a country or in the use that population has for money. It is not enough merely for a circulation to expand with population, but must expand or contract with the use the population has for money. If a civilization grows more intricate and involved, there are ordinarily more cash transactions, and therefore there is more demand for money. The grave and important questions that arise out of variations in the amount of money are well known. A currency increasing in volume out of proportion to the demand robs creditors, a diminishing currency robs debtors. (See CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY; BIMETALISM; PAPER MONEY; SILVER.)

HISTORY OF MONEY

The first money used seems to have been furs and skins. The next stage of society was pastoral, and the corresponding money was cattle or some domesticated animal. The word *pecunia* (Latin for money), whence our word pecuniary, is probably derived from *pecus*, cattle. In uncivilized portions of the world cattle are still used to express value. A wife, a slave, etc., are still said to be worth so many head of cattle. More advanced communities used articles of ornament, such as shells, like the wampumpeag of the North American Indians, or the ring money of many countries. Agricultural or other natural products were used. Tobacco was commonly used for money in the North American colonies; codfish were used in Newfoundland; cubes of pressed tea in Tartary; sugar in the West Indies. The next stage was the use of various maufactured articles, such as a preparation of leather by the

Carthaginians, silk by the Chinese, nails in Scotland, bullets and wampum in Massachusetts.

Metals, however, have been mainly used except in the earliest times. Of metals almost every kind has been used—iron, lead, tin, platinum, nickel, copper, and, above all, silver and gold. Iron has been used until very recently in Japan for small values. In the Homeric age it is said to have been more valued than copper. Tin was probably early used; the first known instance being by Dionysius of Syracuse. It is thought to have formed the first English coinage. It has been used in Mexico and in Java. Roman emperors and English kings struck tin coins. Tin farthings were issued in England as late as 1690. Lead is still more soft, but has been largely employed. It was used in the form of bullets in Massachusetts. Platinum has been used in Russia. It is one of the rarer metals, but very difficult and costly to melt. Nickel is used solely as convenient in making alloys. Copper was one of the first known metals, and is still in use for minor coins everywhere. The earliest Hebrew coins are thought to have been copper, and the metallic currency of Rome down to 269 B.C. was an impure copper or æs. It formed the main money of Russia and Sweden in the last century. It is, however, too cheap to have much intrinsic value.

Silver has been the main metal for coinage in historical times. Abraham (Gen. xxiii: 16) is said to have paid out shekels of silver, tho this was a weight of silver, not coin. Herodotus attributes the first use of coined gold and silver to the Lydians, tho he also says that the first Greek coinage was made by Pheidon of Argos at Ægina (895 B.C.). Metal first passed everywhere by weight, a system said to have been of Assyrio-Babylonic origin. Only later did governments stamp on coins an indication of their weight, fineness, and resultant value —the hall mark as Jevons calls it. The shape was at first varied—square, hexagonal, octagonal, or round; only later did the round form, and still later the milled edge, prevail to prevent clipping and unconscious loss.

Early Coins

After the fall of the Roman Empire various silver coins were used. Charlemagne undertook to introduce a general system of money based on the silver pound, known in England as the troy pound of 12 oz., but the breaking up of his empire prevented this general use. It passed, however, into England, and the pound was divided into 240 pence (*denarii*), twelve of which constituted a shilling (*solidus*). Twenty shillings thus represented a silver pound. Hence the name "pound." The first English gold coin seems to have been that of Henry III. in 1257, when a number of gold pennies were coined at a value to silver of 10 to 1. The first regular series of gold coinage in England, however, dates from 1344, under Edward III. In France, after the breaking of the empire of Charlemagne, 150 powers are said to have issued money. Debasement of money became the rule in France. The first debasement of coinage established in history is when Solon (599 B.C.) debased the quantity of silver in the Athenian coins over 25 per cent. Professor Bastable, in an article in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," thinks it to have been successful, and probably necessary. It was probably not the only Greek debasement, and in Roman history debasement of the coinage was frequent.

Debasements

The first debasement in English history was in 1300, when Edward I. slightly debased the silver coinage. The practise, however, became common, especially from 1543–52, under Henry VIII. and Edward VI. It wholly ceased, however, after the sixteenth century. Scotch coins were much more debased than English. In France, debasements did not stop with the sixteenth century.

These depreciations point to the very variable value of metallic money. Allison, in his "History of Europe," says:

> The two greatest events in the history of mankind have been brought about by a successive contraction and expansion in the circulating medium of society. The fall of the Roman Empire, so long ascribed in ignorance to slavery, to heathenism, and moral corruption, was in reality brought about by a decline in the silver and gold mines of Spain and Greece. . . . The annual supply of the precious metals—of money—for the use of the globe was tripled; before a century had elapsed the price of every species of produce was quadrupled. The weight of debt and taxation insensibly wore off under the influence of that prodigious increase; in the renovation of industry, the relations of society were changed, the weight of feudalism cast off, the rights of man established.

This is, however, undoubtedly an extreme view. The corruption of the Roman Empire and the incursion of hordes of uncorrupted Germanic tribes cannot be lightly shuffled off as causes of the fall of Rome, nor can the new life of the sixteenth century be so largely attributed to the influx of gold and silver from the mines and treasures of Mexico and Peru. A hundred causes, political, intellectual, religious, and social, led to the new activity of the modern age. Feudalism in England at least was shuffled off before the gold and silver came. The rights of man were not even much preached till long after the discovery of America. Yet undoubtedly the scarcity of money in the Middle Ages and the influx of gold and silver from the New World were potent factors in the history of mankind.

Through the Middle Ages the supply of gold and silver was limited. The report of the U. S. Monetary Commission says:

"At the Christian era the metallic money of the Roman Empire amounted to $1,800,000,000. By the end of the fifteenth century it had shrunk to less than $200,000,000."

William Jacob, F.R.S., gives the following table of the amount of metallic money:

A.D. 14	$1,790,000,000
A.D. 230	909,000,000
A.D. 410	537,000,000
A.D. 662	256,000,000
A.D. 806	168,000,000

All such tables are more or less conjectural, however; the only fact that is generally accepted being that during the Dark Ages mines were little worked. About 800 A.D. the Moors in Spain began to rework her mines, and are supposed from that date to have counteracted the loss by wear and exportation, and accordingly we may regard the metallic supply as fixt in amount until the next change in the conditions of production, which was the result of the discovery of America. The conquest of Mexico (1519) gave opportunities of working the silver mines of that country, while the first mines of Chile and Peru were almost simultaneously discovered, and in 1545 those of Potosi were laid open. From this latter date we may regard the American supply as an influential factor in the matter, and look upon the stock of money as increasing. The annual addition to the store of money has been estimated as £2,100,000 for the

period from 1545–1600. At this date the Brazilian supply began.

At the commencement of this century the annual production of gold has been estimated as being from £2,500,000 to £3,000,000. The year 1809 seems to mark an epoch in the production of these metals, since the outbreak of the revolts of the various Spanish dependencies in South America tended to check the usual supply from those countries, and a marked increase in the value of money was the consequence. During the period 1809–49 the value of gold and silver rose to about two times and a half their former level, notwithstanding fresh discoveries in Asiatic Russia. The annual yield in 1849 was estimated at £8,000,000. The next important date for our present purpose is the year 1848, when the Californian mines were opened, while in 1851 the Australian discoveries took place. By these events an enormous mass of gold was added to the world's supply. The most careful estimates fix the addition during the years 1851–71 at £500-000,000, or an amount nearly equal to the former stock in existence.

It is from these variations in the quantity, and therefore in the value of money, that the modern history of money takes its rise. The various coins of uncertain value in the Middle Ages, many of them depreciated by governments, by private money-clippers, or by use, gave occasion to the custom in Venice, Genoa, and perhaps elsewhere, of placing them in so-called banks, having them carefully valued by experts, and the depositors receiving various receipts for the same, which receipts circulated as money, often with a premium above coin, and often enduring even long after the coin deposited in the banks had been seized by ruthless kings or dishonest speculators. In this custom probably lies the beginning of paper money, which henceforth plays so large a part in the history of money, and for an account of which, see articles PAPER MONEY; BANKS AND BANKING; BANK OF VENICE, etc.

Modern Times

Again, in the experience of England with depreciations of currency and in the fall of money values occasioned by the influx of gold and silver when the New World was discovered, is the occasion for the comparatively early commitment of England to the doctrine of gold monometalism (*q. v.*), which has led to the greatest monetary changes and monetary conflicts of modern times. Up to the year 1819 almost all nations, as we have seen, issued coins of both gold and silver, as well as of other metals, and tried to regulate their relative values by royal or governmental proclamations. Altho supply and demand continually tended to change the relative value of the two metals, and altho from about 1760–1810 enormous quantities of silver poured into the world from mines in Mexico and elsewhere (so that in 1800 the world's annual silver product was nearly three times its product in 1700), the actual alteration in the relative values aforesaid was but slight. In 1803, therefore, France adopted her famous law making fifteen parts and a half of silver equal to one part of gold in all transactions. England, however, in 1816, under the second Lord Liverpool, took an opposite course, and demonetized silver as a standard.

From this time on the history of money becomes the history of the bimetallic controversy, for which we refer our readers to the article BIMETALISM; also see PAPER MONEY. (For the history of money in the U. S., see CURRENCY.)

REFERENCES: W. S. Jevons, *Money and the Mechanism of Exchange* (1879); F. A. Walker, *Money* (1878); W. G. Sumner, *History of American Currency* (1878); E. B. Andrews *An Honest Dollar*; A. J. Fonda, *Honest Money* (1895); J. S. Nicholson, *A Treatise on Money* (1901); H. White, *Money and Banking* (1902). See also BIMETALISM.

MONEY, L. G. CHIOZZA: Member British Parliament, and publicist; born, 1870, at Genoa, Italy; son of an English mother and Anglo-Italian father; an aunt gave him the name Money. He has long lived in London. He was left a full orphan at the age of fifteen, and has had to shift for himself since. Nevertheless, he gained a good education, was elected a member of the Royal Statistical Society, and became prominent in that body through the suggestion to revise the Board of Trade returns in 1902. In 1906 he was elected to Parliament as a Liberal member for North Paddington, but continues his Socialistic activity. He is author of "Riches and Poverty"; "Through Preference to Protection"; "Elements of the Fiscal Problem"; "British Trade and the Zollverein Issue." *Address*: Chaldon, Surrey, England.

MONOPOLIES. See TRUSTS.

MONTEFIORE, SIR MOSES HAYYIM: Philanthropist; born 1784 at Leghorn, Italy, as the son of Anglo-Italian parents. He was educated in London, and became a member of the stock exchange. He succeeded in his business and banking affairs and retired in 1824 after having made a large fortune. From that time on he devoted his life to the amelioration of the Jewish race, particularly to the removal of their civil disabilities in England. He was personally so well liked that he was elected High Sheriff of Kent, and Sheriff of London in 1837. He was knighted the same year, and made a baronet in 1846. Between 1827 and 1875 he made seven journeys to the Orient in order to find out what could be done for his coreligionists, but accomplished little in a political way, altho personally he was received with the greatest respect. In 1865 he founded a Jewish college at Ramsgate, where he spent the later years of his life, and died July 28, 1885.

REFERENCES: See works by Israel Davis and Lucien Wolf on *Sir Moses Montefiore*, London, 1884.

MONTESQUIEU, CHARLES LOUIS DE SECONDAT, BARON DE: Philosopher and political economist; born near Bordeaux, France, 1689; educated at the oratorian college of Juilly and the Academy of Bordeaux. During his studies at Bordeaux he entered the Council of Bordeaux, and in 1716 became its president. Under the influence of Newton he interested himself in natural science. In 1721 he produced the "Lettres Persanes," a satire by a supposed Persian traveler in France on French society. In 1725 the "Temple de Gnide," an allegorical prose poem; was now elected to the Academy, but did not take his seat till 1728; traveled in Germany and Italy, and spent two years in England studying social institutions; wrote several minor political works preparatory to his masterpiece, "L'Esprit des Lois" (1748). Its character is indicated by its full title: "On the Spirit of Laws; or, the Necessary Relations Between a Country's Laws and the Nature of its Government, its Manners, Climate, Religion, Commerce,"

etc. It was received with great enthusiasm, and ran through twenty-two editions in a year and a half. To the objections it called forth Montesquieu replied in his "Défense de l'Esprit des Lois" (1750). Montesquieu died in 1755. (For his main teachings, see POLITICAL SCIENCE.)

MONTS DE PIÉTÉ (from It. *monte di pietà*, fund of pity): Institutions established by public authority for lending money at moderate rates on the security of goods. They originated in Italy in the fifteenth century to counteract the usurious practises of the Jewish money-lenders. (See PAWN-SHOPS.)

MORAL ELEMENT IN SOCIAL REFORM, THE: Perhaps no characteristic of the present efforts for social reform is more hopeful and more important than the deepening emphasis now placed—however far we may yet be from placing all the emphasis we ought—on the moral element in social reform. A hundred years ago the keyword in social reform was "natural rights," and in economics "*laissez-faire*." To-day the keyword in reform is "cooperation," and in economics "character." If this may seem to some too optimistic a view, we remind them that individualist, Socialist, and even anarchist reformers all seek cooperation, while in economics the reason why individualist economists fear socialism is that they believe that it will deteriorate character, and the reason why Socialist economists seek socialism is their belief that under individualism character is deteriorating. Undoubtedly there are also evil signs to-day. Many Socialist reformers come perilously near to an unethical materialism, and many individualist economists approach a cynical belief that the only thing which can be counted on to dominate activity is a material self-interest. Doubtless, too, it is possible to minimize the moral element which existed 100 years ago. If the doctrine of "natural rights" (*q. v.*) produced the French and perhaps the American Revolution, it was often striven for with a devotion and sacrifice of the most ethical kind. Of the economics of Adam Smith, Arnold Toynbee, who criticizes them, says ("Industrial Revolution"):

> Two conceptions are woven into every argument of the "Wealth of Nations," the belief in the supremacy of individual liberty and the conviction that man's self-love is God's providence, so that the individual, in pursuit of his own interest, is promoting the interest of all.

Nevertheless, neither ignoring our own deficiencies nor minimizing the moral element of the past, it must be recognized that economics have been considerably moralized within the century, particularly in England, and that the present wide-spread effort for social reform upon all lines indicates in itself a deepening and a widening of the moral impulse. Under the old political economy, especially with the successors of Adam Smith rather than with Adam Smith himself, men, as Bagehot (*q. v.*) shows, were conceived as simply "economic men," "money-making animals." To-day political economy, particularly of the psychologic school and to a less extent of the historical school, considers man in his full, round nature. Again, the aim of the old political economy was the wealth of nations considered mainly from the standpoint of materlai production. To-day political economy gives at least a considerably increased attention to the problems of distribution, and to the good of the working classes. It has become far less of a pure science and much more of a practical art. This change is largely due to Mill, or, at least, becomes first prominent in his work. In the introduction to his "Political Economy" (1848) he says:

Political Economy

> The design of the book is different from that of any treatise on political economy which has been produced in England since the work of Adam Smith.
>
> The most characteristic quality of that work, and the one in which it most differs from some others which have equaled and even surpassed it as mere expositions of the general principles of the subject, is that it invariably associates the principles with their applications. This of itself implies a much wider range of ideas and of topics than are included in political economy, considered as a branch of abstract speculation. For practical purposes, political economy is inseparably intertwined with many other branches of social philosophy. Except in matters of mere detail, there are perhaps no practical questions, even among those which approach nearest to the character of purely economical questions, which admit of being decided on economical premises alone. And it is because Adam Smith never loses sight of this truth; because, in his applications of political economy, he perpetually appeals to other and often far larger considerations than pure political economy affords, that he gives the well-grounded feeling of command over the principles of the subject for purposes of practise, owing to which the "Wealth of Nations," alone among treatises on political economy, has not only been popular with general readers, but has imprest itself strongly on the minds of men of the world and of legislators.
>
> It appears to the present writer that a work similar in its object and general conception to that of Adam Smith, but adapted to the more extended knowledge and improved ideas of the present age, is the kind of contribution which political economy at present requires.

Since Mill, political economy has steadily grown "moral." Professor Ely divides the evolution of political economy into three periods. He says ("Introduction to Political Economy," pp. 105, 106):

> "Economic goods are first made the primary thing, and they are treated almost as if their production was an independent process apart from the will of man, one extreme writer going so far as to say that the laws governing the production of wealth would be just what they are if man did not exist. The social relations involved in the production and consumption of economic goods are then considered more carefully, and finally the original process is reversed, and it is distinctly asserted that 'the starting-point as well as the object-point of our science is man' (Roscher's 'Political Economy,' vol. i. of Lalor's translation, p. 52).
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> "The definition of political economy found in Mrs. Fawcett's little 'Political Economy' may be taken as a fair presentation of the first class of conceptions. It is as follows: 'Political economy is the science which investigates the nature of wealth and the laws which govern its production, exchange, and distribution.'
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> "The definition of political economy found in John Stuart Mill's treatise may be taken as a tolerably accurate presentation of the second class of conceptions. 'Writers on political economy,' says Mill, 'profess to teach or investigate the nature of wealth and the laws of its production and distribution, including directly or remotely the operation of all the causes by which the condition of mankind or of any society of human beings in respect to this universal object of human desire is made prosperous or the reverse.' Social relations are dragged in through a back door, as it were." As an illustration of the third period, Professor Ely quotes Prof. Henry C. Adams, of the University of Michigan, as saying of political economy, in his "Outlines of Lectures upon Political Economy," that it "treats of industrial society. Its purpose as an analytic science is to explain the industrial actions of men. Its purpose as a constructive science is to discover a scientific and rational basis for the formation and government of industrial society."

The present moral danger of modern political economy is overanalysis. Says Dr. Edward Caird ("The Moral Aspect of the Economical Problem," a presidential address to the Ethical Society):

> It is the peculiar temptation of students of science and literature to cultivate a so-called critical spirit—a consciousness of scientific law, that has no tolerance for any form of

zeal which is not quite according to knowledge or a literary sense, the delicacy and quickness of which is easily turned into faultfinding and intolerance of every thought and feeling which does not express itself in conformity with its own standards. The devil of these modern days is not, as Goethe said, the northern fantom with horns and hoofs, not the spirit which inspires a rabid witch-like frenzy for evil, that mocks the sacred enthusiasm for good; it is the spirit which always denies, which sees nothing but pretense in virtue, nothing but illusion in the higher hopes and faiths of man. This chilling doubt is the shadow that accompanies our advancing knowledge, sometimes taking away the good of it, and making us almost wish for the simpler faiths and unhesitating instincts of an earlier time. . . . It is this that turns science aside into the way of a false realistic analysis, which "has the parts in its hand, but has lost all consciousness of the spiritual bond which united them." It is this which reduces life to its crude elements, and then doubts whether it is worth living; it is this finally that so fills us with the sense of the difficulties and disadvantages of every step to improve the condition of man, that we shrink into isolation and inaction. . . .

This is the devil which is most dangerous to the soul that has been swept and garnished by culture, and which that soul must repel if it would save itself from growing weakness and moral decay. As a class, men of culture are not much in danger of being possest by a frantic love of evil and hatred of good, but sometimes they are in danger of losing a belief in the greatness of the issues of existence which are hid under its littleness, and in the worth of every human life, in spite of the triviality and meanness of its appearance.

Reformers

But more than to any advance in academic political economy is the present indebted to the great moral reformers, like Carlyle, Ruskin, Maurice, Mazzini, and Tolstoy. For their position and contributions to social reform, see their respective names; but it is to Ruskin, more than to any other modern reformer, we owe the conceptions that wealth is well living; that the life is more than meat; that man should own property and not property own man. It is to Carlyle that we owe an exaltation of the possibility of man, and the assertion of manhood over social and economic shams. It is to Maurice that the Church of to-day mainly owes her Christian Socialism. It is Mazzini who, more strongly than any, has emphasized duty as greater than rights, and God as above materialism. Tolstoy, more than any other, has taught individualists the greatness of sacrifice. (For a consideration, however, of the moral element in social reform, so far as it has taken the form of Christian thought and effort, see CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM; CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM.) Outside of the Church the deepest contribution to the moralization of reform, except from individuals like the above, has come from the positivist school and from the modern ethical movement.

Said Frederic Harrison (*q. v.*) ("Address on Moral and Religious Socialism," Jan. 1, 1891), the central social maxim of positivism is "to make political interests give way to moral duties." Its aim is a religion of humanity, the service of man. As for the various societies of ethical culture in America and Europe, their avowed object is "the elevation of the moral life of its members and that of the community," and everywhere its societies are calling attention to the moral side of social reforms.

It must be remembered that our subject is the moral element in social reform. It is questioned by some if society is growing moral. (See CRIME.) Says J. M. Whiton ("The Reaction of Ethics upon Economics," address at Yale College, June, 1888):

> We are now threatened with moral chaos in the world of trade, as the natural result of that Lucretian vortex of atoms, out of which Smith and his disciples imagined an economic cosmos would come. So dispassionate an observer as Prof. H. Sidgwick, of Cambridge, criticizes "the antisocial temper and attitude of mind produced by the continual struggle of competition," and inquires "whether the whole individualistic organization of industry, whatever its material advantages be, is not open to condemnation as radically demoralizing." The question is answered by Professor Graham, of Belfast: "Our practical working ethics, as distinct from the ethics of the schools, often grand enough, is narrowed to the lowest egoism and the coarsest moral materialism." . . .
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> These old questions, newly moved by authorities whom it is folly to disparage, we see seconded on every hand by spectacles which stir the common mind to thinking on the problems thus proposed; as by heightening contrasts between the neighbors Opulence and Indigence, by the purchase of ground for a ten-million-dollar cathedral in honor of Christ, while the slums, where Christ's little ones die in noisome heat by thousands, remain undisturbed, and even lucrative at 35 per cent. . . .
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> Our political seers, also, have heard the surf through the fog and are crying from their lookout, "Breakers ahead." "Nowhere in the world," says our Professor Sumner, "is the danger of a plutocracy as formidable as it is here. . . . Already the question presents itself as one of life or death to democracy. . . . The task before us is one which calls for fresh reserves of moral force and political virtue from the very foundations of the social body.

Nevertheless, the very recognition of these evils and the effort to meet them indicate an advance. Even our wealthy men, who sneer at social reform, are compelled, as never before, to practise a "gospel of wealth"; and it is among the best signs of the times that never, as now, was philanthropy so criticized for giving to the poor only what it has first taken from the poor, bestowing on universities and charities that which it gathered by avarice and perhaps by fraud.

We are developing, as Mr. H. D. Lloyd (*q. v.*) has asserted, "a new conscience." Long ago Mazzini wrote: "Every political question is becoming a social question, and every social question is rapidly becoming a religious question." Matthew Arnold defines civilization as "the humanizing, the bringing into one harmonious and truly humane life of the whole body of society." If this is not true of civilization to-day, it is at least the present aim and endeavor of social reform.

REFERENCES: The above-quoted essays and addresses; the works of Ruskin, Carlyle, Mazzini, Maurice, Tolstoy, etc. (*q. v.*); *Social Philosophy and Religion of Auguste Comte*, by E. Caird (1885); *Prolegomena to Ethics*, by T. H. Green (1890); *An Introduction to Social Philosophy*, by J. S. Mackenzie; *History of Ethics*, by H. Sidgwick (1892); *Principles of Ethics*, by H. Spencer. (See also CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

MORAVIANS: The Moravian Church, or Church of the United Brethren, the *Unitas Fratrum*, originated in the reformation of John Huss in Bohemia and Moravia in the fifteenth century. Almost crushed out by persecution, it was revived in 1722 at Herrnhut by Count Zinzendorf, and the policy was adopted of propagating its faith by forming missionary semi-communal colonies, which by a quiet fraternal life, joined to a pietistic faith, should influence the world. Since 1732 more than 2,200 missionaries have gone out. These communities celebrated love feasts (*agapæ*, *q. v.*), and in every way developed the fraternal spirit. Since 1856 these fraternal customs have, however, disappeared from Moravian settlements in the United States, about half those in the world.

MORE, SIR THOMAS: Statesman; born London, 1478; became at the age of fifteen page in the household of Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Prime Minister. In 1497 entered Oxford University, and afterward studied law at Lincoln's Inn, London, and resided for some years at a Gray Friars monastery. In 1502 he became a judge in the sheriff's court, and also

member of Parliament for Middlesex. Sir James Mackintosh says of him that "he is the first person in our [English] history distinguished by the faculty of public speaking, and is remarkable for the successful employment of it in Parliament against a lavish grant of money to the crown." The occasion referred to was when he persuaded the House of Commons not to grant a supply to Henry VII. on the marriage of his daughter. About 1514 he wrote his famous "Utopia," which was printed in Louvain (1516) under the editorship of his friend Erasmus, and was soon translated into many languages. In 1521 More was knighted and appointed treasurer of the exchequer; in 1523, speaker of the House of Commons. In 1529 he was appointed lord-chancellor in place of Cardinal Wolsey. Having declined to take the oath by which he was required to recognize the validity of the marriage of Anne Boleyn, he was consigned to the Tower of London in 1534. After he had been in prison for a year he was charged with treason in that he denied the king's supremacy as head of the Church, and finally was condemned and beheaded on July 6, 1535. All the accounts we have of Sir Thomas More's life agree in describing him as of unusual greatness, pure-minded, just, and generous, with an inexhaustible flow of sprightly wit; and tho as a statesman bound by his surroundings, yet able to see clearly the evils of despotism and monarchy, and in heart, as is shown in his "Utopia," a democratic republican. In this book More first introduces his readers to a traveler and philosopher whom he meets in Antwerp, just returned from journeyings in strange lands; he had started out with Vespucci on his last voyage, but leaving him at the farthest point had pushed on to other strange lands, and finally to the island of Utopia, whose laws and customs imprest him greatly, and which he relates at length to More. The descriptions show a very keen perception of the causes of misgovernment, while the sentiments put into the mouth of the traveler when he is discussing English institutions show that Sir Thomas More was at heart, at all events, a pronounced republican, and one who loved his fellow men rather than institutions. In Utopia all save the old and infirm are expected to labor six hours a day; all goods of every kind are owned in common; and the people choose their houses every ten years by lot, and dine together in large halls. They have no money of any kind, and consider gold and silver as the basest of metals, fit only for ignoble uses. All personal adornment they consider as childish and degrading. Their priests are few in number, but are universally reverenced for their sanctity and their courage in time of war. There are two religious orders among them, very similar to the Order of St. Francis of Assisi; their endeavor is to purify their souls by engaging in the lowliest and most unattractive labors. Religious intolerance is a thing unknown, as it is the doctrine of the Utopians that belief is largely a matter of environment and birth. There are twenty-four cities in Utopia, equal in extent. The government is largely directed by a council composed of three wise men from each city, who are elected by their fellow citizens. The criminals of the cities are enslaved, and obliged to perform the more laborious and disagreeable work.

MORELLI: French writer of the eighteenth century, of whose life Larousse's "Dictionnaire" says that absolutely nothing is known, tho according to some accounts he was an abbé and lived at Vitrey-le-François. Several of his writings, however, are known and are important, especially his "Essai sur l'esprit humain" (1745); "Le Prince, les délices du cœur ou traité des qualités d'un grand roi et système d'un sage gouvernement" (2 vols., 1751); "Naufrage des iles flottantes à la Basiliade," a social Utopia; above all, his "Code de la nature ou le véritable esprit de ses lois de tout temps négligé ou méconnue" (1755), a book influential in forming the social theories of the French Revolution, and said to be the inspirer of Babeuf (*q. v.*).

MORISSEAUX, CHARLES: Director-General of the Bureau of Industry and Labor, Brussels; born, 1854, at Liège, Belgium: pupil of the School of Mines, Liège University; won his diploma as a civil engineer in 1877. From 1877 to 1882 on duty as mining engineer in the collieries of Mariemont and Bescoup, Belgium: appointed in 1882 chief clerk in the Belgian Foreign Office; in 1884 secretary to the Minister for Agriculture, Industry, and Public Works. In 1886 a member and one of the secretaries of the great Committee of Labor, established with a view to reforming labor legislation in Belgium and bettering the conditions of the working people. Became in 1887 head of Bureau of Industry. From 1886 to 1899 helped in the shaping and passage of almost every law or regulation relating to labor, besides organizing and supervising various social inquiries and the general census of industries in 1896. In 1899 was made general inspector of finance to the Mozambique Company and became general manager of the company in 1904. Has now returned to his position as Director-General of Bureau of Labor. *Address:* Rue Lambermont 2, Brussels.

MORMONISM: The Mormon Church we consider here in its relation to social problems. Beginning in 1831 at Fayette, N. Y., in the preaching of Joseph Smith, Jr., based on a revelation he claimed to have received on golden plates, written, long hidden, and finally revealed to him, by a prophet Mormon. Mormonism claims to be a Christian religion, believing in Christ, in the Trinity, and in the Bible. With "The Book of Mormon" Smith's preaching gained many followers, and in 1831 a prosperous Mormon settlement was made at Kirkland, Ohio, and a temple built. Persecuted here, Smith led his followers in 1837 to Far West, Mo., and driven from there to Nauvoo, Ill., where their numbers reached 12,000 and they were prosperous in every way. A discontented member, however, made trouble. Dissension arose; the civil authorities were called upon, and Smith was shot by a mob from the neighboring region in 1844. Brigham Young, who had joined the sect in 1832, now became leader, and led the community to Council Bluffs in 1845, and in 1847, after an amazing march across the prairies and over the mountains, to what is now Salt Lake City in Utah. When the United States acquired this territory, the Mormons desired to form a new state called Deseret, but Congress would not allow this, and in 1850 the Territory of Utah was formed, Brigham Young being the first governor. In 1852 the practise of polygamy was first openly proclaimed, and even enjoined upon Mormons as a means of grace, tho it is said to have been promulgated within the church in 1843, and is said by some to have been

practised by the leaders from the beginning of the church. This step created opposition through the country, and as early as 1862 Congress took some steps to stamp it out. Little, however, was accomplished. The Mormon priesthood had all the power in the territory, and little could be done. In 1882 stronger efforts were made. The Edmunds Law made bigamy and polygamy in U. S. territories punishable with a fine of not over $500 and imprisonment up to five years. Any one cohabiting with more than one woman could be imprisoned six months or fined $300 or both. Any juryman who believed in polygamy could be challenged. All elections were conducted by a special federal commission, and polygamists were disfranchised; 12,000 men and women—for women had been given the franchise by the Mormon authorities in 1870, and had strongly supported the church—were thus disfranchised. Later, in 1887, all women were disfranchised. Adultery and fornication were made criminal offenses. Witnesses were compelled to testify. Marriages must be fully registered, and all illegitimate children were denied right of inheritance. Special oaths were required from voters declaring that they were not polygamists. By such measures polygamy was broken up, and in 1890 Gentiles for the first time obtained control of the municipal government; 1,100 persons were said to have been convicted of polygamy, and over $50,000 of church property was confiscated. Finally, in 1890 Pres. Wilford Woodruff issued a pronunciamento against polygamy. Brigham Young had died in 1877. Since then the division between Mormons and Gentiles has considerably died away. Intermarriages took place. Social and business intercourse is continual. In 1894 President Cleveland granted amnesty and civil rights to all convicted of polygamy. In 1896 Utah was admitted as a state. The church authorities, however, are still accused of demanding obedience to them in political as well as religious affairs. For the most recent events see below.

The industrial and economic development of the Mormons, or the Church of Jesus Christ or Latter Day Saints, as they are called, is marked. The system seems to be purely paternal, even tyrannical, but industry is encouraged, and all Mormons are given land, none allowed to go in want, fine buildings are erected. Even in the polygamous period only 10 per cent of the people were said to have practised polygamy. Prominent wives and children of plural marriages declared their homes happy. Prostitution was unknown. Favoritism between wives was forbidden. On the other hand pathetic stories are told of the sufferings of the women, and dark massacres, like those of Mountain Meadows in 1857, and other deeds seemingly traced to the door of the leading authorities of the church. The number of Mormons is increasing in all the states near Utah. In 1890 there were reported 144,352; in 1906, 300,000, with 796 churches and 700 ministers.

The most recent public controversy concerning the Mormon Church has been as to the seating of Senator Smoot, a member of the Mormon hierarchy elected to the U. S. Senate. We give a brief representative statement pro and con, as these sum up the whole present status of the controversy.

The Hon. A. J. Hopkins, U. S. Senator from Illinois, a member of the Committee of Privileges and Elections, who joined with three other Republican members of the committee in a minority report favorable to Smoot, says in brief (*The Independent*, Jan. 24, 1907):

The grounds on which the seat in the Senate of Reed Smoot, of Utah, is contested are as follows: First, that he is known to have taken what is spoken of as the "endowment oath," by which he obligated himself to make his allegiance to the church paramount to his allegiance to the United States.

Second, that by reason of his official relations to the church as one of its apostles, he is responsible for polygamous cohabitation, which yet continues among some of the Mormons, notwithstanding it is prohibited by law.

The charge that Senator Smoot is himself a polygamist was never seriously prest before our committee. He is, and always has been, opposed to the practise of polygamy in the church, and in the State of Utah has been one of the bitterest foes of polygamy.

The evidence that was offered on the first proposition relating to the endowment oath was of a character that would receive but little consideration in a court of justice. The witnesses contradicted each other as to the wording of the oath and its character. Some of them were shown to be of bad repute, others mentally unsound, others drunkards, and others who had private grievances that so warped and distorted their opinions and statements that they were entitled to but little, if any, credence.

There were only seven of all the witnesses who testified against Senator Smoot, who attempted to give the endowment oath. These witnesses were contradicted not only by the positive testimony of Senator Smoot himself, but by a great number of witnesses whose character and reputation for truth are unquestioned. In my opinion, the charge relating to the endowment oath was not only not sustained, but the clear preponderance of the testimony showed that there was nothing in that oath that interfered in the slightest degree with Senator Smoot taking upon himself the obligations of a senator of the U. S., and performing faithfully and efficiently the duties of that great office.

Endowment Oath

The senator himself said that he took the endowment oath when he was a youth of eighteen years, and that, as he remembered the oath, there was nothing in it that conflicted with his duties as a citizen of the state or of the U. S., or with his duties as a U. S. senator.

Much has been made by the general public out of the fact that he holds an official position in the church itself, being one of the twelve apostles. Those who would have him expelled from the senate claim that, by reason of this position, he is responsible for polygamous cohabitation, which yet continues among some of the Mormons in Utah. This is the most serious charge that has been prest by those who seek to have him expelled from the senate. To understand fully the nature and character of his position as one of the twelve apostles and his responsibility—or, rather, non-responsibility—for the practise of some of his associates, it is necessary to challenge the attention of the public to the attitude that the government of the U. S. has held toward the Mormon Church, and those who are leaders of the church, in preaching and practising polygamy.

The federal government is in part responsible for the polygamy that we find in Utah to-day. President Fillmore, in 1850, gave both recognition and encouragement to the practises of polygamy in the Mormon Church in Utah by appointing Brigham Young, the head of the church, governor of the Territory of Utah, with full knowledge that he was an open advocate of polygamy and at the time had a number of plural wives. The Senate of the U. S. confirmed that appointment. He was reappointed by President Pierce and reconfirmed to the great office of Governor of Utah by the Senate of the U. S. For many years polygamy was taught by Brigham Young and his followers as one of the doctrines of the church, without any interference upon the part of the general government; and plural marriages were entered into without objection or any legislative hindrance.

There has been much legislation by the Congress designed to prohibit both plural marriages and polygamous cohabitation. The successive acts were fought through to the court of last resort and then came the "manifesto" of Wilford Woodruff, forbidding further plural marriages. At the time it was issued there were 2,400 polygamous families in the Territory of Utah. There were, in 1905, over 300,000 members of the Mormon Church in the State of Utah; of this number there were only 500 polygamous families. Since the manifesto of 1890 very few plural marriages have been entered into by Mormons. Time is the great corrector of this evil. The 2,400 polygamous families of 1890 had dwindled to 500 in 1905. No new polygamous marriages are recognized or permitted by the church.

Polygamous Marriages

From the fact that, under the statutes of 1882 and 1887, the children of plural wives were legitimized, it has been felt unwise by many non-Mormons of Utah to prohibit the fathers of such children from living with, supporting, and caring for them. And if the father was to support, educate, and care for his

children, it seemed to many heartless to exclude from this relationship the mother, who had entered into this relation from the purest motives and at a time when she believed that, in the sight of God and man, she was justified in entering into this relation.

Senator Smoot, by the determined stand that he has always taken, has been one of the great factors in the church in stamping out polygamy. He has not only lived up to the spirit of the laws of our country and the manifesto of 1890 of his church, but has been an active and earnest worker in the church to spread the sentiment that no more plural marriages will be tolerated.

The testimony that was taken before our committee shows that one of the bishops of the church who violated the manifesto and the laws of our country by taking a plural wife outside the limits of Utah, when he returned to the state was prosecuted by Senator Smoot before the courts of the state and was also deprived of his official position in the church by the direct influence of Senator Smoot.

Since Reed Smoot became one of the twelve apostles of the Mormon Church in 1890, the conditions in Utah have been such that Gentiles as well as the Mormons have acquiesced in a polygamous cohabitation with those few remaining who married before the manifesto of 1890.

They have recognized that such polygamous cohabitation is an evil, but that the interests of society will be best subserved by permitting time to eliminate the few polygamous families, comparatively, that yet remain.

The people of Utah have the same right to elect their senator from the Mormon faith that the people of another state have to elect their senator who is a member of the Methodist, Presbyterian, or Catholic Church. The people of Utah have elected him as one of their senators, and I see no valid or legal reason for interfering with the choice of the people of that state.

A contrary view is exprest by the Rev. S. E. Wishard, D.D., a synodical missionary of the Presbyterian Church for Utah, with headquarters in Salt Lake City, said to be a careful man and to know whereof he speaks. He says in brief (*The Independent*, Jan. 12, 1907):

The Mormon hierarchy has violated the oaths and covenant made with the U. S. Government, by which statehood was secured. The president of the church, of whom the authorities of the church declare and teach that "he has the same authority that God has, and by virtue of that authority is in reality a part of God," has sworn before all the country that he is a lawbreaker. Mr. Smoot, knowing that fact, voted to sustain this lawbreaker as the "prophet, seer, and revelator," as "having the same authority that God has."

It is said, "Now and then plural marriages take place, sometimes escaping the law by being celebrated in Mexico." There never has been a man punished by law or disciplined by the church for the crime. Three of the apostles have entered into plural marriages without modestly retiring to Mexico. They have all escaped the law, and that without going abroad to hide their crimes.

Fifteen men control the Mormon people in all the world. Nearly all of them are violating the law, and the three or four men who are kept out of polygamy for a purpose are sustaining the criminals, living in harmony with them, offering no rebuke for lawlessness and crime.

In the days when Utah was a territory, under national government, Congress sent some of these same men to the penitentiary for violating the law of the government. They were amnestied on their pledge to abstain from crime and have violated their pledge. Are they less criminal for violating their own state laws and constitution which they adopted to get statehood and escape control of the laws of Congress?

It will be said that Apostle Smoot is not himself a violator of the law, a criminal, and therefore should not be disturbed. I reply that he consents to the conduct of the criminals, is at one with them, sustaining them in their unlawful conduct, and attempts to reap the benefit of the same. In legal phrase he is *particeps criminis*. Indeed, he is in the Senate of the U. S. by virtue of his support of these men in their crime.

That the hostility of the Mormon hierarchy is not a figment of non-Mormons, an invention of "the bigoted persecutors of Mormons," will be seen by their own statements. The men who speak and teach for the Mormon people shall be permitted to speak for themselves.

1st. "The priesthood . . . holds the keys of Revelation of the oracles of God to men upon the earth, *the power and the right* to give laws and commandments to individuals, churches, rulers, nations, and the world; to appoint, ordain, and establish kingdoms."—"Key to Theology," Fourth Edition, p. 70, a book published and sold to the people.

2d. The priesthood "is the legitimate rule of God, whether in the heavens or on the earth, and *it is the only legitimate power that has a right to rule on the earth.*"—Apostle John Taylor in "Journal of Discourses," vol. v., p. 186.

3d. "Some may inquire, Is it right, is it lawful, for another government to be organized in the U. S., of a theocratical nature? Yes, perfectly so."—Apostle Orson Pratt, "Journal of Discourses," vol. iii., p. 72.

The Mormon hierarchy claims to be that theocratical government, and has ruled the people with despotism.

4th. "The day will come when *the U. S. Government and all others will be uprooted*, and the kingdoms of this world will be united in one, and the kingdom of God [which always means the Mormon hierarchy] will govern the whole earth, and bear universal sway."—Vol. iii., p. 71.

5th. "The kingdom of God [the Mormon hierarchy] is an order of government established by divine authority. It is the only legal government that can exist in any part of the universe. *All other governments are illegal and unauthorized.*"—Apostle Orson Pratt on the Kingdom of God.

6th. "When God sets up a system of revelation, as he has done by the priesthood in these latter days, he sets up a system of government that shall rule both temporal and spiritual matters."—*Millennial Star*, vol. xxiii., p. 214.

7th. "The priesthood will bear rule, and hold the government of the kingdom under control in all things."—"Journal of Discourses," vol. ii., p. 189, Brigham Young.

These quotations, teaching the supremacy of the Mormon hierarchy over all civil government, can be multiplied almost without limit. These teachings claim to be inspired, and have never been repudiated, changed or modified, but practised to their utmost limit. It is to be noted always and everywhere that the hierarchy never uses the phrase "Kingdom of God" as referring to the spiritual reign of Christ, but to the material and political supremacy of the Mormon priesthood as "the only legal government that can exist in any part of the universe."

Apostle Smoot had to get permission, by a law of the priesthood, from the other members of the hierarchy to be a candidate for the Senate. And when that permission was granted the Mormon legislature had only one thing to do, and that was to elect him. He is therefore in the Senate to represent the hierarchy, and not the American sentiment. . . . It will be well for the American papers to make the discovery soon which has been patent to the patriotic people of Utah for many years.

MORRIS, MAX: Fourth vice-president of the American Federation of Labor; born 1866, at Mobile, Ala.; self-educated. At an early age he went to Colorado and found work at various trades. In 1884 he became a clerk and from the first took an active interest in the movement for the organization of that honorable calling. In 1896 was elected international secretary-treasurer of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association, a position he has held ever since. Starting with a few struggling unions, by a wise and vigorous policy he has built up an organization numbering 50,000 members. One of the principal benefits largely secured by the association has been the earlier closing of retail stores, a custom now become almost universal. Mr. Morris has served three terms in the Legislature of Colorado. He believes that conditions are changing so rapidly that no set line of policy is to be followed by those seeking the advancement of labor, but every opportunity must be watched for and eagerly seized upon to better the situation and the prospects. *Address*: 318 Appel Building, Denver, Col.

MORRIS, WILLIAM: Poet; Socialist; born at Walthamstow, near London, 1834. He was educated first at the school of that place, at Marlborough, and at Exeter College, Oxford. In 1856 he was articled to Mr. Street, the architect. He also studied painting, but in 1863 devoted himself mainly to the design and manufacture of artistic household furniture, wall-paper, stained glass, and other decorations. Later on started an ideal factory near Merton Abbey, and founded the "Kelmscott Press," for printing according to the canons of the truest art. In literature he early commenced contributing to the papers, mainly the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*. During the next twenty years he made himself one of the foremost names in modern English

letters, especially in his poems. Now came a change. Up to 1877 he had been, as he called himself, "the idle singer of an empty day." His experience in the commercialism and consequent degradation of modern art now drove him to socialism. In 1885 he was instrumental in forming the Socialist League, and since that time he worked strenuously for socialism, editing and writing for *The Commonweal*, attending meetings and addressing open-air audiences of working men. He published numerous Socialist lectures, tracts, and chants, such as "Art and Socialism" (1884); "Signs of Change" (1888); "Useful Work versus Useless Toil," etc. In 1888 he republished from *The Commonweal* "A Dream of John Ball," a most beautiful Socialist prose poem; in 1892 "News from Nowhere," a socialistic and artistic Utopia; and in 1894, in conjunction with Belfort Bax, "Socialism, its Growth and Outcome." Altho he retired from the editorship of *The Commonweal*, which passed into Anarchist hands, Mr. Morris worked most fruitfully as "poet, artist, and Socialist" until his death, which occurred Oct. 3, 1896.

MOSELY, ALFRED: English economist and philanthropist; born 1855 at Bristol, England. Was educated privately and in Bristol Grammar School. During the Boer War he went to South Africa as a staff member of the Princess Christian Hospital, and was decorated for his services in behalf of the sick and wounded. In 1902–3 he conducted an English commission of twenty-six members to study industrial and educational conditions in the United States, and as a result an important report of their findings was issued. He was a member of the Tariff Commission in 1904, and is author of "Reports and Pamphlets on Industrial and Educational Matters and Economics." *Address*: West Lodge, Hadley Wood, Barnet, England.

MOSES (Hebrew *Moscheh*): The great leader of the Hebrew race, who led them out of slavery in Egypt and founded the Hebrew theocracy in Palestine. Modern scholarship has thrown grave doubts on the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, but few question that Moses was an historical character and one of the greatest leaders and social reformers of the human race. There are traditions of him (Egyptian) in Manetho, (Hebrew) in the "Midrash," and Josephus (Greek) in Philo, tho they are mainly based on the Bible narrative. He was probably born at Heliopolis in the eighteenth dynasty in Egypt, or 1500 B.C., according to the Bible chronology. His social system was a theocratic socialism, based on the fatherhood of God and the unity of the people. Land was considered as belonging to God, and the individual only allowed and protected in its use. The poor and infirm were particularly protected. (See JUDAISM; also the Bible itself: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy.)

MOST, JOHANN JOSEPH: Prominent anarchist; born at Augsburg, 1846; moving to Berlin, early became known as a leader of the most violent and anarchistic wing of German socialism in connection with the International: he was driven out of their organization by the Socialists. Expelled from Berlin, 1878, he went to London, and there, 1879, founded the *Freiheit*, an organ of anarchist communism. In 1881 he was condemned to sixteen months' hard labor for his incendiary utterances concerning the assassination of the Czar. In 1882 he emigrated to New York, and published his paper from that city. Imprisoned more than once, he became the leading anarchist-communist in the United States. He was the author of "Die Lösung der sociale Frage"; "Die Anarchie"; "Social Monster," etc. He died in 1906.

MOTT, LUCRETIA COFFIN: Woman's suffragist and abolitionist; born 1793 on Nantucket Island, Mass. She was educated at a Friends' school near Poughkeepsie, N. Y., where she met James Mott and married, 1818. She became a preacher among the Quakers, and joined the Liberal or Hicksite Party, 1827, owing to her strong hostility to slavery. After attending the American Anti-Slavery Society Conference, she organized the woman's section of that body. But the feeling for abolition was not universal among the Friends, and when, in 1840, at the World's Anti-Slavery Convention, women were excluded, she and Elizabeth Cady Stanton discust plans for a woman's right movement, which they launched in 1848 at Seneca Falls, N. Y. Besides the abolition of slavery and the attainment of woman's rights, she was interested in the temperance movement and other endeavors for the uplift of mankind, e. g., universal peace. She died 1880.

MUENSTERBERG, EMIL: German jurist; author; born, 1855, in Danzig; studied in Zurich, Leipsic, and Göttingen. As assessor in 1882–83 he became interested in social questions and devoted his leisure to the study of national economics and politics at the University of Berlin, as well as to his work of the Poor Board, and has practically since that time been continually absorbed in the study of the theoretical and practical working of the poor-law system. In 1887 was made a judge of the court in Menden, Westfalen, and from 1890–92 was Mayor of Iserlohn. Called by the Senate, in 1892, to Hamburg to reorganize the system of poor-laws there. Dr. Muensterberg afterward settled in Berlin to busy himself with social and scientific work. He was chosen city councilor in 1898, and since that time has been president of the poor board of the city. Particularly interested in public charity organization and the education of public opinion in these matters both by speaking and writing. A member and president of many social and benevolent organizations, and general secretary of the National Conference of Charities. He is author: "Individual-Charity Statistics"; "The Draught of a Civil Code Relating to Charities"; "Rural Poor-Laws"; "A Union of Public and Private Charities"; "Care for the Homeless in Cities"; "Alimony, An Introduction to Practical Charity"; "Woman's Charity Work," etc. *Address*: W. 10 Dörnberg Strasse, Berlin, Germany.

MUN, COMTE DE: French Catholic Christian Socialist; born at Lumigny, Seine-et-Marne, 1841. He served in the army as an officer of cuirassiers, and took part in the Franco-Prussian War, during which he was made a prisoner. After the war he was active in establishing Christian labor-unions, and abandoned his military career. In 1876 he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies, and has been repeatedly reelected. At first a royalist, he threw himself into Catholic Christian socialism, and, a brilliant orator, he succeeded in

forming a Catholic party, but without enduring success. In 1888–89 he was a moderate Boulangerist, and since 1892 has been identified with the republicans. In 1897 he was made a member of the Academy. He has written "Discours et Écrits Divers" (1888).

MUN, THOMAS: English mercantilist; born in London, 1571. He amassed a considerable fortune by commerce with the East. In 1628 he had charge of a petition from the merchants of

facts, making possible in Part I. the condemnation of large slum areas and the provision for rehousing at least one half (in London) of the people displaced; in Part II. the dealing with and reconstruction of small slums; in Part III. the erection of workmen's dwellings on any areas. Under these acts English cities have recently done large work. The London County Council has formed a special housing department. *The Municipal Year Book* (1906) gives the following summary of its operations:

HOUSING OPERATIONS OF THE LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL TO MARCH 31, 1905

	Number of persons displaced or to be displaced from insanitary areas	Number of tenements of						Total number of tenements	Total number of persons provided or to be provided for	Estimated value of land for housing purposes and cost of buildings	Estimated cost of clearance
		One room	Two rooms	Three rooms	Four rooms	Five rooms	Six rooms				
Buildings already completed and occupied	.....	160	2,927	2,381	369	89	3	5,929	31,339	£1,739,117	.....
Buildings in course of erection	.....	10	231	516	167	119	....	1,043	7,006	404,888	.....
Buildings for which working drawings are being prepared	.....	15	364	469	122	1	....	971	5,304	308,886	.....
Insanitary areas already dealt with	13,273	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	[1] 14,188	.....	£477,952
Insanitary areas now being dealt with	3,542	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	[1] 3,904	.....	504,700
Street improvements and tunnels—											
Completed	10,583	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	[1] 10,542	.....	.....
In progress	1,661	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	[1] 2,535	.....	.....
Totals	29,059	185	3,522	3,366	658	209	3	7,943	43,649	£2,452,891	£982,652
Buildings for which plans are in course of preparation	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	52,012	2,471,035	.....
Grand totals	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	95,661	£4,923,926	£982,652

[1] These are included in other divisions of this summary, and are therefore not included in the total.

Ostend to Parliament; in 1630 he received from the Grand Duke of Tuscany a license to trade in his dominions. He died in 1641. Mun is one of the earliest English mercantilists. His chief work, containing excellent reflections upon supply and demand, and practical conclusions which it would be well for England to apply, is still extant. It is "England's Treasure by Foreign Trade" (probably written in 1630, but not published till 1664, long after his death). It is noteworthy that, in opposition to many mercantilists, he advocated the exportation of gold when a surplus of that metal remained in the country.

MUNICIPAL HOUSING (IN GREAT BRITAIN) (for Germany and other countries, see HOUSING): Housing legislation in Great Britain began with Lord Shaftesbury's Act of 1851, amended and added to, but without large results down to 1882. Under these acts the (London) Metropolitan Board of Works, however, spent £1,325,415 on 16 schemes, selling or letting lots to various companies for 7,026 working-class dwellings, with 14,093 rooms. Birmingham cleared 95 acres for £550,000; Glasgow, 88 acres for £600,000; Liverpool spent £500,000; Greenock, £200,000; and Wolverhampton, £267,862. In the majority of these cases some of the persons displaced were rehoused in dwellings erected by the municipal authorities.

Owing to the expensive working of these acts, however, they were not used much after 1882, and it became necessary to consolidate and amend them by the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890, modified by subsequent acts, particularly in 1903.

The principal act as to housing has three main

The largest of these undertakings is that of the Wood Green and Tottenham estate, situated in the parishes of Tottenham, Wood Green, and Edmonton, some six miles from the city, and comprizing altogether 225 acres. It is estimated that accommodation for 42,500 persons in cottages and in tenements over shops can be provided on the estate. The cottages, which will be two stories in height, will contain three to five rooms each, and each will have its own garden. It is proposed to take advantage of the River Moselle, which runs through the eastern portion of the estate, and some slightly rising ground upon its bank, which is difficult to build on, to arrange a public garden of about two acres and a quarter, with the river flowing through it. Four other smaller gardens will be arranged on other parts of the site, which will help to preserve the healthiness of the estate. There will be a public library and other improvements, including cheap and easy access to the city.

Besides the housing operations of the London County Council, the city corporation (in the city proper), the Borough Councils of Battersea, Birmondsey, Camberwell, Chelsea, Hammersmith, St. Marylebone, St. Pancras, Shoreditch, Stepney, Westminster, Woolwich, and other London boroughs have undertaken various housing schemes.

Outside of London, Glasgow, beginning in 1866, has redeemed a tract of 88 acres and, at large expense, built 30 new streets, a large number of houses, which it rents and has thus gained a revenue, slowly paying off the total cost, providing better homes, and giving the city a valuable property. Alexandra Park has been laid out; municipal lodging-houses built. Over

£2,000,000 has been expended. Much work has been done in the erection of block dwellings and lodging-houses for the very poor. These include 527 one-room, 1,165 two-room, 257 three-room dwellings. Altogether, 1,965 dwellings, containing 3,700 rooms, have been erected by municipal action in various parts of the city. The lodging-houses show a profit of 4 to 4½ per cent, and the dwellings give a return of about 4½ per cent. The rent "per 1,000 cubic feet" varies from 1*s.* 4*d.* to 1*s.* 8*d.* per week, and the cost of building has varied from £70 to £93 per room.

Liverpool by 1906 had demolished a large number of unsanitary houses and erected 1,224 tenements; 118 one-apartment houses; 542 two-apartment houses; 449 three-apartment houses; 115 four-apartment houses, with 13 shops; more tenements are under construction. Rents in these vary from 2*s.* to 5*s.* 6*d.* per week. The total number of rooms completed to the middle of 1905 was 4,058, with 15 shops, and the cost of building, together with the valuation of sites for housing purposes, was £332,000, while the gross annual rental was £16,500. Thus the average inclusive cost was about £80 per room, and the average rent about 1*s.* 6*d.* per room per week. The net return on the later dwellings is from £1½ to £2 per cent; and the charge on the rates in respect of rehousing the dispossest is £6,000 per annum, or a rate of about ½*d.* in the pound. This, however, includes the provision of a sinking-fund, which will put the ratepayers in possession of valuable properties at the expiration of periods varying from 30 to 60 years.

Birmingham has undertaken even larger schemes. The first area dealt with was 93 acres in extent. The houses were old and dilapidated, and the death-rate double that of the healthiest part of the borough. The estimated expenditure was as follows: Cost of purchasing properties, £1,310,000; street-making, £34,000; total, £1,344,000. Less value of surplus land, £794,000. Net cost, £550,000. One of the streets formed on the area is Corporation Street, 1,484 yards long, 22 yards wide. The city did not acquire all the properties. It purchased about 45 acres, and 1,867 dwelling-houses out of 3,744 upon the area. About 1,200 were taken down; the remainder were repaired and put in sanitary condition by removing buildings where too crowded, rebuilding conveniences, paving yards, providing proper system of drainage, etc. The greater portion of land acquired has been let on building lease (75 years) for shops and other premises. The ground rents produce about £45,902 per annum, and the rents of premises left standing on the uncleared portion of the land amount to £17,109 per annum gross. The city has acquired other areas not so centrally situated, and has provided thereon 103 cottage dwellings, which more than pay their way.

Manchester has cleared several large areas, and has erected on them block dwellings, tenement-houses, cottages, and a model lodging-house. Plans have been prepared for the development of the Blackley estate of 243 acres on the city boundary, acquired at a cost of £36,646, for houses for the working classes and also for allotments.

Virtually all the larger cities in Great Britain and many smaller boroughs have undertaken similar housing schemes, in proportion to their size. (For statistics of totals, see MUNICIPAL TRADING.)

REFERENCES: See MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

MUNICIPAL MARKETS AND ABATTOIRS: Markets and abattoirs in Europe are very largely municipal. As a rule, municipal markets are a source of profit to the authorities, but the main benefits derived from municipal ownership are cleanliness, public convenience, and the protection of the purchaser from unsound food. In Great Britain extensive and successful markets are owned by the municipalities of Birmingham, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Bradford, Bolton, Wolverhampton, Exeter, Halifax, Huddersfield, Leeds, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Shrewsbury, and by the Corporation of the City of London.

Glasgow has the largest cattle market and public abattoir in Scotland. Edinburgh has made excellent provision, too, and, in England, Leeds possesses an abattoir, constructed in 1899, which is a model of what is required in modern cities.

France led the way in the provision of abattoirs and meat markets; Germany has now more municipal abattoirs than any other country in Europe, even the smallest German city having them.

MUNICIPAL MILK-SUPPLY: By the term municipal milk-supply is meant the taking over of the milk industry of a town by the public health authority and its organization in one system, such as the postal service. This would involve the ownership of the farms with their live stock, the treatment and distribution of the dairy produce by the local governing body, and the control of all the conditions of milk production by a committee of the Town Council. Thus the supply of milk would follow the lead set by the chief water-supplies in Great Britain, and would be carried on with a regard for public utility and safety, and not for the ends of private profit.

But the term often implies only a partial municipalization of the milk industry, and in this case it may be meant to imply one of the following:

1. A depot owned and worked by the town authority, receiving its milk either from its own farm or from a privately owned one, and supplying either simple or modified milk for infants who are obliged to be hand-fed. The article supplied may be had either above, at, or below cost price. Such depots are under the control of the Medical Office of Health, and there is always careful supervision of the children being fed and of the sources of milk-supply. 2. Some may imply by the term under discussion simply one or more depots established by the local authority for the sale of pure milk to the poorer classes only, thus insuring the better nourishment, and a higher standard of purity of food, for those who are least able to look after themselves. Such a system has been inaugurated privately in Paris by D. Rothschild, and in Copenhagen by M. Busch.

The movement is commencing in earnest in most European countries and also in America, and represents a revolt against the present unsanitary and disorganized state in which the milk-supply is at present carried on. The recent parliamentary inquiries conducted in Great Britain into alleged physical deterioration of the people, have shown that wide-spread physical unfitness does exist, that the reduction in sixty years of the general death-rate has been considerable (22.4 period 1841–50 to 18.2 in the decennium 1891–1900), while the infantile mortality in the same period shows no signs of reduction, being about 152 per 1,000 births in both periods named. This has led to more inquiry into the part played by the food of the younger generation—of which

milk does or should form an important factor. This inquiry has shown that *for adults* the food-supply has, since the days of the repeal of the Corn Laws, improved in quantity and quality, and has also become less adulterated. On the other hand the decline in breast-feeding has been accompanied by a reduction in the quality and purity of the milk upon which infants were being increasingly fed. A pure water-supply, gained entirely through State and municipal action, reduced the epidemics of the nineteenth century, while milk epidemics are still very serious and common. Thus a movement of the science of public health toward the personal life of the citizen was bound to lay great stress upon the necessity for the immediate reform of the milk-supply.

So far no public authority has taken over the supply of milk as a whole. But there are many instances in the United Kingdom of municipal milk depots for infants. The first depot was established at St. Helens (Lancashire) in 1899; others followed: Liverpool, Ashton-under-Lyne, and Dukinfield in 1901, Battersea in 1902, Leith and Bradford in 1903, and Bromley, Glasgow, and Dundee in 1904. Lambeth and Woolwich are commencing installations. The Finsbury (London) borough has just taken over the depot started under private auspices. In the United States the city of Rochester, N. Y., in 1897, established an infants' milk-supply. Here the control of cows, utensils, bottles, etc., is directly in the hands of the health authorities, and the processes are carried out at the farm. In France the municipality of Lyons has just established a depot in connection with its own farm. In Germany, Spain, and other European countries the movement is spreading, but it is at present worked mainly on private lines with municipal subsidy.

Existing Status

The following facts have come to light: 200 typhoid-fever epidemics have been traced to polluted milk in Great Britain, about 18 epidemics of diphtheria, 73 outbreaks of scarlet fever. In 1901 there were 30,121 deaths from infantile diarrhea—a disease closely associated with a polluted milk-supply. In Brighton, in 1901–2, there were 226 deaths due to the latter cause, and 191 were traceable to the conditions of milk-supply. In the United Kingdom it is estimated that milk is daily being consumed from 40,000 tuberculous udders.

The milk trade, by the very nature of the article dealt with, essentially favors dishonesty. Dirty methods are hidden by the use of chemical preservatives in the milk. But in addition, water is commonly added to the whole milk, or it is "toned down" with separated milk, cream is abstracted, and diluted condensed milk is used as an adulterant also. In 1902 11.6 of the samples taken for analysis in England and Wales were reported against. In London in the same year 15.6 per cent was the number. In Finsbury 25 per cent of samples were adulterated (taking a period of ten years). The Local Government Board of England estimated, in a report, that Londoners were paying £30,000 per annum for *water* illegally added to their milk.

The problem is how to supply a pure article from healthy cows, passing through as few hands as possible, and this without raising the price. At present the large number of small producers tends to hide the dangers of dirty production, makes it difficult to seize and destroy all diseased animals, and render contact with dirt and disease much more likely. All these dangers would be eliminated, it is claimed, by the public health authority taking over the whole supply. At present the towns are the consumers and the rural districts the producers, and in these rural districts it is to the interest, both private and on the ground of local taxation, to leave all the sanitary laws concerning milk production unadministered. This is the case now. By municipalization you identify sanitary and financial interests, and make the destruction of diseased animals and the breeding of a sound herd much easier.

More capital expenditure would be needed in the industry, and much more skilled laborers, and this could be made up by the great economies in cartage and general handling which a single system would render possible. F. Lawson Dodd.

References: *Infantile Mortality and Infants' Milk Depots*, by G. F. McCleary, M.D., 1905; *Problem of the Milk Supply*, by F. Lawson Dodd, 1904; *Municipal Sanitation in the U. S.*, by Chas. Chapin, 1901. Articles: The Reform of the Milk Supply, by Dr. McCleary, *Public Health*, April, 1905; The Milk Supply of Large Towns, *British Medical Journal*, 1903; The Control of the Milk Supply, by Dr. Newman, *British Medical Journal*, 1904; Milk Supply of Two Hundred Cities and Towns, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1903.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP (for a general discussion of the economic principles involved and the arguments pro and con, see Public Ownership. For statistics as to public ownership in Great Britain, see Municipal Trading. For municipal ownership in Germany, see Municipalities (German). For the United States, see Lighting, Electric and Gas; Street-Railways; Water-works. See also Berlin, Birmingham, Chicago, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, New York, London, Paris, Vienna): We give here a general outline of the history and development of municipal ownership.

The Municipal Movement

The advance of municipal ownership in recent years has been very remarkable. From 1800 to 1900 public water-works in the United States developed in round numbers from 6 per cent to 60 per cent of the whole number. Of the fifty largest cities in the U. S., twenty-one originally built and now own their own water-works; twenty have changed from private to public ownership, and only nine are still dependent on private companies for their water-supply.

The public gas plants in the U. S. numbered fifteen in 1900 and twenty-five in 1906, a growth of 67 per cent against an increase of 48 for the private gas works. There are altogether 130 public gas plants in this country, but most of them are small affairs, which it is hardly proper to include in this summary.

In 1881 there was but a single public electric lighting plant in the U. S. There are now 1,097, and the latest Census Bureau report (1902) shows that thirteen plants have changed from private to public operation for each plant that has changed the other way.

The municipal ownership of street-railways in this country has scarcely begun, there being as yet only one public plant, the municipal street-railway system of Monroe, La., which was opened for business Aug. 1, 1905, and is very successful, according to the account sent me by the mayor, and the statements published by the-street railway journals.

In Great Britain more than three quarters of the water-works are owned by local authorities. More than one half the gas supply outside of London has been municipalized. More than one half the electric lighting plants belong to municipalities, and about one half the street-railway systems are owned and operated by municipalities with nearly 60 per cent of the total track mileage. From Jan., 1894, to March, 1906, the tramways operated by municipalities rose from 2 per cent to 49 per cent of the whole number of tramways in the United Kingdom, and is now over 50 per cent.

The main causes of the movement for the municipalization of public utilities in Great Britain are to be found in the desire: (1) to secure a better and more extended service. (2) To obtain lower rates. (3) To secure for the city the profits of public-service industries. (4) To improve the conditions of labor. (5) To identify the interests of owners and the public and bring into harmony with the public welfare powerful monopoly interests, which in private hands manifest more or less opposition to the public good. (6) To secure to the city, direct, continuous, and complete control of its streets and all monopoly uses of them. In the U. S. the principal causes of the municipal-ownership movement have been the tendencies to overcapitalization, excessive charges, inadequate service, and disregard of public health and safety, manifested by private companies, and their corrupt and demoralizing relations with our governments and public officials.

Except in the supply of water municipal ownership has not yet had a fair chance in the U. S. owing to adverse laws, the prevalence of the spoils system, and the great power and resistance of the private companies. Even where cities and towns have been allowed to enter upon the operation of these public utilities they have been hampered by serious restrictions in regard to the field of operation, the limitation of indebtedness, etc. Very few of the municipalities which have electric-lighting plants are allowed to do commercial lighting. They are almost in all cases confined to the lighting of the streets. If the law permitted them to sell commercial light, they would be able to reduce the cost of production very materially. Even as it is, however, many public lighting plants make an excellent showing. Detroit, for example, and Jacksonville, South Norwalk, Braintree, Holyoke, Duluth, etc.

Public sentiment in Great Britain is almost a unit in favor of the municipalization of street-using monopolies. The recent election in London in which the Moderates gained a signal victory over the Progressive Party has been interpreted by some as a reaction against municipal operation of public utilities. The leaders of the Moderate Party have, however, distinctly declared that they are not opposed to municipal operation of lighting and transit systems, but only to the invasion of municipal trading into the competitive field—municipal banking, insurance, housing, supply of gas stoves, electric fixtures, etc., and to the general *socialistic* policies of the London Progressives. The elections were mainly fought on national issues, the Education Bill, etc., and was in substance a struggle between two national parties for the control of the monopolies.

In the U. S. public sentiment on this question is practically an unknown quantity. In a few cities where the subject has been more or less fully discust, public opinion has shown a strong tendency to move in the same direction as in Great Britain. In New York, for example, after a few months' discussion in a single campaign, it is believed that a majority voted for the municipal-ownership candidate for mayor, tho he did not take his seat owing to a fraudulent miscounting of the ballots. In Chicago on direct referendum the public recently voted three to one and five to one respectively in favor of municipal ownership and operation of street-railways and lighting systems and elected Mayor Dunne on a platform calling for the immediate municipalization of the street-railways.

The legislative difficulties, however, and the practical obstacles were too great to be readily surmounted. The companies took advantage of this situation to give the people even worse service if possible than had been afforded in previous years. The result was that the people became so exasperated with the poor transportation facilities they possest and the prospect of endless litigation and obstruction, that they finally accepted as a compromise the ordinances drawn up by Walter L. Fisher, as municipal-ownership counsel for the city in corroboration with the street-railway companies, providing for thorough reorganization of the service under temporary franchises subject to municipal purchase and operation at such time as the legal questions as to the validity of the certificates authorized by the Mueller Law as a means of purchase, and other legal questions involved, could be determined and the city be prepared to enter upon municipal ownership free from the present serious handicap.

There are strong municipal-ownership organizations in some of the larger cities, for instance in New York and Boston, also in Detroit, Chicago, Los Angeles, etc. There is also a National Public Ownership League with headquarters at 11 St. James Avenue, Boston, and an anti-municipal-ownership organization called the "Municipal Ownership Publishing Bureau," with headquarters at 119 Nassau Street, New York City.

A brief summary of the data relating to public utilities in the U. S. will be found under other headings above referred to. For the remainder of this article we shall confine ourselves to the municipal movement in Great Britain.

Great Britain

Municipal ownership in Great Britain, commonly known as municipal trading (*q. v.*), is not in any sense a theoretical movement, save as it is sometimes characterized by its critics as socialism or as it is supported by Socialists and used as an argument in favor of socialism. As a matter of fact, however, it did not come from the Socialist movement; but rather from the mercantile or commercial classes. The larger cities and boroughs in Great Britain are mainly in the hands of business men, who largely make up the personnel of municipal administration, and the movement began with them. Indeed, it was well under way long before the voice of labor was raised in local affairs. Some cities have owned their water and gas undertakings for more than a generation. The later extension of the movement to street-railways, electric lighting and power, and telephone service has been urged as a natural and proper application of a program which has already justified itself in a financial and social way.

Municipal ownership did not come in unopposed. It is still a heated political question, and occupies a large amount of attention at Westminster and in the press; for public ownership is trenching on private business—on the big business of municipal franchises, and here and there on the small business of the manufacturer and retail dealer. The great mass of the people, however, are with the movement, the opposition coming mainly from a comparatively small number of persons most of whom are interested directly or indirectly in public-service companies.

Many trace the beginning of the present movement to Birmingham, in 1873, when Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, elected mayor, induced the city to buy two great private gas plants and to follow this up by other large undertakings. Others consider the present phase of the movement due to the successful experiment of Glasgow in the operation of her street-railways, which the city took over in 1894. The *U. S. Bulletin of Labor*, Jan., 1906, says in brief:

The general reasons assigned in Great Britain for this growth may be classed as follows:

1. A desire for better and more efficient service. With this was the belief that under public ownership rates and charges could be reduced to the consumer and that the earnings could be used for the betterment of the service or the lowering of its cost.

2. These enterprises were felt to be essentially public in their nature, because of their monopolistic character and the lack of that competition which secures low rates and efficient service in other industries. Moreover, they are identified with the city in many ways. The life and comfort of the people, as well as the proper administration of the city's departments, are dependent upon water, light, power, and transit.

3. The street-railway employees were generally underpaid and overworked. Their hours of labor were from seventy to ninety per week, and wages were low. The condition of the men was constantly under the eyes of the public, and forming a numerous body, they could and did make their grievances heard.

4. It was felt that the earnings of such industries should go into the public treasury.

The first undertakings in the line of municipal ownership, in Great Britain as in the U. S., were water-works, owing probably to the large preliminary expenditures involved and the comparatively small profits to be made by private water-works. Glasgow received powers to go to Loch Katrine, thirty-four miles away, for her water, as early as 1855. Manchester, beginning her water-works in 1847, has purchased Lake Thulmere in the English lake district, 100 miles away, and Liverpool (1877) and Birmingham, inaugurating her system (1904), have gone to Wales, seventy miles from Liverpool. Sheffield and other midland cities have followed suit. London finally bought out her eight great water companies in 1902. (For statistics, see MUNICIPAL TRADING.)

Water-works

As a rule, a better supply of water and a reduction in the charges for it have resulted from municipalization; and the former has without doubt helped toward an improvement in the public health. The success of public ownership and control is to be gaged from this point of view rather than by reference to balance-sheets. Generally, local authorities have not laid themselves out to make profits out of water-supplies. In many towns no direct charge is made, the cost of the undertaking being included in the general rates (taxes), and in other cases the charge to consumers is supplemented by a water-rate. But it will be seen, however, from the statistics (see MUNICIPAL TRADING) that, taken in the aggregate, the municipal corporations of England and Wales are making a fair net profit on their undertakings.

There are at present in the United Kingdom 1,045 municipal water-works and 251 private. (In Scotland there are only 14 private, and in Ireland none.)

The municipalization of the gas in Great Britain has been less rapid, tho the manufacture and supply of gas has been in the hands of Glasgow since 1869, and Birmingham began municipalization of the supply in 1873. In 1882 the total capital outlay by public authorities for 148 gas undertakings in the United Kingdom was £17,326,183; in 1904, £37,103,279. From annual returns to the Board of Trade, as analyzed in the *Municipal Journal* for March 3, 1905, it appears that the average price of gas from the municipal plants is six cents less than the price charged by the private plants (2*s.* 8*d.* as to 2*s.* 11¼*d.*); the per cent of net receipts of capital outlay is considerably higher, tho a number of cities make no charge for lighting the city, while it is quite universal for them to pay higher wages and allow shorter hours to the employees. It appears, too, that the public enterprises are more efficient, for the net receipts of the local authorities amounted to 7.11 per cent of their capital outlay, as against 5.62 per cent for the private companies; while the operating cost of the municipalities was but 73.14 per cent of the gross receipts, as against 74.42 per cent by private capital.

Gas Supply

It is the policy of most towns to supply gas at as low a price as possible. Light is looked upon as a prime necessity, and its widest use for domestic purposes a thing to be stimulated. This is achieved in a variety of ways. Public as well as private authorities aid in the sale of gas-stoves and fixtures. Many cities provide meters with a penny-in-the-slot contrivance, by which the very poor are able to secure a supply of from 25 to 35 feet, consistent with their purse. Manchester offers gas-stoves rent free and sets prepayment meters. Birmingham has a similar liberal policy. Sheffield is one of the five large towns still supplied by a private company, and it is so administered in the interests of the community as to be secure in its position.

The Municipal Year Book for 1906 says:

> The principal difference between the public and private results is, as usual, to be found in the greater economy of operation and the cheaper charge to the community. The average toll levied by authorities remains unchanged at 2*s.* 8*d.* per 1,000 feet, while that of companies has risen ½*d.* to 2*s.* 11½*d.* If authorities charged at the same rate their net revenue would go up from £2,637,677 to £3,419,768, and the ratio of operating costs to income would fall from 73.14 to 67.74 per cent, while the equivalent return on capital outlay would be 9¼ instead of 7 per cent. The net revenue of both companies and authorities has increased 12 per cent, but the make of gas by the latter has expanded 3¾ per cent, while that of companies has only developed 2 per cent.

Municipal street-railways are a still more recent development. For twenty years after the Act of 1870 the cities built the tracks and leased them to private companies to operate. Only three cities, Huddersfield, Blackpool, and Plymouth, operated their street-cars till Leeds and Glas-

gow began to do so in 1894. Since then nearly every important city in the United Kingdom has followed suit except Edinburgh, Dublin, Bristol, and Norwich. Even in London the municipality owns and operates nearly all the street-railways — 115 miles out of a total of 128 miles in the county. Says the *U. S. Bulletin* report:

Street-Railways

By a fortunate coincidence these leases, which were worked as horse-car lines, expired at a time when America and Germany had demonstrated the success of electric traction. As a consequence the cities took over the horse-car lines of the companies and then electrically equipped them. In many instances this involved a heavy cost to the cities, for most of the horse-car equipment, as well as the rails themselves, had to be thrown away. The cities, therefore, entered on their workings burdened with the double capital cost for both horse and electric equipment.

By the terms of the Tramways Act of 1870, and later amendments, the municipality was authorized to take over the enterprise, at the end of twenty-one years, on the physical or "then" value of the plant. The tramway companies contested the method of valuation adopted and claimed something for the franchise. In a case which went up from London (The London County Council *vs.* The London Street Tramway Company) the court decided that, as the term for which the franchise was granted had expired, the price to be paid was the physical or replacement value, no payment for franchise value being contemplated by the act. The company claimed £604,090 ($2,939,804) for depots and 4½ miles of line, but under the decision the arbitrator awarded the company only £101,798 ($495,400.)

The Board of Trade returns for 1906 show the following statistics for the United Kingdom:

TRAMWAY RETURNS FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM, 1906

	Local authorities	Companies	Percentages: Local authorities	Percentages: Companies
Undertakings owned	175	137	56	44
Miles of line	1,491	748	67	33
Cost per mile of line	£24,916	£28,072	..	..
Miles of track	2,499	1,009	71	29
Cost per mile of track	£14,870	£19,250	..	..
Undertakings worked	123	127	49	51
Mileage	1,276	963	57	43
Capital outlay	£31,147,306	£26,305,028	..	..
Receipts	£6,853,486	£3,789,692	..	..
Operating expenses	£4,323,734	£2,512,029	..	..
Their per cent of income	.....	.....	63.08	66.28
Net revenue	£2,529,752	£1,277,663	..	..
Per cent of return on capital	.....	.....	8	4.8
Net revenue per mile	£1,980	£1,365	..	..
Net revenue per car-mile	7.82 cts.	6.86 cts.	..	..
Car miles run	154,965,781	89,183,683	..	..
Passengers carried	1,529,596,438	706,416,339	68	32
Average fare per passenger	2.01 cts.	2.43 cts.	..	..
Operating cost per passenger	1.03 cts.	1.72 cts.	..	..

The returns for 1906 show that out of 2,240 miles of lines in operation 1,993 miles were operated by electricity, 72 by steam, 26 by cable, 4 by gas, and 145 by horse power, and the rest by mixed methods.

About 30 municipal systems are still held by companies under lease, but the number is fast diminishing. The mileage thus leased was 215 in 1906, or about 14 per cent of the total belonging to local authorities. Private tramway concerns decreased by 9 during the year, 7 of them passing into the hands of municipal managements. Municipal systems appearing for the first time under public control in 1906 are those of Pool, South Shields, Erith, Leyton, Littleborough, and Walthamsstow.

It appears from the data above tabulated that the average fare per passenger is 14 per cent more for the companies than for the public systems, and yet the companies have a higher percentage of operating cost to income. The average working cost per passenger is less than 1¾ cents (1.3 cents) for the public systems, and nearly 1¾ cents (1.72 cents) for the companies, or 32 per cent higher operating cost for the companies than for the municipalities. Their capital per mile is larger,[1] and their net revenue considerably less than for the public systems—the return on capital being 4.8 per cent for the companies against 8 per cent for the municipalities. With 57 per cent of the mileage, the municipal systems ran nearly twice as many car miles as the companies, and carried more than twice as many passengers. Their profits are £1,980 per mile against £1,365 for the companies, and 7.82 cents per car mile against 6.86 cents for the companies. The municipalities realize a very large profit on an average 2-cent fare for the whole group of local authorities operating their tramways, while the companies have a much higher cost and obtain a smaller profit in spite of an average fare of nearly 2½ cents.

Concerning fares the *U. S. Bulletin* report says:

The system of graded fares, or the zone system, is universal in Great Britain.[2] It is a heritage from the old private companies. The underlying idea is that the passengers should pay for the distance traveled. The routes are divided into stages upon which a fare of 1 or 2 cents is collected. This fare is repeated when the zone limits are crossed. For the total distance carried the fare may run as high as 7 or 8 cents. The system seems to meet with universal favor and there is no tendency to abolish it for a straight 2- or 3-cent fare.

But while the fare for a long ride may be greater than in some American cities, the average fare paid per passenger is much lower. And it is the average fare that indicates the cost of the service to the rider. It should be noted, however, that no transfers are given on British railways, while in the United States transfers are very generally given on city lines.

The average fares in a number of British tramway (street-railway) systems are given in the following table of data for 1906:

Municipal tramways	Average fare per passenger	Private tramways	Average fare per passenger
	Cents		*Cents*
Glasgow	1.88	Dublin United	2.48
Leeds	2.12	Edinburgh	2.28
Liverpool	2.22	Bristol	2.29
Manchester	2.38	London United	2.88
Sheffield	1.80	Norwich	2.25

The following table, taken from my report on British tramways as a member of the Committee of Four, National Civic Federation Commission on Public Ownership, shows the distances given for various fares by the public and private tramways:

TABLE SHOWING FARES AND DISTANCES IN MANCHESTER AND GLASGOW BEFORE AND AFTER MUNICIPALIZATION.

(From "Municipal and Private Operation of Public Utilities," part ii., vol. ii., pp. 708 and 709; National Civic Federation Report, 1907.)

Manchester			Glasgow		
Company		Municipality	Company, 1894		Municipality, 1902
Distances in miles	Fares in cents	Distances in miles	Distances in miles	Fares in cents	Distances in miles
....	1	0.72	....	1	0.58
1.21	2	2.10	1.12	2	2.30
....	3	2.61	1.80	3	3.48
2.33	4	3.34	2.20	4	4.59
....	5	4.03	....	5	5.88
3.08	6	4.68	3.23	6	6.90
....	7	5.43	....	7	8.11
6.06	8	6.45	....	8	9.19
5.38	10	....	....	9	10.15
6.29	12	....	....	10	*10.77

* For 11 cents passengers are carried 11.59 miles, and for 12 cents, 12.93 miles.

[1] The Board of Trade figures are not conclusive on this point, however, for the company capitalization includes some buildings and equipment for lines they lease from municipalities, and the returns do not state how much is due to this item.

[2] The graded system is not quite universal, for the Municipal street-railways of Hull make a uniform 2-cent fare, and the Sheffield city tramways have a zone system with only two fares, 1 cent and 2 cents. Liverpool also has practically a 2- and 4-cent zone system, but all other tram systems in Great Britain, both public and private, have a complex system of fares graded according to distance. The people like that plan and it suits their habits and economic condition. The most of them could not afford to pay 5 cents for a short ride as our people do.

Taking into account the greater distance given by municipal tramways for each penny and the establishment of halfpenny fares in all the municipal systems covered by the table except that of Liverpool, the total reduction of charges due to the establishment of municipal ownership ranges from 50 to 56 per cent in the cities under consideration. In Glasgow fares were reduced about 33 per cent soon after the city took the line, and 50 per cent a few years later; in Manchester public management reduced fares 50 per cent; in Leeds about 40 per cent; in Sheffield, 60 per cent; in Liverpool, 50 to 60 per cent, and on long routes much more than this; the company fare from the center to the suburbs was twelve cents, while the city made four cents the maximum fare on the same routes. In most cases the traveler gets more for two cents on the municipal tramways than he would have had to pay five cents for on the company's cars.

Prior to the establishment of municipal ownership, the average fares were much higher than they are now and the distances given for a given fare were much smaller. The companies as a railway did not go beyond one mile for a penny basis for their schedules, but the municipalities have increased the average distance from one penny to 2, 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5 miles, and existing companies, following the lead of municipalities, have increased the average penny route to 1.5, and on one line of the London United to two miles. The average charge per mile is below one halfpenny for the municipalities and one penny for the former companies and three farthings for the present companies.

Electricity

The municipalization of electricity in Great Britain is more difficult to characterize because it is too recent to show large results. The supply of electricity is regulated by the Electric Lighting Acts of 1882 and 1888, consolidated in 1899. A company or a city or borough seeking to supply a given area makes application to the Board of Trade for a provisional order. This order is usually conclusive, and is made only after a more or less exhaustive examination of local conditions, needs, and desires, but it is also necessary for the city or the private company to secure a private act from Parliament confirming the grant. Once secured, however, an order or franchise is generally regarded as exclusive. Only in London has some competition been permitted.

Franchises are granted in perpetuity. In the case of grants to private companies, however, the municipality or local authority is given the right under the Act of 1888 to acquire the undertaking at the end of forty-two years, at the physical value.

The local authorities, however, have power to buy out the undertaking before the expiration of forty-two years, and many cities have done so. In this event, payment must be made for the unexpired franchises. In those cases where the cities have so purchased, they have been compelled to pay a big price for the franchise. Says the *U. S. Bulletin*:

> In the city of Liverpool the capital invested by the company was but £264,711 ($1,288,216), but the city paid £400,000 ($1,946,600) to acquire immediate possession. Leeds took over a private plant in 1898 for £370,580 ($1,803,428) whose physical value was but £217,420 ($1,058,074). Sheffield paid £300,688 ($1,463,298) for a plant whose physical value was but £124.472 ($605,743). Birmingham paid £420,000 ($2,043,930) for a £219,000 ($1,065,764) plant; and the borough of St. Marylebone, London, was compelled to pay £1,212,000 ($5,898,198), after arbitration, for a plant whose physical value was but £597,172 ($2,906,138).
>
> The fact that such high prices had to be paid for franchises stimulated many cities to enter the field and erect their own plants in fear of having the field occupied by a private company. It also led many other cities to buy out existing plants in the early years of their existence in order to anticipate the further increase of the value of their franchises.

The following tables give the facts for 1906. The first is from the returns of the Board of Trade and the Local Government Board for London Plants.

They are taken from "Municipal and Private Operation of Public Utilities," part i., vol. i., of the National Civic Federation Report, 1907. The pages are given for each table. This part of the report was prepared by Dr. Milo R. Maltbie.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PLANTS IN LONDON

	Public	Private
Number	16	13
Area of supply, square miles	55.5	64.5
Population	2,550,228	2,225,540
Number of houses	324,492	316,081
Ratable value of property in area	£16,225,000	£26,065,000
Capacity of plants, k. w.	54,157	128,175
Load factor, per cent	17.43	16.30
Units generated or purchased	53,633,987	(?)
Total units sold	42,998,318	119,546,734
(*a*) Light, power, and heating	33,816,335	115,332,110
(*b*) Public lighting	9,181,983	4,214,624
Expenditure charged to capital	£5,443,524	£12,728,184
Expenditure per k. w. of plant installed	£100	£99
Amounts allocated to or available for liquidation of capital expenditure	£407,364	£1,373,036
Ditto, percentage of capital expenditure	£7.37	£10.14
Total working revenue per unit sold	3.02*d.*	3.37*d.*
Total costs per unit sold	1.50*d.*	1.52*d.*
Gross profit on working per unit sold	1.52*d.*	1.85*d.*
Other receipts less special expenses per unit sold	0.09*d.*	0.08*d.*
Interest and dividend paid	0.92*d.*	1.50*d.*
Redemption of loans	0.43*d.*	0.01*d.*
Transfers to renewals, reserve, etc., funds	0.17*d.*	0.44*d.*
Contribution in aid of rates	less than 0.01*d.*	.....
Transfer to profit and loss account	0.09*d.*	0.02*d.*
Average price per unit, including meter rentals and bad debts—		
(*a*) Private supply	3.14*d.*	3.76*d.*
(*b*) Traction	.....	1.48*d.*
(*c*) Public lighting	1.94*d.*	2.02*d.*
(*d*) Total	2.89*d.*	3.34*d.*

In addition to the electric-lighting companies, some thirty power franchises have been granted to private companies for the supply of current in bulk, the idea being to manufacture and sell to large distributers. These are located in populous areas and are designed to sell current to tramways, electric-lighting enterprises, and large consumers. As a matter of fact, in the majority of cases, these private companies have also secured authorization to supply current direct to small consumers.

The next table is from the *Electrical Times* for plants outside of London:

The plants of the private companies are much larger than those of the local authorities, the former having an annual revenue of £1,498,717 ($7,293,506), as against £400,668 ($1,949,851) of the latter. If any advantage existed it was therefore on the side of the private enterprise.

It will be noted that the average price charged by the private companies is nearly 30 per cent higher than the average charged by the municipal systems, and that the operating cost per unit sold is more than 30 per cent higher for the companies than for the municipal plants. The capitalization of the public plants per unit sold is consider-

Electricity Undertakings Outside of London

	Public	Private
Number of undertakings	196	70
Board of Trade units sold	391,324,269	65,819,781
Average sales per undertaking in units	1,996,552	940,283
Capital expenditure at end of year	£28,884,748	£6,454,998
Capital per plant	£147,371	£92,214
Capacity of plants in k. w	405,953	72,842
Average capital per k. w. capacity	£71.2	£88.6
Average per undertaking, k. w	2,071	1,041
Capital per unit sold	17.7*d.*	23.5*d.*
Maximum load in k. w	258,102	44,773
Load factor, per cent	17.31	16.78
Revenue from electricity supply	£3,677,320	£576,525
Average revenue per unit sold	2.25*d.*	2.10*d.*
Revenue from meter rents and other sources per unit sold	0.06*d.*	0.21*d.*
Total revenue	2.31*d.*	0.31*d.*
Operating expenses per unit	1.06*d.*	1.18*d.*
Gross profit per unit sold	1.25*d.*	1.13*d.*
Percentage of gross profit to capital, per cent	7.07	4.82
Depreciation or sinking-fund per unit sold	0.47*d.*	0.19*d.*
Percentage of depreciation and sinking-fund to capital, per cent	2.69	0.8
Net profit per unit sold	0.78*d.*	0.94*d.*
Percentage of net profit to capital, per cent	4.38	4.01

The rates charged by the public undertakings are usually below those of the private companies. An opportunity for comparison of results is offered by the public and private enterprises operating in the metropolitan area of London. Fourteen undertakings are in the hands of the local authorities, and 15 are operated by private companies. These enterprises operate in different parts of the city. The average rates charged by 12 of the local authorities reporting was 3.17*d.* (6.44 cents) per kilowatt hour. The average production cost per unit for the same boroughs, not including interest and sinking-fund charges, was 1.68*d.* (3.41 cents). The average price obtained by the 15 private companies was 3.45*d.* (7 cents), and the average working cost was 1.66*d.* (3.37 cents).—(*Electrical Times*, of London, an authoritative trade publication. Aug. 17, 1905.)

The third statement is from Garcke's *Manual*, a high corporation authority. This table covers the whole United Kingdom:

ably lower in the municipal plants than in the company systems. The public plants put twice as much into sinking-funds, depreciation, and reserve, and do not have to pay out in interest and dividends nearly as much per unit as the companies. Under municipal operation the public gets the benefits which under private operation go to the small body of stockholders.

Of other forms of municipal ownership the *U. S. Bulletin* says:

> In various places it has come to include municipal dwellings (*q. v.*), docks, markets, and baths, race-courses, oyster fisheries, slaughter-houses, milk depots, employment bureaus, and sewage farms. The Brighton corporation owns the local race-course, from which it derives a revenue of from $10,000 to $15,000 a year. Municipal theaters have been opened at Brighton and Southborough. West Ham manufactures its own paving-stones and sells them to contractors at a profit. Colchester has a municipal oyster bed. Manchester produces soap, oil, tallow, and mortar as residuals from its gas and other industries. Many cities supplying gas deal in stoves and gas fittings. Others, dealing in electricity, wire the houses and supply them with fittings. Southport and Bradford are advocating municipal tailor-

Garcke's Tabulations for 1904–5

	Public	Private
Number of undertakings	182	71
Number of units sold	356,759,088	166,101,141
Average number per undertaking	1,960,215	2,372,873
Revenue from sale of current per unit sold	2.44*d.*	3.12*d.*
Total revenue from all sources per unit sold	2.57*d.*	3.39*d.*
Total operating expenses per unit sold	1.21*d.*	1.59*d.*
Trading balance per unit sold	1.36*d.*	1.79*d.*
Bad debts and special charges per unit sold	0.06*d.*	0.03*d.*
Sinking-fund, depreciation, or reserve per unit sold	0.64*d.*	0.3*d.*
Net profit: For interest, investment in plant, or payment to the city by public plants; or for interest and dividends by private plants	£998,620	£1,009,029
Ditto, per unit sold	0.66*d.*	1.45*d.*

ing establishments to manufacture the uniforms of town employees.

In some of the northern districts of Great Britain proposals have been advanced that the municipalities should buy up coal-mines for the supply of their industries and the relief of consumers. Municipal insurance schemes are finding favor, and there is considerable agitation in behalf of municipal savings-banks and brokerage establishments for the disposal of local securities. A number of cities supply sterilized milk for children, and the ultimate municipalization of the entire milk-supply is being urged. Glasgow maintains an institution for the cure of inebriates. Wolverhampton sells ice to the traders of the town. Most of the cities own markets which yield a large revenue. Torquay breeds rabbits on a water preserve and enjoys therefrom a revenue in reduction of the rates; the city has also undertaken sheep-farming. Tunbridge Wells grows hops for sale. Liverpool cultivates beets. Many cities operate large sewage farms on which are grown supplies for the fire, police, and other departments. The town council of Glasgow has acquired a number of large halls where concerts and entertainments are given. Music in the parks is very generally provided in a number of cities. Baths have been established in many towns.

In Great Britain, as in America, free libraries, schools of art, museums, and technical schools are widely promoted.

Administration

Concerning the important matter of administration, it must be remembered that for all municipal activities in Great Britain the town council is the supreme legislative and executive authority. It is a large body, its members elected for three years, who in turn elect a limited number of aldermen for a longer period. The mayor is also chosen by the council from its membership with the town clerk, who enjoys large powers. He is the city solicitor, is highly paid, and is an expert official. The members of the council serve without compensation.

The council is divided into large committees, which exercise all of the executive powers reposed in the American mayor and heads of the departments. Through the committees, subject to confirmation by the council, the managers, engineer, and higher administrative officials are chosen. Subordinate employees are appointed by the manager, who is held responsible for the administration of the undertaking.

The merit system prevails in all city employment. It is not enforced by law, but by custom and public opinion. Tenure of office is for good behavior and efficient service. Neither is there a spoils system.

To a considerable extent managers are chosen because of their administrative rather than their engineering skill. Competent engineers are employed by the managers.

The annual reports of the enterprises are very elaborate. They give the administration of the undertakings in detail and are annually presented to the council in printed form. They are widely quoted by the press and carefully studied by the public, who show an intimate acquaintance with the transactions of the council. In many cities, possibly in most of them, membership in the council is highly prized and eagerly sought after. It involves an immense amount of labor, but a corresponding appreciation from the community.

The *U. S. Bulletin* gives the following reasons for the success of municipal ownership in Great Britain:

1. The traditional distinction that attaches to the public service in Great Britain.

2. The magnitude of public work and the importance of municipal enterprise. This makes the town council an attractive field for the business or professional man of ability and the character of the council a matter of interest to all classes. The taxpayer and the voter feel that their interests must be properly cared for.

3. The absence, or at least the subordination, of partizan spirit in local matters and the elevation of the city's welfare over all other issues.

4. The method of nominating candidates by petition rather than by party machinery, the election of councilmen at a separate election when no other issues are before the people, and the limitation of the candidates before the people to the two or more nominees from the ward; for the British elector (aside from the poor board) has but two officials to vote for—a candidate for Parliament and a candidate for the town council. The issue before him is always clear and distinct. To this should be added the fact that there is no organized class that wants anything from the city but good government. There are no franchises to grant, no privileges to give away. In addition, many cities do most of their work by direct labor rather than by contract. They pave the streets, build sewers, construct tram-cars, even build engine-houses and model dwellings by direct employment under the city engineer. There is thus no class whose interest desires the election of either partizan or venal officials. There is no interest that can be organized and no class whose pocket is at war with its civic obligations.

This interest is still further promoted by the fact that every voter is a taxpayer. This, or the possession of real property, is the qualification of the suffrage. Even a lodger can vote, if he pays a certain sum each week, but the predominant element in the English electorate is the taxpaying class. This is almost equivalent to universal suffrage. But the rates or taxes, instead of being imposed on property as such, are imposed on the rental paid. It is a sort of local income tax. The tax is paid largely by the tenant. As a means of stimulating interest in local matters, it is eminently successful. It is this pecuniary interest in every act of the council; it is the hope of gain or the fear of loss, as much as anything else, that explains the jealous watchfulness of local affairs by the public.

The results of the investigation carried on by the National Civic Federation on public ownership during the last two years fully confirm the conclusions exprest by Dr. Howe in the *U. S. Labor Bulletin* quoted above.

While the Commission was in London the Right Hon. John Burns, President of the Local Government Board, which has general supervision of municipal affairs, granted us an audience, and one of the most striking parts of the interview was when he read the following passages from the *Labor Bulletin* and said, "That is a true statement of the results of municipal ownership in this country." Here are the paragraphs he read:

Rise of the Movement

The municipalization of the street-railways was rendered the more natural by virtue of an act of Parliament, passed in 1870, known as the Tramways Act, which authorized the local authorities to lay tracks and then lease them to a private company for operation. At the end of twenty-one years the cities had power to operate the enterprise themselves. Such leases were very generally made in the "seventies" and "eighties," and the systems were worked as horse-car lines. The private companies rarely, if ever, equipped them with electricity. During the last ten years these leases have been terminating. Coincident with their termination electricity began to be generally recognized as the proper method of propulsion. These two facts—the short-term franchises, together with the application of electricity to street-railway operation—made it an easy as well as a natural matter for the cities to enter the field.

The act of Parliament authorizing electric light and power enterprises unexpectedly operated in the same way. All franchises or working powers for private corporations must be obtained from Parliament; they cannot be granted by the town council. The cities have no legal control over franchises, except in the case of street-railways, and even in this case it is of a negative sort. The Electric Lighting and Power Act gives the private companies franchises which are virtually exclusive for forty-two years. When private corporations sought powers to operate, the cities rushed to Parliament to prevent them. In order to do this they had to get the powers themselves; but to hold the powers they had to act. Hence some towns erected lighting-plants in order to escape being turned over to a private company. Other cities, like Liverpool, Sheffield, and Birmingham, permitted private companies to enter unopposed. They soon saw the business growing rapidly. As the enterprise became established the franchises increased in value. Many towns, feeling that the business must be eventually taken over, and seeing that the franchises were increasing in value from year to year, entered into negotiations with the companies, and paid immense sums for the franchises in order to anticipate their further increase in value.

For a fuller statement of the facts relating to municipal ownership in Great Britain the reader

is referred to the papers by Prof. J. R. Commons, Prof. E. W. Bemis, Dr. M. R. Maltbie, and the present writer in the report of the Civic Federation Commission, dated 1907.

On the subject of municipal ownership in general and the leading divisions of the topic, the reader will find full information in the books referred to under the heading of "Public Ownership," especially the Municipal Monopolies, The City for the People, the Municipal Ownership, number of Municipal Affairs, the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and the discussion of Public Ownership of Transportation in vol. ix. of the Report of the U. S. Industrial Commission. FRANK PARSONS.

MUNICIPAL PROGRESS IN THE UNITED STATES, RECENT: Americans can no longer, in the light of the events of the past few years, be justly charged with indifference to municipal problems and their solution. The two years just passed (1905–7) have outstript all others in practical municipal progress. Heroism, heretofore largely an incident of military activity, is now in large degree manifested in civic endeavor.

Secretary Root's letter to Mayor Weaver of Philadelphia, written after the former had accepted the State portfolio, in which he denounced "the criminal combination masquerading under the Republican name" as constituted of traitors alike to the great party whose name they had filched and to the interests of the community; the address of Secretary Taft in the Ohio campaign in which he declared that were he to vote in Cincinnati he would vote against the ticket nominated by the Republican boss there; the independent attitude of Secretary Bonaparte in the Maryland campaign; the conspicuous position taken by former Postmaster-General Smith in the Philadelphia revolution; the eminent public services of former foreign ministers Wayne MacVeagh and William Potter (the latter running as mayoralty candidate on an independent ticket) in the same connection—all have tended to reenforce the contention so long maintained and insisted upon by the National Municipal League that national parties and national questions have no proper connection with the determination of local issues. This disregard of party lines in local elections and the independent spirit manifested by the electors constitute the most significant developments of the year 1905–6 and indicate clearly the growth of public sentiment along these lines.

Distinguished Examples

The New York and Philadelphia campaigns in Nov., 1905, have occupied a large degree of public attention throughout the country, not only because of the issues involved, but because of their picturesque elements. Just when the election seemed to be a foregone conclusion and opposition to the will of the bosses of the Democratic and Republican machines seemed hopeless, District-Attorney Jerome, who had been denied a nomination alike by the Democrats, the Republicans, and the Municipal Ownership parties, determined to give to the voters of New York County an opportunity to express their wishes as to whether or not he should be accorded another term, running upon his record only.

Elections of 1905

His reelection without any formal party indorsement, tho he did have the Citizens' Union back of him, was a significant success. Mr. Hearst on the Municipal Ownership ticket was equally spectacular, and in spite of unpleasant stories widely circulated and believed, the enthusiasm for him was evidently due to the sincere and earnest belief on the part of many thousands of voters that neither of the old national parties could be trusted to protect the city's interest in the face of the inducements offered to the leaders of those parties by large public corporations.

The election-day proceedings were most discreditable, according to the testimony of competent observers, and the arrests and convictions secured are said to give an inadequate idea of the amount of fraud at the polls. There has been a dispute ever since the close of the election as to the honesty and regularity of Mr. McClellan's election. We have, therefore, the remarkable situation of having in the mayor's chair for four years a man who was very far from receiving a majority of the votes cast and whose plurality it was declared would not stand the verification of a recount. The fact that the people of Greater New York have quietly acquiesced in this paradoxical result speaks volumes for their spirit of obedience to the spirit and the letter of the law.

The 1907 session of the New York Legislature has passed two recount bills, at the instance of Governor Hughes.

For eighteen months (May, 1905–Nov., 1906) Philadelphia was the scene of one of the most far-reaching municipal revolutions witnessed in any American city. After years of misgovernment and mismanagement and a degree of corruption which astounded even those fairly familiar with the situation, Mayor Weaver, with an independent indorsement, not only broke the shackles which had held him to the Republican organization, but inaugurated a campaign which, for the time being, broke up the organization. The immediate cause of his break was the introduction of an ordinance providing for the extension of the existing lease of the gas-works for seventy-five years in consideration of a lump payment of $25,000,000, notwithstanding the fact that the present lease (which had about twenty-two years to run) would yield the city something over $37,000,000 before its expiration. The result was that the elections of Nov., 1905, and Feb., 1906, were carried by the Independents (the City Party); there was called an extraordinary session of the legislature, which passed a remarkable series of reform acts, and the Republicans were forced to place in nomination for governor a man who was pledged to investigate the capital scandal, and who is doing it, and in other ways repair their previous delinquencies. (See PHILADELPHIA.)

The influence of the Nov., 1905, election in Philadelphia was largely felt in the February elections in other parts of Pennsylvania. George W. Guthrie, for many years a stalwart worker in the ranks of municipal reform, was elected by a substantial majority as the representative of the independent forces to be Mayor of Pittsburg.

The political situation in Scranton, Pa., has been somewhat different from that of many other places. The efforts of the Municipal League have so greatly changed conditions that the city has been singularly free from the various "fashionable" forms of municipal corruption. Since eighteen councilmen were prosecuted by the league a few years ago, boodling in the councils and other public bodies, if practised at all, has been ex-

Scranton, Pa.

ceedingly rare, and limited in scope and most carefully concealed.

The reelection of Mayor Cutler in Rochester was a well-deserved tribute to a faithful official who had administered his office with an eye single to the best interests of the community and without reference to political considerations.

Buffalo, in national politics Republican, elected a Democrat to the mayoralty chair because of his known fitness for the office. The majority for Mayor Adam, who had served efficiently in the board of aldermen, was so large that it carried his whole party ticket, and so displaced the existing Republican régime. At the same election the city voted in favor of owning and operating an electric-lighting and power plant. An interesting feature of the election was, that out of a total vote of 65,000 for the mayoralty candidates, only 9,641 votes were cast on the last-mentioned proposition, 7,691 being in the affirmative, 1,950 in the negative.

In New Jersey the recent significant events have been the campaign of Senator Everett Colby and the reelection of Mayor Fagan of Jersey City. Senator Colby has made his fight within the Republican Party, and at a direct primary overwhelmed the forces of the boss. While he has not thus far accomplished all he has aimed for, he is forcing the issues all along the line and has introduced new standards of public action and political activity.

For years Jersey City has been normally Democratic; but Mayor Fagan, a Republican, has been three times chosen to the mayoralty; and he owed his last reelection to his independent action, he having openly defied the party bosses upon both sides, altho he received the formal nomination of the Republican convention.

While Cleveland, Ohio, still retains its character as a Republican city, Tom L. Johnson has been thrice elected mayor, his last majority (12,000) being the largest ever given in the city for mayor, and about twice the majority secured by him in his previous campaigns. The Municipal Association of Cleveland indorsed Mayor Johnson for the first time. Lincoln Steffens had described him as the best mayor in the U. S.

Toledo elected another non-partizan mayor in the person of Brand Whitlock, and gave him what it failed to give the late Mayor Samuel M. Jones —substantial support through the election of sympathetic candidates to the local council.

Indiana cities (outside of Indianapolis) have been having their first experience with a new municipal code, introducing the federal plan. This change has been marked by a great awakening of interest in municipal affairs and reform throughout the state. Communities wholly given over to the lowest forms of machine politics and corrupt government have developed a new form of public opinion in the belief that it would find an effective instrument in the new kind of government. Reform clubs have been organized in many of these cities. The misuse of public funds by officers charged with their collection or custody has also aroused public interest. Governor Hanly has astonished his partizan friends by showing the spirit of a reformer. He has appealed to public opinion throughout the state to abolish these abuses, and has set the pace by investigating the accounts of state officers. In a short time he forced the auditor of state and the secretary of state to resign their offices; the former, an influential politician, was indicted for embezzlement and found guilty. In Indianapolis the reformers were defeated at the polls in the election of mayor, but their defeat was not disheartening, as the normal Republican majority of 12,000 was cut down to 1,500.

Chicago

Chicago continues to attract a large share of public attention. Its municipal experiences are varied and illuminating. It is often difficult to form a positive conclusion as to the meaning of many of the things that have been done there. The street-railway question, which for a decade has been a burning issue, has been settled by the passage of an ordinance which received a majority of upward of 40,000 when submitted to the elector as a referendum. Competent observers and critics like Walter L. Fisher, who for years was secretary of the Municipal Voters' League, and who was traction adviser to Mayor Dunne, promoted and supported the ordinance as a satisfactory solution of the problem.

The city after many years of agitation has at last got some reduction in the price of gas. The legislature at its 1905 session authorized the city council to regulate the price, and this body reduced the charges from $1 to eighty-five cents per thousand feet. While the reduction was not sufficiently large to satisfy many elements in the community, it is generally considered as establishing a useful precedent.

The Municipal Voters' League continues a potent factor in the selecting and election of honest councilmen and this past year it has added efficiency to its standards. The success of the Municipal Voters' League has had a far-reaching effect; its contest with the street-railway corporations and its effort to settle that problem were followed with extreme care and breathless interest by municipal observers everywhere. Its fight for a high license and its gas contest are likewise the subject of thoughtful consideration. At the present time it is giving careful attention to another important problem. A charter has been prepared and was submitted to the voters in Sept., 1907, to bring the city in harmony with modern needs.

The most important recent event in Michigan has been the vote on the proposition to hold a constitutional convention. The proposition was carried by a large majority on a rather light vote. The Detroit Municipal League will make an active campaign in favor of a non-partizan convention, insisting that candidates in each district be nominated by petition and their names placed on the ballot without any official party designations.

The progressive elements are mainly bent upon securing municipal home rule and the initiative and referendum. There is also a great deal of discontent with the present system of taxation, and the proposed constitutional reforms fall into two classes: first, local option in taxation; second, the elimination of the uniformity clause and other provisions which prevent the separation of state and local revenues. The railroads are likely to try to overthrow the constitutional amendments secured several years ago by the late Governor Pingree, providing for the assessment of railroad property by a state board and its taxation at the same average rate as is applied to other property in the state as assessed by local assessors.

Mayor Rose of Milwaukee has gone down to defeat after four successive elections. His repeated successes tended to create a feeling that he was impregnable; but Milwaukee felt the effect of the reform movement, and in April, 1906,

chose Alderman Becker, a young man of vigorous personality. An interesting feature of the campaign was the praise which Mayor Rose, a Democrat, bestowed upon the Republican boss. Alderman Becker, altho the Republican candidate, had won his nomination without the support and cooperation of the Republican managers, who were generally believed to be interested in Mayor Rose. This tendency to split the ticket appeared on all sides. The recommendations of the Municipal Voters' League of Milwaukee were very generally regarded.

Minneapolis has been a center of interest. In the autumn of 1905 Mayor Jones decided to close the saloons in Minneapolis on Sunday. The order was issued on Oct. 31st, and went into effect on the following Sunday. It was strictly enforced and obeyed by the saloon-keepers without much show of resistance.

As president of the council it was also his duty some years ago to assume the office of mayor and fill the unexpired term of the notorious Ames when he was driven from power by the police investigation which made Minneapolis famous, and for a time infamous. During the first year of his administration he reorganized the police department on a non-partizan, voluntary civil-service basis, and vastly improved both its personnel and its discipline. Grafting in any degree meant dismissal. At the urgent insistence of his friends he became a candidate to succeed himself, as there was no one else who represented the issues that he had raised, and the fight was on these issues. He won out at the primaries, where the corporation and saloon forces united against him. This fight was carried to the polls, the elements who had opposed him at the primaries supporting his Democratic opponent, and he went down to defeat by a very narrow margin, but with the respect of every one as an honest and efficient official.

The situation in St. Louis continues to be on the whole encouraging. While there has been no decided progress in municipal affairs, the city continues to enjoy the services of an honest mayor and an honest council. The revenues of the city have been greatly increased, the streets are kept clean, and intelligent efforts are being made to solve in the interests of the people the many and perplexing problems which confront the officials of every city. Governor Folk has given better boards for the local control of the police, excise, and election; and excellent work is being done by them, but there is still considerable feeling on the part of a large portion of the community that these boards should be in the hands of the local authorities and not subject to the dictation of some future governor who may or may not be interested in securing good government.

The 1906 election in Kansas City resulted in a great victory for the good government forces, the choice of Henry M. Beardsley to the mayoralty being one of the most satisfactory events of the year. He has had long experience in dealing with municipal questions, and as president of the Board of Public Works had charge of the rehabilitation of the water-plant, as well as other public improvements, involving the expenditure of many millions of dollars. The results in other directions were equally satisfactory, the voters exercising a large degree of independence and very generally abiding by the indorsements of the Civic League.

Louisville has furnished "a horrible example," altho its public-spirited citizens who are actively engaged in devising ways and means for the relief of the city deny that "Louisville is hopelessly and helplessly corrupt." For years the city has not had an honest election, and that held on Nov. 7, 1905, was as bad as any election held anywhere where there has been great corruption. It was confidently asserted that the records would show that every crime against the ballot that could be committed was committed during the two days of registration and on the day of election, an opinion which has received official sanction at the hands of the Supreme Court of the state. Immediately after the election in question a contest was instituted to determine whether the mayor and those who were chosen at the time had been honestly elected. The lower court determined that they had, but the Supreme Court overruled it and ousted the mayor and sixty-two other officers and in a scathing opinion denounced the fraud which had been practised and sustaining the reformers in their every claim.

In Iowa and Colorado the municipal elections are coming to be determined in most instances on local issues. Seattle has also joined the ranks of cities settling local issues on a local basis. Its present mayor was elected by a small majority as an independent, over the candidate of the dominant party's organization. The particular issue involved in the fight was municipal ownership, altho general dissatisfaction with the existing condition of affairs was an important factor.

Mayor Ballenger, the predecessor, gave to Seattle a conspicuously good administration. Under his guidance the city made a material development in conditions relating to better government from the standpoint of morals as well as from that of public efficiency. Not only was the question of the introduction of transcontinental railroads settled, and the construction of a garbage-destruction plant authorized, but the completion of a municipal electric-lighting plant was undertaken, and the public service greatly extended throughout the city. Public improvements representing a very large expenditure of money were inaugurated. But he declined renomination.

In Portland, Ore., the reform forces have made substantial advances in every direction. The most marked improvement noticeable has been in the granting of franchises for public utilities. This is now being done very cautiously and prudently, and the city is getting substantial value for all of its franchises, with rights of inspection, publicity, and reversion to the city that are decidedly a marked improvement upon the loose methods of old times.

Primary Law

The operation of the new direct primary law is being watched with care. Those who are most competent to express an opinion are certain that the new law has destroyed the old rings and cliques. Its most serious defect, according to some observers, is that it makes office almost entirely a self-seeking operation; that is, under no ordinary circumstances can the office seek the man, but the man has from the beginning to work for the office. This is regarded as an encouragement to people who desire notoriety and who are willing to pay for it, and a discouragement to the self-respecting, dignified, and ofttimes shrinking citizens. The Democratic Party, which by reason of its situation has been a beneficiary of the reform movement, held what

was practically a convention and discust ways and means for presenting the names of responsible citizens for selection at the primaries. In this way it is expected that the benefits of the old and new systems will be secured.

San Francisco

San Francisco is another "horrible example," the candidates of the independent citizens having been to a man defeated. This city presents a situation unique in the annals of American municipal history, in that a short time ago one boss, the so-called labor boss, controlled the three leading parties—the Republican, the Democratic, and the Labor. Vigorous efforts were made at the Republican and Democratic primaries to throw off the yoke, with little avail. Finally, the leaders of the Republican and Democratic forces determined to disregard partizan politics and to unite upon a single ticket to represent the best interests of the city. The boss retained his hold upon the Labor Party, however, and by a shrewd, altho unscrupulous appeal to class prejudice, was able to elect his entire Labor ticket. The victory did not represent a triumph of those principles wherein the best elements of organized labor are most profoundly interested, but simply the capture of the title by designing men for their own ends. The result of the election is now generally conceded, however, to have been caused in fact by the voting-machines. These worked successfully so far as the mechanical part was concerned, but as it was the first time many of the voters had ever used the machine and did not understand it very well, there is no doubt that many thousands voted straight tickets, as that was the easiest course to pursue, who otherwise would have split their tickets.

The recent developments by which the mayor thus elected has been convicted of extortion and sentenced to five years in the penitentiary and the aforetime all-powerful boss has pleaded guilty to similar charges, in fact redeemed the city. Los Angeles has a new administration which is giving satisfaction in nearly every department, and it has a municipal league, which, like the Chicago league, has become a great factor in the city's growth in decent and administrative efficiency.

The War on Graft

The war on graft throughout the U. S. is being prest with great vigor and with greater rapidity. There is practically no community in the country where the municipal problem is at all serious but has had its investigations or inquiry, and consequent exposures and prosecutions. In Pennsylvania the malodorous state capitol scandal is being probed to the bottom, and its long list of frauds, deceptions, and malversations are being brought to light and it is confidently expected that those responsible for them will be brought to book.

In New York the insurance disclosures occupied the center of observation for a long time and affected the political situation there to the extent of electing Governor Hughes and defeating the rest of the Republican ticket.

The Ohio State Senate sent a committee to Cincinnati, which joined in "the revolt against venal bossism and municipal corruption," to investigate and expose the methods by which the machine secured and retained its power. It only took the committee one day to unearth one form of graft which yielded from $15,000 to $20,000 a year to the boss's lieutenants. The county commissioner testified that he collected taxes annually amounting to about $7,000,000, mostly in the form of checks, which were deposited in the various banks. This money was allowed to remain certain definite times after collection, in return for which favor banks presented him with a gratuity, which he frankly confest he accepted as a perquisite of the office, the city receiving nothing on the deposits in the way of interest.

In Allegheny a series of prosecutions resulted in the conviction of a number of office-holders for various crimes against the public welfare.

In Pittsburg a councilman and a broker have been convicted of bribery in connection with an important franchise, and other suspects are about to be tried.

Milwaukee has witnessed a long series of prosecutions and convictions. Up to a recent date twenty-one defendants had either been convicted or pleaded guilty, and six had been acquitted.

At the time of the convening of the California Legislature in 1905 there was considerable newspaper gossip to the effect that certain building and loan associations were being grossly mismanaged, and special attention was called to the affairs of one. A legislative investigation of the association was demanded, and the Senate appointed a committee of seven senators, four of whom privately formed a plan by which they could investigate the association and make money out of it. They selected a go-between to approach the officers of the concern and ascertain whether it would be willing to pay for stopping the investigation. They profest to be willing to do so, but quietly set a trap to catch the senators, the sum of $1,400 being agreed upon as the price to be paid. In the mean time the committee proceeded to summon witnesses to hold the farce of an investigation. The officers of the association refused to respond to the subpenas of the committee and were cited to appear before the Senate to answer for contempt. They appeared before the Senate and then and there disclosed the whole proceedings and accused the four senators of soliciting and receiving bribes. The go-between confessed his complicity and the Senate appointed a committee, which refused to allow the accused to testify under oath, owing to the clause in the law which exempts a person who testifies in a case of bribery from further punishment. The Senate then reported the accused to be guilty and recommended their expulsion from the Senate, which was unanimously done. The grand jury of Sacramento County shortly afterward found an indictment against the four senators, one of whom turned state's evidence, and all have since been convicted.

These instances are cited not because they constitute all that has been accomplished along these lines during the past year, but as typical of what is being done in nearly every important community in the land.

The central West continues to be the storm-center of municipal reform activity, with New York and Pennsylvania pressing closely and the Western Slope municipalities not far behind. During the past few years there have been fewer incidents of importance or interest in the New England and Southern states, the principal events having been those already mentioned herein, tho there is no lack of signs of abundant life in the leading New England and Southern communities.

There have been many important improvements of far-reaching character undertaken by

the municipalities of the U. S. Mention must be made, if only briefly, of the project to expend $25,000,000 for the improvement of the water-supply of Los Angeles; of the publication of Daniel H. Burnham's plans for the improvement of San Francisco, called most aptly by those in charge of the matter "San Francisco's new civic charter"; his similar plans for Chicago; the reports for the reorganization of Denver, Colo., and Columbia, S. C.; the inauguration of Chicago's neighborhood center and outer park systems; the establishment of the municipal museum in the same city; the very remarkable progress now under way in Washington along local lines.

Municipal Improvements

Harrisburg, which for the last four or five years has occupied so much of the public eye because of the successful execution of its far-reaching plans for civic improvement, continues its good work.

The question of public utilities in many communities has in many places overshadowed all other questions. It has been the one municipal issue in an increasing number of communities upon which the people have felt and exprest a decided opinion. In Chicago the street-railway situation was the burning question during all of Mayor Dunne's administration. In Boston they have occupied a large share of attention, and the settlement of the gas question has been conspicuously to the front. Its settlement along lines satisfactory to the best interests of the city is due almost entirely to the public-spirited activity of the Public Franchise League, and of organizations that have cooperated with it. The Seattle election turned upon the question of municipal ownership. The great vote cast for Mr. Hearst in the Nov., 1905, election in New York was due to public interest in it. In Denver, in Lincoln, Neb., in San Francisco, in Philadelphia —in fact, in a long list of cities these questions have been actively to the front.

Municipal Ownership

Chicago cast another vote in favor of municipal ownership, altho it failed to cast the necessary three fifths to enable the councils to proceed at once to operate the street-railways; but on the advisory question of public policy the city authorities are forbidden by a majority vote to grant any franchises, and the city has been authorized to issue certificates under the Mueller Law not to exceed in amount $75,000,000. In Kansas City both the Republican and the Democratic platforms declared for the principle of municipal ownership. Cleveland is gradually entering upon a policy of municipal ownership and operation, having recently appropriated $40,000 for the extension of the municipal lighting plant. In New Jersey the movement for limited franchises is making substantial headway. The action of the Newark Board of Trade indicates very clearly the trend of public sentiment there, it having recently adopted a resolution favoring the enactment of a law to prohibit the grant by any municipality of any special privilege in the public streets for a longer period than twenty-five years, the property used in the exercise of the grant to revert to the municipality at the end of the period, and then to be offered for a further period at public auction and granted to the bidder offering the best terms. The investigation of the subject undertaken by the National Civic Federation has attracted general attention.

There has been no diminution of interest in the subject of nomination reform. A very interesting conference on electoral reforms was held in New York City in March, 1906, under the auspices of the National Civic Federation, and the development of public sentiment in favor of uniform direct primaries was shown to be rapidly increasing. Pennsylvania, as a result of the political revolution of the past year, has now a fairly satisfactory law, which will eliminate many of the features which have made machine domination in that state easy of accomplishment. The subject is a burning one in Oregon and Washington, as also in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Illinois—in fact, in all the central Western states. The Minnesota law continues to give general satisfaction.

There is a growing sentiment in favor of legislation on the subject of the prevention of corrupt practises at elections. This topic was considered very thoroughly at the National Civic Federation's conference, and a number of bills on the subject are now pending in various state legislatures.

In the matter of charter reform, an interesting bill was introduced into the Massachusetts Legislature which, if it had been enacted into law, would have marked an important step forward and furnished an interesting experiment in the effective coordination and organization of adjacent municipalities with common interests but separate governments. This measure, known as the Metropolitan District Council Bill, provided that the chief magistrates of the cities and the chairmen of the boards of selectmen of the towns that are now or may be included within the metropolitan park, water, or sewage system of Boston shall constitute the Metropolitan District Council, to which the several commissions and boards should annually in the month of January submit reports of the work performed and the money expended by them during the preceding year, together with detailed estimates of the amounts required for the ensuing year. This council must vote by a roll-call of municipalities and towns on the question of approving or disapproving all proposed legislation involving appropriations of money for park, boulevard, water, or sewage purposes; but only those municipalities shall vote which have a financial interest as contributors in the proposed expenditure of money. This council must also submit to the legislature from time to time reports, with its recommendations, on the various questions of metropolitan work which have been brought before it; and in all cases where votes have been taken, such reports shall contain a full record, giving the names of the municipalities which have favored and those which have disapproved of each proposition. Thirty-nine municipalities were interested in this measure and came within its scope. Their combined area about equaled that of the city of Greater New York, with an approximate population of 1,400,000.

Charter Reform

The Galveston plan of government continues to excite general attention. It has produced such admirable results through conscientious, faithful administration in the city of its origin that it has been copied in other Texas cities, and has been considered in other states, notably in Iowa, where the Des Moines adaptation has been devised, and will be put into execution next year (1908).

Municipal officials continue their activity in behalf of more efficient administration and

higher standards. The League of American Municipalities, the American Society of Municipal Improvements, and the various state leagues continue helpful work along educational lines. The organization of the League of Virginia Municipalities is to be noted with interest as a very satisfactory development in a leading Southern state. The Michigan and Iowa leagues have taken the initiative in a movement for uniform accounting and are doing yeoman service. Another class of officials is constituting itself an important factor in municipal progress; that is, the auditing and accounting officers who met in Feb., 1906, and again in Chicago in 1907, to consider the question of the uniform classification of municipal accounts and comparable municipal statistics.

A movement of the greatest promise is the formation of city government clubs in our educational institutions. The Yale City Government Club, which has done excellent work in this behalf, called a conference of similar organizations, which was held in the city of New York, and the Intercollegiate League of College Good Government Clubs formally organized.

Of somewhat similar import has been the interest manifested in politics by various bodies of young men, notably those banded together in the Young Men's Christian Associations.

Numerous local associations are organizing good government courses and are seeking in various ways, on the one hand, to interest their members in municipal problems, and on the other hand to educate them to intelligent activity.

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF.

MUNICIPAL REFORM (for the history, statistics, and government of cities, see CITY. For the reform of cities on lines of municipalism, see MUNICIPALISM. For the most important cities, see those cities. See also CORRUPTION; MUNICIPALITIES, GERMANY; MUNICIPAL HOUSING; MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP; MUNICIPAL PROGRESS; MUNICIPAL TRADING): We consider in this article the movements and societies for municipal reform which have sprung up in all the larger American cities on somewhat varying lines, but in general sympathy both as to aims and methods, and now federated in a National Municipal League.

Spasmodic efforts and uprisings of indignant citizens against some extreme display of municipal corruption or mismanagement have long been known in America, but have accomplished little permanent and not even much temporary good. It was a fight of unorganized volunteers against organized regulars. Usually the result was that the reformers, after a passing effort, gave up the battle as hopeless, or, having won a passing victory, retired to let the enemy immediately regain all that had been won. The thought of the new municipal movement has been that our cities can only be rescued from evil by the permanent organization and continued watchfulness of the forces of good. This thought has been helped by a growing ideal on the part of some of the true city life. The general tendency in America has been to despise government and magnify private action. The natural result has been that governments, and especially our municipal governments, have been left, generally speaking, to our more ignorant citizens, while the abler and more educated classes have largely left politics alone. The evil of this having been seen, there has been a growing willingness of able men to devote time to city problems, and even to accept office. Among the first examples of this were the election of Mr. Seth Low as Mayor of Brooklyn, the mayoralty of Mr. Hewitt in New York, the early activity of President Roosevelt in the same city. But this was soon seen not to be enough, and that there was a necessity for organizing against corruption.

Needs

Such an organization was formed in Chicago as early as 1874. (See CHICAGO.) In Baltimore a reform league was formed in 1885.

Law and order leagues (*q. v.*) sprang up about this time, and a National Law and Order League was established in Boston in 1883. A Massachusetts Society for Promoting Good Citizenship was organized in 1887. A Citizens' Municipal Association was organized in Philadelphia in 1886. A Citizens' Association in Boston was formed in 1887.

In New York City a Society for the Prevention of Crime had been organized Oct. 22, 1878. Its objects were

> To promote in all proper and suitable ways the removal of sources and causes of crime; to assist the weak and helpless in obtaining the protection of the courts and of the laws regulating the sale of intoxicating drinks, and in protecting themselves against the temptations to crime; to aid in the enforcement of the laws of this state; to disseminate information, and to arouse a correct public opinion in support of all laws, organizing and forming meetings and associations for instruction and discussion upon such topics.

Under the presidency of Dr. Howard Crosby it did good work along its corporate lines; but in its work the collusion between criminals and the officers of the law became evident, and when, upon Dr. Crosby's death in 1892, Dr. C. H. Parkhurst (*q. v.*) became its president, he devoted himself to exposing this connection.

The resulting exposure of this and of the Lexow investigation created much attention and thought. As one result, a City Vigilance League was formed in 1892. Its objects were

> To quicken among its members an appreciation of their municipal obligations; to acquaint them with existing conditions; to familiarize them with the machinery of municipal government; to make conspicuous the respect in which such government is languidly or criminally administered; to regard with jealous concern the point at which private interest enters into competition with the general good; and in every possible way to repress in the community what makes for its detriment, and to foster whatsoever seems fitted to promote its advantage.

Meanwhile, Mr. Edmund Kelly had organized, in 1892, the City Club of New York, and this club organized in different parts of the city some twenty Good Government Clubs (*q. v.*), which, in 1894, were federated under a Council of Good Government Clubs. A Committee of Seventy was created to oppose the Tammany machine—somewhat similar to a Committee of Fifty created by a mass-meeting in 1893. It succeeded in defeating Tammany in the city elections and putting civil-service and other reformers into some of the departments—Mr. Roosevelt as a police commissioner.

Through other cities there was a wave of organization on this line. The Civic Federation of Chicago owes its origin to the visit of Mr. W. T. Stead (*q. v.*), his revelations of the corruption there, and his effort to federate the moral forces of that city in civic and social work. (See NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION.)

The Municipal Reform League of Boston is older. It had its origin in an address by Mr. Samuel B. Capen in March, 1892, in which the necessity for a cooperation of the best civic and

moral forces of metropolitan Boston was stirringly set forth.

The Municipal League of Philadelphia, among the largest and best in the country, was organized in 1892.

In Philadelphia the women have been particularly active in municipal reform. They organized a Civic Club Jan. 1, 1894, and actively carry on many departments of study and work.

Such are some of the representative organizations of the movement. They are now united in a National Municipal League, organized in New York City in April, 1894, as the result of a National Conference for Good City Government, held in Philadelphia, Jan., 1894. (See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE; MUNICIPAL PROGRESS.)

MUNICIPAL TRADING (IN GREAT BRITAIN) (see also MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP; GREAT BRITAIN, etc.): The tables on pages 802 and 803 are the summary given in *The Municipal Year Book* for 1906 of the official return made to Parliament in 1903 of the "reproductive enterprises" carried on by municipal boroughs brought up to March 31, 1902. For later figures see MUNICIPALISM and PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

MUNICIPAL TRAMWAYS ASSOCIATION OF GREAT BRITAIN: The objects of this association are to acquire experimental, statistical, and scientific knowledge relating to the construction, equipment, and operation of tramways; to diffuse among its members information on all matters affecting tramways, and generally to promote the interests of municipal tramways. *Secretary* and *Treasurer*, J. M. McElroy, 55, Piccadilly, Manchester, England.

MUNICIPALISM (see also CITY; MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP; MUNICIPAL REFORM; MUNICIPAL PROGRESS, etc.):

In the United States, the general tendency has been to minimize the municipality's functions. The presumption is against municipal activity and for private action. Says Judge Dillon, in his authoritative work on "Municipal Corporations":

> It is a general and undisputed proposition of law, that a municipal corporation possesses and can exercise the following powers and no others: First, those granted in express words; second, those necessarily or fairly implied in or incident to the powers expressly granted; third, those essential to the declared objects and purposes of the corporation, not simply convenient, but indispensable. Any fair, reasonable doubt concerning the existence of power is resolved by the courts against the corporation, and the power is denied. Of every municipal corporation the charter, or statute by which it is created, is its organic act. Neither the corporation nor its officers can do any act, or make any contract, or incur any liability, not authorized thereby. All acts beyond the scope of the powers granted are void. . . . These principles are of transcendent importance, and lie at the foundation of the law of municipal corporations.

In Europe the opposite is the case. The result is that in America the corporate city, being thought little of, has been left, generally speaking, to be managed by a low class of politicians, and thus to become corrupt and weak; while in Europe, the function of the city being highly conceived, city offices have attracted to themselves some of the best and ablest citizens, and thus the European city has become, as compared with American cities, efficient and pure. At least such is the view of many municipalists. The only way to purify American city governments, they argue, is to exalt and expand the city's function. This, too, they say, is cheaper and better in every way for the citizens than to allow its streets to be given over to the control of private street-railway companies, its gas, electric-lighting, and other natural monopolies to be provided by favored companies, which think first of dividend and secondly of the public convenience. Such is the theory of municipalism in brief.

Says Prof. R. T. Ely (*Christian Union*, Oct. 9, 1890):

> We are reversing the order of nature in planning to reform city government first, and then to carry out the changes I have mentioned, and to make improvements in behalf of the poorer classes. Let any one name a city where this policy has been successfully pursued. I know of none.
>
> When the Hon. Joseph Chamberlain and his friends took hold of the corrupt and inefficient city government of Birmingham, they at once "devised large measures," including the purchase of gas- and water-works by the city. A public library followed; public parks, improved dwellings for the poor, large public undertakings, broad and generous measures have been an essential part of municipal reform and improvement in cities like Berlin and Glasgow; they have not followed a purification of politics, but have helped to elevate political life.
>
> Has the experience of this country been different? Not at all. When the city government of Baltimore was worse than it is to-day, when the "Plug Uglies" and "Blood Tubs" were a terror, the government was improved by adding to its functions a paid police and a paid fire department. Extension of functions within a proper sphere improves government.
>
> It may be urged, perhaps, that the difference of institutions between a monarchical country, like Germany or England, and a republican country, like the United States, is radical, and that things are done for the people in those countries. This is fortunately not the case. The truth is, that cities and towns have in both of these countries—Germany and England—a power which ours are far from possessing. They have more local self-government than we. They are not obliged, like Massachusetts towns, vainly to petition a legislature for authority to construct gas-works and to establish an electric-lighting plant. Such powers are either possest, as a matter of course, or are conferred by general laws.
>
> It is well again to make comparisons. Fifty or sixty years ago city government in England was a disgrace to the country. Has improvement come by means incompatible with democratic institutions? On the contrary, as city government has improved it has become more democratic. Germany has also become more democratic, while the local administration has been improving. There may be some limitations upon the suffrage in English local politics still, and in a German city like Berlin the vote of a rich man may count for more than the vote of a poor man; but these limitations do not account for their superior local governments. These are among the differences between us and them which are growing less. And with us it is unscrupulous wealth which rules and corrupts our cities. What influence, comparatively speaking, have working men in our politics? Was Jacob Sharp a wage-earner? Were the manipulators of the West End scandal in the Massachusetts Legislature dwellers in the slums of Boston? Does any sane man in Baltimore who wishes to work a measure through our City Council rely upon the assistance of leaders of working men? I have some idea of what I would do in Baltimore. I know the men whom I would approach, but they are not wage-earners. President Seth Low has said that his study and actual experience as Mayor of Brooklyn have convinced him that universal suffrage is not the cause of bad city government. He says he did not find wealth always ready to cooperate, and he believes that our cities could not have made so rapid progress as they have without universal suffrage.

Municipal Corruption

Those who object to this view generally argue that municipal enterprises are expensive and ineffective.

Municipalists, however, are not much disturbed by examples of municipal mismanagement. They believe, in the first place, that such examples can be easily matched by the mismanagement of countless private corporations. (See CORRUPTION, p. 316.) Secondly, they assert that municipal management cannot at first be expected to excel private management in matters where the latter has had long experience and the city but little. Yet tho no one claims perfection for city management, what it has undertaken to do a growing number of careful students believe

Answer

to be better done than privately conducted interests. Work done by the city (see CONTRACT LABOR) is being found, where tried, to be surprizingly better and often cheaper than private work. Municipal street-cars, gas, electric lighting, furnish strong evidence for municipalization. (See those subjects; also MUNICIPAL TRADING.) In 1867 a private company was organized to build the Brooklyn Bridge. The charter placed the original capital stock at $5,000,000. Of this Brooklyn gave $3,000,000; New York, $1,500,000; private stockholders, $500,000. Yet tho the private stockholders gave only one tenth of the amount, they had all the power. Six ex-officio members represented the cities on the board of twenty-one directors, but they had no vote in electing other directors, and the whole power was put into the hands of the executive committee. The result was scandalous jobbery and mismanagement. Contracts for portions of the work were let to favored stockholders, etc. In order to save the bridge the cities had to buy it of the private stockholders, after which its building was a success. A committee of the cities, appointed later, with such men as Abram S. Hewitt upon it, reported that there had been practically no mismanagement except under the private management.

Municipalization, too, often lowers taxes. Berlin, Paris, etc., receive large incomes from their municipal undertakings. As the argument for municipalization, however, turns on concrete details, it must be studied under the head of the various subjects. (See also MONOPOLIES; NATURAL MONOPOLIES; SOCIALISM; INDIVIDUALISM.)

REFERENCES: See CITY; MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

MUNICIPALITIES (GERMAN): The municipality in Germany plans everything with a view to general harmony. Factory, business, and housing districts are conformed to special needs. The height of the houses in proportion to the width of the street, and the utilization of building sites are restricted to admit light and air. Ordinances govern the height of rooms, the number of windows per room, substantial construction, etc. The pavement of the streets is suited to the character of the surrounding neighborhood.

Careful attention is given to the future erection of public buildings, playgrounds, and recreation centers. Artistic effect is always sought.

Municipal building here takes the initiative and influences private enterprise. When property is bought for building purposes, the plans

Number of boroughs carrying on undertakings	MUNICIPAL TRADING IN GREAT BRITAIN (See p. 801) DESCRIPTION OF UNDERTAKINGS	CAPITAL (position on March 31, 1902)				
		Total capital (inclusive of borrowed capital) provided by corporations	Amount of capital borrowed [1]	Amount of capital borrowed which has been paid off [1]	Balance of capital borrowed which was outstanding on March 31, 1902	Amount in sinking-funds or loan funds on March 31, 1902, in respect of capital borrowed [2]
1	2	4	5	6	7	8
		£	£	£	£	£
193	Water-works	56,943,016	56,167,879	6,611,162	49,556,717	1,678,337
97	Gas-works	24,028,116	22,757,422	4,259,835	18,497,587	1,334,077
102	Electricity supply	12,508,997	11,764,723	571,944	11,192,779	398,636
	Tramways:					
29	1. Owned and worked by the corporations	8,610,573	8,396,729	470,747	7,925,982	368,459
16	2. Owned but not worked by the corporations	1,140,580	1,047,012	400,070	646,942	
	Total (tramways)	9,751,153	9,443,741	870,817	8,572,924	368,459
228	Markets, etc	6,181,080	5,685,129	1,758,458	3,926,671	293,766
138	Baths and wash-houses	1,988,340	1,708,490	475,831	1,232,659	111,735
143	Burial grounds	2,382,305	2,295,765	982,360	1,313,405	101,118
24	Working-class dwellings	1,253,592	1,204,375	114,035	1,090,340	44,359
43	Harbors, piers, docks, and quays	5,421,827	5,408,135	471,319	4,936,816	293,226
16	Other reproductive undertakings [3]	713,946	597,264	130,758	466,506	21,182
	Total (all undertakings mentioned above)	121,172,372	117,032,923	16,246,519	100,786,404	4,644,895

[1] Cols. 5 and 6.—Where loans have been replaced by other loans, the sum is only included once in Col. 5, in the amount of capital borrowed. In such cases, the repayments of borrowed capital moneys, out of other borrowed capital moneys, are not included, in Col. 6, in the amount of capital paid off.

[2] Col. 8.—Excluding sums standing to the credit of loan funds for payment of dividends. The sums entered in Col. 8 are applicable to the repayment of such portion of the amounts entered in Col. 7 as is repayable by means of sinking-funds or loan funds.

[3] Col. 9.—The amounts entered in Col. 9 include sums credited to the undertakings for (e. g.) the estimated value of water used in watering streets, and the estimated value of gas supplied for lighting the streets. According to the entries the number of corporations crediting their water-works undertakings with the value of water supplied for street-watering and other public purposes was 105 out of a total of 193 carrying on such undertakings, and the number crediting their gas-works undertakings with the value of gas supplied for public lighting was 90 out of a total of 97.

[4] Col. 12.—Including, if the undertaking is not let by the corporation, (i.) the cost of materials, wages, and salaries; (ii.) insurance and rates, and (iii.) other annual expenses, if any, other than those in Cols. 14, 15, and 16.

[5] Col. 13.—Except in the case where the letter "*L*" is printed, the amount in Col. 13 is the excess of the amount in Col. 11 over the amount in Col. 12. This excess was, in the return "Municipal Corporations (Reproductive Undertakings)," No. 8 of Session 1899, called "net profit."

[6] Col. 14.—Payments made out of income to sinking-funds and other similar funds toward the repayment of principal are included in Col. 14, but not payments out of such funds.

howing the front of the building to be erected nust be submitted to the authorities for approval. he disfigurement of street fronts by bill-boards s regulated.

Sewage pipes receive street drainage as well s house sewage. Some cities separate the drain- ge from the sewage system. Pipes conduct the ewage outside of the city limits and utilize or dis- ose of it in various ways. Berlin and Breslau arry it through fields, where it is used for fertil- zing and manuring. In other cities the pipes mpty into rivers after their contents have been larified. This process is costly and difficult, oreing the towns to acquire large areas to fertilize hem with this waste.

The larger cities have, almost without excep- ion, hygienic institutes where all questions re- ating to the public health of the city are studied. The interest of the authorities in the promotion of ublic health has led to a considerable decrease in nortality during the last decade. In the "seven- ies" the death-rate was 35 to 40 per thousand; to- lay the average has decreased to 20 per thousand. n cases of contagious diseases prompt notice to he Board of Health is compulsory. All premises are disinfected by the Board of Health and the oorer classes are not charged for fumigation. In some cities, as, for instance, Posen, disinfection is free for all classes.

The inspection of foods, such as milk, butter, and meat, is in charge of the Board of Health.

Public swimming and shower-baths are pro- vided.

Consumptives are cared for in homes for con- sumptives, and persons suffering with incipient consumption are sent to forest colonies. Those unable to pay for treatment are placed in these institutions at the expense of the city or State. Asylums are provided for the feeble-minded. Any one, who on account of illness or incapacity cannot support himself, receives relief from the Poor Department, in case the sickness, old age, invalidity, and accident insurance does not pro- vide for his maintenance or the support received is insufficient.

The departments of education of the various communities and cities provide public, elemen- tary, and high schools. Special schools and in- stitutes give courses in the building trade and machine-shop training. Cities engaged in special industries, such as textile, ceramic, woodwork, etc., have special schools. There are further arts and crafts schools for women. When the public- school education of the child is completed, the

Average annual income			Average annual working expenses	Difference between average annual income (Col. 11) and average annual working expenses (Col. 12)	Average annual amount paid in respect of principal and interest on capital borrowed		Average annual amount set apart for depreciation	Total of sums in Cols. 12, 14, 15, and 16	Average annual net profit or loss		Average annual amount (if any) of general, legal, and establishment charges of corporations charged to undertakings, and included in Col. 17
Transferred to the account of the undertakings from other accounts for products of the undertakings used by the corporations	Other receipts, excluding deficiencies made good out of rates	Total of sums Cols. 9 and 10			Repayments of principal	Payments of interest			Amount by which total in Col. 11 exceeds total in Col 17.	Amount by which total in Col. 17 exceeds total in Col. 11	
3 9	10	11	4 12	5 13	6 14	7 15	16	17	8 18	8 19	21
£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
110,112	3,076,853	3,186,995	1,154,209	2,032,755	395,198	1,520,164	27,266	3,096,837	90,128	.....	42,885
337,745	5,495,615	5,833,360	4,465,625	1,367,735	281,366	611,572	79,962	5,438,535	394,825	.....	38,969
218,360	918,095	1,136,455	662,559	473,896	204,737	260,896	19,970	1,418,162	.....	11,707	12,006
{ 755	1,394,159	1,394,925	971,550	423,375	131,240	190,836	49,394	1,313,021	81,904	.....	5,533
{	88,392	88,392	29,351	59,031	24,464	16,240	913	70,978	17,414	.....	759
756	1,582,561	1,483,317	1,000,911	482,405	155,704	177,077	50,307	1,383,999	99,318	.....	6,292
1,191	550,755	551,946	266,764	285,182	74,780	126,120	500	468,164	83,792	.....	5,375
411	135,281	135,692	188,351	£52,659	37,048	35,245	.....	250,644	.....	124,952	1,367
422	155,475	156,897	138,665	18,223	39,170	48,846	.....	220,581	.....	63,784	3,274
151	39,879	40,030	23,512	18,518	16,522	26,974	.....	67,008	.....	26,978	139
1 903	377 099	379,002	239,614	139,388	52,049	160,553	4,499	456,726	.....	77,724	5,253
958	136,089	137,047	88,496	48,561	7,970	14,448	10,760	121,674	15,573	.....	620
672,009	12,368,702	13,040,711	8,228,706	4,812,005	1,264,544	2,975,906	193,274	12,652,430	Net profit, 378,281		116,160

[7] Col. 15.—Including annual payments made in respect of perpetual annuities, if any.

[8] Cols. 18 and 19.—See Note 5.

[9] The undertakings included under the head of "Other Reproductive Undertakings" are the following, viz.: Bridge (toll) at Scarborough, bridge and embankment at Plymouth, canals at Exeter and York, cold stores at Burnley, conditioning house at Bradford, York, crematorium at Kingston-upon-Hull, estates (including race-course) at Doncaster, ferries at Saltash, Birkenhead, Middlesborough, and Sunderland, marine lakes, etc., at Southport, parade and property at Bridlington, pavilion estate at Brighton, and spa concert rooms at Harrogate.

Amounts relating to the aquarium at Brighton, telephones at Tunbridge Wells, and light railway at Southend-on-Sea are not included in the foregoing summary, because on March 31, 1902, those undertakings had not been carried on for a complete twelve months.

Particulars as to the following undertakings from which revenue is derived were also given in some of the returns furnished, viz.: Abattoirs or slaughter-houses, allotments, bonding warehouse, isolation hospital, lavatories, lunatic asylum, manure depot, sewage farms, weighing-machines and weigh-bridge, and an undertaking for the supply of sterilized milk. As these undertakings do not appear to be of the kind contemplated by the order of the House of Commons, the particulars relating thereto were not included in the return.

continuation school must be attended, etc. In the upper grades the girls are taught cooking.

For the laboring classes, people's restaurants and coffee-houses are opened, which, at the same time, serve as substitutes for the saloons.

For instruction and information in legal matters, many cities maintain bureaus and consulting stations.

Even the very smallest city runs its own slaughter-house. Every slaughter-house has a special department for the microscopic examination of pork.

Nearly all cities own their own water-works.

Gas plants are in most cases owned by the city. These add largely to the city's income.

The water-supply is not regarded by the city as a business enterprise, inasmuch as a higher rate would interfere with its free consumption. The cost to German cities for maintaining water-works is greater than in American cities, therefore the rates charged are somewhat higher, and the average consumption consequently less.

Electric-lighting plants are only partly municipalized. The tendency in this respect is, however, in favor of municipalization. Cities are urged to erect plants where as yet no electric-lighting plants exist, even to erect such plants in competition with private enterprises. Competitive plants may be successfully started where private plants are operated by withdrawing from the corporation the privilege of using the streets for conducting electricity either above or under ground.

Street-railways are only partially municipalized. In many cities these are operated by private corporations. These corporations then receive franchises from the cities to lay tracks and, in return for this privilege, they in the first place maintain part of the street in proper condition, and, secondly, pay the city annually either a certain stipulated sum, or a fixt percentage of the earnings. Many cities reserve the right to determine the fares to be charged.

Almost every city has its own municipal theater, and most of the large cities have their own concert halls, conductor, and orchestra.

Everywhere, in large cities and small towns, the authorities have expert economists working out the social, industrial, and economic problems confronting the cities in every phase of human progress. (See MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.)

DR. WILMS ERSTER.

MUNICIPALIZATION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC (see also NORWEGIAN COMPANY SYSTEM; NATIONALIZATION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC; DISPENSARY SYSTEM): In Great Britain considerable attention has been given to the proposition of municipalizing the liquor traffic. In Oct., 1902, a bill was passed in the Transvaal permitting any locality the majority of whose male white citizens voted for it to establish a municipal public house, and it is urged that this should be done in England. Arguments for it are based on the Norwegian Company system, Gothenberg system, the South Carolina Dispensary system, the State monopolies of the liquor traffic in Russia and Switzerland. It is claimed that this would reduce the traffic, since it would largely take away the money interest in it; that it would make police control easier and minimize disorderly conduct; that it would prevent adulteration or sale of illicit beverages; that it would raise a revenue for public purposes. The public frown to-day on the municipality giving away franchises; why liquor franchises?

REFERENCE: *The Case for Municipal Drink*, E. R. Pease, 1904.

MÜNZER, THOMAS: German communist, born at Stolberg about 1490. Studying at Leipsic, became a preacher; turned against the "half-ness" of Luther and Melanchthon, and, led by what he believed "inner light," demanded a radical reform of Church and State. He believed in continuous divine revelation and in community of property. He promulgated these ideas in popular and effective tho sometimes coarse speech. Expelled from Allstädt, where he had been preacher, he settled in Mülhausen; succeeded here in overthrowing the council and gaining a new one under his control. When the Peasants' War (*q. v.*) broke out he induced the whole population of the vicinity to rise. The peasants, however, were defeated at Frankenhausen, May 25, 1525. Münzer was captured, tortured, and beheaded at Mülhausen a few days later.

MUROMTZEV, SERGIEY ANDREYEVICH: Russian member of the Duma; born 1850; Representative Constitutional Democrat from the city of Moscow. Graduate of Moscow College and University; studied at Göttingen University, where he took the degree of Doctor of Roman Law (1876). He became editor of *Yuridicheski Vyestuik* (Judicial Messenger) in 1879, and was elected vice-president of Moscow University, 1880. He was appointed ordinary professor of Roman law in the Moscow University in 1887. Muromtzev is chairman of the Moscow Municipal Council, member of the Moscow and Tula Zhemstvo societies, and president of the First Duma, an office to which he was elected unanimously.

MURPHY, FRANCIS: Temperance advocate; born 1836 in Wexford, Ireland, he came to the United States as a child, and later served in the Civil War. In 1870 he began to organize temperance clubs in Portland, Me., and later through the state. He transferred his headquarters to Pittsburg, Pa., in 1876, where 45,000 people signed the pledge after his first address. He extended his activities through different parts of the U. S. and England; and 10,000,000 people are said to have signed the pledge as a result of his persuasive and eloquent advocacy of temperance. During the Spanish-American War he served as chaplain.

MUSEUMS OF SECURITY: Permanent expositions of apparatus and devices for the prevention of accidents in factories and workshops, so that all employers of labor may see in actual operation the safety devices that will guard the life and limbs of workers. The first was opened in Amsterdam in 1893. It is supported by voluntary subscriptions from individuals, by State aid, and a gift of building from the city. The labor inspectors of Holland find that the museum is of the greatest service to them, because it meets every objection on the part of a superintendent that the safety device in question will interfere with the proper operation of his machinery. If a manufacturer is not satisfied with a photograph of the appliance, he can send his superintendent, or come himself to the museum, where he can study every detail of the operation. There are safeguarded models of gearing, belts, wheels, eleva

tors, windlasses, cranks, staircases, fire escapes, shafts, and scaffolding, and workshops of half the natural size, installed with the best systems of ventilation.

There are similar museums in Munich, Charlottenburg, Milan, and Moscow, with movements under way for the establishment of museums in other cities. In 1907 the American Institute of Social Service organized an exhibition of safety devices in New York City, which has led to a permanent Exhibit of Safety Devices and Industrial Hygiene at 231–241 West Thirty-ninth Street, New York City. W. H. Tolman.

MUTUAL BANKING: By this phrase is usually meant a monetary system first formulated by Colonel William B. Greene, of Boston, about 1850. It has been somewhat modified, but is to-day advocated by most extreme individualists. A mutual bank propaganda was started in Chicago. Its secretary, Mr. Westrup, describes the plan in his "The Financial Problem," as follows:

The inhabitants or any portion of the inhabitants of any town or city may organize themselves into a mutual banking company.

Any person may become a member of the mutual banking company, of any particular town or city, by pledging unencumbered improved real estate, never vacant lands, situated in that town or city, or in its immediate neighborhood, or other first-class collateral to the bank.

The mutual bank should print (or have printed) paper money, with which to discount the notes of its members, and should always furnish new bills for torn or soiled ones when requested, free of charge.

Every member, at the time his note is discounted by the bank, should bind himself, and be bound in due legal form, to receive in payment of debts at par, and from all persons, the bills issued and to be issued by the bank.

Notes falling due may be renewed by the bank, subject to the modification which a new valuation may require, so that the note does not exceed two thirds.

Any person may borrow the paper money of a mutual bank on his own note not extending beyond twelve months (without indorsement), to an amount not to exceed two thirds of the value of the collateral pledged by him.

The charge which the mutual bank should make for the loans should be determined by and, if possible, not exceed the expenses of the institution, pro rata.

No money should be loaned by the bank except on the above conditions.

Any member may have his property released from pledge and be himself released from all obligations to the mutual bank, and to the holders of its bills as such, by paying his note or notes to the said bank.

The mutual bank shall receive none other than its own money, or that of similar institutions, except such coin money as the board of directors may designate, and this should be discounted one half of 1 per cent.

All mutual banks may enter into such arrangements with each other as shall enable them to receive each other's bills.

The mutual bank should publish in one or more daily papers each day a statement of its loans the day previous, describing the property pledged, giving the owner's name and its location, with the appraiser's value and the amount loaned on it, and also a statement of the notes paid and mortgages canceled during the same period, which statement should be signed by the manager, cashier, and secretary.

The mutual bank should exchange, at any time, any of its own bills that are torn or worn for new ones without charge.

To this plan Socialists say that the main and in one sense the only sufficient objection is that unless all entered into this mutual system it would not serve the complete needs of society as a medium of exchange, so that government or some other organization would still have to provide money; and that when all did enter into it it would be a monetary cooperative commonwealth, such as democratic socialism is more speedily leading us to realize. Till we have this, government needs to control the issue of money in order to prevent the ignorant and innocent from being deceived by the speculator and the sharper. (See Anarchism; Socialism.)

MUTUALISM is a term preferred by some, like the late Bishop Brooks, in place of socialism.

The term mutualism is used to denote a condition of society in which the governing principle is mutual help. When two persons work together in partnership or live together in harmonious family life we have mutualism in miniature. When the principle of partnership or union of ownership, effort, and control for the common benefit shall be extended to the whole social life of city, state, and nation, we shall have a mutualism complete upon the plane of justice. And when love and brotherhood become the animating principle of the partnership, and each member of society not merely cooperates with the rest, but devotes himself to the welfare of the rest, we shall have a mutualism of the loftiest type. The earlier outward steps toward mutualism are the public ownership of monopolies and the growth of cooperative enterprises, which processes, meeting each other half-way, will bring about a common ownership of the means of production and distribution, industrial self-government or democracy, economic equality, and a cooperative character. Finally, men will come to know that the joys of intellectual and spiritual activity infinitely exceed the pleasures of the senses. Then they will wish for wealth merely so far as it may be a means of fitting them for the noblest intellectual and spiritual life. They will also learn that the richest and most enduring happiness can only be won through the happiness of others—learn it not in words alone, but in thoughts and emotions sufficiently strong to sway their conduct. Then the golden rule and brother love and devotion will become the real governing law of daily life, and mutualism will have reached its goal.

Frank Parsons.

N

NASSE, ERWIN: Born at Bonn, 1829; studied there and at Göttingen, and took his degree of Doctor in 1851. After study in Berlin he established himself as *privat-docent* in Bonn, in 1854, whence he was called, in 1856, as professor to Basel, and the same year to Rostock. In 1860 he came to his native city as professor. He took an active part in political affairs, and was from 1869 to 1879 member of the Prussian House of Deputies, where he rendered important services on the budget commission. He was one of the founders of the *Verein für Socialpolitik* (see Socialists of the Chair) and the president of it from 1874 to his death, 1890. Professor Nasse was a frequent contributor to scientific journals.

NATION AND NATIONALITY: Blüntschli, in his "The Theory of the State" (tr. from the German, p. 90), defines a nation as "a society of all the members of a state as united and organized in the State." He thus makes it a concept dependent upon the State. The State he defines (idem, p. 23) as "the politically organized national person of a definite country." The two definitions are thus made mutually dependent and the same dependence will be found to run through almost all definitions, because the ideas are themselves mutually dependent. It is scarcely possible to have a nation that is not a state, nor a state that is not a nation. Nevertheless the two words, tho often used, even by careful writers, somewhat synonymously, and tho continually popularly confused, are not absolutely synonymous. A state is a nation politically organized. A nation is the organic collectivity of all the people in a state, implying indeed a political organism, but not limiting the collectivity to its political aspect. The concept people,

on the other hand, is still wider than the concept a nation. The word people implies the collectivity of persons living in a state, but does not conceive it as an organic unity, political or of any sort. It conceives of them as a whole and perhaps as a united whole, but not as an organized whole. Such are the differences, or shades of difference, that are usually made by English writers between these three words. Nevertheless the distinctions are not always observed, even by the best writers. In other languages, too, the word nation is used quite differently. The Germans call a people a nation, and what we mean by nation they call a *volk*. The old Latin *natio* meant what we mean by people. Indeed the conception nation as of the organic unity of a people may be considered a wholly modern conception. Despotism knows nothing of a nation. It only recognizes peoples and states.

Content

Analyzing more carefully the conception nation, we find first that a nation implies a certain territory in which it must live. Says Woolsey ("Introduction to Inter. Law," §52): "A nation is an organized community within a certain territory; or in other words there must be a place where its sole sovereignty is exercised." A nation may be conceived as changing its country, but it must have a country, at least in prospect. It is scarcely possible to-day to speak of the Jewish nation. Secondly, a nation must have a natural unity; ordinarily, tho not always, it must be composed of persons of the same ethnic family and speaking the same language, or at least cognate languages. Even when this does not exist, as it does not wholly in the United States, nevertheless there must be a national unity besides that of place. M. W. Ward says ("Eng. Dram. Lit.," Int. p. xvi.): "A nation may be defined as a body of population which its proper history has made one in itself, and as such distinct from all others." A nation thus is a growth. We see this in the derivation of the word from *nasci*, to be born. Unity of race, of language, of religion, of civilization, of government, of experience, of place, all contribute in varying degree to gradually separate one nation from another. Thirdly, a nation must have some conscious and exprest unity. It must have somewhat of a common will. Blüntschli calls it a collective personality.

These conceptions and definitions may be illustrated by pointing out that Italy and Germany were nations long before they were states; that Rome was never a nation tho a state; that ancient Greece was one people, but never a nation or a state; that the U. S., altho composed of many states and with many varieties of race, language, religion, and custom, is nevertheless one state, one nation, and one people. To take other examples we speak of the Secretary of State, the national flag, the representatives of the people.

Thus conceiving of the nation, we see that it is a modern growth, and that it must be, because it takes time and implies high civilization and wide-spread liberty to develop a nation. Antiquity knew no nations. Egypt, China, Assyria, did not develop nations. They consisted of a people, or various peoples, ruled over by a monarch. Greece had cities or states, but developed no nation. There was liberty, but no wide-spread union. The Roman Empire was not a nation; it had unity, but its various constituent parts did not have liberty or a common will. The Middle Ages saw no nations tho nationality was growing. England may be said to have developed as a nation almost before the close of the Middle Ages, and France and Italy and Germany were not far behind, yet Italy and Germany were hindered in the development of national unity by division into rival states, and France developed so tyrannical a state as, until the Revolution, to have little of the liberty necessary to a true nationality. With freedom and self-government has come that love of country, that common life, which produces the modern nation.

Historical Sketch

In this brief historical survey attention must be called to the various conceptions of nationality that have prevailed. The Roman people, not a nation in the modern sense of the word, had the word *natio*, but they understood by it what we mean by people. It had an ethnographic base. A people were those descended from a common stock. The law which determined nationality with the Romans was the *jus sanguinis*, the law of blood relationship.

The Germanic tribes, gradually setting up their feudal governments over Western Europe, conceived of the nation as a territorial unit, its people being bound by feudal oaths to allegiance. Commonly the place of birth settled the allegiance, but the allegiance was even more than the birth. Nationality was thus a *jus solis*, or law of the land. This is the law that lies at the basis of the English common law. It is the personal relation of the individual to the sovereign which constitutes nationality. An Englishman is not subject to the king because he is an Englishman; he is an Englishman because he is subject to the king. The king being in England hereditary, or perpetual, the oath of allegiance was considered perpetual; nevertheless, it came to be recognized in common law that the subject could freely withdraw his person and property from the jurisdiction of the crown, unless expressly prohibited by king or parliament. Yet no law permitting expatriation was passed until 1870.

When the U. S. became independent the relation of allegiance was considered as transferred both to the states and to the national federation. Which allegiance is supreme has long been a mooted point (see CENTRALIZATION), but it may be considered as settled, at least as far as law goes, that the supreme allegiance is to the federal government.

From this historical résumé and from the conception of nationality itself, it is not hard to see that the nation must play a large part in social reform. Nevertheless, political scientists have been divided between those who would exalt the unity of race and those who would exalt the unity of the nation. Modern socialism on the other hand has been somewhat inclined to ignore both social and national unities, and to develop an internationalism. This is generally the case among European Socialists, but English and American Socialists have generally and more wisely held that the nation is a natural unit; that if socialism is to be evolutionary it must develop around the natural unities of the town, city, state, and nation, and that only when these are somewhat developed can we gradually grow toward a healthy internationalism.

For further consideration of the subject, see POLITICAL SCIENCE, STATE SOVEREIGNTY, etc. For references, see STATE.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION: President, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw; corresponding secretary, Kate M. Gordon, 1800 Prytania Street, New Orleans, La. (See WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.)

NATIONAL CASH REGISTER COMPANY, WELFARE WORK AT: The National Cash Register Company, at Dayton, Ohio, is undoubtedly the leading firm in America in welfare work or industrial betterment (*q. v.*). It began this work as early as 1893, the first steps being the improvement of the factory premises. To-day the thirteen massive buildings, covered here and there with vines, tho four fifths of the wall space are plate-glass, and surrounded by broad lawns, with trees, shrubbery, and asphalt walks, are among the most attractive factory buildings in the world. Inside they are kept scrupulously clean and attractive, and are equipped with the best appliances for heat, cold, and fresh air; 116 uniformed janitors attend to this; 23 girls and 4 men attend to the laundry. For the 8,000 employees (800 women), attractive lunches are served in a special building with a hall seating 3,000 at tables and 6,500 as an auditorum. The girls pay five cents a day for a good lunch; the men seventy-five cents a week. Entertainments (music, moving pictures, vaudeville) are given in winter at the noon hour. Rest rooms with nurses and two physicians are provided. There are nearly 200 shower-baths and 200 lavatories for free use. Twice a day the women stop ten minutes for calisthenic exercise. A "Women's Century Club" has a club house and cooperative homes for young women. The Men's Welfare League has two settlements for men. An athletic field provides football, baseball, and other sports. Vacation schools and camps are arranged. Employees are encouraged to make

inventions and suggestions. Prizes are given for beautifying houses and gardens. Boys are taught gardening. Manual training of various kinds is taught in the schools. A newspaper is published. Lectures are given. Much else is done. The firm says that it all pays.

NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE: A committee organized April 15, 1904, whose objects are: (1) To promote the welfare of society with respect to the employment of children in gainful occupations. (2) To investigate and report the facts concerning child labor. (3) To raise the standard of public opinion and parental responsibility with respect to the employment of children. (4) To assist in protecting children by suitable legislation against premature or otherwise injurious employment, and thus to aid in securing for them an opportunity for elementary education and physical development sufficient for the demands of citizenship and the requirements of industrial efficiency. (5) To aid in promoting the enforcement of laws relating to child labor. (6) To coordinate, unify, and supplement the work of state or local child labor committees, and encourage the formation of such committees where they do not exist.

For statement of general plan and scope of work, see CHILD LABOR (pp. 170–175). The chairman is Felix Adler; vice-chairmen, Homer Folks, Samuel McCune Lindsay; acting secretary, Owen R. Lovejoy; assistant secretary, A. J. McKelway. *Offices*: 105 East Twenty-Second Street, New York City, and Century Building, Atlanta, Ga.

NATIONAL CHILDREN'S HOME SOCIETY: A federation of twenty-six state societies, organized 1883. Altho several of these organizations are so new that their work is barely begun, 26,000 orphans and neglected children have been thus far cared for, more than half of whom are still under friendly supervision. The number handled last year was 4,013, of whom 2,356 were newly received. *President*, Prof. C. R. Henderson; *secretary*, Hastings H. Hart, LL.D., 601 Unity Building, Chicago, Ill.

NATIONAL CHRISTIAN LEAGUE FOR THE PROMOTION OF PURITY, THE: An organization, founded 1891, largely through the influence of Mrs. Elizabeth B. Grannis, which strives "to elevate public opinion respecting the nature and claims of morality, with its equal obligation upon men and women, and to secure a proper practical recognition of its precepts on the part of the individual, the family, and the nation." The league holds meetings annually, and has increased in the number and influence of its patrons and members. It has for years tried to make infidelity a legal crime, and succeeded in having the New York Legislature pass the so-called Phillips Bill—taking effect Sept. 1, 1907—which makes adultery a crime punishable with imprisonment up to six months, and applies equally to both sexes. The law permitting the prosecution of the person proven guilty of adultery is now a law in every state of the United States. *President*, Mrs. Elizabeth B. Grannis, 5 East Twelfth Street, New York City.

NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION: This organization grew out of conferences on arbitration and conciliation, held in Chicago, Dec., 1900, under the auspices of the Chicago Civic Federation, of which Mr. Ralph M. Easley was the secretary and chief organizer, as he has been of the National Federation. A committee of twelve members was appointed, representing labor, capital, and the general public. This committee met and organized in Jan., 1901, and was able to avert a threatened anthracite coal strike by securing a conference of the operators and the mine-workers.

At a third conference, under the name of the National Civic Federation, held in New York in Dec., 1901, the executive committee was reorganized to include twelve representatives each from labor, capital, and the general public, afterward increased to fifteen members each. Headquarters were taken in New York City.

The objects of the federation are stated as follows:

> The National Civic Federation aims to bring into cooperation the sane and patriotic leaders of the forces of employers and employed, and of the interested but too often forgotten and forgetting third party, the general public. Its purpose is constructive, not destructive. It would develop, through the agencies here described, the best elements in the organizations of capital and of labor, and it would keep awake a wholesome public concern in the profit of one, the welfare of the other, and the prosperity of all, through the diffusion of an intelligent understanding of economic laws. It would show that organized labor cannot be destroyed without the debasement of the masses. It would show that organized labor can be led to correct its errors. It would show that capital can be taught the practicability of securing industrial peace in accordance with business methods. It would show that the twin foes of industrial peace are the antiunion employers and the Socialists, and that the former are unconsciously promoting that class hatred which the latter boldly advocates. It would present a hopeful picture of future harmony between capital and labor, based upon the establishment of their rightful relations, instead of the pessimistic prophecy of the degradation of labor because of its exceptional and inexcusable errors or crimes, or of a social revolution provoked by capital when organized for oppression.

The federation works largely through various departments.

(1) The Public Ownership Commission composed of 100 prominent men representing every shade of opinion on this subject. (See below.)

(2) The Immigration Department composed of men selected to represent all localities in the union affected by the admission of aliens.

(3) The Department of Conciliation and Arbitration has a membership extending to every industrial center, but works largely through an executive committee composed of the most representative (in equal numbers) of capitalists, wage-earners, and the general public. It has been very influential and successful in settling a large number of important industrial conflicts in all portions of the country, and still more in preventing the development of conflicts.

(4) The Department of Trade Agreements works to establish such agreements (see TRADE AGREEMENTS), and in every way to advocate their adoption.

(5) The Welfare Department educates the public as to the meaning and value of welfare work, which is understood to involve especial consideration for physical comfort wherever labor is performed; opportunities for recreation; educational opportunities; and the providing of suitable sanitary homes. Plans for saving and lending money, insurance, and pensions are also included in welfare work.

The department interests employers in giving especial attention to the physical or mental welfare of their employees through conferences, and the publication of reports and articles.

Upon request, a consulting agent is furnished to study the particular needs of employees in a given plant, to advise the best way of introducing such methods of welfare work as may be deemed essential, and to direct their installation. When desired, a permanent agent or welfare manager to administer the work is recommended.

A central bureau, under the charge of Miss Gertrude Beeks, is maintained to furnish information relative to the success or failure of experiments in this work, the causes of either, and with reference to the latest efforts of employers in this direction.

(6) The Department of Industrial Economics, more recently organized, is composed of editors of the daily press and of politico-social magazines, trade papers, and labor

journals, and of economic and legal authors, lecturers, and the heads of the departments of political economy in universities. These are brought together at informal dinners, to consider some one of the industrial topics that have been enumerated.

A large part of the work of the federation has been done by important conferences on important subjects of the day, notably on arbitration and conciliation, on immigration, on primary and election laws. In 1906 the federation created an important public ownership commission, composed of twenty-one expert students of the question, equally divided between believers, non-believers, and those not committed on the question. This commission studied typical instances of private and publicly owned public services, both in the United States and in Great Britain, and made a notable report in 1907. (See PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.)

The executive committee of the federation representing its three component elements are:

On the Part of the Public

Grover Cleveland, ex-President of the United States Princeton, N. J.; Andrew Carnegie, capitalist, New York City; Cornelius N. Bliss, ex-Secretary of the Interior, New York City; Oscar S. Straus, member of the Court of Arbitration at The Hague, New York City; Charles W. Eliot, president Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; Nicholas Murray Butler, president Columbia University, New York City; Seth Low, publicist, New York City; Archbishop John Ireland, of the Roman Catholic Church, St. Paul, Minn.; Bishop Henry C. Potter, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, New York City; Charles J. Bonaparte, Secretary of the Navy, Washington, D. C.; David R. Francis, ex-Secretary of the Interior, St. Louis, Mo.; Isaac N. Seligman, of J. & W. Seligman & Co., New York City; James Speyer, of Speyer & Co., New York City; V. Everit Macy, capitalist, New York City; Ralph M. Easley, chairman Executive Council, New York City.

On the Part of Employers

Henry Phipps, director U. S. Steel Corporation, New York City; August Belmont, president Interborough Rapid Transit Company, New York City; Clarence H. Mackay, president Postal Telegraph Cable Company, New York City; Lucius Tuttle, president Boston & Maine Railroad, Boston; W. A. Clark, president United Verde Copper Company, Butte, Mont.; Frederick D. Underwood, president Erie Railroad Company, New York City; Frederick P. Fish, president American Telephone and Telegraph Company, Boston; Francis L. Robbins, president Pittsburg Coal Company, Pittsburg; H. H. Vreeland, president New York City Railway Company, New York City; Samuel Mather, of Pickands, Mather & Co., Cleveland; Charles A. Moore, of Manning, Maxwell & Moore, New York City; Franklin MacVeagh, of Franklin MacVeagh & Co., Chicago; Charles H. Taylor, Jr., ex-president American Newspaper Publishers' Association, Boston; Dan R. Hanna, of M. A. Hanna & Co., Cleveland; Marcus M. Marks, president National Association of Clothing Manufacturers, New York City; Otto M. Eidlitz, chairman Board of Governors, Building Trades Employers' Association, New York City.

On the Part of Wage-earners

Samuel Gompers, president American Federation of Labor, Washington; John Mitchell, president United Mine Workers of America, Indianapolis; E. E. Clark, grand chief conductor, Order of Railway Conductors, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; James Duncan, general secretary Granite Cutters' International Association of America, Quincy, Mass.; Daniel J. Keefe, president International Longshoremen, Marine and Transport Workers' Association, Detroit, Mich.; Warren S. Stone, grand chief International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Cleveland; P. H. Morrissey, grand master Brotherhood Railroad Trainmen, Cleveland; William D. Mahon, president Amalgamated Association of Street-Railway Employees of America, Detroit; William J. Bowen, president Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union, Indianapolis; J. J. Hannahan, grand master Brotherhood Locomotive Firemen, Peoria, Ill.; James O'Connell, president International Association of Machinists, Washington, D. C.; John F. Tobin, general president Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Boston; Joseph F. Valentine, president Iron Molders' Union of North America, Cincinnati; James M. Lynch, president International Typographical Union, Indianapolis; Denis A. Hayes, president Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the U. S. and Canada, Philadelphia; William Huber, president United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Indianapolis, Ind.

The president of the federation is August Belmont; vice-presidents, Samuel Gompers, Oscar S. Straus; chairman executive council, Ralph M. Easley. *Secretary*, Samuel B. Donnelly, office 281 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

NATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE REFORM LEAGUE: Organized in 1881. Object, "To advance the cause of civil-service reform in the United States." (See CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.) *President*, Dr. D. C. Gilman, Baltimore, Md. *Secretary*, Elliot H. Goodwin, 79 Wall Street, New York.

NATIONAL CURFEW ASSOCIATION: Founded by Alex. Hogeland in 1889. It agitates for the ringing of the curfew, after which children found unaccompanied on the streets are liable to arrest. It has been adopted in over 4,000 cities and towns of the United States and Canada, and a decrease of crime is claimed in these places from 50 to 80 per cent. *Corresponding Secretary*, Rev. J. H. Bradford, 1753 Park Road, Washington, D. C.

NATIONAL DIRECT LEGISLATION LEAGUE (founded 1896): See DIRECT LEGISLATION, p. 385. *President*, Eltweed Pomeroy. *Secretary*, G. H. Strobell, Kinney and Orchard Streets, Newark, N. J.

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION (Great Britain): Established in 1889, to promote a system of national education which shall be efficient, progressive, unsectarian, and under popular control. Its constitution and policy are controlled by a council of 300 members. *President*, Rt. Hon. A. H. D. Acland. *Secretaries*, Mr. A. J. Mundella and Mr. T. E. Minshall. *Offices*, Caxton House, Westminster, S. W., Eng.

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION: Organized under the name of National Teachers' Association in 1857. Object: To further and shape national educational aims and progress. The annual meetings previous to 1884 were small in numbers, averaging about 200 members; since 1884 the annual conventions have averaged more than 6,000 members; since 1895 the average annual membership has been nearly 10,000. The establishment by Congress of the Bureau of Education of the United States and of the office of U. S. Commissioner of Education was secured through the early efforts of the association. The recent special committee reports indicate the lines of investigation which, in addition to the work of its annual conventions, have made the association the most important educational organization in the world. The forty-four annual volumes of Proceedings, including the Proceedings of the International Congresses of Education, constitute the chief publications of the association, and have come to be regarded as the most valuable library of educational literature extant. Congress has enacted a new charter of incorporation under the name of "National Education Association of the U. S.," which was adopted July 10, 1907, at the annual meeting, and became operative at once. According to this charter, the association has seventeen different departments: National Council of Education and departments of Kindergarten Education, Elementary Education, Secondary Education, Higher Education, Normal Schools, Superintend-

ence, Manual Training, Art Education, Music Education, Business Education, Child Study, Physical Education, Science Instruction, School Administration, Special Education, Indian Education, Library Department. *Secretary*, Irwin Shepard, Winona, Minn.

NATIONAL HOUSEHOLD ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION, THE: This association was incorporated March 16, 1893, under the name of the National Columbian Household Economic Association, but at its meeting in April, 1894, the word Columbian was dropt from its name. The object of the association, as declared in its constitution, is:

1. To awaken the public mind to the importance of establishing bureaus of information where there can be an exchange of wants and needs between employer and employed, in every department of home and social life. 2. To promote among members of the association a more scientific knowledge of the economic value of various foods and fuels; a more intelligent understanding of correct plumbing and drainage in our homes, as well as need for pure water and good light in a sanitarily built house. 3. To secure skilled labor in every department in our homes, and to organize schools of household science and service.

The management is vested in a board of sixteen directors, with headquarters in Chicago, but composed of members from all states. The association holds annual meetings, and has the following standing committees:

1. Committee on Sanitary Condition of the Home Correct Plumbing and Ventilation, Light, Heat, etc. The duties of this committee shall be to establish home science clubs and to make a study of sanitary science.
2. Committee on Cooking Schools, Industrial Schools, Housekeepers' Emergency Bureau, Cooperative Laundries, Cooperative Bakeries, Training School for Servants, Kitchen Gardens and Public Kindergartens, Diet Kitchens, Mothers' and Nurse Girls' classes, and Training School for Nurses. The duties of this committee shall be to keep itself informed of the work of each school and institution, and to direct all who wish to know where and at what hour one may visit these schools.
3. Committee on Food Supply. The duties of this committee shall be to prepare a descriptive list of wholesale and retail foods, such as meat, vegetables, butter, eggs, etc.; to compare New York and Chicago with other markets, and furnish statements of what articles of food are most desirable to buy, either in large or small quantities, with household recipes for cooking and all other matters relating to household economics.
4. Committee on Housekeepers' Clubs. The duties of this committee shall be to formulate plans to simplify housework in village communities, to suggest plans for cooperation in laundries, bakeries, and kitchens, to discuss plans for profitable market gardening, poultry and egg-raising on a small scale, and to furnish information on all topics connected with housework.
5. Committee on Sewing. The duties of this committee shall be to keep itself informed of the work done in various schools where sewing is taught, and give outlines of the methods used.
6. Press Committee. It shall be the duty of this committee to secure the publication of notes concerning the National Household Economic Association in some journal or periodical in the north, south, east, west, and middle sections of the country, in order to keep alive public interest in the science of household economics, each member of the committee taking charge of the matter in her own section.

All women may become members of this association by the payment of an annual fee of $1.

The association works mainly not by establishing new clubs, but by inducing existing woman's clubs to establish departments of household economics, for the study of how better to manage the home, educate better servants, have more healthy food, etc. The honorary president of the association is Mrs. Potter Palmer; the corresponding secretary, Mrs. Alice J. Whitney, 453 Belden Avenue, Chicago, Ill. Mrs. Helen Campbell (*q. v.*) has been appointed national lecturer for the association, and the syllabus of her lectures has since been adopted as a part of the program of the association, and gives something of the scope of this important subject, but cannot be reproduced here.

NATIONAL HOUSING REFORM COUNCIL FOR ENGLAND AND WALES: Objects: The council has a well-defined and practical program of municipal housing work, including the efficient usage of existing powers under the Housing and Public Health Acts. It strives also for the extension of these powers and the granting of new powers to local authorities to enable them to acquire municipal estates, to stop the process of new slum creation by proper methods of planning, etc., etc. An Advisory Committee, composed of members of Parliament and leading housing reformers, has been established by the efforts of the council. *Secretary*, Henry R. Aldridge, 432, West Strand, London, W. C., and *Central Office*, 18, Dulverton Road, Leicester, England.

NATIONAL IRRIGATION ASSOCIATION: Organized 1899 by G. H. Maxwell (*q. v.*), who conducted the campaign for irrigation resulting in the passage of the National Irrigation Act, 1901. *Secretary*, Guy E. Mitchell, 1419 F Street, Washington, D. C.

NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE FAMILY: Formed in 1881. Object: Promotion of better public sentiment and legislation regarding the family, especially on marriage and divorce. The league publishes an important annual report. (See DIKE, S. W.) *Secretary*, Rev. Samuel W. Dike, LL.D., Auburndale, Mass.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE: Formed in 1894. Through its annual conferences it enables the workers in behalf of municipal betterment to come into personal touch and exchange views. Through active committees the league has brought together groups of acknowledged experts and public men who have formulated reports of great value to students and administrators. Through its executive officers the league is in constant touch with local and national movements concerned with municipal questions. Annual subscription, $5. Its annual congresses are among the most important congresses of experts as to civic reform in the United States, and the reports of these congresses the most valuable statements upon these subjects. One of the most valuable features of these congresses and reports is the annual review (since 1894) of the municipal situation in the leading cities of the country, by the secretary, Mr. Woodruff. (See MUNICIPAL PROGRESS IN THE U. S.) *Secretary*, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, 703 N. American Building, Philadelphia.

NATIONAL PRISON ASSOCIATION: Organized in 1870. In 1907 its name was changed to the **American Prison Association.** Aims: The reform of criminal law; preventive and reformatory law; improvement of prison discipline; the police force of cities. An association of growing importance. Its congress at Chicago, 1907, had an attendance of 540. It has the following committees and chairmen (chosen 1907): Criminal Law Reform, Roger Phelps Clark, Binghamton, N. Y.; Preventive and Reformatory Work, T. B. Patton, Huntingdon, Pa.; Prevention and Probation, Homer Folks, New York, N. Y.; Prison Discipline, M. M. Mallary, Pontiac, Ill.; Dis-

charged Prisoners, Joseph S. Pugmire, Toronto; Statistics of Crime, S. J. Barrows, New York, N. Y. *General Secretary*, Amos W. Butler, State House, Indianapolis, Ind.

NATIONAL PURITY FEDERATION, THE: Organized at the National Purity Conference at La Crosse, Wis., Oct., 1905. "Its object is to unite in national cooperation all those forces in America that are striving to promote purity in the individual and in social relations through preventive, educational, reformatory, rescue, law enforcement, legislative, and sanitary lines of effort. It is in every sense non-sectarian, and is open to all who are sincerely and seriously striving to promote its object." The second conference was held in Chicago, Oct., 1906; the third in Battle Creek, Mich., Nov. 1907. *President*, B. S. Steadwell, La Crosse, Wis. *Corresponding Secretary*, Miss Hattie Dickson, 1110 West Main Street, Marshalltown, Iowa. *Organ*: *The Light*, published (since 1897) by the president. (See SOCIAL PURITY.)

The Canadian Purity Education Society is a branch of the Federation. *Secretary*, Rowena D. S. Hume, 226 Carlton Street, Toronto.

NATIONAL SECULAR SOCIETY: This society works against all creed or religious tests, practises, grants, recognition, or any connection whatsoever between the State and religion. *Secretary*, Miss E. M. Vance, 2, Newcastle Street, Farringdon Street, London, E. C., England.

NATIONAL SUNDAY LEAGUE (Great Britain): Established 1855. Objects: The opening of museums, art-galleries, and libraries on Sunday afternoons, and generally aims at promoting intellectual and elevating recreation on that day. *Secretary*, Henry Mills. *Offices*, 34, Red Lion Square, High Holborn, London, W. C., England.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES: Objects: The society is organized to secure the parliamentary enfranchisement of women, and advances the claim that as the work contributed by women to the State increases year by year, the artificial disqualification which now renders that work more difficult should be swept away. It seeks to obtain the franchise on the same lines as it is, or may be, granted to men, and is persistent in memorializing members of Parliament and forming committees and societies in its area of work. A conference of M. P.'s favorable to women's suffrage is usually held at the commencement of the annual session, to promote the introduction of a bill or resolution.

President, Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D. *Honorary Secretaries*, Miss F. Hardcastle, M.A., and Miss F. Sterling. *Central Office*, 25, Victoria Street, S. W., London, England.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN WORKERS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, THE (federated with the International Council of Women): Organized 1895. The union is organized in the interests of no one policy, and has no power over the organizations which constitute it; federated societies incur no responsibility on account of any action taken either by the council of the union or by any other federated society.

Objects.—1. To promote sympathy of thought and purpose among the women of Great Britain and Ireland.

2. To promote the social, civil, moral, and religious welfare of women.

3. To focus and redistribute information likely to be of service to women workers.

4. To federate women's organizations and to encourage and assist the formation of local councils and unions of women. *Secretary*, Miss Norah E. Green, Parliment Mansions, Westminster.

NATIONAL VIGILANCE ASSOCIATION (Great Britain): Objects: The suppression of the "white slave traffic" and the repression of criminal vice and public immorality. National committees have been formed in every country in Europe, in the Argentine, Egypt, and South Africa, to cooperate in dealing with the evil in question. *Secretary*, W. A. Coote. *Office*, St. Mary's Chambers, 161, Strand, W. C., London, England.

NATIONAL WOMEN'S LABOR LEAGUE (Great Britain): Formed 1906. Objects: To form an organization of women to work for independent labor representation in connection with the Labor Party, and to obtain direct labor representation of women in Parliament and on all local bodies.

The members of the society work with the Labor Party locally and nationally, and help Labor candidates in local and parliamentary elections. They educate themselves on political and social questions by means of meetings, discussions, distribution of leaflets, etc. They take an active interest in the work of the Poor Law Guardians, educational bodies, distress committees, registration of voters, town, district, and county councilors, and members of Parliament; work to secure the full rights of citizenship for all women and men.

President, Mrs. J. R. Macdonald. *Honorary Secretary*, Mrs. F. Macpherson, B.A., 34, St. Thomas's Mansions, Westminster Bridge, London.

NATIONALISM: The American name for the economic ideal, pictured in Edward Bellamy's novel, "Looking Backward," and also to the reform movement that arose in connection with this book. Says Mr. Bellamy:

> This plan is called nationalism because it proceeds by the nationalization of industries, including, as minor applications of the same principle, the municipalization and State control of localized businesses.
>
> Socialism implies the socializing of industry. This may or may not be based upon the national organism, and may or may not imply economic equality. As compared with socialism, nationalism is a definition not in the sense of opposition or exclusion, but of a precision rendered necessary by a cloud of vague and disputed implications historically attached to the former word.

Nationalists put deep emphasis upon the necessity for economic equality. Some Socialists do likewise, but some do not. In this respect, and in its starting from a distinctly national basis, lies its difference from socialism.

The Nationalist movement in the United States dates from Dec. 1, 1888, when the first Nationalist club was organized in Boston. The idea of the movement, as well as the name, sprang from a suggestion in Edward Bellamy's novel, "Looking Backward," the book which describes Boston as the author believes it would be under nationalism in the year 2000. (See "Looking Backward.") A club of business men had been formed the previous autumn, whose motto was, "Spread the Book"; but finding unexpected success and interest, the

The First Club

Nationalist movement was conceived and the first club organized. The leaders in the movement were Cyrus Willard, Sylvester Baxter, Charles E. Bowers, A. T. Devereux, Edward S. Huntington, Henry W. Austin, Miss Anna Page, and others, Mr. Edward Bellamy himself being in correspondence with the movers. The first officers of the first club were Charles E. Bowers, president; Edward Bellamy, first vice-president; C. F. Willard, secretary. The following declaration of principles was adopted:

The principle of the Brotherhood of Humanity is one of the eternal truths that govern the world's progress on lines which distinguish human nature from brute nature.

The principle of competition is simply the application of the brutal law of the survival of the strongest and most cunning.

Therefore, so long as competition continues to be the ruling factor in our industrial system, the highest development of the individual cannot be reached, the loftiest aims of humanity cannot be realized.

No truth can avail unless practically applied. Therefore, those who seek the welfare of man must endeavor to suppress the system founded on the brute principle of competition and put in its place another based on the nobler principle of association.

But in striving to apply this nobler and wiser principle to the complex conditions of modern life, we advocate no sudden or ill-considered changes; we make no war upon individuals; we do not censure those who have accumulated immense fortunes simply by carrying to a logical end the false principle on which business is now based.

The combinations, trusts, and syndicates of which the people at present complain demonstrate the practicability of our basic principle of association. We merely seek to push this principle a little further and have all industries operated in the interest of all by the nation—the people organized—the organic unity of the whole people.

The present industrial system proves itself wrong by the immense wrongs it produces; it proves itself absurd by the immense waste of energy and material which is admitted to be its concomitant. Against this system we raise our protest; for the abolition of the slavery it has wrought and would perpetuate, we pledge our best efforts.

In May, 1889, the magazine, *The Nationalist*, was started and continued two years. Great interest was manifested, and clubs were started all over the Union, particularly in California. In Jan., 1891, Mr. Edward Bellamy started *The New Nation*, a weekly published in the interests of the movement. This continued two years. In Jan., 1891, the secretary reported 162 clubs.

The movement in certain places early took a political channel. In one electoral district in California in 1890 a Nationalist candidate polled 1,000 votes. Rhode Island put out a Nationalist state ticket. The movement, however, politically early passed into the People's Party movement (which see).

Mr. Bellamy's novel has had, in this country alone, a sale of some half a million copies, and everywhere scattered the seeds of nationalistic thought.

Edward Bellamy has described the aims of Nationalism as follows:

Principles Described

We who call ourselves Nationalists believe that the solution of the industrial and social question is to be found, and is only to be found, in the logical evolution of the idea on which this nation is based, which is that of a union of the people in order to use the collective strength for the common welfare. We consider that this idea has always logically involved, when the time should be ripe, the nationalization of industry with a complete provision for the employment and maintenance of the people. When it shall in this manner have completed its evolution the nation will be, according to the hope and belief of the Nationalists, a great partnership for the general business of supporting and enjoying life, in which all the people shall be equal partners. It will be a universal insurance company, guaranteeing all its members against injustice, oppression, sickness, age, accident, and disability of every sort. It will be a mighty trust, holding the total assets of society—moral, intellectual, and natural—not only for the benefit of the present, but in the interests of future generations and for the ultimate weal of the race, and looking to the ends of the world and the judgment of God. The membership of an individual in this great partnership, with all the rights it implies, will be absolutely fixt by the fact of his birth; the part he plays in its affairs being determined by his faculties and aptitudes.

There is nothing essentially new about the project of a society based upon and illustrating brotherly relations and obligations among men. The eventual realization of such a state of affairs has been the dream of humanity in all ages. Men have always acknowledged, even the most unjust, that if, instead of contending with one another for the means of livelihood, human beings could only be induced to unite their powers to secure and share a common welfare, the world would not only be a great deal better and a great deal happier, but likewise a great deal richer than it ever has been.

Heretofore, however, in the history of mankind the practical obstacles to such a change offered by existing conditions and institutions have been insuperable. It is the claim of Nationalists that these conditions have so changed and are so rapidly changing to-day as to render not only possible, but in the near future probable, a transformation of society which a generation ago it would have been chimerical to expect within any calculable period.

In view of the present extraordinary business situation, the unprecedented and portentous tendency of capital, the excusably alarmed and exasperated attitude of the masses of the people, we hold it not absurd to say that men now in middle age may live to see the present system give place to that grand industrial partnership of all for all which is the destined and sole possible solution of all labor problems and all social questions.

The greatest industrial revolution in history—greater by far in its destined consequences than the overthrow of the slave system at the South—is the present tendency to the monopolizing of the field of industry and commerce by the great capitalist organizations. The innumerable small business concerns which used to divide up every industry and trade are enduring a war of extermination at the hands of the great combinations of capital. The business of the people, which used to be in the hands of the people, is passing out of their hands into those of a small number of monopolists. It is in vain that we cry "Halt!" to this tendency. The economic necessities underlying and compelling the movement toward the consolidation of business are irresistible and beyond the power of legislatures to dam up with any quantity of statutes.

Americans who think are already beginning to see, and all Americans soon will be forced to see, that there are only two alternatives before the nation—either it must consent to turn over its industries, its entire business—and that means its social and political liberties as well—to a few hundred billionaires, or it must assume control of them itself; that is to say, it must nationalize them. Plutocracy or nationalism is the choice which, within a dozen years, at the rate things now are going, the American people will have wholly committed themselves to. Can any one who has faith in the people have any doubt as to what the choice between these alternatives will be?

In regard to the Nationalist program for introducing their ideas, Mr. Bellamy writes in *The Forum* (March, 1894):

The Nationalist Program

Revolutions, however peaceful they may be, do not follow prearranged plans, but make channels for themselves, of which we may at best predict the general direction and outcome. Meanwhile Nationalists would prepare the way by a step-by-step extension of the public conduct of business, which shall go as fast or as slow as public opinion may determine.

In making any industry or service public business, two ends should be kept equally in view, viz.: first, the benefit of the public by more cheap, efficient, and honest service or commodities; and second, but as an end in every way equally important, the immediate amelioration of the condition of workers taken over from private into public service. As to the first point, whenever a service or business is taken over to be publicly conducted, it should be managed strictly at cost; that is to say, the service or product should be furnished at the lowest cost that will pay the expense and proper charges of the business. Nationalism contemplates making all production for use and not for profit, and every nationalized business should be a step in that direction by eliminating profit so far as it is concerned.

As to the improvement in the condition of the workers, which is the other and equal end to be sought in all cases of nationalizing a business, it is enough to say that the State should show itself the model employer. Moderate hours of labor, healthful and safe conditions, with provision for sickness, accident, and old age, and a system for the admission, promotion, and discharge of employees strictly based on merit, and absolutely exclusive of all capricious personal interference for political or other reasons, should characterize all publicly conducted business from the start. In particular cases, such as the clothing manufacture now so largely carried on by sweaters' slaves, decent wages and conditions might temporarily raise the price of ready-made clothing. If it

did, it would only show how necessary it had been to make the business a State monopoly; and we may add that, on grounds of humanity, this is one of the first that should be brought under public management.

As to the general question of the order in which different branches of business should be nationalized, or (which is the same thing) brought under municipal or State control, ownership, and operation. Nationalists generally agree that chartered businesses of all sorts, which, as holding public franchises, are already quasi-public services, should first receive attention. Under this head come telegraphs and telephones, railroads, both local and general, municipal lighting, water-works, ferries, and the like. The railroads alone employ some 800,000 men, and the employees in the other businesses mentioned may raise that figure to 1,000,000, representing, perhaps, a total population of 4,000,000; certainly a rather big slice of the nation to begin with. These businesses would carry with them others. For example, the railroads are the largest consumers of iron and steel, and national operation of them would naturally carry with it the national operation of the larger part of the iron business. There are about 500,000 ironworkers in the country, implying a population of perhaps 2,000,000 dependent on the industry, and making, with the railroad and other employees and their dependents, some 6,000,000 persons. The same logic would apply to the mining of coal, with which, as carrier and chief consumer, the railroads are as closely identified.

Mr. Bellamy's Argument

The necessity of preserving what is left of our forests will soon force all the states to go into the forestry business, which may well be the beginning of public operation of the lumber industry. If our fast vanishing fisheries are to be protected, not merely national supervision, but national operation, will soon be necessary.

In the field of general business, the trusts and syndicates, which have so largely stimulated the popular demand for nationalism, have also greatly simplified its progress. Whenever the managers of any department of industry or commerce have, in defiance of law and public interest, formed a monopoly, what is more just and proper than that the people themselves, through their agents, should take up and conduct the business in question at cost? In view of the fact that most of the leading branches of production have now been "syndicated," it will be seen that this suggestion, fully carried out, would go far toward completing the plan of nationalization.

Meanwhile the same process would be going on upon other lines. Foreign governments which have large armies, in order to secure quality and cheapness, usually manufacture their soldiers' clothing, rations, and various supplies in government factories. The British Government, which is most like our own, was forced, by the swindling of contractors, to go into making clothing for the soldiers in the Crimean War, and has since kept it up with most admirable results. If our government had manufactured the soldiers' supplies in the Civil War it would have saved a vast sum of money. It is highly desirable that it should forthwith begin to manufacture clothing and other necessaries for its soldiers and sailors, and for any other of its employees who might choose to be so served, as it is safe to say all would; for goods as represented, proof against adulteration, and furnished at cost, would be a godsend even to the millionaire in these days of knavish trade. The policy of supplying the needs of government employees with the product of publicly conducted industries would bring about the whole productive and distributive plan of nationalism in proportion as the number of employees increased.

Among special lines of business, which ought at once to be brought under public management, are the liquor traffic and fire- and life-insurance. It is proposed that every state should immediately monopolize the liquor traffic within its borders, and open places of sale in such localities as desire them. The liquors should be sold at cost—that is to say, at rates to pay all expenses of the system—by state agents, whose compensation should be fixt without relation, direct or indirect, to the amount of sales. This plan would eliminate desire of profit as a motive to stimulate sales, would insure a strict regard to all conditions and requirements of the law, and would guarantee pure liquors. Pending the nationalization of the manufacture of liquors, the general government need be called on only for a transportation law protecting the states against illegal deliveries within their borders.

As to state life- and fire-insurance, this undertaking would need no plant and no backing save the state's credit on long-tested calculations of risks. It would be done at cost, in state buildings, by low-salaried officials, and without any sort of competitive or advertising expenses. This would mean a saving to fire-insurers of at least 25 per cent in premiums and of at least 50 per cent to life-insurers, and would, above all, give insurance that was not itself in need of being reinsured.

When private plants are taken over by a city, state, or nation, they should, of course, be paid for; the basis of valuation being the present cost of a plant of equal utility. This subject of compensation should be considered in view of the fact that the ultimate effect of nationalism will be the extinction of all economic superiorities, however derived.

The organization of the unemployed on a basis of state-supervised cooperation is an urgent undertaking, in line with the program of nationalism. The unemployed represent a labor force which only lacks organization to be abundantly self-sustaining. It is the duty and interest of the state to so organize the unemployed, according to their several trades and aptitudes—the women workers as well as the men—that their support shall be provided for out of their own product, which should not go upon the market for sale, but be wholly consumed within the circle of the producers, thus in no way deranging outside prices or wages. This plan contemplates the unemployed problem as being a permanent one, with periods of special aggravation, and as therefore demanding for solution a permanent and elastic provision for a circle of production and consumption complete in itself and independent of the commercial system. There is no other method for dealing with the unemployed problem which does not mock it.

In proportion as the industries, commerce, and general business of the country are publicly organized, the sources of the power and means of the growth of the plutocracy, which depend upon the control and revenues of industry, will be undermined and cut off. In the same measure, obviously, the regulation of the employment of the people and the means of providing for their maintenance will pass under their collective control. To complete the plan of nationalism, by carrying out its guaranty of equal maintenance to all, with employment according to fitness, will require only a process of systematization and equalizing of conditions under an already unified administration.

REVISED BY THE LATE EDWARD BELLAMY.

(For the objections to Nationalism, see SOCIALISM; section Objections to.)

REFERENCES: *Looking Backward*, by Edward Bellamy, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1887; *The Program of the Nationalists*, by Edward Bellamy, reprinted from *The Forum* for March, 1894; *Principles and Purposes of Nationalism*, an address by Edward Bellamy, delivered in Tremont Temple, Boston, Dec. 19, 1889.

NATIONALIZATION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC: It has been proposed by the Nationalists in America (see NATIONALISM) to meet the enormous evils of the liquor traffic by putting the whole traffic into the hands of the government and having liquor sold under strict regulations, by government officials, in government dispensaries, and at cost. It is in this last respect that the Nationalist plan differs radically from the dispensary system (*q. v.*), from the Norwegian system (*q. v.*), and from all similar plans. All these plans provide for some one's making a profit from the sale of liquor. Nationalists, on the other hand, maintain that so long as there is a profit in the liquor traffic some one will be interested in the extension of the traffic, and that, conversely, the one way to kill the traffic is to kill the profits in it. They argue that this applies to government sales as well as to private sales. It will not do, they affirm, to allow even the government to make profits out of liquor, for if the government has an "interest" in the sales, it will lead to corruption. If, on the other hand, government made no profit out of the sales, it would be nobody's interest to sell, and therefore the strictest regulations concerning its sale could be both enacted and enforced. Sales could then be restricted to very limited hours; they could be made only to registered people or hotel guests, so that men could neither buy much at one place nor go from place to place and get a little. They could be absolutely prohibited to minors, to people whom physicians or their families declared unable to drink in moderation, etc. Yet the plan would allow other adults to drink in moderation who wish to do so. This, Nationalists urge, is the best law that can to-day be enforced. Prohibition (*q. v.*) they declare to be, in our large cities and even in most states, at present impracticable. The sale of liquor by government dispensaries, they claim, in South Carolina, Sweden, etc., has proved practical, and the best way to

restrict the traffic, and abolish its grossest evils. Only the Nationalists would go one step further and prevent even government from having any interest in the concern. To sell liquor at cost, the Nationalists claim, would not induce people to drink more, by making liquor cheaper; in the first place, because it is by no means clear that liquor would be cheaper. The cheaper forms of liquor are sold in such vast quantities to-day, and with such vile adulterations, that they can be sold very cheap, and at such a low margin of profit (the total sum of the profits, however, being enormous) that it is doubtful if the government could sell its limited quantities, which would be free from cheap adulterations, at any less price than to-day, and yet cover the cost. Cost price, therefore, would not necessarily be a lower price. Even if the price were slightly lower, the Nationalists urge that the small difference would scarcely increase temptation at all, because few, if any, except those wholly without money, are deterred from drink by the price. Again, government sales of liquors to registered persons would check all or almost all the treating that is to-day one of the greatest forms of the evil. The great argument for this system is, however, that it would at once cut off enormous money interest in the liquor traffic which to-day buys legislatures, corrupts politics, demoralizes the community, prevents temperance legislation, or mocks its enforcement. (See TEMPERANCE.)

Objections Considered

NATURAL MONOPOLIES: This is a phrase that has come into general use, particularly in the United States, for that class of monopolies which are asserted by the users of the phrase to have become monopolies on account of some inherent property. Prof. R. T. Ely, who perhaps has done more than any other writer to give currency to the phrase, says ("Socialism and Social Reform," pp. 262–300):

Monopolies may be divided into two main classes—natural and artificial; and natural monopolies again may be divided into two subclasses, namely, first, those businesses which are monopolies by virtue of the qualities inherent in the business itself; and second, those businesses which are monopolies by reason of the fact that the supply of the raw material upon which they are based is so limited in area that the entire supply can be acquired by a single combination of men.

Natural monopolies of the first class are the natural monopolies ordinarily discust, and they include the means of communication and transportation, as well as the lighting service by gas or electricity of cities. Railways, waterways, irrigation works, telegraphs, telephones, are especially important. But street-car lines, whether they are surface lines, subways, or elevated railways, and the means of lighting cities, are scarcely less so. These are all primary businesses in modern society; businesses of every other kind are dependent upon them. . . .

Characterization

Natural monopolies of the second class are those which become monopolies because the supply of raw materials, consisting of natural treasures, is so limited that it can all be acquired by a single combination of men. Anthracite coal has been cited as an illustration; other similar cases could be instanced. It is said that it has been possible to purchase practically the entire supply of some raw materials found among barbarous or semibarbarous peoples; not so much, perhaps, on account of the limitation of the supply, as on account of the fact that it is easy to cheat them, and to buy a great supply at far less than its actual value. . . .

Land is frequently called a natural monopoly, but this hardly seems correct. Monopoly implies management or ownership by one person, or by a combination of persons who can act as a unit. Anything of the kind does not exist with respect either to landownership, or to the use of the land for agricultural or building purposes. A genuine monopoly in the ownership or exploitation of land would mean the virtual slavery of all persons not interested in the monopoly. If the farmers of the world could act together as a unit, they could force all others to give everything they might have for food, as the alternative would be starvation. "What will not a man give for his life?" But such a combination is an impossibility, and every attempt to effect a combination, even on a comparatively small scale, with respect to a single staple, like wheat or cotton, has thus far proved a failure.

The following consideration of the subject is taken from various statements by Professor Ely. Concerning the difference between "natural and other monopolies," he says (idem, p. 217):

Socialists assert that every business is a natural monopoly, and that the expression itself, "natural monopoly," is as much out of place as would be the expression "natural adults," with reference to human beings. Every human being becomes in time an adult, and so, they say, every business becomes in time a monopoly. Proof is sought in a long list of trusts and combinations which have been more or less successful. When we look into this list of trusts in manufactures, however, we quickly ascertain that few of them have achieved anything like complete monopoly; and if we examine the list of unsuccessful attempts to form trusts, we shall discover that this is longer than the list of partially successful trusts. What we ascertain in reality is a demonstration of the advantages of production on a large scale, and a few attempts to secure a monopoly which have been partially successful, and a far larger number of cases of failure to establish monopoly in manufacturing industries. So far as any historical inductive proof is concerned, we must say that it is, as yet, lacking. The careful thinker will at least demand time for further observation. He will tell us to wait and see what tendencies are revealed by subsequent industrial development. If we turn to deductive proof, however, no convincing arguments have been advanced to support the hypothesis, either that unification of manufactures is, generally speaking, inevitable, or even possible. We must not overlook the immense difficulty of a management so watchful, so alert, so full of resources, so fruitful in initiative and enterprise, that it can permanently secure better results than a number of smaller and competing manufacturers.

As a proof that natural monopolies are such, we are told (idem, pp. 263–266):

The proof that these pursuits are natural monopolies is twofold; namely, deductive and inductive, or historical. The deductive proof takes account of characteristics of businesses of the kind mentioned, and discovers that businesses with these characteristics must necessarily become monopolies. Their main characteristics are three: They occupy peculiarly desirable spots or lines of land; second, the service or commodity which they supply is furnished in connection with the plant itself; and, in the third place, it is possible to increase the supply of the service or commodity indefinitely, without proportionate increase in cost. Any business which has these qualities tends to become a monopoly by virtue of its inherent qualities, and it must become such in time. . . .

Inductive or historical proof calls attention to actual experience. It is found that sooner or later attempted competition always gives way to combination and consolidation. The gas business furnishes an excellent illustration, because the experience with respect to this is so superabundant, and because, furthermore, as the geographical area within which the business is conducted is small, the movement toward monopoly has always been comparatively rapid. Competition in the gas business has been attempted in countries with all kinds of political government, and under every circumstance which can be imagined. It has been tried repeatedly with the most solemn promises on the part of those starting rival companies, that competition would be genuine and permanent. But the nature of the business as monopoly has been strong enough to overcome every obstacle, and guaranties have not been worth the paper on which they have been printed. It is probably not too much to say that competition has been tried a thousand times in different countries, and no one can yet point to one single instance of permanently successful competition. It would seem that a thousand experiments should satisfy any one. The telegraph business also furnishes good illustration. Competition in telegraph service was tried many times in England, but always resulted in monopoly; and it has been tried perhaps a hundred times in the U. S., but the tendency to monopoly has been too strong. . . .

Proof of Natural Monopolies

Competition of various sorts has been tried with respect to railways. . . . America will be held to offer the greatest difficulties in the way of the acceptance of a theory of monopoly in the railway business, but the difficulties only spring from the fact that it is a vast country in which the railway development is yet far from complete. Combination and consolidation are going forward every day, and it is simply a question of time when monopoly will be secured in the U. S. as well as elsewhere. Even now it would require a small book simply to print the names of railway companies which have been absorbed by other companies, and have ceased to exist.

So conceiving of natural monopolies, those who use the phrase advocate that all natural monopolies should be at least owned and usually (tho not always) operated by the community. Professor Ely writes ("An Introduction to Political Economy," pp. 252, 253):

Treatment

What shall be our policy? Monopoly is inevitable. Private monopoly is odious. Public monopoly is a blessing, and the test of experience approves it. Again and again it has been tried with fear and trembling, but the results have in the long run been gratifying. Public ownership and management of railways have in Germany succeeded in many respects even better than their advocates anticipated, and the opinion of experts in Germany favors them almost if not quite unanimously. The writer happens to know of no exception. . . . It was long ago said by a shrewd English engineer that where combination is possible competition is impossible. Combination is always possible in the case of undertakings which are natural monopolies. It is inevitable, for it is not only cheaper to do a given amount of business by a monopoly than by two or more concerns, but very much cheaper. If two gas companies in a city, having each a capital of a million dollars, operating separately are able to make 10 per cent profit, when combined they will make much more than 10 per cent; possibly even 15 or 20 per cent. There is a force continually at work drawing them together. It works as constantly if not as uniformly as the attraction of gravitation.

This does not, however, according to this school of thought, always imply public operation ("Socialism and Social Reform," p. 293):

It does not appear evident at once that the collective management of the property collectively owned is essential. If the anthracite coal-mines were owned by the state or by the nation, satisfactory results might, perhaps, be secured by leasing the land, or by allowing individuals or companies to mine coal freely on the payment of a royalty which would absorb any economic surplus above the normal returns to labor and capital.

Concerning the advantages of the public ownership of natural monopolies, we are told, first, that the socialization of natural monopolies would lead to the better utilization of productive forces and the avoidance of wastes due to competition. A railroad manager is quoted as saying that even now it would involve an annual saving of $200,000,000 if the railways of the U. S. were managed as a unit. Says Professor Ely ("An Introduction to Political Economy," p. 254):

Advantages

The construction of only two needless parallel lines of railway in the U. S., the West Shore and the Nickel Plate, extending together from New York to Chicago, wasted $200,000,000; a sum sufficient to build 200,000 homes for a million people. Probably the waste in railway construction and operation in the U. S. during the past fifty years would be amply sufficient to build comfortable homes for every man, woman, and child now in the country.

Every city shows that attempted competition eats up a large part of what might be profit. Gas can well be supplied for a profit in great cities, if the business is a perfect monopoly, for seventy-five cents.

A second advantage claimed is that it would tend to decrease industrial crises. (See CRISES.)

A third advantage is that it would purify politics. (See CITY; MUNICIPALISM; SOCIALISM.)

Fourth, it would tend to the utilization of inventions. (See COMPETITION.)

Fifth, it would aid distribution. (See WEALTH.) These advantages we consider under their proper heads. But besides these are indirect advantages perhaps even greater, the breaking up of the great monopolies dependent upon natural monopolies (see COAL; STANDARD OIL MONOPOLY), and the abolition of railroad favoritism (see RAILROADS).

Concerning the purchase of private monopolies, Professor Ely says (idem, p. 289):

The difficulties of payment for these monopolistic undertakings are often mentioned. It must be remembered that public ownership increases their value, because it produces unification in these enterprises, and shuts off the waste of future competition. Frequently public ownership makes it a possibility to unite advantageously several services and thus effect a saving. Very often a municipal electric lighting plant is connected with the public water-works, and results in a better utilization of public property, and of the services of those already in the employment of the municipality. The railways, which include the larger part of the property of the kind under consideration, are generally brought forward as affording the chief illustration of the difficulties of acquisition by the government. The purchase of these practically means the conversion of railway stocks and bonds into government bonds, and while it would add enormously to the public debt, it would add to a still greater extent to the public resources. Besides, it must always be remembered that the change could not be made in a single day.

Reformers are often inclined to urge that the payments for railways, telegraphs, etc., should only be sufficient to duplicate the existing plant, and this generally means much less than the selling value of the plant. They make a serious mistake in taking this position. As a matter of policy, this course is not to be recommended, because it needlessly antagonizes such a large proportion of the population of the country. Those who are asked to part with their property at a price less than the market value will feel themselves aggrieved, and will oppose the reform in every way in their power. The plan proposed is also objectionable on the score of justice. The value which property of this kind has in excess of the cost of duplication of the plant is largely due to a public policy which has been approved by a majority, and a vast majority, of the people of the U. S. A large capitalization, so far as it exceeds the actual value of the plant, very frequently represents only the waste due to attempted competition, and this attempted competition has been encouraged in every way, directly and indirectly, by the general public. Even when such is not the case, the possibility of an excessively large income, which has brought about the large capitalization, has been due to a considerable extent to failures of the legislature to make proper laws, and of the other public authorities adequately to enforce existing laws. Now, if the property is appraised simply at the cost of duplication of the plant, it would make a portion of the community bear the entire burden of a false public policy, whereas, as the whole of the public is to blame, the burden should be diffused among the people as a whole. If it is necessary to raise large sums to pay off the debt necessitated by the acquisition of enterprises of this kind, it could be done through a wisely devised system of inheritance taxes.

When we consider the difficulties in the way of the socialization of natural monopolies, we must always remember what the alternative is. These difficulties are real, but the difficulties of the present system are even greater.

For the ways in which Socialists and nationalists would obtain the ownership of private monopolies, see RAILROADS, section Nationalization of. We are here considering simply the views of those who believe in the socialization of "natural monopolies" alone. For examples of the practical working of the socialization of national monopolies, see BERLIN; BIRMINGHAM; GLASGOW; LONDON; ELECTRICITY; GAS; POSTAL SYSTEM; RAILROADS; STREET-RAILWAYS; TELEGRAPHS; TELEPHONES; POSTAL SAVINGS-BANKS, etc., etc. Professor Ely says (idem):

Experience

The test of experience seems to be decisive. The same objections which we now hear against the nationalization of railways in the U. S. were heard fifteen years ago in Prussia, and the opinion of the people was divided. Now one who travels in Germany, and talks with the people, finds it difficult to discover any one adverse to public ownership and management of the railways. There are some who would like to go back to the old system; but they are few indeed, and they are very generally those who would be apt to derive some private advantage from the change. Professor Cohn of the University of Göttingen voices a general sentiment when he says that, in Prussia, the question of State ownership and management of railways has been settled by the test of experience. The people of the Australasian colonies are equally clear in regard to the advantage of public ownership and operation of railways. There is considerable enthusiasm in regard to the results of such ownership and operation in New Zealand; and recently the editor of an economic periodical complained because he could not find any one in Australia to write an article adverse to the government ownership and management of railways.

For the views of those who oppose the socialization of national monopolies, see INDIVIDUALISM.

REFERENCES: Prof. R. T. Ely's *Socialism and Social Reform* (Crowell & Co. 1894); C. W. Baker's *Monopolies and the People* (Putnam, 1889); A. Shaw's *Municipal Government in Great Britain* (The Century Co., 1895); John R. Commons's *Distribution of Wealth* (Macmillan, 1894). (See also ELECTRICITY; GAS; RAILROADS; SOCIALISM, etc.)

NATURAL RIGHTS: These may be, in general, defined as rights or asserted rights based on what are declared to be laws of nature, as distinguished from rights grounded on conventional relations or positive enactments. The phrase, however, is used by different writers and different schools of thought in such different meanings, or shades of meaning, that one must ask the exact sense in which a writer uses the phrase before one can be sure that he understands his exact thought. The use of the phrase, and the value of the ideas embodied in it, will be best seen in following the development of the theory of natural rights through its several phases. Popularly identified with the revolutionary political writers of the eighteenth century, and particularly with Rousseau, the theory is really as old as political thinking and by no means dead to-day.

The germs of the theory may be found in the Greek sophists and particularly in Aristotle, altho, as Professor Ritchie has pointed out in his latest book, "Natural Rights," Aristotle did not hold the theory usually held to-day by those who use the phrase. He speaks of *νόμος ἴδιος* and *νόμος κοινὸς*, meaning by the former any law which the State establishes for itself, and is therefore peculiar to it, and by the latter, the law which is conformable to the dictates of nature and appears to be recognized among all men ("Ethics," book v., chaps. vi., vii.; "Rhetoric," book i., chaps. x., xiii.). Aristotle's distinction is not between laws based upon nature and laws based upon human enactments. To Aristotle, as to all the Greeks, the State was a natural product. He simply distinguishes between laws peculiar to one State and universal laws common to all.

Classic View

Some of the Greek Cynics, however, held a theory more close to the modern doctrine. Antisthenes says: "The wise man will live not according to the established laws, but according to the law of virtue" (quoted by Ritchie, idem, p. 33). Diogenes was more extreme. He disowned the State and considered himself "a citizen of the world." He opposed all conventions and preferred his tub to a house. From this Cynic school came the more balanced Stoic, with its maxim, "Live in harmony with nature." Nature, however, is not the whim of the individual; it is the divine element in the universe, and human laws may themselves be a manifestation of it. In Rome, Cicero popularized this view. "Universal consent is the voice of nature" ("Tusc.," xv., § 35). Hence the Latin *jus gentium* and the *jus civile* are to be interpreted as almost exact translation of the Greek *κοινὸς νόμος* and *ἴδιος νόμος*. One great jurist, Ulpian, held that the *jus naturale* applied to animals as well as men: "It is that which nature has taught to all animals" (embodied in Justinian's "Institutes," i., tit. 2). From the Roman law the distinction passed into medieval thought. Aquinas's conception of nature was derived from Aristotle, but he adds Cicero's conception of the *lex naturæ*. The natural law becomes a fixt law implanted in the human heart and in the universe, as contrasted with both the laws of men and the revealed law of God. Aquinas says, "Natural law is nothing else than the participation in the eternal law of the mind of a rational creature" ("Summa" 1a, 2ae, qu. 94, art. 2). Medieval thought made a sharper distinction than the Roman jurists between the *jus civile* and the *jus gentium*. When Justinian codified the civil law, the law of nations was more sharply distinguishable from it. It became a distinct ideal code. To it men could appeal. First the authority of human law was questioned by the appeal to the Church. When the authority of the Church was shaken, the way was cleared, says Ritchie (idem, p. 42), "for revolution in the name of nature."

Medieval

Through Grotius and Puffendorf the medieval distinction came to Locke, and with him played an important part. It lies in the background of all his theories. He says ("Treatise on Civil Government," ii., § 95): "Men being by nature all free, equal, and independent, no one can be put out of this estate and subjected to the political power of another without his own consent." He talks of a "state of nature," "a golden age" which has "a law of nature to govern it" ("Civil Government," ii., § 6). Civil society with Locke is constituted by a compact of the original members; a compact renewed from generation to generation in the person of every citizen when he comes to an age of discretion to choose his allegiance. The sovereignty of society is limited, too, to the ends for which it was conferred. It is not hard to see outlined here all the essentials of Rousseau's social compact. Locke from this basis justified the revolution of 1688. Another English writer from the same principles deduced a condemnation of rebellion. Hobbes, like Locke, starts out from a state of nature. Men are by nature equal and live in a state of mutual fear, enmity, and war. This is intolerable. Hence, by a law of reason which is also "a law of nature," they mutually agree to surrender their natural rights to some sovereign man or body of men to govern over them. Hence, having surrendered their natural rights, they no longer have them, but must obey the sovereign power. From these English theorists sprang alike Rousseau's social contract and the "inalienable rights" spoken of in the American Declaration of Independence. Professor Ritchie has shown that the American "inalienable rights" came not from France, as is usually thought, but from England.

Locke

A bill or declaration of rights exactly analogous to the French declaration is found in most of the state constitutions of the U. S. originated after 1776, while the French Declaration of the Rights of Man was promulgated in 1791. The Bill of Rights of Virginia (June 12, 1776) declares, "That all men are by nature equally free and independent and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot by any compact deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety. That all power is vested in, and consequently derived from the people, that magistrates are their trustees and servants and at all times amenable to them." The Declaration of Independence of the U. S., signed only a few days later, almost repeats the words, when it says: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

America

This theory was in the air—American and English air as truly as Gallic. Virginia, says Bancroft, "moved from charters and custom to primal principles; from a narrow altercation about facts to the contemplation of immutable truths. She summoned the eternal laws of man's being to protest against all tyranny" ("History of the United States," 5th ed., viii., p. 383). These metaphysics we have traced historically through Locke. But as Professor Ritchie says (idem, p. 6), "the theory of natural rights was not Locke's invention. Neither he nor Jean Jacques can claim the credit of having 'discovered the lost title-deeds of the human race.' The theory of natural rights is simply the logical outgrowth of the Protestant revolt against the authority of tradition, the logical outgrowth of the Protestant appeal to private judgment." In the Middle Ages privileges were claimed because of some real or fancied authority in the past. There were three great authorities, the Bible, Aristotle, and Justinian. Yet in each of these could be found some elements of the law of nature. The Levelers appealed to the law of nature. Thomas Edwards (in his "Gangræna," pt. iii., p. 16) says these "sectaries" held that "by natural birth all men are equally and alike born to like propriety [property], liberty, and freedom; and as we are delivered of God by the hand of nature into this world, every one with a natural innate freedom and propriety, even so we are to live every one equally and alike, to enjoy his birthright and privilege." Again Edwards says of them (idem, p. 20), "tho the laws and customs of a kingdom be never so plain and clear against their ways, yet they will not submit, but cry out for natural rights derived from Adam and right reason." This doctrine Ritchie traces back to Wyclif and his poor priests. Wyclif argued (see "De Civili Dominio," edited by R. L. Poole, pref., pp. xxii-xxiv), that "every one in a state of grace has real lordship over the whole universe," and deduces from this community of property. He held this only of the saints, but John Ball (*q. v.*) and others popularized this when they sang:

Protestantism

> "When Adam dalf and Evè span,
> Who was then the gentleman?"

Says Ritchie: "In the Puritan revolution of the seventeenth century, the appeal to historic right was replaced by an appeal to natural rights. The struggle for parliamentary liberties led some men to go behind parliaments and charters, just as the independent study of the Bible led some men to go behind the authority of the Bible and to rely on the authority of 'the inner light' alone. This," Ritchie continues, "is the logical outcome of Protestantism, however unacceptable to the majority of those calling themselves Protestants; however unsatisfactory and dangerous in the eyes of those who were more influenced by the historic spirit and who realized, in more or less intelligent fashion, the necessity of

social cohesion and continuity." Ireton ("Clarke Papers," i., p. 307) complains to Protestant extremists, "If you do, paramount to all constitutions, hold up this law of nature, I would fain have any man show me where you will end." Puritan England thus produced the theory, but it was developed mainly in the American Bills of Rights and the French Revolution. The convention at New York, Oct., 1765, while protesting loyalty to King George, declared "that trial by jury is the inherent right and invaluable right of every British subject in these colonies," entirely in the spirit of the English Bill of Rights of 1689. In the Declaration of Rights of the Philadelphia Congress of 1774, appeal is made not only to "the principles of the English constitution and the several charters or compacts," but to "the immutable laws of nature," including the right "to life, liberty, and property." In the declaration of July 4, 1776, no more is said of the rights of British subjects, but we have "inalienable rights" which come from God. We now understand the development of the theory in France better. It did not take, even here, an invariably atheistic form. The French declarations of 1791 and 1793 are proclaimed "in the presence of the Supreme Being." Nor is the theory in France by any means peculiar to Rousseau. It is common to almost all the eighteenth-century writers and largely traceable to English philosophy, appearing through Diderot and the Encyclopedists. All the tendencies of the time—religious, scientific, philosophical, and political—favored the theory. It was developed on its religious side not only by the individualism of the Reformation, in the doctrines of the right of private judgment and Luther's salvation by faith, but quite as much by Calvin's sovereignty of God, since, by making man the predestined subject of God's omnipotent rule, the individual is placed above all the laws of State or government. The same exaltation of the individual was developed by the growing spirit of science, discovery, and invention. Men were breaking away from all covenants, theories, and institutions of the past. This was peculiarly true in politics. Instituted law was identified with despotism. It was popular to place above such law the "natural rights of man."

France

The view was particularly favored by the Physiocrats, tho they deduced from it economic rather than political conclusions. Quesnay's "Le Droit Naturel" is a classic of this theory, and begins by laying down the proposition that natural right is "the right which a man has to do the things which are fit for his enjoyment."

It will be thus seen into what ready soil Rousseau dropped his brilliant words. So far from his being the originator of the theory, it is not even clear that he held it, in its extreme form, in his more careful writings. Professor Ritchie argues that it scarcely appears in his little read "Social Contract" (1762), but has been taken mainly from his more popular, tho weaker, "Discourse on the Origin of Inequality among Men" (published 1754). This discourse, however, belonged to Rousseau's most brilliant period, and tho its views seem seriously modified in the later "Social Contract," its teachings, and not the more careful statements of the latter, have become identified with Rousseau. The theory, however, in its essence, is contained in both books. We present Rousseau's statement as Professor Huxley has summarized it ("Nineteenth Century," Jan., 1890), that: First, All men are born free, and politically equal and good, and in the "state of nature" remain so; consequently, it is their natural right to be free, equal, and (presumably their duty to be) good. "Contrat Social," v. pp. 98–99, Mussay Pathay's edition, 1826. Second, All men being equal by natural right, none can have any right to encroach on another's equal right. Hence no man can appropriate any part of the common means of subsistence—that is to say, the land or anything which the land produces—without the unanimous consent of all other men. Under any other circumstances, property is usurpation ("Discours," pp. 257, 258, 276). Third, Political rights, therefore, are based upon contract; the so-called right of conquest is no right, and property which has been acquired by force may rightly be taken away by force ("Discours," pp. 276–280).

Rousseau

The relation of such theories to the French Revolution it is easy to see. The famous French Declaration of the Rights of Man was proclaimed in 1791, and undoubtedly embodied the principles of the Revolution, altho these principles can by no means be considered to have caused this revolution. The French Revolution simply accomplished suddenly and in bloodshed what England had gained quietly and with legal procedure. Nevertheless, the French Revolution called all men's attention to the dangerous aspects of the theory of natural rights. In England, where the theory had been largely developed, it was strenuously attacked, and with such success that to-day most English and American publicists consider it exploded. That this is not the case we shall later see; but it is true that the overwhelming judgment of modern English and American scholars is against the theory. This is probably mainly due to the development of the modern scientific and historic spirit, which asks for induction from facts, not for brilliant generalities from metaphysical arguments about unproven and unprovable "natural laws." The theory, however, was first attacked by statesmen and philosophers rather than by scientists. In brilliant rhetoric Burke argued its dangerous and baseless nature. Paine, in his even more brilliant and rhetorical "Rights of Man," answers Burke; but thought and, above all, science were to answer Paine. Bentham more coldly argued its uselessness, and then science came to condemn it and ask what facts teach, not what different people assert to be "natural." The argument against it to-day is mainly based on the fact that nobody can prove what are natural rights. Modern disbelievers in the theory assert that what are called "natural rights" are simply what various men believe to be the ideal of what should be man's social status. Says Professor Ritchie (idem, p. 80), "Natural rights, when alleged by the would-be reformer, mean those rights which, in his opinion, would be recognized by the public opinion of such a society as he admires. . . . They are the rights which he thinks ought to be recognized; i. e., they are the rights sanctioned by his ideal society, whatever that may be." Further, Professor Ritchie says (idem, p. 82), "If we go back to the ordinary unreflecting opinions of mankind in comparatively primitive conditions, we shall find that those rights which people think they ought to have, are just those rights which they have been accustomed to have, or which they have a tradition (whether true or false) of having once possest. . . . Thus to the average Greek, slavery undoubtedly seemed a 'natural' institution; it was familiar to him, and he did not know of any civilized society without it. . . . A Turk, a German, an American, would give somewhat different accounts of this natural status. The 'natural' in each case may, perhaps, be pitched a little above the average usage of the society in question; it represents the expectations of the society, of which expectations fulfilment may indeed fall short." Hence, as many modern thinkers have shown, the theory of "natural rights" may be made to support any theory. It is usually used to base an argument against any law or action of the State that the individual does not consider wise or right. It is used by anarchists to condemn existing inequalities of social conditions, and by conservatives to check attempts on the part of government to remedy those inequalities. The Liberty and Property Defense League plants itself on the same natural rights as did Tom Paine. In the name of natural rights Henry George argues that every man has a right to what he produces, and only to that, while Matthew Arnold says: "An author has no natural right to a property in his production. But, then, neither has he a natural right to anything whatever which he may produce or acquire" (*Fortnightly Review*, vol. xxvii., p. 322). Such contradictions prove to the critics of the theory its impracticality, baselessness, and unreality.

Criticism

Says Jevons in "The State in Relation to Labor": "The first step must be to rid our minds of the idea that there are any such things in social matters as abstract ideas." Mr. Spencer quotes a writer "of high repute" as saying "to explain once more that there is no such thing as 'natural right' would be a waste of philosophy." Rousseau himself, in the preface to his "Discours," says: "It is more difficult than one would suppose to take the precautions necessary to basing an argument upon it [the doctrine of natural rights]. Professor Huxley shows that nature's laws "contain in reality nothing but a statement of that which a given being tends to do under the circumstances of its existence." A tiger has a natural inclination to eat men; certain cannibals are said to have the same inclination. Have they a natural right to eat men? As used against governments, the advocates of "natural rights" and "a state of nature," which is supposed to be better than the organized state, forget what Aristotle did not forget, that the State itself is natural. It is halting metaphysics and stranger theology to assert that God made the country and man made the city. Is the plowed land unnatural? Is the city street contrary to human nature? The view held to-day by most publicists, in place of the theory of natural rights, is stated by Prof. John W. Burgess, as follows:

"The revolutionists of the eighteenth century said that individual liberty was a natural right; that it belonged to the individual as a human being, without regard to the state or society in which, or the government under which, he lived. But it is easy to see that this view is utterly impracticable and barren; for if neither the State, nor the society, nor the government defines the sphere of individual autonomy and constructs its boundaries, then the individual himself will be left to do these things, and that is anarchy pure and simple. The experience of the French Revolution, where this theory of natural rights was carried into practise, showed the necessity of this result. These experiences drove the more pious minds of this period to formulate the proposition that God is the source of individual liberty. *Dieu et mon droit* was the medieval motto made new again. But who shall interpret the will of God in regard to individual liberty? If the individual interprets it for himself, then the same anarchic result as before will follow. If the State or the Church or the government interprets it, then the individual practically gives up the divine source of his liberty. . . . We may express the most modern principle as follows: The individual, both for his own highest development and the highest welfare of the society and State in which he lives, should act freely within a certain sphere; the impulse to such action is a

The Opposing View

universal quality of human nature; but the State, the ultimate sovereign, is alone able to define the elements of individual liberty, limit its scope, and protect its enjoyment. The individual is thus defended in this sphere against the government by the power that makes and maintains and can destroy the government, and by the same power through the government against encroachments from every other quarter. Against that power itself, however, he has no defense. It can give and it can take away. The individual may ask for liberties which it has not granted, and even prove to the satisfaction of the general consciousness that he ought to have them; but until it grants them, he certainly has them not. The ultimate sovereignty, the State, cannot be limited, either by individual liberty or governmental powers; and this it would be if individual liberty had its source outside of the State. This is the only view which can reconcile liberty with law, and preserve both in proper balance. Every other view sacrifices the one to the other" ("Political Science and Constitutional Law," vol. i., book ii., chap. i.).

Such is the ordinary view held at present by the large majority of thinkers in England and the U. S.

Yet there are a few and some of the most brilliant minds in England and America, and a whole school of thinkers upon the Continent of Europe, who do hold still to the doctrine of natural rights. Herbert Spencer has given the weight of his name to the doctrine. In his "Social Statics" he holds that all rights are derived from a single first principle, which he calls "the law of equal freedom." This principle is "that every man may claim the fullest liberty to exercise his faculties compatible with the exercise of like liberty by every other man" (chap. v., § 3), or, as he elsewhere expresses it, "every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided that he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man" (chap. vi., § 1). Accordingly, he says: "Rights are nothing but artificial divisions of the general claim to exercise the faculties—applications of that general claim to particular cases; and each of them is proved in the same way by showing that the particular exercise of the faculties referred to is possible without preventing the like exercise of faculties by other persons." His development of this theory is well known. (See SPENCER.)

In Germany the idea of *Naturrecht* is the root idea of German jurisprudence. Professor Pollok says of this school, that its authors "throw their main strength on investigating the universal moral and social conditions of government and laws, or, at any rate, civilized government and laws, and expounding what such governments and laws are, or ought to be, so far as determined by conformity to these conditions." English writers, he says, are apt to despair of systems of philosophy built up on somebody's conception of "things as they ought to be," "necessary inferences from the facts of nature," "natural laws" which, nevertheless, "never have been and probably never will be perfectly discovered. But," he adds, "allowance must be made for difference in meaning. We may discover this mysterious and terrible *Naturrecht* to be no worse than a theory of government and legislation; or, to preserve better the wide generality given to it by its authors, a kind of teleology of the State and its institutions."

In England Professor Lorimer in his "Institutes of Law," with its subtitle, "A Treatise of the Principles of Jurisprudence as Determined by Nature," most nearly represents the German school. But the characteristic modern English, and especially the American use of the theory, is the use made of it in politics by Jeffersonian Democrats, with their strict limitation of the power of the State, and in economics by Henry George and his followers, when they hold that each man has a natural and a divine right to what he produces, and to that only, so that land values should be held in common, since no individual has produced them, but that each individual should be allowed private property in other things. (See SINGLE TAX.) Professor Ritchie, in his volume above referred to, considers the specific natural rights most commonly claimed: the right of life, of liberty, of toleration, of public meeting and association, of contract, of resistance to oppression, of equality, of property, of pursuing and obtaining happiness. He shows, however, that nations like the U. S., most imbued with the theory of natural rights, have not scrupled to go contrary to them when it was popular. Protestants, who cannot understand why Roman Catholics should not allow legal divorce, are quite ready to suppress Mormon plural marriages by law. To sum up, the theory of natural rights is considered by its critics vague and useless; its truth to lie in its witness to the belief in a divine or general ideal of society toward which men are ever pressing.

(See POLITICAL SCIENCE; STATE SOVEREIGNTY; ROUSSEAU, etc.)

REFERENCES: *Natural Rights, a Criticism of Some Political and Ethical Conceptions*, by David G. Ritchie, 1895. (See also PAINE; ROUSSEAU.)

NAUMANN, FRIEDRICH: Christian Socialist and politician; born March 25, 1860, in Störmthal near Leipsic. After proper preparation in the gymnasium he entered the university at Leipsic, later Erlangen, and was appointed vice-superintendent at the Rauhe Haus, 1883–85. From 1886–90 he was pastor at Langenberg; 1890–95 he was the missionary of the Inner Mission at Frankfort-on-the-Main, where he came in touch with the working men of all grades. He separated from the Christian Social Party because he was more democratic, and founded, 1895, a new party called the *National Socialen*, with Paul Göhre (*q. v.*). For the furtherance of this object he founded a paper, *Die Hilfe*, and later *Die Zeit*; since the party dissolved in 1903 Naumann joined the Liberal Party, and has since been one of the foremost agitators in behalf of better industrial and political conditions of working people. Author: "Arbeiterkatechismus," 1889; "Was heisst Christlich-Social?" 1894–96; "Sociale Briefe an reiche Leute," 1894; "Jesus als Volksmann," 1894; "Demokratie und Kaiserthum," 1900; "Neudeutsche Wirthschaftspolitik," 1902; "Briefe über Religion," 1903, and of other books. *Address:* Hohenfriedstrasse, Berlin-Schöneberg, Germany.

NAVAL POWERS: (See MILITARISM.) The following table gives the latest data concerning the naval strength of the great nations, both present and prospective. (Supplied by the Office of Naval Intelligence, Navy Department):

WAR-SHIP TONNAGE OF THE PRINCIPAL NAVAL POWERS

Number and displacement of war-ships, built and building, of 1,000 or more tons, and of torpedo craft of more than 50 tons.

TYPE OF VESSEL	BUILT		BUILDING	
	No.	Tons	No.	Tons
Great Britain:				
Battle-ships, first class [1]	52	749,090	4	72,300
Coast-defense vessels [2]	...	.....	...	.....
Armored cruisers	32	372,800	6	95,550
Cruisers above 6,000 tons [3]	19	183,950	...	.....
Cruisers 6,000 to 3,000 tons [3]	45	200,280	1	3,300
Cruisers 3,000 to 1,000 tons [3]	26	56,305	...	.....
Torpedo-boat destroyers	142	53,235	8	7,556
Torpedo-boats	47	7,490	24	6,436
Submarines	39	9,966	9	3,352
Total tons built and total tons building	...	1,633,116	...	188,494
Total tons built and building		1,821,610		
France:				
Battle-ships, first class [1]	[4] 19	228,641	8	139,820
Coast-defense vessels [2]	12	73,300	...	.....
Armored cruisers	19	166,580	4	54,394
Cruisers above 6,000 tons [3]	3	24,409	...	.....
Cruisers 6,000 to 3,000 tons [3]	13	52,549	...	.....
Cruisers 3,000 to 1,000 tons [3]	12	23,152	...	.....
Torpedo-boat destroyers	35	10,594	25	9,001
Torpedo-boats	257	24,322	14	1,358
Submarines	41	5,532	58	22,460
Total tons built and total tons building	...	609,079	...	227,033
Total tons built and building		836,112		
United States:				
Battle-ships, first class [1]	22	292,146	7	114,000
Coast-defense vessels [2]	11	45,334	...	.....
Armored cruisers	10	128,445	2	29,000
Cruisers above 6,000 tons [3]	5	43,800	...	.....
Cruisers 6,000 to 3,000 tons [3]	17	61,370	3	11,250
Cruisers 3,000 to 1,000 tons [3]	19	26,317	...	.....
Torpedo-boat destroyers	16	6,957	5	3,750
Torpedo-boats	32	5,615	...	.....
Submarines	12	1,632	7	2,142
Total tons built and total tons building	...	611,616	...	160,142
Total tons built and building		771,758		

For footnotes, see next page.

Type of Vessel	Built		Building	
	No.	Tons	No.	Tons
Germany:				
Battle-ships, first class [1]	22	260,250	6	98,400
Coast-defense vessels [2]	8	33,200	...	.....
Armored cruisers	8	79,600	2	34,200
Cruisers above 6,000 tons [3]	1	6,300	...	.....
Cruisers 6,000 to 3,000 tons [3]	18	74,160	3	11,050
Cruisers 3,000 to 1,000 tons [3]	19	40,685	...	.....
Torpedo-boat destroyers	60	26,298	12	7,560
Torpedo-boats	48	8,539	...	.....
Submarines	1	180	2	360
Total tons built and total tons building	...	529,032	...	151,570
Total tons built and building		680,602		
Japan:				
Battle-ships, first class [1]	11	152,548	2	38,950
Coast-defense vessels [2]	3	18,786	...	.....
Armored cruisers	11	108,900	2	29,200
Cruisers above 6,000 tons [3]	2	13,130	...	.....
Cruisers 6,000 to 3,000 tons [3]	10	38,994	1	4,100
Cruisers 3,000 to 1,000 tons [3]	7	15,288	2	2,600
Torpedo-boat destroyers	54	19,413	3	1,143
Torpedo-boats	77	6,842	...	.....
Submarines	7	800	2	626
Total tons built and total tons building	...	374,701	...	76,619
Total tons built and building		451,320		
Russia:				
Battle-ships, first class [1]	5	62,600	4	58,600
Coast-defense vessels [2]	4	21,380	...	.....
Armored cruisers	4	46,200	3	24,000
Cruisers above 6,000 tons [3]	7	46,460	...	.....
Cruisers 6,000 to 3,000 tons [3]	1	3,100	...	.....
Cruisers 3,000 to 1,000 tons [3]	7	8,800	...	.....
Torpedo-boat destroyers	93	33,834	4	2,420
Torpedo-boats	57	6,834	...	.....
Submarines	25	3,735	6	2,077
Total tons built and total tons building	...	232,943	...	87,097
Total tons built and building		320,040		
Italy:				
Battle-ships, first class [1]	10	130,629	3	37,275
Coast-defense vessels [2]	...	.....	...	.....
Armored cruisers	6	39,200	4	39,320
Cruisers above 6,000 tons [3]	...	.....	...	.....
Cruisers 6,000 to 3,000 tons [3]	1	3,530	...	.....
Cruisers 3,000 to 1,000 tons [3]	10	21,920	...	.....
Torpedo-boat destroyers	13	4,133	4	1,460
Torpedo-boats	66	7,804	11	2,305
Submarines	3	407	3	450
Total tons built and total tons building	...	207,623	...	80,810
Total tons built and building		288,433		
Austria:				
Battle-ships, first class [1]	3	31,800	...	.....
Coast-defense vessels [2]	6	41,700	...	.....
Armored cruisers	3	18,800	...	.....
Cruisers above 6,000 tons [3]	...	.....	...	.....
Cruisers 6,000 to 3,000 tons [3]	2	8,000	...	.....
Cruisers 3,000 to 1,000 tons [3]	3	7,050	...	.....
Torpedo-boat destroyers	4	1,600	2	800
Torpedo-boats	36	4,285	3	600
Submarines	...	.....	6	1,600
Total tons built and total tons building	...	113,235	...	3,000
Total tons built and building		116,235		

[1] Battle-ships, first class, are those of (about) 10,000 or more tons displacement.

[2] Includes smaller battle-ships and monitors.

[3] All unarmored war-ships of more than 1,000 tons are, in this table, classed according to displacement as cruisers. Scouts are considered as cruisers in which battery and protection have been sacrificed to secure extreme speed. The word "protected" has been omitted because all cruisers except the smallest and oldest now have protective decks.

[4] Omitting the Iéna.

N.B.—The following vessels are not included in the tables:
Those over twenty years old, unless they have been reconstructed and rearmed since 1900.
Those not actually begun, altho authorized.
Transports, colliers, repair ships, torpedo depot ships, converted merchant vessels or yachts.
Vessels of less than 1,000 tons except torpedo craft.
Torpedo craft of less than 50 tons.

Relative Order of War-ship Tonnage at Present

Nation	Tonnage
Great Britain	1,633,116
United States	611,616
France	609,079
Germany	529,032
Japan	374,701
Russia	232,943
Italy	207,623
Austria	113,235

Relative Order of War-ship Tonnage as would be the Case were Vessels Building now Completed

Nation	Tonnage
Great Britain	1,821,610
France	836,112
United States	771,758
Germany	680,602
Japan	451,320
Russia	320,040
Italy	288,433
Austria	116,235

NEGRO, THE (IN THE U. S.): During the past twenty years the Southern negro has made substantial progress in many directions, has responded unmistakably to the demands of American civilization. Some measure of this progress is to be found in the answers to these questions: (1) Has the negro, succumbing to a competition too severe, exhibited tendencies to die out, as has, for example, the Maori population of New Zealand? (2) Has the negro—with reasonable rapidity—become more intelligent? (3) To what extent has the negro bought homes? (4) In his occupations is the negro advancing to higher levels?

The facts show pretty plainly that, severe to him as is competition with many races which centuries have made more efficient, the negro holds his own with dogged persistence. In 1880 there were 6,580,793 negroes in this country; twenty years later we find this number increased to 8,833,994, an increase of 2,253,201 souls, or 34.2 per cent. Certainly a new-born race that can merely maintain its numbers in the face of the severest competition the modern world can boast, deserves praise; but what shall be said of my race? It has not merely maintained its numbers, but has actually grown 34.2 per cent in twenty years. The red Indian of America and the Maori of New Zealand are not precedents for the negro of the United States. Neither death nor deportation will benevolently assimilate the American negro into non-existence; the negro is here and here to stay. His well-being and continued progress are essential to the welfare of the republic.

This solidarity of interest has been splendidly recognized by the white people of the South. I believe that the Southern white people realize more and more clearly the fundamental idea of the American common school—that all the property of the State should educate impartially all the children of all the people. It is not merely the man who enters the tax office who really pays the taxes; the laborers, each of whom pays one

mill more to the pound for a commodity because of a license tax, really pay the license tax, however indirect the payment. The moral idea that underlies the American common school and the actual incident of taxation—these two things are winning increasing recognition in every one of the Southern States. Moreover, the value of land is largely determined by the relative intelligence and consequent efficiency of the laboring population, and the negro constitutes a very large percentage of the South's labor. Since 1880 $105,807,930 have been spent for the negro schools in the former slave states. In the school year 1879–80, $2,120,485 were spent for colored schools, and in 1900–1, $6,035,550, an increase of $3,915,065, or almost 85 per cent. In 1879–80 the expenditure per capita of school population for the colored was $1.01, but in 1900–1, $2.21. It is true that in the latter year the white child received $4.92, or considerably more than twice the amount received by the colored child. However, the whole South is heartily interested in the cause of negro education.

Negro illiteracy is a stain which the schools are rapidly washing away. Of the population ten years of age and over, 70 per cent of the colored were illiterate in 1880, 57.1 per cent of the negro were illiterate in 1890, but only 44.5 per cent of the negro in 1900. Despite an increase between 1890 and 1900 of 1,087,000 in the negro population ten years of age and over, there was a decrease of nearly 190,000 in the number of negro illiterates. It is true that among Southern negroes illiteracy is more than four times as common as among Southern whites, but the South is determined to lessen this immense handicap upon the negro just as rapidly as possible. To an appreciable extent progress in literacy indicates progress in intelligence, in character, in general efficiency.

The schools have greatly aided the negro in the buying and the proper maintenance of homes. The white or black man, by the sweat of whose brow a home has been bought, is, by virtue of that act, an infinitely better citizen. In 1860 the negro was without a home of his own, without capital, without thrift, with nothing like proper appreciation of the value of a home. And yet in 1890, of the homes occupied by negro heads of families, 18.7 per cent were owned—an immense advance in civilization, and all in thirty years. Moreover, of the homes thus owned 88.8 per cent were owned free of all encumbrance. The significance of this fact is rendered more clear when you consider that only 71.2 per cent of the homes occupied by white heads of families in that year were owned. In the decade 1890 to 1900, the negro heads of families increased their ownership of homes to 21.8 per cent, and of this increased number, 74.2 per cent were owned as against 68 per cent for white heads of families. I am unaware that history records such an example of substantial progress in civilization in a time so short. Here is the unique fact that from a penniless population, just out of slavery that placed a premium upon thriftlessness, 372,414 owners of homes have emerged, and of these, 255,156 are known to own their homes absolutely free of encumbrance. In these heads of negro families lie the pledge of my race to American civilization.

In the occupations in which negroes are engaged, are they advancing to higher levels? Nearly four million negroes at least ten years of age were reported by the last census to be engaged in gainful occupations; 33.7 per cent of the negroes occupied were agricultural laborers and 19 per cent were farmers, planters, and overseers, a total of 52.7 per cent being thus engaged in agriculture. Moreover, of the half million black "laborers (not specified)" it is probable that many were agricultural laborers. An investigation of the black farmers and laborers in the cotton belt of the South is an investigation of the great mass of the negro people in America.

The census for 1900 contains a considerable body of evidence that I might use for testing the progress of the Southern negro in agriculture. Thus, as we have seen, about 34 per cent of the negro wage-earners in the U. S. were merely agricultural laborers, and 19 per cent were farmers, planters, and overseers. These farmers, planters, and overseers, have simply lifted themselves by their boot straps! They have risen from a low to a higher level in their occupation and in American civilization. I might show how the negro agricultural laborer of exceptional ability has become share tenant, then cash tenant, then part owner, and finally full owner with almost lightning rapidity and against fearful odds. Moreover, I might cite in proof of the progress of the negro in agriculture the value of his farm products not fed to live stock. Thus, in the South Atlantic States, 35.5 per cent of the number of farms operated by negro farmers in 1900 had products in 1899, not fed to live stock, worth $100 and under $250, and 30.4 per cent had products worth $250 and under $500. And in the South Central States 31.6 per cent of the number of farms operated by negro farmers had products in 1899 not fed to live stock worth $100 and under $250, and 36.7 per cent had products worth $250 and under $500. This is an enormous advance for the negro since 1860.

But I propose to test the progress of the negro in agriculture by the severest test—not a comparison with European peasantry, but with native whites of native parents in the Southern States. Certainly no fair-minded man could wish a test more severe; certainly we should be surprized if these native whites of purest stock did not immensely outstrip the negroes. Let us, however, inquire how these two classes with respect to the relative number of owners added in forty years.

Practically all the negro owners of farms have become owners since 1860; in that year the negro was landless. In the South Central States since 1860 negro farmers have come to operate as owners and managers 95,624 farms and as tenants 348,805. The farms operated by owners or managers are thus 21.5 per cent of the total. The per cent of gain in ownership is about half that made by the white farmers since 1860. These facts spell progress unmistakably. In forty years 287,933 negroes have acquired control of farm land in the South Atlantic States, of whom 202,578, or 70.4 per cent, are tenants and 85,355, or 29.6 per cent, are owners or managers. In these eventful forty years the relative number of owners among the negro farmers of the South Atlantic States has grown from absolutely nothing, three fourths as rapidly as the relative number of owners among the whites, who in 1860 owned every acre of the land. In both the South Central States and South Atlantic States the negroes have thus compassed a magnificent achievement.

The total value of negro farm property is conservatively estimated at $230,000,000.

In the short space at my disposal I have simply attempted to indicate some of the ways in which the negro of the South has made substantial progress, has responded to the demands of American civilization.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON.

Normal schools, with 8,147 students, and 61 industrial schools, with 1,750 students in attendance. In doing this great work, for buildings, repairs, teachers, etc., $1,002,896.07 was expended. Of this sum the freedmen raised $200,000.

The following table shows the progress since 1870:

STATE	Estimated number of persons 5 to 18 years of age		Pupils enrolled in public schools		Per cent of persons 5 to 18 years enrolled		Per cent of average attendance to enrolment	
	White	Colored	White	Colored	White	Colored	White	Colored
Alabama	345,250	295,250	239,055	126,116	69.24	42.71	62.75	71.36
Arkansas	329,800	127,120	250,586	90,109	75.98	70.88	63.33	62.47
Delaware	[1]40,094	[1]8,888	[1]30,754	[1]6,141	76.70	69.09	69.91	61.88
District of Columbia	42,486	20,428	32,518	15,914	76.54	77.90	79.31	76.70
Florida	98,510	75,160	69,541	42,843	70.59	57.00	66.55	69.75
Georgia	[2]389,470	[2]363,050	298,181	204,706	76.56	56.39	63.99	60.84
Kentucky	596,410	87,654	436,014	62,975	73.11	71.84	63.12	64.02
Louisiana	241,600	227,500	125,272	73,624	51.85	32.36	72.18	67.66
Maryland	[2]266,110	[2]70,120	[2]175,747	[2]48,257	66.04	68.82	64.18	47.06
Mississippi	[1]215,240	[2]322,070	[2]179,142	[2]208,346	83.23	64.69	60.74	57.21
Missouri	896,850	45,971	671,697	31,360	74.90	68.22	67.25	67.22
North Carolina	424,800	225,900	314,871	149,798	74.12	66.31	58.94	55.68
South Carolina	186,480	292,000	127,657	144,786	68.46	49.58	77.30	75.77
Tennessee	[1]945,960	[2]157,885	[2][3]392,263	106,747	79.09	67.61	67.89	67.24
Texas	840,050	227,660	568,267	144,362	67.65	63.41	76.26	63.05
Virginia	367,530	227,940	[2]258,222	[2]123,339	70.26	54.11	60.60	56.30
West Virginia	290,670	11,487	228,129	7,886	78.48	68.65	64.43	65.94
Total, 1901–2	6,067,310	2,786,083	4,397,916	1,587,309	72.49	56.97	66.38	63.02
Total, 1889–90	[1]5,132,948	2,510,847	3,402,420	1,296,959	67.15	32.85	63.64	62.74

[1] In 1899–1900. [2] In 1900–1. [3] Some missing data supplied.

STATISTICS

POPULATION

Negroes imported into the U. S. from 1500 to 1800	10,137,000
Negro population of U. S., 1800	1,001,463
Imported from 1800 to 1860	3,999,000
Negro population, 1860	4,435,709
Negro population, 1900	8,848,749

Property, 1900

Land and improvements, $324,242,997; buildings, $71,902,265; implements, $18,859,757; live stock, $84,936,215; total, $499,941,234. Negro owners of premises: Virginia, 26,566; Mississippi, 21,973; Texas, 20,139; South Carolina, 18,970; North Carolina, 17,520; Alabama, 14,110; Arkansas, 11,941; Georgia, 11,375; Tennessee, 9,426; Louisiana, 9,378; Florida, 6,552; Kentucky, 5,402; Maryland, 2,262; West Virginia, 534; Delaware, 332; District of Columbia, 5. Homes owned by negroes, 1,832,723; farms, 757,427; other homes, 1,075,296; total, 3,665,446.

In Georgia, negroes owned, in 1901, 1,041,135 acres valued at $4,656,042 and city lots and buildings valued at $9,007,977. Personalty, $6,621,834. (Report of Controller General.) In Virginia, in 1901, they owned 1,066,303 acres, valued at $4,342,074, with city lots and buildings valued at $12,856,417 and personalty of $3,966,194. (Auditor's report.)

Education

On the 20th of May, 1865, Major-General O. O. Howard was appointed Commissioner of the Freedman's Bureau. He gave great attention to the subject of education, and after planting schools for the freedmen throughout a great portion of the South, in 1870—five years after the work was begun—he made a report: Schools established, 4,239; teachers employed, 9,307; pupils, 247,333. The emancipated people sustained 1,324 schools themselves, and owned 592 school buildings. The Freedman's Bureau furnished 654 buildings for school purposes. There were 74 High and

For 1901–2 the common-school expenditure in the sixteen former slave states, with the District of Columbia, for both races was $37,567,552. About 26 per cent of this amount was expended upon the public schools for the negroes. The aggregate common-school expenditure in the South since 1870 has been $687,691,329. It is estimated that at least $125,000,000 of this sum has been expended to support common schools for negro children. While General Howard, General John Eaton, A. D. Mayo were the leaders in establishing the common-school system of the South, they found worthy assistants in the Rev. R. H. Cain of South Carolina, Rev. C. H. Pierce and Rev. J. H. Gibbs of Florida, Bishop Hood and G. W. Brodia in North Carolina, Dr. H. M. Turner, Rev. W. J. Gaines in Georgia. It was the joint work of the leaders of the two races. The progress of the colored schools has only been excelled by the progress of the colored teachers. When organized there were not more than 500 teachers, while now we have them manning all departments of educational work.

BENJAMIN W. ARNETT.

NEIGHBORHOOD GILDS: The name of certain social reform institutions first proposed by Dr. STANTON COIT (*q. v.*), as the result of his experience in the social settlements started by him in New York City and London. He embodied his ideas on this subject in a book entitled "Neighbourhood Guilds," published in 1891. According to this work (p. 7), "The very name, 'neighborhood gild,' suggests the fundamental idea which this new institution embodies: namely, that, irrespective of religious belief or non-belief, all the people, men, women, or children, in any one street, or any small number of streets in every working-class district in London, shall be organized into a set of clubs, which are by themselves, or in alliance with those of other neighborhoods, to carry out, or induce others to carry out, all the

reforms, domestic, industrial, educational, provident, or recreative, which the social ideal demands." Dr. Coit's idea is that the forming of separate societies or clubs for special purposes tends to magnify out of all proportion that one side of life or culture which it aims to develop. It tends again to break up the family unit. It sends the boys to one club, the girls to another, the father to another, the mother to another. Thirdly, it breaks up neighborliness. The Neighborhood Gild aims at organizing the social life of all the people in one small district. It thus brings neighbors together, families together, different interests together. In the Neighborhood Gilds there are departments for boys, for girls, for men, for women, for art, for education, for recreation, for the various interests of life; and they are not all separate; for certain purposes, and at certain times, all come together. According to Dr. Coit, no gild should be so large as to prevent all the members forming a circle of acquaintance. To develop persons in all sides of character is its aim. Dr. Coit started the first gild in New York City, about 1885, and it has now grown into a University Settlement (*q. v.*). In 1889 Dr. Coit, on his removal to London, started one there in Kentish Town. For all details, see Dr. Coit's book, "Neighbourhood Guilds."

NEILL, CHARLES P., Ph.D.: United States Commissioner of Labor; born Rock Island, Ill., 1865; educated at University of Notre Dame 1885–88; University of Texas, 1888–89; Georgetown College, D. C., 1889–91; University of Chicago, 1894–97; instructor University of Notre Dame, 1891–94; instructor and associate professor of political economy, Catholic University, Washington, D. C., 1897 to 1905; assistant recorder of Anthracite Strike Commission (1902) (see Coal Strike); recorder of Arbitration Board, Birmingham (1903). Appointed U. S. Commissioner of Labor, Feb. 1, 1905. As commissioner has been active in settling important strikes. In 1906 with J. P. Reynolds (*q. v.*) made an important report as to the packing-house industry in Chicago. (See Packing-House Industry.) *Address*: U. S. Bureau of Labor, 1429 N. Y. Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.

NELSON, NELSON O.: Manufacturer and cooperator; born in Norway, 1844; came to United States as a boy; educated in public schools. In 1872 he established himself as a manufacturer of plumbers' and steam-fitters' supplies in St. Louis, with manufactories at Leclaire, Ill., and now recently at Bessemer, Ala. In 1886 he introduced profit-sharing (*q. v.*) into his works, and in 1890 established the cooperative village of Leclaire, Ill. (*q. v.*). In 1902 he established a "Consumptives' Camp" on desert sand at Indio, Cal., and in 1903 an industrial school at Leclaire. Mr. Nelson has been one of the most active leaders and workers in national and local movements for social reform, especially as regards cooperation, the single tax, and evolutionary socialism. In his views Mr. Nelson is a Tolstoian and non-resistant, and believer in "the simple life," tho largely favorable to the Socialist program, if adopted without any compulsion. *Address*: Leclaire, Edwardsville, Ill.

NETHERLANDS, THE: A European kingdom —formerly the Republic of The Netherlands— constituted a hereditary monarchy in 1815.

I. Statistics

Area and Population

Provinces	Area sq. m.	Population 1904	Per sq. m.
North Brabant	1,980	589,725	298
Guilders	1,965	604,668	308
South Holland	1,166	1,263,136	1,083
North Holland	1,070	1,053,083	984
Zealand	690	225,562	327
Utrecht	534	272,913	511
Friesland	1,282	353,363	276
Overyssel	1,291	359,443	278
Groningen	790	315,873	399
Drenthe	1,030	162,141	157
Limburg	850	309,752	364
Total	12,648	5,509,659	436

General Statistics

The population is almost entirely Dutch, there being (1899) only 52,625 foreigners in the kingdom. The principal cities are: Amsterdam (population 551,415), Rotterdam (370,390), The Hague (234,459), and Utrecht (112,796). The birth-rate in 1904 was 31.02, and the death-rate 15.82. Total number of births, 171,495; of deaths, 87,128; surplus, 84,367. The illegitimate births numbered 3,659, or about 2.15 per cent of the total number. Marriages in 1904 were about 8 per 1,000 of population. The urban population numbers 2,049,779, or 37.2 per cent, and the rural 3,459,880, or 62.8 per cent.

With regard to religion the (1899) population is divided as follows: Dutch Reformed, 2,471,021; other Protestants, 598,111; Roman Catholics, 1,790,161; Jansenists, 8,754; Jews, 103,988; other creeds, 132,102. There is full religious liberty, and the State pays annual allowances to the main bodies as follows: To Protestants, 1,373,000 florins; Roman Catholics, 578,000 fl.; Jews, 14,000 fl. In 1904 the Protestant churches had about 1,900 clergymen; the Roman Catholics, 2,700; the Jansenists, 27.

Education

The cost of primary education in The Netherlands is defrayed partly by the State and partly by the communes. Instruction is compulsory between the ages of six and thirteen, and illiteracy is rare. Elementary education is largely in the hands also of private schools, which are supported by the State. Religious instruction is separated from secular instruction. There were, in 1904, four universities (Leiden, Utrecht, Groningen, and Amsterdam) with 182 teachers and 3,135 students, of whom 331 were females. Elementary schools numbered 4,796 (3,216 public and 1,580 private), with 26,114 teachers and 831,589 pupils. There were 1,112 infant schools with an attendance of 118,230 children. The teachers are trained in normal schools supported by the State; and there are also several industrial, agricultural, and technical high schools, as well as a military academy, eleven navigation schools, an academy of art, and a polytechnic institute. The total expenditures for educational purposes (State and communes) were, in 1903, about $12,000,000.

In 1903 there were 31 prisons and 36 houses of detention. Convictions for crime numbered (1904) 17,393, and for minor offenses 146,174. Workhouses for vagabonds and drunkards are five in number, having, in 1903, 6,304 inmates. In the same year there were 700 boys and 114 girls in four State reformatories. Pauperism is

largely relieved by private charity and by religious societies. About 3.25 per cent of the population received aid in 1903. Mendicants and vagabonds are treated as criminals and sentenced to work in State institutions.

Industry and Commerce

The Netherlands is largely an agricultural and horticultural country. The soil is generally divided into small holdings, altho comparatively large estates prevail in some provinces. In 1904 there were 216,092 hectares under rye, 158,732 under potatoes, 144,762 under oats, and 54,081 under wheat. Buckwheat, legumes, and beet-roots are also important. Fishing engages 5,781 vessels with about 22,000 men. Herrings and oysters are the chief catches.

Mining is unimportant, with the exception of coal which yields an annual revenue of about 2,000,000 florins in the province of Limburg, the mines being nearly all owned and operated by the State. Manufacturing establishments comprize 531 distilleries, 40 sugar refineries, 39 salt works, 476 breweries, and 90 vinegar distilleries.

Trade is free in The Netherlands, the duties levied on imports being too insignificant to afford protection to home industries. The total exports for 1905 amounted to 1,994,000,000 florins, and imports to 2,584,000,000 fl. The chief articles of import were: Cereals and flour, 476,329,000 fl.; iron and steel, 301,405,000 fl.; textiles, 144,131,000 fl.; copper, 14,130,729 fl.; coal, 81,220,000 fl.; and rice, 66,448,000 fl. Chief exports: Cereals and flour, 188,476,000 fl.; iron and steel, 188,476,000 fl.; textiles, 107,343,000 fl.; copper, 105,127,000 fl.; oleomargarin, 51,432,000 fl.; vegetables, 45,300,000 fl.; wood, 53,670,000 fl.; butter, 23,607,000 fl.; and cheese, 16,363,000 fl. The values of imports and exports by countries were as follows in 1905:

Country	Imports, *Florins*	Exports, *Florins*
Prussia	577,500,000	1,008,300,000
Great Britain	263,900,000	409,700,000
Belgium	254,000,000	227,200,000
Dutch East Indies	399,600,000	70,500,000
Russia	319,000,000	12,000,000
United States	240,700,000	81,300,000
France	22,300,000	14,900,000

II. Constitution and Government

The present constitution of The Netherlands dates from its reconstruction as a monarchy in 1815, and was revised in 1887. The present ruler is Queen Wilhelmina who succeeded to the throne in 1890, the crown being hereditary in the female line in default of male heirs. The sovereign holds the executive power, while the legislative functions are vested in a parliament (the States-General) consisting of an Upper and a Lower Chamber. The Upper Chamber consists of fifty members elected for nine years by the provincial states from among the highest taxpayers. The Lower Chamber consists of 100 members who are elected for a period of four years by universal suffrage, all male citizens of more than twenty-five years of age being entitled to vote if they fulfil certain qualifications with regard to economical conditions. Bills can be introduced only by the government or by the Lower Chamber. The Upper Chamber passes on the bills, either approving or rejecting, but has no power of amending any measures introduced.

The main parties are Liberals and Anti-Liberals, the latter being composed of Catholics and orthodox Protestants, who are also called Conservatives. The Catholics and Protestants unite only in demanding that government recognize the supremacy of religious authority, and the Anti-Liberals urging that the religious questions be kept separate from the government.

In 1901 a split took place through the advanced section of the Liberals demanding universal suffrage on the "one man one vote" basis. This broke up the powerful Liberal Union, and the election of 1901 resulted in the return of 32 Protestant Anti-Revolutionists, 25 Catholics, and one Christian Democrat, forming the Right, 58 strong; and of 26 Liberals, 9 Radicals, and 7 Socialists, forming the Left, 42 strong. Dr. Kuyper, the leader of the Anti-Revolutionists, then formed a cabinet, in which three seats were given to the Catholics.

This ministry was overturned in the election of 1905, when there were elected to the Second Chamber 52 Liberals (24 Liberals of the Left, 10 Liberals of the Right, 11 Liberal Democrats, and 7 Socialists), against 48 Ministerials (24 Catholics, 16 orthodox Protestants, and 8 "Historic Christians"). M. de Meester formed a cabinet avowedly free trade. In the First Chamber there was a small clerical majority.

The present government is partly Liberal, partly Liberal Democratic, having only a very small majority in the Second Chamber, counting the Social Democrats on its side. The Roman Catholics base their program on the Encyclica Rerum Novarum. The Anti-Revolutionist Protestants represent the Orthodox religion. The Liberals are led by Goeman Borgesius and Professor Van der Vlugt. The Liberal Democrats, under leadership of Professors Drucker and Treul, aim at curtailing the privileges of capital and securing the rights of labor and of the laborers, and at a more equitable distribution of wealth. They maintain the urgency of changing the constitution in order to take away the obstacles against the introduction of universal suffrage.

For purposes of local administration each of the eleven states has its own House of Representatives whose members are elected for six years by a popular vote. These provincial bodies have full power of legislation and taxation within their jurisdiction, altho their ordinances must be submitted to the sovereign for approval. Municipal boroughs have an aldermanic board presided over by a mayor appointed by the sovereign.

Finances

The estimated expenditures for 1906 amounted to 181,714,219 florins, and the revenues to 171,432,295 fl. Of the revenues 54,080,000 fl. were derived from excise duties, and 24,141,500 from indirect taxes. The national debt (1906) is 1,144,757,450 fl., its annual interest being 36,674,411 fl.

The army, which is drawn partly by conscription and partly by enlistment, numbers 30,131 men on a peace footing, and about 68,000 men on a war basis. There is also a national guard, and a *landstorm* or emergency reserve which consists of all able-bodied men. The yearly contingent for the regular arms is about 17,500 men. The navy is maintained for coast defense and for the defense of the East Indian colonies. It numbers 8 battle-ships, 8 cruisers, 2 old ironclad turret ships, 6 unprotected cruisers, 30 old gunboats, several coast-defense monitors, and 40 torpedo

boats (about 20 additional building). The complement of officers and men is about 8,500; and of the marine infantry about 2,200.

Internal Communication

There are (1904) 1,817 miles of railroads, of which 985 miles belong to the State, the balance to private companies. In 1904 the revenue of the State lines was 27,157,000 florins; expenditures, 23,572,000 fl.; freight carried, 8,335,000 tons; passengers, 13,714,000. The private lines had a revenue of 23,373,000 fl.; expenditures, 18,828,000 fl.; freight, 5,372,000 tons; passengers, 24,460,000. There are 1,907 miles of navigable canals. Post-office receipts (1904) amounted to 12,539,858 fl., and expenditures to 9,846,599 fl. Most of the telegraph lines are owned by the State. In 1904 there were 826 State telegraph offices, the length of the lines being 4,296 miles and that of wires 18,901 miles. Paid messages numbered 5,807,951; the receipts aggregated 2,557,330 fl., and expenditures 3,184,655 fl. In the same year there were 1,431 miles of telephone lines; 15,460 miles of wires; 1,390,520 interurban and 79,566 international conversations. Telephone revenues amounted to 507,675 fl., and expenses to 55,471 fl. There are 247 private savings-banks and 1 State postal savings-bank. The amount deposited in the former aggregated (1903) 83,976,000 fl., and in the latter (1904) 120,435,000 fl., the average per inhabitant being 15.46 fl. in private banks, 21.86 in the postal bank. The merchant marine numbers 467 sailing vessels of 59,364 tons, and 269 steamships of 341,964 tons.

Colonies

The colonies belonging to The Netherlands are situated in the East and West Indies. The chief dependencies in the East Indies are: The western and southern parts of the island of Borneo (212,737 sq. m.; pop. [1900] 1,129,889); the islands of Celebes (71,470 sq. m.; 884,141); Java and Madura (50,554 sq. m.; 28,746,688), and Sumatra (161,612 sq. m.; 3,168,312); the Molucca Islands (43,864 sq. m.; 410,190); and part of New Guinea (151,789 sq. m.; about 200,000). In the West Indies: Surinam or Dutch Guiana (46,060 sq. m.; 73,542), and the Curaçao Colony (403 sq. m.; 53,244). These possessions enjoy religious liberty and a steadily increasing educational system based on that existing in the mother country. Commercially they are of vast importance.

III. Social Reform

The chief political question agitating Holland has long been that of the relation between Church and State, and the main parties are, therefore, largely formed according to this question. Attempts are constantly being made to effect party formation along lines of social reform; and despite lack of success in the past it is believed that a change in the franchise and taxation systems will in course of time alter political conditions.

Social Legislation

In 1898, at the request of the government, Professor Drucker drafted a bill to regulate labor conditions, especially with regard to contract labor. According to more recent legislation the regulation of labor contracts is to be incorporated in the civil code. A bill has passed the Lower Chamber of the States-General, and is expected to pass also the Upper Chamber. It provides for the rights of married women to contract for their labor without the consent of their husbands; for the employers' liability toward workmen in cases of sickness; and for the employers' right to collect damages in cases where the workmen, through neglect, cause deterioration in value of products or machinery.

The conditions of labor are regulated according to a law of 1889, and a "safety act" of 1895. These acts stipulate that women and young persons under sixteen must work no more than eleven hours per day, and that the hours of work must be between 5 A.M. and 7 P.M. Nor are women and young persons permitted to be employed on work of unhealthy and dangerous nature. Hours of rest are provided, Sunday labor prohibited, and the employment of children under eleven proscribed. A royal decree of 1896 further provides for sanitary requirements and inspection of workshops and factories, and makes the employment of safety devices obligatory on the employers.

An act of May 21, 1897, provides so-called chambers of labor, which are to mediate between employers and employees in cases of dispute. Each "chamber" embraces one or more communities, and is composed of five employers and five employees chosen by the work people engaged in the particular industry in which it operates.

Accident insurance is provided for by Act of 1901, by virtue of which all industries in which motors or steam- or gas-engines are used are liable to pay a workman certain damages for injury sustained in the line of duty. A notable clause in this act is one which reduces the amount to which a worker is thus entitled if he was intoxicated when meeting with his injury.

The Housing Act of Aug. 1, 1902, imposes upon each municipality certain rules regarding the construction and location of houses, and contains also measures intended to guard against overcrowding. Moreover, it regulates to a certain extent the amount of rent an owner may exact for his property, by stipulating a maximum percentage of interest which may be collected on the investment. In cases where private enterprise fails to provide adequate house room, provision is made for the erection of dwelling-houses by the municipality.

Unemployment

In Amsterdam and Utrecht government committees have been appointed to investigate the question of providing against unemployment; and measures have been proposed introducing the so-called "Ghent System," by which each municipality is to cooperate with the local trade-unions who maintain insurance funds against loss of employment. In The Hague, Leyden, Haarlem, Schiedam, and other towns, municipal labor bureaus have recently been established; and a great many commercial and industrial agencies, as well as trade-unions and private concerns, operate similar bureaus.

Three acts passed in Feb., 1901, provide (1) for the care of children whose parents neglect them, (2) for the legal procedure against children who commit criminal acts, and (3) for compulsory education. There are in Amsterdam two societies which look after the welfare and protection of children. Orphans are cared for in municipal and religious homes; and there are also several private institutions that look after the education and care of destitute and neglected children. There are besides about twenty-five societies which are occupied in sending poor children to the seashore or country during the summer. School children who are in need may be provided with food and clothing at the expense of the municipality.

The first act to control the liquor traffic in The Netherlands was introduced in 1881. It provided merely for a limitation in the number of licenses to be granted, but otherwise imposed no restrictions. In 1904 a new law was passed, providing for fewer saloons, higher license fees, heavier penalties for transgressions, and forfeiture of licenses by order of the municipality at any time after five years. The principal antiliquor societies are: The People's Union, Utrecht; the General Dutch Teetotalers' Union, Amsterdam; the Roman Catholic Union for Combating the Abuse of Alcohol, Maastricht; and many others.

Charitable and philanthropical work are of a private nature. Associations with different

tendencies exist in nearly every locality: lecture halls for workmen, food and clothing for children, dwellings for old servants, etc. Examples of these societies are the society "Charity According to Means" and "Meals for Children" at Amsterdam.

Among the associations with a general educational purpose the various Toynbee societies for university extension, especially in university towns, are most noteworthy. As to industrial education we may mention in the city of Amsterdam the Museum of Protective Appliances against danger in factories, where various provisions to prevent accidents can be seen. (See MUSEUMS OF SECURITY.) For the promotion of social education Amsterdam may boast of an Institute of Social Advice—an institute with a purpose similar to that of the American Institute of Social Service—and also of its Class for Education in Social Work.

Labor colonies, tho mainly penal, were early started in Holland.

They are of two kinds, penal and free, with three of each kind. The penal colonies are national workhouses, at Veenhuizen, Hoorn and Leyden. The first has 3,600 inmates in three establishments. The work is agriculture, gardening, handwork, and light manufacturing.

The free colonies have some 1,500 members, including 150 "free farmers' families." They are aided by the State, contented, but not progressive. They cost the State about $7.50 per year per head. The colonies save a few children, and afford a shelter for a few families, through fault or circumstance unable by themselves to make headway in the world, but do little more.

Cooperation in the form of production is poorly developed in Holland, and consumptive cooperation, tho more flourishing, is still in the beginning. Still we may mention as examples of productive cooperation of capital, several agricultural associations of farmers for the manufacture of butter and cheese; of agricultural labor, the Society Van Marken's Printing Works at Delft, where, after ten years of existence, the shares have become the property of labor in its different forms (management, hand labor, control). In consumptive cooperation the society "Self-Help" ("Eigen Hulp"), managing several grocery stores in The Hague, Amsterdam, and other cities, is the most prominent. The Cooperative Union, a society for propagating cooperative principles, for procuring information and the organizing of wholesale business and cooperative production on behalf of the cooperative societies, has, however, separated itself from the "Eigen Hulp." This opens the way for working men's cooperative societies to become members of the union. To this they were opposed till now, because they could not agree with the lines on which the "Eigen Hulp" worked.

Cooperation

There existed at the end of 1904, 114 distributive societies, 4 cooperative butcheries, 70 bakeries, 14 societies for the distribution of fuel, 227 societies for distributing manure, seeds, fodder, etc., 42 other distributive societies—8 productive tailoring societies, 2 boot and shoe societies, 1 cigar factory, 1 smithy (forge), 1 upholsterers' society, 504 cooperative creameries, 26 societies for the selling of agricultural products, 2 societies for the improvement of the breed of horses, 2 societies for the improvement of cattle, 2 societies of workmen in wooden shoes, 6 mills for preparing potato meal, 4 societies of beehivers, 1 society of oil makers, 1 society for the preparation of fodder, 1 beet-sugar mill, 2 societies for the use of steam-thrashing machines, 4 straw pasteboard mills, 6 printing societies, 32 different productive societies, 309 people's banks, 4 life-insurance societies, 6 fire-insurance societies, 5 cattle-insurance societies, 9 societies for assistance in case of illness and inability, 143 building societies.

A large factory has made an experiment with small gardens for the children of working men.

There are, in The Netherlands, one post-office savings-bank and nearly 300 private savings-banks. The number of depositors per 1,000 inhabitants was 62 in 1890, and 200 in 1904; and the average amount deposited increased from 75 florins in 1890 to 106 fl. in 1904.

Trade-unionism in The Netherlands is characterized by its division into religious groups; and this is probably one of the main reasons why this movement is not very strongly developed. In 1905 there were 104 unions with about 1,600 local branches. The diamond-workers' union is the strongest of these bodies, embracing about 80 per cent of all the diamond-cutters in Amsterdam, this industry being confined to that city. Recent strikes are shown in the following table:

YEAR	No. of strikes	Decided in working men's favor	In employers' favor	Ended without decision
1902	128	48	42	27
1903.....	149	39	60	37
1904.....	85	22	34	25
1905.....	126	22	47	54

Socialism entered Holland in 1869, in connection with the International, but did not take permanent root. In 1878 a new Socialist movement sprang up largely under the lead of Domela Niewenhuis, a former Protestant clergyman. He started the *Recht Voor Allen*, a Socialist paper, and a Social Democratic Union. In 1888 he was elected to the legislature and remained till 1891. But gradually becoming anarchistic or communistic, most of the Dutch Socialists broke away from him and the movement became divided. In 1889 a Social Democratic League was formed, and since then the Socialist movement has been conducted mainly on Marxist lines. Cooperation in connection with socialism, as in Belgium, has been attempted, but with small success. There were reported in 1905, 65,743 Socialist votes and fifty-two Socialist or Labor journals.

Socialism

Some of the leading Dutch societies are: Centraal Bureau voor Sociale Adviezen, 37 Vossiusstraat, Amsterdam; Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, The Hague; Het Volk (Socialist organ), 117 Gelderschke Kade, Amsterdam; Jordaan (Working Men's Dwellings), The Hague; Tiefdadigheit naas Vermogen (Charity According to Means), Amsterdam.

REFERENCES: *Jaarciifers voor 1905 door de centrale commissie voor de statistiek; Nederlandsch Staatsalmanak*, Pyttersen, 1906; *Dutch Life in Town and Country*, by P. M. Hough, London, 1901; *Holland and the Hollanders*, by D. S. Meldrum, 2d ed., London, 1899.

NEW HARMONY: Though later identified with Robert Owen (*q. v.*), this community was founded by a small German sect, the followers of one George Rapp, a weaver, noted for his biblical knowledge and piety. Rapp gathered together in Württemberg a number of people who

shared his religious views, and, following the example of the early Christians in Jerusalem, they held all their property in common.

Being persecuted for their views, they decided to emigrate to the United States, and in 1803 the Rappites formed their first settlement in Butler County, Pa., giving to their village the name of Harmony. By dint of hard work and economy, in ten years they were in a state of comparative comfort; but wishing to make their position more secure, in 1813 they moved westward and bought about 30,000 acres of some of the richest land in Posey County, Ind., and there founded the world-famous village of New Harmony. The Rappites were a very industrious and inoffensive folk; their creed enjoined pure life, simple diet, and plain dress; the ambitions and wishes of the individual were to be entirely subject to the general good. After a time they took vows of celibacy, even those who were already married dissolving the relationship and taking the vows. For ten years they labored and prospered exceedingly, both in agriculture and manufacture; and then, selling all their land and the village buildings to Mr. Robert Owen, of New Lanark, Scotland, they emigrated east again to Beaver County, Pa., where they founded the village of Economy. (See ECONOMY.)

The purchaser of New Harmony, Robert Owen (*q. v.*), was a Welshman, born in 1771. He became manager and then proprietor of extensive cotton-mills on the Clyde, Scotland, and devoted much energy to promoting the interest of working people. He desired to abolish all class distinctions, and endeavored to show that the interests of the employer and employees could be made identical. His mills at New Lanark were ideal object lessons to support his theory, and it was to put into practical shape his theories for the advancement of working people that he bought the New Harmony estate. Associated with him in the scheme was a Mr. William Maclure, a Scotchman, who shared Mr. Owen's communist theories.

Under Robert Owen

Their aim was to establish a community in which property was to be held in common, tho under the restriction of a constitution. All were to share in the common labor, and all should receive a liberal education, with facilities for continued study and pursuit of knowledge. The religious views of the members were entirely of their own choice, the only qualifications essential for membership being honesty of purpose, temperance, industry, cleanliness, and carefulness. When the settlement of New Harmony came into the possession of Robert Owen the village was regularly laid out as a town, with streets running at right angles to each other, and in the center a public square, surrounded by the large brick buildings built by the Rappites for their churches and schools. The land itself was well prepared; there were nineteen detached farms, and some 3,000 acres which had been cultivated by the Rappite society, besides a vineyard, several orchards, and other improvements. With the place so prepared, and 30,000 acres to fall back upon, the experiment of a secular community, based on honesty of purpose and moral integrity, seemed to have every material advantage that could be offered. In a very short time the village was a busy place. Within two or three months there were some 900 persons gathered from all parts of the U. S. and Europe. Many of these were inspired with an earnest belief in the ideals which the experiment was to prove, and worked zealously in the endeavor to put them into practise; but many, also, were lazy and shiftless and came seeking an easy mode of living, shirking their share of the toil, while others came with a view to making profit out of the benevolent feeling of the founder, and with no sympathy at all for the movement. With such material it was quite impossible to fulfil the original expectation, and in less than two years it had become evident that it was hopeless to try longer.

On April 27, 1825, Mr. Owen called all the members of the community together, and in an address explained the impossibility of an immediate total change in all their manners of life, and proposed that they should accept a constitution only partially communistic for a term of three years, that they might be better prepared to fully carry out the ideal community. This was agreed to, and under the name of the "Preliminary Society of New Harmony" the venture was formally constituted. Mr. Owen then returned to Europe, and a committee managed the affairs of the society. In less than a year Mr. Owen returned to New Harmony, and soon after his return the members of the Preliminary Society held another convention, deciding to at once commence communism and adopting a constitution of a community which they called the "New Harmony Community of Equality." The management was to be in the hands of an executive council, who were to be subject to the direction of the community. Experience demonstrated that the plan of the executive council was not practicable, and the members were unanimous in requesting Mr. Owen to take the sole management. This was the inauguration of the most prosperous season in the short life of the community. There were soon no idlers, all being busily engaged; and the meetings, instead of being the scene of wrangles, were utilized for the benefit of all the members.

Constitution

This was too good to last, and within a very few months there were disturbances, and attempts to divide the town into several societies. On May 30, 1826, in consequence of the continual disagreements which had arisen about the disposal of the property, a meeting of the whole of the population was held, at which it was decided to form four separate societies, each to purchase its own share of the property, and each to manage its own affairs, but to trade together by means of paper currency. Other changes followed fast, but each change left them no better than before. The trouble was not in the institutions so much as in the unpreparedness or greed of many of the members; and though there were many choice, noble spirits in the undertaking, they were overweighted by the others. After watching the spirit of the community depart, and his fondest hopes gradually crumble away, in June, 1827, Mr. Owen bade the community farewell. Leases were granted to such as desired to continue the cooperative experiments, and tho some smaller communities were formed from the wreckage, the New Harmony Community of Equality had become a thing of the past.

Failure

The effect, however, was not to die away. The scheme of communal cooperative life took a deep hold on the imaginations of the people, and many smaller communities were formed; and, when nearly fifteen years later Fourier's scheme was advocated, many were prepared to sink their all in the new communities which sprang up in all directions—and, alas! died away as rapidly as they came into existence. But with all the failures, there is still some gain, and the bitter disappointments of those who fondly imagined they were remodeling society are only the defeats which will help to insure victory later on, even tho it should not come as they expected it.

A. H.

NEWSPAPERS: Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1906 reported the number of newspapers published in the United States and Canada as 23,461. Of these, 1,135 were Canadian publications. The following was the frequency of issue: Weekly, 16,782; monthly, 2,960; daily, 2,465; semimonthly, 287; semiweekly, 588; quarterly, 195; biweekly, 57; bimonthly, 69; triweekly, 55—total, 23,461.

The World Almanac estimates the total number of newspapers published in the world at present

at about 60,000, distributed as follows: U. S. and Canada, 23,461; Germany, 8,049; Great Britain, 9,500; France, 6,681; Japan, 1,000; Italy, 2,757; Austria-Hungary, 2,958; Asia, exclusive of Japan, 1,000; Spain, 1,000; Russia, 1,000; Australia, 1,000; Greece, 130; Switzerland, 1,005; Holland, 989; Belgium, 956; all others, 1,000. Of these more than half are printed in the English language.

Leading Economic and Reform Journals

M., Monthly; Q., Quarterly; W., Weekly.

United States

Advocate of Peace. (Organ of Peace Society.) M. 31 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.
American Journal of Sociology. Bimonthly. University of Chicago.
American Political Science Review. Q. Baltimore, Md.
American Statistical Association Quarterly. 491 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.
Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Bimonthly. Philadelphia, Pa.
American Federationist. (Organ of American Federation of Labor.) M. 423 G Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Appeal to Reason. (Socialist.) W. Girard, Kan.
Arena. M. Broad Street, Trenton, N. J., and Boston, Mass.
Bulletin of the Department of Labor. M. Official publication of department. Washington, D. C.
Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen's Magazine. M. Indianapolis, Ind.
Charities and Commons. (New York Charity Organization Society.) W. 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York City.
Chautauquan. M. Chautauqua, N. Y.
Chicago Daily Socialist. 163 East Randolph Street, Chicago.
Cleveland Citizen. (Trade-Union Socialist.) W. Cleveland, Ohio.
Club Woman. (Organ of Federation of Women's Clubs.) M. 500 Fifth Avenue, New York City.
Commoner. W. (W. J. Bryan, ed.) Lincoln, Neb.
Educational Review. Ten numbers per year. Rahway, N. J., and New York City.
Federation Quarterly. (Federation of Churches.) 119 East Nineteenth Street, New York City.
Good Government. (Journal of National Civil Service Reform League.) M. 79 Wall Street, New York City.
Hammer and Pen. (Organ of Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor.) Q. 416 Lafayette Street, New York City.
Independent. W. 130 Fulton Street, New York.
International Journal of Ethics. Q. 1415 Locust Street, Philadelphia.
International Socialist Review. M. 264 East Kenzie Street, Chicago.
Journal of Political Economy. Q. Chicago University.
Lend a Hand. M. (Lend a Hand Society.) 1 Beacon Street, Boston.
Mother Earth. (Anarchist.) M. 210 East Thirteenth Street, New York.
National Advocate. (Temperance.) M. 3 East Fourteenth Street, New York.
National Prohibitionist. W. 139 East Fifty-sixth Street, Hyde Park, Chicago, Ill.
Outlook. W. 287 Fourth Avenue, New York City.
Philanthropist. (Social Purity.) Q. 232 West Fourteenth Street, New York City.
Political Science Quarterly. Columbia University, New York City.
Public. (Single Tax.) W. Unity Building, Chicago.
Quarterly Journal of Economics. Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Social Democratic Herald. (Socialist.) W. 344 Sixth Street, Milwaukee.
Socialist Woman. M. 619 East Fifty-fifth Street, Chicago.
Southern Workman. M. Hampton, Va.
Single Tax Review. Q. 11 Frankfort Street, New York City.
Typographical Journal. (Organ of the Typographical Union.) M. Indianapolis, Ind.
Union Signal. (W. C. T. U.) W. The Temple, Chicago, Ill.
Wilshire's Magazine. (Socialist.) M. 200 William Street, New York City.
Woman's Journal. (Woman Suffrage.) W. 3 Park Street, Boston.
Worker. (Socialist.) W. 184 William Street, New York City.
World's Work. M. 135 East Sixteenth Street, New York City.
World To-day. M. 67 Wabash Avenue, Chicago.
Yale Review. Q. 125 Temple Street, New Haven, Conn.

Great Britain

Alliance News. (Temperance, United Kingdom Alliance.) W. 16 Deansgate, Manchester.
Board of Trade Journal. W. Wyman. Fetter Lane, London, E. C.
Brotherhood. (J. Bruce Wallace.) Q. Garden City, Hertfordshire.
Charity Organization Review. M. 296 Vauxhall Bridge Road, London.
Clarion. (Socialist, Blatchford.) W. 44 Worship, London, E. C.
Commonwealth. (Christian Social Union.) 3 Paternoster Buildings, London, E. C.
Contemporary Review. M. Fleet Street, London, E. C.
Cooperative News. W. Long Millgate, Manchester.
Economic Review. Oxford University, C. S. V., Oxford.
Esperantist. M. 67 Kensington Garden Square, London.
Fabian News. M. 3 Clement's Inn, Strand, London.
Fortnightly. M. London, W. C.
Freedom. (Anarchist Communist.) M. 27 Ossulston Street, London, N. W.
Freethinker. (Secularist.) W. 2 Newcastle Street, London, E. C.
Garden City. M. Garden City, Letchworth, Hertfordshire.
Good Templars' Watchword. W. 168 Edmund Street, Birmingham.
Herald of Peace. M. 47 Broad Street, London, E. C.
Humanitarian. M. 53 Chancery Lane, London, W. C.
Independent Review. M. 1 Adelphi Terrace, London, W. C.
Individualist. M. 32 Charing Cross, London, S. W.
Labour Gazette. (Board of Trade.) M. Wyman, Fetter Lane, London, E. C.
Labour Leader. W. (Independent Labor Party.) Whitworth Street West, Manchester.
Land and Labor. (Land Nationalization Association.) M. 432 West Strand, London, W. C.
Land Values. (League.) M. 13 Dundas Street, Glasgow, and 376 Strand, London, W. C.
London County Council Gazette. W. Great Smith Street, London, S. W.
Municipal Journal. W. 12 Salisbury Square, London.
New Age. W. 1–2 Took's Court, London, E. C.
Progress. (British Institute of Social Service.) 11 Southampton Row, London, W. C.
Review of Reviews. M. Mowbray House, Norfolk Street, London, W. C.
Social Democrat. M. Clerkenwell Green, London, E. C.
Temperance Chronicle. (Church of England Temperance Society). W. 4 Sanctuary, Westminster, S. W.
Trades and Labour Gazette. (London Trade Council.) M. 41 Cowcross Street, London, E. C.
Women's Industrial News. Q. 7 John Street, Adelphi, London, W. C.
Women's Suffrage Record. Q. 25 Victoria Street, London, W. C.
Women's Trade-Union Review. Q. Club Union Buildings, London, E. C.

Austria

Arbeiterzeitung (Socialist). 89 Mariahilferstrasse, Vienna.
Pravo Lidu (Socialist). Myslikovagasse 1959, Prague.
Soziale Rundschau. M. Bulletin of Labor Bureau.
Wiener Staatwissenschaftliche Studien.
Zeitschrift für Volkswirthschaft, Socialpolitik und Verwaltung. Vienna. W.
Zeitschrift für Staais und Volkswirthschaft. Vienna. W.

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Avenir Social. Brussels. M.
Le Peuple (Socialist). 35 rue des Sables, Brussels.
Movement Sociologique International. Brussels. Q.
Vooruit. 29 rue Haatport, Ghent.

France (Paris)

Annales des Sciences Politiques. Bi.-M.
Bulletin de l'Office du Travail.
L'Avant Garde (Socialist). 9 Avenue d'Italie.
L'Humanité (Socialist). 110 rue Richelieu.
La Petite République (Socialist). 4 rue Paul Lelong.
Le Musée Social. 5 rue Las Cases.
Questions Pratiques de Legislations Ouvrières et d'Economie Sociale (Lyons). M.
La Reforme Sociale. Semi-M.
Revue d'Economie Politique. W. 22 rue Saufflet.
Revue Internationale de Sociologie. M.
La Science Sociale. M.
Le Socialiste. 16 rue de la Corderie.

Germany

Arme Teufel (Socialist). Falkenstrasse 10, Dresden.
Archiv für Volkswohlfahrt. Berlin.
Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Socialpolitik. Tübingen, M.

Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirthschaft des Deutschen Reiches. Leipzig. Q.
Kritische Blätter für die Gesamten Sozialwissenschaften. Berlin. M.
Münchener Post (Socialist). Sendlingerstrasse, Munich.
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Die Neue Zeit. Stuttgart.
Reichs-Arbeitsblatt. M. Bulletin of Labor Bureau.
Staats und Socialwissenschaftliche Forschungen. Leipzig.
Soziale Praxis. W. Berlin.
Vorwärts (Socialist). 68–69 Lindenstrasse, Berlin.
Volkswirthschaftliche Zeitfragen. Eight numbers per year. Berlin.
Der Wanderer. Bielefeld. M.
Der Wahre Jacob (Socialist). 12 Furthbachstrasse, Dresden.
Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft. Tübingen. Q.
Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaft. Berlin. M.

ITALY

Avanti (Socialist). 86 via del Seminario, Rome.
La Reforma Sociale. Rome. M.
Rivista Italiana di Sociologia. Rome. Bi-M.
L'Umanitaria. Milan. M.

NETHERLANDS

Het Volk. 117 Geldersche Kach, Amsterdam.
Tijdschrift. Labor Bulletin.

SWEDEN

Social demokraten. 12 Nowokyrtogata, Stockholm.

SWITZERLAND

Arbeiter Stimme. 12 Waltonhofstrasse. Bern.
Le Grutli (Socialist). 24 Cité Derrière, Geneva.
Le Peuple. 27 Coulonvrenière, Geneva.
Schweizerische Blätter für Wirtschafts und Sozialpolitik. Bern.
Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Gemeinützigheit. Q.

SPAIN

El Socialista. 18 Espiritu Santo, Madrid.

NEWTON, RICHARD HEBER, D.D.: Clergyman, author; born 1840 in Philadelphia, Pa.; educated in University of Pennsylvania and the Episcopal Divinity School at Philadelphia. Rector of All Souls' Church, New York City, for thirty-three years; he was one of the earliest to introduce Institutional Church features into church work, free evening classes, working men's clubs, free kindergartens, summer homes, etc., and one of the first ministers in New York to use the pulpit for instruction in the ethics of sociology. Dr. Newton is a Christian Socialist and has lectured much on behalf of social reform. He wrote the article on "Cooperation" in the American Supplement to the "Encyclopædia Britannica." Also "Social Studies," "Church and Creed," among many other books. *Address*: East Hampton, New York.

NEW YORK CITY (see also NEW YORK CITY MONOPOLIES; CITIES (Statistics); LUXURY; CORRUPTION; TAMMANY; HOUSING; OVERCROWDING; SLUMS; TENEMENTS; LIQUOR TRAFFIC; PROSTITUTION, and other special topics):

History

The story of reform in New York City has always been involved. From the discovery of Manhattan Island in 1609 by Hendrik Hudson, an Englishman in Dutch employ, New York City, originally called New Amsterdam, has always had a composite population. Even under the Dutch, New Amsterdam had many English and other peoples. It was mainly a commercial settlement and attracted from the start a few men of wealth and many lawless and dissolute. The people cared little at its conquest in 1664, by the English, without a gun being fired, nor later when it was recaptured by the Dutch and then handed back to England. The policy of the Dutch governors in creating patroons or feudal lords and of the English governors in giving grants and concessions, early created an aristocracy, while the presence of adventurers, sailors, slaves, and others of all races early produced a population differing from modern poorer classes of New York mainly in numbers and in being more lawless. Many of the wealthy classes conducted privateering and made wealth thereby, even as the wealthy New Yorkers organize their trusts to-day. During the Revolution, New York City, being the headquarters of the British, became more Tory and more aristocratic than most of the cities in spite of the fact that New York had stood prominent in asserting the rights of the colonies, and that the Stamp Act Congress had met in New York. But New York was mainly commercial. In 1795 the Tammany Society was founded as a social and political club, to oppose the Federalists, but by 1800 was influential in carrying the state for Jefferson, and so creating the Democratic Party. The city's rapid growth and wealth and the doctrine preached by the Clintons, that to the victors belong the spoils, early interested the Tammany Society, commonly called Tammany Hall in city politics, especially after 1834, when for the first time the mayoralty became elective. The city was, however, to a large extent really ruled from Albany, the governors being principally from the old aristocratic families and chiefly interested in state politics with unusually varied and equal party interests, New York State being from the start the pivotal state in every close election. All this favored secret corruption in New York City, working among the masses with the connivance of the rich. By 1820 the city numbered 125,000 people. The invention of steamboats, the opening of the Erie Canal, immigration from Europe, aided commerce and developed a city of the rich and of the poor. New York's wealth became famous and "the bread riots" of 1837 show the presence of the poor. Tammany found its chance among the latter. Fernando Wood, one of its first bosses, was elected mayor. In 1850 street-railways were started and franchises were obtained by corruption. By 1860 New York had 800,000 inhabitants. During the Civil War New York was a Democratic city, with many Copperheads, and her commercial magnates were accused of making money out of the war. Nevertheless, there was much patriotism, and some notable manifestations of it. The Seventh Regiment was the first in the whole country to go to the front. But "draft riots" broke out; negroes were persecuted. Political corruption grew open, culminating in the Tweed Ring and the election of Oakey Hall in 1869. Stock-watering and stock-gambling also ran riot in Wall Street. But the better citizens rose in 1871 and exposed the Tweed Ring, and William M. Tweed and others were convicted and imprisoned. The *Times*, *Tribune*, *Herald*, and *Harper's Weekly* led in the fight. It was proved that the ring had stolen over $20,000,000. Tweed escaped from jail to Spain, but was surrendered and died in jail (hospital) in 1878. Many movements for reform now began. Comstock incorporated his Society for the Suppression of Vice in 1873; Elbridge T. Gerry, his Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children in 1874. A Society for the Prevention of Crime was organized in 1876. In state politics S. J. Tilden largely purged the Democratic Party and was elected mayor in 1874. In New York City, however, a new Tammany boss appeared in "Honest John Kelly." Tammany became wiser and more powerful. It nominated comparatively good mayors and developed its systematic aiding of the poor, but also systematized its corruption. Kelly ruled till his death in 1886. In 1884 the "boodle" aldermen gave away the valuable Broadway franchises for a cash consideration (Broadway steals). Desire for radical reform became general. Henry George promulgated his ideas, and in 1886 was nominated, polling 68,110 votes against Theodore Roosevelt's (Republican) 60,435, but Abram S. Hewitt (Democrat) was favored by Tammany and won with 90,552 votes. The Reform Club was founded in 1888 and a People's Municipal League, but Tammany won again in 1888, 1890, and 1892. In 1900 the Republican Legislature investigated the city, and the Senate did so in 1894 (Lexow investigation). In 1894 the Independents united with the Republicans and elected William L. Strong as mayor. Colonel George E. Waring was appointed head of the street-cleaning department and revolutionized it. Theodore Roosevelt was president of the police board and enforced the law. In 1897, however, Tammany again won, and elected Robert A. Van Wyck against Seth Low, nominee of the Citizens' Union. Henry George was nominated by the progressive Democrats, but died during the campaign. Mr. Croker, who had been boss of Tammany since 1886, was really in power. In 1898 the area of the city was widened to Greater New York. Another investigation (Mazet) was made in 1899. In 1901 the Citizens' Union elected Seth Low, polling 294,992 votes, tho the Democrats nominated Edward M. Shepard, who polled 265,328. Mr. Low gave a good administration, but was personally unmagnetic, and in 1903 George McClellan (Democratic) polled 314,728 votes to Mr. Low's 252,086. In 1905 William R. Hearst (*q. v.*), having formed a Municipal Ownership League, was nominated for mayor, and in the opinion of almost everybody was elected, but was counted out as having polled only 225,165 votes to McClellan's 228,651 and to Ivins's 137,049. Mr. Hearst has tried since to get a recount, but thus far has not succeeded.

In 1900 large attention was given to startling revelations as to the social evil and the betrayal of girls on the East Side (see PROSTITUTION), and many evil resorts were closed, tho the Raines

Law hotels, or hotels only nominally so to fulfil the law and gain a liquor license, were felt by many to be the main sources of evil, yet have largely been left untouched. The connection with the police and graft in disreputable houses was largely shown, but largely traceable to men higher up, as yet, however, unreached. Outwardly the law, however, is now more enforced. In 1904 considerable agitation was raised as to gambling, and District Attorney Jerome had many pool-rooms raided and closed up. (See GAMBLING.) Tammany, however, remains in power, and reform is mainly on the surface. (See CORRUPTION; TAMMANY.)

Recent years, with prosperity in business, have seen large immigration, much of it dumped in New York. The growth of the city has caused much speculation in land, notably on Long Island, but more land has been sold than houses put up, and efforts to get the poorer classes into the country have been largely defeated by the speculative price of suburban land and the demand for cheap labor in the city. The City and Suburban Homes Company (*q. v.*), and other similar companies have erected a few successful model tenements, settlements (*q. v.*) in New York have multiplied (there are now 44), charity organization societies have been wisely managed and their work vigorously extended, but the overcrowding (*q. v.*) grows, and its results are not adequately met. Agitation against the tenement evil resulted in a much improved tenement-house law in 1901, which a tenement-house commission is somewhat vigorously enforcing, but the problem is so large as to make progress slow. (See TENEMENTS.) Considerable has been done, however, in the way of tearing down the worst slums and opening playgrounds and recreation centers for the children. (See SLUMS.) Free lectures for adults, started by Dr. Henry M. Leipziger, have had a marvelous extension. People's concerts, etc., are frequently given to crowded audiences, notably at Cooper Union, and in the summer city bands play nightly in different parks, recreation piers, etc.

Reforms

The transportation problem of New York is one of the most difficult. The opening of the Subway has proved a success, and yet increased services do not keep pace with the growth of population; four bridges and four tunnels are in course of building over or under the East and North rivers, and the electrification of railroads is in process; yet the demand for improved transit is unceasing, and overcrowding a crying evil. The Rapid Transit Commission, first organized in 1875, claims to have done its best tho much criticized by radicals as playing into the hands of the corporations (see NEW YORK CITY MONOPOLIES), its answer being that rapid transit must be had at the first possible moment, that the city, with its political corruption and its limitations as to the borrowing limit, cannot develop the needed systems, and that capitalists will not incur the enormous initial expenses involved, except for franchises of considerable length and possibilities of large returns. Meanwhile the consolidation of the great public utility corporations has gone on apace till the city finds itself largely in their power. (See NEW YORK CITY MONOPOLIES.)

The present charter of New York City was reported by a Charter Revision Commission in 1901, and in the main adopted, tho frequently amended since on minor points and in some important respects.

Under this charter power is largely lodged in a board of estimate and apportionment, composed of 8 persons with 16 votes—the mayor (the chairman, with 3 votes), the controller (3 votes), the president of the board of aldermen and the borough presidents of Manhattan and Brooklyn (each with 2 votes), and of the Bronx, Queens, and Richmond (each 1 vote). The mayor is the executive head of the city, and his signature is necessary to bills immediately affecting this city voted by the State Legislature, tho the bill can be passed over him, by a mere majority vote. The Board of Estimate and Apportionment is the money-voting power of the city. The borough presidents act to a certain extent as the mayors of their boroughs with large powers as to streets, improvements, etc. The controller has management of the city finances subject to the State Legislature and the Board of Estimate and Apportionment. The board of 73 aldermen has very limited powers, but grants small licenses, and under certain conditions can give a franchise for twenty-five years, as can also the Board of Estimate and Apportionment. The mayor, borough presidents, controller, and main officers are elected by popular vote for terms of four years, the aldermen for two years. The salaries of the mayor, controller, and corporation counsel are $15,000; city chamberlain and Board of Water Supply (3 members), $12,000 each; president of Department of Taxes and Assessments, $8,000; borough presidents of Manhattan, Brooklyn, and the Bronx, and commissioners of bridges, charities, corrections, fire, health, police, street-cleaning, water-supply, gas, and electricity, and the tenement-house commissioner, $7,500 each; city clerk, $7,000; borough presidents of Queens and Richmond, president of the Board of Aldermen, $5,000; aldermen, $2,000; various deputies and assistants, from $10,000 down. The main departments are finance, police, fire, health, law, education, taxes and assessments, parks, charities and corrections, docks and ferries. The main bureaus are licenses, buildings, highways, sewers, public buildings, franchises, statistics. Other important offices are those of the coroners, the commissioners of public works, of juries, licenses, and the commissioners of the sinking-fund, accounts, aqueduct, municipal civil service, and the board of assessors. The Rapid Transit Railroad Commission was replaced in 1907 by the Public Service Commission. The commissioners and heads of departments are mainly appointed by the mayor.

Government

Among the important New York City reform societies are:

The Citizens' Union, 252 Fourth Avenue.
City Club, 55 West Forty-fourth Street.
Bureau of Municipal Research, 32 East Twenty-third Street.
National Civic Federation, 281 Fourth Avenue.
Socialist Party, 239 East Eighty-fourth Street.
Daily People (Socialist Labor), 28 City Hall Place.
Defender (Prohibitionist), 404 West Twenty-third Street.
Anti-Saloon League, 103 East 125th Street.
American Federation of Labor, 25 Third Avenue.
Central Federated Union, 184 Eldridge Street.
University Settlement, 184 Eldridge Street.
College Settlement (Women's), 95 Rivington Street.
Charity Organization Society, 105 East Twenty-second Street.
City and Suburban Homes Company, 281 Fourth Avenue.
Consumers' League, 105 East Twenty-second Street.
Rand School (Socialist), 112 East Nineteenth Street.
American Institute of Social Service, 231 West Thirty-ninth Street.
New York Federation of Churches, 119 East Nineteenth Street.
Young Men's Christian Association, 215 West Twenty-third Street.
Young Women's Christian Association, 7 East Fifteenth Street.
Salvation Army, 112 West Fourteenth Street.
Volunteers of America, 34 West Twenty-eighth Street.

NEW YORK CITY PUBLIC SERVICE MONOPOLIES: The following is a brief statement of the principle of these monopolies:

From an account of each it will be apparent that their record has been one of extortion. Their privileges were conceived in fraud and political corruption, and throughout their existence they have been a constant source of temptation to corrupt officials, have violated the law of the state, have made false reports to avoid the payment of just taxes, and have entered into a close

and friendly alliance with public officers whose duty required that they should protect the public from extortion.

The Gas Companies

Prior to 1880 competition existed among the gas companies of New York City. Since that time the companies have appreciated that monopoly was more profitable to their interests than competition. At present all the gas companies operating in the boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx are controlled by or merged in the Consolidated Gas Company. The monopoly enjoyed by this company is absolute. Most of the very valuable franchises enjoyed by it have been obtained without any consideration being paid to the people. Notwithstanding the fact that their privileges were obtained free of charge, the rates exacted from the consumer by the gas companies have always been excessive and extortionate.

Down to 1885 the gas companies were furnishing gas to the consumer for $2.50 and $2.25 per thousand, altho the investigation of 1885 made it perfectly clear that at least one half of this price was clear profit to the company.

In 1885, the year of the investigation, the companies reduced the price to $1.75, and in the following year it was reduced by act of the legislature to $1.25. This price continued to prevail until 1897, when it was again reduced by law to $1 per thousand. The alleged benefits which the people are supposed to have derived from this reduction have been almost wholly nominal, as poorer gas has been furnished under higher pressure with every nominal reduction in the rate.

It is perfectly evident from these nominal reductions that the price charged for gas bears no relation whatever to the cost of its production.

The report of the Thomas Committee in 1885 did good, however, because it supplied a great deal of information in reference to the dark and crooked ways of the companies. The companies appreciated fully the dangerous character of this report and copies of the report became very scarce. Professor Bemis says that, "according to the belief of many, the companies bought and burned all the copies on the market and hushed up the report most speedily." ("Municipal Gas," p. 70.)

The parent company of all the companies which are now merged in or controlled by the Consolidated Gas Company was the New York Gas Company, which was formed in 1823 with $1,000,000 capital. The Board of Aldermen granted to this company a thirty-year exclusive franchise to lay pipes in the streets south of Grand Street. The franchise was given away, as the city received absolutely no compensation.

Various other companies were similarly formed from time to time, and also got franchises virtually for nothing.

In 1884 the Consolidated Gas Company was formed—a "holding company." It possest no public franchise, but held the stock of, and, therefore, controlled the following-named companies: New York, Manhattan, Mutual, Harlem, Metropolitan, Municipal, and Knickerbocker Gas-Light Companies. It was originally capitalized for $39,078,000, of which $35,430,060 was issued for acquisition of the properties and franchises of the constituent companies, subject to certain indebtedness. The Consolidated Gas Company did not include in its pool the Mutual or the Standard Gas Companies. The Mutual agreed to enter the combination, but was prohibited by a provision of its charter which made its directors liable for a criminal offense if they voted for such combination. The Standard was also prohibited by its charter from consolidating. The Gas Trust represented by the Consolidated Company circumvented the law by buying the stock of these two companies and thus while avoiding responsibility for a criminal violation of the law accomplished its purpose and reaped the benefits that came from violating the law.

The capitalization of the Consolidated has since been raised to $100,000,000, of which $80,000,000 has been issued.

The New Amsterdam Gas Company was formed in 1898, a consolidation of other gas companies.

It is interesting to note that nearly all the shares of stock of the New Amsterdam Gas Company are owned by the Consolidated Gas Company. Thus the Consolidated owns 89,775 preferred shares out of a total of 90,000 preferred shares and 121,095 common shares out of a total of 121,650 common shares of the New Amsterdam Company.

It is exceedingly doubtful if any of the companies owned by the Consolidated possess any franchises at all at the present time. The status of the franchises under which the Consolidated is operating in Manhattan and the Bronx is well summed up in the following extract from the report of the Stevens Committee:

> But it is doubtful whether the Consolidated Gas Company has any extensive rights in the city of New York. It appears that no franchise other than the franchise to be a corporation has been granted to the Consolidated Gas Company, and it would seem that several of the constituent companies have expired or will soon expire.

In the Borough of Brooklyn the Brooklyn Union Gas Company holds complete sway. Its monopoly is as complete within its territory as is that of the Consolidated within Manhattan. This company operates under franchises which it claims are practically perpetual. The report of the Stevens Committee, speaking of this company, says:

> It is a serious question to what extent the Brooklyn Union Gas Company is lawfully exercising rights in the streets of the borough. It is evident that the matter should at an early date be made a matter of judicial inquiry upon proper action taken by the municipal authorities.

The Electric Companies

The Edison Electric Illuminating Company obtained the first electric-lighting franchise in 1881. It was authorized to lay wires, tubes, and conductors for supplying electricity in all the city streets. Under the terms of the franchise it was obligated to pay the city one cent per lineal foot of the streets occupied. The resolution granting the franchise was vetoed by Mayor Grace upon the ground that the compensation provided for was inadequate, but it was passed over the mayor's veto. (Myers's "History of Franchises," p. 184.)

Subsequent to this many new companies were formed and franchises were granted to them. These franchises were all acquired by the New York Gas and Electric Light, Heat, and Power Company.

In 1901 the New York Edison Company was formed. This company possesses no franchises,

but is merely a "holding company." It acquired all the rights and privileges of the old Edison Electric Illuminating Company and the New York Gas and Electric Light, Heat, and Power Company. The New York Edison Company is to the electric-lighting industry what the Consolidated Gas Company is to the gas industry. The capital stock of the New York Edison Company is $45,200,000, which is the aggregate amount of the capital stock of the two constituent companies. This sum represents gross overcapitalization. Bonds were issued by the company until its total outstanding obligations aggregated $40,232,883.80. Witnesses on behalf of the company before the Stevens Committee endeavored to make it appear that the company owned valuable patents, trade prospects, and equities, but when these nebulous assets were analyzed it was found that a majority of its patents had expired and that all of these items did not exceed $3,159,000. Notwithstanding the enormous and fraudulent overcapitalization of the company, its profits were so large that it paid $2,000,000 interest on its inflated bonded debt and accumulated a surplus of $8,000,000. No dividends were paid upon its stock, nearly all of which, it is interesting to note, is held by the Consolidated Gas Company.

The cost of electric current averages about 3.66 cents per kilowatt hour in Manhattan and the Bronx. Add to this all incidental expenses which the company incurs, whether necessary or unnecessary, including the payment of interest upon an inflated debt and dividends on "watered" capitalization, and the total cost would be 6.32 cents. The Edison Company has charged private consumers as high as 15 cents per kilowatt hour for electric current. It has charged, therefore, over 125 per cent more than the total cost, including all incidental expenses, fraudulent as well as honest.

For incandescent lamps furnished under a blanket contract, for which other large private consumers would have paid $25,000, it appeared from the testimony of one of the officers of the company before the Stevens Committee that the city had been obliged to or rather did pay $80,000. The proceeds of this "graft" yielded the Lighting Trust at the expense of the city $55,000, for which the city got no value at all. It is strange that in view of examples such as these objection is made to public ownership on the ground that it would encourage corruption in our politics.

Brooklyn's electric-lighting monopoly is exercised in practically the same manner as that of the New York Edison Company. The Kings County Electric Light and Power Company owns the stock of the Edison Illuminating Company of Brooklyn, but the latter continues to be the operating company for its own plant and for the other plants which are controlled by the Kings County Electric Light and Power Company.

The sum charged by the Kings County Company for electric current was twenty cents per kilowatt hour. On Jan. 1, 1905, the rate was reduced to fifteen cents for the first two hours, ten cents for the third and fourth, and seven cents for the fifth and sixth, and so on. Current was furnished to special consumers as low as four cents per kilowatt hour.

The Street-Railway Monopoly

The history of the street-railroad franchises in New York City is a record of fraud and municipal corruption. Its record is too long and intricate to trace in this place.

The first grant of a franchise in the Borough of Manhattan was in 1832. Since that time the Board of Aldermen have bestowed the city's franchises with a lavish hand. The city's most valuable properties have literally been disposed of by wholesale. Most of the franchises were given away without any compensation being received by the city. Eighth, Sixth, Third, Second, and Ninth Avenues were rapidly acquired by the franchise grabbers. Several attempts to secure Broadway were made before Jake Sharp finally obtained the present franchise from the "Boodle Board of Aldermen" of 1884.

At present all the street-railroad franchises in Manhattan and the Bronx, whether in, over, or under the streets, are controlled by two companies. The street surface-railroad franchises are controlled by the New York City Railroad Company, and the elevated railroad and subway franchises are controlled by the Interborough Rapid-Transit Company. The Interborough Rapid-Transit Company was incorporated May 1, 1902. It was organized principally for the purpose of maintaining and operating the Rapid-Transit Railway under the Manhattan-Bronx franchise originally granted to John D. McDonald. This company also acquired the rights in the Brooklyn-Manhattan franchise. In Jan., 1903, the Manhattan Railway Company leased to this company all of its railroads and property for a period of 999 years from Nov. 1, 1875, the date of the organization of the Manhattan Railway Company. This company is capitalized for $35,000,000. Of the total issue of stock, $13,600,000 was used to acquire the $6,000,000 stock and all interests of the Rapid-Transit Subway Company; $9,000,000 was offered to stockholders of this last-named company at par and $2,400,000 was sold to the public at 110. In June, 1904, the stock of the company was held by 415 stockholders. All of the stock was held under a voting trust for five years from May 12, 1902. Mr. August Belmont is president of the company.

In 1902 the Metropolitan Street-Railway Company leased to the Interurban Street-Railway Company its railroad and railroad routes, connections, rights, and privileges for a term of 999 years. In Feb., 1904, the Interurban Company changed its name to the New York City Railway Company. In Feb., 1902, the capital of the company was increased to $20,000,000. The Metropolitan Securities Company was organized in 1902 as a security-holding company with a capital of $30,000,000 for the purpose of providing for the present and future needs of the Metropolitan Street-Railway Company. Generally speaking, it may be said that the Metropolitan Securities Company owns the stock of the principal companies, which latter companies control and hold the bonds of smaller companies and lease at large rentals the franchises of various other companies.

Each company has watered its stock many times, and the organization of a Securities Company is a convenient method by which more water is pumped into them when they are reissued as the stock of the new company. The one fact that is perfectly clear through all this complicated tangle is that all the dividends that are paid on all the stocks of the various companies, and all the interest that is paid on all the inflated "debts" of these companies, together

with all other charges, rentals, and expenses, come out of the people of the community.

The Rapid-Transit Act was passed in 1891. It was entitled "An act to provide for rapid-transit railways in cities of over 1,000,000 inhabitants." It provided for the continuance in office of William Steinway, John H. Starin, Samuel Spencer, John H. Inman, and Eugene L. Bushe, who had been appointed as commissioners under the Act of 1875.

The Manhattan-Bronx franchise was the first franchise granted by the Rapid-Transit Commission. The contract constitutes a printed volume of 180 pages, and was executed and delivered on Feb. 21, 1900. Under this contract the contractor agreed to construct and equip the Rapid-Transit Railroad upon the routes and general plans of the Commission, to put it in operation, and to maintain and operate it under a lease from the city for the term of fifty years. The city agreed to pay $35,000,000 in case the whole of the road is constructed, and other specified sums in case it should determine to construct less than the whole. The city also agreed to give the contractor the right to construct and operate the railroad "free of all right, claim, or other interference, whether by injunction, suit for damages, or otherwise, on the part of any abutting owner or other person."

With reference to terminals, the contract provides that the city shall itself purchase the real estate for the terminals by condemnation or otherwise, and that the contractor is to construct them and receive the cost of such construction, with a profit of 10 per cent. The total amount to be paid by the city it is stipulated shall not exceed the sum of $1,750,000. This amount which the city pays is in addition to the $35,000,000 paid for the cost of construction. The contract also provides that the city shall, if necessary, acquire lands for station and other purposes of the railroad in an amount not exceeding $1,000,000, and that if the necessary real estate should cost more than that sum, such excess is to be borne by the contractor.

The city leases to the contractor the whole railroad for fifty years from the time of completion, and at the option of the contractor a new lease of the road is to be granted to him for a period of twenty-five years from the expiration of the lease provided for in the contract.

The contractor agrees to pay as rental a sum equal to the interest payable by the city upon the bonds issued by it to provide means for construction, and also 1 per cent upon the whole amount of such bonds, except that for the first five years the payment is not to be made unless the contractor's profits amount to 5 per cent a year.

The contractor is, under the contract, entitled to charge for a single fare not more than five cents during the life of the contract, and the franchise, rolling-stock, and equipment are exempt from taxation.

In 1894 the Rapid-Transit Act was amended so as to provide that the person, firm, or corporation operating the road should be exempt from taxation upon his or its "interest under said contract, and in all respects to the rolling-stock and other equipment of said road, but this exemption shall not extend to any real property which may be owned and employed by said person, firm, or corporation in connection with the construction and operation of the road."

This tax exemption was a very important amendment, as the original Act of 1891 provided that "every corporation organized under this act shall have its principal office and be taxed on its property in the city where its railway or railways are situated."

Under the contract the contractor is to furnish the equipment, but it is also provided that at the final termination of the lease the city is to buy of the contractor the equipment at a price to be fixt by agreement or by arbitration. This contract was awarded to John B. McDonald upon his offer to construct the road for $35,000,000. McDonald also furnished a bond of $1,000,000 for the faithful performance of the conditions of the contract. August Belmont & Co. organized the Rapid-Transit Subway Construction Company with a capital of $6,000,000 to enter into a contract with McDonald to promote the construction of the road, to furnish the security given by him, and to finance his undertaking.

On their part, what do Mr. Belmont and his associates give in trade for this splendid possession? First, they pay the interest on the money which we supplied, about 3¼ per cent, and they pay 1 per cent sinking-fund—or much less than what they would have had to pay had they borrowed the money in the open market and undertaken the work as a private enterprise. That is all they pay—everything. The question of equipment may be disregarded, because the city must purchase the equipment at the end of the contract term. As to the damage cases of adjacent property-owners, which most corporations have to pay—why, the city in its goodness also engages to satisfy all of them. The city will not get, all told, as much as if the property were subject to ordinary taxation and no other payment made whatever to the city.

In upholding the constitutionality of the Rapid-Transit Act, Judge Barrett reviewed some of the objections to the law in the following language (*Sun* Publishing Ass'n *vs.* Mayor, 8 App. Div., 230, 247): "The plaintiff's argument rests necessarily upon the theory that the board will not faithfully discharge its duties to the city, but will act entirely in the interests of the contractor—an inference which is purely gratuitous."

This decision was, of course, rendered before the McDonald-Belmont contract was made. What was at that time a "purely gratuitous" inference became afterward an actual fact. The board did act in the interests of the contractor rather than of the city. It did require the minimum compensation allowed by law. It did make the worst possible contract which by law it was authorized to make.

On Sept. 11, 1902, the board awarded the contract for the Brooklyn-Manhattan Railroad to the Rapid-Transit Subway Construction Company. All that can justly be said of this contract is that it is not in all respects as bad as was the Manhattan-Bronx contract. The enormous profit which the company will derive from this contract, providing, as it does, for exemption from taxation, is evident from the fact that the company consented to construct the road, the estimated cost of which would be almost $9,000,000, for $3,000,000.

Notwithstanding that the Brooklyn Rapid-Transit Company enjoys valuable franchises in hundreds of miles of the city's streets and has been accorded franchises which are practically perpetual, probably no corporation which has ever operated in the city of New York has shown a more consistent contempt for the public and a more complete disregard of their rights and convenience than has this company. Its cars are in bad repair and are permitted to remain in a dirty condition, while during the winter months little or no attempt is made to keep them adequately heated. The services accorded the public of the Borough of Brooklyn, that is at present absolutely dependent upon it, are simply atrocious. The treatment of its employees has always been bad, and, in common with the other railroad companies operating in the city, it has paid no attention whatever to the provisions of the labor law.

On Oct. 9, 1902, the Rapid-Transit Commission issued its certificate granting a franchise to the Pennsylvania, New York & Long Island Railroad Company, a franchise of which a committee of the Rapid-Transit Commission, consisting of A. E. Orr, Charles Stewart Smith, and Edward M. Grout, declare in their report: "Your committee has no hesitation in saying that its terms are, on the whole, *very greatly in the interest of the city of New York.*"

The committee in their report offer no excuse for accepting terms which secure to the city grossly inadequate compensation, altho the committee seem to offer their apology to the railroad company for having charged it the paltry and ridiculous sum of $200 a year in return for the rights under the North and East rivers.

The New York and Jersey franchise was granted by the Rapid-Transit Commission July 10, 1902.

This valuable franchise is, by the terms of the grant, given in perpetuity upon absurdly inadequate compensation.

The only theory upon which it seems possible to understand the extraordinary policy pursued by the Rapid-Transit Commission in disposing of the franchise wealth of the city is that the commission is under the impression that any corporation which consents to accept and operate a public franchise confers a benefit upon the public.

The Hudson and Manhattan franchise was granted by the Board of Rapid-Transit Railroad Commissioners on Nov. 24, 1903.

The franchise is granted in perpetuity upon grossly inadequate compensation. For the right to enter the city the company is to pay $100 per annum for twenty-five years. For rights under dock property the company is to pay at fifty cents per foot per annum for ten years and $1 per annum for the next fifteen years. For street or vault rights in Cortlandt, Dey, and Fulton streets, contiguous to terminal stations, the company is to pay at the rate of forty cents per square foot per annum for ten years and eighty cents per square foot per annum for the next fifteen years.

For tunnel rights under the streets the company is to pay $9,000 per annum for ten years and $15,000 per annum for the next fifteen years.

The total estimated sum per annum which the city would receive is, for the first ten years, $13,040.80; for the next fifteen years, $22,993.60.

The Belmont monopoly, by the grace of the Rapid-Transit Commission, is grasping New York City in its toils, and unless the people take decisive action at once, the city will be completely at its mercy. Mr. Ray Stannard Baker's summary contains a warning against, as well as a description of, the growing Belmont power:

"The people do not realize what this Belmont monopoly has already come to be. It is not only the greatest combination of street-car interests New York ever had but it promises to be the most piratical. The aim of Belmont, and the European Rothschilds behind him, is complete monopoly. Already he controls the subway and all the elevated railroads in Manhattan, he owns the surface-car lines in Long Island City, and he has just acquired the old perpetual franchise of the Steinway Tunnel Company, which enables him to build another tunnel to Brooklyn, and he is on the way to obtain other important rights. Through his associates, also, he is interested in the new Hudson River Tunnel, which recently obtained a franchise up Sixth Avenue, thereby giving him a grasp of the passenger traffic of Jersey City. And now he is trying to get hold of the financially dishonest Metropolitan Railway Company, which controls the surface lines of Manhattan. When he gets that he can rest with smiling content, having captured the city."

That Mr. Belmont is well satisfied with the existing situation we know, for he has told us. He has even gone so far as to congratulate the public upon the contract which it made with him for the building and operation of the subway and to warn us of the dangers of municipal ownership.

Listen to what Mr. Belmont says:

> At a time when there are so many ill-digested and ill-considered plans under discussion, having for their object not only municipal ownership but municipal operation of transportation lines, the city of New York has reached the true solution of this problem—that municipal participation is justified to the extent of furnishing credit for the construction of such a work, but should stop short of the operation of the property when constructed. To private interests should be committed the risks and the burden as well as the profit of constructing, equipping, and operating the road, the latter not being within the governmental functions or other legitimate province of a municipality.

NEW ZEALAND: New Zealand, from the standpoint of social reform, is one of the most interesting and, in very many respects, the most advanced country in the world.

I. Statistics

The colony of New Zealand consists of three main islands, with several groups of smaller islands lying at some distance from the principal group. It has an area of 104,751 sq. m., about one fourth larger than Great Britain. Population, 1906 (including 47,845 Maoris), 888,758, or 7.4 to the square mile; 471,008 were males. There were 2,570 Chinese. The birth-rate fell from 37.32 in 1882 to 25.12 in 1899, since when it has risen to 27.22 in 1905. The marriage rate has steadily risen from 5.94 per 1,000 of population in 1898 to 8.28 in 1905. Illegitimate births increased from 3.70 in every 100 born in 1893 to 455 in 1903. Divorces increased from 25 in 1893 to 103 in 1901 and 91 in 1902. The death-rate is lower than in any country of which we have statistics; it was only 9.27 in 1905. In 1906 the chief cities, Wellington (the capital) had a population of 58,563 (with suburbs, 63,807); Auckland, 37,736 (with suburbs, 82,101); Christ Church, 49,928 (with suburbs, 67,878). Education is free and compulsory, and mainly in the hands of the State. The number unable to sign their marriage certificates was 295 in 1881, 117 in 1891, and 68 in 1903. There were in 1905 1,806 public primary schools with 137,623 pupils and 295 private schools with 16,378 pupils. The regularity of attendance is high, being some 85 per cent of the average roll number. The school age is from five to fifteen.

Vital Statistics

A great advance was made during 1902 in respect to manual and technical education. The total number of recognized classes, which at the end of 1901 was 425, increased to 980 at the close of 1902.

There were in 1905 27 endowed or incorporated secondary schools, with 4,060 pupils. There were also 3 schools of mines, 4 normal schools, 5 schools of art, and 11 industrial schools, all more or less aided by the government. The New Zealand University is a degree giving body with several affiliated colleges, giving advanced education. There were in 1903 364 public libraries subsidized by the State.

Crime is on the decrease (see CRIME, page 240). Drunkenness, however, seems increasing, tho mainly among persons who have come to the colony from abroad. At the census of 1901, out of the total population of New Zealand over fifteen years of age, 51.85 per cent were found to have been born here; while the proportion of the convictions for drunkenness of New-Zealand-born Europeans to the total convictions was in the year 1900 about 17 per cent only. Of those in jail only 28 per cent were New-Zealand born.

In 1904 there were 1,180 various relief institutions. There are 19 benevolent asylums for the indigent, with 1,167 inmates. The needy are aided by relief boards. There are 4 orphan asylums, but the boarding-out system is largely adopted for needy children. In 1903 there were 2,174 inmates of various asylums. It is educational rather than charitable. Under the First Offenders' Probation Act, such offenders are placed under probation officers.

There is a school for deaf-mutes and one for the blind. The main occupation is agriculture. In 1901 there were employed in agriculture 89,222; in manufactures, 60,819; in commerce, 33,394; in the professions, 23,509; in mining output, 17,816; in fisheries and forestry, 3,667; in domestic occupations, 34,394.

Two thirds of the country is suitable for agriculture and grazing, tho 20,000,000 acres are still under forest. In 1906 there were reported 37,167,460 acres in 69,942 holdings; of these 19,787 had 1 to 10 acres; 17,745, 10 to 50; 7,562, 50 to 100; 9,950, 100 to 200; 20,405 had 200 to 1,000; 811 had 1,000 to 50,000; 90 had 50,000 and over. (For the land system, see below.) In 1901, of those engaged in agriculture, 28,337 were farmers, 12,908 family or relative assistants, 19,749 farm-laborers, 3,220 run-holders, and 7,662 station hands. The principal crops wheat, oats, and barley.

Industries

The natural mineral resources of New Zealand are great, and have exercised in the past an important influence on the development and progress of the colony, particularly as to gold. In the earliest years the gold was obtained from alluvial diggings, but at the present time the greatest quantity is taken from gold-bearing quartz, which is distributed widely through the colony, and thus there is a prospect of more permanency than alluvial diggings could give.

Up to 1906 the value of the gold produced was nearly

£70,000,000; in 1905 it was £2,093,936. The same year silver was produced to the value of £1,179,744; coal, £838,531. Manufactures in 1900 had a capital estimated at £7,959,000 with a product (1900) of £17,141,149.

Commerce is on the increase. The main exports are wool, frozen meat, gold, butter and cheese, sheepskins and pelts, tallow, gum, grain; the chief imports, clothing, steel goods, and machinery. In 1905 the exports were: to the United Kingdom, £7,795,284; to the Australian states, £1,815,717; to the United States, £1,438,501. Exports from the United Kingdom, £12,087,118; Australian states, £2,294,271; U. S., £716,301. The registered vessels of the colony (foreign and coast) were, in 1905, 338 sailing vessels, of 41,576 tons, and 271 steamers, of 76,543 tons.

In no country in the world are general conditions so favorable to all. Wages are high, while other features (see below) make labor secure and with many advantages. Wages in 1903 in the provincial districts of Auckland and Taranaki, respectively, were:

	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Farm laborers:				
With board, per week	15 0 to 25 0		20 0	
Without board, per day	7 0		7 0	
Per day, without board:				
Masons	10 0 to 14 0		12 0	
Bricklayers	10 0 to 14 0		12 0 to 12 8	
Carpenters	9 0 to 12 0		10 0	
Smiths	8 0 to 10 0		9 0	
General house servants, with board, per week	10 0 to 17 6		10 0 to 15 0	
Housemaids, with board, per week	8 0 to 15 0		10 0 to 15 0	
Nursemaids, with board, per week	5 0 to 10 0		5 0	
Coopers	8 0 to 10 0		8 0 to 10 6	
Watchmakers	8 0 to 12 0		8 0 to 10 0	
General laborers, without board, per day	7 0 to 8 0		8 0	
Miners, without board, per day	7 6 to 10 6		8 0	
Dressmakers	10 0 to 25 0		12 0 to 36 0	
Machinists	15 0 to 30 0		20 0 to 42 0	

The estimates of the wealth of New Zealand, from the *Official Year Book of 1904*, are as follows:

Estimated Private Wealth

Year	Amount	Average per head
1893	£156,058,273	£232
1900	228,236,158	296
1901	229,587,916	291
1902	240,054,835	297
1903	256,402,400	308

Public Property, 1903

Public property—i. e., land and improvements not owned by individuals, exclusive of government railways:		
Crown lands	£15,303,184	
Local authorities' lands	4,319,539	
Educational lands	3,181,739	
Church and other lands	2,249,378	
		£25,053,840
Government railways, open and under construction, March 31, 1903		20,366,000
Other public works—viz., telegraphs, lighthouses, harbors, and water-supply on goldfields		4,916,771
Total public property		£50,336,611
Private		256,402,400
Native lands		7,500,000
Total wealth		£314,239,011

Progress in New Zealand

Year	Population	Occupied and cultivated holdings over one acre in extent	Exports (the produce of New Zealand), total value	Imports, total value	Public debt: debentures and stock in circulation. (Prior to 1880 the figures are for calendar years)	Bank deposits	Post-office and other savings-bank depositors	Government Life-Insurance	
								No. of policies	Scholars at primary schools
			£	£	£	£			
1854	32,554	.....	320,890	891,201	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1860	79,711	.....	549,133	1,548,333	.....	644,521	1,104	.....	.....
1870	248,400	10,211	4,544,682	4,639,015	7,841,891	3,127,769	12,137	59	.....
1880	484,864	24,147	6,102,300	6,162,011	28,185,711	8,538,935	47,462	11,656	82,401
1890	625,508	38,083	9,428,761	6,260,525	38,830,350	12,368,610	118,344	28,102	117,912
1900	768,278	62,786	13,055,249	10,646,096	49,591,245	15,570,610	228,883	40,368	130,724
1901	787,657	.....	12,690,460	11,817,915	52,966,447	16,034,848	245,024	41,291	131,351
1902	.....	.....	13,498,599	11,326,723	55,899,019	17,231,767	261,948	42,406	132,262
1903	.....	.....	14,838,192	12,788,675	57,522,215	19,011,114	280,011	43,116	133,568
1904	.....	.....	14,601,787	13,291,694	59,912,000	.....	297,569	.....	137,623
1905	.....	.....	15,503,530	12,828,857	[1]62,191,040	20,545,601	316,376	.....	.....
1906	888,578	69,912	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

[1] Net debt, £59,670,471.

The above table seems a sufficient answer to those who have questioned the advantage to New Zealand of her progressive policy.

In 1901 the unimproved value of the land was estimated at £75,832,465 and of improvements at £46,392,564, a total of £122,225,029; in 1905 the corresponding figures were £122,937,126 and £74,747,349, a total of £197,684,475.

II. Government and Constitution

The government consists of a governor appointed by the crown (Lord Plunket), a ministry, and two houses of Parliament (a Legislative Council and House of Representatives). The High Commissioner in London is the Hon. W. P. Reeves (*q. v.*). The Council has thirty-five members, nominated by the governor; the House, eighty members, elected triennially by adult suffrage, and includes four Maoris.

The qualifications for electors are residence in the colony for a year, and in the electoral district for three months. Women have the suffrage, but the proportion of women enrolling shows some signs of falling off and in general woman's suffrage in New Zealand has shown no remarkable results either favorable or unfavorable. There is little or no tendency to elect women to offices. Members of the Lower House receive £300 and of the Upper House £200 a year. For local government the country is divided into 91 counties and 103 boroughs, the counties being further divided into town districts and road districts.

The Ministry, consisting of eight, is the responsible governing body, and since 1890 has

been in the hands of the Liberals with a large policy of public works and governmental activities. This has meant large government expenditures, and considerable increase of debt, but in reality only an apparent increase, since the expenditures in almost all cases have been on activities sufficiently remunerative to bring in revenue enough to pay off the interest on the debt they have created and supply a sinking-fund to gradually pay off the debt. The few exceptions have been for expenditures so plainly for the benefit of the colony as to call out little general censure. The average debt per head of population in 1896 was 60*l.* 20*s.* 6*d.* and in 1906, 67*l.* 0*s.* 11*d.* The average taxation per head in 1901 was 3*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*, and in 1906, 4*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.*

The chief sources of revenue (1906) were: Customs, £2,697,411; railways, £2,338,418; post and telegraph, £1,201,263; land tax, £383,756; income tax, £261,816; total (with other sources), £7,828,570. The chief expenditures were: Public debt charges, £2,187,437; railways, £1,594,954; education, £714,071; post and telegraph, £577,115; constabulary and defense, £291,808; total (with other items), £7,122,340.

Nearly all public works are now in the hands of the government. In the early days these simply kept pace with the spread of settlement, but by 1870, however, the progress of the country seemed to demand inauguration of the "Public Works and Immigration Policy," which provided for carrying out works in advance of settlement. Railways, roads, and water-races were constructed, and immigration conducted on a large scale. Hence largely the increased debt.

Government activities now include operation of all public utilities, government banking, postal savings-banks, nationalization of much of the land, government loans to home-builders, State operation of coal-mines, State trusteeship and management of estates, State title guaranty, progressive taxation of land values and exemption of improvements, State purchase of patents, village and farm settlements for the poor, direct employment on public works, mandatory arbitration of labor disputes.

State Activities

Government railways (1906) included 2,520 miles (a private line has 89 miles). The surplus of returns above expenditures (see above) was £743,464. The total expenditure on government lines to March 31, 1901, has been £24,092,085. The freight carried was 4,241,422 tons, and the passengers numbered 8,826,382. (See RAILWAYS, section New Zealand.) The telegraph system, wholly in the hands of the government, had (1906) 8,355 miles of line. The net surplus of receipts above expenditures for the post and telegraph was £106,152. The telephone is similarly in the hands of the government, and quite remunerative, being very generally used and the rates low.

There are five banks of issue doing business, the Bank of New Zealand being the government bank. In 1894 the government voted £2,000,000 to save it, and now virtually runs it, several of its directors being appointed by the governor. The government postal savings-banks also do a large business. Practically all the money-order post-offices are savings-bank offices, and give the people far more banking facilities per head than in England or the U. S. They are largely used because perfectly safe. No postal bank has ever closed its doors or experienced a run on its funds. The deposits are invested in public works and improvements. The government also makes favorable loans to farmers. Life-insurance is also largely in the hands of the government, as shown by the following table of New Zealand insurance for 1902:

Name of Office	Number of years of business in the colony	New Zealand Business only	
		Number of existing policies at end of year 1902	Gross amount insured by policies at end of year 1902
Australian Mutual Provident Society	41	29,544	£8,015,240
Nine other societies	.....	26,958	6,785,985
Life-Insurance Department of the New Zealand Government	33	42,406	9,896,572
Total, Dec., 1902	.....	99,908	£24,697,797

In the year 1903 was passed an act "to establish a State Fire-Insurance Office and to make other provisions for the insurance and protection of insurable property in New Zealand against loss or damage by fire."

Besides this, in 1899, the government Commissioner of Life-Insurance was given power to insure persons against accident, and specially employers against liability for accident to any person employed, besides generally doing the business of an insurer against accident.

In 1903 the receipts of this department were £24,449, and expenses £19,690, of which £13,230 were paid in claims.

The government conducts a Public Trust Office which (1904) managed 836 wills and trusts (including sinking-funds accounts), 1,062 intestate estates, 854 lunatic estates, 119 native reserves, 333 West Coast Settlement Reserves, 266 unclaimed lands; total, 3,475.

In 1903 the State commenced operation of some State coal-mines, producing some 3,500 tons per week.

The famous land system of New Zealand rests mainly on the Land Act of 1892. The general policy consists (1) of breaking up land monopoly by progressive taxation of the larger holdings; (2) of conserving the remaining public lands for genuine settlers; (3) of limiting the areas of holdings and the right of transfer; (4) of buying up and dividing large estates; (5) of establishing long leases, with periodic revaluations, instead of freehold purchase, as the tenure for land; (6) of preference of the landless in sales, and of aiding, by State loans, etc., the unemployed and the artizan class to get on the soil. Carrying out this policy, land under the Act of 1892 can be had: (1) as freehold, but subject to improvement within seven years to the amount of £1 per acre for first-class land, and half that for second-class, title not being given till the expiration of the seven years; (2) for occupation with right of purchase—a twenty-six-year lease for 5 per cent annually on the cost price of the land, with the right of purchase at the end of ten years, and the fulfilment of exacting conditions as to residents and improvements; (3) for lease in perpetuity (999 years) at a rental of 4 per cent on the cash price, subject to conditions of improvement and residence, without revaluation

Land System

and without right of purchase. No lease can be assigned in law or equity, or taken in execution, or charged in any way for twelve months. Transfer of leases cannot be made without the consent of the Land Board of the district, and mineral lands, resumed lands, special settlements, and improved farms can only be obtained on lease in perpetuity. Purchase in this form is favored in other ways so that as a matter of fact a very large proportion of holdings are now given under this tenure. In 1896 the sale of large estates to the government was made compulsory, on favorable terms to the owner, but the possibility of this together with the pressure of graded taxation has made it seldom necessary to use compulsion, while large areas have come into government ownership and the profit to the government has been large.

Crown lands are divided into three classes: (1) Town and village land, the upset prices of which are respectively not less than £20 and £3 per acre; such lands are sold by auction. (2) Suburban lands, the upset price of which may not be less than £2 per acre; these lands are also sold by auction. (3) Rural lands, being lands not reserved for towns and villages, classified into first- and second-class lands, which may be disposed of at not less than £1 per acre for first-class and 5*s.* an acre for second-class lands; such lands may be either sold by auction after survey, if of special value, as those covered with valuable timber, etc., or be declared open for application. Pastoral lands are included within the term "rural lands," and are disposed of by lease. Besides these general forms of tenure special enactments have been made to aid the landless and working classes to get land.

(1) Under the Small Farms Association system any group of persons numbering not less than twelve may apply for a block of land of not less than 1,000 acres nor more than 11,000 acres; but there must be a member for every 200 acres in the block, and no one may hold more than 320 acres, except of swamp lands. The price of lands within a special settlement cannot be less than 10*s.* an acre. The rental may not be less than 4 per cent on the capital value of the land; the tenure is lease in perpetuity. Residence, occupation, and improvements are generally the same as required under ordinary tenure.

(2) Land may be had under the Improved Farm Settlements Act on application to the commissioner, preference being given to married men. The area of the farms may vary from 10 to 200 acres, according to locality, and no settler can select more than one farm. The land is leased for 999 years at a rental of 4 per cent on the unimproved capital value, to which is added the amount advanced by government for clearing, grassing, etc. Residence for the first ten years is compulsory, and the improvements to be effected are similar to those on leases in perpetuity.

Village settlements are disposed of under regulations made from time to time by the governor, but the main features are as follows: Such settlements may be divided into—(1) Village allotments not exceeding 1 acre each, which are disposed of either at auction or upon application as already described, with option of tenure, the cash price being not less than £3 per allotment; and (2) homestead allotments not exceeding 100 acres each, which are leased in perpetuity at a 4-per-cent rental on a capital value of not less than 10*s.* per acre. Where a village-settlement selector has taken up less than the maximum area prescribed, he may obtain an additional area in certain cases without competition, on the same tenure and terms as the original holding. Residence, improvements, and applications are the same as already described. The leases are exempt from liability to be seized or sold for debt or bankruptcy. The governor is empowered in certain cases to advance small sums for the purpose of enabling selectors to profitably occupy their allotments.

Under these different forms large areas have been taken up, especially under the Small Farms Association system.

Special efforts have been made to get the unemployed out of the cities on to the land. Land within any borough of 15,000 or more inhabitants or within fifteen miles of it can be taken by compulsory process for working men's homes. A man may take a lot not exceeding five acres, and government advances of up to £50 will be made him for fencing, planting, and building. The unemployed are also helped to secure work on public works, while considerable areas of forest-clad lands have been set aside and small contracts given for clearing, burning, and sowing these with grass. As the result of all this, holdings of over one acre have increased from 46,676 in 1895 to 69,942 in 1906; an increase of about 50 per cent in eleven years.

A vital portion of the government's policy is its system of taxation.

In 1891 a land and income assessment act was passed repealing the property tax formerly existing, and providing for an ordinary land tax on the actual value of land, exemptions or deductions being granted on account of improvements. The rate for 1905–6 was 1*d.* in the pound, yielding a revenue of about £281,000. In addition to the ordinary land tax there is a graduated tax on land, rising from one sixteenth of a penny in the pound on values from £5,000 to £7,000, up to 3*d.* in the pound on values of £210,000 and upward. This graduated tax yields in round numbers £105,000 per annum. The income tax-rate is 6*d.* in the pound on the first taxable £1,000 (i. e., after deducting the £300 exemption), and 1*s.* in the pound on taxable incomes over £1,000. The indirect taxation is by way of customs duty and excise duty on beer made in the colony.

The avowed object of this taxation is to break up monopoly and free the small producer. Mortgages are deducted from the land, but the lender is taxed three farthings in the pound. The old, infirm, widows, and orphans with small incomes may also be exempted. Absentee owners of large estates have their taxes increased 20 per cent. The working of the law is such that out of 18,000 people having incomes below the level of the income tax or graded land tax, who were taxed under the old property over £10,000, under this system are released from direct taxation. Yet the large estates pay so much more that the total receipts from taxes have been increased. There is also a progressive inheritance tax rising from no tax on the first £100 to 7 per cent on estates of £1,000; £4,000 and estates above £4,000, 10 per cent. Strangers in blood excepting adopted children pay 3 per cent more. Local authorities are also allowed, on the vote of a certain proportion of their cities, to convert their property taxes into a land value tax, of equal amount, and improvements being exempt as in the national taxation. This embraces, as far as it goes, the single-tax principle, but how far New Zealand is from adopting the single-tax is seen in the extent to which other things than land are taxed, and the small extent to which the land values are taxed. It simply embodies one feature of the single tax in a generally socialistic system. (See Income Tax; Inheritance Tax; Single Tax.)

Taxation

Another well-known portion of the government's policy is its industrial legislation on compulsory arbitration, and toward labor. As to compulsory arbitration, for other details, see p. 61. The essence of it is that either side may demand arbitration, and that the decision has the binding force of a judicial decision. It has

Labor Legislation

made of New Zealand "the land without strikes," and has been copied in Australia and elsewhere. Factory legislation generally in New Zealand, beginning as early as 1873, to-day is in advance of that of any other country. Except in a few specified instances, no man can be employed in a factory over 48 hours a week, nor over 8¾ in one day, nor more than 5 hours continuously; females and boys under 16 can only be employed 45 hours a week, and not more than 4½ hours continuously, or 8½ in one day. Children under 14 may not be employed in factories. Factories are carefully inspected, and good ventilation and hygiene strictly enforced. Any room where two or more persons are employed is a factory. To prevent sweating, records must be kept of all work done outside of factories, with the names and addresses of the workers, all subject to government scrutiny, and all articles so made must be so labeled.

A shop act of 1905 limits the employment of females and boys under 18 in shops to 52 hours per week, and 9½ hours in one day. This practically compels stores to close at supper-time; weekly half-holidays are required; offices, with a few specified exceptions, must close at 5 P.M. on ordinary days, and 1 P.M. Saturdays. The Saturday half-holiday is universal. Seats must be provided for girls in stores.

One important part of the government's labor program is the carrying on of public works by cooperative labor, instead of by contracts. Under this system, begun in 1891, four or more workers may unite in a cooperative group, elect a foreman, and take a contract for a given piece of work, each man in the group having an equal interest, the government buying the materials and supervising the work. The railways and public works of New Zealand since 1891 have frequently been built in this way, the result being better work, lower cost, and better men. The average number employed on public works in 1904 was 3,798. The government is also urging and teaching cooperation in agriculture, and does commission work for the farmers. In every way the government has sought to aid labor. The government has a Labor Department and its head is a member of the cabinet. It collects statistics, but its *first* duty is to find work for the unemployed. The chief agents in this work are the factory inspectors and secondly the police. The police all over the island are on the lookout for opportunities for employment to be reported to the labor bureaus. The main effort is to get the men out of the cities into the country. To this end the government gives men looking for work free passes on the State railways, they undertaking to refund the price from their future wages, or it to be deducted from their wages, if they get employment on public works. (See above.) From June, 1891, to March, 1904, the Labor Department found work for 35,257 men, with 74,007 persons dependent on them. There is also a State farm at Levin of 800 acres of heavy forest and scrub, managed by the Labor Department, where the unemployed can be given temporary work and families given temporary shelter. Its improvement has met the cost of the work, tho the majority sent there are elderly men unused to such work and who have to be taught.

The Unemployed

The Old-Age Pension Law is also well-known, passed in 1898 (amended 1905). Every person, not an alien, Asiatic, criminal, or drunkard, is entitled to a pension of £20 a year after the age of sixty-five. No one whose property amounts to £260, or who has a yearly income of £60, can receive a pension, and in the case of those who have less, deductions are made proportionate to their property and income. The total number of pensions in force on March 31, 1906, was 12,583, representing a yearly payment of £513,018, the average pension being about £24 18*s*.

All this government activity rests on a democratic basis. All property qualifications for the suffrage were done away with in 1896. Representatives are nominated by petitions in writing signed by two or more voters of the district and transmitted, with the candidate's assent and a deposit of £10, to the returning officer, who immediately publishes the name of the candidate. When the election comes, each voter is given a ballot which is simply a list of the candidates in alphabetical order, with no party name, symbol, or description of any kind. There is no party machine nor boss. A referendum system has also been adopted. At every triennial election there is a referendum as to the liquor traffic, there being full local option. The voters of each district are asked to vote for the continuance, the reduction, or the prohibition of licenses. The result is a growth of the prohibition vote and the extension of prohibition territory.

Electoral System

Municipal manhood suffrage was not adopted till 1898. Municipal ownership is consequently not so developed as national public ownership, tho all the *cities* own and operate their own street-cars, gas-works, water-works, and electric plants. Rates are much lower than in the U. S. A penny is the average street-car fare within city limits. To some extent, however, as in Australia, the State operates local services.

The police is wholly in the hands of the State and numbers 656. There is a militia liable for service of 140,000 (permanent, 262) and a volunteer force (1905) of 18,545. The colony has some torpedo boats but no navy.

III. Social Reform

The story of social reform in New Zealand is the evolution of the government activities described above. The following brief outline of its development is abridged from Professor Parsons's "The Story of New Zealand":

Discovered by Tasman (1642); visited by Captain Cook (1769); the first British resident arriving in 1833; the first body of the New Zealand Company's immigrants arrived and New Zealand was annexed to the British Empire as a part of New South Wales in 1840, and made an independent colony in 1841. The real founder of the colony was Gibbon Wakefield (*q. v.*), who directed the New Zealand Company, and whose aim was scientific colonization. Its first great governor was George Grey (*q. v.*), who arrived as governor in 1845. In 1850 the interests of the company were surrendered to the imperial government and the present constitution adopted 1862. Gold was discovered in 1861. Real executive power passed to the ministry in 1868. The chief questions in the early years were as to the natives and the colony *vs.* the local provinces. One of the early policies was cheap or free land, with the use of the Torrens transfer system. This developed very large holdings. Necessities of development, however, called out State activ-

ities and able leaders. The first railway was opened 1863; postal savings-banks were established 1865; government life-insurance, 1869; Public Trust Office, 1872. This public works policy was largely due to Sir Julius Vogel, treasurer in the ministry of William Fox. In 1875 Sir George Grey commenced a strong campaign for liberal and democratic principles, and influenced the whole colony and all Australasia. He sat in New Zealand's Parliament continuously from 1879 till his death in 1890. His Land Tax Act (the first land value act) was carried in 1878. The perpetual lease system, tho first proposed by Liberals, was enacted by a Conservative ministry (Whitaker's) in 1882. The Village Settlements system, the first efforts for the unemployed, and other land features were mainly due to John Ballance, Minister of Land, and occasioned by the bad years of 1885 and 1886.

The year 1890, however, saw a political revolution. The years from 1885–90 had been years of depression. During that period 20,000 left New Zealand. The unemployed were numerous. Yet millions of acres lay idle in the hands of monopolists. Meanwhile the seeds of liberal and radical thought, sown by Vogel, Grey, and Ballance, with the beginnings of land-value taxation, had found ready soil. Henry George lectured through Australasia early in 1900, and tho no Australasian commonwealth adopted his ideas, they set men thinking.

The defeat, too, in 1890, of the great shipping strikes in Australia and New Zealand (see AUSTRALIA) drove the trade-unionists to the ballot. In New Zealand, however, they did not form a new Labor Party as they did in Australia, but joined with the small farmers in supporting the Liberal Party, led by John Ballance, who as Land Commissioner had shown himself a radical friend of the people. There is no Labor Party distinctively in New Zealand, tho five or six Labor men have been elected to Parliament since 1890. These and other causes led to the political overturn of 1890. The campaign turned on land and labor and taxation. The larger estates were held responsible for the depression. The result was that Ballance became Premier with a Liberal Labor House. The council was against the ministry, but Mr. Ballance demanded that the governor appoint twelve new councilors to enable the ministry to carry out its pledges. The governor objected, but consented to refer to the English colonial office. This supported the ministry as constitutionally in power and the councilors were appointed. The Liberal Labor legislation then began. The first work was the taxation of the land monopolists (see above), the ministry declaring its purpose to be to check monopoly, aid the poor, and equalize wealth. The Hon. John McKenzie was made Land Minister and the land reforms were carried out. In 1893 the women were enfranchised. In 1894 the Bank of New Zealand was practically nationalized (see above). John Ballance died in 1893, and then Richard J. Seddon was made Premier, and enthusiastically carried on the Liberal Labor program. In 1891 the Hon. W. P. Reeves, Ballance's Minister of Justice and Education, was made Labor Minister, at the head of the new Labor Department, and much of the advanced labor legislation of New Zealand, especially the great Arbitration Act and the aiding of the unemployed, is due to him, altho since 1896 Mr. Reeves has been Agent-General for New Zealand in London. In 1898 the old-age pensions were established; in 1901 universal penny postage and the State coal-mines act was passed. Mr. Seddon died in 1906. The elections of 1902 and 1905, however, guarantee a continuance of the Liberal Labor policy, in 1905 (December) the opposition securing less than 20 seats in a House of 80. In Sept., 1906, the New Zealand Government introduced a new land bill of a drastic nature, "especially the clauses compelling all owners to sell within ten years excess of land held beyond £50,000 unimproved value, and the provisions preventing present owners of 1,000 acres of first-class land, or 5,000 acres of second-class land, from adding to their estates either by freeholds or leaseholds. Under these clauses future sales or leases of first- and second-class land would have to be in 1,000-acre and 5,000-acre lots or less respectively."

Labor, however, wants more.

The New Zealand Trades Council's Conference in 1906 passed a resolution in favor of the following six items of policy: (*a*) Nationalization of land and of mineral wealth. (*b*) Nationalization of marine, coastal, and intercolonial services. (*c*) Government State clothing and boot factories, flour- and woolen-mills, bakeries, ironworks, and ship-building yards. (*d*) Nationalization of kauri gum industry. (*e*) Rating on unimproved values. (*f*) Stoppage of sale of crown lands and revaluation of crown lands held on lease.

The *Daily Mail Year Book* for 1907 prints the following extract from a private letter from Mr. Tregear:

> Here, in New Zealand, we keep pegging away, sapping little by little the foundations of one monstrous privilege after another. We got arbitration upon its sturdy legs, and I know you have followed its career with interested eyes. Now we have again a crusade against the landlords in cities and suburbs, because every advantage in wages, etc., gained for the workers by arbitration is being exploited and neutralized by robber rents. We are taking voluntarily, by sale, or compulsorily, lands near towns for workmen's homes, to enable the holder to erect homes, etc., thereon, secured, of course, on the land and improvements themselves. The result is, no country is prospering in the world at the present time like New Zealand. Let no man think, however, that our prosperity leaves us without evils to combat. We have barely touched the fringe of the soiled economic garment. So long as the wage system endures, so long as capital holds the land, machinery, and other means of production, so long is the bulk of our population only a collection of well-fed, well-clothed slaves.

REFERENCES: *New Zealand Official Year Book*; *A Statistical Account of Australia and New Zealand*, T. A. Coglan (annuals); *The Story of New Zealand*, Frank Parsons, 1904; *State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand*, William P. Reeves, 1902; *Newest England* and *A Country Without Strikes*, Henry D. Lloyd, 1900; *Our Foes at Home*, Hugh H. Lusk, 1897; *Labor Conditions in New Zealand*, V. S. Clark in *Bulletin 49 of U. S. Bureau of Labor*, Nov., 1903.

NICHOLLS, GEORGE: Member, British Parliament, of the Labor Party for Northants, N.; born 1864 at Whittlesea; became a farm hand at the age of eight, a navvy in 1883, and went back to Whittlesea to take up work in the gravel pits. He was a lay pastor of the Congregational Church at Chatteris from 1894–1902. Elected to Parliament by the Labor vote in 1906. *Address*: Chesterton, Staffordshire, England.

NIEUWENHUIS, FERDINAND DOMELA: A Dutch Socialist; born at Amsterdam, 1846, and educated for the ministry at Luther College; clergyman in Harlingen, 1870; Beveruyk, 1871, and in 1875 at The Hague. Here he became a celebrated preacher; but in 1879 left the Church, feeling that it was on the side of the rich against the poor. Henceforth he devoted himself to the Socialist propaganda, being for long the head and front of the movement in Holland. In 1879

he founded the *Recht voor Allen*, the main Dutch Socialist weekly. From 1888–91 he was a member of Parliament, a position he cared very little for at the last, believing that the government was so completely in the hands of the capitalists that for Socialists to attempt to work through it was worse than useless. The feeling grew upon him till he utterly opposed the participation of Socialists in politics, and was therefore opposed by the majority of the Dutch Socialists, who often called him an anarchist, tho his ability and radical utterances made him popular among the masses. He was sent, however, to Socialist international congresses at Paris and Zurich (1893), where he entered into heated controversies with Liebknecht and others. He found himself in a dwindling minority till his influence largely passed away. He has published numerous books and pamphlets in Dutch or German, among which are "My Farewell to the Church," "The Labor Day," "Capital and Labor," "The Book of the Kings," "The Life of Jesus," "The Bible," "Essays on the French Revolution," "The Future Social Democracy," etc.

NÖRREGÅRD, JENS: Norwegian educator; director of the Testruje Popular High School; born 1838 in Copenhagen; educated at the theological school (1862). He volunteered in Dano-German War, 1864. In 1866 he founded Testruje High School; he received the degree of Ph.D., 1886. He believes that society is to be socialized, chiefly in accordance with the ideas of Henry George. Dr. Nörregård is the author of "Kristi Ore ag Menighedens Taro," 1877; "Ingemanns Digtirstillingog Spencer," 1886. *Address*: Testruje, Marslet, Denmark.

NORTHAMPTON ASSOCIATION: A non-religious community, organized April 8, 1842, located near Northampton, Mass., owning some 500 acres, a silk factory, sawmill, six dwelling-houses, etc., valued in all at $31,000. Its projectors were David Mack, S. L. Hill, George W. Benson, and William Adam. There were no "articles of faith," and very little to hold the community together. It dissolved Nov. 1, 1846. The cause of the failure seems to have been mainly a debt incurred in part on the original capital, which finally proved too heavy to be carried.

NORWAY: A monarchy with a constitution dating from 1814, and severing its connection with Sweden in 1905.

I. Statistics

Area, 124,130 sq. m.; population (1905), 2,311,000, or 18.62 per square mile. Lapps, 19,677; Finns, 7,777. Principal cities with population (1900): Christiania, 227,626; Bergen, 72,251; Trondhjem, 38,180; Stavanger, 30,613. In 1900 there were: 15,222 marriages; 66,149 births; illegitimate births, 4,824; deaths, 34,932; excess of births over deaths, 31,217. Emigration is on the increase; 6,699 left in 1899 and 26,784 in 1903; but only 21,059 in 1905. Of this number 93 per cent in 1903 went to the U. S.

Vital Statistics

Religion is almost exclusively the evangelical Lutheran, the only church endowed by the State.

Education is general, and has been compulsory for a number of years. The school expenses are borne partly by the communes, partly by the counties, and partly by the State. The total expenditure for primary education in 1903 was 11,391,000 kroner, supporting 6,017 elementary schools with 266,095 pupils in the country, and 2,697 classes with 84,309 scholars in towns. There are 90 secondary schools, with 16,332 pupils; 27 of these have higher departments for classics or mathematics; they are coeducational. Eighty-nine private and communal schools give a more advanced education; 10 normal schools had 953 students. The university at Christiania has about 1,600 students. (See EDUCATION.)

Occupations are chiefly agricultural; 1,612,382, or 72 per cent of the population in 1900, living in rural districts, and 627,650, or 28 per cent, in towns. Owing to mountains, northern latitude, and numerous water-courses, only 3 per cent of the total area are under cultivation; 22 per cent under forest; and 75 per cent under grass or unproductive. There were 159,255 land proprietors, the vast majority of whom were small owners. The main crops are barley, oats, rye, potatoes.

Industries

Forestry is a great industry, the total area being estimated at 26,330 sq. m., 73 per cent of which is under pine and spruce. The State forests cover about 3,530 sq. m., and are administered by a special staff under the Minister of Agriculture. In 1905 Norway exported lumber to the amount of 34,963,800 kr., and wood pulp to 30,068,500.

Mining is unimportant, the total output being valued (1904) at 6,645,000 kr.—consisting principally of sulfur pyrites, copper, and silver ores.

Fisheries engaged (1904): in cod, 77,460 men; in herring, 11,226; in mackerel, 4,483. The total value of the output was 26,910,000 kr. Other fisheries, e. g., in the North Sea, deep sea for whale, walrus, seal, shark, etc., produced in 1904 a total of 7,587,000 kr.

Commerce.—The imports (1905) were 312,236,300 kr. (about $36.22 per capita); exports, 188,920,200 kr. ($21.91 per capita). Imports (1905) were chiefly *from*: Germany, 87,189,600 kr.; Great Britain, 77,748,000; Sweden, 38,469,600; Russia and Finland, 32,154,400; Denmark, 26,986,800. Exports *to*: Great Britain, 82,167,000 kr.; Germany, 31,412,700; Netherlands, 20,222,700; Sweden, 15,229,100; Spain, 13,225,500.

Shipping and Navigation was carried on by a mercantile marine of 5,843 sailing vessels with 808,768 tons, and 1,477 steamers with 642,657 tons in 1905. The principal ports are Christiania, Bergen, Trondhjem, and Frederiksstad.

II. Constitution and Government

The present king is Haakon VII.; born 1872; elected by the Storthing, 1905. The constitution, dating from 1814, vests the legislative power in the Storthing. The king possesses the veto to a limited extent; he is commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and appoints to all higher offices.

The Storthing meets every year for two months, and expires by limitation every three years. The king's permission is needed if the sessions extend over two months. All male citizens of twenty-five years may vote; election is direct. There are 123 Representatives; 41 from the towns; 82 from the country. They must be at least thirty years of age, residents of Norway for ten years, and voters in their districts. In 1903 the number of electors was 457,541, or 19.96 per cent of the total population; 236,650, or 51.72 per cent of the whole number, cast ballots. Women have the suffrage on questions of education and excise.

When in session, the Storthing divides itself in two houses, the *Odelsthing*—one fourth of the total members—and the *Lagthing*, the remaining three fourths. The rights and duties are those usually assigned to an "upper" and a "lower" house in legislative bodies; but common sittings are very frequent. The king is assisted by a cabinet of nine ministers.

The *finances* for 1905 were: revenue, 92,694,000 kroner; expenditure, 94,185,000 kr. The revenue came chiefly from indirect taxes and customs duties; the expenditure went chiefly to the State railways, army and navy, posts and telegraphs.

Railways have a total length (1906) of 1,584 miles, 1,347 of which are owned and operated by the State. The State railways received in 1905–6 the sum of 14,542,788 kr., and expended 10,860,731; surplus, 3,682,057; they carried 9,112,434 passengers. There were 2,836 post-offices in 1905; receipts, 6,200,000 kr., expenses, 7,648,124; deficit, 1,448,124.

The length of the State-owned telegraph lines

was (1905) 9,170 miles; receipts, 3,885,011 kr.; expenses, 2,718,876; surplus, 1,166,135.

The *army* is of the militia type, resembling that of Switzerland. The first and second lines comprize about 75,000 men, from the age of 22 to 34. The *navy* numbers about 1,500 men on permanent duty, with a large reserve, since all seafaring citizens between 22 and 38 years of age belong to the latter. (See MILITARISM.)

III. Social Reform

The best known social reform in Norway is its company temperance system. (See special article NORWEGIAN COMPANY SYSTEM. See also TEMPERANCE.) Poor relief is well provided for. The communes are obliged to give relief. Settlement is gained only by two years of continuous residence. Differences are settled by the ecclesiastical ministry in the courts. The nearest relative must support where possible. Miners must and industrial regions can establish their own poor districts. Each district has a poor commission consisting of the pastor and persons chosen by the communal council. Any citizen may be required to act as a relieving officer without pay. The sources for relief are endowments, gifts, and a State fund, and repayment of expenditures. Institutions are rare, paupers mainly being boarded out. In 1894 only 2,390 were in poorhouses. Idleness and neglect to support a family are punishable by imprisonment or labor in a workhouse. Pauperism is extensive, but seems to be decreasing. Christiania has built a few blocks of artizan buildings and created a fund to be lent for the purchase of homes. Factory inspection and protection of laborers in mines and handicrafts exist. Child labor is restricted and education insured. Children under 14 may not be employed in factories, and youths from 14 to 18 not over 10 hours. Women may not be employed in mines nor with machinery, nor for six weeks after confinement. Adult men may not labor after 6 P.M. before a Sunday or a holiday nor till after 10 A.M. on a Sunday or a holiday.

Industrial Reform

By a law of 1894 working people are assured an indemnity in case of accident, and others may insure in the State office. About 80,000 persons are insured. The premiums are paid by employers and cannot be charged to employees. The indemnity is expenses of medical treatment after the fourth week. For the first four weeks, sick benefit clubs are supposed to meet the expenses; 60 per cent of the wages is paid for complete disability and less for partial. Funeral expenses and an annuity of not over 50 per cent of the wage are paid to the family in case of death. If the man is to blame, no indemnity is paid.

Cooperation has had considerable development. There were reported, in 1900, 830 cooperative dairies and cheeseries, and 260 stores, with 28,000 members. (See COOPERATION.)

Organized socialism entered Norway in 1885. In 1887 a Norwegian Labor Party was formed, and declared itself a Socialist party in 1889. It did not grow, however, till toward 1900. In 1897 it cast only 947 votes. In 1900, however, with a universal suffrage it polled 7,440 votes; in 1903, 24,779, and in 1906, 45,000. It elected in that year 10 deputies to the Storthing. In 1901 it elected 31 municipal councilors, and in 1904, 75. The party is organized in 396 groups with 20,000 members. It has four dailies and nine other journals, published one, two, or three times per week. The leading journal is the *Social Demokraten* of Christiania. Considerable other literature is circulated. In 1905 the Socialists strove hard to make Norway adopt republicanism. The party is called the Norwegian Labor Party.

In Norway, as in other Scandinavian countries, the Socialist and trade-union movements are virtually one. All the trade-unions are federated in the *Arbeidernes faglige lands organisation i Norge*, and enroll 25,308 members.

NORWEGIAN COMPANY SYSTEM, THE: The Norwegian Company system is an attempt to control the traffic in spirituous liquors for the benefit of the community, and to reduce its evils to a minimum. It is often called the Gothenburg system, since it began in that city, tho in detail there is considerable difference between the Swedish and the Norwegian systems.

The system is a growth. At the beginning of the nineteenth century both Sweden and Norway had the largest per-capita consumption of spirits among civilized nations. Climate and other causes contributed to this result; but the ancient custom of drinking on every social occasion was, perhaps, the most powerful. There was also free trade both in the distilling and the sale of spirits, with very few limitations.

In order to check this, laws were passed in Sweden and Norway between 1845–55, forbidding free distillation, and putting both the manufacture and sale of spirits under government control. These laws benefited the country districts, but not the cities.

Gothenburg

In 1865 a committee of the Town Council of Gothenburg reported proposing that the municipal authorities avail themselves of a provision of the law passed in 1855, and hand over to a company the licenses for the sale of brandy. (1) Neither capitalists nor liquor dealers were to derive any profit from the traffic, so as to remove the temptation to push the sale. (2) Publicans could no longer give credit nor act as pawnbrokers. (3) Public houses were to be well lighted and ventilated, spacious and clean. (4) Food—well-cooked and wholesome—was to be supplied at moderate charges. (5) Liquor should no longer be sold to minors and intoxicated persons.

A company was formed, consisting of twenty highly respected firms and private individuals. The town council approved the recommendations, the magistrates sanctioned them, and the royal assent to the company's statutes was granted. Oct. 1, 1865, the company, or *Bolag*, took over thirty-six licenses, some of which it operated directly through its agents, others through sublicenses. Its aims were: To make drinking more expensive; to lower the percentage of alcohol; to limit the quantity obtainable at one time by one person; to turn the saloon premises as far as possible into eating-houses; to reduce the number of drunkards both present and future; to reduce the time during which liquor could be obtained.

The law permitted the sale of liquor from 8 A.M. to 7 P.M. for home consumption and from 9 A.M. to 10 P.M. on the premises on week-days, and prohibited it on Sundays and holy days except to persons taking their meals in public places. The *Bolag* had a law passed that no saloons should be established in close proximity to a factory, and that they should have at least two rooms; it reduced the time for sale in the places it controlled to 6 P.M. in the winter and 7 P.M. in the

summer for all workmen; and to 6 P.M. all through the year on the eve of Sundays and holy days; on Sundays and holy days the *Bolag* establishments were open only from 1 to 3 P.M. to persons taking their meals there, when *brännvin* was supplied only as an appetizer. The law considered boys under fifteen as minors; the *Bolag* raised the age to eighteen, and limited the quantity to be sold to one person over the bar to 2 drams—not at too frequent intervals. The company, furthermore, established four eating-houses apart from the saloons where meals could be obtained from 7.30 A.M. to 9 P.M. on week-days, and from 1 to 3 P.M. and 6.30 to 9 P.M. on Sundays—with only one dram of brandy. In order to provide places where people might spend their leisure time profitably reading-rooms were established by the *Bolag*.

Owing to the fact that the *Bolag* obtained control of all licenses for spirits only in 1875, statistics before that date are misleading, since the public houses conducted for private gain had large sales, not only over the bar, but in half-gallon bottles for home consumption, from 1866 to 1874. The company's record really dates from that year.

Sale of Spirits in Gothenburg (in Liters)

Year	Population	In the saloon	Per head	For home consumption	Per head	Total	Per head
1875..	59,986	779,371	12.99	867,369	14.46	1,646,740	27.45
1885 .	84,450	712,974	8.44	812,449	9.62	1,525,423	18.06
1895..	112,670	560,945	4.98	916,559	8.13	1,477,504	13.11
1899..	122,370	728,354	5.95	1,229,843	10.05	1,958,198	16.00
1900..	130,619	743,222	5.69	1,367,580	10.47	2,110,803	16.15
1901..	[1]132,000	723,360	5.48	1,394,240	10.57	2,117,600	16.05
1902..	[1]134,000	771,840	5.76	1,187,240	8.86	1,958,080	14.62

[1] Population for 1901 and 1902 estimated.

In order to better appreciate the decrease in the consumption of spirits, as shown by these figures, it must be stated that Gothenburg is surrounded by a prohibition zone, and that consequently a large part sold for "home consumption" goes to farmers and villagers near the city. In 1868 the *Bolag* had acquired all of the 61 licenses at the disposal of the town, altho some of them did not expire until 1875; it appropriated for public houses 27; transferred to hotels and clubs, 16; left unused, 18. There were consequently 43 licenses used, making one to every 1,172 of the inhabitants. The *Bolag* persistently reduced the number of licenses after the above date, and transferred more of them to eating-houses and hotels, where the sale of liquor was regulated by laws passed on its own initiative by the town council. It also reduced the percentage of alcohol from 50 and 47 to 44, and raised the price of spirits per glass from 6 to 8 öre, or about 25 per cent.

The good effect which the Gothenburg system had in reducing the consumption of spirits was soon noticed by other cities. The consequence was that they introduced it, with similar beneficent results. In 1896 their number was 92 with a total population of 1,006,666. Instead of giving figures for each of these towns to prove the beneficial action of the company plan, it may be better to give them for the whole of Sweden.

The total consumption of brandy was, in liters, in 1870, 43,004,162, or 10.3 per head; 1875—53,967,336, or 12.4; 1880—37,204,801, or 8.1; 1885—39,364,133, or 8.4; 1890—33,478,019, or 7.0; 1895—33,458,088, or 6.9; 1898—40,200,000, or 8.0. Concerning this increase in 1898, see below.

The company system of Norway is based on that of Gothenburg, but differs from it in various important respects. The movement in Sweden started from one city, and was more or less copied by other towns; but the decision as to local option, licenses, etc., was left with the town authorities; the *Bolags*, moreover, have never had full control of all the licenses in the towns and country districts.

Norway

In Norway the system started from the central government. By the Act of May 3, 1871, the power to grant or refuse licenses was reserved to the Department of the Interior, at least by implication. Practically the right to allow the sale is expressly denied to the country districts—i. e., to 82 per cent of the total population in 1875—and also to 5 of the smaller towns. The central government holds, moreover, that the temptation on the part of towns to ask for licenses in order to reduce taxation by other means should be avoided by providing that the profits from the sale of liquor should not go to the defraying of expenses which the towns are bound to meet by regular taxation. Furthermore, the law of July 27, 1894, provided that the profits from the sale of liquor should be divided between the municipality, the company, and the State, the latter's share increasing constantly. In 1897, for instance, the town might get 15 per cent, the company 60, the State 25; but in 1901, when the law had taken full force, the proportion was 15, 20, and 65, respectively. The companies were by this law put in charge of the beer and wine licenses, and had a practical monopoly of the sale of all alcoholic beverages. The law also provided that all inhabitants of a town over twenty-five years old, whether male or female, should have the right to vote for local option or company licenses every five years. In order to reduce the number of wholesale dealers the law raised the amount of liquor which might be sold to an individual from 40 liters to 250, and exacted 1,000 kroner—about $280—yearly for a license. The State thus discouraged the sale of spirits in every possible way.

In order to carry out its benevolent purposes the liquor traffic was put into the hands of companies, or *Samlags*, consisting of the most respected and philanthropic men in each town, under whose supervision reforms have been introduced similar to those in Sweden, e. g., in regard to reduction of licenses, cleanliness, credit, eating-houses, reading-rooms, etc. The hours of sale were, however, further restricted.

Christiansand was the first town to form a *Samlag*. Its example was rapidly followed by others. In 1891 all but 8 out of the 59 towns had formed *Samlags*; of these 8 the petition of 5 was denied, and 3 had private licenses.

To illustrate the operation of the company law, Bergen, the chief port and second city of Norway, may serve as an illustration.

Sale of spirits in Bergen (in liters), per head: 1877—2.45; 1885—1.68; 1895—1.35; 1899—0.96; 1901—0.87. Bars were abolished in 1902. The sales for home consumption remained practically the same, changing from 4.20 in 1897 to 4.99 in 1899, and 5.27 in 1905.

The sales in other cities were similar to those in Bergen. For the whole of Norway the total consumption of spirits was, in liters: 1875—11,842,000; per head, 6.0. In 1885—6,840,000; per head, 3.5. In 1895—7,111,000; per head, 3.5. In 1899—7,247,000; per head, 3.3. For Norway the consumption of absolute alcohol in brandy,

wine, and beer, per head, was: 1877—about 3.3 liters; 1885—about 2.4; 1895—2.5; 1898—2.5; 1905—1.98.

Results

(1) The amount of spirits has gone down in both countries per head of the population; in Norway about 45 to 50 per cent. (2) The number of rum-shops has been reduced, e. g., in the towns of Norway from 501 in 1871 to about 130 in 1902, notwithstanding the increase in population. (3) The saloons have been divested of their various attractions to vice, e. g., immorality, gambling, etc. (4) Eating-houses, libraries, waiting-rooms, etc., have been established to act as counter attractions and serve as places where men may spend their leisure hours without temptation to drink. (5) The time for the sale of liquor has been reduced on week-days, and almost abolished on Sundays and holy days—the time of greatest temptation; and the age of minors has been raised from 15 to 18—the company's inns in Norway have, e. g., refused to sell liquor to about 872 minors, and over 26,000 intoxicated persons. (6) Considerable sums of money have been given for public purposes from the profits of liquor, e. g., the *Samlag* of Bergen turning over 2,652,723 kroner, or about $736,865, from 1877–97; that of Christiania, 4,662,445 kr., or about $1,249,535, from 1886–1903. (7) The liquor traffic has practically been eliminated from politics. (8) The people have been educated to a greater appreciation of sobriety, as is proved by the growth of the Norwegian Abstinence Society from a membership of 8,000 in 1876 to about 400,000 in 1906.

It must be confessed, on the other hand, that the system has not done all that was claimed for it: (1) The consumption of beer has largely increased in both countries, e. g., from 16.5 liters per head in 1875 to 45.0 in 1898 in Sweden, and from 12.3 in 1871 to 23.2 in 1899 in Norway. (2) The arrests for drunkenness have also increased in both countries, e. g., in Gothenburg from 39 per 1,000 population in 1875 to 58 in 1899; in Bergen from 20.6 in 1877 to 25.9 in 1899.

What are the causes of these facts? In Sweden wine and beer licenses have been left in the hands of private persons, and these made every effort to make up for the loss sustained through the transfer of the liquor licenses to the *Samlags*. It is admitted, moreover, that in smaller towns the company saloons have not always been well managed. In regard to arrests it may suffice to say that the sentiment in favor of punishing drunken persons is keener now than it was before, and does not necessarily argue an increase in drunkenness. Stockholm, for instance, shows a decrease from 49 in 1876 to 42 in 1898 per 1,000. The figures gradually decreased from 1876 to 1884, when arrests were only 24 per 1,000; then they rose again. As a matter of fact, the statistics of arrests for drunkenness can be explained only as a sign of greater or smaller strictness.

Conclusions

In conclusion it may be said that the company system has proved a success in both Sweden and Norway, particularly in the latter, since its laws were better framed and gave the companies complete control over alcoholic drinks in 1894. A gradual decrease in the consumption of both beer and liquor has since taken place in Norway; e. g., in 1903 the decrease was 26,955 liters in liquor and 46,745 quarts in beer over 1902. If the laws have not done everything that was expected, one must bear in mind that men are not made sober by law, but by moral and religious influences; neither can customs, centuries old, be suddenly eradicated by a legal decree, but by the slow process of education.

RUDOLPH M. BINDER.

REFERENCES: *The Temperance Problem and Social Reform*, by Joseph Rowntree and Arthur Sherwell, New York, 1900; *The Gothenburg System of Liquor Traffic*, by Dr. E. R. L. Gould, Fifth Special Report of the U. S. Department of Labor, 1893; *Public Control in Sweden and Norway*, *Arena*, Feb., 1905.

NOYES, JOHN HUMPHREY: Founder of the Oneida Community; born 1811 at Brattleboro, Vt.; graduated from Dartmouth College and began to study law. During the great revival of 1831, being converted, he gave up his legal studies, and prepared for admission to Andover Theological Seminary; completed theological course at New Haven, Conn., and was there ordained a minister of the Congregational Church. The views of Christian doctrine he held at this time, particularly as to the possibility of living a sinless life, brought him into conflict with the authorities both of seminary and church. Surrendering his license, he began preaching independently, chiefly in Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Vermont, and in a few years was the acknowledged leader of a considerable body of disciples. Returned in 1836 to his father's home in Putney, Vt., where for the next eleven years he was engaged in publishing his new doctrines in periodicals, pamphlets, and books. During this period, with the members of his family and others, he formed a small community of about forty members; but the opposition of the town to the community was so active that in 1847 he and his associates withdrew from the place. Preliminary steps had been taken the previous summer toward forming a community in central New York, and to this place he and his disciples retired, leaving Putney. This movement resulted in the organization of the Oneida Community, with which the name of Mr. Noyes has ever since been connected. (See ONEIDA COMMUNITY.)

NUREMBERG (Medieval): We present here on its economic side a brief account of Nuremberg at the close of the Middle Ages, as in many ways typical of those ages and full of suggestiveness for modern times. We abridge the account from an article by W. D. P. Bliss in *The Outlook* (March 17, 1906):

Artistic Life

Medieval Nuremberg was a city of success. This breathes from every point. Æneas Sylvius, who wrote in the fifteenth century, says: "The burghers' dwellings seem to have been built for princes. In truth, the kings of Scotland would gladly be housed so luxuriously as the ordinary citizen of Nuremberg." No one can doubt the substantial and widely distributed prosperity of the Burgher City.

One wonders still more at the high quality of its life. Equality here spelled Quality. Art, learning, religion, were universal. There was no artistic set, no learned class, no 5 per cent or 20 per cent who attended church. In Nuremberg, more than elsewhere in the world, the artist was an artizan and the artizan an artist. Her greatest poet was a cobbler. When Adam Krafft carved his ciborium, that "miracle of German art," he represented himself and his assistants in working costume supporting the beautiful creation. Education, too, was popularized. If Gutenberg discovered printing with movable metal type in Mainz in 1455, Nuremberg, before 1500, had twenty-four presses and had printed 200 different works. Nuremberg was the first city in Germany, if not in the world, to found a gymnasium, a secondary school for the people. Equally was her religion for all. Vischer wrought his shrine "to the praise of God Almighty above and the honor of St. Sebald." Each trade gild had its patron saint, its saint's feast, its gild church or chapel.

It is this commingling of art and of commerce, of learning

and of trade, of religion and of daily life, that gives to Nuremberg its greatest charm.

Nuremberg was by no means a perfect city; its citizens were by no means ideal neighbors. The streets were ill kept, if not filthy. The 6,205 "poems" of Hans Sachs were often coarse. The government of the city was habitually cruel and harsh, even when just. The subterranean passages under the Rathhaus, the dark dungeons of the castle, the torture-chamber with its horrors, above all, the "Iron Virgin," deliver us from any sentimental desire for the return of "the good old times." Nevertheless, just this, that out of such darkness and ignorance and evil there did arise such art and freedom, such individuality and success, makes us hasten to ask the question how it all arose.

We do not hesitate to answer: It arose first and foremost—we do not say solely—because Nuremberg was a city of gild rule. No Nuremberger ever seriously dreamed of leaving trade or art or manufacture, or indeed any portion of life, to the accident and incident of unrestricted competition. "Competition," the Nuremberger would have said, "is the death of trade, the subverter of freedom, above all, the destroyer of quality."

Economic Basis

Every Nuremberger, like every medieval man, thought of himself, not as an independent unit, but as a dependent, altho component, part of a larger organism, church or empire or city or gild. This was of the very essence of medieval life. According to the theory of the times, the town held the right to practise trades as a feudal tenure from the emperor, who held it from God. This tenure—the right to practise trades—the Rath, or Town Council, parceled out between the gilds or groups of citizens, each gild having the right to practise only that art or subdivision of art granted it by the Rath. Finally, in its turn, the gild granted to its different individual members the right to practise the trade, conditioned, however, upon restrictions and within very definite limits. The gild determined what raw material might be bought and how much, the number of apprentices any master might employ, and the conditions under which they should work. It determined the number of journeymen in any shop, and the wages they were paid. It held the right to determine, and often did determine, the very methods and mechanism of production. Above all, it fixt the price of the finished product and scrupulously controlled the market.

It will be said, with truth, that the medieval trade-gild was not like the modern trade-union, in that the latter is composed of operatives only, while in the medieval gilds master and workman, employer and employee, tho with fixt order of precedence, nevertheless sat and voted in the same gild. This was true, at least, in the period in which Nuremberg was laying the foundations of her great development. We are not forgetful that the system did not endure. Even under a beneficent feudalism the interests of labor and capital, inherently diverse, broke forth in open strife in Nuremberg as early as the fourteenth century. The artizans formed a new council composed mainly of artizans. This council did not endure, but it sowed the seeds of lasting conflicts between the masters and the men, and the struggle went on till the power of the old gilds was forever gone. But it shows how much Nuremberg owed to the old system.

Take the vexed question of apprenticeship. The gild, as we have seen, determined the number of apprentices. According to the rules of the times, the master "must maintain his apprentice night and day in his house, give him board and attention, and keep him under lock and key." It does not sound very free, nor very inviting; but listen. The master had to teach the apprentice his trade, with all its mysteries. He must keep no secret back, on pain of losing his license to trade. When the apprenticeship (*Lehrjahre*) expired, the young worker was given time and money to travel and study his trade in other countries, for one, three, or even five years (his *Wanderjahre*). If he was an iron-worker, he would go to the Low Countries and see the marvelous iron-work of Antwerp and Liège. If he was a silversmith or goldsmith, he would go to Florence and North Italy. Finally, when he came home, when his *Wanderjahre* were over, then, while working for a master, he was required to make a masterpiece, and only when he had done this and proved himself a master workman could he be admitted to rank as a master in his craft. Do we wonder still that Nuremberg workmanship was renowned?

It will be said that Nuremberg's success was based upon thorough training. But it was the gild rule that made this training possible. The gild did not allow the untrained workman or the mean-spirited trader to cut prices to spoil or steal the market. The gilds measured and weighed and tested all materials, and determined how much each producer could have. The gilds said where materials should be bought. No open market or free trade for them. They equally measured or counted, weighed and tested, the finished product. No dishonest goods, no adulterated wares, were to be foisted on the market to deceive the purchaser or lower the price. As late as 1456 two men were burned alive at Nuremberg for having sold adulterated wines. Wares, the gild laws said, must be, "in the eyes of all, good, irreproachable, and without flaw." To buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market was not Nuremberg's commercial law. The gild regulations, indeed, went into every possible and even absurd detail. The gild laws determined even what the artizan should wear and eat. It was a quarrel over this latter item that largely led to the disruption of the old gilds and the development of the journeymen's gilds.

Gild Rule

But it was not only in economic matters that the gilds held sway. They legislated in the realm of morals and behavior. Only the right of life and of limb was reserved to the emperor. The gilds were charitable and benefit societies. The gild system covered the whole domain of life and entered every province. Even the poets had their gild.

Nuremberg, however, was not unaware of the dangers of combinations. A rescript of a commission of the Reichstag, held in Nuremberg, 1522–23, says:

"Item: The aforesaid monopolies, uniting, combining, associatings and their sellings, have not now for the first time been found out not to be borne; but the same were regarded as very noxious to the commonweal and distinctive and worthy to be punished, as aforetime by the Roman emperors and jurisconsults, and especially by the blessed Emperor Justinian, so that such trespassers should be made to lose all their goods, and, moreover, should be adjudged to eternal misery [exile] from their homes, as standeth written. . . . Lege Unica Cod. de Monop. . . . But therefore it is not said that all companies and common trading should be wholly cut away. This were indeed against the commonweal and very burdensome and harmful and foolish to the whole German nation. . . . If each one trade singly and should lose thereby, that would then be to his undoing . . . such a forbidding would only serve the rich and their advantage, who in all cases everywhere do pluck the grain for themselves and leave the chaff for others."[1]

Nuremberg thus saw very well that competition only served the rich and the strong, that collective trading was the hope of the poor and the plain people. The gilds were therefore encouraged but controlled. According to the rescript, they could have a capital of only 50,000 gulden, with three storehouses, outside family stores. They must make sworn reports to the town councils. Dispersed companies were not to join. Only limited amounts of material could be bought. They were to be trading companies. Money was not to be lent on usury (interest). The gilds were to serve the people, not to become their masters. Indeed, the guild system cannot be rightly judged unless one take into consideration the control of the gilds by the Rath or town council. This was paternal, often socialistic in the extreme. It was, as we have seen, cruel—but it was with a just cruelty. Extortion, false measures, adulteration of goods, were abominations in a trading town and punished usually by death. There was to be no cornering of the market. This was particularly so in the matter of food. The town built granaries and filled them with grain against the day of drought, when they could be opened and the grain sold at low prices to prevent a monopoly price. The town government, if not by the people, was of the people, and for the people.

Such, in brief, was the system that produced Nuremberg's art and commerce. It most certainly developed freedom and individuality. The first gunlocks, the first air-guns, the first clarionets, the first globes, were made in Nuremberg. In 1500 Peter Hemlein made the first watches, and they were called Nuremberg eggs. The first paper-mill in Germany, if not in Europe, was established here. A machine for drawing wine was invented in Nuremberg. Printing, as we have seen, tho not discovered here, was early introduced. The first playing-cards were printed here; still to-day Nuremberg is the great manufacturer of toys. Marvelous quality of work, equality of effort, freedom in inventiveness and creation, grew up largely because by the gild laws the Nuremberg man found deliverance from competition in cheapness of work and of prices.

References: *The Story of Nuremberg*, C. Headlam; *The City of the Closed Shop*, article by W. D. P. Bliss, *Outlook*, March 17, 1906.

[1] Belfort Bax's "German Society of the Middle Ages," Appendix.

O

OASTLER, RICHARD: English reformer; born in Yorkshire, near Huddersfield, 1789, and succeeded his father as steward to Mr. Thornhill, living at Tirby Hall. Early interested in the abolition movement, he suddenly became aware that there were slaves in England. In a letter to the *Leeds Mercury*, in 1830, he exposed some of the evils existing in the neighboring mills. Agitation was aroused, and a bill was laid before Parliament by Lord Morpeth, limiting the hours of work and raising the limit of age for work in the mills. The opposition of the manufacturers was bitter, and they succeeded in getting the bill amended so that it was almost useless. Calumny was heaped upon Oastler, but he did not swerve from his course. His advice to the working classes was, "Let your politics be 'ten hours a day and a time book.'"

Oastler now became associated with T. Hobhouse and M. T. Sadler (members of Parliament); and, in 1831, Sadler introduced a ten-hours bill into the House of Commons. The bill did not pass, and in 1832 Sadler lost his seat.

Another leader, however, appeared, Lord Ashley, afterward Earl of Shaftesbury. The mass of testimony which Oastler had produced showed that it was the custom to employ children, from five years old upward, from five in the morning till ten at night, and that during the whole time they were on their feet, with a short interval for dinner. Several cases of death resulting from beatings were proved. Lord Ashley brought in a ten-hours bill for women and children in 1833. A government bill was, however, finally accepted by Oastler and Lord Ashley, as the best that could be procured. While it did a certain amount of good, it permitted manufacturers to act as justices and punish offenses committed by members of their own body; and, naturally enough, punishments were few, while infractions of the act were many. The law was so openly disregarded that Oastler began his campaign afresh. The cry went out, "Yorkshire slavery still exists." As a result the government was finally obliged to promise to enforce the factory acts.

In the midst of his work Oastler was cast into prison for a debt which had been incurred in keeping up his position and pursuing his labors. From Fleet Prison he each week issued a journal called *The Fleet Papers*, devoted to a discussion of factory and poor-law questions. After five years' imprisonment his friends subscribed enough to clear him from debt, and he was released. His entry into Huddersfield was made a great public event, and crowds of people thronged to greet their liberated champion.

Oastler's final victory was gained in 1847 by the passage of the Ten-Hour Bill of that year.

Oastler's wife died soon after his release from prison, and his remaining years were passed in seclusion and poverty. He died in 1861 at the age of seventy-two, "The Old Factory King," as his admirers called him, an example of self-sacrifice and devotion.

OBERHOLZER, SARA LOUISE: Authority on school savings-banks (*q. v.*); born in Uwchlan, Pa.; educated in Friends' schools; president of various literary and philanthropic societies; superintendent for School Savings-Banks department of the National and World Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and has been personally instrumental in placing the system in a very large number of schools. Besides literary works in prose and verse, she has written numerous pamphlets and articles upon school savings-banks. *Address*: 1905 Tioga Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

O'BRIEN, JAMES BRONTERRE: British reformer; born in Longford, Ireland, 1805; educated in the school conducted by Miss Edgeworth, the novelist, and Dublin University, where he won honors and gathered around him a brilliant coterie of admirers and friends. He entered Gray's Inn, London, and fell under the influence of Cobbett and Hunt, and was drawn into the radical movement. He became one of the leaders of the Chartist cause, and was widely known as "the Chartist Schoolmaster." He was several times arrested and sent to prison. He emphasized the economic aspects of the Chartist movement, and to some extent was a precursor of Karl Marx and apparently the first to use the term "surplus value." He also called himself a "Social Democrat" and urged the formation of a "Social Democratic Party," being the first writer so far as is known to use the terms which have become so significant. For years he edited the most influential Chartist organ, *The Poor Man's Guardian*. He published a translation of Buonarotti's "History of Babeuf's Conspiracy for Equality," with a valuable introduction and copious notes; "Life of Robespierre"; "Human Slavery: How It Came Into the World, and How It Shall Be Made to Go Out" (posthumously issued in 1885). O'Brien died in 1864. J. S.

OCCUPATIONS: The following world statistics are taken from the German *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich* for 1906:

Agriculture and fishing employ the largest proportion of the bread-earners in this order: Hungary, Italy, Russia, Austria, Sweden, Denmark, France, Norway, Germany, Switzerland, the U. S.

Manufacture and mining employ the largest proportion of the bread-earners in this order: Scotland, England and Wales, Belgium, Switzerland, Holland.

The largest proportion of bread-earners engaged in commerce are in Holland, the U. S., Norway, England and Wales, Scotland, Denmark, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany.

The largest proportion in the army and navy are in Russia, Germany and France; the smallest number are in Switzerland, the U. S., Scotland, and Norway.

The largest proportion in public or professional life are in Great Britain, Holland, France, Italy, Russia, Germany.

The largest number in domestic or personal service are in Belgium, the U. S., Great Britain, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Holland, Denmark.

The first two tables on page 844 give the occupations for the principal countries of the world. The first gives the actual numbers, the second the percentage in the same order as the first. Some interesting figures will be noticed, e. g., that the comparatively poor countries have the largest percentage of domestic servants.

Countries	Year	Agriculture, forestry, fishing, and dependent occupations	Industries, mining, hotels and inns	Commerce and transportation	Army and navy, police	Public service and professions	Domestic and personal service	Other occupations
Germany	1895	8,292,692	8,281,220	2,338,511	630,978	794,983	1,339,316	432,491
	1882	8,236,496	6,396,465	1,570,318	451,825	579,322	397,582	1,324,924
Austria	1900	8,205,331	3,138,731	1,035,451		1,727,939		
	1890	8,469,223	2,880,897	845,073	187,507	324,591	456,277	.....
Hungary	1900	6,055,390	1,184,400	362,709	132,336	213,910	385,324	496,926
	1890	5,425,205	943,448	262,116	114,393	165,089	376,270	479,643
Russia	1897	18,245,287	5,596,889	2,218,642	1,132,723	1,174,513	1,617,489	1,285,806
Italy	1901	9,666,467	3,989,816	1,196,744	204,012	640,632	482,080	92,775
	1881	8,580,978	4,185,461	592,784	160,155	498,923	596,172	537,435
Switzerland	1888	488,534	531,005	140,289	816	49,837	80,304	14,865
France	1896	8,421,319	6,373,239	1,790,968	498,000	907,382	863,321	139,550
	1891	6,535,599	4,548,098	2,185,818	561,875	768,245	1,609,432	119,082
Belgium	1900	697,372	1,372,251	385,236	33,400		811,889	
	1890	649,252	1,081,503	327,091	48,282		724,040	
Holland	1899	592,774	650,574	332,225	19,622	104,655	197,511	33,346
	1889	541,274	532,181	268,730	20,880	98,005	166,495	25,164
Denmark	1901	531,165	275,743	130,634	.....	54,092	92,356	22,549
	1890	228,316	200,700	69,300	8,429	44,723	217,232	73,378
Sweden	1900	982,986	413,023	148,439	38,847	56,891	212,753	121,061
	1890	944,562	263,317	102,381	39,455	46,137	237,918	116,634
Norway	1900	359,763	242,642	122,256	6,053	29,851	98,413	17,692
	1891	384,426	177,511	91,257	3,962	22,989	81,380	13,947
England and Wales	1901	1,152,495	8,350,176	1,858,454	168,238	804,447	1,994,917	.....
	1891	1,336,945	7,336,344	1,399,735	126,473	799,659	1,900,328	.....
Scotland	1901	237,311	1,197,495	245,715	8,057	93,004	201,230	.....
	1891	249,124	1,032,404	180,952	7,588	103,731	203,153	.....
Ireland	1901	876,062	639,413	97,889	32,468	98,567	219,418	.....
	1891	940,621	657,154	95,446	31,293	176,538	238,215	.....
Great Britain and Ireland	1901	2,265,868	10,187,084	2,202,058	208,763	996,018	2,415,565	.....
	1891	2,526,690	9,025,902	1,676,133	165,354	1,079,928	2,341,696	.....
U. S. of America	1900	10,512,029	7,039,177	4,778,233	126,744	1,264,737	[1] 5,565,002	.....
	1890	8,626,088	5,478,541	3,326,122	30,845	913,488	[1] 4,360,577	.....

Percentage of Occupations According to Last Two Censuses

Countries	Agriculture, forestry, fishing, and dependent occupations		Industries, mining, hotels and inns		Commerce and transportation		Army and navy, police		Public service and professions		Domestic and personal service		Other occupations	
	Latest	Previous	Latest	Previous	Latest	Previous	Latest	Previous	Latest	Previous	Latest	Previous	Latest	Previous
Germany	37.5	43.4	37.4	33.7	10.6	8.3	2.8	2.4	3.6	3.1	6.1	2.1	2.0	7.0
Austria	58.2	64.5	22.3	21.9	7.3	6.4	2.2	1.4	....	2.5	....	3.5	....	....
Hungary	68.6	69.9	13.4	12.1	4.1	3.4	1.5	1.5	2.4	2.1	4.4	4.8	5.6	6.2
Russia	58.3	....	17.9	....	7.1	....	3.6	....	3.8	....	5.2	....	4.1	....
Italy	59.4	56.7	24.5	27.6	7.4	3.9	1.2	1.0	3.9	3.3	3.0	3.9	0.6	3.6
Switzerland	37.4	....	40.7	....	10.7	....	0.1	....	3.8	....	6.2	....	1.1	....
France	44.3	40.0	33.6	27.9	9.4	13.4	2.6	3.4	4.8	4.7	4.6	9.9	0.7	0.7
Belgium	21.1	22.9	41.6	38.2	11.7	11.6	1.0	1.7			24.6	25.6		
Holland	30.7	32.7	33.7	32.2	17.2	16.3	1.0	1.3	5.4	5.9	10.3	10.1	1.7	1.5
Denmark	48.0	27.1	24.9	23.9	11.8	8.2	....	1.0	4.9	5.3	8.4	25.8	2.0	8.7
Sweden	49.8	54.0	20.9	15.0	7.5	5.8	2.0	2.3	2.9	2.6	10.8	13.6	6.1	6.7
Norway	41.0	49.6	27.7	22.9	14.0	11.7	0.7	0.5	3.4	3.0	11.2	10.5	2.0	1.8
England and Wales	8.0	10.4	58.3	56.9	13.0	10.8	1.2	1.0	5.6	6.2	13.9	14.7	....	....
Scotland	12.0	14.0	60.4	58.1	12.4	10.2	0.4	0.4	4.7	5.9	10.1	11.4	....	....
Ireland	44.6	44.0	32.6	30.7	5.0	4.5	1.6	1.5	5.0	8.2	11.2	11.1	....	....
Great Britain and Ireland	12.4	15.1	55.7	53.7	12.1	10.0	1.1	1.0	5.5	6.4	13.2	13.8	....	....
U. S. of America	35.9	38.0	24.1	24.1	16.3	14.6	0.4	0.1	4.3	4.0	19.0	19.2	....	....

[1] In the U. S. barbers, laundresses, employees in hotels, saloons, and similar persons are grouped under this head.

Percentage by Sex and Pursuits—United States

	Total	Both sexes			Male			Female		
		1900	1890	1880	1900	1890	1880	1900	1890	1880
All occupations	29,074,117	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agricultural pursuits	10,381,765	35.7	37.7	44.3	39.5	41.9	48.3	18.4	17.3	22.5
Professional service	1,258,739	4.3	4.1	3.5	3.5	3.4	2.9	8.1	8.0	6.7
Domestic and personal service	5,580,657	19.4	18.6	19.7	15.0	13.6	15.2	39.4	42.6	44.6
Trade and transportation	4,766,964	16.3	14.6	10.7	17.8	16.4	12.2	9.4	5.8	2.4
Manufacture and mechanical pursuits	7,085,992	24.3	25.0	21.8	24.2	24.7	21.4	24.7	26.3	23.8

OCCUPATIONS

COUNTRIES	Year	OCCUPIED IN INDUSTRIES			PERCENTAGE OF BREAD-EARNERS[1]		
		Male	Female	Total	Men	Women	Total
Germany	1895	15,531,841	6,578,350	22,110,191	61.1	25.0	42.7
Austria	1900	8,257,294	5,850,158	14,107,452	64.2	44.0	53.9
Hungary	1900	6,162,298	2,668,697	8,830,995	64.3	27.6	45.9
Russia	1897	25,995,237	5,276,112	31,271,349	41.6	8.4	24.9
Italy	1901	10,988,462	5,284,064	16,272,526	68.0	32.4	50.1
Switzerland	1888	870,460	435,190	1,305,650	61.4	29.0	44.8
France	1896	12,061,121	6,382,658	18,993,779	63.7	33.0	48.2
Belgium	1900	2,123,072	948,229	3,071,301	63.8	28.1	45.9
Netherlands	1899	1,497,159	433,548	1,930,707	59.4	16.8	37.8
Denmark	1901	752,559	353,980	1,106,539	63.1	28.2	45.2
Sweden	1900	1,422,979	551,021	1,974,000	56.8	21.0	38.4
Norway	1900	599,057	277,613	876,670	56.1	24.0	39.5
England and Wales	1901	10,156,976	4,171,751	14,328,727	64.6	24.8	44.1
Scotland	1901	1,391,188	591,624	1,982,812	64.0	25.8	44.3
Ireland	1901	1,413,943	549,874	1,963,817	64.3	24.3	44.0
Great Britain and Ireland	1901	12,962,107	5,313,249	18,275,356	64.5	24.9	44.1
U. S. of America	1900	23,956,115	5,329,807	29,285,922	61.3	14.3	38.4

[1] For example, 61.1 per cent of the men in Germany are bread-earners and 25.0 per cent of the women. Of both together 42.7 per cent are bread-earners out of 100 of the population.

THE UNITED STATES

Compiled from the Census of 1900

POPULATION AT LEAST TEN YEARS OF AGE ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS

COUNTRIES	Number	Per cent of population ten years of age		
		1900	1890	1880
United States	29,285,922	50.3	48.0	47.3
North Atlantic Division	8,579,275	51.4	50.2	47.1
South Atlantic Division	4,000,691	52.5	48.6	50.7
North Central Division	9,580,913	47.2	45.4	44.1
South Central Division	5,209,755	51.5	46.6	49.7
Western Division	1,703,483	52.7	55.7	55.4

The figures indicate a slight increase in the proportion of the population engaged in gainful occupations, except in the Western Division. This increase is due undoubtedly to the entry of women into gainful occupations, and the fall in the West is doubtless due to the changing character from a population largely male, to one with more married women and children over ten. The states in 1900 having the largest proportion engaged in gainful occupations were Wyoming, South Carolina, Montana, Alabama, Mississippi, Arizona, Nevada, and Rhode Island. Those having the smallest were Utah, Kansas, Indiana, Iowa, West Virginia, South Dakota, and Nebraska.

OCCUPATIONS BY AGES

	10–15	16–24	25–34	35–44
Agricultural pursuits	1,062,251	2,544,120	2,080,773	1,721,002
Professional service	2,956	308,916	405,673	251,650
Domestic and personal	280,143	1,767,389	1,436,068	996,742
Trade and transportation	122,507	1,265,795	1,389,612	990,356
Manufacturing and mechanical	284,330	1,869,776	1,927,966	1,453,227
All occupations	1,752,187	7,755,996	7,240,092	5,412,977

	45–54	55–64	Over 64	Unknown
Agricultural pursuits	1,437,439	936,620	631,440	26,574
Professional service	153,655	88,947	48,398	4,341
Domestic and personal	645,089	357,273	177,767	33,307
Trade and transportation	573,962	289,387	130,226	16,448
Manufacturing and mechanical	893,177	447,446	216,235	20,147
All occupations	3,703,262	2,117,673	1,204,066	100,817

The figures indicate for the country generally a lessening number engaged in agriculture, a slight lessening in domestic and personal service, somewhat of a gain in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, a large gain in trade and transportation.

Among women engaged in gainful operations the proportion engaged in agricultural pursuits and in domestic and personal service is falling off; a somewhat larger number are engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits and in professional service; the main gain is in trade and transportation, as clerks, saleswomen, cash-girls, typewriters, etc. By far the largest number of women, however, are still engaged in domestic and personal service, and the next largest number in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. Only 8.1 per cent are engaged in professional service.

Classes of Occupations	Males			Females		
	1880	1890	1900	1880	1890	1900
Agricultural pursuits	92.3	92.1	90.6	7.7	7.9	9.4
Professional service	70.6	67.0	65.8	29.4	33.0	34.2
Domestic and personal	65.5	60.5	62.5	34.5	39.5	37.5
Trade and transportation	96.6	93.1	89.4	3.4	6.9	10.6
Manufacturing and mechanical	83.3	81.9	81.5	16.7	18.1	18.5
All occupations	84.8	82.8	81.7	15.2	17.2	18.3

Men are thus seen to be in an overwhelming majority in all classes of occupations, tho women are slowly gaining on them in each class. The following table gives the details for each of the occupations represented in the census:

Occupation	Male	Female	Per Cent Male	
			1900	1890
All occupations	23,754,205	5,319,912	81.7	82.8
Agricultural pursuits	9,404,429	977,336	90.6	92.1
Agricultural laborers	3,747,668	663,209	85.0	85.1
Dairymen and dairywomen	9,983	892	91.8	90.3
Farmers, planters, and overseers	5,367,169	307,706	94.6	95.7
Gardeners, florists, nurserymen, etc	58,928	2,860	95.4	96.7
Lumbermen and raftsmen	71,920	100	99.9	100.0
Stock-raisers, herders, and drovers	83,056	1,932	97.7	99.0
Turpentine farmers and laborers	24,456	281	98.9	.....
Wood-choppers	35,962	113	99.7	99.9
Other agricultural pursuits	5,287	243	95.6	.....
Professional service	828,163	430,576	65.8	67.0
Actors, professional showmen, etc	27,903	6,857	80.3	83.5
Architects, designers, draftsmen, etc	28,483	1,041	96.5	98.1
Artists and teachers of art	13,852	11,021	55.7	51.9
Clergymen	108,265	3,373	97.0	98.7
Dentists	28,858	786	97.3	98.1
Electricians	50,308	409	99.2	99.7
Engineers (civil, etc.) and surveyors	43,155	84	99.8	.....
Journalists	27,845	2,193	92.7	95.9
Lawyers	113,450	1,010	99.1	99.8
Literary and scientific persons	13,082	5,984	68.6	75.4
Musicians and teachers of music	39,815	52,359	43.2	44.5
Officials (government)	78,488	8,119	90.6	94.1
Physicians and surgeons	124,615	7,387	94.4	95.7
Teachers and professors in colleges, etc	118,519	327,614	26.6	29.2
Other professional service	11,525	2,339	83.1	94.0
Domestic and personal service	3,485,208	2,095,449	62.5	60.5
Barbers and hair-dressers	125,542	5,574	95.7	96.7
Bartenders	88,377	440	99.5	99.7
Boarding- and lodging-house keepers	11,826	59,455	16.6	26.5
Hotel keepers	46,264	8,533	84.4	88.0
Housekeepers and stewards	8,224	146,929	5.3	6.5
Janitors and sextons	48,544	8,033	85.8	89.4
Laborers (not specified)	2,505,287	123,975	95.3	97.1
Launderers and laundresses	50,683	335,282	13.1	12.8
Nurses and midwives	12,265	108,691	10.1	13.0
Restaurant keepers	28,999	4,845	85.7	87.5
Saloon keepers	81,660	2,086	97.5	96.8
Servants and waiters	276,958	1,283,763	17.7	16.4
Soldiers, sailors, and marines (U. S.)	43,235	.....	100.0	100.0
Watchmen, policemen, firemen, etc	129,711	879	99.3	.....
Other domestic and personal service	27,633	6,964	79.9	77.8
Trade and transportation	4,263,617	503,347	89.4	93.1
Agents	230,606	10,556	95.6	97.2
Bankers and brokers	72,984	293	99.6	98.6
Boatmen and sailors	78,253	153	99.8	99.9
Bookkeepers and accountants	180,727	74,153	70.9	82.6
Clerks and copyists	544,881	85,246	86.5	88.5
Commercial travelers	91,973	946	99.0	99.0
Draymen, hackmen, teamsters, etc	538,029	904	99.8	99.9
Foremen and overseers	54,032	1,418	97.4	97.3
Hostlers	64,850	79	99.9	100.0
Hucksters and pedlers	73,734	2,915	96.2	96.2
Livery-stable keepers	33,466	190	99.4	99.8
Merchants and dealers (except wholesale)	756,802	34,084	95.7	96.2
Merchants and dealers (wholesale)	42,032	261	99.4	99.4
Messengers and errand and office boys	64,959	6,663	90.7	94.3
Officials of banks and companies	72,801	1,271	98.3	99.5
Packers and shippers	39,557	19,988	66.4	73.9
Porters and helpers (in stores, etc.)	53,625	566	99.0	98.5
Salesmen and saleswomen	461,909	149,230	75.6	77.9
Steam-railroad employees	580,462	1,688	99.7	99.7
Stenographers and typewriters	26,246	86,118	23.4	36.4
Street-railway employees	68,873	46	99.9	100.0
Telegraph and telephone linemen	14,757	.....	100.0	94.0
Telegraph and telephone operators	52,459	22,556	69.9	83.8
Undertakers	15,866	323	98.0	99.2
Other persons in trade and transportation	49,734	3,700	93.1	.....
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits	5,772,788	1,313,204	81.5	81.9
Building Trades				
Carpenters and joiners	599,707	545	99.9	.....
Masons (brick and stone)	160,638	167	99.9	.....
Painters, glaziers, and varnishers	275,782	1,759	99.4	99.4
Paper-hangers	21,749	545	98.9	99.6
Plasterers	35,649	241	99.9	100.0
Plumbers and gas- and steam-fitters	97,659	126	99.9	99.9
Roofers and slaters	9,065	2	100.0	100.0
Mechanics (not otherwise specified)	9,351	41	99.6	99.9
Chemicals and Allied Products				
Oil-well and oil-works employees	24,573	53	99.8	99.7
Other chemical workers	12,035	2,779	81.2	79.1
Clay, Glass, and Stone Products				
Brick and tile makers, etc	49,455	478	99.0	99.8
Glass-workers	47,377	2,621	94.8	95.0
Marble- and stone-cutters	54,317	143	99.7	99.9
Potters	13,200	2,940	81.8	86.7
Fishing and Mining				
Fishermen and oystermen	67,715	462	99.3	99.6
Miners and quarrymen	562,501	1,365	99.8	99.9

Occupation	Male	Female	Per Cent Male	
			1900	1890
Food and Kindred Products				
Bakers	74,860	4,328	94.5	96.2
Butchers	113,578	378	99.7	99.9
Butter and cheese makers	18,593	648	96.6	96.4
Confectioners	21,980	9,214	70.5	75.6
Millers	40,362	186	99.5	99.8
Other food preparers	23,640	5,142	82.1	.....
Iron and Steel and Their Products				
Blacksmiths	226,284	193	99.9	100.0
Iron- and steel-workers	287,241	3,370	98.8	98.7
Machinists	282,574	571	99.8	99.9
Steam-boiler makers	33,038	8	100.0	100.0
Stove, furnace, and grate-makers	12,430	43	99.7	99.8
Tool and cutlery makers	27,376	746	97.3	97.0
Wheelwrights	13,495	10	99.9	100.0
Wire-workers	16,701	1,786	90.3	91.2
Leather and Its Finished Products				
Boot and shoe-makers and repairers	169,393	39,519	81.1	84.3
Harness and saddle makers and repairers	39,506	595	98.5	98.1
Leather curriers and tanners	40,917	1,754	95.9	99.3
Trunk and leather-case makers, etc.	5,472	1,579	77.6	86.9
Liquors and Beverages				
Bottlers and soda-water makers, etc.	9,725	794	92.5	92.4
Brewers and maltsters	20,687	275	98.7	99.7
Distillers and rectifiers	3,114	30	99.0	99.7
Lumber and Its Remanufactures				
Cabinet-makers	35,552	67	99.8	99.9
Coopers	37,087	113	99.7	99.9
Saw- and planing-mill employees	161,251	373	99.8	98.8
Other wood-workers	104,468	6,805	93.8	93.8
Metals and Metal Products Other than Iron and Steel				
Brass-workers	25,870	890	96.7	.....
Clock and watch makers and repairers	19,305	4,815	80.0	81.4
Gold- and silver-workers	19,732	6,380	75.6	83.5
Tin-plate and tinware makers	68,730	1,775	97.5	.....
Other metal-workers	54,282	2,320	95.9	.....
Paper and Printing				
Bookbinders	14,646	15,632	48.4	51.5
Box makers (paper)	3,796	17,302	18.0	26.5
Engravers	10,698	453	95.9	96.4
Paper- and pulp-mill operatives	26,904	9,424	74.1	67.8
Printers, lithographers, and pressmen	139,166	15,981	89.7	90.1
Textile				
Bleachery and dye-works operatives	20,493	1,785	92.0	88.0
Carpet-factory operatives	10,371	9,017	53.5	51.8
Cotton-mill operatives	125,788	120,216	51.1	46.3
Hosiery and knitting-mill operatives	12,630	34,490	26.8	29.6
Silk-mill operatives	22,023	32,437	40.4	40.7
Woolen-mill operatives	42,566	30,630	58.2	56.6
Other textile-mill operatives	53,437	51,182	51.1	.....
Dressmakers	2,090	344,794	0.6	0.3
Hat and cap makers	15,110	7,623	66.5	72.1
Milliners	1,739	86,120	2.0	0.6
Seamstresses	4,837	146,105	3.2	2.7
Shirt, collar, and cuff makers	8,491	30,941	21.5	24.3
Tailors and tailoresses	160,714	68,935	70.0	65.7
Other textile workers	8,925	21,042	29.8	.....
Miscellaneous Industries				
Broom and brush makers	8,643	1,577	84.6	88.5
Charcoal, coke, and lime burners	14,405	43	99.7	99.8
Miscellaneous Industries —Continued				
Engineers and firemen (not locomotive)	223,318	177	99.9	100.0
Glove makers	4,503	7,768	36.7	42.7
Manufacturers and officials, etc.	239,649	3,433	98.6	.....
Model and pattern makers	14,869	204	98.6	98.6
Photographers	23,361	3,580	86.7	89.0
Rubber-factory operatives	14,492	7,374	66.3	60.1
Tobacco- and cigar-factory operatives	87,955	43,497	66.9	74.9
Upholsterers	28,663	2,158	93.0	93.2
Other miscellaneous industries	380,490	90,810	80.7	.....

According to the above figures, the proportion of males has increased from 1890 to 1900 in 29 occupations; the proportion of females has increased in 86 occupations, and in 25 there has been no change, or it is unknown through change in classification. Most of these changes of proportions, however, have been very minute. The only occupations in which men have increased over women more than 1 per cent are as dairymen, artists, in domestic and personal service, as servants and waiters, as telegraph and telephone linemen, in paper-mills, as milliners, tailors, and in a few factories. Here they have gained slightly.

The occupations in which women have gained more than 1 per cent are: as farmers (1.1), gardeners (1.3), as stock-raisers (1.3), as actors (3.2), architects (1.6), clergymen (1.7), journalists (3.2), in literary pursuits (6.8), music (1.3), in government offices (3.5), teachers (2.6), physicians (1.3), other professional services (10.9), as boarding-house keepers (9.9) hotel keepers (3.6), housekeepers (1.2), janitors, (3.6), laborers (1.8), nurses (2.9), restaurant keepers (1.8), agents (1.6), bookkeepers (11.7), clerks and copyists (2.0), messengers and errand boys (cash girls, etc.) (3.6), packers and shippers (7.5), saleswomen (2.3), stenographers and typewriters (13.0), telegraph and telephone operators (13.9), undertakers (1.2), potters (4.9), bakers (1.7), confectioners (5.1), boot- and shoemakers (3.2), tanners (3.6), leather-case makers (9.3), clock and watch makers (1.4), gold- and silver-workers (7.9), bookbinders (3.1), box makers (8.5), in hosiery knitting mills (2.8), hat and cap makers (5.6), shirt makers (2.8), brush makers (3.9), glove makers (6.0), photographers (2.3), tobacco-workers (8.0).

The occupations in which women have made the largest gains are: professional service (10.1), boarding-house keepers (9.9), bookkeepers (12.6), stenographers and typewriters (13.0), telegraph and telephone operators (13.9) (the largest advance), trunk and leather-case workers (9.3).

Women are in a majority in only nine occupations—musicians or teachers of music, school-teachers, boarding-house keepers, housekeepers, laundresses, nurses, servants, stenographers, and typewriters.

Men are over 90 per cent of the workers in 87 out of 303 occupations.

Great Britain

According to the census of 1901 in England and Wales, the proportion of persons in each million

employed in the twenty-two classes into which they are divided is as follows. The figures are of males aged ten years and upward:

Classes	1881	1901	Increase	Decrease
1. Government	10,373	14,149	3,776	.....
2. Defense	11,494	13,865	2,371	.....
3. Professions	24,781	25,681	900	.....
4. Domestic service	8,044	10,241	2,197	.....
5. Commercial	33,112	43,734	10,622	.....
6. Conveyance	83,985	102,844	18,859	.....
7. Agriculture	138,327	95,510	.....	42,817
8. Fishing	3,157	1,955	.....	1,202
9. Mining	55,926	65,944	10,018	.....
10 and 11. Metals	90,482	107,208	16,726	.....
12. Building and construction and sanitation	84,621	98,448	13,827	.....
13–17. General manufactures	54,817	61,432	6,615	.....
18. Textiles	51,762	40,561	.....	11,201
19. Dress	37,185	34,171	.....	3,014
20. Food and drink	59,088	63,810	4,722	.....
21. Pawnbrokers, hawkers, etc	7,110	6,695	.....	415
22. Laborers	78,803	50,802	.....	28,001
Total occupied	833,067	837,050	3,953	.....
23. Unoccupied	166,933	162,950	3,983	3,983
	1,000,000	1,000,000	.....	.....

A writer in the London *imes* finds that the age constitution of the population has changed, and that the proportion of adults is considerably higher than it was twenty years ago —33.7 per cent. But in spite of this the proportion of occupied persons is smaller—28.3 per cent (not of males alone but of men and women together). A wholly disproportionate increase of 41.2 per cent has taken place in the number of persons occupied in those callings which chiefly supply unemployed, and he groups them under the heading of "trade and transport services." He opposes these to the productive industries, which show only an increase of 19 per cent. The number of persons occupied in trade and transport has increased at a far more rapid rate than the general population, or the occupied population, or the number of those engaged in productive industries.

In 1905 there were employed in Great Britain in agriculture some 2,000,000 persons; fisheries, 106,793 (36,498 English, 42,727 Scotch, 25,635 Irish); 887,524 in mining; in 1901 there were employed in textile factories 1,029,353, of which 650,142 were females (16,898 males and 19,613 females were under the age of 14); in 1905, 263,688 were employed in shipping and navigation, of whom 39,711 were foreigners and 43,483 were Lascars.

Other Countries

For other countries see those countries.

O'CONNELL, JAMES: President of the Association of Machinists; born Minersville, Pa., 1858; educated in the common schools; apprenticed to the trade of a machinist, followed this occupation until 1893; early an active worker with organized labor, he was elected president in 1893 of the International Association of Machinists, and re-elected every year since. Since 1895 he has been vice-president of American Federation of Labor. Since 1898 he has devoted his entire time to the trade-union movement. Mr. O'Connell is a thorough believer in trade-unionism and believes that the wage-workers should take such political action as will secure the election to public office of men who will work for the enactment of laws that will make for the advantage of the whole people. *Address*: 405 McGill Building, Washington, D. C.

O'GRADY, JAMES: English Labor member of Parliament; born Bristol, 1866. Apprenticed to a furniture maker, he joined the union of his trade and traveled through England as organizer. Returning to Bristol in 1890 he was elected to the city council, and instrumental in obtaining scholarships for public schools. Was president of the Trade-Union Congress at Bristol, 1898. He successfully organized the National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades' Association, which he has represented in France, Stuttgart, and Boston. He is also on the executive of the General Federation of Trade-Unions and the Shipbuilding Trades Federation. Elected to Parliament 1906, for Leeds, East. *Address*: 26 Kyrle Road, Clapham Common, S. W.

OIL, ILLUMINATING (Petroleum and Natural Gas): Mineral oil has developed in modern times large economic importance, partly because of its large and increasing use, and partly because in the Standard Oil monopoly it has developed the first, most prominent, and in some respects the greatest monopoly of the world. Mineral oils, however, have been known for centuries, as in the naphtha fields of the Caspian Sea. Pennsylvania has had an important oil industry over forty-one years. The Standard Oil monopoly began under the name of the South Improvement Company in 1872, and by 1874 had its system of rebates from the railways well under way. Since then it has had virtually a monopoly, having absorbed or in some way destroyed virtually all attempts at competition, and controlling at present some 22,000,000 barrels of oil out of a product of 26,000,000 barrels. From 1898–1902, however, Russia produced more petroleum than the United States. According to the Geological Survey, over 5,000,000,000 gallons of petroleum are now produced annually in the world, of which 2,500,000,000 are produced in the U. S., 2,250,000,000 in Russia, and the remainder among a dozen countries, Austria producing 87,000,000; Sumatra, 72,000,000; Java, 30,000,000; Canada, 29,000,000; Germany, 15,000,000.

The following shows the oil production of the U. S.:

Oil Production in the United States

(Compiled from the U. S. Geological Survey)

Year (ended June 30)	Production [1]	Imports [2]	Exports	Per cent of product exported
	Gallons	*Gallons*	*Gallons*	
1882	1,161,771,996	650	683,690,563	58.85
1885	1,017,174,396	983,919	683,989,560	67.24
1890	1,476,867,546	721,932	783,996,824	53.09
1895	2,072,469,672	942,503	1,051,889,401	50.76
1900	2,396,975,700	18,574	1,081,744,231	45.13
1905	4,916,663,682	1,148,774	1,205,798,422	24.53

[1] The production is of the calendar year preceding the fiscal year.

[2] Includes net imports of mineral oil to 1897; from 1898 to date imports for consumption of mineral oil and petroleum, crude, and refined reduced to crude.

The main oil-fields in the U. S. are the Appalachian, a central field in Ohio and Indiana, in California, Texas, and smaller ones in Kansas, Colorado, and Wyoming. The fields in Ohio and Indiana are about exhausted; the Western supply is increasing, but the California product is chiefly suitable for fuel. The Texas oil seems

suitable for light and fuel, tho inferior for light to the Appalachian, which is the main supply and carried in gigantic tubes to the Atlantic coast. New sources have been somewhat recently discovered in Pennsylvania and West Virginia.

OLD-AGE PENSIONS: Old age has been shown by recent investigations to be, if not the chief, at least among the two or three chief causes of pauperism. It is therefore very seriously proposed to pension all aged persons. In continental Europe several countries have already entered upon large and important experiments in this direction, so that there already exists considerable information upon the subject.

While in England the credit for the first serious agitation of the subject belongs to Canon Blackley, it is to the investigations of Charles Booth that we owe the most careful plea for the establishment of such pensions. Mr. Booth, in his investigations in East London, came to the conclusion that old age was the chief cause of confirmed pauperism, and subsequent and more extended investigations have made him declare that the paupers in England and Wales under sixty are only 4.6 per cent of the population under sixty while those over sixty-five are 26 per cent of the population over sixty-five, so that the increase from 4.6 to 26 per cent is the measure of the direct or indirect effect of old age upon pauperism. (See Mr. Acland's Introduction to J. A. Spender's "The State and Pensions in Old Age," p. xviii). He states that the number of the aged who receive public aid in the different parishes rarely falls under one third and rises often to one half.

In old-age pensions, however, the prime place belongs undoubtedly to Germany. She was the first country to introduce old-age pensions on a large scale, and her system has already had an extensive trial. Her old-age insurance, as a part of her industrial insurance system, began June 22, 1889. It has grown to very large proportions. (But for it, see INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE IN GERMANY.)

Germany

The French have done less. France's system of insurance for old age is sufficient as far as it goes, but is inadequate in extent. After the Revolution of 1848, a *Caisse de Retraites*, or National Pension Bureau, was proposed, and has continued in one form or another to occupy the attention of French legislators since. The law of 1850 provided that the capital should consist of deposits, to be not less than five francs; 5 per cent interest was guaranteed. This proposition was sufficiently alluring for the bourgeoisie to take advantage of and the *caisse* was established. The amount to be deposited, the interest guaranteed, and the annuities to be paid were consequently limited—the latter to $150, $200, or $300, respectively. The *caisse* has gradually become an institution for the middle classes instead of for the poor. In 1871 the interest was raised to 5 per cent, and by 1882 there was a deficit of $8,400,000. The State settled this, and reduced the interest; but the number of depositors also decreased one half, and the amount of pensions sank to $1.70 per month. In 1891 M. Constans, Minister of the Interior, proposed a bill whereby every workingman who does not explicitly declare his unwillingness to do so was to pay either one or two cents a day for seventy-five days per annum from his twenty-fifth to his fifty-fifth year. This contribution was to be doubled by the employer. The State was to add to this amount two thirds besides conducting the insurance and guaranteeing the interest—making the pensions $60 or $129, respectively. The pension was to be limited to French citizens, both male and female, who at twenty-five earn less than $600. In order to prevent employers from engaging foreigners, a tax was laid on all foreign working men.

France

This, too, was tried, but proved inadequate, since it was to a large extent voluntary, and led employers to induce their working men to declare their unwillingness to receive aid before a magistrate. The State's contribution from 1897–1905 was 590 francs per annum. In that year a new law was passed, making provision for this fund compulsory and dividing the burden between the State, the departments, and the communes, so that the first contributes 27,000,000 fr.; the second, 11,000,000; the third, 18,000,000. According to the law "every French citizen, without resources, incapable of earning a livelihood, either on account of infirmity or incurable disease, is entitled to assistance." The amount thereof is to be not less than five francs per month, nor more than twenty, save under exceptional circumstances. The law was enacted in Feb., 1906, and every workingman comes under its provision at the age of eighty-five. But by a change in a clause, the law requires contributions from the employers and employees in addition to those of the government.

The Danish Government passed a law in 1891 laying a tax on beer, and applying a portion of the revenue to old-age pensions. All persons over sixty years of age receive an *honorary pension*, without any cost to themselves—provided they have not received poor relief, have lived in Denmark at least ten years previous, and are of good reputation. Aid is given in kind, cash, or institutions (not poorhouses). The State levies a fund for the purpose, from which the commune may receive one half its expenditure for the aged. In Jan., 1893, there were 30,957 persons in receipt of old-age relief; in Jan., 1902, 44,118. The law is believed to have worked well, tending to keep people from committing crime, and from applying for poor relief in order to be entitled to this pension. Its cost is thus fully saved by the reduction of expenses for poor relief. The cost in 1901 was £306,830. (See also article DENMARK, p. 382.)

Denmark

The Belgians have had a pension fund of some sort since 1850 in connection with the State Savings-Bank. It permits the establishment of pensions, not over 1,200 francs, and made payable at different ages, chiefly between fifty and sixty. This has become of particular importance since the granting by the State, in 1900, of premiums to persons entitled to a pension through the endowment of a Friendly Society, or to persons of modest means, directly connected with the institution. The law is, consequently, permissive, and not compulsory, and, therefore, inadequate to that extent.

Belgium

In Italy the question of old-age pensions was considered as early as 1887. Two years later a committee was appointed by the Chamber, which reported in July, 1890. The proposed bill provided that a special fund be established in connection with the banks of issue and deposit,

Italy

the interest on it to be devoted to pensions for laborers over sixty years of age. The fund was to be derived partly from contributions by members, to the extent of 500 lire or less per annum, partly from certain consignments of shares in the savings-banks, and other public sources. It was not enacted.

The question of old-age pensions is being agitated in Austria and Sweden, particularly in the former country, which already has compulsory sick and accident insurance.

England

The question of old-age pensions has been agitated in England since 1772; but action has been deferred by Parliament. In 1865 opportunity was given for purchasing annuities through the post-office; but only about 21,000 persons had bought them up to 1895. Canon Blackley proposed that every person, without distinction of class or means, should pay £10 between the years of eighteen and twenty-one, which was to yield the wage-earners 8*s.* a week sick pay, and 4*s.* week pension after the age of seventy. The National Provident League favored the idea; but a select committee of the House of Lords, appointed 1885, reported adversely in 1887, waiting for "further development of public opinion." Mr. Charles Booth computed the number of persons over sixty years of age, receiving poor relief, at 331,596, and proposed on this basis that a minimum pension of 5*s.* per week be paid to every person over sixty-five years of age, irrespective of class, wealth, or rank. The total cost was calculated to be about £14,000,000.

In 1899 Mr. Chamberlain appointed a select committee of the House, and declared old-age pensions to be out of the realm of party politics. The committee reported that persons over sixty-five years of age, with a clean record for ten years, with an income of less than 10*s.* per week, should be entitled to a weekly pension of 5*s.* On the basis of the census of 1901, the number of people over sixty-five years in the United Kingdom was estimated at about 2,000,000. Of this number only about 650,000 would be entitled to the pension, making a total of £10,300,000 if the pension should vary between 7*s.* and 5*s.* 6*d.* The cost has since been estimated at £13,000,000. At the general elections, Oct. 28 to 30, 1900, a number of members were elected subject to the pledge of supporting "pensions for all as a civil right." In 1901, Feb. 19th, a bill was introduced into Parliament to provide pensions for the aged poor. It was backed by Messrs. Channing, Burt, Burns, John Wilson, Broadhurst, and Sir Walter Foster. A similar bill was introduced March 19, 1902. Numerous meetings have been held by trade-unions, Friendly Societies, etc.; the movement has been indorsed by prominent philanthropists and clergy; the scheme has been indorsed at numerous meetings by delegates, representing upper, working, and middle-class people, but—nothing has been done. The latest proposal is that of the National Committee of Organized Labor, adopted Feb. 7, 1903, at Birmingham. It provides for a pension of 5*s.* per week to every British subject, male or female, over 65 years of age—excepting subjects domiciled outside of the United Kingdom; persons having lived less than twenty years within its borders, being under police surveillance or having been sentenced for a crime. It has not been introduced into Parliament; but Mr. Asquith told the House of Commons in Feb., 1906, that a 5*s.* pension per week to every person over sixty-five years would cost £26,000,000 a year. He figured the national income at £1,800,000,000, of which landlordism alone took £350,000,000, and railway shareholders £44,000,000. If all workers over sixty years received a weekly pension of 10*s.*, it still would leave the proprietary classes with nearly £900,000,000 income from rent, profits, etc. He pointed out that men in the civil, naval, and military services received high salaries and liberal pensions after a comparatively short time of service. It was, therefore, just and proper that wage earners with incomes of from 14*s.* to 37*s.* should be pensioned after a life's work.

The colonies have done better than Great Britain. New Zealand enacted an old-age pension system in Oct., 1898, and gives 7*s.* per week to every needy and worthy applicant over sixty-five years of age. (See NEW ZEALAND.) New South Wales passed a similar act in Dec., 1900, granting 10*s.* a week at sixty-five or in case of disability. Victoria followed a week later, allowing 7*s.* to pensioners over sixty-five. In 1903 the expenditure of New South Wales for old-age pensions was: £532,940; that of Victoria, £215,972; of New Zealand, £209,156 = £958,068.

RUDOLPH M. BINDER.

REFERENCES: Booth, Charles, *Old-Age Pensions and the Aged Poor*, 1899; Loch, C. S., *Old-Age Pensions*, 1903; Rogers, F., and F. Millar, *Old-Age Pensions*, 1903; Report of Committee with Evidence of Colonies on Aged Pensioners Bill, S. P., 276, 1903; Dawson, *The German Workman*, ch. xv.

ONEIDA COMMUNITY, THE: This society was founded in 1848 by John H. Noyes at Oneida, Madison County, N. Y., its first members coming mainly from a small community which had existed for several years in Putney, Vt., under Mr. Noyes's leadership. Jan. 1, 1849, there were eighty-seven members, and 306 in 1878. Many of the original members had left the popular orthodox churches because of their acceptance of the higher truths taught, as they believed, by Mr. Noyes, and especially that of the possibility of present salvation from sin. On this doctrine was based the communism of the community, which was perhaps more complete and radical than that of any other communistic society.

Financially the community was not for the first nine years successful, sinking in that time over $40,000; but thereafter its property increased in value, owing partly to its reducing the number of its branches and concentrating its resources at Oneida, N. Y., and Wallingford, Conn., and partly to its establishing some mechanical industries, which proved more remunerative than farming and gardening, especially that of animal-trap manufacture, under the supervision of one of their members, whose name (Sewell Newhouse) is now stamped on the traps everywhere recognized as of the highest quality.

The members of the community gave much attention to education, and besides supporting good home schools sent many of their young people to college. There was no drunkenness, no tobacco-using, no profanity among the members. All kinds of labor were considered alike honorable and shared alike by all. It was a recognized principle that every one should be esteemed according to his real character, and to this end their system of "mutual criticism" was a great aid. This consisted in plain truth-telling as to character, acts, and influence—not in the backbiting way often practised in ordinary society, but openly, frankly, face to face—"mutual" because

all were expected to participate in it both as critics and subjects. It was regarded as an indispensable means of improvement and of good order and government in the community.

The community published a paper setting forth its principles and life from the year of its founding, 1848, till the year of its change to a joint-stock company thirty-two years later; many handbooks and pamphlets, and a few larger works, including "Home-Talks" by J. H. Noyes, and his "History of American Socialisms." The compendium of their religious doctrines, "The Berean," was published at Putney, Vt.

Mr. Noyes was practically leader of the community during its entire career, but there were department managers, committees, and a business board which met weekly, in which every member was free to participate; matters of special importance were referred for discussion and final action to the family meeting, which was held every evening of the week in their large assembly hall, where every one had a voice and vote.

Socially the members were united by a system of complex marriage, as they termed it, and which they claimed as greatly superior to monogamy. Their critics thought otherwise, and sharply censured their social arrangements. Mr. Noyes in defending them said:

> Marriage is permanent union; licentiousness deals in temporary flirtations. In marriage, communism of property goes with communism of persons. In licentiousness love is paid for as hired labor. Marriage makes a man responsible for the consequences of his acts of love to a woman. In licentiousness a man imposes on a woman the heavy burdens of maternity, ruining both her reputation and her health, and then goes his way without responsibility. Marriage provides for the maintenance and education of children. Licentiousness ignores children as nuisances, and leaves them to chance. *Now in respect to every one of these points of difference between marriage and licentiousness we stand with marriage.* Freedom with us does *not* mean freedom to love to-day and leave to-morrow. . . . Our communities are *families* as distinctly bounded and separated from promiscuous society as ordinary households. The tie that binds us together is as permanent and sacred, to say the least, as that of marriage, for it is our religion. We receive no members (except by deception or mistake) who do not give heart and hand to the family interest for life and forever. Community of property extends just as far as freedom of love. Every man's care and every man's dollar of the common property is pledged for the maintenance and protection of the women and the education of the children of the community. . . . Whoever will take the trouble to follow our track from the beginning will find no forsaken women or children by the way. In this respect we claim to be in advance of marriage and common civilization. . . . We are *not* "free lovers" in any sense that makes love less binding or responsible than it is in marriage.

The community won the esteem of its neighbors, and a reputation for perfect integrity in all matters of business, and for many years was a popular resort during the summer months for excursionists, as many as 1,500 visitors having been on its grounds in a single day. It was never popular with the churches because of its radical religious and social doctrines; and from 1873 there was concerted action against it by the Presbyterian and other religious bodies in central New York, which culminated in 1879 in a conference at Syracuse mainly composed of ministers of different denominations called for the purpose of devising measures for its suppression. This was a difficult task, as the communists had always been peaceable subjects of civil authority, and claimed that their practises were not in violation of any state law. However, the ministers were saved the trouble and expense of legal proceedings, as Mr. Noyes on the 20th of August following the Syracuse Conference proposed to the community that the practise of complex marriage be given up, "not as renouncing belief in the principles and prospective finality of that institution, but in deference to the public sentiment which is evidently rising against it"; and after his proposition was immediately accepted, thus removing all cause of complaint on the part of any portion of the general public against the community. Since then (1879) ordinary monogamous marriage has prevailed in the community, and since Nov., 1880, it has been a joint-stock corporation, each one's interest being represented by the shares of stock held by him. The organization, however, still retains many features of the former society, such as common grounds, common library and reading-room, common assembly-room, laundry, dining-room, etc.

The corporation, the Oneida Community, Limited, is now managed by a board of eleven directors. Its various businesses—the manufacture of sewing and embroidery silk, silver-plated ware, canned goods, animal traps and chains—have been largely increased, and now give employment to many hundreds of people. The principal office of the company, its large unitary dwellings, and its canning works, are located in Kenwood, Madison County; its silk-works and hardware factories in Vernon, Oneida County; its silver-plating works in Niagara Falls, Niagara County, N. Y., and it has also a hardware factory in Niagara Falls, Canada. It has offices in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, and other large cities. Beginning a quarter of a century ago with a capitalization of $600,000, it has added $200,000 to its stock, accumulated a surplus, and paid dividends averaging between 6 and 7 per cent per annum on its stock. The prosperity and harmonious working of the new organization augur well for its perpetuity. WM. A. HINDS.

REFERENCE: See article COMMUNISM.

ONIPKO FEDOR MIKHAYLOVICH: Russian member of the Duma; born 1879. Representative (Group of Soil) from Stavropol Province. Peasant of Kuban Province; self-educated. Passed with success examinations in City College. Was county clerk in Voznesyensk (19 years old). Elected by peasants.

OPEN OR CLOSED SHOP, THE: In this article an attempt is made to present in a concise form the arguments most commonly advanced by trade-unionists in justification of their demands for the closed or unionized shop, and, on the other hand, the reasons given by the advocates of the open shop why these demands should not be complied with. We have not stated our own views, but give a compilation of the views of others.

THE CLOSED SHOP

"The philosophy of the closed shop is based upon the belief that the welfare of the laboring classes is bound up with the device of collective bargaining, that the success of the expedient depends upon its universal application, and that no individual workman can be conceded rights that are inconsistent with the welfare of his class."

Advantages of Trade-unionism.—Without attempting a thorough discussion of this subject, we present the following summary of the advantages of the trade-unions as cited in recent discussions of the closed shop:

The labor movement implies an orderly effort, not only to wrest concessions from the employer,

but also to secure recognition from society. It is a movement which seeks to change the present standards by which the laborer's share in production is decided, and disputes the right of the employer alone to determine what fair treatment should be. It aims at industrial democracy and is in harmony with the world-wide tendency of the times.

The great consideration is to permit workmen to have a voice in the shop—to have some control over the conditions of employment.

The trade-unions have achieved the gradual and steady increase of wages and the shortening of the working-day.

Trade-unions are coming to be recognized by employers as a permanent part of the industrial offer. In many trades in Great Britain the employers prefer to make terms with the trade-unions which shall apply to non-union workmen as well, rather than to make terms with each class separately. It is coming to be recognized as good policy to deal with the same form of organization and more and more to make that organization responsible, so far as may be, for meeting the obligations that are assumed by it for the workers in the trade it represents.

A well-organized union enables an employer easily to obtain efficient workmen; to make collective contracts, which are more satisfactory, cover a longer term, and are more readily fulfilled than individual contracts; and it tends toward conservatism, and thus lessens the liability of strikes.

To seek to destroy unions because of their defects would be like attempting to abolish government because of its abuses. The unions with all their faults represent a forward stride of the human race. They cultivate a spirit of self-reliance and mutual assistance which ought to more than compensate for their faults.

As the unions become stronger and gain in experience, they tend to conservatism. The hard and stern conditions confronting them can be relied upon to keep them within bounds.

Union and Non-union Employees.—The reasons why union men refuse to work in the same shop with non-union men, and which are at the root of the contention for the closed shop, may be summarized as follows:

A shop with union and non-union men is like a house divided against itself. There is a constant attempt to organize it entirely; an incessant struggle to disorganize it completely.

While accepting the union scale of wages when work is plentiful, the non-unionist will immediately lower wages as soon as work becomes more difficult to obtain.

It is easy to speak of the open shop in which the employer does not care whether his men are union men or not. But the union cannot accomplish its most important object unless the employer deals with it as a union. The employer cannot be made to enter into a collective bargain —and without the collective bargain the conditions of labor are hardly fixt by bargaining at all—unless the union comprizes practically all the men he wishes to employ.

Non-union Workers.—Much attention is given in the arguments of trade-unionists to the character of the men who do not join the unions, with the view of showing that much sympathy is misplaced when bestowed upon these workers who, as alleged, are deprived of their liberty to contract for employment.

Some refuse to join because of intolerable conditions existing in a union. It is maintained, however, that when such conditions exist, the abuses should be prevented by action within rather than without or against the organization.

Another reason given for not joining unions is because of strong but mistaken ideals of persons who believe in individual action, in the right of every man to do as he will, no matter how it may affect his neighbor. This policy, it is maintained, is not practicable in a civilized community.

Another class of non-union workers, it is maintained, consists of persons who, purely through selfish motives, seek to share all the advantages secured by the sacrifices of the trade-unionists without bearing any of the burdens or incurring any of the risks.

Lastly, there is said to be a class of professional strike-breakers. These, it is claimed, are either dishonorably discharged unionists or they belong to the class of criminals, idlers, and incompetents who are only willing to work or to make a pretense of working in order to defeat the ends of honest workmen.

The Legal Right.—It is contended by trade-unionists that in their action for securing the closed shop they are doing nothing but what is lawful.

As free citizens the wage-earners have the right to work or to refuse to work, to make certain demands for their welfare, and to strike if the demands are not granted. An employee has the right to say that he will sell his labor on condition that he is not to work with obnoxious persons. In like manner, laborers can combine to sell their labor collectively and on the same terms. They do not deny the right of employment to non-unionists, but simply refuse to work with them.

The union workmen who refuse to work with non-unionists do not say in so many words that the employer shall not engage non-union workmen. The dictum of the trade-union is not equivalent to an act of Congress or of a state legislature prohibiting employers from engaging non-union men. What the unionists in such cases do is merely to stipulate as a condition that they shall not be obliged to work with men who, as non-unionists, are obnoxious, just as they shall not be obliged to work in a dangerous or unsanitary factory, for unduly long hours, or at insufficient wages.

The Moral Right.—The trade-unionists claim that they are not only legally but also morally justified in refusing to work with non-union men.

Society makes right that which will accomplish the most good for its members as a body.

If it is wrong to ostracize or to refuse to associate with craftsmen who are indifferent to their common welfare, then it is equally wrong for professional men to shun others of their calling accused of unprofessional conduct, and it is wrong for merchants to taboo other tradesmen who disregard the ethics of their business.

In modern industry working men do not act as individuals contracting with employers. The workingman of to-day belongs to a group, and, whether he will or not, acts with his group and is treated like others of his group. He works the time worked by the others, receives the wages paid the others of his class, and obeys the regulations made for his group. His employer does not know that he exists, but simply knows that so

many hundreds or so many thousands of men of his type are employed at a given wage, for a given number of hours, and under certain given conditions. What affects one of his class affects all.

Just as the individual owes a duty to society, so also, tho in a less degree, he owes a duty to his class. The non-unionist has no moral right to seek his own temporary advantage at the expense of the permanent interests of all working men.

If the union has a right to exist, which is no longer denied, it has a right to insist on those conditions which are necessary to its existence; and it cannot exist if non-union men are permitted to take the jobs of union men.

The Open Shop

The arguments in favor of the open shop are based upon the necessity of preserving the freedom of individual contracts.

Right of Individual Contract.—In a recent decision of the Superior Court of Cook County, Illinois, it was held that agreements for the closed shop "would, if executed, tend to create a monopoly in favor of the members of the different unions, to the exclusion of workmen not members of such unions, and are, in this respect, unlawful."

The law of morality and the law of man forbid any citizen, whether he be laborer or capitalist, to enforce his demands by the oppression of others, by a denial to any man of his right to work for whom he will, and for what he will, of his right to hire any man for what that man is willing to accept.

The freedom of action is legally and, it is probable, economically a matter of as much concern to society as the freedom of the unionist to combine for proper purposes.

Unless we are prepared to relegate all the laborers in a trade to a condition or status determined by a combination or association known as a trade-union, and to deny the advisability of permitting a worker to choose freely between an individual or a collective contract, we must insist that the compulsory unionization of industry is economically indefensible.

The conditions under which a man shall dispose of his labor are of such exceeding importance to society that, if freedom is to be denied, the restrictions imposed should be determined by the government and not by any other agency. Such regulations should be just, uniform, and certain; they should not be subject to the possible caprice, selfishness, or special exigencies of a labor organization. When it is necessary to restrict the freedom of labor or capital to enter any industry, the matter becomes the subject of public concern and public regulation. If membership in a labor organization is to be a condition precedent to the right of securing employment, it will be necessary for the government to control the constitution, policy, and management of such associations so far as may be requisite for the purpose in view.

Trade-unions have no right to usurp the sovereignty of the State and to destroy that individual freedom which is the cardinal principle of American life, whether it be religious, political, or industrial.

If unions are to render permanent service to the laborers, they must be voluntary organizations. If any device can be invented by employers of laborers by which laborers can be coerced into joining or kept from joining labor-unions, then these organizations no longer represent either the best thought or the best interests of the laborers. They must necessarily soon degenerate into mere dictatorial groups. There is no principle of ethics, economics, or equity that will make the coercion of laborers by laborers any better than the coercion of laborers by capitalists.

Men who, as victims of trade-union despotism, are forced into the union, would prove elements of weakness and prepare the way for disintegration.

Danger of Trade-union Power.—An important argument against acceding to the demands of trade-unionists for the closed shop is the danger involved in granting too much power to the labor organizations.

It is contended that it would be highly dangerous to allow a permanent and all-inclusive organization of laborers to control such matters as admission to a trade, the introduction of improved machinery, and the rate of wages; that it is highly desirable that a trade-union should always be kept upon its good behavior by the knowledge that an unreasonable or selfish policy will drive both employers and the public to seek relief by appealing to the non-union man.

Injury to Business.—It is claimed that the open shop is necessary in order to preserve the liberty and protect the rights of employers. The closed shop means that none but union men shall be employed; that the foreman shall be acceptable to the union and, therefore, presumably a member of it; that the rules of the workshop shall be made by the unions; and it is claimed that all this practically takes the management of the business out of the hands of the employers and places it with those who lack business responsibility. The men who have put their capital into the business can no longer control their own property, but are practically compelled to turn it over to the management of an organization which deems its own interests in conflict with those of the capitalists.

The closed shop would, it is claimed, be injurious to business and thus disastrous to the general welfare of society;

By imposing on a shop where there is no dissatisfaction, the liability of a sympathetic strike, or of a strike growing out of a quarrel with some other union;

By taking the management out of the hands of the employers who have the greatest stake in the business, and thus inviting failure;

By destroying all competition between good and poor workmen, and thus lowering the standard of skill and resulting in an inferior product;

By destroying all competition between union and non-union men and enabling the unions to force wages up to a point which the business could not stand; and, with a higher price for a poorer product, a closed shop could not compete with establishments not so handicapped. (See Unionist and Non-Unionist.)

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GUSTAVUS A. WEBER.

OPIUM TRAFFIC, THE: Opium was known to the ancients as a stimulant. Theophrastus, Dioskorides, and Pliny describe its culture and properties. It is alleged even that it was known in Homer's time. Sanskrit has no term for it, altho other Oriental languages contain names derived from the Greek. The Arabs introduced opium into Europe and East India in the sixteenth century. Persia is said to have used it first as an intoxicant. China used it for this purpose about 1650. The East India Company monopolized its production and traffic. The Chinese Government prohibited the importation of opium in 1820; it was, however, extensively smuggled into China. This led to the Opium War between China and England which ended 1842, and to the Treaty of Tientsin (1858) in which England forced China to admit opium. In 1876 some new regulations were made. About 1850 opium began to be used in England and the United States as an intoxicant, and opium-dens exist in nearly all large cities of these countries. Lately a campaign against its use has been carried on, particularly in England. The Chinese Government, too, has taken energetic measures to exclude foreign opium and to suppress its production within China (Nov., 1906). There are supposed to be 60,000,000 regular opium smokers and eaters who consume the larger proportion of the output; but one half of the total population is said to be more or less addicted to its use.

Statistics.—China's crop of poppy is estimated at 20,000 to 30,000 boxes per annum (since 1853); East India produced (1873–74) 6,358,495 kilograms of opium, 6,144,132 of which were imported into China. Asia Minor produces 300,000 kilograms annually. India's revenue from opium was, in 1900–1, $24,633,280; in 1901–2, $20,804,800; in 1905–6, $26,344,240; and in 1906–7, $23,189,120. That of China on native opium, 1900–1, $1,595,780; 1905–6, $576,000, and on imported, $3,600,000. In 1880 the opium revenue of India represented 14 per cent of the aggregate; in 1906 only 7 per cent.

These figures prove that England has been the greatest sinner in regard to the opium traffic. The Chinese Government has made protests against its importation, because they have recognized its pernicious effects upon Chinese subjects. The Turks look upon an opium-eater or smoker with contempt. These attitudes show that the Orientals know how baneful the use of opium is, both on the physique, mind, and morals. There has, however, always existed an influential party in England protesting against this traffic by the Indian Government, and the agitation is beginning to bear fruit, as the decrease in the revenue shows.

OSTROGORSKI, MOYSEY YAKOVLEVICH: Russian member of the Duma; born in 1852; a Jew; representative (Constitutional Democrat) from Grodno Province to the first Duma; graduate of the Law School of St. Petersburg University, he was for a time student of the Paris School of Philosophy and Political Science, and served in the Legislative Department of the Ministry of Justice. He is the author of several judicial works.

OVERBERGH, CYRIL VON: Belgian economist; born in Brussels, 1866, he studied at the Catholic University of Louvain, in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and England. Was made commissioner to the king in the precinct of Courtroi and professor of sociology at Louvain; chief of cabinet of Ministry of Justice in Brussels 1893; chief of Cabinet of Ministry of the Interior and Public Instruction in 1895; general director of superior learning of science and letters in 1900. Founded in 1901 the Society of Sociology in Belgium and became its permanent president. Is president of the Belgium Society of Social Economy at Brussels and numerous other scientific societies. Author of "La réforme de la bienfaisance" (1900); "Les courants socialogique du XIX siècle" (1900); "Le Materialism historique de Karl Marx" (1903); "La classe sociale" (1904). *Address*: 102 Chaussées de Vleurgat, Brussels.

OVERCROWDING: We consider in this article the facts as to the overcrowding of large cities. (For the methods of dealing with the problem, see GARDEN CITIES; HOUSING; MODEL VILLAGES.)

The problem of overcrowding is not identical with that of the tenement question (see TENEMENTS), for there may be serious overcrowding where there are no tenements (large buildings crowded with families of the poorer classes). London has few large tenements yet most serious overcrowding; Chicago, compared with New York, has been said to have no tenement-house problem, yet the Chicago City Homes Association in the winter of 1900–1 found some areas very densely crowded. One seventh of one acre had a ratio of 900 to the acre. Double-deckers were on the increase, and there were then almost 100 within a limited field of investigation.

The overcrowding in New York is, however, probably the most serious in the world, because New York City has both overcrowding and the tenement evil, too, and both in the worst forms. (See TENEMENTS.) Certain portions of New York City are the most densely populated spots in the world. The following table from the census for 1900 gives the general situation in the more crowded cities of the United States.

The census says:

The city of New York as now constituted has, according to the census of 1900, 249,991 dwelling-places, containing an aggregate population of 3,437,202. Of the whole number of dwelling-places in the city in 1900, 95,433, or 38.2 per cent, contain from 2 to 6 persons; 60,672, or 24.2 per cent, contain from 7 to 10 persons, and 89,654, or 35.9 per cent, contain 11 persons or more, leaving 4,232, or 1.7 per cent, for dwellings containing only 1 person. In Manhattan and Bronx boroughs—equivalent to New York City as it existed in 1890—more than one half of all the dwellings contain 11 persons or more, while in Brooklyn borough—equivalent to Brooklyn city in 1890—this number of persons is contained in more than three tenths of all the dwellings in that borough in 1900. These proportions for New York City as now constituted can be compared with similar proportions for Philadelphia, which has about nine tenths as many dwelling-places housing less than two fifths the amount of population, and with Chicago, where nearly four fifths as many dwelling places house about one half as much population. In Philadelphia by far the largest proportion of the dwellings—72.8 per cent—contain from 2 to 6 persons each, as compared with 21.4 per cent for those with from 7 to 10 persons, and only 4.2 per cent for those with 11 or more persons. Of all the dwellings in Chicago in 1900 about one fourth—25.8 per cent—contain 11 persons or more, 44.1 per

OVERCROWDING IN THE UNITED STATES

CITIES	PER CENT OF POPULATION IN DWELLINGS WITH—							
	1 to 10 persons		11 to 15 persons		16 to 20 persons		21 persons and over	
	1900	1890	1900	1890	1900	1890	1900	1890
Boston, Mass.	50.5	52.2	23.8	22.8	11.1	11.1	14.6	13.9
Chicago, Ill.	48.9	50.8	21.6	20.5	11.6	12.1	17.9	16.6
Cincinnati, Ohio	55.6	48.5	18.3	17.8	10.0	11.8	16.1	21.9
Fall River, Mass.	32.9	....	21.5	....	15.0	....	30.6	....
Jersey City, N. J.	50.0	50.6	15.6	15.6	9.3	10.3	25.1	23.5
Newark, N. J.	55.7	60.0	20.6	20.5	9.7	9.3	14.0	10.2
New York, N. Y.	26.7	....	11.1	....	7.8	....	54.4	....
Manhattan and Bronx boroughs[1]	13.9	16.5	7.3	8.8	6.2	8.0	72.6	66.7
Brooklyn borough[2]	40.0	43.3	17.5	19.0	11.1	12.0	31.4	25.7
Worcester, Mass.	45.2	....	24.8	....	13.1	....	16.9	....

[1] New York City in 1890.
[2] Brooklyn city in 1890.

cent from 2 to 6 persons, and 28.6 per cent from 7 to 10 persons. Considered with respect to population, the differences are even more significant. New York City has very nearly three fourths of its population in 1900 living in dwellings containing 11 or more persons, as against not much more than one half for Chicago and not much more than one eighth for Philadelphia. The proportion of the population —86.1 per cent—contained in dwellings with 11 or more persons in Manhattan and Bronx boroughs, is very much larger than in Brooklyn borough, where it is 60 per cent, or in the remainder of the greater city, where it is between 20 and 26 per cent. Boston has very nearly one half of its population contained in dwellings with 11 or more persons, but in Fall River and Worcester, in the same state, the proportions are even larger, this class of dwellings containing 67.1 per cent of the population of Fall River and 54.8 per cent of that of Worcester. One half of the population of Jersey City is contained in dwellings with 11 persons or more, and the proportions in Cincinnati and Newark—44.4 and 44.3 per cent respectively—are very nearly as large.

New York City has considerably more than one half of its population in dwellings containing over 20 persons, and Manhattan and Bronx boroughs have very nearly three fourths of their entire population in such dwellings.

More than three tenths of the population of Brooklyn borough and of Fall River and one fourth of the population of Jersey City are also contained in dwellings with more than 20 occupants.

Yet this does not adequately present the situation because it gives no information as to the size of the dwellings. This, however, has been done for New York City by the investigations of the New York Federation of Churches (*q. v.*), using also census returns. It gives the following results for the various boroughs:

	Acres	Population	Density per acre
Manhattan	14,110	2,112,380	149
Bronx	26,017	271,630	10
Brooklyn	49,608	1,358,686	28
Queens	82,883	198,240	2
Richmond	36,600	78,846	2
	209,218	4,013,781	19

This is for the whole city, including the portions not yet built up. For certain districts, however, the *Bulletin* of the Federation for April, 1906, gives the following table:

The following are the populations, in 1905 and 1900, of the assembly districts of Manhattan Island, with their gains of population, and their comparative density in 1905 and in 1900:

ASSEMBLY DISTRICT	Population		Five years' gain	Population per acre	
	1900	1905		1900	1905
East Side, south of Fourteenth Street:					
2	52,768	58,448	5,680	153.8	170.4
4	76,852	90,941	14,089	462.9	547.8
6	64,286	73,964	9,678	345.6	397.6
8	72,125	71,241	[1]884	735.9	727.9
10	65,785	74,330	8,545	577.0	652.0
12	72,897	74,449	1,552	455.6	465.3
14	54,847	65,392	10,545	340.6	406.1
16	73,834	94,210	20,376	447.4	570.9
	533,394	602,975	69,581	382.9	432.8
East Side, north of Fourteenth street:					
18	45,197	48,739	3,512	191.5	206.5
20	42,596	44,392	1,796	229.0	238.6
22	48,796	51,762	2,966	223.8	237.4
24	51,209	60,161	8,952	147.1	172.8
26	56,882	60,108	3,226	253.9	262.8
28	46,123	51,842	5,719	277.8	351.9
30	58,728	61,696	2,968	266.9	280.4
32	80,379	105,156	24,777	140.2	183.5
33	58,112	70,696	12,584	150.9	183.3
34	38,296	43,743	5,447	137.7	157.3
	526,318	598,295	71,977	185.7	211.1
Fifth Avenue districts:					
5	37,951	38,613	662	137.0	139.6
25	36,800	39,721	2,921	80.0	86.3
27	36,984	34,952	[1]2,032	85.2	80.5
29	51,674	52,431	757	44.8	45.4
31	78,013	103,691	25,678	165.9	220.6
	241,422	269,408	27,986	86.4	96.4
West Side:					
1	25,959	24,030	[1]1,929	49.9	46.2
3	47,295	59,041	11,746	205.6	256.7
7	41,979	42,246	267	141.3	142.2
9	42,361	47,057	4,696	160.4	178.2
11	41,247	33,990	[1]7,257	212.6	170.0
13	37,572	40,879	3,307	199.8	219.7
15	38,911	40,994	2,083	313.8	330.5
17	40,975	44,898	3,923	181.3	198.6
19	65,025	77,903	12,878	108.3	129.8
21	89,050	113,809	24,759	83.3	106.5
23	78,585	107,168	28,583	23.7	32.4
	548,959	632,015	83,056	78.2	90.2

[1] Loss.

The increase south of Fourteenth Street since 1900 has been 80,327 persons, a larger increase than in any other section of Manhattan or Bronx.

In 1855 there were 417,476 persons south of Fourteenth Street. There has, therefore, been an increase of 69,886 in each of the five decades since that time, but the increase in the last five years alone has been 80,327 persons. . . .

If the remainder of New York were peopled as densely as the lower East Side of Manhattan it could contain the whole population of the United States, continental and insular, as in 1900, plus almost the whole population of Canada.

Certain blocks, however, have a much higher density than this. According to an article by Mr. Finley in the Federation's *Bulletin* (No. 4, 1906), there are fifty-one blocks in Manhattan with populations of over 3,000 inhabitants each. One block on the West Side has a population of 6,173, and a density of 1,145 per acre. Several smaller blocks, mainly on the East Side, with smaller populations have still higher densities.

In no other cities in the U. S. does such overcrowding exist. Yet other cities have conditions bad enough. According to an investigation of certain districts of Chicago, made in 1905 (reported in *Charities*, Jan. 6, 1906), and compared with an investigation of the same in 1900, there

Following is the list of twelve blocks with densities of over 1,100 to the acre:

Block Boundaries	Density 1905	Density 1900
Cherry-Jefferson-Monroe-Rutgers	1,458	1,000
Cherry-Clinton-Monroe-Jefferson	1,422	1,171
Forsyth-East Houston-Chrystie-Stanton	1,301	1,123
Clinton-Stanton-Suffolk-Rivington	1,291	818
Rivington-Sheriff-Stanton-Willett	1,273	1,144
Cherry-Montgomery-Monroe-Clinton	1,218	703
Rivington-Willett-Stanton-Pitt	1,203	1,190
Rivington-Columbia-Stanton-Sheriff	1,172	772
Rivington-Goerck-Stanton-Lewis	1,163	980
West Sixty-first Street-Amsterdam Avenue-West Sixty-second Street-West End Avenue	1,145	553
Elizabeth-East Houston-Mott-Prince	1,108	1,025
East Second Street-Avenue C-East Third Street-Avenue B	1,004	900

has been little or no improvement. There were found 87 city lots wholly built over, 144 more lots 90–100 per cent built over. There were 730 rear buildings occupied by 3,545 persons; 983 rooms were "dark, very dark, or dark and gloomy"; 4,845 persons, of whom 2,652 were children, lived in basements or cellars. There were 161 bathtubs for 1,598 houses and 21,612 people. Garbage was uncollected or dumped in the yards.

After Chicago, Boston, Cincinnati, and Jersey City have the most overcrowding, tho in proportion to their size, Hoboken, N. J., and Fall River and Holyoke, Mass., have worse conditions. The following table from the census gives the general situation:

City	Population	Dwellings	Families	Average number of persons to a dwelling
Baltimore, Md.	508,957	89,442	105,584	5.7
Boston, Mass.	560,892	66,482	117,244	8.4
Buffalo, N. Y.	352,387	49,914	73,031	7.1
Chicago, Ill.	1,698,575	193,895	359,960	8.8
Cincinnati, Ohio	325,902	40,634	74,536	8.0
Cleveland, Ohio	381,768	63,205	81,519	6.0
Columbus, Ohio	125,560	24,219	27,582	5.2
Denver, Col.	133,859	27,100	30,936	4.9
Detroit, Mich.	285,704	52,046	60,505	5.5
Fall River, Mass.	104,863	9,509	21,027	11.0
Hartford, Conn.	79,850	9,699	17,231	8.2
Hoboken, N. J.	59,364	4,188	13,431	14.2
Holyoke, Mass.	45,712	4,211	8,936	10.9
Jersey City, N. J.	206,433	23,627	44,760	8.7
Kansas City, Mo.	163,752	28,027	36,496	5.8
Louisville, Ky.	204,731	34,655	44,912	5.9
Milwaukee, Wis.	285,315	45,809	59,806	6.2
Minneapolis, Minn.	202,718	31,836	42,536	6.4
Newark, N. J.	246,070	30,397	54,654	8.1
New Orleans, La.	287,104	52,988	61,775	5.4
New York, N. Y.	3,437,202	249,991	735,621	13.7
Manhattan and Bronx boroughs	2,050,600	100,547	433,953	20.4
Brooklyn borough	1,166,582	113,972	255,821	10.2
Queens borough	152,999	24,221	32,121	6.3
Richmond borough	67,021	11,251	13,726	6.0
Omaha, Neb.	102,555	18,027	20,723	5.7
Philadelphia, Pa.	1,293,697	241,589	265,880	5.4
Pittsburg, Pa.	321,616	50,104	63,959	6.3
St. Louis, Mo.	575,238	82,260	123,719	7.0
St. Paul, Minn.	163,065	24,681	30,919	6.6
San Francisco, Cal.	342,782	53,323	71,697	6.4
Washington, D. C.	278,718	49,385	56,678	5.6

The totals for the 160 cities of continental U. S. having at least 25,000 inhabitants are as follows: Total population, 19,718,312; total dwellings, 2,884,621; total families, 4,217,644; private families—number 4,137,279, population 18,632,457; families not private, 80,365. Average number of persons to a dwelling, 6.8; family, 4.7; private family, 4.5.

Europe

For Great Britain, see special article, Housing in Great Britain.

In Germany, overcrowding has long been a pressing question. (See Housing.) In 1891 Berlin had 367,000 families in 21,600 buildings, or an average of 17 families under one roof, not one family in 600 having a house of their own. The cellar dwellings in Germany ranged from 6½ per cent of the population in Hamburg to 7⅝ in Berlin. In Breslau, Dresden, and Magdeburg, nearly half the population lived in dwellings with only one room and a small half room or closet, without ventilation or light. Since then, and especially recently, considerable effort has been made to relieve the situation. Yet a report on the conditions in Prussia in 1900 found that in many towns from 10 to 20 per cent of the dwellings, with either no heatable room or only one, lodged on an average 6 or more persons, the average at Halle being 20.20 per cent, Barmen 22.35, and Posen (the highest) 24.07. German cities are, moreover, growing in population, so that the demand for houses is great and rents high. A dwelling with one heatable room in Berlin rents for $58 per year, and even one in a cellar for $49; on the fifth or higher stories or attics for over $48. Even in small towns, like Mayence, one room rents for $32.50 per year. In Germany, too, as in Great Britain, there is great scarcity of proper housing in even the rural districts, resulting in overcrowding, promiscuity, and other evils.

Undoubtedly the most important recent contribution to international comparisons in overcrowding is Dr. Arthur Shadwell's "Industrial Efficiency" (1906), vol. ii., chap. xi. He gives the following interesting table:

Average Number of Persons to a House

London	7.2	Berlin	46.6	New York	13.7
Manchester	4.9	Breslau	39.1	Chicago	8.8
Birmingham	4.8	Leipzig	27.0	Philadelphia	5.4
Leeds	4.5	Dresden	27.5	Boston	8.4
Sheffield	4.8	Hanover	20.1	Pittsburg	6.3
Bradford	4.3	Dusseldorf	19.4	Providence	7.0
Bolton	4.6	Chemnitz	29.1	Fall River	11.0
Oldham	4.5	Elberfeld	18.7	Lowell	6.9
Halifax	4.2	Barmen	18.0	Lawrence	7.7
Wolverhampton	4.8	Essen	18.6	New Bedford	7.1

But obviously these figures imply different kinds of houses. John Burns, before the National Housing Congress of 1907, spoke of New York as where people live in tenements; Berlin, where people live in barracks; and London, where they live in houses.

When it comes, however, to the number of persons to a room, Germany still shows very much the worst general conditions, tho a few places in the U. S. are much worse. Two persons to a room has been the official standard adopted in England, and anything beyond this is called "overcrowding." Dr. Shadwell finds in England in 1901 only 8.2 per cent of the people overcrowded by this standard; 5.8 per cent in rural and 8.9 per cent in urban districts. In the U. S. the U. S. Bureau of Labor (see above) reports for 1903 a general average for the U. S. of 1.04 room per individual. In Germany the *Reichs-Arbeitsblatt* (March, 1905) reported for 908 households an average of 3.03 persons to a room. But Berlin is exceptionally overcrowded, and this was undoubtedly among the poor. Still Dr. Shadwell finds in Germany "a real house famine," while in England and America there is not, save in specially congested localities. Apart from over-

crowding, however, he finds insanitary housing much less common in Germany than in England. Of Germany he says: "The home is rarely neglected; inadequate it may be in size, but it is kept clean and decent, as are the children." Of England he says: "We have a class, diminishing but still pretty large, which turns any quarter that it inhabits into a slum. . . . Our public sanitation is on a higher level than that of any other land, but nowhere have I seen people so dirty in their persons and living in the midst of such voluntary dirt as in this country." Of the U. S. he says: "The older and larger towns have their full share of dirt, darkness, and dilapidation, but I have been struck by the comparative absence of slums in manufacturing towns of medium size."

Reference: See Housing.

OVERPRODUCTION is defined by the majority report of the English Commission on the Depression of Trade and Industry as "the production of commodities, or even the existence of a capacity for production, at a time when the demand is not sufficiently brisk to maintain a remunerative price to the producer." The report affirms that "such an overproduction has been one of the prominent features of the course of trade during recent years, and that the depression under which we are now suffering may be partially explained by this fact." The minority report lays still more emphasis upon "systematic overproduction," and says that "the demand for commodities does not increase at the same rate as formerly, and that our capacity for production is consequently in excess of our home and export demand, and could, moreover, be considerably increased, at short notice, by the fuller employment of labor and appliances now partially idle." Similarly says Mr. Carroll D. Wright in his "Report on Industrial Depressions" (Washington, 1886, p. 89): "So far as the factories and the operatives of the countries concerned are to be taken into consideration (England, the United States, France, Belgium, Germany), there does exist a positive and emphatic overproduction, and the overproduction could not exist without the introduction of power machinery at a rate greater than the consuming power of the nations involved and of those dependent upon them demands; in other words, the overproduction of power machinery logically results in the overproduction of goods made with the aid of such machinery, and this represents the condition of those countries dependent largely upon mechanical industries for their prosperity." Mr. Edward Atkinson, in numerous essays, and Mr. David A. Wells, in his "Recent Economic Changes," argues the same way.

Orthodox View

In Europe Lord Playfair, writing in 1888, adduces for this position the authority of Dr. A. von Studnitz, Piermez, Jules Duckerts, Laveleye, Trasenster, Annecke, and Engel. Mr. Wells finds the asserted excess of production due to three prime causes: First, increased capacity of production; second, improved methods of distribution; third, the opening up of new abundant supplies of raw material. (For details on these points see articles Machinery and Commerce.) Mr. Hobson ("The Evolution of Modern Capitalism," p. 173) shows that the rise of productiveness in machinery in England, between 1850 and 1885, may be roughly estimated at 40 per cent, while Mr. Wright, in the above-mentioned report, shows that in the U. S., between 1866 and 1886, the gain of machinery—taking the aggregate, as measured by "the displacement of muscular labor"—was more than one third, while in some trades the improvement of mechanical productiveness for labor was from 50 to 300 per cent. Commerce has made even greater gains. A ton of wheat can now be hauled by sea at less than a farthing per mile. The opening of the Suez Canal is said to have destroyed a tonnage of two millions. Raw material can be delivered in bulk in England at only a trifle more than the cost of its production in its far-away home. All this has enormously increased the capabilities of production. The amount of overproduction must, as Mr. Hobson has pointed out in his "Evolution of Modern Capitalism," by no means be measured by the amount of goods actually produced for which there are no buyers; this is but a small portion of the evil. A far greater evil is that the factories are often able to produce in a short while far more than there is any hope of selling, and so they stop work. This produces not only a glut upon the market, but shuts down factories, workshops, mines, railway enterprises, etc.

The circle of our production is thus stated by Hobson (idem, p. 179): "Improved machinery of manufacture and transport enables larger and larger quantities of raw material to pass more quickly and more cheaply through the several processes of production. Consumers do not, in fact, increase their consumption as quickly and to an equal extent. Hence the outward flow of productive goods is checked in one or more of the manufacturing stages, or in the hands of the merchants or even in the retail shops. This congestion of the channels of production automatically checks production, depriving of all use a large quantity of the machinery and a large quantity of labor. The general fall of money income which has necessarily followed from a fall of prices, uncompensated by a corresponding expansion of sales, induces a shrinkage of consumption. Under deprest trade, while the markets continue to be glutted with unsold goods, only so much current production is maintained as will correspond to the shrunk consumption of the deprest community. Before the turn in the commercial tide, current production even falls below the level of current consumption of the glut of goods which had congested the machine. After the congestion which had kept prices low is removed, prices begin to rise, demand is more active at each point of industry, and we see the usual symptoms of reviving trade.

Thus analyzing the cycle, Mr. Hobson argues that the root evil is underconsumption rather than overproduction, a thought which we shall revert to later. Here we notice that English economists have largely denied the possibility of a general condition of overproduction. They have argued that every one who produces creates a corresponding power to consume. Producers may produce the wrong kinds of goods—goods for which there is no market—so that in certain trades or lines of goods there may be a trade overproduction, but the mere fact of production creates with it the ability to consume, so that the total production cannot be more than the total ability to consume. This argument Hobson quotes from Adam Smith, McCulloch, and J. B. Say, but it is a superficial view. Hobson says: "The fallacy involved in the supposition that oversupply is impossible, consists in assuming that the power to consume and the desire to consume necessarily coexist in the same persons." He instances the case of a glut of cotton goods, due to improved cotton machinery. The spinners and manufacturers have the desire to consume; that is, to exchange these goods for commodities; but the ill-clad of Russia, East London, and even Manchester, who desire the cotton goods,

have no money nor anything else which the manufacturers want, and so the manufacturers cannot sell to them. But the manufacturers can sell, it is said, to those who perhaps do desire the labor of the ill-clad; so they sell the cotton goods to merchants and buy what they want, while the ill-clad work for those who want their labor, and with their wages buy the cotton goods. Thus a roundabout exchange of goods arises, and Hobson says "this answer is valid on the assumption that the Lancashire producers desire to consume an equivalent of the goods they produce." But let us suppose, Hobson argues, that they do not desire to so consume. Suppose they desire not to consume so much, but to save or invest in more means of production, more mills, more means of transportation, etc. Then we have a production not balanced by an equal amount of consumption, and so there may be an overproduction. It is true that they may desire to produce more in order to consume more eventually, or to have their children consume more; still, temporarily, they do not consume as much as they produce, and so there is a cycle or season of overproduction which may occur in enough trades to be general. Hence Hobson argues that there may be too much saving; that all would be well if men would consume more—consume as much as they produce. Hence he maintains that the real trouble is not overproduction, but underconsumption; that a too sudden development of railroad-building, factory-building, etc., stimulates the market for a while, but leads to a temporary overproduction, which should have been avoided by more immediate consumption and less investment.

Socialists, however, find this analysis of Hobson's but partial. Why do not the ill-clad in Russia and London buy cotton goods? Because they have no money? Why do they not work and earn money? Some of them can find no work; others of them are too shiftless or too undisciplined to be willing to do work which is in demand. But why are they shiftless? Why have they so little energy? Very largely, Socialists say, because of their environment, and still more largely because of their early environment. (See POVERTY, CAUSES OF.) How can good environment be obtained? By self-effort, say some. But this is making the end develop the means. The question is, how to produce self-effort. You must have somewhat of good environment to produce self-effort. By wise charity, say others: model dwellings, penny savings-banks, etc. But charity, even Associated Charity (*q. v.*), admits by its leaders to-day that it cannot meet the whole problem. It takes the united action of society to reach the problem. Cities, municipalities, in spite of theorists, are more and more being driven to care for the helpless and the shiftless. But the cities cannot employ the unemployed, it is said, without such taxation as will crush the activities of those who are energetic and have self-help. Then let the municipalities themselves produce; themselves conduct natural monopolies; themselves become producers, in a word; and the municipality can consume (that is, spend) every dollar it produces, by employing men and women in productive work; that is, work that shall produce commodities, healthy homes, parks, art-galleries, etc. These commodities, parks, art-galleries, will not be themselves commercially productive, but be productive of better life. Thus the shiftless and unemployed (for whatever reason they be unemployed) may be given opportunity or be compelled to work, and thus be able to consume more; a state which will in part, at least, equalize consumption with production. Therefore, even under the wage system, Socialists maintain that more social production can aid distribution and so aid consumption; while, if universal cooperation ever replace the wage system, and the functions of the capitalist and the worker be not divided between two classes, but be united in the same class, then there will be little if any overproduction, and certainly no general overproduction, since when all men shall receive their share of what they produce, and one class shall not receive large profits and another scarcely a livelihood, all will have approximately equal ability to consume, and the wants of humanity can, as a whole, be not limited. It may even then be possible to produce more shoes than humanity can wear, but not for long. Hours can be limited and production so lessened; and at least there will not be the horrors that to-day accompany what is called overproduction, and which so excite the wrath of Socialists—an "overproduction" of shoes, when millions are going shoeless; an overproduction of "corn," when thousands die of starvation; an "overproduction" of commodities which, sometimes, even the very "hands" that have helped make them bitterly long for, but cannot buy. Socialists are never weary of picturing the piano-makers, who have no piano in their homes; the carpet-weavers, who return to bare floors; the garment-workers, who live in all but nakedness. It is little wonder the term "overproduction" seems to them a mockery and a lie. Neither overproduction nor underconsumption is to them the root evil, but unequal distribution.

Socialist View

REFERENCES: Hobson's *Evolution of Modern Capitalism;* Lalor's *Cyclopedia of Political Sciences;* article *Overproduction,* by A. T. Hadley; Carroll D. Wright's *Report on Industrial Depressions* (*First Annual Report of Commissioner of Labor,* 1886); D. A. Wells's *Recent Economic Changes,* chap. iii.; J. S. Mill's *Political Economy,* book iii., chap. xiv.

OVERTIME is the time that employees work beyond the customary or legal hours. The practise of working overtime exists, particularly in England, in almost all trades to some degree, and in some trades is almost universal and carried to a large extent. When firms, as in the engineering, printing, or dressmaking trades, have orders that must be filled speedily, they often seem all but compelled to work their employees overtime. And often employees are glad to do so—though whether wisely or not we shall in a moment consider—first, because they are glad to work more and so earn more, and secondly, because most firms (though not all) pay at higher rates for overtime than for work in ordinary hours. The law, too, usually allows overtime in certain trades for certain reasons, provided that the employees are paid for it. We shall see that even this paid overtime is a questionable advantage and a questionable necessity; but in some trades overtime is the rule and not paid for. In some trades, usually those paying the lowest wages, and usually employing girls, children, or the less intelligent men and women, employees are continually compelled to work overtime without extra payment, on threat of being discharged. Cases are by no means rare where girls and even men are locked in and compelled to work, sometimes late into the night, with no extra pay. Usually the firm

goes through the form of getting the employees to consent; the employees usually consent, knowing that if they do not they will be soon discharged. Sometimes the firms gain the employees' consent by offering a little lunch, or, occasionally, a drink. In the clothes-making trade of all descriptions, and in smaller shops of various trades, overtime is a very great evil. (See Eight-Hour Movement; also Sweating System.) Even where firms pay employees for overtime and pay well, the better-informed employees usually do not desire it; and sometimes do not desire it even when, in order to stand well with the boss, they consent.

Evils of Overtime

The reason why it is an evil, even when well paid for, is, first, because it very seriously prevents the reduction of the actual working-hours and thus forfeits all the very great advantages of the short-hour movement. (See Eight-Hour Movement.) Often, and particularly in England, overtime work renders practically nugatory the effect of short-hour legislation. Second, overtime, even when seemingly paid for, is not really paid for, and employees get no more pay than they would if they did not work overtime. This is for the reason that what determines the rate of pay is not the amount done or the hours worked, but the standard of living of the operatives in the given trade. Under competition no firm can long afford to give higher pay than the lowest for which operatives of the requisite ability are willing to work. What this is depends on what it costs the operatives to live. In the long run it is found that few operatives get more than what their standard of life demands (though this, of course, varies very much between skilled and unskilled trades, etc.). Therefore, if employees by working overtime earn more, the firm can, and often under competition must, lower the general rate of wages; and the employee finds himself working overtime and yet earning no more than before. (See Wages; also Piece Work.)

Nor is overtime always so necessary or advantageous to employers as they imagine. Occasionally, in some trades, as those above mentioned, it does seem necessary; but usually even where it seems necessary, if it were absolutely forbidden, customers would learn to think ahead and give their orders in time to have them fulfilled in ordinary hours; the firms would do just as much work, with less friction, with less payment at high rates for overtime, and, above all, with less demoralizing effects on their employees. Sometimes employees who work overtime will slacken work in ordinary times in order to get the higher rate of pay for overtime work. Mr. Rae ("Eight Hours for Work," p. 122) says:

Not Necessary

> Mr. Spill, an india-rubber manufacturer, informed the Children's Employment Commission that he found working overtime extremely unprofitable, because his men used to loiter over their work in the regular hours in order to get better pay for it by doing it during overtime.

Mr. Rae says again (idem, p. 98):

> The manager of a Massachusetts carpet-mill reports of the lengthening the ten-hours day by running overtime for a season, that the production increased for the first month after the overtime began, but then the men grew listless, the quantity of their output fell off, the quality of the goods deteriorated, and by the third month the books showed that the mill was doing no more in the day, with ten hours and overtime to boot, than it did before in the ten hours alone. The imposition of the strain takes time to tell to the full; the relaxation of the strain does the same.

From instances Mr. Rae concludes (idem, p. 65) that it is

> certainly very doubtful whether the world has ever gained anything by systematic overtime, and whether men would not do quite the same amount of work from year's end to year's end if it were abolished altogether. Mr. Bowling, one of the factory inspectors, remarks that he was struck with the frequency with which employers said to him overtime was utterly unprofitable, and nobody can read any of the reports of commissioners on labor or trade questions without being struck with the same circumstance. Incidental overtime may be unavoidable in the engineering trade, but the persistent overtime now habitually wrought might probably be abolished with positive benefit to production.

And yet in the engineering, printing, dressmaking, and other similar trades, overtime is the rule.

OWEN, ROBERT: "The father of modern communism," born in Newtown, North Wales, in 1771. At ten years of age he was put to work in a draper's shop, but later removed to Manchester, where, when only nineteen years old, he was manager of a large cotton-mill. In 1800 he purchased, with his partners, the New Lanark Mills on the Clyde, where Arkwright in 1789 had erected one of the earliest cotton-spinning establishments.

He tells, in his autobiography, with what enormous difficulties he had to cope when he purchased the property. Women and children were employed under conditions which debased both mind and morals; drunkenness and ignorance, fifth and immorality, were the characteristics of the population. Owen believed, however, in the omnipotent effect of circumstance in molding character; the notion that individuals form their own character he called "the enemy of humanity, the hydra of human calamity." He therefore set himself to work out reform on this principle.

Drunkenness was discountenanced by the introduction of resorts where the workmen could find both pleasure and profit; immorality was checked by informal lectures setting forth its practical evils, as well as by various ingenious contrivances calculated to appeal to the honor of the operatives; the employment of young children was discontinued; the homes of the people were materially improved; good, honest provisions were supplied at cost price; children's schools were started, and insurance funds against old age and illness were not forgotten.

Owen's first book, "A New View of Society; or, Essays on the Principle of the Formation of the Human Character," the first essay in which was published in 1813, argues that man's character is made by circumstances, and that the one important thing to do, therefore, is to establish a right physical, moral, and social environment.

In 1815 Owen began an agitation for a factory law curtailing the hours of work, prohibiting infant labor, and affording health and education to operatives.

The bill finally became a law in 1819.

Owen's first public step in the path of socialism may be said to have been the famous report which, in 1817, he communicated to a committee of the House of Commons on the poor-laws. In this he pointed out that the only permanent remedy for distress was the united action of men and the subordination of machinery. For the treatment of pauperism he recommended co-operative communities.

"This," says Professor Seligman, "was the

turning-point in his career and the virtual beginning of English socialism."

Every one was to work for the benefit of all; the meals were to be cooked and eaten in common; dormitories in the shape of parallelograms were to be erected, and the details of government regulated in the most minute manner. His plans were supported by many prominent men in England, including his special patron, the Duke of Kent, the father of Queen Victoria. But at this juncture his violent attack on all religions alienated the affections of many influential adherents —and it must be said that he showed a narrow-mindedness as great as that which he ascribed to his opponents. Owen was now a world regenerator, an extremist, a socialistic idealist, whose confident anticipation of a millennium seemed to increase in inverse ratio to the failure of his schemes.

In 1825 he purchased New Harmony of the Rappites (which see), in the United States, at the time of its purchase containing some 30,000 acres, 3,000 of it under cultivation, with nineteen detached farms and a regular village with streets, squares, churches, schools, and other edifices. (See NEW HARMONY.) Here Owen soon collected over 900 souls of "all classes and conditions of men," which he endeavored to constitute into a community on the basis of exact equality, and in practise of community of labor and of goods.

To enter into the details of his communities would be impossible. Owen made a triumphal visit to America in 1829, being greeted with universal acclamation, as on the Continent ten years before. He had almost completed negotiations with the Mexican Government for the grant of an immense tract—when suddenly, with the fall of the liberal government, all the bright prospects again vanished.

After this Owen's interest in cooperation gradually vanished, his energy being henceforth centered on the propagation of his all-embracing socialistic schemes. On returning from America he made London the seat of his activity. Repeated addresses were issued, numerous associations formed, while the most bizarre ideas were proposed, such as the floating cooperative community on the Thames. In 1832 was established the "Labor Exchange System." In 1835 the word socialism first appears in Owen's propaganda. After an unsuccessful attempt to win over the trade-unions, at whose first large congress he presided, Owen became still wilder. In 1850 he called the world a great lunatic asylum, but was still full of confidence; shortly after, he denied the right of property, and became an ardent spiritualist; and in his last year showed the persistence of his convictions by addressing an open letter to the potentates of the earth, and by writing an autobiography full of youthful enthusiasm. He died in his native town, Nov. 19, 1858.

He was author of "Book of the New Moral World," "Revolution in the Mind and Practise of the Human Race," "The Life of Robert Owen, Written by Himself" (London, 1857).

REFERENCE: *The Life, Times and Labors of Robert Owen*, by Lloyd Jones, 3d ed., 1900.

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PACIFIC RAILWAY DEBTS: In order to aid the building of the Pacific Railway, Congress (see CRÉDIT MOBILIER) loaned the Central Pacific Railway Company, originally, $64,623,512. Bonds were issued at 6 per cent, maturing in 1895, '96, '97, '98, and '99. By 1895 it was estimated that there was due the government, for principal and interest, about $125,000,000, fully $70,000,000 for the Central Pacific, and $55,000,000 for the Union. The exact figures at any given date cannot be stated with precision on account of the mass of counter-credits for services delayed, disputed, or otherwise in suspense. Some authorities put it at $138,000,000.

Concerning the transactions of the Pacific Company, the report of the Pacific Railway Commission of 1887 says, in brief:

> Congress enacted that the companies should have their stock fully paid in cash. The stock actually paid in amounted to $1,797,000; the stock paid in "as sworn to" amounted to $97,098,000. The 2,496 miles of aided roads were built at a cost of $95,955,000. Stocks and bonds were issued on these to the amount of $268,302,000, all of which was taken by the men who built and managed the roads. In the accounts of the Central Pacific Company the division of earnings for improper purposes amounted to many millions, through contracts made by Messrs. Stanford, Huntington, Hopkins, and Crocker with themselves. They constructed 1,171 miles of road adjunct lines, at a cost of $27,217,000. On account of that construction, in addition to a small cash payment, they issued bonds to themselves to the amount of $33,722,000, and stock to the amount of $49,005,000. Then as directors of the Central Pacific, they took leases of their own lines for the Central Pacific for $3,400,000 per annum; which was at the rate of nearly 13 per cent. Fifteen months ago [in 1886] three of these directors [Stanford, Huntington, and Crocker] contracted with themselves to build an extension of 103 miles. In payment they issued stock to the amount of $8,000,000, and bonds to the amount of $4,500,000, the market value of the stock and bonds being at the time $8,340,000. The actual cost of construction was $3,505,000, so that they personally profited by their own votes by that single transaction to the extent of $4,834,000, etc., etc. Had the Pacific railroads been built and managed upon honest methods, had the government loan been properly applied, these companies, regarded as a whole, could have declared dividends at the rate of 6 per cent per annum for eighteen years, from the date of actual completion to the present time, upon all the moneys that they would have been required to pay in to complete and equip the roads; they would have owned 2,495 miles of roads free from all debt, and worth $124,700,000, upon an original outlay of less than $35,490,381.44; three of them, the Union Pacific, Central Pacific, and Central Branch, could have repaid every cent of the principal and interest advanced by the government to date, and could have reduced their charges to shippers to the extent of over $140,000,000, or nearly $8,000,000 per year. But they chose dishonest methods. At the outset they divided $172,347,113 of fictitious capital, they dissipated over $107,000,000 which should have been applied to the payment of the principal and interest of the government debt, and they taxed shippers to the extent of over $140,000,000, or nearly $8,000,000 a year, to pay for the inflation of the capital of these companies, and for the vicious practises that crept into their management.

Management of Stock

Of the Union Pacific, writing in *Everybody's* July, 1907, Mr. Will Payne says:

> The government and first-mortgage bonds covered the cost of building the line. The other $54,000,000 of securities represented profits. Presently Jay Gould took a hand in Union Pacific. He controlled the Kansas Pacific and Denver Pacific, which together had $25,000,000 of common stock—all water and of little current value. He persuaded the directors of Union Pacific to buy these lines and to exchange Union Pacific stock at par for their bogus shares.
>
> Overloaded Union Pacific went into bankruptcy in 1893 and was reorganized. Holders of the old bonds received in most cases par in new 4 per cent bonds with a bonus of 50 per cent in new preferred stock. There was issued $75,000,000 of new preferred stock, practically all of which was given in bonuses to the old security holders and to the reorganization syndicate. The $61,000,000 of old common stock was con

verted into the same amount of new common. Dividends of 10 per cent a year are now paid on this new common stock. Some part of this is due to Mr. Harriman's brilliant speculations in the stock of other roads. The rest of it is due to a heavy traffic carried at rates higher than would yield a fair return upon the investment. Incidentally, the road received the gift of an empire in public lands. The moiety remaining unsold at the time of the reorganization was valued at $13,358,500.

The Northern Pacific fared even better in this regard. The government gave it 40,000,000 acres of public lands—a piece of generosity which in no wise restrained the stock-watering proclivities of the builders and reorganizers.

PACKING-HOUSE INVESTIGATION: In 1905, Mr. Upton Sinclair, in a very widely read novel, "The Jungle," described conditions of filth, horror, and immorality, as existing in the Chicago meat packing-houses, sensational to the last degree, and supported them by definite and concrete statements, challenging the packing companies to sue him for libel if they were false. The companies only made general denial; the public became generally alarmed and incensed. President Roosevelt appointed Dr. Charles P. Neill, United States Commissioner of Labor, and Mr. James B. Reynolds to investigate the packing-houses. Upon their doing so, the president sent a special message to Congress with the report. A bill was passed somewhat meeting the situation; the companies undertook some cleaning and improvement, tho great evils still exist. The report of the investigation committee is too long to give. We present here in condensed form the notice of it which appeared in the *Outlook* for June 16, 1906:

The report of Messrs. Neill and Reynolds is the result of two weeks and a half spent in the investigation in Chicago. As the president's commissioners say in that report, they make no statement that was not verified by their "personal examination." The statements they make are specific, and altho they mention no names, they state with detail what came under their observation. Filth and unsanitary conditions they found before entering the buildings; the pavements are such as to retain the accumulated refuse; dead animals they saw left lying on the platforms. "The only excuse," they report, "given for the delay in the removal was that so often heard—the expense." Within the buildings the conditions they describe are such that regard for decency makes only a brief summary possible in these columns. Walls, rafters, and supports, and usually the floors, are of wood. In many rooms the floors are "soaked and slimy." Light and ventilation are wretched. Of many of the inside rooms the commissioners say "they may be best described as vaults in which the air rarely changes." Even in outside rooms they found windows so dirty and walls so dingy that the light penetrated only twenty or thirty feet. "Usually the workers," they say, "toil without relief in a humid atmosphere heavy with the odors of rotten wood, decayed meats, stinking offal and entrails." Tables, carts, tubs, and other receptacles they also found in most cases to be of wood, and "frequently found water-soaked, only half cleansed, and with meat scraps and grease accumulations adhering to their sides and collecting dirt." Such sanitary conveniences for the working men and working women as they found were of the vilest. What they say with regard to the arrangement of the toilet facilities within the packing-houses we do not care here to repeat. It is sufficient to say that the facilities are about as bad as can be well imagined. Those who care to know the facts on this aspect of the subject can find them frankly stated in the report itself. The commissioners affirm that even in the newer buildings the defects of the earlier structures are not remedied. The only model buildings to be found are one office building and two for cooling, storage, and sales purposes.

As revolting as the buildings and their condition were, the commissioners found the way in which the meat products were handled in Chicago to be equally repugnant. The meat that is to be sold in bulk, which is the form in which an overwhelming proportion of the meat is distributed, is handled with regard to cleanliness; but the commissioners report that "the parts that are sent from the cooling-room to those departments of the packing-houses in which various forms of meat products are prepared are handled with no regard whatever for cleanliness." In other words, apart from the indecent and unwholesome surroundings, the offensiveness is to be found principally in the processes of preparing the canned meats. The commissioners describe the workers' aprons as being, as a rule, "indescribably filthy." Against these aprons and even dirtier clothing the commissioners saw the meats constantly pressed. The habits of the workers themselves, accustomed as they are to a most degrading environment, are such as to make the conveyance of tuberculosis and other disease germs most easy. As the meat is shoveled from the floors, piled on tables, and pushed to and fro in box-carts, it is liable to gather dirt and disease. When the commissioners called attention to this fact, "it was always the reply," they report, "that this meat would afterward be cooked," and thus sterilized; but the commissioners add that this is not always the case. The commissioners, in commenting on the present method of inspection, declare, first, that it is most rigorous where it is least needed—namely, at the time of killing. It is while the meat is being handled that it is made loathsome. They found, for instance, stale meat scraps, and even bits of rope in tins with the label "Quality Guaranteed." As a matter of fact, all that has been inspected is the carcass of the animal at the time of killing; and the government, of course, does not guarantee the quality. Inspection, moreover, does not apply to the health and comfort of the laborers. "The various departments," say the commissioners, "are under the direct control of superintendents who claim to use full authority in dealing with the employees and who seem to ignore all considerations except those of the account book." That this fact is not only a menace to the social conditions of the community, but also to the physical well-being of the people of the nation, the commissioners recognize in these words:

The Handling of the Meat

> The neglect on the part of their employers to recognize or provide for the requirements of cleanliness and decency of the employees must have an influence that cannot be exaggerated in lowering the morals and discouraging cleanliness on the part of the workers employed in the packing-houses. The whole situation as we saw it in these huge establishments tends necessarily and inevitably to the moral degradation of thousands of workers, who are forced to spend their working-hours under conditions that are entirely unnecessary and unpardonable, and which are a constant menace not only to their own health, but to the health of those who use the food products prepared by them.

The packers' reply is presumably the strongest that can be offered in refutation of the specific allegations of the president's agents, for they

would certainly not have failed to deny them with equally specific detail if they could have done so. Their case would have been stronger if they had kept silence.

PAINE, ROBERT TREAT: Philanthropist; born 1835, Boston, Mass.; educated at public schools, Harvard College, Harvard Law School. After two years in Europe he was admitted to the bar in 1859. Retired from the practise in 1872 to devote himself to the benevolent enterprises with which he is identified. He was one of the founders, in 1878, of the Associated Charities of Boston. In 1879 he organized the Wells Memorial Institute to promote the welfare of working men and women. In 1888 he established the Workingmen's Loan Association. He has built more than 200 houses for working men, selling them at moderate price and on easy credits. In 1884 he was unsuccessful Democratic and Independent candidate for Congress. He is president of the American Peace Society, of the Associated Charities of Boston, and other organizations.

Mr. Paine formerly advocated moderate tariff views—but for the last twenty years has been in favor of free raw material and an increasing measure of free trade. He believes that in social reform the great hope lies in the increasing interest which the well-to-do are taking in the welfare of the people; that personal service is the duty, the privilege, and the joy of life. Author of many reports, papers, pamphlets, circulars, and addresses on "Pauperism," "Cooperative Banks," "Homes for the People," "The Inspiration of Charity," "The Spiritual Efficiency of the Church," etc., etc. *Address*: 6 Joy Street, Boston, Mass.

PAINE, THOMAS: Radical; patriot; signer of the Declaration of Independence; born at Thetford, England, 1737, son of a Quaker stay-maker, he learned his father's trade, but did much private studying. In 1756 he served a short time on a privateer; in 1762 he obtained a post in the revenue service; in 1765 he was discharged for irregular conduct, but was restored the next year. Waiting for a vacancy, he taught school and preached. He published in 1772 "The Case of the Officers of the Excise," which led to his discharge from the excise service in 1774. Invited by Franklin, he went to America, and soon found employment in Philadelphia as editor of the *Pennsylvania Magazine*. He wrote against slavery, and Jan. 10, 1776, published his celebrated "Common Sense," of which 120,000 copies were sold in three months. Dec. 19, 1776, he published in the *Pennsylvania Journal* the first number of "The Crisis," and continued the numbers irregularly through the war, exerting wide influence for independence and republicanism; in 1777 he was chosen secretary of the Committee of Foreign Affairs; was dismissed and censured by Congress in 1779 for revealing secrets. He was soon after elected clerk of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania. He received in 1780 a degree from the University of Pennsylvania, and in 1781 went with Colonel Laurens to France and negotiated a loan, for which Congress gave him $3,000, and New York an estate, and Pennsylvania $2,500. In 1787 he went again to France and then to England, where in 1791–92 he published in London his "Rights of Man," a reply to Burke, and defense of the French Revolution. France made him a citizen, and in 1792 he was elected deputy from Calais. He acted with the Girondists and opposed the execution of the king. He was imprisoned by Robespierre, 1793–94, narrowly escaping the guillotine. In prison he completed his "Age of Reason," and published it when released in 1795. He again took his seat in the Convention and resided two years with James Monroe, United States Minister to France. In 1802 he returned to the U. S. in a U. S. sloop of war and was cordially received at Washington, New York, and Philadelphia. He was, however, opposed by the Federalists and branded by the orthodox as an atheist, tho he was really a free-thinking theist. He lived in comparative obscurity in New York, and died on his estate at New Rochelle in 1809.

PALGRAVE, ROBERT HARRY INGLIS: Economist; born in London in 1827—the third son of Sir Francis Palgrave, K.H., the well-known historian and author. His eldest brother was Francis Turner Palgrave, professor of poetry at Oxford. R. H. Inglis Palgrave was educated at Charterhouse, but early went to Great Yarmouth and entered the banking-house of Gurneys & Co., where his grandfather, Dawson Turner, F.R.S., was a partner. Interested in economics, he won a prize, awarded in 1870 by the Statistical Society of London, for his essay, "Local Taxation of Great Britain and Ireland." In 1877 he became associated with the *Economist*, of which after Mr. Bagehot's death he became editor. In 1882 he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society, and, in 1885, was appointed one of her Majesty's Commission on the Depression of Trade and Industry. He has edited the "Dictionary of Political Economy," Macmillan & Co., and wrote "Bank Rate and the Money Market," John Murray, London. *Address*: Heastead Hall, Wrentham, Suffolk, England.

PANAMA CANAL, SOCIOLOGICAL EFFECT OF: For 400 years men have dreamed of cutting this ditch, thus saving a third of the distance in circumnavigating the globe. In 1551 the Spanish historian, Gomara, urged on Philip II. the importance of cutting the isthmus.

Dr. Josiah Strong has pointed out the result on civilization of the opening of the canal now by the United States and of its *not* being opened before. History would have been very different had Columbus been able to realize his vision and, sailing through a canal, put Europe in immediate communication with the Far East. It would also have been very different had the canal been built before under Spanish or French influence and put Latin civilization in control of its immense possibilities. Completed now it will be under very different auspices.

To-day the eastern U. S. are about as far from the Pacific ports by water as is western Europe. With the canal they will be nearly 3,000 miles nearer.. In other words, commercially speaking, the Pacific will be brought nearer New York by a distance equal to its entire width. The central and southern U. S. will be aided still more. The Mississippi will almost empty into the Pacific. It will be possible to steam from Pittsburg to Hongkong and from Nebraska to Australia, perhaps from Chicago and Duluth to Shanghai and Manila. The Mississippi Valley, with its 1,244,000 sq. m., its 5,000 miles of waterway navigable by steam, its inexhaustible fertility and great variety of product; the South, with its cotton, its inexhaustible mines of the finest coal in Alabama, its pig iron in Alabama and Tennessee—

all this will have a new gateway and that into the new Mediterranean of the world.

The Pacific is surrounded by peoples now numbering 500,000,000, one third of the human race, and if we include India, to which the commerce of the Pacific has easy access, the numbers rise to 800,000,000, or one half the human race. Here, too, is the great room for growth. All of the great undeveloped habitable portions of the earth, except Africa, are ranged around the Pacific—Alaska, British America, our great West, Central and South America, Australia, some of the larger East Indies, and Siberia. To the U. S., already the greatest manufacturing and producing country of the world, the canal will give a great natural advantage over Europe.

PANAMA CANAL—DISTANCES FROM ATLANTIC PORTS TO PACIFIC PORTS BY THE PRESENT ROUTES—IN NAUTICAL MILES
(Prepared by Commander W. H. H. Sutherland, hydrographer, U. S. Navy)

FROM—	To Port Townsend via San Francisco	To San Francisco	To Valparaiso	To Yokohama via San Francisco	To Shanghai via San Francisco and Yokohama	To Manila via San Francisco and Yokohama	To Sydney via Tahiti	To Melbourne via Tahiti and Sydney	To Wellington via Tahiti
New York	14,019	13,244	8,461	17,780	18,910	19,530	14,560	15,135	13,600
New Orleans	14,419	13,644	8,861	18,180	19,310	19,930	14,960	15,535	14,000
Liverpool	14,619	13,844	9,061	18,380	19,510	20,130	15,160	15,735	14,200
Hamburg	15,019	14,244	9,461	18,780	19,910	20,530	15,560	16,135	14,600
Bordeaux	14,474	13,691	8,916	18,235	19,365	19,985	15,015	15,590	14,055

DISTANCES FROM ATLANTIC PORTS TO PACIFIC PORTS, VIA THE PANAMA CANAL, WHEN CONSTRUCTED
(From a special report by the U. S. Treasury Department)

FROM—	To Port Townsend via San Francisco	To San Francisco	To Valparaiso	To Yokohama via San Francisco[1]	To Shanghai via San Francisco and Yokohama[1]	To Manila via San Francisco and Yokohama[1]	To Sydney via Tahiti[2]	To Melbourne via Tahiti[3] and Sydney	To Wellington via Tahiti[4]
New York	6,074	5,299	4,630	9,835	10,885	11,585	9,852	10,427	8,892
New Orleans	5,477	4,698	4,029	9,234	10,284	10,984	9,251	9,826	8,291
Liverpool	8,813	8,038	7,369	12,574	13,624	14,324	12,591	13,166	11,631
Hamburg	9,242	8,467	7,798	13,003	14,053	14,753	13,020	13,595	12,060
Bordeaux	8,713	7,938	7,269	12,474	13,524	14,224	12,491	13,066	11,471
Gibraltar	8,447	7,672	7,003	12,208	13,258	13,958	12,221	11,168	11,265

[1] Via Honolulu, add 252 miles. [2] Omitting Tahiti reduces voyage from Brito by 52 miles. [3] Voyage from Brito to Sydney by way of Wellington is 232 miles less than by way of Tahiti; from Panama it is 405 miles less. [4] Voyage from Brito to Wellington direct is 185 miles shorter than via Tahiti, and from Panama it is 358 miles shorter.

PANKHURST, CHRISTABEL: Woman suffragist and lawyer; born 1880 in Manchester, England; was educated at home, later at high school in her native city, and Switzerland. When her father died, she became interested in all movements in which her mother took part, as a member of the Independent Labor Party, Woman Suffrage, Women's Trade-Union, and was refused admission as a student to Lincoln's Inn. In 1905 she won a prize for international law at Victoria University, Owen's College, Manchester; took her degree in law in 1906, at the head of her class. She was imprisoned for one week for interrupting Sir Edward Grey's meeting in Manchester, Oct. 13, 1905. She is the chief organizer for the Women's Social and Political Union, and is a popular speaker on that platform. *Address*: 4 Clement's Inn, Strand, W. C., London, England.

PANKHURST, EMMELINE GOULDEN: Woman suffragist and emancipator; born in Manchester, England; attended the Ecole Normale for girls, in Paris, and was roommate of Henri Rochefort's daughter. She became an ardent republican, but recognized on her return to Manchester that woman's inferior position would never be improved by the present political parties. She married Dr. Pankhurst in 1879, who had been a member of the first Women's Suffrage Society, founded by J. S. Mill. Mrs. Pankhurst became a member of the executive committee of that society, and assisted her husband in two campaigns for Parliament. She removed to London in 1886, where she joined the Independent Labor Party. On her return to Manchester she served as guardian at the polls from 1893–98; was appointed Registrar of Births and Deaths in 1899 after her husband's death. In 1900 she was elected to the School Board, and formed the Women's Social and Political Union, as a branch of the Labor movement. *Address*: 60, Upper Brook Street, Manchester.

PANTALEONI, MAFFEO: Born in Frascati in 1857, and now, professor of political economy in the University of Rome, is in the first rank of writers on taxation and other financial themes. Achille Loria ("Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science," vol. ii., p. 216) says that his "La Teoria della Traslazione dei Tributi" investigates the reactions of taxes "with a marvelous acuteness, not equaled in the pages of any other Italian writer." In 1889 he published "Principii de Economia Pura," which has been translated into English. His theory of value conforms in general to that of Jevons, but he has criticized alike the English and the Austrian school.

PAPER MONEY: Money (*q. v.*), defined as the medium of exchange, may or may not have intrinsic value. When a piece of money itself apart from its stamp is of the commercial value stamped upon it, it is said to be intrinsic money,

having value in itself. When it has no value in itself, or no value which makes pretense of approximating to its stamped value, but simply represents a value which the government undertakes to pay out for it whenever demanded, it is called representative money. It represents value. When, however, its value is not equal to its stamped value only because its intrinsic value has been depreciated voluntarily or otherwise, tho originally its intrinsic and commercial value were the same, it is called, not representative money, but depreciated money. Its value has depreciated. Finally, when money is issued by a government stamped as legal tender for a certain value, but with no guaranty by the government that it will be redeemed for intrinsic money, it is called irredeemable or fiat money. The government makes it worth so much. It is both representative and fiat money that we consider in this article, because such moneys are to-day almost invariably "paper money." We consider, first, its history and then the principles and problems involved in its use.

History

Representative money has a long history. The Carthaginians are said to have had a representative leather currency. Jevons thinks that the Byzantine iron money was probably representative money. China, however, is the country which first developed the use of representative money.

Representative money in the main, however, has been used only in times of special financial pressure, as in times of war. Catherine II. of Russia issued paper in 1768 to replace the copper money. The State of Virginia placed tobacco in stores and used the receipts for money. Another form of paper money which, according to some, has played a large part in history, is the so-called bank money of the early Italian and German banks. The question, however, is involved and disputed. (See BANK OF VENICE.)

A somewhat similar system arose in England, when merchants, in order to gain greater security for their moneys, and, in part, to keep it from the government, deposited their moneys with the goldsmiths and used the receipts as representative money. It is probable that out of this system rose the modern English banks.

The best known instances of paper money in modern times are the French assignats, the issues of the American colonies, of the Continental Congress, and of the greenbacks in the War of the Rebellion. (See CURRENCY; GREENBACK PARTY.) Less known is the issue of token money by merchants as late as the eighteenth century in England, serving as promissory notes to pay money.

Coming now to a consideration of the principles and problems involved in the use of paper money, it may be said, first, that most orthodox economists believe in the use of paper money only as representative of intrinsic money, such as the gold and silver certificates of the United States or the Bank of England, which are usually "as good as gold," and must always be paid in gold, if desired, by the Bank of England, except when in times of panic the government allows the bank to pay in paper. Professor Hadley represents this, the usual conservative view, when he says ("Johnson's Cyclopedia," article "Money"):

Arguments Against

> When bank-notes or government notes become currency, without a corresponding basis of money, nothing has ever been able to prevent their fluctuation in value and the consequent effect upon all other values. The temptation to increase these issues according to the fancied interest of the bank or government is always likely to prove irresistible, in consequence of which the community employing them finds itself flooded with a currency upon which all values float with an unsteady motion, and any standard of value is out of the question.

Provided, however, that the paper money always does really represent intrinsic money, which can be paid for it at any time, most economists prefer paper money to metallic because it is easier to handle and to convey.

Many economists, too, think it perfectly safe to use paper money redeemable in gold or silver (for the question between gold and silver, see BIMETALLISM), but issued slightly in excess of the amount of gold and silver, since it is all but impossible that all the paper issued should be presented for redemption at one time. Jevons says concerning the various methods of the issue of paper money ("Money and the Mechanism of Exchange," chap. xviii.):

> This question is perhaps the most vexed and debatable one in the whole sphere of political economy; but, by careful adhering to the analysis of facts, we may, perhaps, get a view of the subject free from the great perplexities in which it is commonly involved. The elementary principles of the subject are not of a complex character; and if we hold tenaciously to those principles, we may perhaps be saved from that dangerous kind of intellectual vertigo which often attacks writers on the currency. . . . There is plenty of evidence to prove that an inconvertible paper money, carefully limited in quantity, can retain its full value. Such was the case with the Bank of England notes for several years after the suspension of specie payments in 1797, and such is the case with the present notes of the Bank of France.
>
> The principal objections to an inconvertible paper currency are two in number.
>
> 1. The great temptation which it offers to overissue and consequent depreciation.
>
> 2. The impossibility of varying its amounts in accordance with the requirements of trade.
>
> It is hardly requisite to tell again the well-worn tale of the overissue of paper money, which has almost always followed the removal of the legal necessity of convertibility. Hardly any civilized nation exists, excepting some of the newer British colonies, which has not suffered from the scourge of paper money at one time or another. . . . Time after time in the earlier history of the New England and some of the other states now forming parts of the American Union, paper money had been issued and had wrought ruin. Full particulars will be found in Professor Sumner's new and interesting "History of American Currency." Some of the greatest statesmen pointed to the results; and Webster's opinion should never be forgotten. Of paper money he says: "We have suffered more from this cause than from every other cause or calamity. It has killed more men, pervaded and corrupted the choicest interests of our country more, and done more injustice than even the arms and artifices of our enemy." . . .
>
> A further objection to a paper money inconvertible into coin is that it cannot be varied in quantity by the natural action of trade. No one can export it or import it like coin, and no one but the government, or banks authorized by government, can issue or cancel it. Hence, if trade become brisk, nothing but a decree of the government can supply the requisite increase of circulating medium, and if this be put afloat and trade relapse into dulness, the currency becomes redundant and falls in value. Now, even the best informed government department cannot be trusted to judge wisely and impartially when more money is wanted. Currency must be supplied like all other commodities, according to the free action of the laws of supply and demand.
>
> Some persons have argued that it is well to have a paper money to form a home currency, which cannot be drained away, and will be free from the disturbing influences of foreign trade. But we cannot disconnect home and foreign trade except by doing away with the latter altogether. If two nations are to trade, the precious metals must form the international medium of exchange by which a balance of indebtedness is paid. Hence, each merchant in ordering, consigning, or selling goods must pay regard, not to the paper price of such goods, but to the gold or silver price with which he really pays for them. Gold and silver, in short, continue to be the real measure of value, and the variable paper currency is only an additional term of comparison which adds confusion.

So far Jevons. It will be seen that his main objections to inconvertible paper money are not

so much to its use as to the danger of its misuse or the (asserted) impossibility of its wise use. Most orthodox economists argue in the same way.

Mill argues that the value of such a currency must depend on its quantity, that it can be safely used if kept within quantities that would keep it at par with bullion; but he considers its advantages too slight to balance the danger of over-issue.

Prof. F. A. Walker sees the danger of inconvertible paper money; yet of its possible wise use he says ("Money, Trade, and Industry," p. 210):

After looking at this subject from every side, I am at a loss to conceive of a single argument which can be advanced to support the assertion of the economists, that paper money cannot perform this function of measuring values, so called. On the contrary, it appears to me clear, beyond a doubt, that just so long and just so far as paper money obtains and retains currency as the popular medium of exchange, so far and so long it does and must act as the value denominator or common denominator in exchange. And I see no reason to believe that, in this single respect, hard money, so called, possesses any advantage over issues of any other form or substance which secure the degree of general acceptance which is necessary to constitute them money.

Arguments For

Such being the view of paper money held by the orthodox economists, many writers, and among them not a few economists of repute and not radical in their views on other questions, believe that it is possible to have inconvertible paper money that will not be abused. They argue that paper money is the best money, provided that the amount of its issue can be wisely controlled. Money, all writers admit (see CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY), is affected in its value by its quantity, in proportion to the demand for it. If the amount of money expands beyond the needs or consuming power of the people, its value depreciates. If it is contracted, its value appreciates. The problem, therefore, is to obtain an elastic currency that shall be invariable in value by varying exactly with the demand for it. Disbelievers in paper currency believe it to be impossible; believers in paper currency believe that paper money can be so used and is the only money that can be so used, or, at the least, the easiest currency to so use. For such use of paper money various plans are proposed. These plans are usually one form or another of adopting what is termed "a multiple standard" (p. 777), the essence of which is that no one commodity should be used as a monetary standard, but that a value should be averaged from a multiple of commodities. Even Jevons seems to favor this plan, altho pointing out its dangers. He says ("Money and the Mechanism of Exchange," chap. xxv.):

The difficulties in the way of such a scheme are not considerable. It would, no doubt, introduce a certain complexity into the relations of debtors and creditors, and disputes might sometimes arise as to the date of the debt whence the circulation must be made. Such difficulties would not exceed those arising from the payment of interest, which likewise depends upon the duration of the debt. The work of the commission, when once established and directed by act of Parliament, would be little more than that of accountants acting according to fixt rules. Their decisions would be of a perfectly bona-fide and reliable character, because, in addition to their average results, they would be required to publish periodically the detailed tables of prices upon which their calculations were founded, and thus many persons could sufficiently verify the data and the calculations. Fraud would be out of the question.

The only real difficulty which I foresee is that of deciding upon the proper method of deducing the average. . . . Whatever method were adopted, however, the results would be better than if we continued to accept a single metal for the standard, as we do at present.

Jevons then goes on to describe different forms of this tabular standard involved in what is now called the multiple standard:

The space at my disposal will not allow me to describe adequately the advantages which would arise from the establishment of a national tabular standard of value. Such a standard would add a wholly new degree of stability to social relations, securing the fixt incomes of individuals and public institutions from the depreciation which they have often suffered. Speculation, too, based upon the frequent oscillations of prices, which take place in the present state of commerce, would be to a certain extent discouraged. The calculations of merchants would be less frequently frustrated by causes beyond their own control, and many bankruptcies would be prevented. Periodical collapses of credit would no doubt recur from time to time, but the intensity of the crisis would be mitigated, because, as prices fell, the liabilities of debtors would decrease approximately in the same ratio.

More recently Prof. E. B. Andrews, in his "An Honest Dollar," has made a strong plea for such a multiple standard, and in the appendix to his book gives much consideration to its details. Many other economists favor this plan, at least when the community is educated to adopt it.

It is under such form that most of the advocates of paper money now advocate the adoption of paper or fiat money. An inelastic currency, they say, must rob either creditors or debtors. In times of panic and financial pressure even now, they say, the community has to resort to paper money. In panics a special act of Parliament allows the Bank of England to pay in paper. In times of panic the New York banks use clearing-house certificates. In times of depression most Western States pay salaries in receipts which are made payable for taxes.

Many believe that this system could be adopted in the conduct of public work on the so-called Guernsey plan, of which Jevons says ("Money and the Mechanism of Exchange," chap. xvi.):

Daniel le Broc, the governor of the island, determined to build a market in St. Peters, but not having the necessary funds, issued under the seal of the island 4,000 market notes for one pound each, with which he paid the artificers. When the market was finished and the rents came in, the notes were thereby canceled, and not an ounce of gold was employed in the matter.

REFERENCES: Jevons's *Money and the Mechanism of Exchange* (1883); E. B. Andrews's *An Honest Dollar* (1898;) A. J. Fonda's *Honest Money* (1895).

PARIS: Paris, to the social reformer, suggests revolution and the struggles of the Commune, but it has something to teach in its present as well as in its past. (For its history see FRANCE AND SOCIAL REFORM and PARIS, COMMUNE OF.) It was the first city to illustrate to the world the advantages of symmetry, spaciousness, order, and convenience in the planning of its streets; of wholesomeness and cleanliness and light in its municipal arrangements. It is, however, in spite of this, the most crowded city of the world. On its 19,200 acres live 2,269,023 persons, making a density of 117 persons to the acre, while Berlin, the next most crowded, has only 85, and New York, the next, has 60, while London has only 51. Paris's broad streets and boulevards have been built too often by driving the poor into crowded, narrow streets. The organization of the municipality is unique even in France. Alone among French cities Paris has no mayor, this being due to the fear the government has of the revolutionary tendencies of the Paris Commune. The city is ruled, as a whole, by the prefect of the department of the Seine, and by his colleague, the prefect of the police. There is, however, a municipal council

with considerable power, and twenty wards or *arrondissements*, over each of which presides a *maire* in a ward building called the *mairie*. The prefect of the police has, perhaps, the greatest power. He has vast sums at his disposal, of which he need render small account, and governs not only the ordinary police force, but the police *judiciaire*, the detective force, and the political police, the government's secret agents, an inheritance of power from the Napoleonic administration, characteristically preserved by the bourgeois republic. He is only prevented from being despotic by the perfect clock-work organization of the departments of the city. Paris has some magnificent streets, e. g., the Boulevard des Italiens and the Boulevard Haussmann—where luxury and elegance abound; also over 130 beautiful squares, e. g., the Place de la Concorde—connecting the gardens of the Tuileries with the Champs Elysées; the Place de la République; the Place du Carrousel; the Place de l'Opéra; the Place Vendôme; etc. Most of them have statues commemorating public men or events. The theaters, picture-galleries, e. g., that of the Louvre, the hotels, and other attractive features, furnish not only amusement to numerous visitors, but instruction of the highest type.

Municipal ownership of public utilities is well developed in Paris. The Board of Health consists of men who have a high standing in scientific circles and among engineers. The sanitary regulations of workshops, dwellings, and schools, the drainage, water-supply, and cemeteries, are supervised and managed by the board. The city owns all markets, slaughter-houses, cattle-yards, which yield a good income to the treasury. The city was authorized by the national government in 1898 to build a system of electrical railways to be operated by a private company on lease.

The department of "Public Assistance" has charge of the poor relief, and is a well-organized body, managing all the hospitals, shelters for the poor and aged, cripples, orphans, outdoor relief, etc. A free employment bureau (see PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS) aids those out of work and is supplemented by a labor exchange.

REFERENCES: See FRANCE.

PARIS, COMMUNE OF: We consider here particularly the Paris Commune of 1871, but several times in French history has the Paris Commune risen in rebellion against the general government, and tried to establish a communal self-government, to be federated with other self-governed communes. A commune in France is the area ruled over by a mayor or a municipal government. The federated and more or less communistic but autonomous rule of the commune has been the ideal of not a few of the older French Socialists, the so-called communards of France. They feared, as too highly centralized, the collectivism of Marxist socialism, and really held a view half anarchist-communist and half Socialist. The view is passing away, but has played no small part in French history. (See FRANCE AND SOCIAL REFORM.) In 1556 Stephen Marcel, during the English invasion, endeavored to form a confederation of sovereign communes with Paris as the governing head. In 1588 the commune of Paris did succeed in obtaining independent self-government for six months. May 21, 1791, the Revolutionary Committee of the insurrection of July, 1789, replaced the town council, and took the name of "Commune of Paris." It had great power under Robespierre, but fell with him, July 14, 1794, and was replaced by twelve municipal divisions. Partly as a result of this, Paris to-day has no mayor of the whole city, being largely ruled by the general government. (See PARIS.) Once again, on March 18, 1871, Paris rose in revolt against the then newly established republic, and declared the Commune March 28th. It seemed an opportune time to the leaders. France had been defeated by Germany; Paris, after a long siege, had been occupied by the Germans, who now were gone; a republic had been established, but the communards believed it to be a weak, corrupt affair of the bourgeoisie. The communards declared that the republic had sold Paris to the Germans. They therefore rose and declared the Commune. Similar risings, instigated in part by Bakounin and the anarchist communists, took place in Marseilles and other French cities, but were quickly suppresst. In Paris was the main success. The leaders of the Commune were Flourens, Félix Pyat, Assi, Delecluse, Paschal, Grousset, General Cluseret, Dombrowski, Arnauld, Vallès, Blanqui, and Rochefort. A large part of the National Guard of Paris declared for the Commune, with headquarters at Belleville and Montmartre. March 26th an election was held and the members for the communal government were chosen; 180,000 votes were cast. The republican government at Versailles sent an army to suppress the Commune. Under the command of Marshal MacMahon this army besieged Paris. April 5th the communards arrested Darboy, Archbishop of Paris, and other prisoners, and held them as hostages. The Commune declared its principles to be absolute individual liberty by the means of the suppression of government, and the division of nationalities into communes more or less federated. The present holders of capital were to be dispossest, with compensation, and the land and capital were to be divided among associations of workmen. An English Socialist who was in Paris during the Commune declares that Paris was never so free from want, crime, or vice, but others there assert the exact contrary. Many of all classes joined the popular cause. But gradually dissension arose and mistakes were made. The besieging army took many forts and finally entered Paris, 90,000 strong, on May 22d. The communards resisted for five days in the streets. The republican army having put many prisoners to death, the communards retaliated by shooting Archbishop Darboy and other hostages. Terrible reprisals were made on both sides. The communards being finally defeated, and losing power, took revenge by burning the Tuileries, the Palais de Justice, the Palais Royal, the Hôtel de Ville, and other buildings connected with the hated government. This act and the shooting of the archbishop and other captives have been laid to their charge, but it must not be forgotten that the triumphant republicans shot the communards down by the thousand in cold blood, burying them in prepared ditches. Twenty-five thousand communards were taken prisoners and many thousands deported. The leaders were mainly executed.

REFERENCES: Sempronius's *Histoire de la Commune de Paris*; Moriac's *Paris sous la Commune*; Lissagaray, *History of the Commune of* 1871 (a translation), gives the communards' side.

PARKER, JAMES: Member British Parliament of the Independent Labor Party for Halifax; born at Awethorpe, Lincolnshire, 1863. He was educated at South Wesleyan School, and Bramhope School. In 1895 he was appointed paid secretary of the Halifax branch of the Independent Labor Party, after having served as president of the Gas Workers' and General Laborers' Society, and of the Trades and Labor Council. He has a thorough knowledge of Yorkshire and its industries, and has considerable experience in municipal affairs, having served in many responsible positions at Halifax during seven years, e. g., as chairman of Waterworks Committee, and as member of the Chamber of Commerce. He was elected to Parliament in 1906. *Address*: 22 Salisbury Place, Halifax, England.

PARKHURST, D.D., CHARLES H.: Clergyman; reformer; born Framingham, Mass., 1842; educated in public schools, Amherst College. Four years principal of Amherst High School; two years professor of Greek, Williston Seminary. Studied theology at the Universities of Halle and Leipsic; ordained pastor of Congregational Church, Lenox, Mass., 1874; called in 1880 to the Madison Square Presbyterian Church in New York, where he is still pastor. In 1891 was made president of the Society for the Prevention of Crime, and in this office made such effective investigation into conditions of vice as led to a revolution at the next election of city officers. Dr. Parkhurst is deeply interested in social questions and has indicated his standpoint by calling himself a Christian Socialist. Author of "The Blind Man's Creed," "Our Fight with Tammany," "Guarding the Cross with Krupp Guns," and many sermons and addresses and frequent contributions to periodicals. *Address*: 133 East Thirty-fifth Street, New York City.

PARKS (see also PLAYGROUNDS): The question of parks is of modern origin, growing out of the rapid growth and overcrowding of our cities. It was in 1851, when the population of New York City was just above the 500,000 mark, that the state legislature passed an act for the creation of a park in the city, which afterward was developed into the famous Central Park. In 1854 the city of Paris took steps to supply itself with parks; in England only a little before this there were three small park undertakings.

As late as 1870 Central Park was still uncompleted, although the city had then increased to over 900,000. It required a large degree of faith even then to see any decided advantage in sinking $5,000,000 in a piece of land four miles away from the center of population, to reach which there was no steam transit. It was said at that time, that "For practical, every-day purposes, the great mass of people might have been 100 miles away." Only a few years later there was scarcely a city of the world making any claims to prominence and progress that was not providing itself with parks. The newer cities made provisions for parks in the laying out of the cities.

What has been already accomplished in this country and in the leading cities of Europe can be seen in the following tables:

THE UNITED STATES

(From Statistics Prepared by the United States Government, 1900)

CITIES	Area acreage owned by city	VALUATION		Expenditures, etc. Parks and gardens
		Land and buildings	Apparatus	
New York, N. Y.	6,909.00	$296,235,525	$636,266	$1,408,830
Chicago, Ill.	2,151.49	61,514,900	1,500,000	442,110
Philadelphia, Pa.	4,044.09	(2)	(2)	458,202
St. Louis, Mo.	2,176.59	8,149,310	6,407	133,122
Boston, Mass.	2,618.06	(2)	(2)	233,444
Baltimore, Md.	1,136.01	(2)	(2)	302,168
Cleveland, Ohio.	1,326.19	6,908,846	15,000	71,975
Buffalo, N. Y.	1,025.50	3,637,255	12,000	173,751
San Francisco, Cal.	1,192.67	(2)	(2)	208,361
Cincinnati, Ohio.	539.00	1,499,000	1,000	43,996
Pittsburg, Pa.	880.00	3,319,959	25,000	.....
New Orleans, La.	552.66	5,000,000	50,000	9,655
Detroit, Mich.	1,055.61	(2)	(2)	91,900
Milwaukee, Wis.	435.03	(2)	(2)	82,992
Washington, D. C.	(1) .98	300,000	.....	22,050
Newark, N. J.	19.18	500,000	.....	4,601

[1] Washington, D. C.; 3,596.27 acres owned by the United States Government. [2] Not given.

EUROPE

	Number	Area	Average area	Per ct. of city area	Population to each acre of park
Athens, Greece	2	108.72	54.36	4.8	1,380
Berlin, Germany	83	1,263.10	15.22	7.9	1,345
Birmingham, England	13	264.00	20.31	2.1	1,840
Brussels, Belgium	11	395.36	35.94	1.8	1,231
Copenhagen, Denmark	4	82.37	20.59	1.5	4,140
Dublin, Ireland	2	1,900.00	950.00	7.6	184
Edinburgh, Scotland	15	1,280.00	85.33	20.8	211
Glasgow, Scotland	30	612.00	20.40	4.1	1,108
Hamburg, Germany	11	249.57	22.69	1.7	1,983
Liverpool, England	20	743.00	37.15	14.3	697
London, England	50	5,000.00	33.33	7.2	860
Moscow, Russia	48	301.56	16.75	1.7	3,123
Stockholm, Sweden	33	468.67	14.20	6.1	540

Philadelphia has the largest single city park in the world, containing 2,648 acres, extending for some twelve miles on either side of the Schuylkill River, and beautifully laid out in walks and drives.

The famous royal Epping Forest, near London, is the largest park absolutely.

Zoological and botanical gardens are also now not uncommon in the larger cities. Central Park in New York, and Fairmount Park in Philadelphia, have zoological exhibits or menageries. There are beautiful botanical gardens at Washington and St. Louis. The zoological park at the national capital will be one of the finest in the world. Among the best known in Europe are the famous "Zoo" at Regent's Park, London, the Jardin des Plantes and the Jardin d'Acclimatation in Paris. Bronx Park, New York City, is a zoological park and botanical garden.

THE PRINCIPAL PARKS OF THE WORLD

	Acres
Fairmount Park, Philadelphia	2,648
Richmond (Surrey, Eng.)	2,253
Bois de Boulogne, Paris	2,158
Prater, Vienna	2,000
St. James's Park, London	1,752
Pelham Bay Park, New York	1,700
Forest Park, St. Louis	1,372
Central Park, New York	840
Belle Isle, Detroit	700
Bronx Park, New York	661
Thiergarten, Berlin	630
Jackson Park, Chicago	586
Prospect Park, Brooklyn	516
Regent's Park, London	472
Franklin Park, Boston	467
Lincoln Park, Chicago	400
Hyde Park, London	400
Kensington Gardens, London	210
Eden Park, Cincinnati	209
Phœnix Park, Dublin	91
Parc de Chaumont, Paris	62
The Common, Boston	50

Concerning the creation and need of small parks Mr. Alfred R. Conkling says ("City Government in the United States," pp. 55–59):

In 1884 an act was passed by the New York Legislature to create new public parks. It was argued that this was the time to acquire land for park purposes, lest it should become too valuable if further delay were made. It was enacted that several new parks should be established, but the nearest proposed site was about seven miles from the densely populated district of Manhattan Island. Since the passage of the law about $10,000,000 have been expended in buying parks at the upper end of the city of New York.

Paris is now the pleasure city of the world, and foreigners from all countries, especially from South America, make their home there. The permanent leisure population of foreign birth in Paris is probably larger than in any other city. This feature of Paris is owing to the policy of Napoleon III., and largely to the number of public parks and parkways.

Skilful architects should be employed to lay out public parks, and their management should not be entrusted to the ordinary ward politician, who is inclined to enrich himself, or to propose improvements for the purpose of helping some contractor who belongs to his political organization. A small public park can often be established at slight expense by using a V-shaped lot, formed by the intersection of a diagonal avenue with a longitudinal street.

In American cities music is provided at public expense on Saturdays, and in some cities on Sundays. In Europe the bands of the standing army, which are, of course, paid for by taxation, perform in the public parks very frequently.

Dr. E. R. L. Gould says (publication of the American Statistical Association, 1888):

Large cities should follow the advice of Professor Jevons: Build pavilions for winter use in one or two of the principal parks, and maintain all the year around orchestras and bands of music, with other light attractions, to provide entertainments, either wholly free to the public or at a merely nominal rate of admission. There should be at least one crystal palace in every great city. During the summer months concerts should be given as often as every other week-day evening in every one of the large and moderately sized spaces.

PARKS, SAMUEL J.: Delegate of the Housesmiths' and Bridgemen's Union; born 1863. He became prominent as an organizer of the housesmiths and bridgemen, and was so successful that he cemented these hitherto loosely organized men into one of the strongest unions. As soon as he had succeeded in this, he used his power to declare strikes, and had the unparalleled record of 5,000 in seven years—an average of two per day. Since there was a great demand for new buildings from 1896–1903, he won with few exceptions, and thus raised the wages of his union from $2 to $5 a day. In June, 1903, he was arrested and indicted on the charge of having received $2,000 from the Hecla Iron Works in Brooklyn, as the price of settling a strike in April of the same year. He was convicted on this charge, and sentenced to two years and six months in Sing Sing prison. His union voted to continue his salary of $48 a week, for the entire period, if necessary. He was, however, released before he had been there a week, "on a certificate of reasonable doubt." Shortly after his release, the "doubt" was removed; Parks was sent back to prison, where he died, May 4, 1904.

PARLIAMENT (from old French *parlement*, a speaking): A name given to deliberative assemblies, especially to the legislatures of Great Britain and her self-governing colonies. The origin of Parliament in Great Britain is obscure, save that there is no doubt that alike in Saxon and Norman times the English people had some share in making the laws whereby they were governed. The Magna Charta of 1215 recalled some of those forgotten rights, but the first Parliament of which any record is preserved was called in 1265 by a writ of Henry III., summoning the knights, citizens, and burgesses to meet in Parliament. Down through the fifteenth century all these classes met together in one house. To-day Parliament consists of monarch, lords, and commons. The three estates of the realm are lords spiritual, lords temporal, and commons.

The House of Lords has 613 members—3 peers of the blood royal, 2 archbishops, 22 dukes, 23 marquises, 124 earls, 40 viscounts, 24 bishops, 331 barons, 16 Scotch peers, 28 Irish. The House of Commons has 670 members, chosen by a male suffrage, considerably qualified by losing residence through removals. The universities have 9 seats; England, 460 (counties, 253; boroughs, 237); Wales, 30 (counties, 19; boroughs, 11); Scotland, 70 (counties, 39; boroughs, 31); Ireland, 101 (counties, 85; boroughs, 16).

The House of Commons imposes taxes and raises money. At present members are elected for seven years. Parliament assembles and is dissolved and a new Parliament elected on the summons of the sovereign; it must be assembled at least once in three years. Practically it is called every year. It commences with a speech from the throne. No member can be questioned outside of Parliament for what he has said within it, and is free from arrest in civil causes, but may be adjudged bankrupt, and his goods taken. Every bill must be read three times before each house, and also be reviewed clause by clause by select committee, or by the whole House as a committee.

Unless sooner dissolved, a Parliament lasts for seven years. It meets usually the middle of January or soon after, and is prorogued when its work is done, usually now in August or September, tho either house may adjourn for a short time. The members of the government occupy the benches on the right, the opposition on the left. The speaker is not a party leader, but elected by the House and supposed to be strictly

Constitution of

impartial. Each party has its own leader and "whips." The cabinet, which sits in the House, tho technically a committee of the Privy Council and chosen by the king, is practically a committee of the House of Commons, and responsible to it. When, therefore, a cabinet measure is defeated in the House, the Prime Minister resigns and a new minister with a new cabinet is chosen, representing the majority in the House. The cabinet consists of the Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury (£5,000), Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain (£10,000),Lord President of the Privy Council (£2,000), Lord Privy Seal (unpaid), Chancellor of the Exchequer (£5,000), Secretary of State for the Home Department (£5,000), Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (£5,000), Secretary of State for the Colonies (£5,000), Secretary of State for War (£5,000), Secretary of State for India (£5,000), First Lord of the Admiralty (£4,550), Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (£4,425), Secretary for Scotland (unpaid), Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (£2,000), President of the Board of Trade (£2,000), President of the Local Government Board (£2,000), President of the Board of Agriculture (£2,000), President of the Board of Education (£2,000), Postmaster-General (£2,500). The chairman of the House of Lords is the Lord Chancellor. The question most bruited to-day as to the organization of Parliament is as to the House of Lords. (See also PAYMENT OF MEMBERS.) Radicals and the Labor Party in Parliament desire the abolition of the House of Lords, and the Liberals would abridge its powers. A resolution was carried in the House, June, 1907 (432 to 147), to the effect that the House of Lords should not have power to alter or reject bills passed by the House of Commons, except within the limits of a single Parliament. In 1886 a somewhat similar resolution was defeated by 202 to 106; in 1888, by 223 to 162; by 201 to 160 in 1889; by 201 to 139 in 1890. An amendment to the resolution (of June, 1907) to abolish the House of Lords was defeated by 315 to 100, few besides the Labor Party and Radicals voting for it. The House of Lords, however, cannot block, only retard legislation.

Limitation of the House of Lords

Says Arnold White (*Everybody's*, July, 1907):

"The powers of the Lords already have been restricted until the control of the Commons in all the great affairs of State is practically supreme. The Lords may not meddle with money bills; have no control over the navy or army; may not interfere with the control of the House of Commons over foreign and colonial affairs, matters relating to peace and war, treaties, nor internal administration. The Lords cannot upset the cabinet nor exercise control over the monarch. All these things are in the domain of the elected House. Practically the only power left to the Lords is that of the veto, which is now threatened."

Mr. White gives no favorable view of the composition of the House of Lords. He says: "There are only sixty peers who can boast of old titles. There are, in fact, two orders in the House of Lords, and the peers themselves never forget the difference between the old and the new men. Since the great Reform Bill, Liberals have created 232 peers to 131 created by the Conservative and Unionist governments.

"Many peerages are granted as the result of bargains between party managers and aspirants to hereditary honors. The sale of peerages and other titles has now reached such a point that the man in the street has begun to grumble. Mr. Gibson Bowles has publicly declared without contradiction that a very large sum was placed at the disposal of Mr. Balfour and his chief whip before the last election. Mr. Bowles supports his statement by saying that the election fund has been enriched by the recipients of titles who have paid sums varying between £30,000 for a knighthood and £200,000 for a new peerage. Mr. Bowles goes on to say that it was calculated a year ago that at least £500,000 must have been encashed from various sources by the party fund.

"The most telling attacks upon the House of Lords are, however, based upon its 'black sheep,' tho these are perhaps not more numerous than in other walks of life.

"Of the twenty-two English dukes in the peerage of England, there are only five whose circumstances, abilities, and career entitle them to be regarded as possible leaders of the nation. The Dukes of Norfolk, Bedford, Devonshire, Portland, and Richmond have maintained the best traditions of public service. As for the other dukes, matrimonial scandals, impecuniosity, or dissoluteness are, or should be, disqualifications for membership of an assembly that confers hereditary powers of government upon its members.

"Among the eighty viscounts, the names of St. Aldwyn and Wolseley are the only two of distinction.

"All bishops of the Established Church are members of the House of Lords, to which they add no strength. They were originally created peers because they were territorial magnates, not because of their ecclesiastical rank, and since they parted with their landed possessions their presence in Parliament is an anachronism since the nonconformist ministers, Catholic priests, and Jewish rabbis are excluded."

The Earl of Dunraven, defending the House of Lords (*The Nineteenth Century and After*, March 1907), says:

This body contains 172 members who have held office under the State exclusive of household appointments, 166 who have sat in the House of Commons, 140 who are or have been mayors or county councilors, about 40 who are members of the legal profession, and about the same number of men eminent in art, science, letters, invention, manufacture, and trade; 207 have served, or are serving, in the army or navy. Furthermore, it must be added that, in addition to those who have acquired merit and knowledge as chairmen of railway companies, and in other positions of an analogous character, the great majority have developed business habits, and have derived valuable experience of men and matters in the management of large estates and complicated affairs. . . .

Unquestionably the whole consensus of educated opinion in the United Kingdom is in favor of a second chamber; the principle has been approved and adopted in our great self-governing colonies, in the United States, and, in fact, throughout the world wherever democratic systems obtain; the belief in the necessity of a revising chamber in order to insure that the permanent opinion of the people may receive adequate expression is practically universal.

The political composition of the House changes, of course, more or less with each election, and not seldom very completely, as in the last election, and is even constantly changing on the account of by-elections to fill vacancies. Concerning the present and recent composition of the House, *Hazell's Annual* for 1907 gives the following tables of parties in the House of Commons since 1832:

Elections

General Election	Liberals	Labor	Conservative	Liberal Unionist	Nationalist[1]	Total
1832.....	514	.....	144	.....	.....	658
1835.....	385	.....	273	.....	.....	658
1837.....	338	.....	320	.....	.....	658
1841.....	291	.....	367	.....	.....	658
1847.....	337	.....	319	.....	.....	656
1852.....	318	.....	1338	.....	.....	656
1857.....	367	.....	1287	.....	.....	654
1859.....	352	.....	302	.....	.....	654
1865.....	368	.....	290	.....	.....	658
1868.....	387	.....	271	.....	.....	658
1874.....	250	.....	348	.....	54	652
1880.....	353	.....	238	.....	61	652
1885.....	335	.....	249	.....	86	670
1886.....	192	.....	316	77	85	670
1892.....	275	.....	268	46	81	670
1895.....	177	.....	340	71	82	670
1900.....	177	9	334	68	82	670
1906.....	376	54	130	27	83	670

[1] Including Peelites.

The Total Votes Polled

The *Liberal Magazine* for Feb., 1906, gave the figures in the table on p. 870 as to the total votes polled at the general election. In two-member

PARTIES, 1886–1906

	No. of Members returned	General election, Aug., 1886 [1]				General election, July, 1892 [2]					General election, July, 1895					At the dissolution, 1900				General election, Oct., 1900 [4]				General election, Jan., 1906				
		L.U.	L.	C.	P.	L.U.	L.	C.	N.	P.	L.U.	L.	C.	N.	P.	L.U.	L.	C.	N.	L.U.	L.	C.	N.	L.U.	L.	Lab.	C.	N.
England:																												
Metropolitan boroughs	59	2	11	46	....	2	23	34	....	....	3	8	48	....	....	2	9	48	....	1	8	50	....	....	36	4	19	....
Metropolitan University	1	1	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	1	....	1	....	....	....	....
Provincial boroughs	167	19	49	98	1	12	70	84	1	....	21	42	103	1	....	21	44	101	1	20	39	107	1	9	95	28	34	1
Provincial universities	4	....	....	4	....	....	....	4	....	....	....	....	4	....	....	1	....	3	....	1	....	3	....	2	....	....	2	....
Counties	234	34	65	135	....	17	103	114	....	....	27	65	142	....	....	24	72	138	....	24	78	132	....	7	158	16	53	....
Total	465																											
Wales:																												
Boroughs	11	1	7	3	....	....	9	2	....	....	1	5	5	....	....	1	5	5	....	....	8	3	....	....	10	1	....	....
Counties	19	1	17	1	....	....	19	....	....	....	....	17	2	....	....	....	17	2	....	....	18	1	....	....	16	3	....	....
Total	30																											
Scotland:																												
Boroughs	31	8	22	1	....	5	24	2	....	....	9	17	5	....	....	7	19	5	....	8	15	8	....	3	23	2	3	....
Counties	39	9	21	9	....	5	27	7	....	....	5	22	12	....	....	5	22	12	....	9	19	11	....	2	35	....	2	....
Universities	2	....	....	2	....	....	....	2	....	....	....	....	2	....	....	1	....	1	....	1	....	1	....	....	....	....	2	....
Total	72																											
Ireland:																												
Boroughs	16	....	....	4	12	2	....	4	6	4	2	....	3	5	6	1	....	4	[3] 11	1	....	5	10	....	....	....	4	12
Counties	85	2	....	11	72	2	....	13	65	5	2	1	12	64	6	2	1	12	[3] 70	2	1	11	71	1	3	....	11	70
Universities	2	....	....	2	....	....	....	2	....	....	....	....	2	....	....	1	....	1	....	1	....	1	....	2	....	....	....	....
Total	103																											
Grand total	670	77	192	316	85	46	275	268	72	9	71	177	340	70	12	66	189	333	82	68	186	334	82	27	376	54	130	83
									81					82														

[1] At the dissolution in 1892 the state of parties was—L. U., 65; L., 215; C., 304; N., 56; P., 30.
[2] The figures here show a Gladstonian majority of 42, but this had immediately before the general election of 1895 dwindled to 28.
[3] Including six Parnellite members for boroughs and six for counties.
[4] See figures as to state of parties, Nov. 30, 1905, on p. 429.

constituencies the votes cast for all the candidates on either side are added together and divided by two:

	Liberal and Labor	Unionist	Majority
England:			
London	278,299	245,723	L 32,576
Boroughs	809,818	634,637	L 175,181
Counties	1,418,212	1,195,558	L 222,654
Total England	2,506,339	2,075,918	L 430,421
Wales	171,315	96,912	L 74,403
Scotland	366,605	233,901	L 132,704
Total Great Britain	3,044,259	2,406,731	L 637,528
Ireland	350,000	150,000	L 200,000
Total for United Kingdom	3,394,259	2,556,731	L 837,528

Liberal majority in 1892, 200,000; Unionist majority in 1895, 104,000; and in 1900, 123,000.

The Reformer's Year Book for 1907 gives the following analysis:

The strength of parties as the result of the general election was as follows:

Official Liberals	381
Liberal Trade-Union Party	19
Unionists	157
Nationalists	83
Labor Party	30
	670

Allowing for the loss of one Unionist vote by the election of Mr. Lowther as speaker, the official Liberals had a majority of 93 over all other parties. The official and Trade-Union Liberals together had a majority of 131 over the parties sitting in opposition.

References: Smith, *History of the English Parliament* (1892); Dickinson, *The Development of Parliament During the Nineteenth Century* (1895); Sidney Low, *Government of England* (1904).

PARSONS, FRANK: Writer, educator, and authority on public ownership; born Mt. Holly, N. J., 1854; graduated in mathematic engineering course, Cornell, 1873; did engineering, taught school, and was admitted to Boston bar; lectured on economics; professor of history and political science, Kansas Agricultural College, 1897–1900; lecturer on law, Boston University, 1892–1905; has traveled extensively in the United States and Europe, lecturing and studying economic facts; testified before the U. S. Industrial Commission, on transportation (see vol. ix. of the Report), 1901–2; member of the Public Ownership Commission of the National Civic Federation, and one of the special committee of four to write up the results of the investigation, 1906–7. (See Public Ownership.) President of the National League for Promoting Public Ownership of Monopolies. His economic views may be summed up as a system of mutualism or cooperative industry through public ownership in the field of monopoly and voluntary cooperation in commerce, manufactures, and agriculture. Author, among other works and very numerous articles, particularly in *The Arena*, of "The World's Best Books" (1892); "Rational Money" (1899); "The New Political Economy" (1899); "The City for the People" (1900); "Direct Legislation" (1900); "The Telegraph Monopoly" (1902); "The Story of New Zealand" (1904); "Heart of the Railway Problem" (1906); "The Railways, the Trusts, and the People" (1906). Also chapters on "Legal Aspects of Monopoly" and "The Telephone" in "Municipal Monopolies" (1900), and on "History of British Tramways" in Report of National Civic Federation Commission on Public Ownership (1907). *Address*: 11 St. James Avenue, Boston.

PATENTS: A patent is the grant by government to the author of an invention, or to his heirs, of the exclusive right to use or sell the invention for a fixt number of years. It is also used—altho this is an older meaning and is passing out of use—of the instrument or letters by which a grant of land is made by a government to a person or corporation.

Provision was made by Congress, in 1790, for giving to inventors the exclusive right to their discoveries. At present patents are given for seventeen years (except for design patterns) to any person who has invented or discovered any new and useful art, machine, manufacture, or composition of matter or any new and useful improvement thereof, or any new original and ornamental design for an article of manufacture, not known or used by others in this country before his invention or discovery thereof, and not patented or described in any printed publication in this or any foreign country, before his invention or discovery thereof or more than two years prior to his application, and not in public use or on sale in the United States for more than two years prior to his application, unless the same is proved to have been abandoned; upon payment of the fees required by law and other due proceedings had.

United States

Among the peculiarities of the patent laws of the U. S. it may be mentioned that the term for which they are granted, seventeen years, is longer than in any other country. The development of the patent system in the U. S. far exceeds that of any other nation. For several years the number of patents issued in the U. S. has been nearly equal to the number issued by all other civilized nations together. A pamphlet containing the "Patent Laws and Laws Relating to the Registration of Trade-marks and Labels," and one containing the "Rules of Practise in the U. S. Patent Office," are published by the office, and can be obtained, free of charge, by any one desiring them, on application by mail to the Commissioner of Patents.

World Statistics

Countries	To 1870 inclusive	1871 to 1905	Total
Austria	.....	41,741	41,741
Austria-Hungary	15,350	67,583	82,933
Belgium	35,044	160,533	195,577
Canada	4,081	96,347	100,428
France	103,934	264,744	368,678
Germany	9,996	172,170	182,166
Great Britain	53,408	298,410	351,818
Hungary	.....	30,211	30,211
India	445	8,147	8,592
Italy and Sardinia	4,723	69,600	74,323
Japan	.....	9,823	9,823
Russia	1,464	15,788	17,252
Spain	.....	33,617	33,617
Sweden	1,629	21,978	23,607
Switzerland	.....	32,984	32,984
All other foreign countries	8,360	122,901	1,360,268
Total foreign	238,437	1,446,577	1,685,014
United States	120,573	698,001	818,574
Grand total	359,010	2,144,578	2,503,588

Great Britain

The English Patent Law is very generally criticized. Commissions have reported and various suggestions have been made, yet the present law is far behind the needs of the times. Patents are granted for fourteen years, but subject to renewal fees, and so hedged about and uncertain, that it is said that only 3 per cent of the patents are remunerative. The evils of the present law are that there is a great deal of uncertainty in the mode of ascertaining what is a new invention. Hence, when a patent has

PATENT IN THE UNITED STATES

(From the reports of the Commissioner of Patents)

Year	Number of First Patent and Certificate Issued in Each Calendar Year					Number of Patents and Certificates of Registration Issued during each Calendar Year			
	Patent	Design	Reissue	Trade-mark	Label	Patents	Designs	Reissues	Total patents
1871	110617	4547	4223	122	.....	11,687	905	464	13,056
1875	158350	7969	6200	2150	233	13,291	915	631	14,837
1880	223211	11567	9017	7790	2176	12,926	515	506	13,947
1885	310163	15678	10548	11843	4304	23,331	773	129	24,233
1890	418665	19553	11053	17360	6099	25,322	886	84	26,292
1895	531619	23922	11461	25757	(1)	20,833	1,115	59	22,057
1900	640167	32055	11798	33957	7272	24,660	1,758	81	26,499
1901	664827	33813	11879	35678	8009	25,558	1,734	81	27,373
1902	690385	35547	11960	37606	8887	27,136	640	110	27,886
1903	717521	36187	12070	39612	9654	31,046	536	117	31,699
1904	748567	36723	12189	41798	10644	30,267	557	110	30,934
1905	778834	37280	12299	43956	11758	29,784	486	129	30,399
1906	808618	37766	12428	48446	12588	31,181	625	159	31,965
1907	839799	38391	12587	59014	13297	.....	.....	.....	.....

[1] Registration of labels practically suspended May 27, 1891, under decision of United States Supreme Court. Resumed June 9, 1896. No prints included prior to 1893.

been granted, if it is of such a nature as to lead to competition, infringements are almost matters of course, and the only mode of discovering and checking the infringement is so tedious, costly, and ineffective that inventors generally pass their lives in constant litigation, fighting in detail a succession of imitators who often have nothing to lose by defeat, and therefore entail all the greater burden on the legitimate manufacturer. This is discouraging to inventors, and increases the cost of many articles. A writer in the (English) *Reformer's Year Book* for 1907 says:

> We have quantity in invention, but not quality, and the latter can never be attained except by taking over the American Patent Law *en bloc* here in place of our own, which is hopelessly out of date. What is termed "provisional protection" with us is practically no protection at all, and it is said to have been solely introduced into our system to provide extra fees for crown lawyers. . . .
>
> The term "Patent Office" for the office of issue is a misnomer. Its proper name would appear to be the "Designs and Trade-marks Office," since it issues over 53 per cent of monopolies to wealthy manufacturers and merchants at 5.8 per cent of the general charge. Our inventors paid 88.8 per cent of the total charge of the establishment, altho they only got 32½ per cent of the monopolies issued, and these as a rule are not allowed to live long enough to pay back their cost, or to get into general use.
>
> Where the wisdom comes in of treating scientific and other inventors in this way nobody knows, as it necessarily confines invention in this country within its narrowest limits. . . .
>
> The Patent Office, in fact, has been run for any object but the promotion of practical invention (which alone benefits the public). Fees for agents, patent cases for lawyers, and the payment for rich men's monopolies by victimizing inventors, are apparently the sole object for running the Patent Office. Meanwhile, the preparation of valuable inventions, such as Edison's, in this country is out of the question. All such inventions have to be evolved in America, and come to us second hand, costing many times what they would had they been evolved in this country, and under similar circumstances, by our own inventors.
>
> Our whole patent system is thoroughly bad, and the law will have to be taken in hand and brought up to date on American lines.

France.—Grants of patents (*brevets d'invention*) are granted to inventors or their assignees, whether natives or foreigners, and the French patent expires with any foreign patent of earlier date. Applications for French patents must be made prior to the filing of the complete specification in any foreign country. Patents are granted for a term of fifteen years upon payment of an annual duty of $20.

Germany.—Patents are granted for fifteen years to natives and foreigners. The invention must not have been previously described in a printed publication in any way. The patentee may obtain supplementary patents for improvements expiring with the original patent. A government duty of $7.30 is paid on the issue of the patent, together with an annuity.

International Patents

The governments of Belgium, Brazil, France, Guatemala, Holland, Italy, Portugal, San Salvador, Servia, Spain, Switzerland, and Great Britain have signed an international convention relating to patents, giving the patentee in any country in the convention various rights, of which the most important is that the subjects of each of the above states shall, in all the other states, as regards patents, enjoy the advantages that their respective laws grant to their own subjects.

Socialists and extreme individualists have almost invariably opposed patent laws. Individualists would have every one depend in free competition upon his own wits, with little or no defense from governments. Socialists would have every invention used for the good of all, inventors being rewarded not by being given a monopoly of their inventions but by material or other honorary reward. Patents, they argue, to-day do not usually reward the real inventor, but some rich corporation or individuals, who can afford to buy up the patent and push it for their advantage, or more likely put it upon the shelf, to prevent its competing with their present processes. Patents therefore, they claim, rarely aid the real inventor and usually defraud the public of the advantage of inventions. The only inventors who are aided are, usually, very wealthy ones who need it least. Poor inventors rarely have the capital to set their invention in use and, therefore, have to sell it, at terms which, after paying the fees and going through the tedious process of securing a patent, leave them usually more poorly off than if there were no patent laws.

PATON, JOHN BROWN: Principal Emeritus Congregational Institute for Theological and Missionary Studies; born in 1830 at Newmilns, Ayrshire, Scotland; educated at London parish school; private school in Dorset; Spring Hill College, Birmingham. Ordained a Congregational minister; was from 1854 to 1863 in charge of Wicker Church, Sheffield; 1863–98 first principal Congregational Institute at Nottingham. Not content merely to criticize or destroy things old and past then in use, Dr. Paton is a reformer in the true sense, philosophically and constructively.

One whose word is a power but whose deeds are his mightiest words. Associate editor for six years of the *Contemporary Review*; joint editor of the *Eclectic Review*; assisted in founding University Extension System; founder and honorary secretary of Bible Reading and Prayer Union, the National Home Reading Union, the Recreative Evening Schools Association, Social Institutes Union, and English Land Colonization Society; chairman of the Committee of the Christian Union for Social Service, and Vagrant Children's Protective Committee; first president, 1896–1902, of the Licensing Laws Information Bureau, and of the Cooperative Holidays Association; founder of Boys' and Girls' Life Brigades; Young Men's and Young Women's Brigade of Service, and of Boys' and Girls' League of Honor; in 1904 vice-president of British Institute of Social Service. Author of "The Twofold Alternative," "Materialism or Religion," "The Church, a Priesthood or a Brotherhood," "The Inner Mission of the Church," "The Inner Mission of Great Britain," six booklets on social questions of the day, two volumes of Essays: I., "Church Questions of To-day"; II., "The Apostolic Faith and Its Records," besides many articles in reviews on educational and social questions. *Address*: 22 Forest Road West, Nottingham, England.

PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY. See GRANGE.

PATTEN, SIMON NELSON: Professor of political economy; born 1852 at Sandwich, Ill.; graduated as Ph.D. from the University of Halle, Germany, 1878; appointed professor of political economy at the University of Pennsylvania—the position he still occupies. Professor Patten declares that his interests in economics have been mainly centered in the consumption of wealth, in the economic interpretation of history, and the relations of sociology to economics. Patten is author of "Premises of Political Economy," "The Economic Basis of Protection," "Theory of Social Forces," "Development of English Thought," "Theory of Prosperity," "Heredity and Social Progress," "The New Basis of Civilization." *Address*: University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

PAUPERISM AND POOR RELIEF. (See also POORHOUSES; POOR-LAWS; POVERTY; POVERTY IN THE UNITED STATES.) For the general statistics and consideration of poverty, see POVERTY. We consider in this article: I. Pauper Statistics. II. Poor Relief.

I. Pauper Statistics

The United States.—There were reported in 1903 in the U. S. 2,476 almshouses with 81,764 paupers.

Sex	Paupers Enumerated in Almshouses			
	Number		Number per 100,000 of population	
	Dec. 31, 1903	June 1, 1880	Dec. 31, 1903	June 1, 1880
Both sexes	81,764	66,203	101.4	132.0
Males	52,444	35,564	[1]127.0	139.4
Females	29,320	30,639	[1]74.5	124.4

[1] Based on assumption that the sex distribution was the same on Dec. 31, 1903, as on June 1, 1900.

The statistics previous to 1880 are declared by the census to be too inexact to be comparable with these. From 1880 to 1903 the number of paupers in almshouses has decreased 30.6 per 100,000 of population. This diminution appears to have gone on uniformly, being 15.4 per 100,000 of population in the decade 1880 to 1890, and 15.2 during the longer period from 1890 to 1903.

Color and Nativity	Per Cent			
	In general population		In almshouses	
	1900	1880	Dec. 31, 1903	June 1, 1880
Aggregate	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White	87.9	86.5	91.5	91.4
Native	74.5	73.4	51.6	56.8
Foreign born	13.4	13.1	39.3	34.6
Nativity unknown	.....	.....	0.6	.....
Colored	12.1	13.5	8.5	8.6

Age	Native white		Native white of native parentage		Foreign-born white	
	General population, 1900	In almshouses, Dec. 31, 1903	General population, 1900	In almshouses, Dec. 31, 1903	General population, 1900	In almshouses, Dec. 31, 1903
Years	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 15	38.9	8.2	37.3	8.4	5.0	0.3
15 to 34	35.2	22.9	34.0	22.0	36.7	7.3
35 to 54	18.1	30.1	18.9	28.3	37.1	27.4
Over 55	7.6	35.7	9.5	38.3	20.9	63.5
Unknown	0.2	3.1	0.3	3.0	0.3	1.5

Class	Paupers at least 10 years of age in almshouses, 1904					
	Continental United States	North Atlantic division	South Atlantic division	North Central division	South Central division	Western division
	Per cent distribution of those enumerated, Dec. 31, 1903					
All classes	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Able-bodied	11.7	15.8	7.2	9.8	6.1	10.0
Incapacitated	85.0	81.0	88.6	87.7	89.9	84.3
Unknown	3.3	3.2	4.2	2.5	4.0	5.7
	Per cent distribution of those admitted during 1904					
All classes	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Able-bodied	23.6	29.4	10.6	16.5	12.0	31.2
Incapacitated	67.4	62.6	76.8	77.1	72.3	57.9
Unknown	9.0	8.0	12.6	6.4	15.7	10.9

Class	Per cent distribution of paupers at least 10 years of age in almshouses, 1904					
	Continental United States	North Atlantic division	South Atlantic division	North Central division	South Central division	Western division
All classes	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Literate	64.6	67.9	39.4	66.9	41.0	81.4
Illiterate	32.5	30.1	57.1	31.0	52.5	12.8
Can read but not write	5.0	5.3	4.6	5.3	5.6	3.3
Can neither read nor write	27.5	24.8	52.5	25.7	46.9	9.5
Unknown	2.9	2.0	3.5	2.1	6.5	5.8

Division and Class	Per cent distribution of paupers under 16 years of age in almshouses, 1904			
	White			Colored
	Total	Native	Foreign born	
Continental United States: All classes	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Legitimate	64.2	63.9	77.5	38.7
Illegitimate	23.4	24.3	1.5	44.0
Unknown	12.4	11.8	21.0	17.3

Great Britain.—In England and Wales there were in receipt of poor relief in Great Britain, Jan. 1, 1906, 926,741 persons, or 27.1 per 1,000 of population. In London it was 31.7 per 1,000. This includes the sane, insane, and casual paupers. Forty-five per cent of the paupers (exclusive of the sane and casual) consisted of 113,864 families. The *Year Book* of the *Daily Mail*, 1907, gives the following table and analysis:

Description	England and Wales		
	Men	Women	Children
Indoor	120,677	80,715	61,244
Outdoor	106,995	275,292	179,953
Lunatics in asylums, etc.	39,089	46,027	705
Total	266,761	402,034	241,902

The general decline of pauperism in comparison with past years will be apparent from the following figures:

Average rate of paupers relieved per 1,000 of population in each period:

	Per cent
1872–1877	35.4
1878–1884	31.1
1885–1892	28.6
1893–1901	26.6
1902–1906	26.4

The average rate of pauperism is higher in proportion to population in the rural districts than in the districts which are wholly urban or nearly so.

The total cost of the relief of the poor, and matters connected therewith, in the years 1904–5 was £13,851,981 in England and Wales; in Scotland it was £1,402,354, and in Ireland £1,253,355.

In 1864 the cost of 999,400 paupers was £6,423,381; the cost of 769,029 paupers in 1904 was £13,369,494. In the same period the cost of superintendence increased by £1,062,752, although the number of paupers had considerably decreased.

On the other hand, A. L. Bowley ("National Progress in Wealth and Trade," pp. 22, 23) shows an increase of pauperism from 1884 to 1903. He says:

> The number of so-called adult able-bodied male paupers has increased nearly as fast as the population in the last fifteen or twenty years, and faster if we include vagrants. The last five years show, however, a marked improvement over 1894–98. On the other hand, the number of female paupers shows a rapid and very satisfactory decrease. The following table shows these facts in more detail:

England and Wales

Years	Able-bodied male paupers and vagrants								Able-bodied women
	Indoor	Per 10,000[1]	Outdoor	Per 10,000[1]	Together	Per 10,000[1]	Excluding vagrants	Per 10,000[1]	Indoor and outdoor. Per 10,000[2]
1884–88	16,920	20	17,650	21	34,570	41	29,340	35	42
1889–93	20,940	22	15,090	18	36,030	40	29,550	33	36
1894–98	33,140	34	15,550	16	48,690	50	36,940	38	35
1899–1903	33,310	32	12,010	11	45,320	43	32,820	31	29

[1] Per 10,000 males over fifteen years of age in England and Wales.

[2] Per 10,000 females over fifteen years of age in England and Wales.

Other Countries.—Of the statistics of pauperism in other countries we have meager returns. Germany has not published pauper returns since 1885. In that year there were reported 1,592,386 receiving public aid in the empire. In France in 1904 the public "bureaux de bienfaisance" assisted 1,381,387 persons. There were also aided 120,126 children; there were 1,826 in hospitals, 70,518 imbeciles in asylums (public and private), 68,670 aged and infirm in institutions, 2,912,600 received gratuitous medical assistance. In Denmark (1903) 177,109 persons were aided, in Sweden (1904) 234,639, Norway (1904) 88,182.

II. Poor Relief

United States.—There is no national poor-law system in the U. S. and the systems of the various states vary somewhat, but have certain general characteristics in common. In general, American poor laws are based on the English. Relieving officers care for the indigent, being county officers in the Southern states, in Pennsylvania, and in all states west of the Mississippi, except Minnesota, and town (or township) officers in Minnesota, the middle Atlantic states, and New England. State governments in general control relief institutions. Near relatives are obliged to support, but details vary in different states. The present tendency is toward stricter laws against wife and family desertion. Settlement is usually gained by residence of longer or shorter duration (generally longer in the East). Most states have laws against the coming or immigration into the state of those likely to become paupers. In most states tramping, or vagrancy, is punishable. Usually vagrants are committed to jails, for a longer or shorter period, sometimes with labor, sometimes without. Sentences are usually harder in the East, but frequently great hardships are affixt, as with chain gangs in some states, and often great wrongs

done, owing largely to the general practise of giving officers a fee for each vagrant brought in and confined. Indigents are divided, generally, into three classes: adults able to work, but in extreme indigence; those defective or unable to work, and neglected or abused children. For the first class, the almshouse is "the fundamental institution," and is everywhere found, tho increasingly, and by law, various classes, like children, the insane, etc., are being placed in special institutions. Outdoor relief is also extensively given in most states, tho it is being practised less in most states. In most large cities there is a charity department of some sort; but in many cities it is little developed, private charities doing more. State boards of charities exist in many states, usually with limited control over institutions, but sometimes they are boards of control. In many cases relieving officers simply perform these duties in connection with many others. Particularly in the South, the system is undeveloped. For the second class, institutions are increasingly developed. Almost all the states have provided educational institutions for the blind, as a rule maintenance and tuition being free. All, except Oklahoma, have institutions for the acutely insane, tho in many states the provisions are quite inadequate, many being still in almshouses or jails. Twenty-three states have special institutions for the idiotic and feeble-minded. A few states are now developing institutions for epileptics and consumptives. Eight states have provision for inebriates, now largely looked upon as diseased. In regard to children, their retention in almshouses is now being rapidly given up, Michigan leading in removing them from the almshouses in 1871. Nineteen states, mainly Eastern and Middle states, have well-organized systems of child-saving, mainly placing them out. Michigan and five other states have a state public school for all dependent minors of sound mind and body, from whence they are transferred and placed out in homes, under the guardianship of the State Board of Control.

Private charity in the U. S. is largely developed. Mr. Hagan has estimated that, excluding all national, state, or municipal appropriations, all regular church and missionary expenditures, and all items of less than $5,000, there was spent in private charities $29,000,000 in 1893, and $95,000,000 in 1903. Besides the larger institutions should be included lodging-house associations, existing now in most larger cities; working men's hotels, working girls' clubs, boys' and men's and women's clubs, women's relief corps, nurses' associations, 150 social settlements, legal aid societies, penny provident and savings-banks, dispensaries, libraries, coffee-rooms, children's aid societies, ecclesiastical charities, Protestant and Catholic.

Great Britain.— (See also article Poor Laws [English]). To-day English poor relief is under a central authority, the Local Government Board, under a president, who is a cabinet minister. The board has large powers over the local boards, in issuing general orders, discharging any local officials, and auditing accounts. There are, secondly, 649 poor-law unions, who are unpaid poor-law guardians, elected by the voters of the union, with paid clerk and one or more relieving officers. The local poor rates are now largely supplied by "grants" from county funds. Outdoor relief is forbidden, except under exceptional circumstances. These exceptions tend to grow, especially in the large cities, but are usually accompanied by an outdoor labor test. In 1900, out of 792,367 receiving relief, 577,122 received outdoor relief. Each union must have at least 1 workhouse, with at least 7 distinct wards, for men, women, children, etc. They are more debt prisons than homes. To-day children are mainly removed and placed in separate schools. Vagrants are committed to "casual wards." In 1900 there were in England 9,400 vagrants. Almost all the urban unions have infirmaries attached. Relief is given to the defective, but blind and deaf-mute children are educated in special schools. For feeble-minded children special schools are also being started, there being 32 such now in London. There are 4 important semipublic institutions for epileptics, the chief being the Chalfont Colony, established by the National Society for the Employment of Epileptics. In 1900 there were 96,865 insane paupers in England; 70,833 were in asylums, 17,460 in workhouses. By 1902 96 county or municipal boroughs had some form of inebriate reformatory for convicted drunkards.

Endowed private charities are very numerous in England, with annual income of many millions of pounds. The Church of England has 74 cottage hospitals and 16 special hospitals. It has 39 convalescent homes, with 26 institutions for training nurses. It has 28 sisterhoods, besides several orders of deaconesses. Connected with it is the "Reformatory and Refuge Union" with 29 reformatory institutions. Its Children's Aid Society aided over 17,000 children up to 1903. Its Society for Providing Homes for Waifs and Strays has 87 homes; it has 73 orphanages, 44 penitentiaries, and 59 temporary refuges for penitent fallen women. The social department of the Church Army has over 100 labor and lodging homes, besides labor registries, food depots, and other agencies; it dealt with 30,000 cases in 1901. The Roman Catholic Church in England has also extensive and varied charities, the most important being the St. Vincent de Paul Society. Other Protestant bodies have less wealth, but in proportion to their wealth have increasing and varied philanthropies. Non-sectarian charities are also abundant. The Dr. Bernardo's homes have 40 institutions, caring for 3,000, besides 3 emigration depots in Canada. There were, in 1902, 29,985 Friendly Societies in England, with a membership of over 11,424,000, and funds of £37,917,702; they are either trade societies or general. The post-office savings-banks, at the end of 1904, had 9,673,717 depositors, and deposits of £148,339,354. Of the depositors, 18 per cent were artizans; 50 per cent women and children. There are also collecting savings-banks: 55 in London.

Australasia.—Considerable outdoor relief is given in Australasia. The sum of indoor and outdoor relief, public and private, in 1900, in the 7 colonies was £1,250,000. There are also many private charities, most of them being aided by the State. There were, in 1898, 3,306 Friendly Societies, with 276,772 members, or 6.24 per cent of the population. There are many ecclesiastical charities, especially Roman Catholic; 11,614 persons were cared for in destitute asylums in one year. There are 278 hospitals. Orphans are mainly provided for by the boarding-out system.

Austria.—Poor-laws differ in different parts of the empire. They were formerly mainly in the care of the Church, but now tend to be trans-

ferred to political officers. No one can claim relief for whom any third party is legally responsible. Recipients are bound to restore the aid when they can. Aid must be limited to that which is necessary for existence, for the care of the sick, and for children. It is usually given in cash. Overseers or visitors (*Armenpfleger*) are not found everywhere. "Certificates of poverty" are required, but abused. In lower Austria the 68 district councils had, in 1904, 1,153 members, with 7,429 overseers (nearly all unpaid), and aided 39,000 persons. In upper Austria the poor commissions are made up of the chief executive of the borough, a priest, and at least three overseers (*Armenväter*). In Vienna there are 19 districts, each with a district committee, which elects a board of commissioners (*Armenärthe*). There is also a general poor department and another department for orphans. In 1898 there were 1,799 overseers, mainly unpaid. There are many institutions, partly private, but endowed with public funds. In 1899 there were in Vienna 951 endowments, with a capital of 6,140,939 gulden.

There are many Church institutions: Catholic, Protestant, and several of certain knightly orders. Charity organization is backward. There are 1,643 poorhouses (1900). The municipal "Houses of Maintenance" are better. In 1896 there were 602 hospitals with 39,588 beds, and 16 hospitals for children, with 1,114 beds. There are 200 homes, where children are received. The Vienna foundling asylum is the largest in the world. There are 488 savings-banks. In 1902 there were 1,440 crèches and kindergartens, with 114,674 children and 231 orphanages with 13,707 children; 1,645 poorhouses with 38,331 inmates. The expenditure for poorhouses alone was 8,817,235 crowns; cost per day about 80 pfennige. The Austrian provinces spent (1903) on hospitals, orphanages, poor relief, 6,487,404 cr.; Vienna and other municipalities, 20,716,-964 cr.

Belgium.—There is a system of central inspection and a superior council of relief. Under these each commune is responsible for its relief work, tho weak communes may combine. *Commissions d'Assistance* are created for each commune, or union of communes, with from five to ten members, among which must be a clergyman, an alderman, and a laborer. No salaries are paid, tho the laborer can be indemnified for time lost. Women are eligible. The indigent are divided into those unable to work, those willing to work but unable to find it, and those unwilling to work. To the first class is given relief, indoor relief for the most part. Private charity in Belgium is very great, providing for at least one half of the indigents, but is controlled by the State. For the other two classes there are workhouses, refuges, and schools of charity. The workhouses are for persons able to work, but who do not. The refuges are intermediary between the workhouses and the poorhouses, for those willing to work, but unable to, through sickness, old age, or disability. Persons found begging can be assigned to these for seven years. In 1901 there were 6,384 in these refuges. The schools of charity are compulsory training-schools for youths up to eighteen, who have become vagrants or have committed misdemeanors. The expense for these institutions is divided equally between the State, province, and commune. Very low wages are paid in the workhouses and refuges. Charity institutions received (1904) in donations 3,069,345 francs.

Canada.—Strictly speaking, Canada has no poor law, and no "poor rates," but the relief institutions, tho mainly private, are largely supported by municipalities. In the cities large numbers receive outdoor relief, usually with some work test. There are in the dominion 75 hospitals, 18 asylums for the insane, with many other institutions of various kinds, for relief or prevention.

Denmark.—The aged poor of spotless character receive a State pension, and their position is in no way dishonorable; they lose no civil rights and do not come under the poor law. They have an attractive house in Copenhagen, with separate rooms for married couples, reading and smoking rooms, etc.; 500 inmates. The other class are placed in an institution where they may work and receive 6 cents a week above cost of maintenance, which is about 25 cents a week. Those unable to work receive 6 cents as a gift. People stay for life; married couples live together.

France.—The prevailing principle is that all charity shall be administered at home, if possible, and institutional aid given only when imperative. Thrift is a national characteristic. In all communes outside of Paris institutions have administrative bodies distinct from the bureau of charities. In Paris a single body, under the Prefect of the Seine and the Minister of the Interior, directs all indoor and outdoor relief. Funds are supplied from gifts and legacies, a direct tax on all places of amusement, the general State funds, municipal appropriations. Private charities have a large and varied development, and cooperate with the State. The *Société Philanthropique* (founded in 1780) has 30 soup-kitchens, 30 dispensaries, 4 for children; 1 hospital, 3 night refuges, homes for the aged, for mothers, for women enceinte, improved dwellings, etc.; 12,000 children are cared for each year. At its refuges 12,000 women are admitted, and work found for about 25 per cent; 5,000 francs a year are given in rewards to honest and industrious workers. The *Œuvre de Bienfaisance*, founded by Miss de Broen (1871), is notable. The *Œuvre de la Chaussée du Maine*, the *Société Française de Bienfaisance de Tunis*, the *Hospitalité Universelle à Nantes et à Paris* are also important. Ecclesiastical charities are numerous, tho secular institutions are growing. Catholic societies relieved in 1901 107,400 persons, and numbered 4,000 according to Abbé Gayraud. A Protestant society is the *Institution des Diaconesses des Églises Evangeliques de France* (1841). There is no charity organization society, but 15,827 *Bureaux de Bienfaisance*, in the communes, control private societies, and in a way unite them as well as administer outdoor relief. Indoor relief, only given when imperative, is well developed. In 1904 France had 1,826 hospitals for the sick, aged, infirm, or infants, maintained at a cost of 157,158,686 francs. They contained 177,880 beds. Most of them have free dispensaries and many free clinics. There are in Paris 28 *Consultations des Nourissons* and many in the country. Asylums and schools for the blind and deaf-mutes were developed in France earlier than in any other country, and in many similar ways France still leads. The national lunatic asylum at Charenton is a model, and Ainay is a colony for insane men, and at Dun-sur-Auron for insane women. Institutions for dependent children are various. The first crèche was opened at Paris, 1844. *La Maison Maternelle, L'Hôpital des En-*

fants Malades, Ligue Fraternelle des Enfants de France, L'Œuvre laique du bon Pasteur are typical. The State has established state savings-banks, pawn-shops, and old-age insurance.

The *Bureaux de Bienfaisance* spent (1904) 46,810,251 francs. The orphanages cost 31,074,890 fr. Free medical assistance was given at a cost of 19,913,225 fr.

Germany.—The care of the poor is a legal obligation. Each German citizen must be relieved from misery by the local union (*Ortsarmenverband*) where he is at the moment; but the cost is charged to the district where he last resided for two years without receiving relief (*Landesarmenverband*). Three systems are in vogue: First, the director of the *Armenverwaltung* (civic relief board), often the mayor, through paid officials, examines and relieves cases; this system is disappearing. Second, the board assigns districts to unpaid assistants, who report to the board, and the board decides. Third, the board puts responsibility on the unpaid honor-officials (*Armenpfleger*) to decide what is the best way of meeting each case. It makes them guardians of the cases, and gives them certain districts to watch and prevent the beginnings of evil and want, when it costs much less then to relieve than when it has grown desperate. This is the famous Elberfeld system to-day spreading through Germany. These guardians cooperate and consult. They report to and consult with the *Vorsteher*, or inspector of different circuits, and these report to and consult with the *Hauptverwaltung*, or central body. It is considered an honor to be a guardian, and all classes are drawn from. Only the chairman of the Central Board usually is paid, except the paid clerks, statisticians, etc. In Hamburg there are 1,600 honor helpers and 100 clerks. The relief is mainly outdoor relief (not in institutions), but it is carefully watched. The guardian can give relief of any kind: money, clothing, food, medical attendance. He must relieve necessity at once; but the main aim is economic independence, by finding work. In some cities women visitors are added. The Catholic Church has many societies, brotherhoods, and sisterhoods, especially the Sisters of Mercy, of Vincent de Paul. The *Caritas Verband für das Katholische Deutschland*, with central office at Freiburg, in Breisgau, seeks to unite these. The great Protestant movement is the Inner Mission (*Innere Mission*), the result of the labor of J. H. Wichern, at the Rauhe Haus, in Hamburg (1848). Its aims are spread of the Gospel, parish work, training of children, saving of youth, rescue of the lost, care of the defective and sick, contest with social evils, and social betterment. The Central Committee is in Berlin. Trained deaconesses and agents largely do the work. It has to-day thousands of hospices, or homes, for work-people; nurseries, "mother schools," for the training of domestics; 450 *Herbergenzur Heimath*, or lodging-houses for wanderers (laborers seeking work), workmen's colonies, Magdalene and inebriate asylums, etc., etc.

Great effort is made to coordinate public and private relief. The German Society, *Der Deutsche Verein für Armenpflege und Wohlthätigkeit* (1880), is the National Conference of Charities. In 1885 1,078,921 persons were relieved at home; only 288,476 in institutions. The outdoor relief includes medical aid, with paid physicians, trained nurses, care of households, help of women in confinement, care of convalescents, diet for the sick, etc. It is estimated that in Germany there are 40,000 blind, mainly in special schools or institutions. In 1900 there were 91 institutions for deaf-mutes. The insane are estimated at 1 to every 300,400 inhabitants, with 47 special institutions. In 1903 35,596 children were given a summer outing.

Hungary.—Relief is quite undeveloped, tho recently progress has been made. There are no workhouses, and indoor relief is rare. In 1897 there were 359 hospitals. There were 10,000 communes with no resident physician. There are 105 asylums for orphans and 195 for paupers. In 1897 there were 1,002,369 depositors in savings-banks.

Private charity is extensive, and fairly large sums are given to public institutions by individuals.

India.—Hindus call India "The Land of Charity"; foreigners add "of beggars." The laws of Manu make it the Brahman's duty to beg. There is no poor law. Charity is all private. The government, in time of famine, supplies relief works. In all the principal cities and mission stations Europeans have established Friend in Need Societies or Charity Boards. There are 48 houses for opium refugees. The Lady Dufferin Association has hospitals and dispensaries, lady doctors and medical students. There are probably 500,000 lepers in India; and there are now 47 leper asylums. The largest has 545 inmates. There are 9 asylums and schools for the blind and deaf-mutes, and 23 for the insane; 115 orphanages, and 7 juvenile reformatories. The government is developing large schemes of irrigation, commerce, and industry. It is introducing agricultural banks and postal savings-banks.

Italy.—In each commune there is a Board of Charities, which represents all the interests of the poor in the commune, but leaves them large autonomy. Settlement is acquired by residence without serious interruption for five years. A provincial administrative commission (*giunta*) supervises private institutions, but gives them large autonomy. In 1899 the total sum of funds in *opere pie* (benevolent funds) was over 2,000,000,000 lire. Hospitals have 80,000,000 li.; orphanages, 56,000,000; local charities, 18,000,000; instruction, 2,500,000. In Italy 10,644 brotherhoods have an annual income of 9,400,000 li., from which 1,700,000 goes to administration, 5,000,000 to ceremonies, and 1,700,000 to charities. Provision for the vagrant is inadequate. Hospitals in Italy numbered 1,208 in 1898, including 20 children's hospitals. Schools for the deaf numbered 47 in 1900, and asylums for the insane 128 in 1898. Foundling asylums numbered 113. Begging is forbidden where asylums exist, but the police rarely arrest under this law, and begging is general and persistent, and said to be increasing. The total resources of Italian charity were estimated in 1901 at 150,000,000 li. In 1895 64,700,000 came from provincial or communal subsidies. New legacies for charities from 1880 to 1905 amounted to 415,114,617 li.

Japan has both a central and prefectural system of poor relief. Since 1899 the central fund for relief has been abolished, and the prefectural funds were decreed to have a minimum of 500,000 yen. The deficiency, if any, is made up by the central treasury. In 1904 the prefectures gave relief to the amount of 76,183 yen—shelter, 354; food, 34,826; clothing, 2,363; medicine, 274; provisional dwellings, 22,113; providing work, 15,-

748; miscellaneous, 505. The central government grants relief, however, to the absolutely helpless. In 1904 the total thus expended amounted to 201,398 yen, relieving 18,536 persons. The central government also sustained 2,276 foundlings at the expense of 39,678 yen. Local corporations and private persons have established several workhouses. The famine of 1905 presented extraordinary needs and relief, and the assistance of foreign countries was gladly accepted.

Netherlands.—There are some 7,500 charitable institutions in Holland: 1,200 under civil administration; 3,060 controlled by the churches; 710 for the aged; 712 for the sick. The support of the poor is kept mainly to the churches and private societies, but all must report to the government. In 1903 the number relieved was 177,109, or 3.26 per cent of the population. Of special importance is the Amsterdam society, *Liefdadigheit naas Vermogen* (charity according to means). It covers the whole city in 34 districts, with a superintendent for each. The Society for Public Welfare is also important. The periodical *Tijdschrift voor Armenzorg* covers the whole field. Mendicity and vagabondage are treated as crimes, and persons so convicted are placed in a State-work establishment. A few communes support workhouses.

New Zealand.—Relief is mainly preventive. The government life-insurance does more than one half the life-insurance business, abstainers being placed in a class apart. The old-age pensions law gives a pension to every person sixty-five years of age who has resided twenty-five years in the colony, who is of good moral character, has been sober for the past five years, and whose accumulated property is not over £270. Payments are made through the Postal Department, the cost of administration being only £2,535. The highest amount per person is £26. In 1906 there were 12,583 pensioners receiving £313,081. There are 1,180 various relief institutions. There are 19 benevolent asylums for indigent persons, with 1,167 inmates. "Tramps" are set to work. Beggars are arrested. The needy are aided by relief boards. There are 4 orphan asylums, but the boarding-out system is largely adopted for needy children. In 1905 there were 2,315 inmates of various asylums of whom 1,104 were over sixty-five years of age. Under the First Offenders' Probation Act, offenders are placed under probation officers. The public trustee takes charge of estates where no will is left and funds left for charity.

Norway.—The communes are obliged to give relief. Settlement is gained only by two years of continuous residence. Differences are settled by the ecclesiastical ministry in the courts. The nearest relative must support where possible. Miners must and industrial regions can establish their own poor districts. Each district has a poor commission consisting of the pastor and persons chosen by the communal council. Any citizen may be required to act as a relieving officer without pay. The sources for relief are endowments, gifts, and a State fund, and repayment of expenditures. Institutions are rare, paupers mainly being boarded out. In 1894 only 2,390 were in poorhouses. Idleness and neglect to support a family are punishable by imprisonment or labor in a workhouse. Pauperism is extensive, but seems to be decreasing; 10,967 received only medical aid. Christiania has built a few blocks of artizan buildings and created a fund to be lent for the purchase of homes. Factory inspection and protection of laborers in mines and handicrafts exist. Child labor is restricted and education insured. Children under fourteen may not be employed in factories, and youths from fourteen to eighteen not over ten hours. Women may not be employed in mines nor with machinery nor for six weeks after confinement. Adult men may not labor after 6 P.M. before a Sunday or a holiday nor till after ten on a Sunday or a holiday.

Sweden.—The duty of relief lies on the communes. Settlement may be acquired by registration with liability to taxation. The nearest relative must support, so far as possible. There is a superior board of administration. The communal board may create a poor commission with at least three members. The parish pastor has a voice. Ancient endowments and gifts are drawn upon, supplemented by a head tax. Methods of relief are left to the communes. Boarding out of paupers is common. In 1904 Sweden had 1,893 institutions for poor relief and cared for 55,890 persons. Pauperism is on the increase. It has grown steadily since 1860, when 132,982 people were cared for, to 1904, when 234,639 received aid; 78,633 from towns; 214 poor farms shelter vagrants and furnish food in exchange for work. Public relief is given to dependent children under fifteen, controlled by boards of guardians.

Switzerland.—The existence of common lands belonging to the communes, formerly used for the benefit of all, but now only for those not having private lands, is thought by some to increase indolence and pauperism. Relief was formerly limited to those inheriting local citizenship, but is now being changed to be given to those having territorial settlement, tho registration for settlement is carefully guarded. The State gives a subsidy of 60 to 70 per cent of what is lacking in a commune. The entire State expenditures for poor relief are estimated at 2,000,000 francs. Institutions are largely supported by the State. Only the cantons of Bern and Neuenberg have a poor-law. Private charities and benevolent societies have considerable development, especially The Swiss Benevolent Society and the Basel Association. In inebriate asylums Switzerland is in advance. In 1895 there were 2,107 blind persons, only 350 in institutions. There are 16 institutions for deaf-mutes. In the care of neglected children Switzerland frankly recognizes that the State must take the parents' place. For workmen in search of work Swiss cantons have followed the models of Germany's stations for help and hospices, with even more agencies under police control.

REFERENCES: Edward T. Devine, *The Practise of Charity* (1904); ib., *Principles of Relief* (1904); C. R. Henderson, *Dependent, Defective and Delinquent Classes* (1901); ib., *Modern Methods of Charity* (1904); Mary Higgs, *Glimpses into the Abyss* (1906); Edith Sellers, *The Danish Poor Relief System* (1904). (See also CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETIES; POOR LAWS; POVERTY.)

PAWNBROKING: It is difficult to determine the origin of pawnbroking. References are made to it in the Bible (Genesis concerning Judah and Tamar) and by several Greek and Roman writers. It was generally allied with usury, especially during the Middle Ages, when it was largely in the hands of Jews. It was the predecessor of banking. Its career has been one of oppression, and is so still where the public authorities have not interfered and regulated it.

Private pawn-shops were the first in the field. The business is very profitable, since the broker loans on a security assessed by himself on terms imposed by himself. Frequent charges in American cities have been from 30 to 300 per cent. In some cases—kept from the public—they have been greater. What they may have been during the Middle Ages, when the pawnbroker was often the only man with money, and the need of the borrower great, we may surmise from treatment of the Jewish pawnbrokers and their persecution everywhere.

Private Pawn-Broking

Religious pawn-shops—monts-de-piété—originated in Italy during the fifteenth century in order to counteract the exorbitant rates of money-lenders and save the poorer classes from ruin. In nearly all Latin Roman Catholic countries these institutions do practically all of the pawnbroking.

The *monts-de-piété* were, however, first developed in **Belgium** by a priest in 1534 at Yprès with the gift of a small sum of money. Bruges followed in 1572; Lille, 1607; Brussels, 1615; Antwerp, 1620. The institution spread rapidly over the provinces and is now doing all the pawnbroking under State supervision. The managing board consists of five persons nominated by the communal council; one of these is a member of the board of charities—Bureau de Bienfaisance—and one of the asylums board—Administration des Hospices. Under the law of 1848 all important matters, e. g., amount and rate of interest, salaries, publication of budgets and accounts, are under the supervision of the communal council. The Constitution provides that profits arising are to be applied—after payment of expenses—successively to the payment of borrowed funds, then to the creation of an endowment, eventually to free loans to indigent persons, and finally to charitable institutions.

Monts-de-Piété

The rate of interest charged on loans varies from 4 to 16 per cent per annum. Ghent adds to the minimum of 4 per cent a fixt fee of 2 per cent at receiving and 1 per cent at returning the loan, altho the maximum of either fee is fixt at 1 franc. Brussels charges 6 per cent; Namur, 10 to 16. The loan varies from one half to three fourths of the value of the pledge. The officers are all under heavy bonds—director, 40,000 fr.; secretary, 20,000; cashier, 10,000.

Business transacted in 1895 for Belgium was: *articles pawned*, 891,756; amount loaned, $2,135,378; average loan, $2.39; *articles redeemed*, 845,617; amount loaned, $2,061,824; average, $2.44; *articles sold*, 37,795; amount loaned, $100,256; average, $2.35. The net profit of the *monts-de-piété* for Belgium was: in 1889, $21,204.91; 1890, $21,776.96; 1895, only $12,477.84. Private pawnbroking is prohibited.

France has developed the system of the *monts-de-piété* on lines almost identical with those of Belgium. The only notable exception is that the mayor of the town is ex-officio president of the society—a fact indicative of the close supervision of these institutions by the State and municipalities. The reselling of pawn-tickets is prohibited. Stocks and bonds may be pledged for loans.

In **Italy** pawnbroking is carried on along the lines of the *monti-di-pietà* under State supervision. There were 555 institutions in 1896 with a net capital of 71,986,698 lire; some of the larger institutions are banks. In Milan the rate of interest is 5 per cent on loans below 10 li.; above, 6 per cent plus 5 per cent for marking, and 2 per cent for storage. In 1896 387,132 articles were pledged for 7,988,369 li. Rome's bank of *monti-di-pietà* had (1898) a capital of 3,549,535 li.; loaned 15,000,533 li. on 1,066,146 articles at 4 to 7 per cent. It has 15 branches. The interest in Bologna is 7 per cent; the fund 1,041,051 li.; in 1896 2,389,567 li. were loaned on 208,040 articles.

In **Spain** the institution is connected with the savings-banks. The pawn-shop advances money at 6 per cent; the savings-bank charges the pawn-shop 5 per cent on money advanced, and pays its depositors 4 per cent. Thus both the bank and the pawn-shop make 1 per cent—sufficient for expenses and a small profit for the increase of capital.

State and Municipal Pawn-shops.—In **Germany** pawnbroking is conducted by the State, by the *Gemeinde* (parish), or by private persons under State supervision. The Berlin *Königliches Leihamt* is under the protection of the German Reichsbank, which advanced the necessary funds. The pawn-shop usually advances on two thirds of the estimated value of household goods, four fifths on silver, and five sixths on gold. During the year 1893 the sum of $1,200,000 was lent on about 220,000 pledges. After payment of all administrative expenses and interest on capital, there remained a net surplus of over $10,000, which was placed to the account of the reserve fund, and of which the interest is devoted to a charitable institution. Under the State system the interest on loans is 12 per cent, while under private management it is either 12 or 24 per cent, according to the amount of the loan. Under both systems the loan is contracted for six months; under the first, six months' grace is allowed, while under the second four weeks only. The State pawn-office is used by the middle rather than by the very poorest classes. Artizans and tradesmen head the list, widows and unmarried women follow, while day-laborers and factory workmen occupy the third place.

Municipal Pawn-shops

In **Austria-Hungary** there exists a system of *Versatzämter*, usually under the control of the municipalities, but more or less under the control of the State also. The prototype of them all is the so-called Imperial Pawn-office of Vienna, founded like any other charitable institution and intended solely as such. The Minister of the Interior nominates the officials and sanctions any important matter connected with the management. The original advances have now been paid off; the Imperial Pawn-office is entirely independent, and is annually adding to its cash capital from its own profits. The interest charged is at the uniform rate of 10 per cent. In 1893 the Vienna office received over 860,000 articles, for which it advanced $2,100,000.

In **Holland** the State authorized (1826) the creation of pawn-banks (*banken van leening*) under municipal control; the head of the local government is president of the institution, and appoints the directors and officers. The interest varies from 5 to 15 per cent, according to locality, article pledged, and length of loan. A private pawnbroker enjoys the greatest freedom. The law ignores him, and he is thus able to transact his business on his own terms. He frequently buys the tickets issued by the municipal shops, and

thus gets the benefit of the surplus and profit of these institutions, or resells the tickets at an advance. In 1895 the business of the bank at Amsterdam was: Total capital, $298,908; borrowed capital, $193,563; surplus, $6,028; other credits, $6,588; profits, $3,528. It loaned $906,913 on 762,246 articles at rates of 5 to 12 per cent. The total for Holland was: $2,294,937 loaned on 2,126,245 articles; average loan, $1.08; articles redeemed, 2,088,531 for $2,256,204; articles sold, 65,921 with loans of $64,549; amount outstanding, $853,616.

England has no municipal pawn-shops, notwithstanding a strong agitation along this line. Private pawn-shops must be licensed, and charge ½*d.* for the ticket on loans below 10*s.*, and 1*d.* above. Interest at the rate of ½*d.* per month on loans under 10*s.*, and 1*d.* from 10*s.* to 40*s.* On sums above a special limit, pawn contracts may be made on terms agreeable to the two parties.

The United States

In the **United States** all the states have laws regulating pawnbroking. Licenses are required as a rule, and the maximum rate of permitted interest varies from 24 to 120 per cent per annum. There are no municipal shops, but a number of incorporated institutions transact business along these lines. The *Collateral Loan Company of Boston* was organized 1859, with a paid-up capital of $300,000. It charged 1.5 per cent monthly, raised it to 3 per cent, and lowered it later to 1.25. Business in 1861 was: Loans, 7,593; amount, $226,508; average loan, $29.83; average interest per loan, $1.89. The corresponding figures for 1897 were: 52,065; $818,816; $15.73; $1.22. *St. Bartholomew's Loan Association of New York* was established by parishioners of St. Bartholomew's P. E. Church in 1894, under the rectorship of Dr. D. H. Greer. Capital: $40,275; rate of interest, 1.5 per month. Business in 1896: Loans, 693 for $38,968; average loan, $56. In 1906: Receipts, $100,704; loans, 923 to 955 people; average loan, $91.12; gross earnings, $10,000. The society just mentioned awakened a wide interest in loans to the poor with the result that in 1894 (May 21st) the *Provident Loan Association of New York* was incorporated—a society which has become the model of numerous other organizations in cities all over the U. S. Its capital is $100,000; interest has been lowered from 1.5 per cent per month to 1 per cent; it pays dividends of 6 per cent. Business in 1894—one office: Number of loans, 14,234; amount, $229,155.50; pledges redeemed, 5,575; amount, $84,174.50; interest earned on loans, $7,566.27; expenses and losses, $15,579.22; net earnings, $15,579.59; interest on funds employed, $11,269.65; surplus, $4,309.94. Corresponding figures for 1906—in five offices—are: 240,321; $9,612,430; 224,159; $8,603,659; $443,389.77; $104,917.45; 338,472.32; $172,040.84; $166,431.48.

The advisability of taking pawnbroking out of the hands of private individuals will appear from this fact: A loan of 65 cents for *one week* paid interest per annum, in 1894, as follows: Paris, 0; Madrid, 6; Brussels, 7; Berlin, 12; London, 260. It has been proved, moreover, that small shops are not profitable, even at the rate of 100 per cent per annum, while large ones pay good dividends at from 5 to 10 per cent.

RUDOLPH M. BINDER.

REFERENCES: U. S. *Bulletin*, Bureau of Labor No. 21, 1899. *Report of Her Majesty's Representatives Abroad on Systems of Pawnbroking in Various Countries*, 1894.

PAYMENT OF MEMBERS: In Great Britain at present the members of Parliament receive no salary. This has worked, until recently, to prevent working men and others without income from entering the political arena. Recently this has been in part obviated by the Labor Party, which collects from each labor organization belonging to it, on the basis of two pence for each member of the organization, thus paying to its representatives in Parliament a small salary. (See LABOR PARTY.)

But Labor and Radicals in England have long demanded the payment of a salary, and to-day the demand for it is general. The following table prepared by Sir Edwin Grey is from *The Reformer's Year Book* (1907):

COUNTRY	Salary	Other advantages
Austria	16*s.* 8*d.* a day during session.	Traveling allowances.
Hungary	£200.	£66 house rent. Reduced railway fares.
Bavaria	10*s.* a day during session.	Free railway travel.
Belgium	£160.	Free railway travel.
Bulgaria	16*s.* a day during session.	One free journey.
Denmark	11*s.* a day during session (reduced to 6*s.* 8*d.* if more than six months).	Free railway travel.
France	£360.	Free travel on State railways. Nominal fee of 8*s.* per month on private lines.
Germany	£150.	Free railway passes.
Prussia	15*s.* a day during session.	Free railway travel.
Greece	£72.	Free travel.
Italy	None.	Free travel.
Netherlands	£166.	One free journey.
Norway	13*s.* a day during session.	One free journey. Medical attendance. Funeral expenses.
Portugal	None.	Free railway travel.
Rumania	20*s.* a day during session.	Free travel.
Russia	21*s.* a day during session.	One free journey.
Servia	12*s.* a day during session.	One free journey.
Spain	None.	Cheap railway tickets.
Sweden	£66.	One free journey.
Switzerland	16*s.* a day during session.	One free journey.
United States	£1,000.	£25 for stationery. One free journey. Free postage, free seed for distribution.

As a general rule members of the upper houses are not paid, but notable exceptions are France, Russia, and the United States. Senators in France and the U. S. are on exactly the same footing in this matter as the deputies or congressmen, while in Russia a seat in the Upper House carries with it a salary of £2.12*s.* 9*d.* a day, or more than double the sum received by a member of the Duma.

PEABODY, GEORGE: Merchant; philanthropist; born South Danvers, Mass., 1795; received little education, and entered a store as clerk at an early age. In 1814 he began a dry-goods business in Georgetown, D. C., as partner with Elisha Riggs. He later had establishments in Baltimore, New York, and Philadelphia. In 1829 Peabody became head of the firm; in 1837 he removed to England; in 1843 he withdrew from the old firm of Peabody, Riggs & Co., and established a banking-house. He became very rich, and gave away large sums of money. His

gifts, in all, amounted to about $7,000,000. The freedom of the City of London was given to him, and his statue placed in the Royal Exchange in 1869. He died in London, Nov. 4, 1869.

One of the chief benefactions of George Peabody was the gift of $2,500,000 to provide dwellings and lodging-houses for the poor of London. Of this £350,000 was given during his life, and £150,000 in 1873 by bequest. The fund was in the form of a trust, and is in care of a secretary and six trustees, one of whom is the United States Minister to England. Their annual report for 1890 is an interesting document and proves beyond question the wisdom of Mr. Peabody and the value of a good gift wisely bestowed. The fund which in 1873 was £500,000 has grown by the addition of rents and interest to a total of £1,023,446. The land and buildings under the care of the trust are valued at £1,233,845. Up to the end of the year there had been furnished to the artizan and laboring poor of London 5,071 dwellings, 75 having four rooms, 1,789 three rooms, 2,401 two rooms, and 806 one room. The average rent of each dwelling was 4*s.* 9½*d.* per week, and of each room 2*s.* 1¾*d.*; the rent in all cases including the free use of water, laundries, sculleries, and bath-rooms. The highest rent charged is 7*s.* 6*d.* for some of the four-room dwellings. The dwellings are not in a group, but are scattered over the city, apparently being placed where they will do the most good. That the plan of cheap dwellings contributes to the health as well as to the comfort of the poor appears from a glance at the vital statistics. The death-rate in 1889 was 21.15 per 1,000, or .85 per 1,000 above the average for all London, but this was exceptional, the cause being an epidemic which last spring visited the sections where some of the dwellings are located. The infant mortality was 141.22 per 1,000, or 21.37 below that of all London. The births were 38.49 per 1,000; 9.41 above the London record. The trustees' report also gives the employment of each tenant, and the list covers nearly 100 trades and occupations from expert artizans to unskilled laborers.

PEACE CONFERENCE, THE HAGUE: A conference called by the Czar Nicholas II. of Russia for the consideration of means and measures by which wars might be avoided, and peace promoted. All civilized nations were invited to send delegates. One hundred delegates met, May 18, 1899, and held a number of sessions between that date and July 29th. The net results of the deliberations were: (1) The prohibition of the use of projectiles or explosives from balloons for five years; (2) the prohibition to employ projectiles which diffuse suffocating gases dangerous to life; (3) the prohibition to employ dum-dum bullets which expand or flatten in the human body. The conference also passed six resolutions, of which the most important was that relating to international arbitration, and which made a deep impression on the civilized world. A permanent Court of Arbitration was created, which has settled a number of disputes amicably; the first of these was that between the United States and Mexico concerning the Pius Fund Claims, in 1902.

The moral effect of the first peace conference at The Hague was so great that a second conference was called for June 1, 1907, by Queen Wilhelmina at the initiative of the czar. The sessions began June 15th, with a much larger attendance of delegates and a more favorable and appreciative public all over the civilized world. The conference was in session for eighteen weeks, and the net results were embodied in the following conventions adopted unanimously:

1. The peaceful regulation of international conflicts.
2. Providing for an international prize court.
3. Regulating the rights and duties of neutrals on land.
4. Regulating the rights and duties of neutrals at sea.
5. Covering the laying of submarine mines.
6. The bombardment of towns from the sea.
7. The matter of the collection of contractual debts.
8. The transformation of merchantmen into warships.
9. The treatment of captured crews.
10. The inviolability of fishing-boats.
11. The inviolability of the postal service.
12. The application of the Geneva convention and the Red Cross to sea warfare, and
13. The law and customs regulating land warfare.

"The right to sign these conventions will be open until June 30, 1908."

In addition the conference has made declarations and adopted resolutions as follows:

First. That balloons shall not be used for the throwing of explosives.

Second. A recommendation in favor of obligatory arbitration.

Third. A recommendation regarding the establishment of a permanent court of arbitration.

Fourth. A resolution concerning the limitation of armaments.

Fifth. The convocation of the third conference.

Sixth. The prohibition of unnecessarily cruel bullets in warfare.

Seventh. The cooperation of all countries in the building of the Palace of Peace.

The third conference is to meet in 1915 by resolution adopted in the last session.

PEACE SOCIETY, THE: Founded in London in 1816, it has, therefore, been at work ninety years; and its history and results are largely seen in the position of the great question of peace to-day. (See INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION; PEACE CONFERENCE AT THE HAGUE.) The society thus sets forth its objects:

1. To promote to the utmost of its ability permanent and universal peace throughout the world.
2. To diffuse information tending to show that war is inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity and the true interests of mankind.
3. To indicate the manner in which Christian principles may be reduced to practise in the relations of states.
4. To advocate the adoption of practical methods of settling international disputes without recourse to arms, such as international arbitration, a High Court of Nations, a proportionate and simultaneous reduction of armaments, etc.
5. To oppose the increasing tendency to militarism, which is so fatal to national prosperity and progress.
6. To advocate a reduction of ruinous war expenditures, and thus to lessen the burden which oppresses the peoples of Europe, and especially the working classes.
7. To promote the study of these and similar questions likely to assist in the formation of a healthy public opinion.

The president of the Peace Society is Robert Spence Watson, LL.D.; the secretary, W. Evans Darby, LL.D. The Society publishes monthly *The Herald of Peace and International Arbitration.* Secretary's *address*: 47 New Broad Street, London, England.

PEACOCK, SIR ALEXANDER JAMES: Sometime Premier of Victoria; born at Creswick, Victoria, June 11, 1861. Member of legislature since 1889; minister without portfolio, 1890–92; Minister of Public Instruction and sometime Postmaster-General, 1892–93. Chief secretary and Minister of Public Instruction, 1894–99; chief secretary and Minister of Labor, 1901–2. Premier Feb., 1901–June, 1902; member for Victoria of National Convention which framed the Commonwealth Constitution, 1897–98. Prominently identified with Australian Native Association movement and several times president of the board of directors. Was grand master of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons of Victoria, 1900–5. *Address*: 339 Collins Street, Melbourne, Creswick, Victoria.

PEASANT REVOLT (1377–81): An uprising of the English peasantry under the leadership of Wat Tyler (*q. v.*), Jack Straw, and the priest John Ball (*q. v.*). The immediate cause of the revolt was the imposition of an unjust poll-tax, which was to be exacted equally from the poorest as well as the richest; but many other influences had prepared the way for an outbreak. The teachings of John Wyclif and his "poor priests" had very largely emancipated the minds of the laboring

classes from the unjust authority of Church and king. John Ball (*q. v.*), called by the rich "the mad priest," had for years been circulating his leveling doctrine: "When Adam delved, and Eve span, who was then the gentleman?" In 1348 the Black Death had swept over England, carrying off more than half its population, and being especially severe among the poorer classes. As a result there was great scarcity of laborers, and for the first time they found themselves masters of the situation. The demand for workers was twice as large as the supply, and they soon began to reap the benefits of this condition of things. The villeins suddenly became conscious of their strength, and even dared to oppose their masters. The lords and landowners, then as now, at once called for the aid of the law, and enacted what is known as "The Statute of Laborers." This provided that no laboring man or woman, whether bond or free, should leave the parish in which he or she lived, and should receive the same wages as before the Black Death. All the lawyers in the country were set to work undoing the movement of emancipation which had been in progress before the plague. It was found impossible to enforce the Statute of Laborers, for men were at this time too scarce and valuable to be put to death or imprisoned, and too poor to pay the fines levied upon them. However, oppression followed oppression until the poll-tax, in 1377, forced the exasperated peasantry to arms (June, 1381). The revolt spread like wild-fire over the country, and for a time the peasants carried everything before them, burning the records of their serfdom, and killing every lawyer who fell into their hands. The poorer artizans of London opened to them the gates of that city. They destroyed the palace of John of Gaunt and the houses of the wealthy; they burst into the Tower and beheaded the Bishop of Canterbury, but abstained from plunder, calling themselves "seekers of truth and justice, not thieves or robbers." They were finally met by the boy king, Richard II., who promised to free them and their lands forever, and called himself their leader. They believed his promises and gradually dispersed, the assassination of their leader, Tyler, seeming to deprive them of unity and decision. The king then gathered a large army and marched through the land, ruthlessly executing hundreds of the working people and their leaders, and declaring his promises null and void. In this he was supported by the Parliament, which was composed of landowners. The peasants' revolt was, nevertheless, not a failure. It created a healthy respect and fear for the might of united and indignant serfs, and struck feudalism its death-blow. During the century and a half after the revolt, villeinage died out so rapidly that it soon became a rare and antiquated thing. Sixty years after a workingman's wages commanded twice the amount of the necessaries of life which could have been obtained under Edward III.; while one hundred years after came what is usually called the "Golden Age" of English labor.

References: Knight's *Popular History of England*, vol. ii., chap. i.; Rogers's *Work and Wages*, chap. ix., and Ashley's *English Economic History*, pt. ii., chap. iv., for opposing views.

PEASANTS' WAR, THE: The name usually given to the revolutionary uprising of the peasants of southern and central Germany in 1525. The miserable condition of the German serfs, the appropriation of the common pasture lands by the lords, the refusal of the lords to let their tenants fish in the streams or hunt in the woods, the increase of ground-rent, of socage service, and of tithes, had led to small uprisings in Germany, all through the later Middle Ages. The *Bundschuh* (the shoe), which had been universally adopted as the symbol of these uprisings, had become known through all Germany; yet the revolts had been weak and easily put down. When, however, the Reformation gave the people a new impetus and a new hope, the peasants thought that now was their opportunity. They even at first looked to Luther to lead them. They pleaded the communistic practises and principles of early Christianity. The peasants rose with religious zeal. The twelve principles they formulated show this. They were: (1) The right of the peasantry to appoint their own preachers, who were to be allowed to preach the word of God from the Bible. (2) That the dues paid by the peasantry were to be abolished, with the exception of the tithes ordained by God for the maintenance of the clergy, the surplus of which was to be applied to general purposes, and to the maintenance of the poor. (3) The abolition of vassalage as iniquitous. (4) The right of hunting, fishing, and fowling. (5) That of cutting wood in the forests. (6) The modification of socage and average service. (7) That the peasant should be guaranteed protection from the caprice of his lord by a fixt agreement. (8) The modification of the rent upon feudal lands by which a part of the profit should be secured to the occupant. (9) The administration of justice according to the ancient laws, not according to the new statutes and to caprice. (10) The restoration of communal property illegally seized. (11) The abolition of dues on the death of the serf, by which the widows and orphans were deprived of their right. (12) The acceptance of the aforesaid articles, or their refutation as contrary to the Scriptures. Karlstadt and some of the Reformers joined the peasants. Luther, Melancthon, and others denounced them. Münzer accused Luther "of deserting the cause of liberty and of rendering the Reformation a fresh advantage for the princes, a fresh means of tyranny." The uprising began in Upper Swabia in the autumn of 1524, and gradually spread. When the convent of Kempten was captured by the peasants, Jan. 1, 1525, the uprising became general from the Alps to the Hartz, and from the Rhine to Bohemia. With the exception of Thomas Münzer (*q. v.*) and Götz von Berlichingen, a notorious robber knight, the peasants had no leaders. They simply gathered in large masses of from 8,000 to 30,000 men. They captured and plundered castles and monasteries, often with great cruelty. As soon, however, as they met disciplined armies, in the south under Truchsess von Waldburg, and in the north under Philip of Hesse, they were defeated. The peasants captured Waldburg, but could not hold it. The insurrection of Münzer, the prophet of the Anabaptists (*q. v.*) in Thuringia, broke out later in 1525, but in a few months all was over. The peasants were put down and punished with terrible cruelty. The whole country became one scene of devastation; even young children were cast "as Lutheran dogs" to the flames.

References: Cornelius's *Studien zur Geschichte des Bauernkriegs* (1862); Schreiber's *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg* (1864); Menzel's *History of Germany* (translation, 1853).

PEASE, EDWARD R.: Socialist; general secretary of Fabian Society; born at Bristol, England, 1857; his education was conducted by a private tutor. Intended by his parents for a commercial occupation, he became a stock-broker in London; but led by the study of social conditions and principles, gave up this position in 1886, and became an apprentice to the cabinet-making trade in a cooperative company, spending his spare time in studying labor questions, economics, and socialism. In 1883 he was one of the most active in organizing the Fabian Society (*q. v.*), the first meetings being held in his rooms, and in 1886 he became for a time its secretary. He traveled later in the United States, returned to England, and became a member of the Alliance Cabinet-makers' Trade-Union, secretary of the National Labor Federation, and a most active worker in labor organization and reform. In 1890 Mr. Pease became paid secretary of the Fabian Society, and has remained so till the present. The work of the society had become so extensive as to oblige him to devote all his time to its interests. Besides his secretaryship he is editor of the *Fabian News*. Both he and his wife, Marjory Davidson, were active members of the Society of the Friends of Russian Freedom. He took part in founding the Labor Party (*q. v.*) and has been a member of its executive and a trustee of its parliamentary fund from the beginning; he was also a founder and governor of the London School of Economics, now a part of the London University, and of an associated body, the British Library of Political Science. He is author of "The Case for the Municipal Drink Trade." *Address*: 3 Clements Inn, Strand, London, England.

PEFFER, WILLIAM ALFRED: Ex-United States senator from Kansas; one of the leaders of the Populist Party (*q. v.*); born in Cumberland County, Pa., 1831; removed to Indiana 1853, and engaged in farming; enlisted in the war 1862–65; began law practise in June, 1865; removed to Kansas and established local journals; elected to State Senate 1874; editor of the *Kansas Farmer*, 1881; elected to U. S. Senate as Populist, defeating Senator Ingalls, 1891–97; Prohibition candidate for governor, 1898; since then mainly engaged in literary work. Author, among other works, of "Rise and Fall of Populism in the U. S." (1900). *Address*: Topeka, Kan.

PENOLOGY (for statistics see CRIME): Etymologically the word penology means the science of punishment; but it has gradually come to have a broader meaning as representing the body of principles and practises relating to the repression and prevention of crime and the treatment of the offender. It includes in its scope the study of social conditions which foster crime, the structure and administration of criminal law, the police power, the study of the offender, both as to environment and heredity; it relates also to the treatment, discipline, and correction of offenders with or without imprisonment and to measures for the rehabilitation in society of the discharged prisoner.

The history of penology is a history of the legal codes or standards written or unwritten which society from the most primitive times has prescribed for social regulation, and a history of the methods of punishments by which they were enforced. Many of these codes and punishments are now obsolete; but the traditions of retributive justice and of social vengeance which the early codes represented are still embodied in penal theories and practise. In the writings of Plato, in the teachings of Jesus, a principle is enunciated which has become fundamental in the new penology, namely, that, combined with the protection of society, the fundamental object of law, all punishment should be disciplinary and corrective. The Emperor Julian and Pope Clement XI. were also heralds of the new order.

History

But its two most prominent apostles whose work and influence mark most distinctly the difference between the old conception and the new were Beccaria (born 1738), an Italian nobleman, and John Howard, an English squire, born in 1726. Beccaria's work on "Dei Delitti e delle Pene" ("Crimes and Punishments") was first published in 1764, when the author was but twenty-six years of age. Translated into nearly all European languages its influence was felt throughout the civilized world. Frederick the Great had already abolished torture and it had been discontinued in Sweden; but to Beccaria is due the chief credit of its general abolition in Europe. John Howard, though twelve years older than Beccaria, began his special work nine years later. He had already had personal experience of the barbarities suffered by prisoners of war and had raised his voice against them. In 1773 he was made high sheriff of the County of Bedford in England. The abuse of the fee system and the wretched condition of Bedford Jail led him to inspect other English jails. His observations were extended over the Continent of Europe and embodied in a work entitled "The State of the Prisons in England and Wales, with Preliminary Observations; and an Account of Some Foreign Prisons." This work stirred up great interest and sympathy, and gave an initial impulse to the work of prison reform which was strengthened by the subsequent labors of Howard. Another distinguished prison reformer was Elizabeth Fry, born 1780 near Norwich, England. Her prison visiting, beginning at Newgate, extended to the Continent.

The work of Howard and Elizabeth Fry stimulated effort in two directions: it aroused public sentiment to the necessity of an improvement of the physical and moral conditions in prisons; it developed increased interest in the discharged prisoner. Their writings show, however, that they had a firm grasp of what are now recognized to be fundamental principles of penology. They also stimulated an organic movement which led to the organization of prisoners' aid societies in Great Britain and this country.

What may be called the more scientific stage of penology, due both to the work of eminent theorists and practical exponents of enlightened prison administration, came later. A leader of reform on the Continent was Vilain XIV. of Flanders, whose influence Howard recognized. In Great Britain the man who initiated the most distinct departure in prison administration and whose work was founded on a philosophic conception of penological principles was Captain Alexander Maconochie, a British naval captain of Scotch birth. He had a genius for managing men. His various writings show that he was abreast of the best modern thought as to the application of reformatory influences and methods. He had a limited opportunity to apply his ideas

at Norfolk Island, one of the South Pacific islands, 900 miles east of New Zealand, where he had command of a colony of 1,400 men from 1840–44, achieving remarkable success. Sir Walter Crofton, a man gifted with similar genius, applied with great success reformatory ideas to the Irish prison system. In the United States the acknowledged leader in what is known as the reformatory system is Mr. Z. R. Brockway, whose experiments in Michigan at the Detroit House of Correction were afterward fully developed at the Elmira Reformatory, New York.

Distinguished among the leaders and exponents of penology in this country have been Edward Livingston, Dr. E. C. Wines and his son Dr. F. H. Wines, General R. Brinkerhoff, Charlton T. Lewis, Charles Dudley Warner, Charles R. Henderson, and others. Notable leaders in Europe were Montesinos in Spain, Count Sollohub in Russia, Mittermaier in Germany, Dr. Guillaume in Switzerland, Demetz and Bérenger in France, Wichern in Hamburg, Ducpétiaux in Belgium.

The first international prison congress was held in Frankfurt in 1845, and a second was held at Brussels the following year. It was due, however, to the zeal of Dr. E. C. Wines that the International Prison Congress was reorganized and established on a permanent basis in 1870. Authorized by a resolution of Congress of the U. S., Dr. Wines visited Great Britain and the most prominent countries of Europe, and secured the cooperation of foreign governments and experts. Under his presidency a congress was held in London in 1872; a second convened at Stockholm in 1878. Subsequent congresses at intervals of five years have been held at Rome, St. Petersburg, Paris, Brussels, and Budapest. The eighth congress will be held in Washington in 1910. These congresses have brought together eminent jurists, prison directors, prison physicians, and representatives of child-saving work and of societies for aiding discharged prisoners. The National Prison Association of the U. S. held its first meeting in 1870, and in 1883 was reorganized and has since held annual meetings.

Organic Movement

La Société Générale des Prisons of France was organized in June, 1877, and has had great influence on the development of penological ideas in Europe.

The International Society for Criminal Anthropology has occupied a more limited field, confining itself mainly to the study of the criminal; and there is also an international society for the study of criminal law. These organizations, state, national, and international, concerned with the problems of law, anthropology, prison science, and the prevention of crime, have broadened their studies so as to cover the wide field of sociological investigation.

A crime in its simplest definition is an offense against public law to which a penalty is attached. The offense must be defined by law and the penalty affixt. Offenses in most countries are divided into felonies, misdemeanors, and infractions of local or police ordinances. The terms felony and misdemeanor no longer have their original force in Great Britain and the U. S. Originally a felony denoted offenses the penalty of which involved forfeiture of goods; this meaning of the word has long since disappeared. The distinction now between these words lies not so much in the nature of the offense as in the punishment imposed. In most of the codes of the U. S. a felony is a public offense which may be punished by death or imprisonment in the penitentiary; all other offenses are misdemeanors. So far as the duration of the punishment is concerned the sentence for a misdemeanor may last longer than that for a felony. It was formerly assumed that a sentence to a penitentiary or state prison was a much severer punishment than a sentence to a county jail. This is no longer true. A sentence to a first-class penitentiary, so far as the real welfare of the prisoner is concerned, is a much milder punishment than a sentence to many county jails for the same length of time. Offenses are likewise grouped differently in different states. Variations in penalties for the same offenses in different states are very great. From time to time penalties rise and fall like the variations of the thermometer. A study of criminal codes shows that there is no general principle upon which they are established; both with reference to the classification of crime and the penalties attached they are a maze of contradictions. They serve to show, however, to some extent the categories of offenses which are now considered dangerous to society. Many offenses which were crimes in the Middle Ages, such as witchcraft and heresy, are obsolete. On the other hand our statutes teem with offenses to-day of which the ancient or medieval world was entirely ignorant. They grow out of the complexity of our civilization. Such offenses as the stealing of electricity for use as light or power, or the tapping of a telegraph-wire to get information, or violations of the sanitary code as to expectoration, are purely modern. The enactment of laws creating new offenses before people have been educated up to the new standard of civilization involved, leads to violations of law by many people who must be regarded as of average normality. Such offenders cannot be reduced to a purely criminal type; their offenses may result merely from ignorance or lack of development.

Criminal Codes

A capital defect of all of our criminal codes is in the wholly arbitrary character of the penalties imposed. They are supposed to be deterrent and exemplary, but it is impossible to measure the deterrent force of penalties. As a matter of fact our codes still embody the retaliatory principle of imposing so much suffering for a given offense. The remedy for these arbitrary penalties is in the indeterminate sentence, the principle of which is explained later on.

Ancient codes imposed the same penalties on all offenders alike. The punishment was fitted to the offense, not to the offender. In modern times criminal procedure and the application of penalties have been modified by a study of the offender. According to the code of New York a child under seven years of age is not considered capable of committing crime. A child between the ages of seven and twelve is presumed to be incapable of crime; but the presumption may be removed by proof that he has sufficient capacity to understand the act or neglect charged against him. The dividing line between legal minority and legal majority in New York and in most states is sixteen years of age. Persons who are idiotic, imbecile, lunatic, or insane are likewise excluded from punishment. The distinctions thus made in the law open the way for more minute study of the offender.

Study of the Criminal

Gall and Spurzheim, the founders of phrenology, gave an impulse to the cranial study of criminals, and the studies of Lombroso, Ferri, and others have widened the field of their observation. Broca founded the Anthropological Society in Paris in 1859, and has been regarded as the founder of the modern school of criminal anthropology. Under Lombroso, Ferri, and Garofalo, Italy has since taken the lead in this matter. Lombroso's conclusions, however, are contradicted by French and German anthropologists, and have not as yet been productive of any practical results in criminal procedure or the treatment of offenders. More fruitful results may be expected from the application of psychology to the study of offenders when this new science shall have become more fully developed. It is not possible as yet to distinguish between the accidental offender and the born criminal merely by physiological or anthropological tests. The existence of a purely criminal class has as yet not been demonstrated; but beyond doubt a great many confirmed criminals belong to a degenerate or undeveloped class. The best work done by the criminal anthropologist is in insisting on the importance of the study of the offender because it throws light upon the conditions which produce him and upon the influences necessary for correction.

Criminal Anthropology

Theories of responsibility, partly metaphysical and partly theological, influence criminal law and penalty and the treatment of the offender. The necessity of inflicting punishment, in order that the prisoner may expiate his offense by a certain amount of suffering, is still maintained by conservative writers. Others justify punishment only as deterrent and exemplary. The newer penologists, while ascribing some deterrent value to the infliction of penalties, consider the prime office of punishment to be the protection of society and the correction of the offender. These are fundamental principles of the new penology. With the question of retribution under this view society has nothing to do; and punishment is replaced by discipline.

Responsible

The question of responsibility or limited responsibility in cases of alleged insanity has become prominent in celebrated criminal cases in the U. S. The code of New York follows the English law based on the McNaughton case, and does not excuse from criminal liability any person who knew the nature and quality of the act he was doing and knew that the act was wrong. This definition does not cover acts of paranoiacs who know what they are doing, but are impelled by irresistible delusions, and does not protect society against dangerous cranks. There is need of a more elastic and effective criminal procedure, not in the interest of setting the dangerous crank at liberty, but for the better protection of society by placing him under control.

Modern penology devotes much attention to the causes and prevention of crime. Instead of focusing attention wholly on the responsibility of the offender to society, it is necessary to consider the responsibility of society to the offender. The influence of heredity and environment are important factors. Bearing on this subject, the study of the Jukes family by Dugdale is an excellent illustration of effective sociological investigation. Lombroso and Ferri and Quetelet maintain that crime is likewise influenced by climate and temperature. Among the recognized causes of crime are war, financial depression, broken family ties, vagrancy, intemperance, bad homes, insufficient number of schools, and child labor. Among preventive agencies are education, civic improvement, recreation centers, parks, playgrounds, the drama, kindergartens, boys' clubs, live churches, manual training, and an efficient police. Of all causes of crime, alcoholism is the most frequent, and as yet the problem of the effective legal treatment of drunkenness has not been solved. The only radical cure is the reduction of intemperance by education.

Causes of Crime

Probation.—Under ancient systems of punishment imprisonment was but little used. The imposition of fines, mutilation, and death took its place. Imprisonment as a penalty is an essentially modern practise. A notable departure from it has been made in suspending the sentence and giving the offender another opportunity without imprisonment. This system was first developed in the State of Massachusetts, where it began to be applied in 1878. It is now a recognized part of the judicial system of that state and has an extensive application to adults. A probation officer, whose salary is paid by the state, is authorized in every criminal court. In the form of a suspended sentence and without the important feature of investigation and surveillance secured through the probation officer, France and Belgium have adopted the system. In France in 1905 39,000 cases were placed under suspended sentence. Statistics for a number of years show that less than 4 per cent default. In England excellent results have been obtained from the First Offenders Act, and efforts have been made to introduce probation officers. New York and other American states have followed the example of Massachusetts. Probation saves the state the cost of imprisoning the offender and leaves him free to work for himself and family. In cases where fines are imposed they may under the probation system be paid in instalments to the probation officer. Restitution in cases of petit larceny by returning the value of the article stolen is also obtained through probation.

Treatment

Juvenile Courts.—Another important contribution to modern penology made by the U. S. is the development of children's courts. Starting in Chicago in 1899 it has sprung up in city after city and state after state, and has been introduced in England, France, and Switzerland, and the agitation is going on in other countries. In the juvenile court children are taken out of a purely criminal process and committed to one which is educational, and the court becomes part of the child-saving community.

Indeterminate Sentence.—The principle of the indeterminate sentence is now generally accepted by penologists in the U. S. It is a far-reaching principle which affects the action of the court, the administration of prisons, and the prisoner after his release. The court is relieved from the arbitrary penalties prescribed by the code or from the necessity of determining just when a prisoner shall be discharged. Advocates of the indeterminate sentence regard the fixing of a time by the judge for the prisoner's discharge as irrational as it would be for a doctor to name the date for the discharge of a patient on committing him to a hospital. The relief afforded to the

court in not being obliged to impose arbitrary time sentences is but a small part of the value of the indeterminate sentence. Its most important service is in connection with a reformatory system to which the prisoner must be submitted. In fact, without such a system the indeterminate sentence has no significance. It implies the commitment of the prisoner to influences which shall develop him physically, morally, and intellectually, which shall evoke and direct his powers, educate brain and hand, reveal to him aspects of social duty, teach him the value of money, train him in habits of industries and social responsibility. It implies also that the offender shall be released only conditionally until he has proven his capacity during a period of trial to live in society a law-abiding life. In this country the indeterminate sentence was first applied to the Elmira Reformatory. It is applied now to nearly all sentences to reformatories for adults in the country. It has been extended in some states to prisoners sentenced to state prisons. Generally the maximum time for which the prisoner may be held is the maximum penalty fixt in the code. A much larger number of states have adopted the feature of conditional liberation (parole laws), without, however, developing the marking and grading system which furnishes the ladder by which the prisoner climbs to freedom. The question of the prisoner's release is determined by the board of parole, and very often by insufficient information derived from his purely negative conduct while in prison. The U. S. and nearly all the states have laws providing for the reduction of the sentence for good behavior; but the tests of good conduct are few and insufficient compared with those furnished under a marking and grading system as illustrated by Maconochie and Crofton and developed by Brockway of Elmira.

In the paragraph above we have mentioned some essential features of the reformatory system.

Reformatory System

The New York State Reformatory at Elmira was opened in 1876. Similar institutions have been established in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Colorado. Reformatories for women exist in Massachusetts, Indiana, and New York. In addition there are some fifty reformatories for juveniles in the U. S. Adult reformatories on the Elmira plan have not been established abroad, but there are excellent reformatories for minors in nearly all European countries; one of the best of which is at Kassa, Hungary, and another, under De Sanctis, at Pisa, Italy.

Other Prison Systems.—While reformation is the aim of nearly all modern prisons, there is a difference of opinion as to the systems through which it is to be effected. Early in the last century the separate system was established at the Eastern Penitentiary, Philadelphia. Under this system prisoners are assigned to separate cells and have separate yards in which to exercise. The cell is also their workshop. The Eastern Penitentiary has remained the only example of this system in the U. S., but it is the prevailing system in Belgium, and has been partially adopted in France and Italy, or combined with the congregate system.

The Auburn system with congregate labor by day and separation of prisoners by night is the prevailing system in the U. S. without rigid adherence to the rule of silence, and has also been widely followed in Europe. The different prison systems naturally involve different types of construction. The best modern types of the cellular system are found in Europe. In some Southern states state farms have been bought and prisoners are worked in the day at agricultural labor and live in stockades at night. In Alabama they are worked in the mines under state control.

While progress has been made in the development of penological principles their application has been much slower. Progress during the last century is most evident in the following directions: The substitution of a reformatory for a retributive system; the abolition of cruel punishments; the new attention given to the study of the criminal, his environment and history; the separation of accidental from habitual criminals; probation without imprisonment for first offenders, with friendly surveillance; the establishment of children's courts; the appointment of police matrons; the humane treatment of the criminal insane; the development of an anthropometric system for the identification of prisoners, especially the Bertillon system and later the system of finger prints; a higher standard of prison construction and prison administration; the improved personnel in prison management; extension of the civil-service system to the state prisons; new and better principles of classification; separation of the sexes, and young and old offenders; improvement in prison dietaries and sanitation; the prevention and treatment of tuberculosis in prisons; the recognition of labor as a disciplinary and reformatory agent; a general allowance to the prisoner of some share in his earnings; the abandonment of transportation in nearly all civilized countries; substitution of death by electricity for hanging in capital cases, and also the abolition of public execution, and in some countries of the death penalty; the development of the reformatory system in the U. S. for both sexes; the system of conditional liberation found in its best form in the indeterminate sentence; and the new emphasis laid upon preventive instead of punitive or corrective measures, with an increased consciousness of social responsibility.

Progress in Penology

SAMUEL J. BARROWS.

REFERENCES: The most important body of theories, facts, and principles relating to penology are found in the reports of the National Prison Association (an Index to these reports to 1904 has been published by Congress, 59th Cong., 1st sess., document No. 210); *Proceedings of the International Prison Congress* (published in French); *Report on the International Congress of* 1872, by Dr. E. C. Wines; *Report on Congress of* 1890 *at St. Petersburg*, by C. D. Randall; *Reports on the Congresses of* 1895, 1900, and 1905, by S. J. Barrows; *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction*; *Reports of the Prison Association of New York* (1845–1907); *Revue Pénitentiaire*, published by La Société générale des Prisons of France (since 1875), indispensable to students; *The Proceedings of the International Society for Criminal Anthropology*; Beccaria, *Dei delitti e delle pene*, translation of which in J. A. Farrer's *Crimes and Punishments* (1880); E. C. Wines, *State of Prisons and of Child-saving Institutions in the Civilized World* (1880); Arthur Macdonald, *Abnormal Man*; G. Tarde, *La Philosophie pénale* (1892); *Études pénales et sociales* (1892); F. H. Wines, *Punishment and Reformation* (1895); William Tallack, *Penological and Preventive Principles* (1896); H. M. Boies, *Science of Penology* (1901); C. R. Henderson, *Dependents, Defectives, and Delinquents* (1901); A. Cleveland Hall, *Crime in Its Relation to Social Progress* (1901 or 1902); S. J. Barrows, *The Reformatory System in the United States*; *Children's Courts in the United States*, and other reports by the same author prepared for the International Prison Commission, obtainable through the Department of State, U. S. A.; Douglas Morrison, *Crime and Its Causes*. An extended bibliography is given by Arthur Macdonald in his *Abnormal Man*.

PENSIONS: A pension is a regular payment of money to a person by the government in consideration of past services in its employ.

Pensions were formerly granted in the United States only to enlisted men of the army or navy who had suffered during our various wars, except in a few special instances. But in 1869 an act was passed providing pensions at the rate of their salary to U. S. judges who have served ten years and resigned at seventy years or upward. Pensions have also been granted to the widows of former presidents. Employees in the life-saving service, in the quartermaster's and pay-

charge come all matters relating to pensions, and who is appointed by the president, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate; two deputy commissioners, a chief clerk, an assistant chief clerk, a law or appeal clerk, a board of legal reviewers, a board of medical reviewers, special examiners, examiners' clerks, copyists, messengers, laborers, and watchmen.

The pension laws since the Civil War have been too numerous and too complicated to be given here, but the growth of our pension list till it has become the chief expense of the government, is seen in the following table:

[From the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Pensions]

Year (ended June 30)	Number of pensioners on the rolls			First payments	Pensions, exclusive of first payments	Total disbursements for pensions	Cost, maintenance, and expenses
	Invalids	Widows, etc.	Total				
				Dollars	*Dollars*	*Dollars*	*Dollars*
1862	4,341	3,818	8,159	.....	.....	790,384.76	.....
1863	7,821	6,970	14,791	.....	.....	1,025,139.91	.....
1864	23,479	27,656	51,135	.....	.....	4,504,616.92	.....
1865	35,880	50,106	85,986	.....	.....	8,525,153.11	.....
1866	55,652	71,070	126,722	.....	.....	15,450,549.88	407,165.00
1867	71,856	83,618	155,474	.....	.....	20,784,789.69	490,977.35
1868	75,957	93,686	169,643	.....	.....	23,101,509.36	553,020.34
1869	82,859	105,104	187,963	.....	.....	28,513,247.27	564,526.81
1870	87,521	111,165	198,686	.....	.....	29,351,488.78	600,997.86
1880	145,410	105,392	250,802	12,468,191.20	44,221,037.88	56,689,229.08	935,027.28
1890	415,654	122,290	537,944	38,721,866.03	67,371,984.36	106,093,850.39	3,526,382.13
1900	752,510	241,019	993,529	9,828,525.07	128,633,605.58	138,462,130.65	3,841,706.74
1905	717,761	280,680	998,441	8,940,064.00	132,202,797.33	141,142,861.33	3,721,832.82
1906	701,483	284,488	985,971	6,152,182.67	132,848,105.58	139,000,288.25	3,523,269.51

master's departments, and nurses have also received them. Private pension bills are often passed, but by far the largest number of pensioners of the U. S. are such under general laws.

The U. S. pension system may be said to commence with the resolution of Congress dated Aug. 26, 1776, by which the Continental Congress undertook to provide for disabled soldiers of the Revolution. From June 7, 1785, to Sept. 29, 1789, the several states assumed the payment of pensions by a recommendation of Congress on account of its inability to raise money by taxation. After the adoption of the new Constitution, Congress resumed their payment by annual enactments, making them payable during the life of the beneficiaries, under the acts of March 23, 1792, and Feb. 28, 1793.

Pensions were not provided for the children of Revolutionary soldiers. The first act providing pensions for disabled officers and soldiers of the regular army was passed April 3, 1790, and its provisions were renewed and amended from time to time until they were embodied in the act of March 16, 1802, which is now the fundamental law for pensions on account of disability incurred prior to March 4, 1861.

History

By Act of March 3, 1835, the office of Commissioner of Pensions was created for two years. It was extended from time to time, and made permanent in 1849. He was to execute, under the direction of the Secretaries of War and Navy, such duties in relation to the various pension laws as might be prescribed by the president.

On March 3, 1849, the pension office became a bureau of the newly created Department of the Interior. As at present organized its affairs are administered by a commissioner, under whose

The following amounts have been paid to soldiers, their widows, minor children, and dependent relatives on account of military and naval service during the wars in which the U. S. has been engaged:

War of the Revolution (estimated)	$70,000,000.00
War of 1812 (on account of service, without regard to disability)	45,542,069.24
Indian wars (on account of service, without regard to disability)	8,260,143.38
War with Mexico (on account of service, without regard to disability)	38,059,245.23
Civil War	3,259,195,306.60
War with Spain	15,438,355.16
Regular establishment	7,229,312.82
Unclassified	16,135,878.80
Actual total disbursements in pensions.	$3,459,860,311.23

Pensions in other countries are granted to many more classes of persons than in the U. S., tho to soldiers on a very much smaller scale. In Great Britain pensions are given to judges of the higher courts, to many other occupants of civil offices, to distinguished authors, scientists, inventors, or to their widows and families. The budget for army retired half-pay in Great Britain for 1906–7 was £2,558,000; navy, £2,460,700; civil service (non-effective and charitable), £800,345, or £5,819,045.

In most other European countries the pension list is still more varied and inclusive. Germany's pension budget estimate for 1907 was 91,259,000 marks. (See Old Age Pensions.)

PEONAGE: The holding of a man in forced labor till his debts are paid, a form of slavery prevalent in South America and Mexico, and spreading to some of the Southern states of the United States. In some states it exists with

connivance of the law—where a man may be imprisoned for debt, or be allowed to work off his indebtedness. The following illustrates a common form: A negro is fined for a real or fictitious offense; he is warned that he must go to prison or into the chain-gang unless he pays the fine; a seemingly benevolent man is always ready to pay it, and in return for this kindness the prisoner—usually innocent of the art of reading—puts his sign under a contract which "binds him out" to his liberator for a certain length of time. Where this practise is in vogue, from 50 to 200 or more men are usually "bound out" to the employer, who has his own store, where the slaves are charged "fancy" prices, and who manages to keep them continually in debt, with the result that at the end of their servitude the men must either go to prison or sign a new contract; an endless chain is thus started.

The practise came into use in the U. S. after the Civil War. Chattel slavery was abolished, but the negro was still ignorant, and subject to exploitation. In a story told in *The Independent*, Feb. 25, 1904, by a sufferer, and vouched for as true in an introductory statement of the editor, these facts were revealed: that one man was sold in peonage in his eighth year—for his "keep" by his uncle—and stayed till his twenty-first year, and then was held successively for five, ten, and finally three years, until he was "put out" for reasons which reflected not on his morality, but on that of one of his keepers. Into this camp the owner brought at first forty convicts, for each of whom he paid $200 per year to the state of Georgia, later about sixty. They were quartered in a long, low shanty, called the stockade; guarded night and day by officers of the law. In other instances, according to the same witness, "free" laborers, i. e., those who have tried to work off their debts, have fared little better. Whippings on the bare back or on the soles of the feet are resorted to in case of disobedience. Work is "from sunrise to sunset," i. e., from ten to twelve hours per day. There are a number of these convict camps, the state leasing its prisoners, and helping to recapture them in case of escape, but the number of places where negroes are held in bondage in payment of debt is said to run into the hundreds.

The Public, in its issue of June 27, 1903, stated that two prosecutions for peonage were before the federal courts, one in Alabama, the other in Georgia; and on July 17, 1903, the federal grand jury returned 99 indictments against 15 persons for enslaving negroes under the peonage system. A similar system is practised against poor whites who are friendless, altho with less frequency. On March 8, 15, and 16, 1906, the Boston press gave the names and addresses of three men from that city who had been shanghaied and kept in virtual slavery on the Florida keys; one of these men claimed that he knew between forty and fifty Boston men in the same condition and place, unable to escape (Boston *Post*, March 15, 1906).

The trial of Bertha Claiche in the summer of 1903 brought out the fact that a number of immoral women are held in virtual slavery in New York City. *The Outlook* (July 18, 1903), commenting on the ruthlessness and the cynic attitude of some employers who pay starvation wages, said that "if it were true that cotton cannot be raised by free labor, it would not alter the resolve of the nation [to stamp out the evil]. If we cannot have both cotton and liberty, we will have liberty, and get along without cotton."

PEOPLE'S PALACE: An institution at Mile End, London, established by John Beaumont in 1840 to furnish the people of East London opportunities for education and recreation. The bequest of Beaumont was badly managed until Sir Edmund Hay Currie took charge of it, and raised £45,000 in addition to the £12,000 still left. In 1882 Walter Besant's story of a "Palace of Delight" in "All Sorts and Conditions of Men" attracted the attention of many people to the institution and gave it the present name. In 1890 the Drapers Company took charge of the educational work, and in 1892 this corporation voted £7,000 annually. The Charities Commission contributes £3,500.

The People's Palace has extended its activities every year since Besant became a trustee. A permanent building—Queen's Hall—was opened by Queen Victoria, May 14, 1887, and other buildings have been erected since. The activities now comprize *entertainments*—given in a large hall, with a seating capacity of 4,000, and a fine organ; *instruction*—given in laboratories, class rooms, libraries, machinery rooms, etc.; *physical culture*—provided by numerous athletic clubs, swimming-tanks, cricket-grounds, etc.; *sociality*—in reception-rooms, dance-halls, etc.

The institution has a day-school limited to 500, preparing for technical courses. The evening classes embrace all kinds of subjects, dressmaking, music, languages, commerce, physics, art in relation to crafts, etc. Refreshments are served. The Palace is open to members from 3 to 10 P.M.; the library all day to everybody, Sundays 3 to 10. All kinds of exhibitions have been given on the premises with success. The clubs and classes number over 4,200.

The People's Tabernacle in Jersey City, N. J., has established a People's Palace, chiefly for amusement and recreation.

PEOPLE'S PARTY IN THE UNITED STATES: In 1884 Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts was nominated for the presidency by the Anti-Monopoly Party at Chicago, and by the Greenback Labor Party at Indianapolis. He received some 133,000 votes. This common ticket of the two parties was known as the People's Party ticket. The People's Party, however, best known to-day, is quite another and a larger party. Its first direct impetus came from Kansas, tho there had been wide-spread talk of such a party. (See FARMERS' ALLIANCE.)

History

In April, 1890, the Kansas Alliance officers met to consult as to a new political party, and called for a delegate meeting in June. At this delegate convention the People's Party of Kansas was organized.

An enthusiastic state campaign resulted in carrying the state to the extent of controlling the House and defeating the reelection of Senator Ingalls, and sending to Washington the Alliance advocate, Senator Peffer. This success largely led to the sending out of a call to all parties willing to cooperate in holding a national convention in Cincinnati, May 19, 1891. This met, and 1,418 delegates were present. Of these more than one quarter were from Kansas alone, and more than three quarters from six states, Kansas, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Nebraska. The organized labor of the East was scarcely represented. Mr. Powderly, General Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, was present and

in sympathy with the movement but not a delegate.

In accordance with the vote of this convention, a nominating national convention was held at Omaha, Neb., July 4, 1892, concluding its labors on July 5th. By its action the People's Party was launched. The greatest enthusiasm was displayed.

The names of Gresham and Weaver for president had been prominently before the convention, but General Weaver won on the first ballot, receiving 995 votes. General Field, of Virginia, was nominated for vice-president.

The platform declared for the union of the labor forces of country and cities; for the nationalization of railroads, telegraph, and telephone; a full legal-tender currency, "safe, sound, and flexible"; the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at a ratio of 16 to 1; a graduated income tax; postal savings-bank; all land not in actual use to be reclaimed by the government and held for settlers only. The convention also declared itself in favor of reducing taxation, liberal pensions to the soldiers, the restriction of undesirable immigration, reduction of the hours of labor on government work, the Australian ballot, and as condemning the fallacy of protection, the Pinkertons, and other evils.

Vote of 1892

The total popular vote for the party in 1902 was 1,041,028 with 22 electoral votes (Colorado, 4; Kansas, 10; Idaho, 3; Nevada, 3; North Dakota, 1; Oregon, 1). The largest state votes were: Kansas, 163,111; Texas, 99,688; Alabama, 85,181; Nebraska, 83,134; Colorado, 53,584; North Carolina, 44,736; Georgia, 42,937; Missouri, 41,213. In 1904, taking the State elections and estimating at the presidential vote the states in which there were no elections, the People's Party claimed 1,564,318 votes, led by Texas with 159,224; North Carolina, 148,344; Kansas, 118,329; Nebraska, 97,815; Georgia, 96,888; Minnesota, 87,931; Alabama, 83,283; Colorado, 82,111; Illinois, 59,793; California, 51,304; Ohio, 49,495.

In Congress the Populist strength in the Fifty-third Congress (March, 1893–95) was five senators and ten representatives; in the Fifty-fourth Congress (March, 1895–97) five or six senators and six or seven representatives; in the Fifty-fifth Congress six senators and sixteen representatives.

In 1895, in an off year and with a light vote, the People's Party slightly lessened its vote in Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Massachusetts, and New York, and somewhat increased it in Minnesota, Mississippi, Ohio, and Texas.

Election of 1896

In 1896 the Democratic Party (*q. v.*) having adopted a platform favoring free silver at a ratio of 16 to 1, and so far inclining to some other Populist demands that it was continually called a Populist platform, the People's Party convention at St. Louis, July 24th, voted, after a prolonged and heated debate, to support the Democratic nominee, Mr. William J. Bryan, tho nominating a vice-presidential candidate of their own, Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia. A heated minority claimed that this result was gained by political intrigues of the Democratic leaders. (For the election see PRESIDENTIAL VOTE.)

In 1900 the so-called "Middle of the Road" Populists, who refused to fuse with the Democratic Party, nominated Warton Barker and Ignatius Donnelly, but only polled 50,373 votes. Since then the party has practically ceased to exist, tho a national committee still exists of which James H. Ferris, of Joliet, Ill., is chairman.

PÉRIN, HENRI XAVIER CHARLES: Belgian economist; born at Mons (Hainaut), 1815. Educated at Louvain, was in 1844 chosen to the chair of political economy and law in the Catholic University of Louvain, occupied this position thirty-seven years, retiring as emeritus professor in 1881. His work on the "Laws of Christian Society" is prefaced by a pontifical breve, dated Feb. 1, 1875, full of unqualified praise from the pope.

Périn founds social order on Divine authority, but he trusts to the moral influence of the Church rather than mechanical obedience to her laws, as pronounced *ex cathedra*.

Périn allows that, in exceptional cases, repressive measures by the State are necessary; but under ordinary circumstances, he thinks, the preventive measures proposed by Christian socialism, in its endeavors to revive the moral force of self-restraint and self-denial, will prove sufficient. He acknowledges the impossibility of returning to medieval forms of corporate union, but strongly recommends the revival of that principle of Christian love which inspired them.

He is author of "Les Economistes, les Socialistes, et le Chrétianisms"; "De la Richesse dans les Sociétés Chrétiennes"; "Le Socialisme Chrétien."

PEROVSKAYA, SOPHIA: Russian revolutionist; born 1854. Tho a member of the aristocracy, the despotism around her early roused a hatred of oppression and desire to protect the opprest. In 1869, refused permission by her father, she ran away from home, determined to study and know for herself. The wider horizon led to the conviction that the present social arrangements were on a wrong basis, and indicated socialism as the remedy. Meeting with others who shared similar views, they joined themselves into a secret "circle" for the purpose of propaganda among the young; later, in 1871, upon her suggestion, the propaganda was turned in the direction of the working men. In 1873 Sophia Perovskaya was arrested in St. Petersburg; after being imprisoned for a year she was released, but had to go to the Crimea; where for three years she was practically a prisoner in her own home. In 1877 she was brought to trial, in the "trial of the 193," and was acquitted—but instead of being allowed to go free, was exiled to one of the northern provinces. Escaping soon afterward, she returned to St. Petersburg, and again took up work for the revolutionary cause. In all the terrorist enterprises, from 1878 till her death in 1881, she took an active part; often being the director of the most desperate of them, such as the Moscow mine which was to blow up the imperial train, and the attempt which succeeded in assassinating the czar on March 13, 1881. A week later she was arrested, and on April 15 was hanged with Kibalcic, Geliahoff, Timothy Micailoff, and Rissakoff. In person very beautiful, and only twenty-six when she died, she was, with it all, of so kindly and loving a nature that all with whom she worked entertained for her the warmest regard and personal loyalty. (See NIHILISM.)

PERU, SOCIALISM IN ANCIENT: Peru in ancient times included a vast extent of territory on the Pacific slope of South America. It was inhabited by many different tribes and nations, all, however, under the scepter of the Incas. The Peruvians seem to have been, in many respects, the most civilized of all the native inhabitants of America, and certainly came the nearest of any to the formation of a true nationality. It is probable that four tribes of the Andes table-land, the Quichuas, the Incas, the Canas, and the Canchas,

formed the nucleus of the nation. From the first comes the name of the ancient language of Peru, Quichua. The second tribe, the Incas, was probably the conquering tribe, and hence became the rulers, or ruling caste. The career of conquest of this tribe or caste, according to native annals, began with the first Inca, Manco Capac, about 1280 A.D.; and before the time of the arrival of the Spaniards the petty state had developed a great empire. It extended from a point north of the equator to Chile, a distance of 2,700 miles, and its area was more than 800,000 sq. m.

The government of the Incas was a despotism, a theocracy, and a unique example of paternal and State socialism. At the head was the Inca, an absolute monarch, but more than a monarch —a god-king, a living incarnation of the sun. Next to him came the nobility, who were regarded as superior beings, and by whose aid the Inca governed the people.

The empire was the result of military conquest and occupation. As peoples were subdued, the laws and even the language of the Incas were imposed on them. The government was secured by an elaborate system of military roads and defenses. Each province had a viceroy appointed by the Inca. Cieza de Leon, an early chronicler, says of the great highway from Cuzco to Quito, that the roads made by the Romans in Spain are not to be compared with it. An elaborate system of couriers made communication with different parts of the empire easy. This military system was carried also into the industrial organization. There was no private property; everything belonged to the State, and everything was managed by the State. It was a communistic despotism. Of the entire produce of the nation two thirds went to the Inca, the nobles, and the priesthood as taxes, one third only to the people, altho they were the only producing class.

In regard to the details of industrial organization Fiske states ("Discovery of America," vol. ii., p. 353):

> Families and villages were organized upon a decimal system, like companies and regiments. The average monogamous family of five persons was the unit. Ten such families made a *chunca*, ten *chuncas* made one *pachaca*, ten *pachacas* one *huaranca*, and ten *huarancas* one *hunu*, so that a *hunu* was a district with a population of about 50,000 persons. Each of these decimal subdivisions had its presiding officer, who was responsible directly to his immediate superior, and ultimately to the Inca. The decurion was obliged to perform two duties in relation to the men composing his division. One was to act as their caterer, to assist them with his diligence and care on all occasions when they required help, reporting their necessities to the governor or other officer, whose duty it was to supply seeds when they were required for sowing; or cloth for making clothes; or to help to rebuild a house if it fell or was burned down; or whatever other need they had, great or small. The other duty was to act as crown officer, reporting every offense, how slight soever it might be, committed by his people, to his superior, who either pronounced the punishment or referred it to another officer of still higher rank ("Garcillasso," lib. ii., cap. xii.).

The land belonged to the village community (*chunca*). It was redistributed at times to maintain equality.

Land was divided into *tupus*, one *tupu* for each family, with additions for children. All the farming operations and those of irrigation were supervised by the decurion. If a village suffered from war, or pestilence, or earthquake, other villages were assessed to repair the damage.

It is remarkable that such an artificial system, originally intended for a petty State, could have been adapted to a large empire made up of many different peoples. But it must be remembered that these peoples had not reached a high grade of culture; the social organization was simple, to begin with. There was little division of labor, and little extension of human wants. Exchange was limited, for there was no money of any kind and trade was by barter. Fiske explains the existence of the Inca State socialism by the theory that the establishment of the ruling caste took place before there had been much development of the idea of private property among the people.

Notwithstanding the complete repression of individual liberty under the Inca government there are great excellencies to be ascribed to it. Of these, the chief is that poverty and idleness were entirely abolished. Every one worked, and every one was taken care of by the State. Prescott, tho inclined strongly to individualism, says ("Conquest of Peru," vol. i., p. 173):

> With their manifold provisions against poverty the reader has already been made acquainted. They were so perfect that in their wide extent of territory—much of it smitten with the curse of barrenness—no man, however humble, suffered for the want of food and clothing. Famine, so common a scourge in every other American nation, so common at that period in every country of civilized Europe, was an evil unknown in the dominions of the Incas.

In another passage he says ("Conquest of Peru," vol. i., p. 63):

> If no man could become rich in Peru, no man could become poor. No spendthrift could waste his substance in riotous luxury. No adventurous schemer could impoverish his family by the spirit of speculation. The law was constantly directed to enforce a steady industry and a sober management of his affairs. No mendicant was tolerated in Peru. When a man was reduced by poverty or misfortune (it could hardly be by fault) the arm of the law was stretched out to minister relief; not the stinted relief of private charity, nor that which is doled out, drop by drop, as it were, from the frozen reservoirs of "the parish," but in generous measure, bringing no humiliation to the object of it, and placing him on a level with the rest of his countrymen.

The system of the Incas produced in many respects an industrious and happy people. Yet it fell to pieces before the Spanish invaders, with wonderful rapidity, because there was nothing in it to nourish patriotism and independence in the people.

Modern socialism, dealing with the complex problems of a highly developed civilization, can learn little from Peru, where the state of society was primitive and the conditions entirely different. The State socialism of the Incas was unlike anything that ever existed elsewhere, or is likely ever to exist.

References: See the books quoted.

PETRUNKIEVITCH, IVAN ILYICH: Member of the Russian Duma; Constitutional Democrat; representative from the Jver Province; born in 1844; ex-justice of the Court of Peace (1869), and chairman of the Court of Appeals (1879). One of the most prominent zemstvo workers in Russia. Member of the Chernigov Provincial Zemstvo (1868); editor of the zemstvo address to the government (1879). Banished for it to the Kostrama Province. Member of the Novotorzek Province Zemstvo (1890). Member of the deputation to the czar, June 6, 1905.

PETTY, SIR WILLIAM: Author; born Romsey, Hampshire, England, 1623. He sided with Parliament in the Civil War. In 1651 he was professor of anatomy at Oxford, but in 1652 was appointed physician to the army in Ireland, and about 1654 executed by contract a fresh survey

of the forfeited lands granted to soldiers. He bought large tracts of land and established various industries. In 1663 he invented a double-bottom boat. He was knighted after the restoration.

Petty anticipates or at least gives germs of some conclusions of Ricardo and Adam Smith. One of his leading thoughts was that "labor is the father and active principle of wealth; lands are the mother." He divides population into two classes, the productive and non-productive. The value of any commodity depends, with him, on the amount of labor necessary for its production. He chooses as his unit of value the average food of the cheapest kind required for a man's daily sustenance. He opposes government control of interest, and industry generally. Died in London, 1687. A study of Petty, by W. L. Bevan, was published by the American Economic Association, Aug., 1894. He is author of "Quantulumque; or, a Tract Concerning Money"; "A Treatise of Taxes and Contributions"; "Essays on Political Arithmetic"; "Political Anatomy of Ireland."

PHILADELPHIA: *Legislation.*—As a result of the decisive defeat of the Republican organization at the polls in the Nov., 1905, election, a special session of the Pennsylvania Legislature was called by the governor to enable it to undo its earlier work and to enact the several laws long demanded in the interest of reform.

This special session, which met on Jan. 15, 1906, and adjourned on Feb. 15th, was one of the most remarkable legislative sessions ever held in any state in the union. It was unique in the annals of Pennsylvania in that it was the only special session that carried out the purpose for which it was called together. It was composed of the same men who at the regular session in Jan., 1905, had servilely executed the orders of the bosses. Yet the same men who had enacted the ripper legislation of 1905, which called forth indignant protest in every part of the state, as unanimously repealed it at the special session. Every item mentioned in the governor's call received the sanction of legislative enactment with a single exception—that of the State Civil Service Bill, which, altho it received a majority vote, did not receive the 103 votes required by the Constitution.

Recent Legislative Advance

The record of the session includes the passage of the Greater Pittsburg Bill, Senatorial and Legislative Apportionment (which had been delayed and postponed for twenty years and more), the enactment of the Roberts Corrupt Practises Act; the Sheatz Personal Registration Bill for cities of the first and second classes, and the Third-Class City Personal Registration Bill; the Uniform Primary Act; the Jackson Bill, regulating the deposit of state funds, the bill fixing the salary of the insurance commissioner at $6,000 in lieu of $3,000 a year and enormous fees; the bill fixing the salary of the Secretary of the Commonwealth at $8,000 in lieu of $6,000 and large fees; the Philadelphia Civil Service Bill; the bill making a new salary schedule for the Insurance Department; the Shern bills—one restricting political activities of municipal employees of Philadelphia, the other prohibiting municipal employees from soliciting campaign funds; the bill limiting to $750,000 the annual expenditures for state bridges in lieu of the present loose law which permitted the expenditure of an indefinite amount practically at the dictation of the Bridge Trust.

The personal registration bills, requiring the personal registration of each voter in advance of the election, represented the culmination of ten years of unremitting effort on the part of reformers of the state. The Sheatz Uniform Primary Bill provides for direct primaries of all parties on the same day under the control of the general election-day officers. The Political Assessment Bill provides that no officer, clerk, or employee in the government of Philadelphia shall demand, solicit, correct, or receive, or be in any manner concerned in demanding, collecting, or receiving any assessment, subscription, or contribution; nor shall any such officer, clerk, or employee give any contribution intended for any political purpose to any person, corporation, committee, or association.

The Roberts Bill, patterned somewhat after the law in England, aims to prevent corruption by means of publicity. While it places no limits upon a candidate's expenditures, it does provide that he must under oath report his campaign expenses. It requires that all expenditures must first pass through the hands of the treasurer of a committee who must account for every expenditure made.

The regular session of 1907 has likewise a considerable list of excellent legislation to its credit, altho its failure to enact an adequate child labor law will be remembered as one of its most unfortunate shortcomings.

Among other acts a two-cents-a-mile bill was passed and a railroad commission established. Numerous measures intended to give force and effect to constitutional provisions, long ignored, were placed on the statute-books, including one forbidding a railroad corporation to acquire in any way the control of any street passenger railway corporation owning or controlling a parallel or competing line. The Italian Emigration Society's bill, to authorize school boards to open special schools for adults in districts where there is a local desire for them, was passed. A most important measure enacted related to the better protection of children under the age of sixteen; still another extended and defined the liability of employers in actions for negligence.

Investigations.—The scandal growing out of the erection of the $13,500,000 state capitol was diligently and carefully probed by a committee of the legislature, upon the initiative of Governor Edwin S. Stuart, who pledged himself to that end during his campaign. Gross overcharges and negligence on the part of the architect, builders, and supply men have been disclosed. Both criminal and civil suits have been brought, and the cases may be brought to trial in 1908.

Municipal Utilities.—The city of Philadelphia is completing its $17,500,000 filter plants and it is expected they will all be in running order within two years.

Municipal Utilities

The gas question has been settled for twenty years. In 1905 an effort was made to extend the present lease for seventy-five years upon grossly inadequate terms. Not only was this proposition defeated, but its introduction led to the revolution in Philadelphia politics which resulted not only in the defeat of the Republican organization at two elections, but compelled it to put up men of high personal character and attainment at the Nov., 1906, election.

The gas lease of 1897 provided that the city might at the end of ten years give notice of the termination of the lease and by paying what had been expended for improvements during that period, take over the plant again. The councils of the city refused to give the notice and to advertise for new bids, so the present lease will continue for the remainder of its term—twenty years.

All electric lighting is done by a private concern, which represents a merger of all the original companies.

All the street-car systems are now under one company—the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company.

Parks, Boulevards, and Playgrounds.—The development in Philadelphia along these lines

during the past decade, and especially the last four or five years, has been rapid and satisfactory.

Progress on Other Lines

A $2,000,000 art museum at the park end of the boulevard is projected.

Law and Order.—The high license law and the Law and Order Society are responsible for a very rigid enforcement of the liquor law so far as the licensed saloon is involved. There are very few violations on this score. There are more in connection with places for the illicit and illegal sale of liquor known as the "speak-easies," but the Law and Order Society is equally vigilant as to these and they are fairly well kept in subjection. The same may be said in regard to the social evil, altho the new administration has not been in office a sufficiently long time to enable a general statement in regard to its policy to be made. There has been a great improvement, however, in all that relates to the enforcement of law and order over the conditions prevailing during the Ashbridge administration.

Philadelphia has its full quota of effective charitable, reform, and social organizations. For some years past these have been well sustained and they have contributed to the creation and maintenance of a sound public opinion on important questions of policy.

INSTITUTIONS

Charity Organization, southeast corner Eleventh and Walnut Streets.
Central Labor Union, Odd Fellows' Temple.
City Club, 1418 Walnut Street.
Civic Club, 1611 Walnut Street. (Composed of women.)
College Settlement, 433 Christian Street.
Public Education Association, 1427 Chestnut Street.
Christian Social Union, 704 North American Building.
Child Labor Committee, 708 North American Building.
City Parks Association, Stephen Girard Building.
Allied Organizations, Stephen Girard Building.
Young Men's Christian Association, Fifteenth and Chestnut Streets.
Committee of Seventy, West End Institute Building.
Socialist Labor Party, 809 North Sixth Street.
Eighth Ward House, Ninth and Locust Streets.
Law and Order Society, 920 Walnut Street.
Octavia Hill Association, 708 North American Building.
Election Reforms Committee, 703 North American Bldg.
City Party, 1205 Walnut Street.
Women's Directory, 210 South Seventh Street.
Playgrounds Association, City Hall.

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS: Ceded to the United States by Spain, Dec., 1898. The government is composed of a civil governor, who is the chief executive, and seven commissioners (four Americans and three Filipinos), who form the legislative body. There are four executive departments: Interior, Finance, and Justice, Commerce and Police, and Public Instruction, of which the American commissioners are secretaries. The islands are divided into 40 provinces, each with a governor and other officials, the governors being elected by the town councillors. Municipal government exists in over 900 towns, the officials being elected by the qualified voters. There is a municipal police and a military insular police of about 7,500 natives under American and native officers. There is a supreme court with sixteen judicial districts.

Area and Population.—1,700 islands (342 inhabited, 50 of appreciable importance). Total area, 115,026 sq. m. Luzon has 40,969 and Mindanao 36,292 sq. m. The total population (1903) was 7,635,429, of whom 647,740 are uncivilized. Those born in the Philippines are 6,931,548; Chinese, 41,035 (only 517 females); Americans (civilians), 8,135 (1,215 females); Spaniards, 3,888; of the uncivilized tribes, the Mohammedans (Moros) in Mindanao and the Sulu islands are the most numerous, 277,547; the Igorotes of northern Luzon are 211,510 and the Nigritos 23,511. Luzon has a population of 3,798,507 (223,506 uncivilized). Manila, the capital, has 219,941 (Filipinos, 189,782; Americans, 4,389; Spaniards, 2,528; Chinese, 21,230).

Commerce and Finance.—Revenue (1905), $16,110,248. Expenditures, $17,933,162. Customs revenue, $9,177,380. Exports (1906), $31,917,000. Imports, $25,799,000. Exports to the U. S., $11,579,000; imports from U. S., $4,334,000. The imports from Great Britain are almost equal to those from the U. S. The principal exports are hemp, sugar, copra, tobacco. The chief imports are rice, flour, wines, dress, petroleum, coal.

Fifty-seven per cent of the males are employed in gainful occupations; of these 16 per cent are engaged in agriculture, 21 per cent in domestic and personal service; 12 in manufacturing and mining; 7 in trade and transportation; 1 in professional service. Two thirds of the factory operatives are in Manila and suburbs, including Cavite, mainly cigar or cigarette makers. Their average earning is 434 pesos per year ($82). The cultivated land is mainly held by native owners in very small holdings, an average of 8.57 acres, compared with 146.6 in the U. S. The climate is tropical and the difference between cultivated and non-cultivated land is often slight. In the country districts, however, there seems little or no beggary or distress. The wages of field hands on the sugar plantations are from 42 to 63 cents per week, besides keep, which costs little (70 cents per week). Wages have risen since 1893, but cost of provisions has also risen. The planters have lost through the lower price of sugar. Peonage of various kinds is common, and slavery still exists. There are 120 miles of railway and 720 of telegraph, but franchises have been granted for 720 miles of railway, on 295 miles the government guaranteeing 4 per cent interest on construction and equipment for a period not to exceed 30 years.

Education and Religion.—Under the Spaniards education was meager, tho they did something, and the government had begun technical and agricultural instruction. In 1883 about 21 per cent of the population could read, tho less than 5½ per cent could speak Spanish. From 1883 to 1903 males who could read and write rose from 298,500 to 735,561; females from 101,273 to 267,624; males able to read only rose from 327,984 to 1,161,325; females from 270,234 to 1,049,508. Technical education is rapidly increasing. In 1905 there were over 3,000 schools and 514,631 enrolled pupils, with 25,000 adult night pupils. There were 865 American teachers and 4,400 Filipino teachers. Private schools are mainly in the hands of the Catholics, but the government has bought the lands of the friars (some 403,000 acres), and is selling to the occupants, the friars fast leaving for Spain or Italy.

Trade-unions are making a small beginning in Manila, but Victor S. Clark, writing on "Labor Conditions in the Philippine Islands" (*Bulletin* of Bureau of Labor, May, 1905), says the main need is of a wage system, not to raise wages, but to increase production and develop the individual. (See also TERRITORIAL POSSESSIONS.)

REFERENCES: *Report of the Philippine Commission* (3 vols., 1905); F. W. Atkinson, *The Philippine Islands* (1906); J. Foreman, *The Philippine Islands* (3d ed., 1900); Victor S. Clark, *Labor Conditions in the Philippine Islands* (*Bulletin* of U. S. Bureau of Labor, May, 1905).

PHILLIPS, WENDELL: Abolitionist, orator, and reformer; born in Boston, Mass., 1811. His father was first Mayor of Boston in 1822. Educated at Harvard, he was called to the Suffolk bar

in 1834. The agitation on the slavery question was at its height. It was in 1835 that a Boston mob, moved by the commercial spirit, dragged Garrison through the streets by a rope. This event made a profound impression on Phillips, and in 1837 he identified himself with the antislavery cause. In a Faneuil Hall meeting, called to protest against the murder of Lovejoy, he made an eloquent speech. Believing, like Garrison, that slavery was a national sin, he gave up his profession because it required the observance of an oath of fidelity to the United States constitution and consecrated his life to the fight against slavery. He did a great work for years in the North by his wonderful eloquence, but also spoke with perhaps equal power on temperance, the emancipation of women, and labor reform.

Phillips, as has been said, advocated the doctrines of the Garrisonian abolitionists, who believed the constitution of the U. S. to be an immoral compact between freedom and slavery, and who therefore refused allegiance to it, abstained from voting, and labored for the dissolution of the Union as the best means of negro emancipation. When the war came he urged, from the beginning, the duty of emancipation, and he even opposed the reelection of Lincoln, because the latter did not go far enough. In 1865 Garrison proposed that the Anti-Slavery Society should be disbanded. He had been its president for thirty years. But Phillips wished the society to exist for the purpose of securing for the negro his constitutional right of suffrage. Hence he took Garrison's place, and after full citizenship was won for the negro, in 1870, he resigned the office of president, tho he continued to work for the removal of race distinctions in public resorts, etc.

Phillips now turned his attention to other social reforms. The sufferings of the working classes had made a deep impression upon him, and he became an advocate of thorough social and economic reform. In 1870 he was the candidate of the Labor Reform Party for Governor of Massachusetts, and later favored the Greenback Party and worked with it. Harvard College had ignored Phillips, but in 1881, when he was seventy years old, he was selected to deliver the address on the occasion of the centennial anniversary of the Phi Beta Kappa society.

As an orator Phillips is easily in the very first ranks of those whom America has produced. As a social reformer he was devoted and unselfish, and his work was fruitful in the highest degree. He died at Boston, 1884.

PHILOSOPHICAL ANARCHISTS. See ANARCHISM.

PHYSICAL DEGENERATION: A subject largely discust in Great Britain during recent years. During the South African War, out of 12,000 would-be recruits in Manchester, 8,000 were rejected as virtually invalids and only 1,200 could be regarded as fit in all respects. General Sir Frederick Maurice declared that, according to the best evidence he could obtain, out of every five recruits only two were found fit after two years' service. These and other similar statements arrested general attention. The Government appointed an Inter-Department Commission to inquire into the whole subject of physical deterioration among the masses. This commission issued a report (the first volume in 1904) recommending the systematic and periodic taking of measurements among school children, in factories, etc., the registration of other data, etc., and for relief, drastic measures against overcrowding, the establishment of labor colonies, education in hygiene and against alcoholism, etc. Progress in degeneration was not proved because of the lack of statistics, and was denied by some, but most of the witnesses heard (Charles Booth and others), believed it had taken place. The great difficulty was declared to be underfeeding and improper feeding. In one quarter of London, the Johanna Street schools, Dr. Eickholz, the medical examiner, declared that 90 per cent of the children were unable to attend to their lessons by reason of their physical condition. Thirty-three per cent had to be fed by voluntary agencies. From the recruiting returns for 1900, out of 52,022 laborers, agricultural laborers, and servants, 285 per 1,000 were rejected; out of 11,971 artizans, 290 per 1,000; out of the smiths, masons, and carpenters, 260 per 1,000; out of the clerks and shopmen, 306 per 1,000. (See also POVERTY.)

REFERENCES: *National Physical Training*, Atkins, J. B. (1904); *Physical Efficiency*, Cantlie, James (1906); *Physical Deterioration*, Smyth, A. Watt (1904).

PHYSIOCRATS (from Gr. *φύσις*, nature, and *κρατία*, rule): A name given to a school of French economists and philosophers which arose in the eighteenth century, largely led by François Quesnay (*q. v.*), 1694–1774. The distinguishing doctrines of the physiocrats were that a so-called natural constitution or order exists in society, the violation of which causes all the evils suffered by man; that in this natural order man has a fundamental and inalienable right to freedom of person, opinion, property, contract, or exchange. The physiocrats held that all wealth is derived from the soil, thus denying the principle of the mercantilists (*q. v.*), who virtually held that wealth consists in the precious metals. Labor expended in manufacture or in commerce the physiocrats held to be sterile, tho useful, in that, while it transferred or transformed wealth, it did not produce it. Thus, conceiving all wealth to be produced from the soil, they argued that all revenues for the State should be derived by a direct tax on land, and thus became the predecessors of the believers in the single tax (*q. v.*). They advocated complete freedom of trade and *laissez-faire*. Their influence on their day and succeeding thought was very deep, altho not always acknowledged. Adam Smith (*q. v.*) seems to have imbibed and to have been influenced by very many of their ideas. For the details of their school and its leaders, see their respective names (see also POLITICAL ECONOMY). Dr. Gustav Cohn, in his "History of Political Economy," translated by Dr. J. A. Hill, says of the school as a whole:

> The French philosophical school of the eighteenth century, which deserves the lasting honor of having founded a science of economics, was at first much ridiculed by its contemporaries and later—on account of its growing influence and questionable conclusions—much abused. . . . It is none the less true, as Knies declares in his reply to Hildebrand, that "however little credit they may get for it in the popular tradition, much of their thought—tho presented to be sure in the name of Adam Smith—is still regarded as unshaken truth."
>
> The enduring importance of the economists consists in the eminent ability with which, unlike their predecessors, they comprehended and formulated in a philosophical system the practical characteristics of their own age. Realizing that the workingman was overburdened with taxes and feudal dues, they were led to adopt an entirely new theory

of productivity. The realism of Adam Smith brought this theory into closer relations with practical life; but Smith, far from developing the doctrine scientifically, did not even understand it; and so the thread of the argument was not taken up again until Ricardo's time. Upon this conception of productivity the physiocrats built up their single-tax theory, which furnished a scientific basis for the principle, the assessment, and the obligation of taxes; they established a philosophical foundation for their aversion to the regulations which absolutism had adopted from the corporations of the Middle Ages; the corner-stone of this foundation was the principle of self-interest, the workings of which, borrowing from the mechanical ethics of the century, they traced to natural law; all this, and even more, was the peculiar work of the physiocrats.

They demanded the reign of the natural order (*ordre naturel des choses*) and hence the Greek name given them by one of their followers (Dupont de Nemours).

In emphasizing the productivity of agriculture, or indeed in calling it the only productive occupation, the physiocrats are not to be understood in the sense falsely imputed to their words; for they did not mean that the heavily burdened peasant was the only productive man. Indeed, the real meaning of the word productive, as applied by them to agriculture solely, has a much wider significance than any philistine comparison of the advantages of manufactures on the one hand with those of agriculture on the other. As the deliverance of the starving masses from the traditional pressure of taxation and feudal burdens was uppermost in the thoughts of the physiocrats, they deduced from the theory of the exclusive productivity of agriculture (that is, the yielding of a surplus over the cost of production) their argument in favor of a single tax. This tax should bear heavily upon the landowners; hence, the theory could assume an aspect friendly to agriculture only by the complete separation of landowners from the peasant classes, being favorable in such a case to the masses, whose misery had already attracted the attention of Sully and Colbert. From a practical standpoint, the essential thing is not so much the prominence given to agriculture compared with industries and manufactures, as the intercession in behalf of the masses of laboring people; not the presentation of a new theory of taxation, but the demand for the deliverance of the masses from the burdens of traditional imposts. It is only because the masses were engaged in agriculture, and only so far as agriculturists belonged to the working masses, that the demands of the physiocrats were favorable to agriculture.

Agriculture and Taxation

Their theory of a natural tax, the *impôt unique* or *impôt direct*, is admirable for its scientific consistency with their system; how thoroughly socialistic it is in its opposition to the landlords has for the most part entirely escaped notice in the usual repetition of their "overestimation of agriculture." Indeed, the physiocrats declared that the landlords were entirely superfluous, as they performed no labor; that if the State should absorb the entire rent, and thereby deprive them of their means of support, society would be just as well off as it was before; and that the landlords, therefore, should be quite content if the State, to provide for its wants, took a part only of the rent of their land as a just compensation for the protection it afforded their property.

Cohn criticizes the physiocrats for the ambiguity that lay in their conception of a natural law of social life, which led them to limit nature to agricultural activities, and thus to limit the surplus which should be taxed to the rent of land. (See SINGLE TAX.)

The most prominent physiocrats were Quesnay (*q. v.*), the physician of Louis XV. (*q. v.*); Turgot (*q. v.*), intendant and minister of Louis XVI.; Marquis Mirabeau; Abbé Baudeau, and Mercier de la Rivière. Baudeau produced a text-book which resembled the later text-books of political economy. The numerous writings of the school were collected and published in 1844 by Eugène Daire under the title "Œuvres des Physiocrates" (2 vols.) and "Œuvres de Turgot" (2 vols). Before that time, in 1768–69, a collection of these writings had been published in six volumes by Dupont de Nemours. The collection was entitled "Physiocratie, ou constitution naturelle du gouvernement plus advantageux au genre humain."

Despite many differences in details, these writers all agree in the essentially fundamental principles and doctrines. The especially noteworthy works are "Tableau Economique," by Quesnay (1758), and an essay by Turgot, entitled "Réflexions sur la formation et la distribution des richesses" (1766).

PIECE-WORK is work done or paid for by the quantity or piece. This is the usual system in many trades, especially in tailoring and shoemaking, in almost all trades producing personal wear, in printing, etc. Mr. Mundella said, in 1876, that 90 per cent of production was piecework. This is probably not true to-day. Certain trades, where many men have to work together in one operation, scarcely admit of piece-work. Says Professor Marshall ("Economics of Industry," p. 393):

The system of piece-work is seldom found in the finest and best of industrial relations. The most careful and artistic work can seldom be measured by it; and in many trades, especially small trades, the work varies so much from bench to bench, and from day to day, that no regular tariff can be devised; and piece-work degenerates into contract work, in which the individual workman has to bargain alone with his employer.

But in the majority of trades, the various tasks can be graded accurately; and when a list of prices for them is agreed on, the employees grade themselves, and yet present an unbroken phalanx in bargaining with their employers. Piece-work adds to the wages of the industrious workers, and it checks those habits of half-hearted work which flourish in every rank of life where the soil is favorable.

Workmen, however, have learned by experience not to take so favorable a view of piecework. Professor Marshall says (idem, p. 394):

In some cases this is caused by an undue eagerness of certain employers to reduce piece-work rates when they have thought their men were taking too much money home. Some workmen oppose it because they desire to take things easily, and have perhaps a latent dislike to be graded according to their merits. And some oppose it because they think it makes work scarce, by inducing men to get through more of it than they otherwise would; and here again come in the combined effects of a little trade-selfishness and the fallacy of the fixt work fund. Perhaps these imperfections of human nature, rather than unionism, are further to be held responsible for whatever ground there may be for the complaint that some unionists urge their fellows not to exert themselves overmuch, and absorb work that others might be glad to do. This is not effected by general regulations; but in some workshops, unionist and non-unionist alike, social pressure is brought to bear on any one who works so hard as to set a standard of work higher than the others like; and no doubt the presence of a union element may increase this pressure.

Workmen, however, claim that this effort, not to allow any one to work too hard, is due not to any dislike of work, but to the necessity under present conditions to make a job go as far as it can, employ as many men as possible, and be paid for as highly as possible. It is an inevitable result of the present system. Says Mr. George Gunton ("Wealth and Progress," p. 180):

Workmen agree among themselves not to do more than a certain quantity of work, because repeated experience has taught them that if they do, their wages will soon be proportionately reduced. That is why, in some trades, the unions forbid the men to produce more than a given quantity per day, which is so bitterly denounced as one of the injurious features of trade-unions. This practise is adopted the most when new kinds of work or new machinery are introduced, in order to keep the price "per piece" as high as possible.

Why rapid work reduces wages Mr. Gunton explains. He shows that wages depend on what it costs the workingman to live according to the standard of comfort of his class. He cannot long get more than this, because, if he does, some other workman will offer to work at this standard of comfort price and, under competition, the employer will be compelled to employ him, since the competition compels him, in order to sell cheap, to hire the cheapest labor which can produce a given quantity and quality of work. Hence, if, either by day-work or by piece-work, workmen are seen to be earning more than the standard of comfort wages, the employer not only usually does cut down the wages, but is usually compelled to cut them down. Hence competition

prevents working men from long earning in any system wages above the standard of comfort, and rapid work lowers their wages. Says Mr. Gunton (idem, p. 181):

Altho this law has never been understood, it has always been implicitly obeyed. Consequently, wherever the wages system prevails, whether the price of labor is fixt by royal proclamation, statute law, or competition, we find the rate of wages tends to conform to the cost of living, and the price of "piece-work" to the rate of wages for "day-work." . . .

Accordingly, in the various statutes regulating wages in England from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries, we find the price fixt for "piece-work" always sustained a uniform relation to that of "day-work." For instance, thrashing a quarter or mowing an acre of wheat was always regarded as a day's work. Hence, in the thirteenth century, when harvest wages were 3*d.* a day, the price of mowing an acre or thrashing a quarter of wheat was 3*d.* also. During the same period, when artizan wages were 3½*d.* a day, the price for a pair of sawyers to saw 100 planks—which was always reckoned a day's work—was 7*d.* . . .

History

So when wages rose after the rise in prices in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, the price of "piece-work" always rose correspondingly with that of "day-work." Thus, in 1651, when the Essex magistrates fixt the wages of common laborers at 1*s.* and 2*d.* a day, the price of sawing 100 planks was fixt at 2*s.* and 6*d.* or 1*s.* and 3*d.* for each sawyer. And if we compare the price paid for "piece-work" in the same industries in different countries or localities where similar methods of production are employed, we shall find that the rate paid will vary according to the difference in the cost of living. . . .

Again, in manufacturing industries, where machinery is extensively used and "piece-work" is the general practise, altho the average wages keep pace with the average cost of living, the price of "piece-work" always varies inversely with the productive capacity of the machinery. In the cotton industry evidence of this fact is constantly in view. Through the changes in machinery, which are mostly gradual, it sometimes happens that two kinds of machinery (the new and the old) are in use in the same factory, and very often in the same locality, at the same time, and accordingly we frequently find two different prices paid for the same work in the same town, and even in the same establishment—not a different rate of wages, but a different scale of prices, in order to equalize the rate of wages. And sometimes, in order to avoid two scales of prices for the same work, one will be put on "day-work," the rate of wages being fixt upon the average earnings of the other. In fact, this is the general practise on new machinery, until its productive capacity is correctly ascertained, after which the scale of prices is fixt accordingly.

I have, myself, seen three different prices paid for weaving the same cloth in the same room, all because it was woven in different kinds of looms. For example, a 50-inch loom will not run as fast as a 30-inch loom—i. e., the shuttle will not, *cæteris paribus*, pass as many times a minute across a 50-inch space as it will across a 30-inch space. While the former to-day will run at the rate of from 130 to 150 picks a minute, the latter will average from 180 to 200 picks a minute. It will thus be seen that when 30-inch cloth is woven in 40- or 50-inch looms, the weavers on the broad looms cannot weave as many yards per day as those on the narrow looms; hence a higher price per cut is always paid for weaving narrow cloth in broad than in narrow looms.

If we examine the shoe trade we find the same unvarying law obtains; and while the average wages of shoemakers have grown in a direct ratio with the cost of living, the price per pair for making shoes has grown less and less in proportion as improved machinery has been adopted. The same is strikingly true in the watch and jewelry business. The price of "piece-work" for pivoting, burnishing, gilding, fitting, casing, etc., through the use of improved tools and machinery, is in many instances from 50 to 75 per cent less than it was formerly. Still, the real wages in these industries are not reduced, the price of "piece-work" being lessened only in proportion as the capacity to produce is increased. But while wages never rise in the same proportion with the increased power of production, the price of commodities always falls in that ratio; consequently, tho the nominal wages of watchmakers, jewelers, shoemakers, and weavers are not proportionately higher, the prices of watches, jewelry, cotton-cloth, and shoes are relatively lower. This explains the fact that the direct and immediate effect of improved machinery is always more strikingly seen in lower prices than in higher wages, all of which is in strict accord with the doctrine that the price of labor always moves in direct ratio with the cost of living, and that of commodities in direct ratio with the cost of production.

Present Facts

It will thus be observed that wherever we go or to whatever industry we turn our attention, we find that the price of labor, either under "piece-work" or "day-work," is ultimately governed by the same law. Manifestly, therefore,

"Whether laborers work by the piece or work by the day,
The cost of their living determines their pay."

The above principles are well illustrated by the following table as to the actual prices paid by day-work and piece-work in Massachusetts and Great Britain. The table is taken from the "Sixteenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Labor Bureau" (1885, p. 113). It will be seen that in these industries, in both Massachusetts and Great Britain, piece-workers receive less average weekly wages than day-laborers:

General Average Weekly Wage Paid To Day, Piece, and Day and Piece Employees

Industries	Massachusetts			Great Britain		
	Day hands	Piece hands	Day and piece hands	Day hands	Piece hands	Day and piece hands
Agricultural implements	$9.94	$14.27	.....	$8.85	.....	.....
Artizans' tools	11.88	10.81	.....	[1]6.94	.....	.....
Boots and shoes	14.53	11.42	.....	[1]4.93	$5.42	.....
Brick	8.63	.....	.....	4.16	.....	.....
Building trades	14.99	.....	.....	[1]7.81	9.49	.....
Carpetings	5.96	6.56	.....	4.11	.....	.....
Carriages and wagons	12.80	14.90	.....	[1]8.53	.....	.....
Clothing	9.17	10.46	$10.43	[1]9.73	5.78	.....
Cotton goods	6.61	6.31	.....	[1]7.28	[1]6.08	$4.72
Flax and jute goods	6.48	5.55	.....	[1]3.27	.....	2.78
Food preparations	10.08	6.65	.....	[1]3.74	.....	.....
Furniture	11.16	11.35	7.69	7.96	.....	.....
Glass	12.83	9.62	.....	[1]10.95	.....	[1]9.92
Hats: fur, wool, and silk	9.73	11.75	9.00	[1]7.30	8.66	5.87
Hosiery	8.69	[1]6.48	.....	7.22	.....	4.44
Liquors: malt and distilled	12.86	13.13	.....	[1]19.46	.....	.....
Machines and machinery	11.96	.....	9.43	[1]7.40	7.16	[1]8.62
Metals and metallic goods	11.55	10.74	11.92	[1]10.51	[1]6.91	.....
Printing and publishing	11.36	11.40	.....	[1]9.48	[1]10.07	[1]7.14
Printing, dyeing, bleaching, and finishing cotton textiles	8.68	7.63	.....	[1]4.83	[1]4.97	[1]6.32
Stone	13.54	15.01	.....	[1]10.16	.....	.....
Wooden goods	13.51	8.55	.....	5.67	.....	.....
Woolen goods	6.79	7.01	.....	[1]5.49	.....	.....
Worsted goods	7.39	7.21	.....	2.55	.....	[1]4.27

[1] Indicates that of wages on more than one basis the highest has been used.

Classification	Massachusetts		Great Britain	
	Number of industries	General average weekly wage	Number of industries	General average weekly wage
Day hands	24	$10.46	24	$7.43
Piece hands	21	9.85	9	7.17
Day and piece hands	5	9.69	9	6.01

There can be no questioning these facts. Hence workmen have learned that by working fast they do not permanently increase their pay, but soon find themselves producing more, working faster, and employing fewer men, while their wages are not higher. They do find, however, that wages rise by making labor more costly.

The best and most intelligent workmen, therefore, do not favor piece-work; it is usually the more ignorant tho quick new workers who sometimes favor it, because for a while it seems to enable them to earn more; a gain, however, soon to be lost when the employer lowers the wage to bring it down to the level of earnings necessitated by the competition of the market.

Piece-work also often makes the worker scant his work and sacrifice quality to quantity. Nevertheless, in many trades it prevails, because employers usually favor it, since it enables them to get more work for the same pay, and because in many trades, where quantity counts for more than quality, it is a convenient form of payment.

Piece-work seems to be more favored in Great Britain than in the United States. Mr. and Mrs. Webb found, in 1894, that 49 British unions with 573,000 members preferred piece-work, that 38 unions with 290,000 members preferred time-work, and that 29 unions with 140,000 members used both. In general, however, in both countries piece-work is on the increase, owing to the high tension of industry, tho the change is often resisted sometimes to the extent of a strike, like the long strike over this cause, 1902–3, in the Union Pacific Car Works.

References: George Gunton, *Wealth and Progress*, chap. viii.; Marshall's *Economics of Industry*, pp. 393–394; Webb, *Industrial Democracy*, chap. v.; Bolen, *Getting a Living*, chap. x.

PINGREE, HAZEN S.: Municipal reformer; born in 1842 in Maine. In 1856 he served his time in a shoe factory. At the age of twenty enlisted, served through the Civil War, and was six months a prisoner at Andersonville. At the close of the war he found work in a shoe factory at Detroit, and there started a small factory of his own. A man of great business ability, keen instincts, and sterling honesty, he soon had the largest shoe factory west of New York. In 1889 he was elected Mayor of Detroit on the distinct issue of saving the city from municipal corruption and mismanagement. Opposed by a corrupt council and private companies who could buy whatever franchises they wanted, he flung himself into the fray with indomitable energy, and began at once to run the city on business principles. In his first message he announced that the time was come for the city to do its own fighting. The companies fought him; the council fought; but he prevailed. He also fought for municipal ownership of the street-railways, and from the gas companies secured a reduction of rates from $1.50 to $1. In the hard times of 1894 through his potato-patch scheme he successfully relieved, and showed others the way to relieve, the unemployed. He strove also for free water, direct legislation, a general adoption of the eight-hour-day, and other reforms. In 1896 he was elected Governor of Michigan on the Republican ticket, and still did valiant service for the people. He was author of "Facts and Opinions; or, Dangers that Beset Us." Died 1901.

PINKERTON, THE, AGENCY AND LABOR STRUGGLES: In 1852 Allan G. Pinkerton, a Scotchman, involved in the Chartist outbreak in Birmingham, emigrated to the United States, and here, having from love of adventure secured the arrest of a band of counterfeiters, established in Chicago a detective agency. His agency was successful, and during the War of the Rebellion Mr. Pinkerton superintended the secret service of the army. The U. S. Secret Service developed out of this army service (1864); it is, however, so completely engrossed with its duties as a division of the Treasury Department that other matters are necessarily referred to other agencies. Thus the War Department employs men to obtain special and varied information, and the Post-office Department in 1872 established an efficient division charged with the investigation of mail depredations. When the industrial conditions of the country led to violence and strikes, Pinkerton organized a body of armed men who were hired to protect the property of the employers. Later, in the labor troubles in Pennsylvania, Pinkerton's agency was employed against the Molly Maguires, a secret society founded in the coal-mining section of Pennsylvania, which was exposed chiefly through the instrumentality of James McParlan, a detective, and Franklin B. Gowan, president of the Pennsylvania & Reading Coal & Iron Company. Henceforth the Pinkerton agency was employed more and more by employers to defend their works from threatened violence on the part of mobs in connection with strikes. They became bitterly hated by working men. The working men claim that the Pinkertons do more than protect the property of their employers. They claim that the agency goes into the slums of the great cities, hires desperadoes and men of the worst character, swears them in as special detectives, and then sends them not only to protect the property of employers, but to incense the populace and provoke it to violence, then firing upon the populace on the least provocation. The working men claim that the Pinkertons create more evil than they allay. Stories are circulated of the Pinkertons secretly doing violence themselves, laying it to working men, and then firing on them. In the great Homestead strike (*q. v.*) Pinkertons in large numbers and armed with rifles were brought to Homestead, the working men rising and repulsing them as they would an invading army. Working men claim that the duty of protecting property should be left to the police; that if these are not sufficient, the army should be called in, but that bodies of reckless armed private mercenaries should not be allowed to fire on citizens. As a result of this popular feeling Congress appointed a committee to investigate into the employment of such private armed bodies of men, and some states passed

bills forbidding such employment. (See HOMESTEAD STRIKE, and STRIKES.)

Nevertheless, the Pinkerton and other agencies are continually employed in times of strikes, and the former is said to have been particularly active in the Colorado labor struggles. During the Haywood trial (June, 1907) attempts were made by labor agitators to charge the Pinkerton agents with fomenting strife among and violence on the part of the Western Federation of Miners. A number of letters from operatives in the pay of the Pinkerton agency were placed in evidence in court, which, however, proved nothing more than spying on the part of these men. The letters were obtained and placed before the court on behalf of the defense by Morris Friedman, a young Hebrew-American who testified that he had been stenographer to McParland, the manager of the Denver agency, and admitted that he had taken many letters from that office, without asking anybody's permission, for use at the "proper time and place, as I have done." These letters, together with other evidence, were, however, stricken out and withdrawn from the jury in the Haywood trial (1907) as soon as the defense rested without making the necessary connection to make them material. Friedman admitted having written a book based on his observations in the Pinkerton office under the title "The Pinkerton Labor Spy." The publishers of this work in their preface state that they "recognize the Pinkerton agency as an indispensable instrument to the capitalist class in the great and unceasing struggle with labor." (For a complete statement of this phase, and a statement of contrary views, see article WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS.)

The assertion that Pinkerton agents have been engaged in espionage in the interests of capitalists has not been denied, and the practise concerns this work, therefore, only in its relations to society. The Pinkertons were responsible for the disbanding of the "Molly Maguires"; for the capture of a gang of thieves who had robbed the Adams Express Company safe of $700,000 on a New York, New Haven, & Hartford Railroad train (Jan. 6, 1866), and in dispersing a body of murderers who had terrorized the State of Indiana for a number of years.

Why do private corporations employ private detective agencies instead of calling upon the police of the municipalities and the constabulary of the states? Is it from choice or from necessity? Why do, moreover, the Government of the U. S., the governors of the states, and the mayors of the cities in this country permit such agencies to exist? Other civilized countries do not permit private police agencies to interfere with the state agencies of public safety. Why, then, has such a condition arisen in this country?

There can be only one answer to these questions. The inadequacy and the inefficiency of our police force—taking this word in its widest sense, as implying all agencies that have to do with the prevention and detection of crime, the maintenance of public safety, and the protection of life and property. This inefficiency may be due to one or all of three causes: (1) Paucity of numbers in the force; (2) intellectual deficiency of the men employed: (3) lack of integrity.

1. *Paucity of Numbers.*—The fact that we have too few men in our police force becomes evident from the fact that in all large business concerns of our large cities private policemen and detectives are employed and paid by their employers. Even private families or, where single families cannot afford that luxury, several families combine in hiring private policemen for their own protection. Apart from this generally known fact statistics tend to prove the same contention. London had in 1905 approximately 1 policeman, etc., for 390 of the population; Berlin 1 for 453; Vienna 1 for 480; Paris 1 for 340; New York (1903) 1 for 495. That is, New York City, with its heterogeneous population—fully one fourth of whom arrived within ten years previous to that date from foreign countries—with its large area, had a smaller police force proportionately than either of the large cities of Europe with their homogeneous and largely native population, and small areas. This force has since been increased, but it is doubtful whether the increase has been proportionate. The percentage of police to the population is, of course, smaller in other American cities, e. g., Chicago, 1 to 644, and very much smaller in country districts where there is usually only a sheriff and a constable to a whole county with sometimes a population of 10,000 outside of the cities. The paucity of men on our police force is, then, an established fact, and this necessitates a private detective agency. This is never more forcibly illustrated than in times of strikes where the municipal police have repeatedly been found unequal to the task of protecting life and property.

2. *Intellectual Deficiency of the Men.*—Our police is largely appointed through political influence. This used to be altogether the case in the cities, where foreigners—coming perhaps from the country districts or from small villages—were invested with the powers and insignia of public guardians within a month or even less time after their landing. No proof needs to be furnished that these men were entirely unfit to deal with the quick, ingenious, subtle, shrewd, and experienced criminals of large cities. The introduction of civil-service examinations has effected a change for the better in this direction. But physical fitness, ability to read and write, proof of citizenship are not sufficient to turn a formerly good and inoffensive citizen into a clever detective. The detectives are largely selected from the police force; they are, as a rule, but little better equipped for their special duties than the roundsmen. Finally, the sheriffs and constables in the country districts, and police commissioners in the city, are elected, mostly without even a question being asked by the electorate as to their fitness for such offices. It is practically impossible under present conditions to develop an intelligent class of detectives, since the tenure of police commissioners is dependent on the accidents of politics.

European countries pay special attention to this branch of service. They develop men who have particular aptitude as detectives; the latter must, as a rule, be well educated, speak several languages, and have the ability to move among all classes of men. The secret-service men in India, for instance, where problems are somewhat similar to those of America, are a picked force, having been trained carefully and having served a long apprenticeship before being appointed.

From the intellectual point of view, again, there is, consequently, need for private detectives carefully trained and gifted with special aptitude—such men as are employed in the United States Secret Service.

3. *Lack of Integrity.*—Little need be said on

this point, since the newspapers have often spoken about it. "Graft" is a word so generally connected with our police that it is really a wonder how patient and long-suffering American citizens are, paying good salaries to men for inefficient service, and being compelled to pay bribes in addition. We quote Mr. George R. Turner (*McClure's*, April, 1907): "It is not necessary for me to tell you that you have practically no protection on your streets. . . . The condition of the department is summed up in the statement that in two years, 1904–5, over half the force was before the police trial board for one cause or another. . . . There must be, at a conservative estimate, $200,000 a year paid over to the police for protection to the business of dissipation" (in Chicago).

This lack of moral integrity again calls for private detectives whom the employer may trust without fear that the very interests for which he pays are protected by the employee for graft. If private agencies must be abolished, as some claim, the only way to replace them is to organize a state police force, constabulary and detective, that is efficient in quality and sufficient in numbers to take proper charge of the interests entrusted to their care—men carefully trained for particular duties, honest and morally reliable. This cannot be done in a day or a year, but it is greatly desirable that it should be done both in the interests of the state, the public, and the laboring classes who would welcome a police of this kind and not suspect it to be in the pay of capitalists. (See article POLICE.)

RUDOLPH M. BINDER.

PLACE, FRANCIS: A master tailor who played a large and important part in the English labor movement at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Before setting up his own shop at Charing Cross, London, he had worked as a journeyman breeches-maker, and had been active in effecting organizations in his own and other trades. After 1818 he left the conduct of his business to his son, and devoted himself wholly to the labor movement: first to the repeal of the combination laws, and second, to the reform movement. He was a pupil of Bentham, a radical individualist, and a shrewd parliamentary lobbyist. As early as 1810 he testified before a select committee of the House against measures proposed by the employers, and in 1814 set himself seriously to overthrow the combination laws (see CONSPIRACIES). Working through a little working-class paper, the *Gorgon*, he gained the support of Joseph Hume and J. R. McCulloch, then editor of the *Scotsman*. Joseph Hume, in the House of Commons in 1822, gave notice of his intention to bring in a bill repealing all combination laws, but Place really managed the case, marshaled the witnesses, and arranged their evidence. Scarcely realizing what was done, Parliament passed the bill. The employers were now thoroughly roused, and the next year succeeded in partly modifying the bill, tho Hume in Parliament, and Place outside, ably fought them at every point. After this Place took less active part in the movement. (See "History of Trade-Unionism," by Sidney and Beatrice Webb.)

PLATO: Philosopher; born in Athens B.C. 429, the year of the death of Pericles. At the age of twenty, coming under the influence of Socrates, he chose philosophy for his life pursuit, but was driven from Athens and lived in Sicily, visiting (probably) Italy and Africa. At the age of forty he was able to return to Athens and establish a school of philosophy, the Academy, a garden, where for forty-one years he taught, his greatest pupil being Aristotle. His greatest economic writings are "The Republic" and "The Laws." Died B. C. 347. The following review of his economic teachings is given in Professor Ingram's "History of Political Economy." He says:

> The most celebrated of Greek ideal systems is that of Plato. In it the idea of the subordination of the individual to the State appears in its most extreme form. Within that class of the citizens of his republic who represent the highest type of life, community of property and of wives is established, as the most effective means of suppressing the sense of private interest, and consecrating the individual entirely to the public service. It cannot perhaps be truly said that his scheme was incapable of realization in an ancient community favorably situated for the purpose. But it would soon be broken to pieces by the forces which would be developed in an industrial society. It has, however, been the fruitful parent of modern Utopias; specially attractive as it is to minds in which the literary instinct is stronger than the scientific judgment. Mixed with what we should call the chimerical ideas in his work, there are many striking and elevated moral conceptions, and, what is more to our present purpose, some just economic analysis. In particular, he gives a correct account of the division and combination of employments, as they naturally arise in society. The foundation of the social organization he traces, perhaps too exclusively, to economic grounds, not giving sufficient weight to the disinterested social impulses in men which tend to draw and bind them together. But he explains clearly how the different wants and capacities of individuals demand and give rise to mutual services, and how, by the restriction of each to the sort of occupation to which, by his position, abilities, and training, he is best adapted, everything needful for the whole is more easily and better produced or effected. In the spirit of all the ancient legislators he desires a self-sufficing State, protected from unnecessary contacts with foreign populations which might tend to break down its internal organization or to deteriorate the national character. Hence he discountenances foreign trade, and with this view removes his ideal city to some distance from the sea. The limits of its territory are rigidly fixt, and the population is restricted by the prohibition of early marriages, by the exposure of infants, and by the maintenance of a determinate number of individual lots of land in the hands of the citizens who cultivate the soil. These precautions are inspired more by political and moral motives than by the Malthusian fear of failure of subsistence. Plato aims, as far as possible, at equality of property among the families of the community which are engaged in the immediate prosecution of industry. This last class, as distinguished from the governing and military classes, he holds, according to the spirit of his age, in but little esteem; he regards their habitual occupations as tending to the degradation of the mind and the enfeeblement of the body, and rendering those who follow them unfit for the higher duties of men and citizens. The lowest forms of labor he would commit to foreigners and slaves. Again, in the spirit of ancient theory, he wishes ("Legg.," v., 12) to banish the precious metals, as far as practicable, from use in internal commerce, and forbids the lending of money on interest, leaving indeed to the free will of the debtor even the repayment of the capital of the loan. All economic dealings he subjects to active control on the part of the government, not merely to prevent violence and fraud, but to check the growth of luxurious habits, and secure to the population of the State a due supply of the necessaries and comforts of life.

PLAYGROUNDS: To the necessity of providing places for children in large cities to romp, play, and exercise, playgrounds owe their origin. They are to take the child away from the crowded streets, where life, limb, health, and morals are in danger, and to give him a better opportunity to develop physically, morally, socially, and intellectually. The country and small village offer plenty of space; the city must provide it at large expense. It is an expense which bears good interest in the better physique, cleaner morals, keener intellects of our future citizens.

The *history* of playgrounds goes back to the kindergarten movement of 1826. When the direction of children's play was recognized as necessary, the conclusion that children should have the *opportunity* to play was apparent. Accord-

ingly, city after city has established free playgrounds either on school or municipal grounds. Glasgow led; Berlin, Hamburg, and other large cities of Germany, England, and America soon followed.

The scope of playgrounds is usually this: sand piles for little children—to be renewed frequently so as to keep them clean and wholesome; gymnasium, running-tracks, basketball grounds, etc., for boys; seesaws, swings, etc., for girls. During adolescence boys and girls need special physical exercise, e. g., dumb-bells, staffs, in the open air under separate instruction.

A feature of many German playgrounds needs particular mention—the concert garden playgrounds where mothers may leave their little ones while they attend the concert or the matinée.

In order to obtain the best results, it is necessary that instructors should be present at all times, both for supervising and teaching new games.

Seward Park in New York City is a type of the best playground, and a brief description will give the best idea of the function of this institution. It cost the city $1,800,000, and is located in the Ghetto, a very crowded down-town district. At one end a complete outdoor gymnasium surrounded with a running-track; at the other swings, seesaws, etc., for girls; in the middle sand piles, tents, etc., for the little ones. The mothers are encouraged to be present with their little ones, and provision is made that milk and crackers can be bought on the premises. New York City has set aside $300,000 per annum for the purchase of playgrounds.

Lately (1906) a Playground Association of America has been formed with Theodore Roosevelt as honorary president and Dr. Luther Gulick, New York City, president. The headquarters of the association are 926 F Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., and Dr. Henry S. Curtiss is secretary. Many prominent citizens are on the executive committee. This fact is sufficient evidence of the recognition of the necessity and importance of the movement for playgrounds in all American cities. Germany has a special "Annual" of some 400 or 500 pages —"Das Jahrbuch des Volks- und Kinderspiels."

PLUNKETT, HORACE CURZON, SIR: Commissioner on Congested Districts Board, Ireland; born 1854, educated at Eton and Oxford; engaged in cattle ranching in the United States, 1879–89. Promoted agricultural cooperation in Ireland from 1899; founded the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, 1894; chairman of the Recess Committee, 1895, the report of which eventually led to the creation of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland in 1899. Member of Parliament for South County Dublin, 1892 to 1900; member of the Privy Council in Ireland in 1897; Fellow of the Royal Society. Sir Horace's views on social and economical questions are well set forth in his book on "Ireland in the New Century." *Address*: 105 Mount Street, Dublin, Ireland.

POLAK, HENRI: Dutch Socialist; president of Diamond Workers' Union; born in 1868, at Amsterdam; educated in the Jewish elementary school until the age of twelve; apprenticed to diamond-cutting; worked at that trade until 1895, spending three years of that time in London. In 1890 he became member of the Social Democratic Federation of Holland, branch secretary at Amsterdam in 1891, member of Central Executive Board in 1892, its secretary in 1893. He retired from the federation in 1894, because of its leaning toward anarchism. One of the founders of the Social Democratic Labor Party in 1894. In the general strike of 1894 he was secretary of the strike committee; he led the men to victory, and was appointed president of the union and editor of its paper. The union grew from sixty members in 1894 to 8,200 members out of a possible 8,500 in 1906; the hours of labor, which in certain factories were from twelve to fifteen per day, were reduced in those same factories to seven and nine hours per day; the wages being at least doubled, in many cases trebled and quadrupled. The diamond-cutters are now the best-paid workers in Europe. In 1903 he founded the International Federation of Diamond Workers, and in 1905 the National Federation of Trade-Unions. For several years was president of the executive board of the Social Democratic Labor Party and editor of the Social Democratic weekly paper, *De Nieuwe Tyd* ("The New Era").

TABLE OF PLAYGROUNDS IN AMERICAN CITIES

CITIES	School population	Playgrounds				Appropriation from city	Average number of children in attendance
		School	Park	Public	Private		
Atlanta	15,000	.....	several	.....	.....	Not fixed	Movement new
Baltimore	67,000	17	7	.....	.....	Use of school buildings	Movement new
Boston	98,000	.....	17	.....	.....	According to need	Not given
Buffalo	52,000	2	1	3	1	6 supported by city	1,000
Chicago	272,000	90	4	4	3	School and city funds	15,000
Cincinnati	131,000	.....	2	2	3	According to need	.....
Columbus	.....	3	.....	4	.....	For part of cost	1,300
Denver	46,000	.....	7	.....	.....	Total cost	.....
Kansas City	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	Part of cost	.....
Minneapolis	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	For equipment	700
New Orleans	96,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New York	627,000	76	13	.....	4	Nearly total cost	10,000 in parks; 23,246 in school yards
Philadelphia	271,000	36	4	.....	1	95 per cent of cost	23,897
Pittsburg	.....	9	2	2	.....	$5,000	3,985
Portland, Me.	.....	2	1	.....	.....	Part of cost	150
Seattle	24,000	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
St. Louis	199,000	6	.....	1	.....	Use of school yards	3,565
St. Paul	27,000	2	1	.....	1	$10,000	8,835
Washington	.....	13	2	.....	3	$35,000 by Congress	5,000
Worcester	21,000	.....	8	12	ball fields	Part of cost	.....

He was appointed by the government in 1899 a member of the Central Board of Statistics, and elected in 1902 municipal councilor of Amsterdam. From 1900 to 1905 he was president of the Chamber of Labor in Amsterdam. Mr. Polak is a Marxian Social Democrat. He has translated Sidney and Beatrice Webb's "History of Trade-Unionism and Industrial Democracy," and most of Robert Blackford's works. He himself is the author of pamphlets on anarchism, trades federation, trade-unionism, and labor legislation and kindred subjects. *Address*: Fransche Laan 9, Amsterdam, Holland.

POLICE: The policeman is far more than a guardian of the public peace. Mr. Thomas Byrnes calls him "the real court of first instance." Says Mr. H. M. Boies ("Prisoners and Paupers," p. 237):

In the United States, under a social organization for self-government, a government of laws, which are solely the formulated decrees of popular judgment and will, the police and constabulary constitute almost the only incorporate and vital evidence, or general manifestation, of the authority and dignity of government; they represent the concrete absolutism of the laws, and exercise the majesty and power of the people in among, and before the people constantly. They become, therefore, to the people here, not only the agents and representatives of self-government, but the express force and soul of government, the general and popular conception of government itself. This increases the power, dignity, and influence of the police officer in this country immeasurably above what exists elsewhere. It is his province here to bring the popular power into direct contact with and control over the people. . . . The police are, in this country, the eyes and ears, as well as the hands, of the body politic; not only the means of governmental apprehension, but of discovery; the agents of prevention as well as of cure. It devolves upon them to observe the very beginnings of error, failure, and sin in society; to note the sources, the inception, and conception of crime and poverty; to watch their birth, growth, and development; to become familiar with causes and occasions; to recognize the necessary remedies. They seldom feel called upon to interfere; indeed, the principle of their action is not to interfere before the overt act, when correction becomes necessary and prevention is no longer practicable. The intimacy and constancy of their contact with society and its elements should enable them to stretch out the helping or the warning hand of government when it could be efficient, when the needed slight change of direction can be given the individual faced the wrong way, before the club, the handcuff, or the lockup have become necessary. Indeed, an interference which would be resented from a private person, however gently or kindly made, would be received not only without objection ordinarily from the policeman, but it would carry with it the weight and influence of the wisdom and will of society. A word or an act which would make no impression without authority, with it might be effectual in saving many a youth from ruin. If the police then could be enlisted as conservators of morals as well as preservers of the peace, they would become a power in the community of inestimable utility, and the necessities of their harsher activities would be greatly decreased. The task of training the twig is lighter than bending the tree. If they could be made to devote their chief care to the children and youths when they are beyond the parental eye or control, and be placed in a position representing with authority the organized parentage and domesticity of the community outside its homes, upon the streets and in public places, many of the dangers of city life would be alleviated. Their parental functions might be extended for the general benefit to the relief of the poor from suffering, to the ministrations of charity, to the restrictions of intemperance, the arrest of drunkenness, the correction of evil tendencies, and the rescue of those in peril of moral corruption and ruin.

On the other hand, what the police can do, and too often do, for evil is shown by the following account of the political situation in Chicago, by George K. Turner (*McClure's*, April, 1907):

The City Council of Chicago, in the paroxysm of excitement over the reign of crime of a year ago, voted for 1,000 new policemen, most of whom have now been added to the force. It was asserted then that there were not men enough to protect that great and wide-lying city. This was certainly true, but it was an understatement of the case. The exact condition was stated by Captain Alexander R. Piper, an expert who, with Roundsman William F. Maher, of New York, made a special investigation of the Chicago police in 1904. He said in summing up: "It is not necessary for me to tell you that you have practically no protection on your streets. You all know it, and you know how seldom you see an officer at night. Your patrolmen pull the box on the hour or half-hour and then lounge in their holes or some saloon." These conditions exist to-day.

The "Protection" of Vice

The reason for all this is clear. The business of dissipation, working through ward politics, has bought the protection of the Chicago police force. This fact necessarily deprives the police force of its usefulness to the public. The officials who are actually receiving pay for granting protection are in a combination to break the law. This combination extends below them to a certain extent into the department; and it encourages, of course, every patrolman who is at all dishonest to break or help to break the laws. Various members of the force have, in the past, formed alliances with criminals; and the relation was so close with them that patrolmen have actually arranged burglaries through professional craftsmen. The force itself contains also quite a number of criminals: men who have been convicted from time to time of crimes ranging from shoplifting to burglary. Indeed, it is a fact that criminals, attracted by the possible chances of profits, are continually trying to get into the department. In a recent call for 450 men, thirty-five applicants were found to have criminal records. Of course, there can be no discipline under these conditions. There is, as Roundsman Maher said, practically no patroling. There is continual loafing on the beat, with petty grafting down at the bottom of the department. The condition of the department is summed up in the statement, that in two years, 1904 and 1905, over half the force was before the police trial board for one cause or another. . . .

The system comes about very simply. The influence of the ward bosses in the districts of dissipation secures from the administration the police officials they desire. These officials see that the men under them carry out the business agreements which they themselves make with the leaders of the ward. If a new policeman does not enter into relations with the system or acquiesce in its working, he is "jobbed." That is, by various technical charges against him by his superior officer, he is kept under continual suspicion and finally either shipped off to some outlying district of the city or even discharged from the department on trumped-up charges. The Chicago department is now under civil service and has been for ten years, but this effective and simple method makes it possible to beat the civil-service rules and to organize the force so that the required protection can be guaranteed to the interests of dissipation. Inside the department there is either an astonishing fear of this system or a loyalty to it that is simply amazing. . . .

The Price of the Police

There must be, at a conservative estimate, $200,000 a year paid over to the police, for protection to the business of dissipation. Just where that money goes into the department is, of course, almost impossible to tell. It is a matter of fact, for instance, that the gambling squad—eight or ten men under the personal command of the chief of police—sit and watch the operations of "handbook" makers and even bet themselves. It is also a fact that when personal information has been given to the chief of police concerning a betting-place, that place has been perfunctorily raided and has been in operation again a half-hour after this was done. But it would be impossible to demonstrate from this evidence that the present chief of police was paid to protect gambling in Chicago. It is true that criminal saloons and houses of prostitution have an understanding with the police that they may violate the law until some one protests, and that then they will be notified by the police and kept in touch with the situation until it is advisable for them to resume the practises which are objected to. But who gets the pay for this and what the pay is, has not yet been determined with legal exactitude. It is worth while, perhaps, as showing the possibilities in the case, to recall that one ex-chief of police said, in a burst of confidence, that he had put away $187,000 during his few years of office.

With this view of the possibilities of the police for good or for evil, we come to a consideration of the facts and statistics of their organization.

The origin of the police system seems to have been twofold, military and judicial. France, as early as the fourteenth century, seems to have had a military police, the basis of the French *gendarmerie*. In England the origin was characteristically judicial, beginning with parish constables controlled by the justices of the peace. Paris by 1800 had an organized force of seven or eight hundred men. London, however, is said to have had the first modern police force, in 1828. New York, in 1841, had 34 constables (for 17 wards) 100 marshals, 300 night-watchmen, 100 wardens, bell ringers, etc.

The following table gives recent figures:

POLICE AND ARRESTS IN LEADING CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES, 1903
(From Census Bulletin, No. 20)

CITY OR MUNICIPALITY	Patrolmen and officers	Special policemen, watchmen, etc.	Salaries and wages	All other expenses		Total arrests	ARRESTS FOR—							
				Pensions and gratuities	Miscellaneous		Drunkenness	Disturbing the peace	Assault and battery	Homicide	Vagrancy	Housebreaking	Larceny	All other offenses
New York, N. Y.	7,854	1,679	$11,067,393	$1,075,999	$446,888	175,871	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Chicago, Ill.	2,875	435	3,334,770	214,257	116,300	77,763	40,796	.....	5,712	139	764	1,960	7,770	20,622
Philadelphia, Pa.	2,510	576	2,933,209	103,636	172,276	75,699	37,821	7,805	3,999	68	6,715	226	6,042	13,023
St. Louis, Mo.	1,292	145	1,493,123	.....	124,072	25,524	5,201	7,162	656	66	1,852	226	1,830	8,531
Boston, Mass.	1,225	71	1,523,376	123,680	211,676	43,033	27,792	633	2,463	22	293	744	3,050	8,036
Baltimore, Md.	932	77	946,356	.....	64,383	28,150	3,573	11,550	3,859	43	475	215	2,926	5,509
Cleveland, Ohio	435	134	449,153	49,580	32,786	22,250	12,535	1,187	1,189	45	565	288	1,812	4,629
Buffalo, N. Y.	730	51	739,531	33,900	55,407	20,185	9,119	3,534	920	13	2,043	318	1,767	2,471
San Francisco, Cal.	676	34	892,007	63,816	38,039	30,851	15,704	2,432	1,489	46	2,826	319	975	7,060
Pittsburg, Pa.	467	73	539,837	18,840	46,226	31,251	17,290	3,860	128	21	1,658	40	184	8,070
Cincinnati, Ohio	516	30	553,762	25,533	39,750	13,642	2,011	1,856	622	20	2,646	83	760	5,644
Milwaukee, Wis	347	21	325,517	6,716	18,530	5,666	2,197	1,158	548	6	357	95	403	902
Detroit, Mich.	528	45	535,822	10,946	37,172	8,978	2,320	1,493	466	8	263	62	445	3,921
New Orleans, La.	287	97	218,484	6,626	12,142	16,046	4,576	4,406	732	67	2,097	44	457	3,667
Washington, D. C.	686	130	762,978	54,921	41,319	29,483	5,233	7,003	2,756	12	2,137	197	2,264	9,881
Newark, N. J.	435	9	460,813	4,716	38,558	7,394	1,914	2,075	611	26	206	250	736	1,576
Jersey City, N. J.	375	16	355,105	30,495	25,797	6,625	3,458	4	1,152	14	8	172	574	1,243
Louisville, Ky.	296	53	271,058	.....	19,203	6,945	1,269	2,669	476	27	342	164	855	1,143
Minneapolis, Minn.	208	32	225,145	.....	7,303	5,289	2,549	327	274	.....	571	36	548	984
Indianapolis, Ind.	177	20	161,151	2,219	8,599	8,294	1,611	258	1,425	17	1,525	115	956	2,387
Providence, R. I.	305	32	350,981	13,236	32,125	11,257	6,361	513	435	4	138	154	944	2,708
Kansas City, Mo.	233	316	248,846	.....	23,879	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
St. Paul, Minn.	178	26	177,712	.....	6,156	4,933	2,141	700	200	.....	558	51	329	954
Rochester, N. Y.	193	13	198,352	12,170	17,424	5,404	1,825	335	340	3	801	152	606	1,342
Denver, Col.	149	40	148,060	.....	33,142	9,838	1,923	686	200	36	2,182	129	402	4,280
Toledo, Ohio	133	12	122,500	5,995	14,421	4,359	319	467	271	4	240	43	410	2,605
Allegheny, Pa.	128	37	152,692	.....	3,933	4,381	915	2,381	52	1	118	21	79	814
Columbus, Ohio	93	44	111,429	.....	8,660	4,655	1,137	397	315	11	268	35	378	2,114
Worcester, Mass.	146	9	148,985	.....	10,567	5,761	4,034	129	295	7	87	102	262	845
Los Angeles, Cal.	130	146	176,235	3,306	16,638	10,390	5,417	670	284	5	550	77	413	2,974
New Haven, Conn.	163	54	182,442	9,722	9,478	5,246	2,711	811	12	3	197	80	518	914
Syracuse, N. Y.	124	21	126,875	6,946	8,187	4,730	2,040	294	114	.....	420	72	494	1,296
Fall River, Mass.	111	25	127,109	.....	16,139	4,704	2,476	387	360	3	36	97	401	944
Memphis, Tenn.	91	15	101,850	.....	8,739	6,054	1,609	358	454	24	505	67	445	2,592
Omaha, Neb.	88	50	90,590	719	3,940	9,400	3,733	591	326	4	1,368	59	441	2,878
Paterson, N. J.	104	7	123,580	.....	7,780	2,477	983	909	116	4	16	16	112	321
St. Joseph, Mo.	62	62	61,672	.....	4,874	3,869	1,063	563	89	2	318	45	237	1,552
Scranton, Pa.	70	14	59,642	.....	3,924	2,649	1,708	164	37	2	126	36	100	476
Lowell, Mass.	115	31	136,356	861	11,569	4,034	2,664	20	160	.....	12	26	296	856
Portland, Ore.	82	3	66,958	109	8,084	8,347	2,999	198	363	5	570	30	445	3,737
Cambridge, Mass.	110	12	126,950	1,857	6,098	2,802	1,344	262	182	2	15	99	241	657
Atlanta, Ga.	153	46	136,543	.....	13,513	16,088	2,734	9,799	18	6	1,124	32	91	2,284
Albany, N. Y.	159	42	142,931	2,320	14,293	3,245	1,121	432	384	2	409	101	297	499
Grand Rapids, Mich.	97	8	78,635	650	4,588	2,185	1,162	305	88	1	81	13	194	341
Dayton, Ohio	120	9	84,510	2,385	8,028	5,097	1,567	434	242	9	301	41	254	2,249
Seattle, Wash.	84	8	84,468	800	4,962	8,288	576	531	152	10	1,318	78	334	5,289
Hartford, Conn.	101	105	112,478	2,400	14,349	4,892	3,064	474	195	3	179	31	271	675
Richmond, Va.	110	6	102,344	.....	4,737	7,090	2,099	1,516	1,381	11	134	77	556	1,316
Reading, Pa.	66	1	52,606	.....	1,466	1,478	823	47	42	1	215	12	58	280
Nashville, Tenn.	99	9	92,648	.....	2,892	10,838	2,948	2,419	1,191	19	1,988	71	483	1,719
Total	26,648	4,931	31,716,569	1,889,356	1,881,011	813,430	260,465	86,204	37,775	842	41,617	7,401	44,545	158,810

In Great Britain the total police force is: England and Wales (1905), 45,202; cost, £4,321,132. Scotland (1904), 5,307; cost, £547,521. Ireland has an armed constabulary of over 10,000 men.

In London the commission consists of a chief and his assistants, appointed for life by the king on the recommendation of the Home Secretary. The Metropolitan police is composed of 16,846 officers and men, for which the annual appropriation is over $8,000,000. There is also the police of the city consisting of 1,056 men.

Europe

In Paris the organization of the police is distinctly military, under a prefect of police who is under the Minister of the Interior. The prefect occupies almost a cabinet position and resigns after a conspicuous failure, as after the students' riot in 1892, and the assassination of President Carnot. The number of men belonging to the municipal police of Paris is 8,000, and the total annual expenditure over $8,000,000. There are also "indicators," or spies, usually reformed criminals.

In Berlin there are many kinds of police, all in military organization under the Minister of the Interior. The force is divided into two departments, the day-watch and the night-watch. The municipal authorities maintain besides a force of night-watchmen, whose duty is chiefly to protect the property of the citizens. The Berlin force consists of 4,500 policemen, and the expenditure is $3,000,000.

The police of Vienna is composed of 3,500 officers and men. In Glasgow there is a force of 1,347 men. On the Continent of Europe the police are usually armed with swords and revolvers, and mounted officers are much more numerous than in the United States. In some cities, as in Paris, the police commonly carry muskets with fixt bayonets when on guard duty.

In Russia the police are the executive administrators of the empire, and their number is unknown. There are about 10,000 in St. Petersburg. Many of them are detectives, or the famous "Third Section." They are unarmed, but carry whistles.

It is estimated that there is one policeman in Chicago for every 583 persons; for every 454 persons in Boston; every 451 in Philadelphia; every 434 St. Louis; 406 New York; every 475 in Vienna; 471 Berlin; 355 Paris, and for every 253 persons in London.

In Ireland, Egypt, India, Australia, the police are under the control of the central government.

Concerning the evils of the present police system in American cities, it must not be forgotten that besides the political and administrative corruption of the police of which we hear so much, there are other evils of which we do not hear. Their task is often arduous and the need of good judgment very great. Not too much must be expected. Said an old soldier in mitigation of his drunkenness, "You cannot expect all the civic virtues and temperance included for $13 a month." The same, tho to a less extent, since their pay is higher, might be said of the police. Many of them do discharge their difficult work with great faithfulness and surprizingly good judgment. One cannot understand the difficulties they meet without close acquaintance, and a closer acquaintance often shows that many of them are far wiser than the public knows. Yet it is equally true that many of them are ignorant, inefficient, simply bullies in uniform. They are often brutal, and the terror of the weak, rather than a terror to evil-doers. Mr. H. M. Boies ("Prisoners and Paupers," chap. xiv.) considers what may be done for the improvement of the police system. He argues for a carefully selected personnel, men of good health, morals, and judgment, appointed for life on good behavior. The force should be firmly instructed, carefully drilled and disciplined, to develop unity and *esprit du corps*. Ordinarily, one policeman to 1,200 men he thinks enough, with a thorough system of intercommunication, all under the control of one wise chief, and well supported by the public. Says Mr. Boies:

Need of Reform

> Humanity, philanthropy, and religion must follow the policeman on his mission with an untiring and increasing care, both for his own sake and the success of his effort. Counter attractions must be opposed against the special allurements to which he is exposed. Pleasant resorts must be provided for his off-duty hours, where the better things of life may be contrasted with the debasing pleasures with which his duties make him familiar, and intellectual and moral influences may be brought to bear upon his character. Particular effort must be made to keep up his connections with all the higher influences of social life, with the educational and religious enterprises of the people.

References: H. M. Boies, *Prisoners and Paupers*; J. P. Altgeldt, *Five Questions*; Fairlie, *Municipal Administration* (1901).

POLITICAL ECONOMY (see also political economists under their names): Economics, or political economy, has long been in such an unsettled state that it seems best in undertaking a statement of its position, for the present purpose, to pay little or no attention to its specific teachings, but, instead, to direct attention to certain aspects of its historical development which reveal its fundamental character and constitution as a science. Economics, it must be admitted, is not of high report either with the general public or with leaders in other fields of thought, at the present time. The latter, especially workers in the material sciences, are not infrequently heard to declare that political economy is not a science in the modern meaning of the term, and that it is discredited by its adherence to old-fashioned methods of thought. Such criticisms are too serious, particularly when uttered with the weight of authority, to be taken lightly by either the professional economist or the student.

Few things stand out more prominently in the history of nineteenth-century thought than the change of attitude which the material sciences have experienced. It is sometimes said that modern science is "realistic" and sets a greater store by facts as facts. But the older sciences were certainly not indifferent to facts; all science deals with facts. What distinguishes the latter-day sciences is not the insistence on facts, but rather the dispassionate habit of presenting and construing them. Substantially and briefly, it may be said to be a change of spiritual attitude. For modern science, the matter-of-fact habit of mind is everywhere and always decisive. Instead of seeking to find the hidden or deeper (spiritual) meaning which underlies appearances, modern science is content to present things (phenomena) as causally related, in some sort of a material sequence. This is the *evolutionary* point of view. Helped on by the evolutionary concept of process and the notion of cumulative causation, a large part of the discipline of the

material sciences has been devoted to purifying the scientific mind of the metaphysical animus.

How far the science of economics has adopted the new conceptions and the new methods is clearly a matter of such vital interest as properly to suggest the course of the historical review to be undertaken here. Political economy has changed its theoretic constitution from time to time in the course of its modern history and it will be profitable to inquire under the pressure of what exigencies or the stimulus of what impulses the modifications have taken place, and whether they have been in the direction of progress.

For the purpose of understanding the theoretical constitution that political economy has had during the greater part of the nineteenth century, it is necessary to go back to some of its eighteenth-century antecedents. To the physiocrats belongs the credit of having attempted the first great comprehensive synthesis in economics, and, though the structure they erected was airy and fantastic, it served as a model for later generations beyond what has ordinarily been admitted. Many a later thinker is of closer kin to them than he would be willing to acknowledge.

Until the physiocrats entered the field, economics was habitually treated as an art, the chief concern of which was to formulate maxims of public policy. With the physiocrats the study takes a new direction or what to all appearances is to be rated as a new direction. They set out to discover the natural laws of wealth, tho to the physiocrats natural law means something different from the empirical generalizations of later science. Theirs is a metaphysical conception of natural law and theirs is the metaphysics of the order of nature. Starting from this as their central position, they work outward to the laws of society. The natural order of society is to them a simple deduction from the physical order of the universe, and the natural laws of society are simply the laws of the physical order applied to social relations. Therefore, the physiocrats address themselves to a careful scrutiny of nature's processes. As they conceive the matter, it is the ceaseless exchange of matter and force between nature and society that makes up the natural life of society. That exchange is the phenomenon to be explained and the order of nature explains it. The ultimate term of the physiocratic formulation of economic knowledge is, therefore, the order of nature. The habitual effort to reduce all things to terms of nature is the characteristic feature of their thinking.

Physiocrats

Nature is invested with a teleological propensity, working for the physical welfare of man. She can, however, be hindered or even thwarted, and has been. But as soon as men cease the infractions of her discipline, the natural course is resumed. In the end, nature always has her way and her way is the best possible way, for she is the interpreter of the Supreme Legislator whose laws are intended to secure the welfare of man.

Such is the physiocratic view of the order of nature. Starting with this conception, they set about to formulate the laws of wealth, the aim being to construe the economic process in terms of the natural order. And since the great enterprise in which nature is engaged is the support and perpetuation of human life, it follows that the supreme test of economic reality is the relation of anything to this nutritive function of nature. Man's work is to be rated as efficient or otherwise according as it helps or hinders the consummations of nature's substantial end. Thus in the physiocratic analysis the interest centers chiefly in production and their economy is, therefore, mainly a theory of production. Specifically the test of productivity of any activity is its bearing upon the fund of human sustenance—food. Only such activities as enlarged the supply of food are accounted productive—all else is beside the mark. Nature is not solicitous for the spiritual welfare of man, so no alleged spiritual gains coming from diversion of industry from its true channel can compensate for the losses of nutritive material. From this principle follows by logical necessity the physiocratic theory of the "net product," the *impôt unique*, their classification of industry and their predilection for agriculture. The system is one of singular symmetry and nice adjustment of parts.

Their theory of value presents itself as an integral part of this closely compacted system. If value be conceived to mean that which avails toward some admittedly adequate end, then for the physiocrats value must mean that which avails toward nature's work. Exchange values, those which result from the conventional rating of things, manifestly could not satisfy the physiocrat's sense of reality. Natural values are real values to be arrived at through an appraisement of things from the point of view of nature's purposes. Only that is accounted of value which contributes to the increase of nutritive force. Nothing could be farther from the physiocrat's notion of wealth or economy than to make vendibility the attribute of wealth. That would have been a degradation of the science to the position of a "market philosophy."

Other features and details of the physiocrat's theory lend themselves to a similar construction, but enough has been said to indicate how the metaphysics of natural propensity shaped the theory and to justify the view that economy made its *début* as a systematic science under the patronage of the eighteenth-century metaphysics of nature.

It gives, however, a very faulty idea of the *significance* of the physiocrats to represent them as mere system-builders. For them the distinction of a later day between art and science has no existence. Theirs is in truth a utilitarian science—a sort of economic sociology in which of necessity the *is* and the *ought to be* are merged in one. Under the *ordre naturel* whatever *is* of right *ought* to be.

The next important advance in economics is connected with the activity of Adam Smith; and it is to be rated the most considerable advance ever accomplished for the science by any single individual. And his work is to be rated as a great achievement whether we regard the body of its specific teachings or whether we regard only its larger features as set forth in the general attitude of the author. The painstaking scholarship that has been brought to bear on the history of economic science in recent years has shown Adam Smith's indebtedness to his contemporaries to be greater than was once supposed.

Adam Smith

Particularly close is Smith's kinship with the physiocrats—so close that with the lapse of time there seems to be increasing disposition to group him with them, rather than to set either them or him apart from the direct line in tracing the pedigree of the science. With both, the fundamental

constitution is metaphysical, and with him, as with them, the metaphysics is the metaphysics of natural propensity; with this difference, that in Adam Smith the metaphysics is toned down somewhat and is made to play a less overt part in shaping the formulations of theory, which is, perhaps, only another way of saying, with just about that difference that we would expect between a representative Frenchman of the eighteenth century and a representative Scotchman. Indeed, in this respect, Adam Smith may be said to occupy a transitional position in the history of economic thought, if the greater prevalence of the matter-of-fact habit of mind may be taken legitimately, as broadly describing the cultural advance of the nineteenth century. The sources that fed this advance in Adam Smith need not detain us. It is probably to be set down to the credit of no single influence or individual. He simply shared in the change of mind that was being operated for British eighteenth-century thinking by the slow-working influences of the time, and that found their most definite philosophical expression in the skepticism of David Hume. So that an admirer of Hume might be pardoned for thinking that Hume did for political economy a service somewhat analogous to what he did for philosophy. However, so far as he was hard-headed and factual he was a child of his time; but so far, again, was he also child of his time as he preserved, along with the new habit, the metaphysical bias from which it was not given his century to shake itself free.

The feature of Adam Smith's thinking that is here under notice as marking an advance in the progress of the science may be viewed in another aspect. There has been not a little discussion as to the method of investigation followed by Adam Smith. Spokesmen for each of the rival methods —"induction" and "deduction"—have each claimed Adam Smith on their side. But all that this means is that Adam Smith is in his ways of thinking at a transition. So far as the deductive method goes with the metaphysical way of handling things, the abundant use of it by Adam Smith shows the vitality of the metaphysical animus; and so far as the inductive method is a suitable companion of the more matter-of-fact habit, Adam Smith's frequent resort to it points to the presence of a new item in the conceptual equipment of the science. For this reason it is a matter of some difficulty to define Adam Smith's true attitude.

Adam Smith, like the physiocrats, is concerned to find the *natural* laws of wealth, and his discussion runs almost habitually on the causal sequences of things, and so far justifies the title of his book, "An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations." But a closer examination shows that, in his handling of the phenomena of wealth, he is not content to let the inquiry stop with the description of proximate causes. His feeling for reality is not appeased until the causal material situation is resolved or, at any rate, is resolvable, into its ultimate spiritual causes; in other words, for him things must have a meaning beyond what the naked situation yields. His plan, therefore, like the physiocrats', demands a scheme that shall be competent to exhibit the significance of the economic processes. But, while this much may be said with confidence, it is not so easy to say what that scheme is. It is not put forth with the physiocrats' naive frankness. Adam Smith is a Scotchman. Suffice it to say that to the older notion of a teleological trend in the course of events, Adam Smith adds the notion of a normal human nature. The human propensity to "truck, barter, and exchange" becomes the mechanism through which the "invisible hand" of nature accomplishes its purposes, and since men are pretty much alike, the mechanism is well-nigh faultless. It is, therefore, the workings of human nature as thus conceived rather than the operations of physical nature that is the object of Adam Smith's analysis. His system, like the physiocrats', is mainly a theory of production, but man, not nature, is conceived to be the central agent of the process. His system has, therefore, been properly called the *industrial system*, for human industry-labor is its efficient principle, the term in which economic knowledge is formulated. Tho he looks in much the same direction, his outlook is broader than the physiocrats'. Everything is viewed from the standpoint of production; all the economic processes are construed as aspects of the productive process, but the notion of production is widened so as to include every variety of industry, not alone that which helps the nutritive work of nature. So "natural" value belongs to whatever embodies labor; labor is the *cause* of value—the "real price" of things.

But while Adam Smith's notion of the natural course is appreciably nearer the truth, as the ordinary layman sees it, than was the physiocrats', it is very far from professing to be identical with the actual course. Thus natural values are not the values causally determined by the "higgling of the market." But, for all that, they are the "real," the "necessary" values, and the market values are the nominal values, the "accidents," tho a cynic might be pardoned for refusing to see wherein they were "necessary" except to establish the logical congruence of economic theory with its postulate. Of course, the gap between nature and the market is bridged, in thought at least, by the workings of self-interest. Where competition is the regulator of values a reasonable correspondence is held to ensue between the "real" and the "nominal prices" of things, and thus is vindicated the economist's claim that nature does all things well, and that, as she does them well, the logical is the "natural."

Quite as characteristic of Adam Smith's attitude is his treatment of distribution, and it is almost equally characteristic, it may be added, of the attitude of many later economists toward the same problem. The shares in distribution are to be accounted for. How is it done? Briefly stated, by construing them in terms of the "necessary" equivalence of effort and effect in production. Nature does not waste. Therefore, when the natural course of things runs off smoothly, that is to say, when competition does its part, effect must be proportioned to effort, and vice versa, and thus the quantitative equivalence between work and pay is neatly established. Man bestirs himself to secure a gain with no intention of assisting the productive processes of nature. But, for all that, the bargains that he drives betray him into an alliance with nature, and therewith is he led by the "invisible hand" to do his part in production and the service of society. The resulting shares in distribution are natural. But, here again, it must not be supposed that the natural and the actual correspond

in Adam Smith—least of all in that state of actual society which follows "the appropriation of land and the accumulation of stock." Nevertheless, the distribution in question is "natural," because it falls in with the author's preconception of the orderly course of industry.

If it be asked whether the term "natural," as employed by Adam Smith, implies the same unmitigated approval as with the physiocrats, the answer must be "no." In general, the "natural" means "what ought to be," or "what is intended by a benevolent providence." But some telling passages might be quoted to show that Adam Smith's enthusiasm for the "natural" is considerably tempered by his noting the action of other plain, homely, matter-of-fact causes, even under the "system of natural liberty." The case of the landlord is one. His "rent costs him neither labor nor care." So again "the interests of the dealers in a particular branch of trade or manufactures is always in some respects different from and even opposite to that of the public." The persistence of these and similar cases were troublesome items in Adam Smith's system. They must have offended his nice metaphysical sense of reality. But it is greatly to his credit that he did not attempt to ignore them and was willing to sacrifice symmetry to truth. That would have offended his dispassionate practical judgment still more. He is willing to let these blemishes stand as exceptions to the beneficent trend of things. And in this respect he is better than some of his followers.

But yet, looking backward, the metaphysical animus in Smith is strong. The notion of a natural economic order guided his thinking as it had done the physiocrats'. But his natural order was the result of the free and spontaneous action of individual interest, acting, of course, under the constraint of providence. This idea of efficient self-interest was his specific innovation and his legacy to his followers. They seized upon it, and, informing and strengthening it with a new philosophy of the human mind, made it the basis of the classical system.

With the turning of the century, the constitution of economics experiences a substantial change, adding to its premises and shifting its attitude, but not in any such thoroughgoing way as to divest it of its metaphysical character. It is still a science dependent on the apparatus of preconceptions and postulates.

The Classical System

The leading figures in economics at the beginning of the century are Malthus and Ricardo, and they, with Adam Smith, are usually represented as the great triumvirate that gave to English political economy the character that it has held ever since. But it seems doubtful if either Malthus or Ricardo has exerted a greater influence than the great utilitarian who was the tone-giving influence in nearly every department of English thought for at least one half of the century. To the influence of Bentham's teaching the science owes that peculiar constitution which has given rise to its characterization as "the mechanics of natural liberty." To that same influence seems due the shifting of the center of interest from the analysis of production to the theory of value. And to his teaching in particular we owe the creation of that bondman of the science, the economic man. To him also is due the rapid rise to ascendency of the abstract deductive method. No doubt, other influences also contributed to these changes. The incorporation of the law of diminishing returns and the principle of population into the premises of the science are to be especially noted. As limiting conditions of the environment within which the economic action of man was noted, they, also, served to add emphasis to questions of value and distribution and besides imported a strain of pessimism into economic thinking. But no other influence was paramount to the influence of the new habits of thought, the foundations of which were so convincingly set forth in Bentham's "Principles." That influence was deep and pervasive. It was during the reign of Benthamite utilitarianism that English political economy achieved its greatest triumph and worked its way to an authoritative position in Great Britain as a foundation for public policy. How intimately associated in the public mind were utilitarianism and political economy is seen in Carlyle's writings where the monster "Utilitaria" and the "Dismal Science" are represented as different faces of the same vicious error.

The specific innovation that utilitarianism accomplished for political economy was the substitution of utility for providential design as the basis of theoretical formulations. Bentham gave to that metaphysics of human nature which had already emerged in Adam Smith, a matchless statement, an impregnable setting. It became for political economy a first principle. Adam Smith had shown how the actions of individual men, each seeking his own gain, inevitably promoted the public interest. But Adam Smith was no utilitarian. It was to only one class of actions that he assigned self-interest, and even there self-interest was but a wheel in the mechanism through which nature sought her ends. With the school of Bentham, however, "there is no true interest but individual interest," not only in the region of business but throughout the whole of life. Self-interest is, therefore, not a method of nature: it *is* nature.

To Adam Smith's followers, the "Wealth of Nations" was a sacred text. But like other sacred books, it needed interpretation. At the opening of the century the succession to Smith was in question. Malthus and Ricardo were aspirants for the leadership. Of the two, Malthus stands much nearer Smith in his philosophical preconceptions than does Ricardo. Like Smith, he imputes a purpose and constraining guidance to nature. But the victory went to Ricardo. He is a layman in philosophy, coming by his preconceptions tacitly, like many a later economist, through a simple process of absorption. That is, perhaps, what makes him so significant an exponent of the change in the point of approach that was taking place in the science. Ricardianism is Benthamite utilitarianism turned economic. It was given to Bentham to formulate the new articles of faith, to Ricardo, to use them.

In the hands of Ricardo and the disciples of Bentham, economics ceases to be a theory of the natural order and becomes, what was already foreshadowed in Adam Smith, a theory of the workings of human nature, but of human nature construed in hedonistic terms. Human nature is regarded as a competent mechanism for transforming the effects wrought upon it by the environment into an equivalent amount of conduct. Human action is viewed as inert, mechanical reaction, the effect in conduct being always quantitatively proportionate to the cause. This being

the general position of hedonism, the particular office of each of the sciences living under its dispensation was to show in detail, in its appropriate department of activity, how this reaction takes place. And since the process through which the human agent translates the adequate cause into its appropriate effects is obviously a valuation process, economics ceases to be primarily a theory of production and becomes a theory of valuation. Its principal problem is not to discover the causes of the productiveness of industry, but, as Ricardo puts it, to "determine the laws which regulate distribution." Value ceases to be regarded from the side of production and production becomes a category of value, and political economy takes a long step toward attaining, in appearance at least, what Professor Marshall three quarters of a century later describes as its proper goal—a theory of the equilibration of economic forces. In keeping with this change of base, value is no longer conceived as that which avails toward production, but as that which avails toward exchange. Labor falls from being the cause of value to being merely its measure. Value being taken as the earmark of wealth, the Ricardian economics becomes a theory of acquisition, attention being given to the money-making propensities rather than to productive activity. The distinction between industry and business, between the making of things and the making of money, is obscured and neglected. Archbishop Whately designated the essential interest of the utilitarian economics when he proposed the name "catallactics"—the science of exchange. However considerable the changes thus wrought in the theoretical structure of the science, the adoption of the utilitarian conception did not destroy or seriously damage the belief in a meliorative trend in events. The facts of diminishing productiveness and the law of population made it far from easy for the Ricardians to contemplate the "natural advance of society" with the unmixed satisfaction of the physiocrats and Adam Smith. But utilitarianism with its "greatest good of the greatest number" and "every one to count as one," saved the day for the system of natural liberty. Since society is the sum of its individual men, and the collective interest is the sum total of individual interests, it follows for utilitarian economics that each individual in pursuing his own private interest is also furthering the social good in the most effective fashion. And consequently the natural laws of the science under its utilitarian organization, tho they have lost something of their former coloring and unimpeachable authority, are still uttered in a sense that usually applies approval even tho in a greater degree than before they are exprest in the conventional language of science. Competition makes for the happiness of the greatest number. Therefore, the natural laws of political economy, which are the laws of competition, carry with them the suggestions of precepts.

So long as utilitarianism maintained its position unimpaired, economic science had a clear and easy course to follow—that is, until about the middle of the nineteenth century. During that time, it advanced to a commanding position among the social sciences because it was, of all of them, the most competent to turn the utilitarian expedient to effective account in explaining the motions of men and society. Its deliverances, tho frequently uttered in a spirit of dogmatism, were accepted almost unquestioned. Its standing with the public had never been better. There were differences among the Ricardians on questions of theoretical detail, but nothing touching the spiritual stability of the system they had devised. New departures in economics were taken or proposed by Sismondi in France, List in Germany, and Richard Jones in England. But highly valued as the work of these innovators has been by later economists, it made little impression upon the development of the science at the time. The authority of the classical political economy was not impeached and could not be impeached by any such attack. The time had not yet come. So long as utilitarianism was in the ascendent, the public credentials of political economy must needs be the best. But let the supremacy of utilitarianism once be threatened and troubles must begin for economics. The old constitution would no longer avail; a change must follow.

That change began about the middle of the century and, strangely enough, was associated with the intellectual enterprise of one who frequently has been represented as having given to political economy its most telling exposition from a clarified Ricardian standpoint—so much so, that the English economics of this middle period has sometimes been called the Ricardo-Mill political economy. But seen in the fuller and truer perspective of time, Mill's "Political Economy" is read to very little advantage, and his position is very badly understood, when he is represented as merely the "Secretaire de la Rédaction" keeping to his task with the "piety of a disciple." The truth of the matter is that Mill was at a transition in British thinking in a sense which neither he nor his following appreciated. In his hands political economy was shifting its ground insensibly, perhaps, but nevertheless unmistakably. Mill may have echoed the laws and phrases of the earlier generation of thinkers, but he was informing them with a new spirit which reflects the presence of the new influences that were effecting the thinking of his day. This is not the place to attempt an enumeration of these influences. They were several and diverse. It will answer the purpose to mention a single one connected with the decline of utilitarianism and its psychological counterpart. For this decline imparted a considerable change in the outlook and status of economic science. The change in question is already foreshadowed in Mill's "Logic" (1843), where the older view that individual conduct and character are but the mechanical product of the molding circumstances of the environment is qualified so far as to allow to the individual himself an influence and responsibility in shaping those circumstances. That is to say, a teleological trend is coming to be claimed for individual conduct where formerly such a trend was looked for and found only in the sequence of events in nature. In other words, the human nature, into the workings of which the economist inquired, is being differently construed under the guidance of a changed psychology. The psychology that was making its way in Mill's time was moving away from the older associationist standpoint and approaching the position of modern functional psychology. Centering its interest in the process of attention, it teaches that cognition or perception as the attentive process always implied the presence of a purpose or in-

John Stuart Mill

terest that elicits and guides the attention. That attention is essentially the process of examining a situation with the view to discovering what objects and conditions it contains that may be made use of for a given intended purpose. Human conduct, as viewed from this standpoint, ceases to be merely uniform, quantitative, inert reaction to adequate forces, and comes to be regarded as qualitative, purposive response to stimuli. The ethical counterpart of this revamped hedonism, the utilitarianism of Mill, correspondingly recognizes in the motivation of human conduct differences in kind as well as amounts of pleasures, and imputes to the selective agent in conduct a continuity of purpose that gives a spiritual stability to the life process. And herewith there begins to fall away from political economy that ancient article of faith which had seen in nature, and nature alone, that consummate, beneficent trend which enabled the economist to go to his work with conviction in his heart and confidence on his lips.

It is out of the question here to pursue the modifications wrought by Mill and his following in the received version of economic doctrine as a result of the change in their spiritual attitude. To one of these, though it is far from being the most significant, Mill himself calls special attention. It is the distinction he draws between the laws of the production of wealth and the laws of its distribution. The first are "real laws of nature dependent upon the properties of objects" and cannot be modified; but the second are only the "necessary consequences of particular social arrangements," and are "liable to be much altered by the progress of social improvement." And any attentive reader of Mill will recall many instances in which the outcome in the economic situation is represented as controlled or modified by other forces than mere pecuniary interest. The economic situation is far from frictionless. The many circumstances that Mill finds impeding the indiscriminate play of human competition, as, for example, in his discussion of the cause of differences of value or differences of wages, are cases in point. The "counteracting forces" as well as the "controlling principles" are noticed. It is the "negligible factors" that mar the symmetry and glow of his exposition. For similar reasons the unmitigated results of gain-seeking traffic are not necessarily to be construed as good, and competition loses something of its former virtue as the natural scheme of social salvation. There is a visible shrinkage of the teleological content of the laws of political economy. They imply less of approval than formerly, of the competitive process of which they are presumed to offer the explanation. They are still natural laws but with more of the limitations of later-day science—empirical generalizations, statements of impersonal uniformities, of coexistence and of sequence. Moreover, they are abstract laws built on assumptions and of hypothetical validity only. They are not entitled to exercise, therefore, a narrowly constraining influence on the economist who undertakes to apply them. Hence, Mill does not hesitate, in applying the principles of political economy to social philosophy, to propose some very substantial departures from what so many of his predecessors had been disposed to regard as a sovereign, natural principle of the science—the principle of *laissez-faire*. For Mill the "admitted functions of government embrace a much wider field than can easily be included within the ring-fence of any restrictive definition; and it is hardly possible to find any ground of justification common to them all, except the comprehensive one of general expediency." Liberty and property cease to be "natural rights" and are treated as human contrivances to be tried on their merits. To the emancipated mind of Mill's day, Bastiat's "Harmonies" was an anachronism, a voice from the past. Cairnes's impatient declaration that political economy has nothing to do with *laissez-faire*, shows how changed was the animus of the science.

Clearly, then, the forces of disintegration were at work in political economy and the constitution of the science as it left Mill's hands was a different thing from what it had been in the confident days of his father. When Cairnes some years later undertook to rest on the prestige of political economy by a guarded restatement of its leading principles and explanation of its character and methods, he believed himself, no doubt, to be walking in the footsteps of the masters. But the net result of his effort was to show how far political economy had drifted from its traditional position. The unpretentious character that Cairnes assigns to economic laws was far from expressing the ambition of the masters. The fact is that Cairnes, in attempting to give to political economy an irreproachable character, was simply sterilizing it. He set out to do for political economy what was being done in the natural sciences. In the overhauling the physical sciences were experiencing in Cairnes's day, an attempt was being made to read metaphysics out of them, and the physical sciences were in this respect serving as an example to the social sciences. Whatever success the effort to relieve science of the metaphysical taint may have had in the field of the former, the results of the innovation in political economy are not to be accounted as highly effective. Under Cairnes's dispensation political economy became not so much less metaphysical as less vitally metaphysical. The virile and imposing metaphysics of natural liberty simply gave way to an impersonal and spiritless conception of normality, and political economy becomes what it has remained for many of Cairnes's followers, a perfect, hypothetical science—formulations of theory in terms of tendencies—a body of ultimate principles. For the average reader, Cairnes took the discussion of economics out of the older region of reality into an atmosphere so tenuous that it could not preserve the aspect of vital interest. It was a metaphysical science without a message. It was neither stimulating philosophy nor good observation. Is it then surprizing that Cairnes should have complained that political economy had "ceased to be a subject of fruitful speculation with the educated public" or that Bagehot should have found that "it lies rather dead in the public mind" and that "it no longer matches with the most living ideas of people"?

Cairnes

It is hardly necessary to add that all this is said with no thought of disparaging the services of Cairnes's school to economic science. His is deservedly an honored position in the history of the science, and it may well be that the phase that it has seemed fit to connect with his name was an unavoidable phase in the development of the science. Indeed, there is good reason for thinking that it was. Economics was threatening to

become a closed circle and to come to a full stop. Such a condition could not, however, long endure in a subject of such vital concern. A reaction in some form was inevitable. What is matter for surprize in reviewing the history of the past fifty years, is that the reaction, in a form competent to deliver the science and give it a modern constitution, should have been so long in coming. Earnest efforts to regenerate economics and to recover for it something of its lost prestige have surely not been wanting. But the record, if the truth is told, is not one of big achievement or even of measurable progress when we consider the startling advances that have been taking place in other fields.

Looking first at the work of the economists of the last generation, mainly English and American, who have set themselves the special task of formulating economic theory, it will hold true, with some exception, that their work has been mainly work of repair and extension, rather than of fresh construction. They are the legitimate heirs of the classical tradition—the classical school of to-day. Magnify as we will the differences that separate these later theorists from their classical predecessors, the differences are differences of theoretic detail and emphasis rather than differences in point of approach or method of attack. The problems they handle are the old ones and they handle them after much the old fashion, tho, be it said, with some change in the phrasing of their conclusions. Utility may take the place of cost and productivity of sacrifice; a single law of distribution may do the work that once required three; but we still have the problems of the Ricardian economics and the apparatus for handling them shows little change. It is still deductive economics of the old type, seeking by a skilful manipulation of definitions to explain the normal case. A perfectly balanced system in which everything is reduced to order and symmetry and congruence with itself, that is accepted as the test of truth. Such, for example, is Professor Clark's "Distribution," a consummate achievement in the art of system-making. And tho the phrase "system-making" cannot be applied to Marshall's "Principles" without qualification, it is largely because the amplitude of accessories, with which he invests his treatment, divides our interest with the system. Every competent reader of this monumental work knows how much more it contains than a system. But tho Professor Marshall's practise is more liberal than his precept, he has made it clear on more than one occasion that the ideal he cherishes for economics is to place it on a firm foundation as a systematic science, seeking to establish a body of general principles—an organon, as he has called it—by those methods which the natural sciences of an earlier generation have made familiar. He aspires to make economics a perfect, quantitative science and would, therefore, keep value in its traditional position as the central problem of the science, to which and from which all else leads. The play of human motives working their way to a position of equilibrium, that is the thing to be explained. Recourse is therefore taken to the analogies of physics rather than biology and so the science remains a mechanics of human action—a study of balance rather than of growth—a theory of action, no doubt, but one in which the interest centers in the conditions that limit the play rather than in the factors that vary it. No doubt neither Professor Marshall nor his colleagues are indifferent to those considerations which the biological and anthropological sciences of our day are pressing upon the attention of the learned world. There are too many evidences in the writings of Professor Marshall, at least, of a sincere and solicitous regard for the view-points of these sciences, to charge such neglect. He is read to poor purpose if it is not discovered how the notions of continuity and development in the movement of things have tempered and broadened his attitude. They are the watchwords of his preface. But for all that, when the analysis is once under way, it is not the notion of development but rather that of stability that shapes the discussion.

Modern Classical School

The legitimacy of systematic science is clearly not to be impugned. Science it certainly is. The history of scientific endeavors in other fields shows that such work has, at one time or another, engrossed a considerable share of the leading minds; but the later history of many of these same sciences shows a diminishing conviction of its usefulness. And those that have been most successful in detaching themselves from the discipline of philosophy have given it up as an unprofitable enterprise and have taken to other and less pretentious methods. Systematic science must lose caste, because its tentative conclusions fail to satisfy that desire for concrete knowledge of things that it seems to be the appointed mission of science in our day to provide.

If this version of the matter be sound, it cannot but be a cause for serious misgiving that so much of the intellectual energy of the economists of the present day that is being devoted to theory should have taken such a lead. It lends substance to the criticism sometimes leveled against economists by the adepts of other sciences that it is behind the times in its adherence to outworn methods in handling its subject-matter. There seems to be room, if indeed there is not great need, for work of a different type from that which has engaged the attention of the neoclassical school. Progress demands it.

And much the same may be said of the diversion created by the Austrians. However much they may have done to advance the discussion of a particular detail of economic theory, albeit an important one, their achievement is not to be rated as a serious innovation for the science as a whole. Indeed, the ready assimilation of the doctrines of the Austrians into the body of the classical economics shows how near they were in temperament and standpoint to the school they set out to supplant. The movement has apparently spent its force and the science goes on its accustomed way.

What shall be said of the historical movement? To it is usually accorded the place of chief importance in the history of the reaction. It made its appearance about the middle of the century with the intention of saving political economy from its unprofitable career. The movement has been variously known as the inductive, historical, or German school. It was in fact all three; historical and inductive in its professed method, but German in its essential spirit. The rise of this school is not a self-explanatory phenomenon, but it is not enveloped in much mystery. Just as the classical political economy was shaped by English utilitarianism, so the German historical economics was an outgrowth of

Historical School

German philosophy. In each case economics was building on the current metaphysics of the home country. Each was a distinctive national product, and the historical movement, tho it has won adherents in other countries, has preserved up till to-day a peculiarly German character. Roscher started the movement. Reacting from the excessive *a priorism* of English political economy, stimulated by the example of the new historical jurisprudence, and inspired by the Hegelian notion of development, he set out to reorganize economics on a broader basis. The movement that he inaugurated soon found adherents. Bruno Hildebrant followed in 1848 with his "National Ökonomie der Gegenwart und Zukunft," and Karl Knies in 1853 with his epoch-making "Die Politische Ökonomie vom Standpunkte der geschichtlichen Methode." Taken together these works define the fundamental articles of the constitution of the new historical economics. They were its confession of faith. Knies emphasized the idea of the parallel development of economic ideas and economic institutions—the idea of historical relativity. But Roscher was more ambitious; he aspired to make of economics a "philosophy of economic history" whose special function should be to discover the laws of cultural development in their economic aspects. Hegel had given to German thought the conception of organic society. According to this, society has a life history of like kind with organic nature; therefore, the process of organic life supplies the proper analogy for studying the cultural sequence. It was a part of this conception which Roscher seized on—that the cultural sequence repeats itself in cycles of "youth," "maturity" and "old age," each nation going through much the same course. The history of the past, therefore, is prophetic of the movement of the future; for history repeats itself. The laws of historical development are the "natural laws" of society. It is thus that history became the method of the new departure—history, that is to say, as officially interpreted by Hegel's formula. Seen in the light of its derivation, therefore, the historical school was as much metaphysical as historical. History was to be read with a purpose. "He," says Hildebrant, "can have no right understanding of history to whom the conditions and needs of his own time are unknown." It is the business of the economist "to discover the link which the present generation is to add to the chain of social development." The movement, therefore, from the beginning had an ethical as well as an historical import. Its self-appointed mission was to control, as well as to explain, development. It was a "*historisch-ethische* Richtung." As Held stated it, the new school "demands a conception of the science, which includes social policy"; and since, according to the German view, the State is the appropriate organ of social control, the new economics was a theory of the State and its functions as much as it was a theory of economy and its changes.

Whether the reaction thus described is to be regarded as a far-reaching and salutary reaction in the field of economic study is not here in question except so far as it has had a bearing upon the transformation of the theoretic constitution of the science. Every economist, no matter of what school, knows how much his attitude has been modified and tempered by the criticisms of the "Historiker." The "abstracter economics" has been shown its proper place, its spiritual pride has been reduced, and it has been put, as it were, on its good behavior. Every historian as well as economist knows, too, how much history owes to the activity of the new school. If it has turned out much lumber of which nothing better can be said than that it is scholarship, it has also given some noteworthy and vital researches of the highest value. But all this and more that might be said to the same effect is beside the mark of our present interest. What has this school done, in a positive way, to give a new formulation of theory? Its earlier champions promised a rapid and radical transformation of economic science. Has that promise been fulfilled?

It may be said at once that so far as the activities of the historical school have moved in the orbit described for it by its founders it has failed to make good. Economic theory has not experienced at the hands of the exponents of the new method the reorganization of which it stood in need. Institutional history is not economic science. A narrative and descriptive account of things is not a scientific relation. The theory of institutions requires that these should be accounted for in terms of determinable cause and effect. A causal sequence implies very much more than historical succession. So far as the work of the historical school has been a search after the laws of social development, it has seldom eventuated in any more definite articles of theory than such loose and sweeping historical generalizations as, for example, Wagner's law of the increasing extension of State activity, or Held's law of the evolution of industry through the successive stages of family system, gild system, domestic system, and factory system. Such and similar guesses at "the curve of economic evolution" may be useful for the purposes of the economists who use them, but they do not make good the claim of their inventors that they "see things as they actually are" —"free . . . of all *a priori* theories." The frankly avowed preoccupation of many members of the school, with learning the "significance and appropriateness" of things, discredits their theoretical work no less decisively than it does that of the Manchester school whom they set out to supplant. The doctrines of the one are as unmistakably of metaphysical derivation as those of the other. But since historical induction seems a less competent contrivance than abstract deduction for turning a metaphysical postulate to rapid account in the formulation of theory, the theoretical output of the historical school has been notably small. Indeed, many of the school appear to have given up the profession of theory, being content to use as their working principles, when occasion arises, the body of doctrines worked out by the later economists of the classical trend. It was such a change of heart, no doubt, that made it possible for Professor Wagner, some years ago, to express such ready acquiescence in the work of Professor Marshall. It would appear, for this and many other symptoms of like effect, that the large group of economists for whom Wagner speaks—the historical proper—has abandoned the field of theory and taken to writing history.

When, however, we turn to the branch of the historical school of which Professor Schmoller is the representative, we meet a different situation. There is much in the later activity of this branch that is of capital importance for economic theory

and much that sets it apart from its own past as well as from the conventional line of the historical trend. Taking, at the outset, a position so radical that it drew from his colleagues the characterization of "extreme Historismus," Professor Schmoller yet stands to-day as one of the foremost workers in the field of theoretical construction. Whether or not such an outcome was to have been expected as a result of the interest that hitherto engaged the activity of Professor Schmoller and his school may be doubted. It is well known that Professor Schmoller began his career by discouraging all attempts at theory as premature and ill-advised until an extensive equipment of historical, statistical, and other material should have been provided, and his utterances on different occasions left no doubt that this preliminary work would need to be done with such exhaustiveness as to absorb the energy of at least one generation. An eventual formulation of results was avowed to be the end in view; but the long-continued and painstaking devotion to history, and the easy avoidance of theory, gave much ground for the belief that history rather than theory would always be their characteristic product. Indications, however, have not been wanting in the writings of Bücher, Knapp, and others, that history was not to be the last word of the school but the pathway to construction. Above all, the work of these gave substantial promise that the theory at which they aimed would not rest with empirical, historical generalizations, but would lead to laws of causal sequence. It is this latter aspect that makes historical economics, as seen through Schmoller's "Grundriss," of such significance for economic theory. The function of economic theory as Professor Schmoller understands it is very different from the conventional view. He made it clear, some years ago, in a review of the Austrian doctrines, that he could not regard the doctrine of value as the main preoccupation of economic theory. For him, the economic process includes much more, and much of more significance than the process of valuation. What he aspires to offer is a theory of institutions, more specifically a theory of the factors that have shaped the successive phases that make up the life history of these institutions, and the outcome, as we have it, in the existing situation. The economic situation, as Professor Schmoller views it, has nothing definitive about it. Institutions are always regarded as a part of the conventional apparatus of life. They are still in the making, therefore, and always will be; and they are not accounted for by representing them as functions in an orderly and rationalized scheme of things. They represent the accumulated influence of a complex of forces whose shifting play is to be ascertained by a careful scrutiny of the exigencies under the stress of which the process of adaptation has taken place. The interest centers, therefore, much more in the origin, variation, and survival of institutions and habits, so far as these determine or are the economic situation, than in their present working or efficiency as rated by some conventional standard. The result is, therefore, to be described as a genetic rather than an historical account of institutions—a natural history of institutions in their economic aspects, the chronological sequence always giving way to the causal sequence. The point of view is that of evolution rather than of "historical development," the discussion habitually following the lines that evolutionary science has made familiar. Elaborate notice is taken of such features and circumstances of environment as have an appreciable bearing upon the economic life process, and a no less careful regard is paid to the changing make-up of human nature; for it is the complex interaction of man and his environment that issues in institutions.

Schmoller

For such a survey of the natural growth of institutions, history is of obvious importance. It describes the field of investigation; but more than history is needed. One has only to turn the pages of Professor Schmoller's "Grundriss" to see how widely he has ranged in fields of knowledge that lie beyond the conventional frontier of economic science, as it has usually been cultivated by economists of either the historical or the classical trend. The fact that is of moment, and that is to be signalized in following the progress of our science, is that we have here a new type of economics, a type that attempts, and with much success, to carry into the study of economic institutions the spirit and method of modern science.

A. C. Miller.

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POLITICAL SCIENCE may be defined as that branch of social science which treats of the theory of the State. Its province is not coextensive with the investigation of society. It is concerned only with such activities of society as are organized in the constitution. "A population speaking a common language and having ideas as to the fundamental principles of rights and wrongs, and resident upon a territory separated by high mountain ranges or broad bodies of water, or by climatic differences from other territory," [1] such is the State behind the Constitution. It presents us with the natural basis of a true and permanent political establishment, but does not constitute the subject-matter of political science. Political science studies the State within the constitution and shows how it expresses its will in acts of government. It inquires how this State within the constitution is created and molded by the State behind the constitution, but beyond this political science proper does not go. The State behind the constitution, or natural society as we should otherwise call it, is for politics, as for political economy, a datum. The detailed study of its origins and evolution falls within the province of sociology (*q. v.*). Political science, however, like sociology, finds its premises in facts of human nature. The motive forces of political life are the desires of men, but they are desires

[1] *The American Commonwealth, Political Science Quarterly*, vol. i., No. 1, March, 1886, p. 13.

massed and generalized, desires felt simultaneously and continuously by thousands, even by millions of men who are by them simultaneously moved to concerted action. Transmuted into will, these desires become the phenomena of sovereignty—the obedience-compelling power of the State—"original, absolute, unlimited, universal power over the individual subject and over all associations of subjects."[1] Political science describes these gigantic forces and studies their action. It assumes for every nation a national character and concerns itself in the political constitution of the State scientifically deducible from the assumed character of the nation. It takes the fact of sovereignty and builds upon it. It starts where Aristotle started, with the dictum that man is a political animal. Until within quite modern times writers on political science included in their works a treatment of the topics that are included to-day under the special sciences of politics and political economy. But the whole group of subjects which these names suggest—natural rights, democracy, individualism, socialism, questions of finance, statistics, and the like—have now gathered about them a history and theory too comprehensive for any but special treatment.

Definition and Nature

Political science, therefore, strictly construed, limits itself at the present time to the discussion of the nature and functions of the State. The general topics, for instance, treated under the caption Political Science in Prof. J. W. Burgess's "Political Science and Constitutional Law," are: the idea of the nation; the present geographical distribution of nations and nationalities; natural political character; the idea and conception of the State; the origin of the State; the forms of the State; the ends of the State. Constitutional law, or the study of the concrete methods by which the State exercises its powers, is naturally a closely allied subject, but, nevertheless, in this work it receives separate treatment under such topics as the organization of the State within the constitution in Great Britain, the United States, Germany, and France; the idea, source, content, and guaranty of individual liberty; the systems of individual liberty guaranteed in the aforementioned nations; their forms of government; the construction and powers of their legislatures; the duties of the executive and judiciary.

Early writers on political science failed to make these distinctions, and their treatment of the nature of society in general, of the organization of the State within the constitution, and of the forms and functions of government, was therefore less clear and scientific than now obtains.

Historically, political science begins with the whole mass of primitive political theory.

In every community of human beings, however rude, there may be detected some form of regulating authority which determines in some degree, however slight, the relations of the members of the community with one another. Very early in the development of civilization man sought some explanation of the phenomena of authority that should satisfy the national spirit. The first results of this seeking were often ridiculous enough, in the judgment of more advanced reason, tho not more so than the earliest results of investigation into the phenomena of the physical world. Such attempts were the beginnings of political science. Writers, however, who hold that the most satisfactory distinction between political science and the wider social science of sociology is based upon the existence of a political consciousness in a community are inclined to leave this subject of primitive ideas of authority to the latter branch of thought and begin the history of political science at that point where the idea of the State, as distinct from the family and the clan, becomes a determining factor in the life of the community. When the laws of Manu in India, the sayings of Confucius and Mincius in China, the sacred books of the Hebrews and the priestly traditions of Egypt and Babylon, were formulated, they represented the culmination of a long process of the development of political ideas. The political theories of Plato and Aristotle, from which it has been customary to date the beginnings of political science, likewise were but the culmination of Greek thought on the subject—thought that had its origins in the civilizations of Cyprus and Ionia, and in the formulated ideas of the Hittites, the Hebrews, the Babylonians, the Egyptians, and their earlier intellectual forebears. The earlier ideas were inextricably blended in the conceptions known to us as legal, ethical, theological, ecclesiastical, and even mathematical. The Oriental Aryans, for instance, never freed their politics from the theological and metaphysical environment in which it is embedded to-day. The Semitic Jews and Saracens at times achieved rather more, but their achievement was not permanent. The Turanian Chinese attained a strikingly advanced position in the evolution of ethical doctrine, but neither in theory nor in practise did they ever take the further and decisive step of discriminating between ethical and political conceptions. The Aryans of Europe have shown themselves to be the only peoples to whom the term "political" may be properly applied. Hence it is that political science, in the strictly modern meaning of the term, began with the Greeks.

Beginnings

I. Classic Times

Political science among the Greeks was incidentally treated in writings attributed to Homer and Solon and was to some extent discust by Thucydides, Socrates, the Sophists, and others. It was left to Plato and Aristotle, however, to place the subject upon its permanent basis.

Three dialogues, "The Statesman," "The Republic," and "The Laws," contain substantially all Plato's political ideas. Of these, the first is primarily an exercise in dialectic, and the second mainly a treatise on ethics. Only the third, the work of the author's mature years, has the deliberate purpose of dealing with political subjects. In "The Republic" the ideal State is considered almost exclusively. In "The Statesman" this point of view is retained, but certain highly significant phases of actual government are nevertheless considered. In "The Laws" Plato formally abandons his idealism and seeks to set forth a system that would be workable among imperfect men. "The Republic" is the greatest of the three works. In it the first cause of the State is found in the diversity of men's desires and the necessity of mutual assistance in

Plato

[1] John W. Burgess, "Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law," vol. i., p. 58. Gunn & Co., 1898.

satisfying them. A community arising from this cause embraces three classes of people: producers of sustenance, warriors to protect the laborers, and, finally, counselors and magistrates. These three classes working harmoniously together will insure the ideal State. Thus was foreshadowed the modern principle of division of labor. The ideal unity of the State is set forth in the famous discussion of communism. Private property can have no existence in the ideal State. Parents are not to know their children nor children their parents. The relations of the sexes are to be subject to the absolute control of magistrates. In education is to rest the permanent stability of the State.

On the character of the citizens, in the ultimate analysis, Plato relies for the successful operation of government. But this government is not thought of as democratic. The real State, for Plato, exists only in the abstract idea of the State; hence the real rulers are only those who possess knowledge of this idea. In "The Republic" occurs the celebrated descending series of the forms of the State, from the perfect aristocracy, through timocracy, oligarchy, and democracy to tyranny. In timocracy love of honor (τιμή) or glory dominates rather than justice; oligarchy is the rule of the wealthy over the many; democracy produces anarchy, and finally results in tyranny.

In general the political philosophy of Plato was largely determined by the conditions of Greek history and was the product of his judgment upon existing institutions. Of his influence, says Dunning in his "History of Political Theories":

> The aristocratic city-State was the absolute limit of Plato's thought. But so fixt is the backward look of philosophy that some nineteen centuries were destined to elapse before political theorists freed themselves from the city-State idea and adjusted their speculations to the fact of systems in which the citizens were numbered by millions.

Aristotle begins with the concrete and the actual as Plato with the ideal. He is said to have analyzed more than one hundred and fifty constitutions.

From this work he drew much of the material for "The Politics." Nevertheless, the tremendous influence of his master, Plato, and of contemporary Greek thought is reflected in his theories. One of the great advances he made on Plato was the disentanglement of political from ethical conceptions. The good of man, Aristotle held, is the perfect development and activity of all the powers that are in him. It is to be attained only by association with others. The good of the individual is merged in that of the State. Abstractly, then, ethics was, to him, a subdivision of politics. The separation of the two fields was largely on the practical side of Aristotle's treatment of the problem. The first book of "The Politics" describes the practical basis of the State. The State is an association of persons. It develops out of the family, household, and village. But the State is different from the household. In the household the master holds different relationships to the various members. In the State the ruler bears exactly the same relation to all citizens. This contention, however, required a justification of slavery. That justification Aristotle found in the fact that men differ from each other by nature. Only those of great ability are fitted to command, others must obey. The former are by nature masters, the latter slaves. The combination of the two is necessary in the household. Therefore slavery is in accordance with nature. Aristotle severely criticized much of Plato's thought—especially his communistic scheme of the State. The working classes Aristotle deems essential to the State's existence, but this does not make them citizens. Their actual admission has been justified, he thinks, only by a regrettable lack of true material. However, Aristotle ever seeks the best attainable by actual men and under the given conditions.

Aristotle

True to the principle of the golden mean he holds that form of State best in which the middle class is stronger than either or both of the extremes. Circumstances, however, may make any form the best obtainable. Stability is the main essential to be secured.

From Aristotle's time to the period of Rome's power practically no contributions were made to political science. The Epicureans were interested in the ethics of the individual. Any form of State that produced quiet was sufficient for them. The Stoics, however, did concern themselves with the analysis of a law of nature above and beyond all human enactments—a principle which, says Lecky ("History of European Morals," vol. i., chap. ii.), "has been the basis of the best morality and of the most influential tho most chimerical political speculation of later ages."

Rome's genius was practical rather than philosophical. Her institutions rather than the theories of her great men exerted that profound influence on history for which she is justly famed. Polybius and Cicero were the chief writers. The first was responsible for the first formal exposition of the principle of check and balance in constitutional organization, the latter developed and outlined more fully than had previously been done the practical application of the concept, natural law.

II. The Medieval Period

The main political problem of the Middle Ages was the relation of Church and State. Rome had bequeathed to the successors of Charlemagne the traditions of a great State. The Church had built upon the simple teachings of Christ a great secular power. Thomas Aquinas (*q. v.*), in a treatise "Of the Government of Princes," left unfinished, but completed by his disciple, Ptolemy of Lucca, argued the independence of the Church. Dante (*q. v.*), in his "De Monarchia," defended the independence of the State. (For the discussion, see AQUINAS; CANON LAW; DANTE; MIDDLE AGES.) Both sides admit the need of a wise ruler. Only under such a ruler, said Dante, is freedom possible.

> For citizens are not for the sake of the consuls, nor a nation for the king; but contrariwise the consuls are for the sake of the citizens, the king for the sake of the nation. For as a commonwealth is not subordinate to laws, but laws to the commonwealth, so men who live according to law are not for the service of the lawgiver, but he for theirs; which is the philosopher's opinion in that which he hath left us concerning the present matter. Hence it is plain also that tho a consul or king in regard of means be the lord of others, yet in regard of the end they are the servants of others; and most of all the monarch, who, without doubt, is to be deemed the servant of them all.

But this, tho the main, was not the only problem of the Middle Ages. Out of the unsettled condition of the times, out of the battle between the conflicting claims of emperor and pope,

of kings and barons, of empire and free city, rose the claims of the right of local government and the conception of limited monarchy.

III. The Modern Period

The modern study of political science is sometimes said to have begun with Machiavelli. He seems, rather, a link between the Middle Ages and the present, but to belong to neither. Concerning the vexed question of how to interpret his great work "The Prince," see MACHIAVELLI; but whether it be interpreted as satire or heartless opportunism, Machiavelli shows with masterly keenness how an unlimited monarch may take advantage of his subjects' characteristics to bend all to his will. He is modern in his study of facts; he is medieval in his worship of the State and kingly power. Buntschli considers his great service to have been that he divorced political science from theology.

In the sixteenth century political theory, like all other phases of intellectual activity, was dominated by the influence of the Reformation. Luther, Melanchthon, Zwingli, and Calvin all held views on political subjects profoundly different from those of the unmoral and unreligious ideas of Machiavelli. The relation of State to Church regained its importance in discussion, and doctrines earlier set forth by Marsiglio, Ockam, Gerson, and Cusanus were developed in greater detail. The insistence of the reformers upon individual responsiblity was still further emphasized by Knox, George Buchanan, Althusius, and Mariana. From this period on the state of nature, the contractual origin of society and government, and the indefeasible sovereignty of the people became the concepts which dominated the field until well into the nineteenth century. It was to Jean Bodin (*q. v.*), however, in his "Of the Commonwealth," that modern political science owes the statement of the necessary concept of sovereignty (*q. v.*), in the clear and unmistakable terms now current. To his mind the State could do no wrong. He it was also who reestablished political science where Aristotle had placed it, on a foundation of history and observation, and by the side of, not dependent from, the sciences of ethics and politics. After his death, however, his method of treating the subject suffered two centuries of eclipse through the prevalence of the *a priori* and deductive systems introduced by Grotius and Hobbes. It was in Montesquieu that Bodin found a worthy successor, and with him he shares the honor of marking out the lines within which the dominant philosophy of the later nineteenth century placed itself.

Not less famous than Bodin, however, is the name of Hugo Grotius, who, by his formulation of a scheme of rights and duties applicable to the relations of nation to nation, has come to be looked upon as the founder of international law (*q. v.*).

Among the early English works Fortescue's "On the Nature of the Law of Nature" and "On the Governance of England," as well as More's "Utopia," require mention. Hobbes (*q. v.*) with his "Leviathan" and Locke (*q. v.*) with his "Two Treatises of Government," were nevertheless the dominant factors in the formulation of political theory in England. (For a full discussion of the origin of and the difference between Hobbes's, Locke's, and Rousseau's forms of the theory of natural rights and the social contract, see NATURAL RIGHTS.) With Hobbes all men are by nature free and equal; but since in this state without government they would constantly be at war, they have compacted together to give over their natural rights to some person or persons who have the sovereignty, and having given away their rights they no longer have them, and hence they can only absolutely obey. The sovereign is irresponsible and absolute. The people are his subjects.

With Locke, the people have made a similar compact, but have reserved the right to withdraw their allegiance when they will. Hence the right of revolution as defended in his "Essay on Civil Government."

Rousseau's social compact is one in which the people surrender their rights to all the people and not to the sovereign.

These theories exerted a profound influence over the modern world. The doctrine of natural rights played a prominent part in producing the French Revolution; it produced declarations of rights in various American colonies; it molded the Declaration of Independence and has affected the whole history of the U. S. even more than that of Europe. (For further discussion of these topics, see CONSTITUTIONALISM; NATURAL RIGHTS.)

Natural Rights

In England first arose an effective check to these theories. Montesquieu's "The Spirit of the Laws" had, indeed, appeared fourteen years before Rousseau's "Social Contract," but Montesquieu, like Machiavelli, stands more or less isolated from political theory as its course is now traced. While he stood for history, observation, and broad generalization as the method of approach to political, economic, and social truth, as against the absolute standard of "nature" set up by most of the eighteenth-century writers, he nevertheless failed to exert great influence until the nineteenth century.

It was Hume who brilliantly disputed the validity of the social contract and Blackstone and Bentham who built up where Hume tore down.

Bentham's "Fragment on Government" appeared in 1776, but he belongs distinctly to the nineteenth century. He draws the following distinction between "natural" and "political" society: "When a number of persons (whom we may style subjects)," he says, "are supposed to be in the habit of paying obedience to a person or an assemblage of persons, of a known and certain description (whom we may call governor or governors), such persons altogether (subjects and governors) are said to be in a state of political society. When, however, a number of persons are supposed to be in the habit of conversing with each other, at the same time that they are not in any such habit as mentioned above, they are said to be in a state of natural society." Nevertheless, as Bentham goes on to show, the difference is one of degree only. Association passes by insensible gradations into definite and permanent relations. In political society laws are the commands of the supreme governor, the field of whose authority is indefinite. The subject's duty is to obey punctually, but his right is also to "censure freely." The basis of censure is to be utility—the greatest good of the greatest number. (See BENTHAM.)

The Nineteenth Century

Austin (*q. v.*) is a writer whose works have been much discust and much misunderstood.

He writes abstractly and dogmatically, developing the clear concept of sovereignty with little reference to moral, social, or historical considerations. This lack, Pollock says, "has been supplied by Sir Henry Maine in the two last chapters of his 'Early History of Institutions,' and later by Mr. Frederic Harrison, in the *Fortnightly Review*. Still more lately Professor Holland has exhibited the results of the English school in a form wholly freed from the old controversial encumbrances, and thereby freed also from the extreme insularity which has prevented Austin's work entirely, and Bentham's to a great extent, from being appreciated by Continental thinkers."

Germany

The German school of political science is characteristically transcendental. It begins with Kant's "Rechtsstaat" and the German "Naturrecht"; it is developed in Fichte's socialistic treatment of his early individualistic conception of the State as composed of individuals, and Hegel's individualistic treatment of a socialistic conception of the State; it results in the paternalism of German State socialism, and the democratic socialism of Marx and Lassalle.

German political science, however, like German political economy, has developed a strong historical school. Even Hegel, in his theories, has much reference to history. Savigny, however, is the great German founder of the historical school. The problem, however, most discust in political science in the present century has been the function and the extent of the function of the State. Wilhelm von Humboldt in 1791 argued that the sole duty of the State was the maintenance of the legal security of each individual; but most Germans have differed from this. Fichte notably broke through these narrow bounds. Friedrich J. Stahl considers the State "the union of the multitude to an ordered common existence, the setting up of a moral authority and power, exalted and majestic, to which the subjects must submit." Fr. Schmitthenner declared the State to be "an ethical organism for the purpose of giving public expression to life, law, well-being and culture." Waitz ("Politik," 1862) says: "The State is not something arbitrarily made; it does not arise by a contract between men nor by the power of one or more individuals. The State grows like an organism, but not according to the laws, nor for the ends of mere natural life; it has its foundation in the higher moral tendencies of man, and is a sphere for the realization of moral ideas; it is not a natural but a moral organism."

More recent thought of this school has emphasized the element of nationality. Welcker in Freiburg, Lieber in New York, Laurent in Ghent, Mancini and Padelitti in Rome, Pierantoni in Naples, and notably Bluntschli in Zurich and Munich, have emphasized this thought.

England

The opposition to the historical and national school has been mainly in England. Mill criticized the paternal theory of the State from the radical standpoint, tho he later in life in many practical ways modified this and learned even to call himself a Socialist. (See MILL.) Buckle and Bagehot apply the methods of natural science and environment to the theory of the State; Baron Eötvös in Hungary, Laboulaye in France, Morley in England, follow Mill's liberalism. Herbert Spencer bitterly opposes any extension of the function of the State, in which he is opposed by Huxley (*q. v.*) and Ritchie (*q. v.*). Latest political science, however, devotes itself more to special subjects and historical research and analysis. Gneist in Germany, Stubbs, Anson, and Dicey in England, Macy in America, are among the chief students of the English Constitution. Laboulaye writes admiringly of the American Constitution. Treitschke, Lorenz von Stein, and others have studied Prussian and German administration. De Tocqueville (early in the century) and Bryce and Lecky (recently) have written general studies of American democracy. Paul Janet, in France, has written what some consider the best general history of political science.

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POLITICAL SCIENCE IN AMERICA: It would be difficult to overestimate the influence which the rise of the great American Republic has had on the recent phases of political philosophy. Not that the United States has produced a striking literature of the subject. The American spirit is more at home in practise than in theory. It has been the facts of our political history, far more than the literary formulation of our political science, that have produced important results. To the philosophers of Europe, groping blindly about among the rubbish of antiquated systems for a foundation on which to build a strong modern theory of the State, the development of American political institutions was full of suggestions. The Americans themselves worked away at their nation-making quite untroubled, for the most part, by philosophical perplexities. In the crisis of attaining their independence the speculative minds among them followed unquestioningly the theories of natural rights and social contract, which were the staple of English and of Continental thought. There was nothing original in the ideas of Otis, Adams, Mason, or Jefferson; only in the application was novelty to be found. In the crisis of constitution-making, the same was true. Hamilton, Madison, and the other leaders in the movement of 1787–89, followed the theories of Locke and Montesquieu and Burke; but exhibited a marvelous sagacity in distinguishing the features of those theories that were of immediate applicability to the problems at hand, and in rejecting that which, however attractive in philosophy, was not of practical moment.

The reaction of American methods on Europe became manifest at the outbreak of the French Revolution. The formulation in written documents of the rights of subjects and the form and powers of governments followed American precedents; and the effect of this practise, in clarifying thought on political subjects, was enormous. In America itself speculation in reference to the written constitution took a narrow legal form. The meaning of the language in this one concrete document absorbed our interest, and we became a race of constitutional lawyers. But beyond the

seas the written constitution, as a new phenomenon in politics, excited debate as to its abstract significance, and as to its importance, not to a particular State, but to the State in general. A new turn was given to the perennial discussion as to the relative position of monarch and people in reference to ultimate political authority. European thinkers, with the concept of a written constitution to work upon, were able to assign to the popular will a much more definite function in the abstract state. Moreover, the progress of an untrammeled democracy on this side of the water attracted the attention of social philosophers. The study of our institutions has been the source of such profound reflections, on both the good and the bad aspects of democratic development, as are to be found in De Tocqueville, in Maine, and in Bryce.

The crisis of our struggle for national unity, culminating in the Civil War, produced a considerable volume of literature, in which a solution for our practical problems was sought in the principles of abstract political theory. Lieber's "Political Ethics," published before 1840, was the most complete treatise of a broad philosophical character prior to the war; and this work followed very closely the lines of German speculation of the day. Of our great ante-bellum statesmen, Calhoun was the most endowed with the spirit of speculation, and his "Disquisition on Government" embodies some very suggestive ideas on the ultimate principles of government, apart from his peculiar interpretation of the American Constitution. Of the works called forth by the exigencies of reconstruction at the end of the war, Hurd's "Theory of Our National Existence," Brownson's "American Republic," and Mulford's "The Nation" are notable. All of these betray a close dependence on prominent schools of European thought, but all are devoted to adapting the old formulas to the determination of a national sovereignty in the Constitution of the U. S. This question of sovereignty in relation to our written constitution, is a characteristic feature in the work of Jameson, "The Constitutional Convention," and in that of Burgess on "Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law." The definitions and distinctions evolved in these latter works in the conception of sovereignty have denoted a clear advance in political theory, and have been correspondingly influential. A similar line of advance is to be seen in the works of Anson and Dicey on the English Constitution, and these writers, the latter in particular, reveal their indebtedness to American institutions for light in pushing their way. At the same time continental thought, especially since the problem of German national organization was solved, has looked for inspiration and example across the Atlantic. Laband and Jellinek, the leading German publicists, are finding solutions for the problems of constitutional law and politics in the same conceptions of sovereignty that have been developed by American conditions. It is not unfair to say that American facts and American theories, together, have given to individual rights their surest present guaranty through written constitutions, and to national authority its surest support through the interpretation of sovereignty in those constitutions. WM. A. DUNNING.

Since the Spanish-American War several new problems have arisen. The first of these was the determination of the republic's colonial or imperial policy. That has been settled, apparently, on the basis that all continental territory of the U. S. shall be made, ultimately, states of the union and that all extracontinental territory shall either be made, ultimately, states of the union—as, possibly, the Hawaiian Islands and Porto Rico—or be erected into communities even more completely self-governing than states of the union, under the protectorate of the U. S. A second question of importance is whether interpretation of the Constitution can be made sufficiently elastic to meet the mighty changes that have been wrought recently in the structure of our political and civil society and in our commercial and industrial relations. No amendment has been made to the Constitution for some twoscore years. The methods of amendment provided in the instrument itself are unwieldy and possibly unworkable. Nevertheless, it is becoming more and more evident that by interpretation, amendment, or otherwise, the attainment of some reasonably rapid means of adopting the written instrument to new conditions is a problem of political science in this country that must soon be solved. The proper construction of the upper chamber of the legislature and the fixing of the fundamental relation between the legislature and executive branches of government are also present-day problems of American political science. Extension of the legislation of the federal government into the domain of private law—especially in the regulation of commerce and matrimonial relations—and the limitations to be placed on such extension is still another question of importance.

POMEROY, ELTWEED: President of National Direct Legislation League; born at Newark, N. J., 1860. Educated in public schools, graduating from Newark High School, 1878, he engaged in the manufacture of writing-ink, mucilage, paste, sealing-wax, etc., with the firm now known as Pomeroy Brothers Company, and of which he is now president; he has traveled extensively and has worked for various economic and political reforms. Mr. Pomeroy is a conservative Socialist of the American Fabian type, but refuses to connect himself with the Socialist Party; believes that nothing can be more democratic either in principle or practise than direct legislation of the initiative and referendum, and therefore has chosen that for his life-work. President of National League since its formation in 1896, he has also been secretary of the Direct Legislation League of New Jersey since 1892; edited the *Direct Legislation Record* for nine years; at one time associate editor of *The Arena*. Secretary of National Social and Political Conference, 1899; chairman of Conference in 1901; member of National Committee of the People's Party. He is author of "By the People"; has also written on socialism and many economic subjects in the magazines and public journals. *Address*: Milburn, N. J.

POORHOUSE (for statistics, see PAUPERISM; POOR RELIEF): A public institution for the care and support of the poor in general. In America such an institution is frequently called an almshouse, but in England this latter term is usually reserved for small single houses, generally supported by private charity, in which one or more poor persons may live. The institution

in England corresponding to the public poorhouse or almshouse in America is the workhouse, so called because all inmates who are able are compelled to work. The workhouse in England is maintained by the Poor Law Union (see POOR-LAWS), while the poorhouse in the United States is usually a county institution, tho in New England it is maintained by the town, and some cities have independent poorhouses of their own. The poorhouse in rural districts is frequently located on a large farm, and is often spoken of as the "poor farm" or "county farm." All of these terms have of late years been giving way, and rightly, to such terms as "county infirmary" and "county home."

Poorhouses were unknown in classical antiquity. With the advent of Christianity, however, houses for the care of the helpless poor began to be provided; and the Emperor Julian, imitating the Christians, issued an edict ordering the erection of poorhouses. During the Middle Ages the work of the poorhouse was chiefly performed by the hospitals, which were in reality ecclesiastical almshouses for the reception not only of the destitute sick, but of destitute children, the aged, the infirm, and the helpless of every class. Toward the end of the Middle Ages, also, a great many private almshouses for the shelter of the poor were established by private bequests, many of which still exist in European countries.

History

The famous Poor Law of Elizabeth (1601) provided for the erection and maintenance of poorhouses by parishes, and especially commended that those unable to work should be relieved therein. But the parishes, being small administrative units, were slow to avail themselves of this permission, and comparatively few poorhouses were erected. In 1697 the city of Bristol erected the first workhouse, a poorhouse in which the inmates were compelled to work if able, the idea being in part to make them contribute to their own support, and in part also, at first, to teach them trades. The Bristol workhouse being successful, the example was followed by other cities, and in 1723 Parliament passed an act enabling two or more parishes to combine for the erection of a common workhouse. It was not, however, until 1834, with the passage of the Poor Law Amendment Act (see POOR-LAWS), requiring that every Poor Law Union have at least one workhouse, that the workhouse became universal in England.

The early settlers in America usually cared for their few helpless poor by boarding them out with farmers; and this primitive method is still followed in portions of the U. S. that are thinly populated. Later, when the number of helpless dependents had increased, in order to diminish their cost and perhaps provide more humane treatment, the town or county authorities purchased land and erected a public poorhouse, or even more frequently made use of some farmhouse purchased with the land for such an institution. The management of this institution and the care of the inmates were usually let out by contract to the lowest responsible bidder, a system which still prevails, as we shall presently show, in many parts of the U. S. At this stage of development the poorhouse was the public catch-all for all classes of dependents. Children, insane, feeble-minded, epileptics, cripples, blind, deaf-mutes, the sick, the aged, and the infirm of all sorts were herded together with little care and often in dire misery.

About the middle of the nineteenth century special institutions began to be established in the U. S. for the care of some of these classes, especially for dependent children, the blind, the deaf, and the insane. This movement resulted in a part of these classes being removed from the poorhouses. At the same time better buildings began to be provided for poorhouse use, usually of the "institutional" or hotel type. Within recent times the movement to exclude special classes from the poorhouse has so far advanced that seven states now exclude the insane by statute, and eleven states dependent children; while all the states have made more or less provision for indigent defectives in special institutions. Some of the more recent poorhouses, also, built upon the "cottage plan," which will be described below, are models of humanitarian institutions; but in many other cases the poorhouse remains what its evil reputation has long made it—a place more dreaded than the common jail.

The poorhouse is, as Warner says, "the fundamental institution in American poor relief." It is fundamental because it receives those classes who are not otherwise provided for, and because, as we have seen, historically all the other public institutions which provide for the poor have been derived from it. Nevertheless, on account of the difference of the poor-laws in different states, and on account of the difference in local conditions, there is probably more diversity in the poorhouses of the U. S. than in any other public institution. Over half of the counties in the U. S. have no public poorhouse at all, but care for their paupers through outdoor relief or by boarding them out with farmers, as we noted above. Nearly one half of the states, moreover, provide in their statutes that the care of the poorhouse and its inmates may be let out by contract to the lowest responsible bidder; and in two states this is even compulsory.

In an investigation of the county almshouses of Missouri, made by the writer in 1903, it was found that, out of 90 of these institutions, 55 were managed by being let out to the lowest responsible bidder; 58 had insane among their inmates; and nearly all had more or less of the other classes of mental defectives. Moreover, out of 60 almshouses from which information could be obtained, only 12 had buildings costing above $10,000, and supplied with modern conveniences; while in the case of 21 the cost of the buildings was less than $1,500. Finally, 50 out of the 90 almshouses had no classification of inmates except the separation of the sexes, and 14 had not even that. These facts are given concerning the poorhouses of a single state because they are typical of *average* conditions, taking the country as a whole.

The causes of poorhouse abuses are not far to seek. It must be remembered that the poorhouse is usually a county institution and not under the direct control of the state; and that the county is usually a small administrative unit, relatively stingy and unenlightened in its public policies. The county authorities fear that a comfortable poorhouse will attract some of the shiftless elements among the poor and thus entail, with its cost, a double burden upon the taxpayers. Rather than be troubled with enforcing strict rules of administration to prevent the poorhouse from harboring these worthless elements, they adopt the simple expedient of making the standard of comfort so low that only the most wretched will accept it. The result is

Evils

that the poor dread the poorhouse worse than a prison, and that the average poorhouse is a disgrace to civilization.

It is evident from what has been said that the proper function of the poorhouse cannot be to care for all classes of dependents. By its very nature the poorhouse is usually a small, local institution, and it cannot be expected that experts will have charge of it. It is, therefore, unfitted to care for dependents that need special or scientific care. Only those dependents that need simply a comfortable home are suitable for poorhouse care. These are, in particular, the aged and infirm poor, of whom in every old-settled community of any size there is always a considerable number. The first principle, then, in poorhouse administration is that all classes that need special care should be removed to special institutions. These classes include, in particular, the following:

1. All children above the age of two years. Children between the ages of two and sixteen should never be permitted to remain in an almshouse except for a brief period. The education of no child can be properly conducted in a poorhouse, and it has been found that children in poorhouses readily take on the taint of their pauper surroundings. What has been said applies, of course, equally to defective children, for they need special treatment in hospitals or schools.

2. Tramps, disorderly and vicious persons should be rigorously excluded from the public poorhouse. The poorhouse is not a correctional institution, and has no proper facilities for controlling such persons. Moreover, their presence brings the poorhouse into such ill repute that the self-respecting poor shun it.

3. The insane of all classes should be removed from the poorhouse. Probably the habitual use of our poorhouses as insane asylums gives rise to more serious abuses than any other practise. The insane need skilled medical treatment, trained attendants, cheerful surroundings, and a scientific diet, all of which are lacking in a poorhouse. Their presence is also a hardship to other inmates.

4. The feeble-minded of all grades should be removed from the poorhouse for similar reasons. They are not only objectionable to other inmates, and inadequately cared for, but a danger to the community. Under lax rules of admission and discharge feeble-minded women invariably become mothers, and entail their defect on future generations.

5. Epileptics, like the insane, need skilled medical care, and cannot be properly cared for in the poorhouse. Their presence is also disagreeable to other inmates.

6. Finally, hospital cases, whether surgical cases or contagious diseases, should of course not be cared for in the poorhouse.

After all of the above classes of dependents have, so to speak, been classified *out* of the poorhouse, there remains the equally important matter of classifying the inmates *within* the poorhouse. At least a fourfold classification of poorhouse inmates is necessary, even after all of the above classes have been removed. First of all, the sexes should be absolutely separated. Secondly, in the South, at least, there should be a classification according to color, making duplicate institutions, one for whites and one for colored. A third necessary classification is in regard to health. There should be special provision for the sick, either in the form of separate wards or separate rooms. If there are cases of contagious diseases present, like consumption, they should of course be isolated. The fourth classification needed is in regard to moral character. Inmates of similar standards and congenial disposition should be grouped together. Of course, if children, or any of the above classes to be excluded, are found in the poorhouse, still other classifications are necessary.

We may now consider briefly the form of construction of poorhouse best adapted to the above classification. Without doubt the "cottage" or detached plan of construction is best. This makes classification of inmates easy and the institution more homelike in appearance, tho the cottages may be connected by corridors with the central building, in which there may be a common dining-room, kitchens, etc., and also one or two rooms for aged couples who wish to live together. A one-story construction has many advantages. Of course the buildings should be heated by steam, lighted by electricity, and furnished with the best modern sanitary apparatus.

All able-bodied inmates should be compelled to labor. Only thus can idle and shiftless elements be effectually excluded. Moreover, work should be furnished for all inmates who are willing and able to do any work at all. The best form of labor for men is, without doubt, agricultural labor. This does not, however, necessitate a large farm in connection with the poorhouse, as intensive culture, or horticulture, secures the best results. A large farm is objectionable for two reasons: first, it requires so much attention from the superintendent that he is liable to neglect the inmates; secondly, it necessitates locating the poorhouse far out in the country, where many modern conveniences cannot easily be furnished, and where the institution is liable to be neglected by the public.

Lax rules of admission and discharge are one of the evils of American poorhouses. Paupers should only be admitted, except provisionally, after an investigation by the proper authorities. Once admitted, they should not be permitted to discharge themselves, and should be released only when there is some assurance that they will be properly cared for outside of the institution.

Finally, in the management of a poorhouse, the attempt should be made to make it as homelike as possible. Recreations and amusements should not be neglected. Books and newspapers should abound, and simple entertainments, as well as regular religious services, should be provided for the inmates.

These reforms in the American poorhouse system cannot be carried out without some degree of central supervision and control. Probably the best central supervision can be furnished by an efficient State Board of Charities (*q. v.*). Local boards of visitors to poorhouses, which have now been provided for by law in several states, can also do much to correct abuses. However, the final reliance must be upon mandatory legislation. Statutes should be enacted regulating the construction and management of poorhouses in all necessary details.

References: Warner, *American Charities*, chap. vi. (New York, 1894); *Annual Reports National Conference of Charities and Correction*, especially a paper by Miss Mary V. Clark in the Report for 1900 (Boston, 1901); Henderson, *Dependents, Defectives, Delinquents* (Boston, 1901); id., *Modern Methods of Charity* (New York, 1904); Ellwood, *A Bulletin on the Condition of the County Almshouses of Missouri* (University of Missouri, 1904); U. S. Census, *Special Report on Paupers in Almshouses*, 1904 (Washington, 1906).

Charles A. Ellwood.

POOR-LAWS (ENGLISH) (see also Pauperism; Poverty): The poor-laws of England, which have played so large and important a part in her economic and social history, date mainly from the Elizabethan period.

In feudal times the poor were recognized as having direct claim on their lords; there needed to be no other legal provision. What more was needed was left to monastic and other ecclesiastical organizations, and to hospitals. There was

no inquiry into the causes of destitution; application for relief was the one thing needful. The inevitable consequence of this want of discrimination was that the very machinery for the relief of the poor became a means of increasing their number and deteriorating their character. The downfall of feudalism and the claim that the land belonged to those who had been only appointed to rule over it, the resultant stealing of the land by "the landed gentry" and the driving out of the feudal tenants, thus creating the modern landless class, developed a pauperism which differed widely from the poverty of preceding centuries.

Steps were first taken simply for the repression of the poor. An act of 12 Richard II., after providing for labor for persons able to work (see "Labor and Labor Laws," vol. xiv., p. 167), enacts "that beggars impotent to serve shall abide in the cities and towns where they may be dwelling at the time of the proclamation of this statute, and, if the people of the cities and towns will not, or may not, suffice to find them, that these, the said beggars, shall draw them to other towns within the hundred, rape, or wapentake, or to the towns where they were born, within forty days after the proclamation made, and they shall continually abide during their lives." This is the first enactment in which the impotent poor are directly named as a separate class.

English Pauperism Born of Robbery of the Land by the Nobles

But the problem grew. The reckless waste of national resources by Henry VIII., the dissolution and spoliation of the monasteries, the debasement of the currency, and the confiscation of the lands belonging to the craft-gilds—the continuous enclosure of common lands, and the enforced aggregation of men into the towns, all contributed to establish pauperism as a national institution.

In 1536 Parliament first attempted to cope with the problem by enacting that voluntary alms should be collected in each parish for the purpose of relieving the impotent poor.

Elizabethan Acts

Passing by various acts of similar import and growing more and more toward the compulsory relief of the poor, we come to the Elizabethan acts. Legislation (1572) took a vigorous turn "for the punishment of vagabonds and for relief of the poor and impotent."

The act of 14 Eliz., c. 5, reciting that "all the parts of this realm of England and Wales be presently with rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars exceedingly pestered, by means whereof daily happeneth in the same realm horrible murders, thefts, and other great outrages, to the high displeasure of Almighty God, and to the great annoy of the common weal, and for avoiding confusion by reason of numbers of laws concerning the premises standing in force together," repealed before-mentioned statutes and made provision for various matters, "as well for the utter suppressing of the said outrageous enemies to the common weal as for the charitable relieving of the aged and impotent poor people." Persons above fourteen, and being rogues, vagabonds, or sturdy beggars, and "taken begging in every part of this realm, or taken vagrant, wandering and misordering themselves," were upon their apprehension to be committed to prison to the next session or jail delivery without bail, and on conviction "shall be adjudged to be grievously whipt, and burnt through the gristle of the right ear with a hot iron of the compass of an inch about, manifesting his or her roguish kind of life, and his or her punishment received for the same." This judgment was not to be executed if, after imprisonment, "some honest person, valued at the last subsidy next before that time to £5 in goods or 20s. in lands, or else some such honest householder as by the justices of the peace of the same county, or two of them, shall be allowed, will of his charity take such offender before the same justices into his service for one whole year," under recognizance to keep this poor person for that period and to bring him, if still living, before the justices at the year's end; on the other hand the pauper, departing within the year against the will of his master, was to be whipt and burnt as above provided. The offender was absolved from a second punishment for a short time, but if after threescore days, and being of the age of eighteen or more, he "do eftsoons fall again to any kind of roguish or vagabond's trade of life," then the said rogue, vagabond, or sturdy beggar, from thenceforth was to "be taken, adjudged, and deemed in all respects as a felon," and should suffer as a felon—subject, however, to like redemption as on the first charge, conditioned for two years' service; but offending a third time he was to "be adjudged a felon" and suffer pains of death and loss of lands and goods as a felon, without allowance or benefit of clergy or sanctuary. Offenders under fourteen were punishable by whipping or stocking, as provided by the repealed statutes.

This was harsh, but the short-lived law of Edward VI. was harsher still. It allowed, however, for many exceptions, and called for charitable relief.

The numerous charities and endowments and foundations of almshouses, by will and otherwise, of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, still extant in numerous buildings throughout the country, are illustrations of the spirit of the legislation here referred to.

Still, legal repression and private charity did not work, and occasioned the legislation of 1601, laying the foundation of the poor-law system which has endured in substance even down to the present century.

By this act two or more "substantial householders" were to be yearly nominated by the justices of the peace to serve as overseers of the poor in each parish. The overseers were to raise "weekly or otherwise, by taxation of every inhabitant, such competent sums of money as they shall think fit," for (*a*) setting to work the children of all such whose parents shall not be thought able to keep and maintain them; (*b*) for setting to work all such persons, married and unmarried, having no means to maintain them, and who use no ordinary and daily trade of life to get their living by; (*c*) for providing a convenient stock of flax, hemp, wool, thread, iron, and other ware and stuff, to set the poor on work; (*d*) for the necessary relief of the lame, old, impotent, blind, and such other among them being poor and not able to work.

Poor-Law of 1601

Children whose parents cannot maintain them are to be apprenticed till the age of four-and-twenty years in the case of boys and twenty-one years or the time of marriage in the case of girls. The overseers may, with the leave of the Lord of the Manor, erect houses for the impotent poor on any waste or common. No provision is made for the erection of any house in which work may be done, and it was evidently intended that the flax, hemp, etc., should be worked up at the houses of the poor. But an act of 1576 had already empowered the justices of each county to erect "houses of correction" in which "such as be already grown up in idleness and so rogues at this present" should be set to work under strict prison discipline; and the justices were now ordered to commit to these places, or to the common jail, those who refused to work on materials provided by the parish. What they had to expect at the houses of correction may be seen from one of the rules of the Suffolk House for the year 1589—"Item, it is ordered and agreed upon that every strong or sturdy rogue at his or her first entrance into the said house shall have twelve stripes upon his bare skin with the said whip provided for said house; and every young rogue or idle loiterer six stripes with the said whip in form aforesaid. And that every one of them, without fail, at their first coming into the said house, shall have put upon him, her, or them some clogs, chain, collars of iron, ringle, or manacle, such as the keeper of the said house shall think meet."

The new act was only gradually carried out. In 1622 "A Wellwisher" complains, in a tract called "Grievous Groans for the Poor," that "tho the number of the poor do daily increase, there hath been no collection for them, no not these seven years, in many parishes of this land, especially in country towns; but many of those parishes turneth forth their poor, yea and their lusty laborers that will not work, or for any misdemeanor want work, to beg, filch, and steal for their maintenance, so that the country is pitifully pestered with them; yea and the maimed soldiers that have ventured their lives and lost their limbs on our behalf are also thus requited. . . . So they are turned forth to travel in idleness (the highway to hell) . . . until the law bring them unto the fearful end of hanging."

In 1630 a royal commission was appointed to examine into the working of the law, and new legislation resulted. In 1662 the statute 13 and 14 Charles II. recited various evils, and developed the law of settlement, which proved so fruitful in ills.

Law of Settlement

It said "by reason of some defects in the law, poor people are not restrained from going from one parish to another, and therefore do endeavor to settle themselves in those parishes where there is the best stock, the largest commons or wastes to build cottages, and the most woods for them to burn and destroy, and, when they have consumed it, then to another parish, and at last become rogues and vagabonds, to the great discouragement of parishes to provide stock, where it is liable to be devoured by strangers." Justices of the peace, upon complaint by the parish officers, within forty days after any such persons' coming to settle as before mentioned in any tenement under the yearly value of £10, were empowered by warrant to remove such person to the parish where he was last legally settled either as a native, householder, sojourner, apprentice, or servant for not less than forty days, unless he gave sufficient security for the discharge of the parish.

This act at once divided England into 14,000 warring communities, each determined, at whatever cost, to throw its burden of involuntary charity upon its neighbor. A huge code of case law, developed by hundreds of judgments and appeals, was founded upon the muddled sentences of the original acts. Every possible subtlety as to the effect of every variety of hiring or apprenticeship, or the validity of indentures given by a parish where the churchwardens and overseers were the same persons, was defined to a hair's breadth, while the incurable vagrant, the too ambitious laborer, the widow, the lunatic, the invalid, the unhappy causes of this warfare, were carted and whipped and driven backward and forward from one cruel little parish to another.

The eighteenth century saw some changes in the law. It had evidently produced evil. It was not until toward the close of the eighteenth century that an important inroad on the law relating to the removal of the poor was made by requiring actual chargeability before removal to their place of settlement (35 George III., c. 101); and at the same time justices were empowered to suspend removal in the case of sickness.

There was some development of relief. In 1676 William III., when appointing his new Board of Trade, instructed them to "consider of proper methods of setting on work and employing the poor, and making them useful." Two years later a new "corporation" was formed for London, and several houses in Bishopsgate Street were bought. Into these houses were taken "the poor distrest children that lay up and down in the streets of the city," and others, for each of whom the churchwardens of the various city parishes paid a shilling a week. There were about 400 in all. At Bristol, Cary succeeded in getting a workhouse established. The example was followed by other places. The results, in suppressing vagrancy and keeping down the rates, were so good that in 1722 a general act was passed allowing parishes either singly or in combination to build workhouses, and to refuse relief to all who would not enter them.

In a book published in 1725, describing about a hundred of the newly established houses, a correspondent from Rumford writes: "I must, sir, observe to you that the advantage of the workhouse to the parish does not arise from what the people do toward their subsistence, but from the apprehension the poor have of it." The workhouses were run for profit. John Locke's report to the Board of Trade, written in 1697, contains exact calculations as to the value of the labors of young children, and of those who, being decayed of their full strength, could yet do something.

A few years, however, sufficed to develop the injurious effects of this mode of dealing with the poor, and the accumulated evils of the working of the poor-laws led, in 1783, to the passing of the statute 22 George III., c. 83, known as "Gilbert's Act," the principle of which was extensively adopted in subsequent legislation. Only the aged and infirm were to be sent to workhouses, and the principle was deliberately adopted that work was to be found in the neighborhood for the able-bodied, and that any difference between their wages and the sum necessary for their maintenance was to be made up from the rates.

In 1795 the magistrates of Berkshire "and other discreet persons" announced that they would make an allowance in aid of wages to "all poor and industrious men and their families," raising the household income in each case to a minimum varying with the price of bread. And so began the pauperization of the English rural population. Hitherto relief, in theory, at least, had been confined to the exceptionally unfortunate. Now the rates were to become part of the normal industrial system; farmers discharged their men in a body, to take them back next day as paupers with part of their wages paid by the parish.

Says Thorold Rogers ("Work and Wages," chap. xv.):

I can conceive of nothing more cruel, I had almost said more insolent, than to condemn a laborer to the lowest possible wages on which life may be sustained, by an act of Parliament, interpreted and enforced by an ubiquitous body of magistrates, whose interest it was to screw the pittance down to the lowest conceivable margin, and to inform the stinted recipient that, when he had starved on that during the days of his strength, others must work to maintain him in sickness or old age.

The suffering and demoralization of the English laborer that resulted from the system can to-day be scarcely credited. He could not live except by pauper relief. He cared therefore little about work. It was really the parish that sold his labor. In some parishes the laborers were put up at auction. Sometimes children of either sex were sold to manufacturers in job lots (the manufacturer sometimes contracting to take one insane child for so many healthy ones). Often children of both sexes were given over to gang-masters, who would let them out to farmers, working them in the field by day and lodging them in barns by night without any pretense of decency. The poorhouses were called "bastiles." The degraded laborer came to look upon pauper relief without shame, and the distributer of the relief would go around and distribute the bread the laborer could not buy. The poor-relief rates rose till they threatened to devour the rents of the landlords. The landlords themselves were compelled to desire a change. Various minor changes led to the appointment of commissioners to investigate the subject and the great reform law of 1834.

Says Graham Wallas (see references at the end of this article):

Their report, after two years of incessant labor on the part of the commissioners and their paid assistants, was presented in 1834, and is still the most magnificent State paper in existence, admirable in form and crushing in argument. It ended by recommending a radical alteration of the whole system. Parishes were to be formed, with or without their consent, into unions, whose accounts were to be inspected and whose by-laws were to be drawn up by a body of three commissioners sitting in London, and represented by traveling subcommissioners in the country. Outdoor relief to able-bodied persons was to be prohibited. Finally, and chiefly, the whole administration of the law was to be regulated on the principle that "the condition of

the paupers shall in no case be so eligible as the condition of persons of the lowest class, subsisting on the fruits of their own industry."

The report was adopted by overwhelming majorities. Repression of the poor was now the order of the day. Outdoor relief was gradually ended. Families were broken up, lodged in poor-houses, husband and wife being separated. Says Mr. Wallas:

The sordid abominations of the old law were soon forgotten, and the religious workingman as well as the revolutionary Chartist loathed the new science which aimed, it was said, at reducing the population to Parson Malthus's standard by starving the paupers and separating man and wife in direct defiance of the word of God. . . .

The opposition to the new law soon penetrated to the House of Commons, and it was with increasing difficulty that the powers of the commissioners were from time to time renewed. At last, in 1847, the Poor-law Commission was dissolved; two out of the three worthy gentlemen of the day disappeared, having perhaps taken themselves rather too seriously as solitary protesters against an evil world; and an official Poor-law Board with a parliamentary head was created. By 1871 so many duties of various kinds had been assigned to the department that it took the name of the Local Government Board, which it still retains. Sixty years have now passed since the new poor-law was first enacted. During that time the great evil noted by the commissioners of 1834, the relief of able-bodied men in aid of wages or as a premium upon idleness, has practically disappeared.

Relief is now given under a series of general orders and instructional circulars issued by the Local Government Board.

Outdoor relief is under strict limitations given in money and in kind, but in the case of able-bodied persons it is laid down that "one half at least shall be given in articles of food or fuel or in other articles of absolute necessity." Relief may also be given by way of loan. The relieving officer has to investigate the cases of all applicants; he can give temporary relief in kind, where necessary, and must report to the guardians as to the health, ability to work, etc., of the applicant and his family.

Of the working of the law, Mr. J. F. Oakeshot (see references) says:

The growth of humanitarian feeling has had its influence on poor-law administration, and the inhumanity of fifty years ago would not be tolerated by public opinion to-day. At the same time the administration of the law is still wanting in humanity. Over the entrance of Dante's hell was written, "Abandon hope, all ye who enter here," and if the effect of our poor-law system were to be summed up in a single sentence we should have to use the same words. In the desire of insuring that "the situation of the paupers shall not be made really or apparently so eligible as the situation of the independent laborer of the lowest class," we deliberately feed them worse than criminals (the prison dietary is luxurious in comparison with the poor-law standards), and we allow the law to be administered with such harshness that many men and women every year deliberately prefer death by starvation outside the workhouse to accepting relief from the rates with its deprivation of the privileges of citizenship and its dishonorable stigma of pauperism alike on aged and young, infirm and able-bodied, deserving and undeserving.

At present the poor-laws are universally regarded as a failure, at least in their present form, and a royal commission was appointed in 1905 to inquire—

1. Into the working of the laws relating to the relief of poor persons in the United Kingdom;
2. Into the various means which have been adopted outside of the poor-laws for meeting distress arising from want of employment, particularly during periods of severe industrial depression; and

To consider and report whether any, and, if so, what, modification of the poor-laws or changes in their administration, or fresh legislation for dealing with distress, are advisable.

Among the commissioners are Lord George Hamilton, M. P. (chairman); the Right Hon. Charles Booth, F.R.S.; Mr. C. S. Loch, Prof. William Smart, the Rev. H. Russell Wakefield, Mrs. Bernard Bosanquet, Mrs. Sidney Webb, and Miss Octavia Hill.

Most people believe that the poor must be relieved in other ways. (See Old-Age Pensions; Employment Bureaus; Labor Colonies; Unemployment, etc.)

Socialists assert that the only way to reform the poor-laws is to abolish them. Says the *Reformer's Year Book* (1907):

The only way in which to reform the poor-law is to abolish it. At present it is a separate department of government. It is subject to specially minute control by the Local Government Board, which issues ukases with the binding force of law. It is administered by specially elected boards of guardians. Its subjects are called paupers, and are deprived of the rights of citizenship whether they are veterans of labor or incorrigible rogues. This rubbish should be swept away. It is out of date, irrational, and unpopular. It pleases neither the well-to-do, who pay the piper, nor the paupers, who dance to the dismal tune. The pressing need is for a new classification. The aged, the sick, and the children, victims of accident or of a wrong system of wealth distribution, should be cared for, not under a special poor-law, but as part of the regular duty of the people's representatives. All legal disqualifications by poor relief must go. Old-age pensions will provide for some; grouped almshouses for others. The children must be educated, and fitted to take their part in the industrial life of the nation. The sick must be properly cared for. On the other hand, the idle, the wasters, the unemployable must be dealt with in farm colonies.

References: T. W. Fowle's *The Poor-law*, "English Citizen Series" (1892); *The History of the Poor-law*, a paper by Graham Wallas, published in *The Cooperative Annual* for 1894; *The Humanizing of the Poor-law*, a Fabian tract (1894), by J. T. Oakeshot. (See also Poverty.)

POPULATION (see also Birth-Rate; Death-Rate; Marriage; Cities; Malthusianism): We give in this article the principal facts as to population bearing on sociology, leaving to the various articles the discussion of the problems involved.

The figures of population shown on p. 922 will be found larger than those given in most year books, because they represent, in most cases, later returns.

If the whole earth were as thickly inhabited as Great Britain and Ireland (359.65 to the square mile, see next table) it would have, omitting desert and polar regions, a population of 18,218,430,000. Ravenstein estimates that the earth, with present methods of production, could support 207 to the square mile.

Dr. J. Bertillon, chief of the Statistical Department of the city of Paris, gives the following figures of the gain of population per 1,000 in ten years (*Bulletin de l'Institut International de Statistique*, vol. xiii., part ii.):

United States, 206; Mexico, 72.4; Austria, 92.6; Hungary, 102.5; Belgium, 122.9; Bulgaria, 182.1; Denmark, 126.7; France, 12.1; Germany, 139.8; Italy, 70.5; Netherlands, 131.3; Norway, 112.4; Russia in Europe, 136.2; Servia, 172.6; Spain, 32.1; Switzerland, 101.7. (See Birth-Rate.)

Population by Religions

The tables on pp. 922 and 923 for countries in which a religious census exists, are based on such information as the *Statesman's Year Book* affords. For countries in which no such census exists they are taken from the *Blue Book of Missions* for 1905, from the latest official estimates, or careful returns from mission fields. For the United States, France, and in a few other instances they are from special sources as indicated in the notes. It is believed, therefore, that those figures represent

Countries, Areas, Populations

The statistics in round numbers are estimated from official sources; exact figures indicate a census.

Countries	Area in sq. m.	Population	Per sq. m.	Year
Africa:				
Abyssinia	200,000	10,000,000	50.00	[1] 1900
British Colonies	532,226	7,001,073	13.15	1900
British Depend.	2,160,000	35,000,000	16.20	[1] 1900
Kongo Free State	900,000	30,002,346	33.33	[1] 1901
Egypt	400,000	9,821,045	24.55	1900
French Depend.	3,775,150	34,000,000	9.00	[1] 1900
German Depend.	931,460	12,600,000	13.52	[1] 1900
Italian Depend.	188,500	850,000	4.51	[1] 1900
Liberia	35,000	2,060,000	58.86	[1] 1895
Morocco	219,000	5,000,000	22.83	[1] 1900
Portuguese Depend.	792,040	8,248,527	10.41	[1] 1900
Spanish Depend.	80,580	291,946	3.60	[1] 1900
Turkish Depend.	398,900	1,300,000	3.26	[1] 1900
Total Africa	10,612,856	[2]156,174,937	14.71	
North America:				
Canada and British Colonies [3]	3,801,348	7,235,400	1.90	1904
Costa Rica	23,000	323,000	14.04	1905
Cuba	43,000	1,573,000	36.58	1905
Danish Colonies	86,634	120,892	1.35	1904
Dutch Colonies [5]	403	53,486	132.70	(4)
French Colonies	1,160	392,140	338.50	(4)
Guatemala	46,774	1,804,000	38.57	1905
Haiti	10,204	1,337,000	132.01	1901
Honduras	46,250	745,000	16.11	1905
Mexico	767,060	13,606,000	17.74	1906
Nicaragua	49,200	500,000	10.16	1904
San Salvador	7,225	1,007,000	139.38	1905
Santo Domingo	18,045	610,000	33.80	1905
United States [6]	3,624,122	84,154,000	23.22	1906
Porto Rico	3,435	1,000,000	291.12	(6)
Total North America	8,527,860	114,460,918	13.42	
South America:				
Argentina	1,135,840	5,678,000	5.00	1905
Bolivia	729,000	2,180,000	2.99	1905
Brazil	3,219,000	14,334,000	4.45	1905
British Colonies [7]	104,339	339,000	3.27	1904
Chile	279,901	3,239,000	11.57	1905
Colombia	504,773	4,000,000	7.92	1904
Dutch Colonies [8]	46,060	75,000	1.62	1904
Ecuador	116,000	1,400,000	12.07	1905
French Colonies [9]	30,500	33,000	1.07	1901
Paraguay	157,722	636,000	4.03	1904
Peru	713,859	4,500,000	6.30	1904
Uruguay	72,210	1,038,000	14.37	1904
Venezuela	593,940	2,591,000	4.36	1906
Total South America	7,703,144	40,043,000	5.19	
Asia:				
Afghanistan	250,000	[10]4,775,000	19.10	1905
Bhutan	16,800	[10]25,000	1.48	1905
British India	1,766,517	294,317,000	166.61	1905
British Colonies and Dependencies	139,786	6,976,000	49.90	1905
China	4,277,170	433,533,000	101.36	1905
French Depend.	256,000	[10]21,518,000	84.03	1901 / 1905

Countries	Area in sq. m.	Population	Per sq. m.	Year
Asia (*continued*):				
German Depend.	200	[10]60,000	300.00	1904
Japan and Possess.	[11]175,368	[11]50,857,000	295.70	1905
Korea	84,400	[10]12,000,000	142.18	1905
Nepal	54,000	[10]5,000,000	92.59	1905
Oman	82,000	[1]800,000	9.75	1905
Persia	628,000	7,654,000	12.19	1904
Portuguese Possess.	8,972	[10]896,000	99.84	1905
Russian Possessions	6,207,662	19,125,000	3.10	1897
Siam	236,000	5,000,000	21.19	1905
Turkish Possessions	693,610	[10]16,899,000	24.36	1905
Total Asia	14,876,485	879,455,000	59.05	
Europe:				
Andorra	175	15,000	.....	.....
Austria	115,903	27,241,000	235.03	1905
Hungary	115,430	20,114,000	160.36	1905
Bosnia and Herzegovina [12]	19,800	1,591,000	80.36	1900
Belgium	11,373	7,161,000	629.65	1905
Bulgaria (North and South)	38,080	4,015,000	105.44	1905
Denmark [13]	15,592	2,605,000	167.09	1906
France [13]	207,054	39,300,000	189.81	1905
Germany [13]	208,780	60,641,000	290.40	1905
Greece [14]	25,014	2,434,000	97.31	1904
Crete [14]	3,365	310,000	86.27	1900
Italy	110,646	33,604,000	303.71	1904
Luxemburg	998	236,000	247.00	1900
Monaco	8	15,000	1,897.50	1900
Montenegro	3,630	228,000	62.81	[15] 1900
Netherlands [13]	12,563	5,592,000	445.12	1905
Norway	124,130	2,311,000	18.62	1905
Portugal [13]	[16]35,490	5,428,000	152.80	1900
Rumania	50,700	6,480,000	127.81	[15] 1905
Russia (Europe) [13]	[17]2,122,527	[17]125,161,000	58.96	[15] 1905
San Marino	38	11,000	289.52	1899
Servia	18,630	2,689,000	144.34	[15] 1905
Spain	194,783	18,118,000	95.58	1900
Sweden	172,876	5,295,000	30.62	1905
Switzerland	15,976	3,459,000	216.51	1905
Turkey (Europe) [18]	65,530	6,185,000	94.53	[15] 1905
United Kingdom	121,391	43,659,000	359.65	1906
United Colonies (Europe) [19]	119	223,700	1,879.86	1906
Total Europe	3,809,901	424,121,700	111.32	
Oceania:				
Australia (Commonwealth of)	2,972,573	4,048,000	1.36	1905
New Zealand	104,751	889,000	8.49	1906
Other British Possessions [20]	107,207	678,000	6.33	[21] 1905
Dutch Possessions	736,400	36,000,000	48.89	[21] 1900
French Possessions	9,170	86,000	9.41	[21] 1906
German Possessions	96,160	443,000	4.60	[21] 1905
U. S. Possessions	115,000	7,635,000	66.39	1906
Total Oceania	4,141,261	49,779,000	12.02	

[1] Estimated.
[2] Nearly all these figures are based on estimates, and still they are given to the last decimal; the reason is that the number of Europeans is given in exact figures, that of natives estimated.
[3] Including West Indies, but not Labrador; the latter has about 120,000 sq. m. and an estimated population of 4,000.
[4] Average of estimates for several years, 1900 to 1903 and 1904.
[5] Curaçao.
[6] Including Hawaii and Alaska.
[7] British Honduras, British Guiana, and Falkland Islands.
[8] Surinam; population does not include forest-negroes.
[9] Guiana.
[10] Estimated.
[11] Inclusive of Formosa, Pescadores, and southern Sakhalin; but exclusive of Port Arthur and Liao Tung.
[12] Bosnia and Herzegovina have been under the joint administration of Austria-Hungary since July 13, 1878, and pay no tribute to Turkey.
[13] For colonies, see respective continents.
[14] Crete has been autonomous since 1898 under guaranty of England, Russia, France, and Italy. But Greece has the right to nominate the High Commissioner and exercises a general supervision.
[15] Estimated.
[16] Including Azores and Madeira (both area and population).
[17] Russia proper, Poland, Finland, and Ciscaucasia.
[18] Including Samos, but excluding Crete (under Greece), Cyprus (Great Britain, Asiatic Colonies), Bulgaria, and Herzegovina.
[19] Malta and Gibraltar.
[20] Payna, Fiji, Tonga, Solomon, and Gilbert Islands.
[21] Estimated.

THE WORLD

AREA, POPULATION, DENSITY, BASED ON LATEST OFFICIAL CENSUSES

DIVISIONS [1]	Area in square miles [5]	Desert [6 7]	Population, latest censuses	Estimate of Supan [11]	Per square mile [10]
Africa	10,612,000	2,226,000	156,174,000	140,700,000	14.71
America, North [2]	[2] 8,527,000	95,000	[2] 114,460,000	105,714,000	13.42
America, South	7,703,000	45,000	40,043,000	38,482,000	5.19
Asia [3]	[3] 14,876,000	1,200,000	[3] 879,455,000	819,556,000	59.05
Europe	3,809,000	.....	424,106,000	392,264,000	111.32
Oceania [4]	[4] 4,141,000	614,000	[9] 49,779,000	6,483,000	12.02
Polar regions	.....	.....	.....	91,000	.....
Total	49,668,000	[8] 4,180,000	1,664,017,000	1,503,290,000	33.50

[1] For details, see table on p. 921. [2] Including West Indies. [3] Including Japan, but not the Dutch East Indies. [4] Including all islands in the Eastern Indian and Southern Pacific Oceans. [5] Total inhabited area, but in part including desert, steppes, etc. [6] The columns "area" and "desert" in part overlap. Differences in estimates of authorities are in part accounted for by including or not polar regions, islands, water spaces, etc. [7] Estimate of Ernest G. Ravenstein, F.R.G.S., in "Proceedings of Royal Geographical Society," 1891, p. 27. [8] Ravenstein estimates the fertile regions of the earth at 28,269,200 sq. m.; steppes, 13,901,000; desert, 4,180,000; polar regions, 4,888,800. [9] Including 36,000,000 in the Dutch East Indies. [10] Obtained by dividing populations in third column by areas in first. [11] Dr. A. Supan, in Dr. Peterman's "Mitteilungen." Ergänzungsheft; No. 146. Gotha, 1904.

the latest returns and most reliable estimates yet made. As, however, for large spaces of the earth only the roughest estimates exist, there is room for wide divergence in such estimates. Figures in round numbers indicate the estimates; exact figures, as in Europe, indicate a census. It must be remembered, too, that these figures are for adherents and not communicants:

RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD

CONTINENTS	Protestants	Roman Catholics	Eastern churches [1]	Jews	Mohammedans	Various
Africa	2,665,000	2,493,000	3,799,000	381,000	48,753,000	90,578,000
North America	71,630,000	35,085,000	85,000	1,058,000	15,000	3,069,000
South America [2]	357,000	35,871,000	.....	21,000	10,000	1,654,000
Asia	1,506,000	5,250,000	11,803,000	303,000	134,378,000	715,805,000
Europe	98,494,000	[1] 175,033,000	100,171,000	8,665,000	7,822,000	5,084,000
Oceania [3]	3,286,000	8,059,000	1,000	20,000	20,613,000	17,901,000
The World	177,938,000	261,791,000	115,859,000	10,448,000	211,591,000	834,091,000

[1] Greek or Orthodox, Armenian, Nestorian, Abyssinian, Coptic, Jacobite, etc. [2] Includes West Indies. [3] All the Pacific Islands, including the Dutch East Indies, but not Japan and Formosa.

COUNTRIES	Protestants	Roman Catholics	Eastern churches	Jews	Mohammedans	Others
AFRICA:						
Abyssinia	.....	2,000	3,098,000	60,000	50,000	290,000
Cape Colony	1,118,000	23,000	.....	4,000	21,000	1,267,000
Natal	72,000	21,000	.....	.....	14,000	818,000
Other British	834,000	281,000	1,000	12,500	12,182,500	21,436,000
Egypt	27,000	26,000	647,000	25,000	8,979,000	.....
Egyptian Sudan	.....	2,000	3,000	2,000	1,693,000	300,000
French Possessions	472,500	758,000	26,000	117,000	17,667,000	15,808,500
German Possessions	47,500	21,500	.....	.....	812,000	12,166,000
Italian Possessions	1,000	17,000	12,000	500	450,000	369,500
Liberia	65,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,995,000
Morocco	1,000	5,000	3,000	150,000	4,840,000	.....
Portuguese Possessions	11,000	1,270,000	.....	.....	270,000	6,697,000
Spanish Possessions	1,000	14,000	.....	.....	199,000	60,000
Turkish Possessions	.....	6,000	9,000	10,000	275,000	.....
Kongo Free State	15,000	17,000	.....	.....	600,000	29,370,000
Total Africa	2,665,000	2,493,500	3,799,000	381,000	48,752,500	90,578,000
NORTH AMERICA:						
Canada	3,083,000	2,230,000	.....	.....	.....	59,000
Central America	20,000	5,000,000	.....	.....	.....	172,000
Danish Colonies	90,000	31,000	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mexico	40,000	13,381,000	.....	9,000	.....	115,000
Newfoundland	44,000	76,000	.....	.....	.....	.....
United States [1]	67,223,000	[2] 11,887,000	[3] 85,000	[4] 1,044,000	[5] 15,000	[6] 336,000
West Indies	1,030,000	2,480,000	.....	5,000	.....	2,387,000
Total North America	71,630,000	35,085,000	85,000	1,058,000	15,000	3,069,000

[1] Including Alaska and Hawaii, not Porto Rico or the Philippines. [2] Dr. H. K. Carroll, *Christian Advocate*, Jan. 5, 1905. [3] Dr. Carroll, Armenians, Greeks, Syrians. [4] *Statesman's Year Book*, 1904. [5] *Blue Book of Missions*. [6] Census, 1900, Chinese, Japanese, and untaxed Indians.

Countries	Protestants	Roman Catholics	Eastern churches	Jews	Mohammedans	Others
South America:						
Argentina	50,000	4,660,000	.....	17,000	.....	67,000
Bolivia	3,000	1,700,000	.....	.....	.....	113,000
Brazil	144,000	14,180,000	.....	2,000	.....	8,000
Guiana	125,000	82,000	.....	1,000	10,000	181,000
Chile	7,000	3,044,000	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colombia	500	3,664,500	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ecuador	1,000	1,200,000	.....	.....	.....	3,000
Paraguay	500	500,000	.....	.....	.....	135,500
Peru	5,000	3,687,000	.....	500	.....	917,500
Uruguay	13,000	930,000	.....	.....	.....	16,000
Venezuela	8,000	2,223,000	.....	500	.....	213,500
Total South America	357,000	35,870,500	.....	21,000	10,000	1,654,500
Asia:						
Afghanistan	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,000,000	.....
British India	1,078,000	1,595,000	250,000	18,000	62,458,000	166,500,000
Ceylon	75,000	283,000	.....	.....	248,000	2,959,000
Other British	3,000	20,000	.....	.....	870,000	64,046,000
China	150,000	900,000	.....	20,000	33,000,000	387,894,000
French Possessions	.....	1,140,000	.....	.....	66,000	17,301,000
Japan	58,000	65,000	27,000	.....	.....	47,414,000
Korea	35,000	32,000	1,000	.....	.....	11,932,000
Nepal	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,000,000
Persia	8,000	14,000	60,000	35,000	9,373,000	10,000
Portuguese Possessions	.....	100,000	.....	.....	150,000	660,000
Russia (Asia)	20,000	477,000	7,256,000	30,000	10,847,000	4,067,000
Siam	15,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,985,000
Tibet	.....	1,000	.....	.....	100,000	4,000,000
Turkey (Asia)	64,000	623,000	4,209,000	200,000	13,266,000	37,000
Total Asia	1,506,000	5,250,000	11,803,000	303,000	134,378,000	715,805,000
Europe:						
Austria	500,000	23,809,000	608,000	1,225,000	.....	8,708
Hungary	3,798,652	11,777,056	2,815,713	851,378	.....	11,760
Belgium	10,000	6,679,548	.....	4,000	.....	.....
Bulgaria[1]	4,524	27,004	3,034,636	33,717	643,253	1,166
Denmark	2,436,084	5,373	106	3,476	.....	19,731
France[2]	580,000	35,387,000	.....	49,000	.....	2,945,995
Germany	35,441,254	20,321,441	.....	586,948	.....	17,535
Greece	2,000	15,000	2,380,000	6,000	25,000	5,800
Italy	65,000	32,836,247	.....	40,000	.....	20,000
Luxemburg	2,269	232,838	.....	1,201	.....	235
Monaco	.....	15,180	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montenegro	.....	12,924	201,067	.....	13,840	169
Netherlands	3,320,931	1,790,161	.....	103,988	.....	132,102
Norway	2,237,063	1,969	.....	.....	.....	1,000
Portugal	500	5,421,632	.....	.....	.....	1,000
Rumania	68,276	100,000	5,415,341	269,015	43,740	16,228
Russia (Europe)	6,035,000	10,903,000	80,128,000	5,159,000	3,082,000	1,000,136
San Marino	.....	11,002	.....	.....	.....	.....
Servia	1,002	10,411	2,281,118	5,102	14,414	181,723
Spain	7,000	18,575,174	.....	500	.....	25,000
Sweden	5,193,414	1,390	46	3,402	.....	500
Switzerland	1,916,157	1,379,664	.....	12,264	.....	7,358
Turkey	30,000	208,000	3,307,000	145,000	4,000,000	633,540
England and Wales	31,425,000	1,530,000	.....	150,000	.....	27,643
Scotland	4,124,000	410,000	.....	6,000	.....	10,000
Ireland	1,160,000	3,360,000	.....	4,000	.....	5,000
Islands	136,000	212,000	.....	6,000	.....	12,000
United Kingdom	36,845,000	5,512,000	.....	166,000	.....	54,653
Total Europe	98,494,126	175,033,012	100,171,027	8,664,991	7,822,247	5,084,289
Oceania:						
Australasia	2,641,000	964,000	1,000	17,000	3,000	150,000
Other British	157,000	68,000	.....	.....	340,000	1,408,000
Dutch Possessions	380,000	50,000	.....	1,000	20,000,000	15,569,000
French Possessions	10,000	16,000	.....	.....	.....	54,000
German Possessions	71,000	21,000	.....	.....	.....	369,000
United States Possessions	27,000	6,940,000	.....	2,000	270,000	351,000
Total Oceania	3,286,000	8,059,700	1,000	20,000	20,613,000	17,901,000

[1] *Almanac de Gotha*, 1904.

[2] Fournier de Flaix, 1892.

Dr. Fournier de Flaix, in the *Quarterly* of the American Statistical Association for March, 1902, gives the following estimates of the Eastern churches: Abyssinian, 3,000,000; Coptic, 120,000; Armenian, 1,690,000; Nestorian, 80,000; Jacobite, 70,000; which, according to the above, would leave 110,899,000 for the Greek or Orthodox Church. This estimate is, perhaps, the most reliable that can be made.

The *Blue Book of Missions* gives the following figures:

Buddhists	137,935,000
Hindus	209,659,000
Confucianists or Taoists	291,816,000
Shintoists	24,900,000
Animists	157,697,500
Unclassed	15,352,000

THE UNITED STATES

POPULATION AT EACH CENSUS, 1790 TO 1900

(From reports of the Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce and Labor.)

STATE OR TERRITORY	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900
North Atlantic division [1]:												
White	1,900,616	2,552,510	3,384,438	4,249,192	5,417,167	6,618,758	8,477,089	10,438,267	12,118,992	14,277,990	17,131,639	20,661,675
Colored	67,424	83,066	102,237	110,724	125,214	142,324	149,762	156,001	179,738	229,417	269,906	385,020
Total	1,968,040	2,635,576	3,486,675	4,359,916	5,542,381	6,761,082	8,626,851	10,594,268	12,298,730	14,507,407	17,401,545	21,046,695
South Atlantic division [2]:												
White	1,178,344	1,426,804	1,594,091	1,787,664	2,116,469	2,327,982	2,818,219	3,306,505	3,636,905	4,655,995	5,595,230	6,714,463
Colored	673,462	859,690	1,080,800	1,273,399	1,529,283	1,597,317	1,860,871	2,058,198	2,216,705	2,941,202	3,262,690	3,729,017
Total	1,851,806	2,286,494	2,674,891	3,061,063	3,645,752	3,925,299	4,679,090	5,364,703	5,853,610	7,597,197	8,857,920	10,443,480
North Central division [3]:												
White	.....	50,371	286,097	841,045	1,568,930	3,262,195	5,267,988	8,912,477	12,708,031	16,978,490	21,931,167	25,837,253
Colored	.....	635	7,072	18,260	41,543	89,347	135,607	184,239	273,080	385,621	431,112	495,751
Total	.....	51,006	293,169	859,305	1,610,473	3,351,542	5,403,595	9,096,716	12,981,111	17,364,111	22,362,279	26,333,004
South Central division [4]:												
White	93,046	276,761	597,447	988,896	1,429,494	1,980,770	2,812,195	3,729,745	4,230,304	5,906,670	7,493,642	9,530,888
Colored	16,322	58,646	187,699	369,273	632,602	1,044,660	1,491,327	2,038,913	2,204,106	3,012,701	3,479,251	4,157,099
Total	109,368	335,407	785,146	1,358,169	2,062,096	3,025,430	4,303,522	5,768,658	6,434,410	8,919,371	10,972,893	13,687,987
Western division [5]:												
White	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	177,577	614,497	984,130	1,755,845	3,000,532	4,061,095
Colored	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,241	4,479	6,380	11,852	27,081	30,254
Total	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	178,818	618,976	990,510	1,767,697	3,027,613	4,091,349
Persons on public ships in service of United States or stationed abroad	.....	.....	.....	.....	5,318	6,100	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	91,219
United States:												
White	3,172,006	4,306,446	5,862,073	7,866,797	10,537,378	14,195,805	19,553,068	27,001,491	33,678,362	43,574,990	55,152,210	66,890,199
Colored	757,208	1,002,037	1,377,808	1,771,656	2,328,642	2,873,648	3,638,808	4,441,830	4,880,009	6,580,793	7,470,040	8,803,535
Total	3,929,214	5,308,483	7,239,881	9,638,453	12,866,020	17,069,453	23,191,876	31,443,321	38,558,371	50,155,783	62,622,250	75,693,734
Grand total [6]	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	76,303,387

[1] Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania.
[2] Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida.
[3] Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas.
[4] Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas.
[5] Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, Idaho, Washington, Oregon, California.
[6] Includes the population of Alaska, Hawaii, and Indian Territory.

SEX, RACE, AND NATIVITY

SEX, RACE, AND NATIVITY	POPULATION			PER CENT OF POPULATION		
	1900	1890	1880 [1]	1900	1890	1880
Total	75,994,575	62,947,714	50,155,783	100.0	100.0	100.0
Male	38,816,448	32,237,101	25,518,820	51.1	51.2	50.9
Female	37,178,127	30,710,613	24,636,963	48.9	48.8	49.1
White	66,809,196	55,101,258	43,402,970	87.9	87.5	86.6
Negro	8,833,994	7,488,676	6,580,793	11.6	11.9	13.1
Indian	237,196	248,253	66,407	0.3	0.4	0.1
Mongolian	114,189	109,527	105,613	0.2	0.2	0.2
Chinese	89,863	107,488	105,465	0.1	0.2	0.2
Japanese	24,326	2,039	148	(2)	(2)	(2)
Native	65,653,299	53,698,154	43,475,840	86.4	85.3	86.7
Foreign-born	10,341,276	9,249,560	6,679,943	13.6	14.7	13.3

[1] Figures do not include the population of Indian Territory or that on Indian reservations; specially enumerated in 1890, not enumerated in 1880. [2] Less than one tenth of 1 per cent.

RACE AND NATIVITY OF PARENTS, 1900 AND 1890

RACE OR NATIVITY	YEAR	TOTAL	POPULATION HAVING PARENTS			PER CENT HAVING PARENTS		
			Both native	Both foreign-born	One native- and one foreign-born	Both native	Both foreign-born	One native- and one foreign-born
Total	1900	75,994,575	49,965,636	20,919,887	5,109,052	65.8	27.5	6.7
	1890	62,947,714	42,271,655	(1)	(1)	67.2	.....	.....
White	1900	66,809,196	40,958,216	20,775,887	5,075,093	61.3	31.1	7.6
	1890	55,101,258	34,581,615	17,011,781	3,507,862	62.7	30.9	6.4
Native	1900	56,595,379	40,949,362	10,632,280	5,013,737	72.3	18.8	8.9
	1890	34,475,716	34,475,716	8,085,019	3,418,656	75.0	17.6	7.4
Foreign-born	1900	10,213,817	8,854	10,143,607	61,356	0.1	99.3	0.6
	1890	9,121,867	105,899	8,926,762	89,206	1.1	97.9	1.0
Negro, Indian, and Mongolian	1900	9,185,379	9,007,420	144,000	33,959	98.0	1.6	0.4
	1890	7,846,456	7,690,040	(1)	(1)	98.0	.....	.....

[1] Figures not available.

PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES OF BIRTH OF FOREIGN-BORN
(Twelfth Census, vol. i., p. clxxi.)

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION						PER CENT OF INCREASE	
	1900 [1]	1890	1880	1870	1860	1850	1890 to 1900	1880 to 1890
Total	10,341,276	9,249,547	6,679,943	5,567,229	4,138,697	2,244,602	11.8	38.5
Austria	275,907	123,271	38,663	30,508	25,061	946	123.8	218.8
Bohemia	156,891	118,106	85,361	40,289	.....	.....	32.8	38.4
Canada (English) [2]	784,741	678,442	717,157	493,464	249,970	147,711	15.7	36.8
Canada (French) [2]	395,066	302,496					30.6	
China	81,534	106,688	104,468	63,042	35,565	758	[3] 23.6	2.1
Denmark	153,805	132,543	64,196	30,107	9,962	1,838	16.0	106.5
England	840,513	909,092	664,160	555,046	433,494	278,675	[3] 7.5	36.9
France	104,197	113,174	106,971	116,402	109,870	54,069	[3] 7.9	5.8
Germany	2,663,418	2,784,894	1,966,742	1,690,533	1,276,075	583,774	[3] 4.4	41.6
Holland	104,931	81,828	58,090	46,802	28,281	9,848	28.2	40.9
Hungary	145,714	62,435	11,526	3,737	.....	.....	133.4	441.7
Ireland	1,615,459	1,871,509	1,854,571	1,855,827	1,611,304	961,719	[3] 13.7	0.9
Italy	484,027	182,580	44,230	17,157	10,518	3,645	165.1	312.8
Mexico	103,393	77,853	68,399	42,435	27,466	13,317	32.8	13.8
Norway	336,388	322,665	181,729	114,246	43,995	12,678	4.3	77.6
Poland	383,407	147,440	48,557	14,436	7,298	.....	160.0	203.6
Russia	423,726	182,644	35,722	4,644	3,160	1,414	132.0	411.3
Scotland	233,524	242,231	170,136	140,835	108,518	70,550	[3] 3.6	42.4
Sweden	572,014	478,041	194,337	97,332	18,625	3,559	19.7	146.0
Switzerland	115,593	104,069	88,621	75,153	53,327	13,358	11.1	17.4
Wales	93,586	100,079	83,302	74,533	45,763	29,868	[3] 6.5	20.1
Other countries	273,442	127,467	93,005	60,701	40,445	56,875	114.5	37.1

[1] The figures in the first column differ from those in the reference cited by the exclusion of the foreign-born in the military and naval service abroad. [2] Includes Newfoundland. [3] Decrease.

SEX, RACE, AND NATIVITY, 1900

RACE	NATIVE		FOREIGN-BORN		NATIVE	FOREIGN-BORN
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Per cent male	Per cent male
Total	33,186,258	32,467,041	5,630,190	4,711,086	50.5	54.4
White	28,686,450	27,908,929	5,515,285	4,698,532	50.7	54.0
Negro	4,374,718	4,438,940	11,829	8,507	49.6	58.2
Indian	118,277	116,706	1,207	1,006	50.3	54.5
Mongolian	6,813	2,466	101,869	3,041	73.4	97.1
Chinese	6,657	2,353	78,684	2,169	73.9	97.3
Japanese	156	113	23,185	872	58.0	96.4

SCHOOL AGE AND VOTING AGE[1]

(Compiled by the *World Almanac* from the Census of 1900)

STATES AND TERRITORIES	SCHOOL AGE, FIVE TO TWENTY YEARS			VOTING AGE[2]					
	Total	Whites	Negroes[4]	Total	Native-born	Foreign-born	Whites	Negroes[4]	Illiterates
Alabama	733,222	394,152	338,980	413,862	405,598	8,264	232,294	181,471	139,649
Alaska	11,408	1,718	10	37,956	26,489	11,467	25,953	141	10,735
Arizona	38,868	28,371	365	44,081	30,306	13,775	34,911	1,084	10,533
Arkansas	529,375	380,815	148,534	313,836	305,464	8,372	226,597	87,157	62,615
California	420,081	405,868	3,225	544,087	318,817	225,270	489,545	3,711	33,508
Colorado	160,531	157,752	2,043	185,708	133,935	51,773	181,616	3,215	7,689
Connecticut	257,101	252,760	4,272	280,340	173,248	107,092	275,126	4,576	18,984
Delaware	59,635	48,782	10,849	54,018	47,202	6,816	45,592	8,374	7,538
District of Columbia	77,291	51,212	26,046	83,823	73,722	10,101	60,318	23,072	7,052
Florida	197,600	110,537	86,908	139,601	127,865	11,736	77,962	61,417	30,849
Georgia	885,725	457,958	427,741	500,752	493,740	7,012	277,496	223,073	158,247
Hawaii	33,774	23,827	79	79,607	13,064	66,543	19,576	93	27,363
Idaho	54,964	53,261	69	53,932	38,185	15,747	50,328	130	2,936
Illinois	1,589,915	1,565,606	24,238	1,401,456	932,574	468,882	1,370,209	29,762	67,481
Indiana	843,885	825,394	18,389	720,206	646,889	73,317	701,761	18,186	40,016
Indian Territory	159,125	121,420	14,882	97,361	94,361	3,000	77,865	9,146	15,482
Iowa	767,870	763,785	3,912	635,298	477,273	158,025	630,665	4,441	17,061
Kansas	527,560	507,611	18,878	413,786	346,761	67,025	398,552	14,695	14,214
Kentucky	798,027	693,455	104,512	543,996	518,772	25,224	469,206	74,728	102,528
Louisiana	538,267	276,563	261,453	325,943	299,772	26,171	177,878	147,348	122,638
Maine	199,153	198,519	369	217,663	178,931	38,732	216,856	445	13,952
Maryland	403,026	318,052	84,946	321,903	279,216	42,687	260,979	60,406	40,352
Massachusetts	778,110	769,710	7,996	843,465	495,734	347,731	830,049	10,456	53,694
Michigan	790,275	783,220	4,814	719,478	457,353	262,125	712,245	5,193	39,230
Minnesota	612,990	608,547	1,063	506,794	245,768	261,026	502,384	2,168	20,785
Mississippi	633,026	253,153	378,923	349,177	344,151	5,026	150,530	197,936	118,057
Missouri	1,105,258	1,049,414	55,767	856,684	743,659	113,025	809,797	46,418	60,327
Montana	65,871	61,032	289	101,931	58,237	43,694	94,873	711	5,900
Nebraska	386,384	383,229	1,781	301,091	209,961	91,130	297,817	2,298	7,388
Nevada	11,399	9,703	18	17,710	10,523	7,187	14,652	70	2,271
New Hampshire	110,895	110,708	172	130,987	96,099	34,888	130,648	230	10,295
New Jersey	572,923	553,230	19,585	555,608	357,447	198,161	532,750	21,474	38,305
New Mexico	69,712	64,137	401	55,067	47,482	7,585	50,804	775	15,585
New York	2,146,764	2,119,156	25,476	2,184,965	1,346,829	838,136	2,145,057	31,425	130,004
North Carolina	753,826	490,782	260,755	417,578	415,048	2,530	289,263	127,114	122,658
North Dakota	112,789	110,193	97	95,217	39,344	55,873	93,237	115	5,158
Ohio	1,338,345	1,308,510	29,804	1,212,223	985,969	226,254	1,180,599	31,235	58,698
Oklahoma	147,656	135,960	7,106	109,191	100,528	8,663	101,543	4,827	6,479
Oregon	132,887	129,875	201	144,446	101,923	42,523	131,261	560	6,978
Pennsylvania	2,031,171	1,986,430	43,394	1,817,239	1,330,099	487,140	1,763,482	51,668	139,982
Rhode Island	124,646	122,223	2,403	127,144	72,820	54,324	124,001	2,765	11,675
South Carolina	560,773	218,323	342,401	283,325	280,221	3,104	130,375	152,860	99,516
South Dakota	147,165	140,461	134	112,681	67,079	45,602	107,353	184	5,442
Tennessee	780,421	589,451	190,925	487,380	477,739	9,641	375,046	112,236	105,851
Texas	1,215,634	955,906	259,491	737,768	650,599	87,169	599,961	136,875	113,783
Utah	106,513	105,378	136	67,172	41,939	25,233	65,205	358	2,470
Vermont	98,614	98,357	255	108,356	87,465	20,891	108,027	289	8,544
Virginia	704,771	435,612	268 962	447,815	436,389	11,426	301,379	146,122	113,353
Washington	158,245	153,180	528	195,572	126,190	69,382	183,999	1,230	6,635
West Virginia	356,471	341,637	14,823	247,970	235,036	12,934	233,129	14,786	32,066
Wisconsin	730,685	726,950	661	570,715	313,188	257,527	567,213	1,006	31,136
Wyoming	27,500	26,607	215	37,898	26,563	11,335	36,262	481	1,636
Total[3]	26,110,788	22,490,211	3,500,194	21,329,819	16,227,285	5,102,534	19,036,143	2,065,989	2,326,295

[1] School age, five to twenty, inclusive.
[2] Twenty-one years and over.
[3] Including all persons in the military and naval service of the United States.
[4] Including all persons of negro descent.

The whole number of persons of school age—that is, from five to twenty years of age, inclusive—in 1900 is 26,110,788, of whom 21,573,492 are from five to seventeen years of age and 4,537,296 from eighteen to twenty years of age. These figures include, however, 217,523 persons of school age reported in Alaska, Hawaii, Indian Territory, and on Indian reservations. Eliminating the latter from the account there are: native born, 24,689,118; foreign-born, 1,204,147; native white (native parents), 14,775,476; native white (foreign parents), 6,371,221; foreign white, 1,193,443; colored, 3,553,125; persons of negro descent, 3,485,188; males, 12,972,994; females, 12,920,271.

The number of males of voting age is 21,329,819, of which there are: native-born, 16,227,285; foreign-born, 5,102,534; native white (native parents), 10,636,898; native white (foreign parents), 3,466,721; foreign white, 4,932,524; colored, 2,293,676; persons of negro descent, 2,065,589.

The ratio of population to males of voting age in the entire country is 3.6. This ratio varies, however, for the several elements of the population, the ratio of negro population to negro males of voting age being 4.3.

Area.—According to the census of 1900, the largest county in the U. S. is Custer County, Mont., which has 20,490 sq. m. The smallest is Bristol County, R. I., which has 25 sq. m.

Great Britain

Total Population of each Division of the United Kingdom at each Census, from 1801 to 1901

Census Years	Total for United Kingdom	England and Wales	Scotland	Ireland
1801	.....	8,892,536	1,608,420	(1)
1811	.....	10,164,256	1,805,864	(1)
1821	20,893,584	12,000,236	2,091,521	6,801,827
1831	24,028,584	13,896,797	2,364,386	7,767,401
1841	26,709,456	15,914,148	2,620,184	8,175,124
1851	27,368,736	17,927,609	2,888,742	6,552,385
1861	28,927,485	20,066,224	3,062,294	5,798,967
1871	31,484,661	22,712,266	3,360,018	5,412,377
1881	34,884,848	25,974,439	3,735,573	5,174,836
1891	37,732,922	29,002,525	4,025,647	4,704,750
1901	41,458,721	32,527,843	4,472,103	4,458,775

[1] The census of Ireland in 1821 is the first which was made on such a basis as to afford a comparison with those of subsequent decades.

The population was thus distributed at the census taken April 1, 1901:

Divisions	Area in sq. m.	Density per sq. m.	Males	Females
England and Wales	58,309	405.6	15,728,613	16,799,230
Scotland	29,785	150.	2,173,755	2,298,348
Ireland	32,583	137.	2,200,040	2,258,735
Isle of Man	227	248.9	25,496	29,256
Channel Islands	75	.....	45,080	50,538
Army, navy, and merchant seamen abroad	.....	.....	367,736	.....
Total	120,979	359.65	20,540,720	21,436,107

According to the *Statesman's Year Book*, the proportion per cent of the population living in the various divisions of the United Kingdom was as follows, from 1851 to 1901:

Divisions	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
England	61.0	64.6	67.5	69.8	72.2	74.1
Wales	3.6	3.8	3.8	3.8	3.8	4.1
Scotland	10.4	10.4	10.6	10.6	10.7	10.8
Ireland	23.7	19.8	17.0	14.6	12.5	10.7
Isle of Man	.2	.2	.2	.2	.1	.1
Channel Islands	.3	.3	.3	.3	.2	.2
Seamen abroad	.8	.9	.6	.7	.5	.....

For other countries, see each country.

PORT SUNLIGHT ESTATE: A village built by Lever Bros., near Birkenhead, England (1888); is considered by many one of the most attractive industrial villages in the world. (See Model Villages.) It has about 3,000 inhabitants in 600 houses, on 140 acres, tastefully laid out, with park and gardens. Houses here can be had for 5*s.* per week. They are of antique, half-timbered design, and fitted with bath and other conveniences. There are in the village a church, two fine groups of schools of various kinds, a commodious public hall, inn, restaurant, gymnasium, elegant public bath, fountain, cooperative stores, free library, and tennis, bowling, and quoit grounds. There are dining halls for men and girls, the latter seating 1,500 girls. Food is sold at very low prices, tho covering cost. The principle on which the village has been developed has been what Mr. W. H. Lever, the founder, calls "prosperity-sharing" rather than profit-sharing. By this he means that, instead of giving their employees a small share in their profits paid as money, which the workman often squanders or misuses, the firm regularly sets by each year a proportion of its profits to be invested for the good of all, and mainly in land, houses, and institutions. Rents are based on paying only for repairs and 1 per cent to create a sinking-fund. The total cost up to 1904 has been over £35,000. The actual cost to the firm in interest is some £10,000 a year, but they consider that it is well repaid in the improved quality of workers secured. The system seems to be a success, since it has grown to 140 acres besides the soap-works, from a beginning with fifty-six acres. The village has some four miles of roadway from forty to seventy feet wide and all tree-lined with borders of tufted garden. There is a park of twenty-five acres. Allotments of land can also be hired with the houses. Much freedom is given the tenants; they are given the right, e. g., to vote on the license question for the inn, and vote "yes," the women so voting, in order that the men would not go to the neighboring "pubs." The number of persons allowed in the cottages is limited to prevent overcrowding, and the cottages are limited to ten per acre, being built for the most part not singly but in groups. The average cost of house and land is £354. This would ordinarily mean a rent of at least 12*s.* per week, whereas the tenants only pay about half that.

PORTO RICO: A dependency of the United States, having been ceded by Spain, 1898. It is administered by a governor and an executive council of six officials and five natives appointed by the President of the U. S. There is also a legislative assembly of thirty-five members elected by popular vote limited by small property qualification and a low educational test.

Statistics

Area, 3,435 sq. m. Population (1899), 953,261, estimated at 1,000,000 in 1905. (Whites, 589,426; mulattoes, 304,352; negroes, 59,390.) San Juan has 32,048; Ponce, 27,952. The whites are mainly of Spanish descent, tho with the infusion of much Carib or Indian and even negro blood. The percentage of whites is higher than in most of the West Indies. Exports to the U. S. (1905–6), $19,055,474, of which sugar was $14,184,319; tobacco, $3,557,477. Imports from the U. S., $18,648,991, of which cottons were $1,670,005. Exports to other countries, $4,060,594. Imports, $2,602,784. The trade was mainly with France. July 25, 1901, free trade with the U. S. was established.

The chief product of the island is coffee, to which 170,000 acres are devoted. To sugar, 62,000 acres are given; to tobacco, 14,000. Bananas, pineapples, and oranges are

grown. Salt-works are somewhat developed. Many minerals exist, but are scarcely worked at all. Porto Rico had (1906) 200 miles of railway, and 517 miles of telegraph in 1905, with 930 miles of wire.

Those having gainful occupations in 1899 were 33.1 per cent, or 316,365. This small percentage is mainly due to the large number of children under ten, tho 1,670 of these were at work, mainly in agriculture. Of the white females, 7.4 were engaged in gainful occupations, and of colored females, 13.7. Of the males in gainful occupations, 73 per cent were engaged in agriculture, fisheries, or mining; 10 per cent in domestic and personal service; 8 in trade and transportation; 7 in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. Seventy-six per cent of the total area is in farms, tho 52 per cent of these are only little patches of ground near a house. The prevailing rate of wages in the coffee district is thirty cents per day, measured by the price of provisions, a lower wage than before 1899. In tobacco the wage is forty cents, and in sugar fifty cents. Urban wages are considerably higher.

One cause of the low wages is the high birth-rate, partly due to low social conditions. The marital conditions are loose and transitory. For every 100 persons married there are at least fifty-three in loose unions. This condition is particularly present among the colored. Peonage is very common. A large part of the land is under absentee ownership, still largely Spanish. In the towns overcrowding in unfit buildings is a great evil, and rents are very high. Labor, tho nominally cheap, is so inefficient as really to be expensive. Sanitary conditions are very bad.

Education has been very low. In 1860 only 9 per cent of the whole population were literate; in 1899 it was 22.7 of those over ten years. Out of every 1,000 males over ten years of age 257 could read, and of every 1,000 women only 199. A large advance has been made. June 30, 1904, there were 1,113 common schools and 51 special. There were 139 American teachers (47 men), and 1,126 native. There were enrolled as pupils 47,089 whites and 16,467 colored. Of the total number, 26,162 were girls. The government set aside about $2,000,000 as an especial fund for education, and $700,000 a year is now spent, tho more is needed.

Sanitary reform was the first needed. Anemia, owing to bad conditions, caused some 30 per cent of the deaths. In 1899 76 per cent of the dwellings had no water-closet or privy of any kind. Dwellings and water sources were polluted. The government is rapidly changing this. Education, too, will increase efficiency, and better morals will do more. Trade-unions are in their beginning. The foregoing facts are mainly from a report by Dr. W. E. Weyl in the *U. S. Bulletin of Labor* for Nov., 1905. H. S. Bird, in the *Outlook* for Nov. 11, 1905, claims that Porto Rico now has less local autonomy than under Spain, and that therefore great dissatisfaction exists.

POST, LOUIS FREELAND: Editor of *The Public*, Chicago; born near Danville, N. J., in 1849; compositor 1864–66; a law student 1867–70 in New York City; in 1871–72 law clerk in South Carolina, where, in conjunction with Ben Pitman, he reported the famous Kuklux trials. After this returned to the practise of law in New York City. He was for a time assistant United States attorney. In 1883 was Greenback candidate for attorney-general. He was successively editor of *Truth*, *The Leader*, Henry George's *Standard*, and took a prominent part in the Henry George campaign; temporary chairman of the Syracuse Convention of the United Labor Party; in 1887 he was candidate of that party for district attorney; 1893–95 lectured in the U. S. and Canada; editor of the *Cleveland Recorder* 1896–97; in 1898 he founded the paper he now edits. Member of the Chicago Board of Education 1906–7. He adopts the single-tax theory. In political economy a classicist, he considers Adam Smith to be the founder and Henry George the logical perfecter of the classical system. He is author of "The Single Tax," "Ethics of Democracy," and "Ethical Principles of Marriage and Divorce." *Address*: First National Bank Building, Chicago.

POSTAL PROGRESS LEAGUE, THE: Organized in Boston, Mass., 1902. Its aim is a world post-office, covering the world's business of public transportation and communication, and supported by a cost of the service system of rates, regardless of distance, regardless of the character of the matter transported, regardless of the volume of business, rates determined by the representatives of the rate-payers in a world congress.

It advocates as the immediate work of Congress a common one cent a pound on all mail matter, postal savings-banks, a postal currency, the postal insurance of all mail matter, the use of traveling auto post-offices, collecting and delivering mail matter from door to door in our cities, a rural service doing the whole transport business of the rural routes, etc. The league publishes a little paper, *Postal Progress*. *Secretary*, Jas. L. Cowles, 361 Broadway, New York.

POSTAL SERVICE. (See also POSTAL SAVINGS-BANKS; TELEGRAPHS; TELEPHONE.)

The earliest postal service of the world was that of the trained runners or couriers who carried official and military messages between the cities of Greece and Rome.

History

At first they carried simply official messages. Gradually they came to carry private messages. All letters of the fifteenth and perhaps the fourteenth century in England evidently were carried by a system of messengers. The University of Paris organized a system of messengers in the thirteenth century. Sir Brian Tuke, in 1533, is described as Master of the Messengers. In 1635 Thomas Witherings was authorized to run a post night and day between London and Edinburgh, "to go thither and back again in six days." Eight lines of post were established. The postage was *2d.* for less than eighty miles, *8d.* to any place in Scotland. In 1685 a penny post was established in London and suburbs. It was a private speculation, but, on succeeding, was annexed to the crown. In 1783 mail-coaches were substituted for boys on horseback. In 1837 Rowland Hill in England published a pamphlet, analyzing the postal system and showing £282,308 as the probable outgoings for receipt and delivery and £144,209 as the probable outgoings for transit. In other words, the expenditure which hinged upon the distance the letters had to be conveyed was £144,000, and that which had nothing to do with distance was £282,000. Applying to these figures the estimated number of letters and newspapers (126,000,000) passing through the office, there resulted a probable average cost of $\frac{84}{100}$ of a penny for each, of which $\frac{28}{100}$ was cost of transit and $\frac{56}{100}$ cost of receipt, delivery, etc. Taking into account, however, the much greater weight of newspaper and franked letters as compared with chargeable letters, the apparent average cost of transit became, by this estimate, but about $\frac{8}{100}$, or less than $\frac{1}{10}$ of a penny.

Cheap Postage

From this Hill argued hat as it would take a ninefold weight to make the expense of transit amount to one farthing, he further inferred that, taxation apart, the charge ought to be precisely the same for every packet of moderate weight, without reference to the number of its enclosures.

Parliament was induced to appoint a committee, which sustained Mr. Hill. A bill was passed and Rowland Hill placed in charge. A penny was adopted as

The World's Postal Service, 1905

(Compiled mainly from the "Statistique Générale du Service Postal," published by the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union, Bern, Switzerland, 1906. The numerous notes found in that summary have been omitted)

Country	Number of post-offices	Postal employees	Letters and cards (domestic and foreign mail), including registered and official, sent	Printed matter, including newspapers and periodicals (domestic and foreign), sent	Packages Sent		Domestic Money and Postal Orders Sent		Foreign Money Orders Sent		Post-offices per 10,000 inhabitants	Printed matter etc., sent, per 10,000 inhabitants	Letters and postal cards sent, per 10,000 inhabitants	Receipts (in $1,000)	Expenditures (in $1,000)
					With value stated	No value stated	Number	Value	Number	Value					
			Number	*Number*	*Number*	*Number*		*Dollars*		*Dollars*	*No.*	*No.*	*No.*		
Argentina	2,282	6,495	206,981,296	218,522,784	10,000	48,000	102,563	1,149,000	8,618	94,000	4.0	384,723	364,404	6,104	6,798
Australia	6,654	.....	281,160,737	159,755,452	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	16.4	394,458	694,224	.....	.....
New Zealand	1,898	.....	66,292,441	30,293,672	.....	.....	281,665	5,584,000	126,128	1,598,000	21.3	340,378	744,859	.....	.....
Austria, including Bosnia-Herzegovina	9,007	60,475	1,067,413,613	255,121,690	43,219,000	13,624,000	27,382,895	251,322,000	4,522,613	50,854,000	3.3	93,657	391,855	25,397	24,444
Hungary	5,209	22,859	318,815,338	52,754,428	21,070,000	3,417,000	16,630,261	163,648,000	3,722,940	45,251,000	2.6	26,233	158,536	11,420	7,581
Belgium	1,330	7,617	237,205,863	363,419,138	6,836,000	676,000	3,333,154	47,705,000	528,267	5,600,000	1.9	507,568	331,293	7,837	4,969
Brazil	2,871	.....	36,782,000	28,638,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2.0	19,984	25,668	.....	.....
Bulgaria	2,035	3,600	20,040,388	11,977,534	208,000	95,000	251,312	4,270,000	80,570	1,217,000	5.1	29,795	49,852	710	627
Canada	10,879	.....	331,792,500	50,820,000	.....	.....	1,278,413	23,410,000	645,717	8,939,000	16.9	78,913	515,206	.....	.....
China	1,626	.....	24,693,010	5,620,556	.....	.....	.....	604,000	.....	.....	.04	130	570	.....	.....
Cuba	479	.....	23,671,684	2,472,780	.....	.....	110,831	3,418,000	49,173	826,000	3.1	15,751	150,775	.....	.....
Denmark	1,332	7,237	101,863,682	107,867,789	3,950,000	1,340,000	2,774,948	20,463,000	206,894	2,180,000	5.2	419,719	396,357	4,365	2,998
Egypt	1,137	.....	22,450,000	13,324,150	498,000	40,000	550,000	13,072,000	133,000	2,660,000	1.2	13,568	22,862	.....	.....
France	11,920	82,387	1,119,488,834	1,463,024,819	54,255,000	14,259,000	46,863,452	353,776,000	1,490,404	13,074,000	3.0	372,271	284,857	59,281	44,508
German Empire	47,525	251,052	2,730,625,402	3,263,325,080	209,417,000	13,687,000	174,347,723	2,537,923,000	3,475,022	33,233,000	7.9	451,492	539,571	131,552	116,190
Greece	597	.....	10,347,037	14,261,206	.....	.....	141,984	2,956,000	16,693	184,000	2.5	42,580	58,688	922	834
Haiti	31	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.2	.....	.....	.....	.....
India, British	16,033	75,290	69,141,957	553,887,150	2,148,000	447,000	16,537,708	91,423,000	133,119	1,936,000	.5	2,349	18,817	11,267	9,454
Italy, including Eritrea	8,917	28,213	583,367,500	359,587,384	10,661,000	3,904,000	16,024,755	224,885,000	264,632	2,899,000	2.6	172,186	106,135	14,734	14,169
Japan	4,650	57,261	200,534,624	871,077,817	9,435,000	1,023,000	12,069,908	64,400,000	10,255	165,000	1.0	41,795	181,550	13,834	10,073
Mexico	2,466	9,095	77,807,143	64,752,789	524,000	.....	1,110,362	44,181,000	32,105	801,000	1.8	57,169	47,577	3,037	3,295
Netherlands	1,388	8,598	206,782,075	181,420,390	5,846,000	620,000	4,600,993	26,197,000	376,883	2,722,000	2.5	369 914	324,545	5,804	5,345
Dutch East Indies	1,517	.....	10,510,948	15,190,698	.....	.....	229,901	2,816,000	57,331	788,000	.4	2,941	4,250	.....	.....
Norway	2,836	4,453	67,529,664	51,504,494	622,000	3,312,000	418,121	3,595,000	187,272	1,288,000	12.3	292,336	222,963	2,894	2,513
Paraguay	157	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2.5	.....	.....	.....	.....
Persia	106	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Peru	369	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Portugal	3,081	6,615	34,411,136	47,585,189	404,000	44,000	407,108	6,508,000	20,142	169,000	6.0	66,688	92,219	1,610	1,140
Rumania	3,278	6,956	36,849,216	49,833,680	1,283,000	678,000	935,954	6,129,000	317,526	2,589,000	5.1	56,866	76,904	.....	.....
Russia	13,094	61,062	486,042,945	716,124,511	4,431,000	16,182,000	18,806,772	497,216,000	61,699	1,193,000	.9	34,471	50,789	47,914	32,303
Finland	1,441	.....	23,142,552	21,242,712	.....	.....	12,390	97,000	20,767	213,000	5.0	80,918	74,275	.....	.....
Servia	1,241	.....	7,861,374	10,509,993	.....	.....	264,637	4,039,000	23,780	387,000	4.6	29,224	39,071	.....	.....
Siam	111	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Spain	4,734	5,293	182,442,940	194,414,149	652,000	477,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	2.5	97,982	104,411	6,896	3,230
Sweden	3,620	8,620	179,682,732	144,923,270	1,572,000	2,203,000	3,631,763	29,394,000	332,716	2,405,000	6.9	341,602	275,520	6,582	6,048
Switzerland	3,942	13,169	194,452,977	214,402,137	23,482,000	2,165,000	7,267,160	143,023,000	1,244,613	9,265,000	11.4	562,003	619,659	10,050	9,619
Turkey	1,407	.....	4,620,400	22,656,260	.....	.....	415,832	8,566,000	14,312	342,000	.6	1,853	9,088	.....	.....
United Kingdom	23,073	188,031	1,023,100,000	3,359,100,000	93,130,000	1,326,000	101,068,552	348,911,000	695,964	9,664,000	5.3	236,719	777,209	99,851	79,245
British Colonies, n. e. s.	3,711	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2.5	.....	.....	139,092	143,514
United States	65,600	241,820	4,774,700,000	6,465,850,000	.....	.....	58,461,353	444,516,000	3,036,508	63,048,000	7.8	567,403	768,372	.....	.....
Philippine Islands	476	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Porto Rico	79	1,554	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Uruguay	762	.....	14,894,658	5,227,538	23,000	.....	10,468	1,294,000	3,308	51,000	7.3	143,218	50,265	.....	.....
Venezuela	214	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.8	.....	.....	.....	.....
World[1]	279,683	.....	13,720,454,867	20,603,823,919	.....	.....	519,084,120	5,451,584,000	22,511,031	279,534,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

[1] Including some minor countries not here tabulated.

the uniform rate for every inland letter not above half an ounce. Facilities for prepayment were afforded by the introduction of postage-stamps, and double postage was levied on letters not prepaid.

As far back as 1792 a money-order office had been established as a medium for sailors and soldiers to transmit their savings, and its benefit had afterward been extended to the general public; but the commission charged had been so high that it was only employed to a very limited extent. The immediate result of the changes introduced in 1840 was an enormous increase in the amount of correspondence, arising in part from the cessation of the illicit traffic in letters, which had so largely prevailed before; but for some years there was a deficit in the post-office revenue.

With the development of the railway system came the carriage of letters by train, adding to the expenses of the post-office, but gradually the gross revenue of the post-office increased, and the net revenue after 1863. Many reforms were introduced: (1) The establishment of postal savings-banks (1861); (2) the transfer to the State of the telegraphic service (1870); (3) the introduction of postal cards (1870); and (4) the establishment (1883) of a parcel post.

The French postal system was founded by Louis XI. (1464). In 1627 France originated a postal money-transmission system. Mazarin's edict of Dec. 3, 1643, shows that France at that date had a parcel post as well as a letter post.

The German postal system also began early. In Strasburg a messenger code existed as early as 1443. A postal service was organized at Nuremberg in 1570.

The Prussian system began with the establishment, in 1646, of a government post from Cleves to Memel. By the treaty of postal union with Austria (1849) the germ was virtually set of the International Postal Union.

The first postal service established in any portion of what is now the United States was probably made by the General Court of Massachusetts in 1639.

In 1672 the government of the Colony of New York established a "post to goe monthly from New York to Boston"; and notice was given to "those that bee disposed to send letters, to bring them to the secretary's office, where in a lockt box they shall bee preserved till the messenger calls for them, all persons paying the post before the bagg bee sealed up."

In 1692 the English Government put the colonial postal service in charge of a deputy postmaster-general, and in 1710 the first organized system for the transmission of the mails in the colonies was created.

The United States

In 1753 Benjamin Franklin, who had been postmaster at Philadelphia, was made Postmaster-General. A penny post was established at Philadelphia; in 1756 the first stage, probably, in the colonies began to carry the mails between Philadelphia and New York. In 1758 newspapers, which previously had been carried in the mails free, were charged with postage. Other reforms and improvements were begun, so that in 1774, the last of Franklin's administration under the crown, the net revenue of the postal service was over £3,000. In 1775 he was appointed, by the Second Continental Congress, "Postmaster-General of the United Colonies."

In 1792 an act was passed to establish a general post-office.

So insignificant was this department that in 1790 Samuel Osgood, in a letter to Alexander Hamilton, gravely discust the question whether the Postmaster-General should not be required to occupy the room at the seat of government where the mails were received and dispatched, in order that he might personally superintend the work.

But the service rapidly grew. In 1834 railroads were first used. In 1851 letters not over one half ounce, prepaid, could be sent 3,000 miles for three cents. In 1855 the registry system was authorized; in 1863 the free-delivery system; in 1864 the money-order system; in 1885 the special delivery. Other reforms have been the introduction of railway post-offices, street postal cars; the system of delivery, postal cards and return cards, etc., etc.

In 1874 a **Universal Postal Union** was formed, mainly owing to the efforts of Dr. von Stephan, of Germany, tho it had been proposed to the various countries by the U. S. in 1862.

Postal Reforms

It will be noted that in the foregoing the U. S., Mexico, and Argentina are the only countries in the world, of which information is published, which have a deficiency in their postal departments. Every European country makes a profit from its post-offices. In 1906 the postal revenue of Great Britain was £17,064,023, and the expenditures £11,795,109, leaving a net profit of £5,268,914, counterbalanced by a deficit of £754,707, in the telegraphic service, giving a total net profit of some $22,000,000. Germany had in 1905 a net profit of some $15,000,000; Russia, $15,000,000, and France, $14,000,000. For the U. S. deficit of $10,542,941 (1906) there are three main reasons:

Revenues and United States Deficit

1. The chief reason is undoubtedly the extent to which the U. S. railroads are allowed to overcharge the government for carrying mail matter. According to the analysis of postal expenditures of different countries by the International Bureau, Russia pays for postal transportation (by land and sea) only one sixteenth of her postal expenditures; Germany pays for transportation less than one tenth; Great Britain and France pay less than one ninth, but the U. S. pays out over one third of her expenditures for transportation. Says Prof. Frank Parsons:

> While railways in other countries carry the mails for nothing or at cost, our government has to pay much higher rates than private shippers. For hauling mails the railways receive from the government from two to four times as much as they get from the express companies for equal haulage.
>
> According to the estimate of Prof. Henry C. Adams of Michigan University, the statistician of the U. S. Interstate Commerce Commission, the average payment to the railways for carrying the mails is twelve cents and a half per ton-mile ("Report of Congressional Commission on Railway Mail Pay," 1900, part ii., p. 253). Professor Adams is a high authority and his calculation was carefully made, route by route; but there is reason to believe that his result is too low; not because of error on his part, but because of incorrect data as to the weight of mails on which his estimate was based. The railroads were on trial at the time and many millions were at stake; and, at the special weighing in 1899, during the investigation leading to the twelve-cents-and-a-half estimate, the figures for the annual mail weight were multiplied by three almost, and the annual increase rose at a bound to eighteen times its previous size. The estimates of the Post-Office Department from 1890 down, indicate for the railway mail pay an actual rate of twenty-six to thirty-six cents per ton-mile instead of twelve cents and a half. But even if we take the Adams estimate, the resulting comparisons are sufficiently astonishing.
>
> The express companies carry magazines and newspapers 500 miles and more at a cent a pound and the railways get less than a half a cent a pound, or two cents a ton-mile. That is not all. Any general express agent will tell you that the company will shade the rate for a large shipper. For example, the *Cosmopolitan* is carried from New York to Boston, 219 miles, for eighteen cents a hundred, or less than a fifth of a cent a pound. This is at the rate of 1.6 cents per ton-mile for the express company and three quarters of a cent a ton-mile for the railways; a rate about one sixteenth of the average mail rate and one ninth of the lowest mail rate on the lines where the volume of mail is greatest. The railways charge the government about three cents a pound for hauling second-class matter, according to Professor Adams, and eight cents according to Postmaster-General Wilson, but haul the same stuff for the express companies for less than a tenth of a cent a pound. And if the railways had any serious objection to such rates they would hardly have permitted them to continue all these years, but would have provided against them in their contracts with the express companies.
>
> A further count in the indictment against the railways in respect to the mails is that there is good reason to believe they do not really carry the weight of mail for which they are paid. The weighing of the mails occurs only once in four years. The roads have notice beforehand and are strongly tempted to inflate the estimate. To accomplish this they "pad" the mails during the weighing time by sending back and forth large masses of books and papers, getting their friends in Congress to frank large quantities of printed matter, etc., and it does not seem to do much good to expose the fraud and secure a new weighing, for the railways find some new way to obtain the result. For instance, where a flagrant case of "padding" was discovered and exposed and a reweighing ordered, the padding was accomplished a second time by having many thousands of newspapers mailed during the

weighing period, to addresses furnished and paid for by the railroad company.

In addition to the regular mail rates the government pays an extra charge for postal cars averaging $6,250 a year per car, altho the cost of construction of cars is but $2,500 to $5,000 each. For two thirty-foot apartments in two combination cars, each carrying one ton of mail, the railways get no car rental; nothing but the mail weight rates; but for a sixty-foot postal car with an average load of two tons of mail, heated and lighted like the compartments, and with the same fixtures as the aforesaid compartments plus a water-tank, the roads receive $6,250 a year special car rent in addition to full rates for the weight of mail carried. This means $5,368,000 a year for the rental of cars worth about $4,000,000.

Robbery of the Government by the Railroads

A return in a single year of more than the whole capital invested is a pretty good rate of profit.

2. Another reason for the deficit in the U. S. postal service is the comparatively cheap carriage of second-class matter. This is the reason usually given in the reports of our Postmaster-Generals, who are afraid to give the main reason —the robbery of the government by the railroads, and it is, therefore, the reason ordinarily held out before the people. Congress, in 1905, at the recommendation of the Post-Office Department, appointed a commission upon the matter, and reforms have been introduced and efforts are being made to amend the laws, so as to rule out much more advertising matter, now improperly carried at newspaper rates. But the question is really of minor importance (or would be if the railways did not overcharge for carrying such mail). Witness the comparative prices for carrying mail in the U. S. and in Europe. The educational advantage, especially to the rural population, of cheap carriage of papers and even of advertising matter is incalculable. As the Postmaster-General says (Report, 1906, p. 6):

> While it would be a gratifying circumstance if the Post-Office Department were self-sustaining, I am less concerned about the deficit than about efficiency of administration. The public demand for postal facilities is constantly growing. If the installation of the rural service had depended upon the existence of a surplus in the postal revenues under the existing system of accounting, that service could not have been given. The same considerations apply to a number of other branches. The financial returns from certain branches are so interwoven with and dependent upon others that there is much force in the contention that it is unreasonable to charge any one of them with the responsibility for the deficit.

3. Another somewhat similar reason for the deficit is the extent to which the post-office is saddled with expenses in carrying matter free for other departments of the government. Not only do government officials frank all kinds of material through the mails, but departments like that of Agriculture send matter by the wholesale. The Postmaster-General (Report, 1906, p. 272) estimates that if the post-office charged for this service, the revenues would be increased by approximately $20,000,000 (about twice the actual deficit.) When Mr. Wanamaker was Postmaster-General, he said (1893):

> Bundles of wire 6 feet high and 6 feet around, bags of seeds, supplies for the army, tons of documents packed in wooden cases that sometimes require three men to handle them, millions of blanks of the Census Office, are piled into the post-offices. . . . The reason for it is, that the Post-Office Department is compelled to carry anything sent under a penalty frank, and finally, franks are used by all the departments and their agents for the purpose of carrying everything they choose to send.

4. Finally, another main cause for the deficit is the failure of the post-office to enter domains of public service which are entered by all the main postal systems of the world except that of the U. S., and which in most cases are immensely remunerative, tho done at low cost. We refer to postal savings-banks, postal telegraph and telephone service, and the postal parcels post. The reason why the U. S. post-office does not enter these domains is that, while the immense majority of the people desire that it should do so, and petitions to this effect have been signed by hundreds of thousands of voters, including most prominent public officials and some Postmaster-Generals themselves, the interests of private corporations carrying on banking, telegraph, telephone, and express have successfully lobbied in Congress to prevent or pigeonhole any bills looking in this direction. (See CORRUPTION, p. 322.)

Express Companies versus the United States

Postmaster-General John Wanamaker in reply to a question about the parcels post said:

> It is true that parcels could be carried at about one twelfth their present cost by the Post-Office Department, but you do not seem to be aware that there are four insuperable obstacles to the carrying of parcels by the U. S. Post-Office Department. The first of these is the Adams Express Company; the second is the American Express Company; the third the Wells-Fargo Express Company; and fourth, the United States Express Company.

PARCELS POST

What a large amount of business is carried on by the parcels post of almost all the great countries of the world, except in the U. S., is seen in the table on p. 929. The following table shows the comparative prices:

DOMESTIC POSTAGE ON PARCELS OF GENERAL MERCHANDISE

	Austria	France	Germany	Great Britain	British Empire	United States (fourth class)
7 pounds.....	.12	.12	.12	.18	.48	$1.12[1]
11 pounds.....	.12	.16	.12	.24	.72	1.76[2]
22 pounds.....	.24[1]	.25	.24[1]	.48[1]	...	...

[1] In two packages. [2] In three packages.

This was not always the case. Says *Postal Progress* (organ of the Postal Progress League, *q. v.*), to which we are indebted for these facts:

> The U. S. parcels post of 1874, with its uniform rate of eight cents a pound, weight-limit four pounds, preceded the international parcels post of Europe and the domestic post of France by six years; that of Great Britain by nine years.
>
> The tax now levied by Congress on the public for the postal transport of general merchandise is 100 per cent higher than the Post-Office Department deems advisable or necessary; 100 per cent higher than the old rate of 1874; 100 per cent higher than the sample parcels rate of the Universal Postal Union, and 25 per cent higher than our foreign parcels rate.
>
> Our parcels post of 1874, the best, in 1907 is the worst of any of the great nations. Our general merchandise tax, in 1874, eight cents a pound, is now sixteen cents a pound.

The parcels post could be made of incalculable service, especially to rural communities, and bring in a large revenue to the government, as it does in other countries.

THE INTERNATIONAL PARCELS POST

The international parcels post of Europe was established in 1880, but the U. S. has not entered into it. A few especial postal conventions have

been made by the U. S. with a few countries at high rates, but international commerce and correspondence with the U. S. is heavily handicapped in this respect as compared with other countries. U. S. consuls and citizens residing abroad or having correspondents abroad have repeatedly complained of this. It is estimated that hundreds of millions of dollars of commerce are lost to the U. S. by its inability to send samples and produce at cheap rates to foreign countries (on account of the pressure of foreign countries, it is cheaper to send fourth-class matter abroad than at home). It was estimated by Consul Ayme in 1903 that the U. S. lost $2,000,000 in orders from the West Indies alone by the lack of a cheap parcels post. The following table compares the parcels dispatched in the international mails by the U. S. and some of the progressive nations of Europe:

	Number of parcels	Value
United States, 1906	264,438	Not stated
Germany, 1904	11,675,385	over $23,000,000
Austria, 1904	10.659,300	" 68,000,000
France, 1904	5,300,541	" 20,000,000
Switzerland, 1904	1,694,200	" 18,500,000
Great Britain, 1905–6	2,315,204	" 18,000,000

The rates of the International Parcels Post compared with the U. S. general rate for foreign packages of eleven cents per pound is (as quoted in *Postal Progress*):

On parcels up to 11 pounds, for each country passed in territorial transit, 10 cents.

For maritime transit:

Distances up to 500 nautical miles, 10 cents; over 500 up to 1,000 nautical miles, 15 cents; over 1,000 up to 3,000 nautical miles, 20 cents; over 3,000 up to 6,000 nautical miles, 40 cents; over 6,000 nautical miles, 60 cents.

A surtax of 5 cents pays for customs formalities and delivery. A tax of 10 cents carries the parcel to its address by special messenger.

Any country of the union may fix the value limit of parcels handled in its international service, but in no case can it be less than $100. In most cases the value is unlimited. The regular rates insure unregistered parcels up to $5. Payment of a registration fee of 5 cents insures the registered parcel up to $10, and an additional fee of 2 cents per $60, for adjacent countries, 5 cents in other cases, insures the parcel up to its full value. The tax for collection on delivery cannot be over 4 cents per $4, 1 per cent of the value collected.

Parcels over 3½ feet in any direction are subjected to an extra charge of 50 per cent.

This service now covers 33 countries of the Universal Postal Union, and includes a population of fully 500,000,000 people; but not the U. S. of America.

Of all progressive nations, too, the U. S. alone refuses to insure merchandise postal parcels.

The failure of the U. S. to enter the International Parcels Post has enabled the American express companies even to get exorbitant terms from foreign governments for delivering their parcel post matter in the U. S., so that to send a parcel to the U. S. from foreign countries a large price must be paid, a small portion of which goes to the foreign government for getting it to America and a large portion to some American express company for delivering it in America. One sees why the express companies have been interested in preventing the U. S. from entering the International Parcels Post. *Postal Progress* gives the following figures and comments as to the arrangement between the British Government and American express companies:

Post Express Rates, Great Britain.—To New York—3 lbs., 24c.; 7 lbs., 48c.; 11 lbs., 72c. To interior points—3 lbs., 50c.; 7 lbs., 75c.; 11 lbs., $1.

American Parcels to Great Britain.—From New York—3 lbs., 49c.; 7 lbs., 55c.; 11 lbs., 70c. From interior points—3 lbs., 40c. + 25c., 35c., 40c., 45c.; 7 lbs., 55c. + 25c., 30c., 40c., 45c., 55c., 65c., 70c., 75c. (according to distance); 11 lbs., 70c. — 25c., 35c., 40c., 50c., 60c., 75c., 80c., 85c., $1, $1.10.

Plus similar charges for similar distances on every other express line over which the parcel passes, plus such other additional charges as the express company may levy for transport beyond its regular offices, plus or minus such discriminations as may be given in favor of prominent persons, merchants, manufacturers, or fruit-growers, whose influence, financial or political, may be sufficient to obtain special concessions.

Fees for Customs Formalities.—Postal fees—5c. Express post fees—48c.

Insurance.—Parcels post convention—10c., $60; 30c., $120; 55c., $600. Express post arrangement—12c., $60; 60c., $120; $1.20, $600.

The express tax for customs formalities is nearly ten times the usual postal tax for a similar service. The express risk is from 20 to 100 per cent higher than the usual postal risk.

The British Government was forced into this post-express arrangement, because for a long time our government refused to make any parcels post arrangement with Great Britain, and even now limits the reciprocal service to 4-pound 6-ounce parcels at 12 cents per pound. Note the express discriminations in favor of New York City, as against the rest of the country: 25 cents more on a parcel to interior points than to New York. Note also that on these British postal parcels the American Express Company charges but 25 cents for transportation, on parcels 3 to 11 pounds from New York to any interior point, while it charges four or five times as much in many cases on domestic parcels carried to the same point.

Reforms Actually in Progress

What makes it the more evident that it is only the lobbying of the private interests of the railroads and the express companies which prevents the Post-Office Department from entering these progressive fields is that in matters apart from those conflicting with the railroads and companies, the U. S. post-office is both efficient and progressive—far more so, indeed, than private interests. Its efficiency is seen in the following from the report of the Postmaster General (1906, p. 6):

The efficiency of the service has been in many respects remarkable, as witness the record of the registry service for the half-century of its existence, showing a percentage of loss from all causes—including burglary, theft, and fire—for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1904, of only three one thousandths of 1 per cent. Some private business enterprises may in certain directions yield better financial returns, but they cannot show a higher standard of integrity nor more faithful performance of duty.

Repeatedly when the Western Telegraph Company fails to be able to deliver a telegram, it is able to deliver it through the post-office. The post-office is also more progressive than the Western Union Telegraph Company. The post-office is continually introducing improvements—the free-delivery system, money-order system, special delivery, railway post-offices, steamship post-offices, electric street postal cars, rural delivery, return postals, pneumatic tubes. These are but the larger reforms introduced by the post-office. What has the Western Union to show compared with this? It must be remembered, too, that the U. S. post-office carries a letter across the continent and to the smallest hamlet for two cents. The Western Union Telegraph Company, for a service actually costing less, charges often $2 (for a telegram of anything like the length of a brief letter) or twenty-five cents for the shortest dispatch, the shortest distance outside of city limits. To most small hamlets the telegraph company gives no service. For the large cities and the large services like the newspapers and the pool-rooms, the telegraph companies (see Gambling) give a fairly adequate service. But the post-office is cheap, effective, and progressive for everybody (except

where private transportation interests have prevented it). It has far more offices, is open longer hours, pays its employees better, and serves the public in every way far better than the Western Union Telegraph Company. The aim of the post-office is public service; the aim of the private monopoly is private dividends. In international postal reform, also, progress is being made even by the U. S. The Universal Postal Congress which met in Rome (Italy), April, 1906, made the following changes, to go into effect Oct. 1, 1907:

(1) Reduction of the international letter rate of postage; (2) reduction of the rates to be paid to one country for transporting by its services the mails of another country in transit to a country beyond; (3) postal cards may bear a message on the left half of the front as well as upon the back; (4) an indemnity of 50 francs ($10) must be paid for the loss of a registered article; (5) the postal administration of any country may sell to a person applying therefor a coupon in exchange for which upon its presentation at a post-office in another country the person presenting it shall receive a postage-stamp of the value of 25 centimes (5 cents), thus enabling a person in one country to furnish his correspondent in another country with a postage-stamp with which to prepay postage upon his reply letter; (6) postage-stamps perforated to show initials or other marks must be recognized as valid; (7) private postal cards need not bear the title "post card" or "postal card"; (8) correspondence of prisoners of war is free of postage in international mails, and (9) by reason of its insular possessions the U. S. is granted two votes in future postal congresses, instead of one as heretofore.

What Might Be

Postal Progress advocates an international rate of 2 cents per ounce on letters and 1 cent for 2 ounces on foreign general merchandise, with postal notes as universal bills of exchange, a perfect world's money.

For the nation, the post-office, it believes, should take charge of all transportation. It gives the following plan:

(1) The national government, under its constitutional power over post-roads, to take control of the entire business of public transportation, and to guarantee to the holders of transport securities a return on their investments equal to the average annual return of the past ten years, a similar return on their cost to be guaranteed on roads recently built. (This will insure absolute safety to the investments of savings-banks and similar associations. It will insure more than a square deal to railway speculators.)

(2) The maintenance, extension, and operation of the consolidated system to be under the control and management of an extended postal department, including the engineering corps of the army and navy; all postal employees to be enlisted as men are now enlisted in the army and navy. The government engineers entrusted with the building and maintenance of the Panama Canal may be safely entrusted with the care of all our public highways. To prevent waste, the post-road policy of the national government should be the same as the highway policy of the different states, viz.: Any community, town, county, or state, asking for an extension of post-roads, should pay some share of the cost. Local roads may, perhaps, be left to local control, as local roads are now left to the care of the smaller communities within the different states. But the whole business must be under the general jurisdiction of the national government.

A General Freight and Passenger Post

(3) As to funds, U. S. 2 per cent thirty-year bonds are worth 105. The nation will find no difficulty in raising money to build and maintain its own roads. It is a most wasteful policy to pay the Harrimans and the Hills 8 or 10 per cent, or more, for money to build the highways of the people, when the people themselves are glad to furnish the national government with funds at less than 2 per cent. Every additional mile of post-road, moreover, will raise the public credit, for to its own value will be added the increased value of the district which it serves.

(4) Make the very lowest less than car-load rate on merchandise the uniform rate for the station-to-station service, adding thereto the lowest possible rate for collection and delivery, to the end that we may have a universal door-to-door rate within the entire public service.

A door-to-door rate of 1 cent a pound or less on small merchandise parcels, 25 cents on 100-pound parcels, may be found quite practicable, once our public transport service is brought under the post-office. On products usually transported in ton lots—coal, brick, ore, etc.—a rate of 40 or 50 cents per ton, station to station, with corresponding rates for collection and delivery, may suffice to meet the situation. "There should be no wholesale rates as against retail rates, no more so than in buying postage-stamps."—*Hon. L. S. Coffin, Late Railroad Commissioner of Iowa.*

Passenger fares: Local traffic with frequent stops, five cents per trip. Express traffic, stops every fifteen or twenty miles, twenty-five cents per trip. Through traffic on fast trains, stops once in forty or fifty miles, $1 per trip, with reasonable charges for transport between the home and the station.

The possibilities as to low transport rates under a well-coordinated system of transportation are altogether beyond imagination. It is estimated that a saving of fully $50,000,000 a year could be made in the transport service of the city of New York alone, if the entire business were in the hands of one well-equipped organization, run in the public interest. Vice-president Buckland, of the N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R., is quoted as saying that $15,000,000 a year could be saved to the people within his railroad province under a door-to-door freight transport service undertaken by the railroad in connection with the trolley lines.

POVERTY (see also Pauperism and Poor Relief; Poor-Laws (English)): We consider in this article: (1) the facts and statistics of poverty; (2) the social effects; (3) the causes; (4) methods of relief.

I. Facts and Statistics

Statistics of poverty do not and probably cannot exist in any exact form, first, because there is no exact standard of poverty, and secondly, because in no country are there any official or generally complete returns as to the whole number of the poor. In most countries there are statistics as to the number receiving public relief, and to a less extent as to those in receipt of private charity, but even this is not complete, while there are undoubtedly in all countries at least some who must be called poor, since they are without the means to adequately support family life, who, for one reason or another, never receive any aid, while in all countries the number of those out of work at least a portion of the time, and therefore out of the means of subsistence, is by no means small. How many poor, therefore, there are in any country, no man knows. We have but estimates and approximations.

The estimates usually given vary with the meaning given to the word "poor." Some mean by it those in receipt of public relief; but these are "paupers." Others mean by it those in receipt of any kind of public or private relief; but "dependents" is a better term for this class. Others mean by it those in need of such relief; whether they receive it or not, a more philosophical use, but practically limiting the word to the class in *permanent* need of relief—the class unable to support itself, or at least not supporting itself—and do not include in the number the temporarily unemployed or unfortunate. Others mean by the word any who for any reason, for any appreciable period, are not in receipt of enough income to maintain life and renew it, on the plane of bare existence on the present social plane. In Charles Booth's investigations as to life and labor in London, he found it necessary to adopt a standard for the measure of poverty and he defined the poor as "those living in a state of struggle to obtain the necessaries of life"; the *very* poor being "those who live in a state of chronic want." He divides the *very* poor into the lowest class of occasional laborers, loafers, or semicriminals and those with only casual earnings. The poor he divides into those with intermittent earnings and those with small irregular earnings. He says that "it is clear that in studying the problems of poverty, we have

to deal not alone with those who claim public relief as paupers, or who claim private charity as beggars, but with the great army from which these classes are constantly recruited, the army of those who live at or under the line of poverty—a great army living at a deprest rate of life, and tending to reduce the vitality of the whole population.

The United States

The number of paupers in almshouses in the U. S. in 1903, as reported by the census, was 81,764. (See Pauperism.) But this is only one class of the poor in any country.

Professor Bushnell, in Professor Henderson's "Modern Methods of Charity," says that "the total number of public and private abnormal dependents in the U. S. must not be far from 3,000,000, or one twenty-fifth of the total population of the country at an annual expense of nearly $200,000,000, or one tenth of the total wage income of all the manufacturing establishments of the country."

The Number of Dependents, Delinquents, and Defectives receiving Public Aid or supported by Private Charities, estimated by Prof. C. J. Bushnell, from State Reports, in Professor Henderson's "Modern Methods of Charity," pp. 385–390.

State	Number	Per cent of population	Annual expense	Expense per family
Massachusetts	415,730	14.	$12,121,696	23.51
Connecticut	100,000	11.	4,000,000	28.
New York	160,000	2.	25,000,000	18.00
Pennsylvania	110,000	1.7	26,000,000	20.00
Ohio	100,000	2.4	5,034,886	12.00
Michigan	100.000	4.	849,125	.....
Wisconsin	15,000	0.7	1,000,000	3–4.00
California	.....	.....	2,667,000	10.00
Total	1,000,730	4.	$75,672,707	.....

In comparing these figures with those of other states it must be remembered that they are for those receiving public aid or reported by private charities. Many more received unreported charity. The high percentages for Massachusetts and Connecticut are therefore partly due to a more complete registration of private charities and more largely, probably, to the fact that in the East dependents are more generally placed in institutions, than in the West, where institutions have not been equally developed. Many Eastern and far Western cities give no outdoor relief. Higher percentages, therefore, may not always mean more paupers, but better care for them.

This number of 3,000,000 receiving reported aid is the same number estimated in 1890 by Charles D. Kellogg, then secretary of the New York Charity Organization Society, and by Prof. R. T. Ely (*North American Review*, April, 1891). But these figures are only of those receiving known aid. It by no means includes all the poor according to Mr. Booth's definition. Using the word in that sense, Mr. Robert T. Hunter estimates the total number of the poor in the U. S. at 10,000,000. (See special article, Poverty in the U. S.) Of New York State, the wealthiest, he says: "In 1899 18 per cent of the people in New York State received public or private charity. In 1903 14 per cent of the families of Manhattan were evicted. Every year about 10 per cent of those who die in Manhattan have pauper burial."

Great Britain

The number receiving public relief in Great Britain (besides those receiving private charity or not receiving relief) is 1,142,357.

Says a Fabian tract (1906):

We clog our public poor relief with irksome and degrading conditions, so that the honest poor often die lingering deaths rather than accept it. Mr. Charles Booth states that "as regards entering the workhouse, it is the one point on which no difference of opinion exists among the poor. The aversion to the 'house' is absolutely universal, and almost any suffering and privation will be endured by people rather than go into it" ("The Aged Poor in England and Wales"). Yet the paupers in actual receipt of public relief on one day number more than a million:

	Number	Cost
England and Wales, Jan. 1, 1905	932,267	£13,369,494
Scotland, Jan. 15, 1904	106,850	1,302,061
Ireland, Jan. 7, 1905	103,240	1,033,168
	1,142,357	£15,704,723

(Report of Local Government Board, England and Wales, Cd—2,661; Report of Local Government Board, Scotland, Cd—2,514; Report of Local Government Board, Ireland, Cd—2,655.)

But these are by no means all the poor. The Fabian tract gives the following statements from authorities:

Nine hundred and thirty-nine out of every 1,000 persons (about half of whom are adults) die without property worth speaking of, and 961 out of every 1,000 without furniture, investments, or effects worth £300 (Mulhall, Dictionary of Statistics, from Probate Duty Returns, p. 279).

From returns obtained from 8,121 private and government works, employing 862,365 persons, it appears that the average annual wage per head amounted to only £48. These returns include the police and other public servants, but do not take any account of agricultural and general laborers (Annual Report of Labor Department, Board of Trade, 1893–1894, C—7,565).

B. S. Rowntree estimated that the average income from all sources of the 11,560 working-class families in York in 1899 was 32*s.* 8¾*d.* per week, or £85 a year. But 1,465 families, comprizing 7,230 persons, that is, 15.46 per cent of the wage-earning class and 9.91 per cent of the population of York, were living in "primary poverty," that is, on less than enough to provide the minimum of food, clothing, and shelter. And, in addition, 13,072 persons, or 17.93 per cent of the population, were living in "secondary poverty," that is, on earnings which would be sufficient if spent with rigid economy and perfect wisdom, but were insufficient because in part misspent on drink and betting or through ignorant housekeeping. "The wages paid for unskilled labor in York are insufficient to provide food, shelter, and clothing adequate to maintain a family of moderate size in a state of bare physical efficiency." No less than 52 per cent of "primary" poverty was due to low wages alone ("Poverty," 2d ed., pp. 83, 120, 133).

Of the great permanent army of the "unemployed," no reliable statistics can be obtained. From returns rendered to the Labor Department of the Board of Trade by trade-unions, it appears that in the seven years, 1896–1902, the mean percentage of members unemployed was 3.3 (Annual Report of Labor Department, Board of Trade, 1901–2, Cd—1,755). The average number of persons in London whose home is the "common lodging-house" is over 30,000; over 1,100 are every night found in the "casual wards."

London's Poverty

As regards the 4,000,000 persons in the metropolis, Mr. Charles Booth tells us that 37,610, or 0.9 per cent, are in the lowest class (occasional laborers, loafers, and semicriminals); 316,834, or 7.5 per cent, in the next (casual labor, hand-to-mouth existence, chronic want); 938,293, or 22.3 per cent, form "the poor" (including alike those whose earnings are small, because of irregularity of employment, and those whose work, tho regular, is ill paid). These classes, on or below the "poverty line" of earnings not exceeding a guinea a week per family, number together 1,292,737, or 30.7 per cent of the whole population. To these must be added 99,830 inmates of workhouses, hospitals, prisons, industrial schools, etc., making altogether nearly 1,400,000 persons in this one city alone whose condition even the most optimistic social student can hardly deem satisfactory ("Labor and Life of the People," edited by Charles Booth, 1891, vol. ii., pp. 20–21).

The ultimate fate of these victims it is not easy adequately to realize. In London alone, in 1902, no less than 34 persons, of whom 24 were fifty years old and upward, were certified by the verdicts of coroners' juries to have died of starvation, or accelerated by privation (H.C.—279). Actual starvation is, however, returned as the cause of death in but a few cases annually; and it is well known that many thousands of deaths

are directly due to long-continued underfeeding and exposure. Young children especially suffer.

In England and Wales, in 1904, 90,776 deaths were registered as having taken place in workhouses, infirmaries, hospitals, and asylums, or 16.51 per cent of the total deaths; the proportion during the ten years immediately preceding having averaged 14.25 per cent. Of these, 48,884 occurred in workhouses, 32,141 in hospitals, and 9,751 in lunatic asylums.

In London, in 1904, one person in every three died in the workhouse, hospital, or lunatic asylum. Out of 75,558 deaths, 31,513 being under twenty years of age, 13,845 were in workhouses, 10,806 in hospitals, and 504 in lunatic asylums, or, altogether, 25,155 in public institutions (Registrar-General's Report, 1904, Cd—2,617).

It is worth notice that a large number of those compelled in their old age to resort to the workhouse have made ineffectual efforts at thrifty provision for their declining years. In 1890–91, out of 175,852 inmates of workhouses (one third being children, and another third women), no fewer than 14,808 have been members of benefit societies. In 4,593 cases the society had broken up, usually from insolvency (House of Commons Return, 1891, Nos. 366 and 130—B). It is probable that one in every three London adults will be driven into these refuges to die, and the proportion in the case of the "manual-labor class" must of course be still larger. And the number of persons who die while in receipt of outdoor relief is not included in this calculation. As in 1902–3 the mean number of outdoor paupers in the metropolis was 44,899 (Cd—1,700), and the average death-rate in London was 18.7 per 1,000, it may be assumed that upward of 1,000 persons died while in receipt of outdoor relief—often from its being insufficient.

For other countries, see those countries.

II. The Effects of Poverty

We quote upon this point from a classic statement, written by Mr. Ira Steward, the father of the eight-hour philosophy, and published in the "Fourth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of the Statistics of Labor" (1873). He says:

Poverty is the great fact with which the labor movement deals. The problems that now most disturb and perplex mankind will be solved when the masses are no longer poor. Poverty makes the poor poorer, and independence impossible. It corrupts judges, ministers, legislators, and statesmen. It decides marriages, shortens human life, hinders education, and embarrasses progress in every direction. It gives rise, directly and indirectly, to more anxiety, suffering, and crime than all other causes combined. Poverty crams cities, and their tenement-houses, with people whose conduct and votes endanger the republic. The dangerous classes are always poor. There is a closer relation between poverty and slavery than the average abolitionist ever recognized. . . . The anti-slavery idea was that every man had the right to go and come at his will. The labor movement asks how much this abstract right is worth, without the power to exercise it. . . . The laborer instinctively feels that something of slavery still remains, or that something of freedom is yet to come, and he is not much interested in the antislavery theory of liberty. He wants a fact, which the labor movement undertakes to supply.

Poverty Affects All

But has not the middle class its poverty—a poverty that should excite the most anxiety, and the most searching inquiry? They are a large majority of the people, and their poverty is generally carefully concealed. . . . The middle classes have the strongest motives for never making any parade or public complaint of their poverty. To advertise oneself destitute, is to be without credit. . . . Poverty that publishes or argues one's incapacity closes many a door to more profitable or advantageous situations or promotions. The more expensive and superior style of living adopted by the middle classes must, therefore, be considered in the light of an investment, made from the soundest considerations of expediency. . . . Very few among them are saving money; many of them are in debt; and all they can earn for years is, in many cases, mortgaged, to pay such debt—"debt that increases the load of the future, with the burden which the present cannot bear." . . . The poverty of the great middle classes consists in the fact that they have only barely enough to cover up their poverty, and that they are within a few days of want, if through sickness or other misfortune employment suddenly stops. . . .

But the most alarming fact concerning the poverty of the native middle classes in this commonwealth is that, for two or three decades past, marriages and births have so far decreased among them that we are nearly or quite justified in saying that they are now dying faster than their children are being born; and that it is to foreign sources (and to Americans born in other states), and to the lower class of native-born, we must credit the present increase in our census returns. . . . With the mass of intelligent people, early or late marriages, and few or no children, is largely a question of poverty and wealth. . . .

Poverty, however, falls most crushingly on woman. In all countries, and in all ages, among the lower and middle classes, she has worked harder, and for less pay, than men. A woman who has no resources for a living except from the labor of her own hands is tolerably sure to become in time, either the poor man's slave, or the rich man's plaything; to marry for a home, or do worse. To make prostitution unnecessary is a part of the problem of social science; but prostitution means getting a living. The science that will solve this problem will easily dispose of war, intemperance, financial convulsions, and a dozen other evils that now disturb the peace of the race. Poverty is the mainspring of selfishness, for it is the destitution of the mass of mankind that prevents them from thinking and doing for others; As Mill says, "all their thoughts are required for themselves." . . . The two classes most peculiarly open to the temptation of intemperance are the very poor and the very rich young men. . . . The steps of some young men turn finally to the light, warm, welcome saloon, not from force of appetite, for they have never yet drunk enough to create the craving for stimulating beverages, nor because it is fashionable, for their wages are not sufficient to lift them up to that level; but because they are without homes, and are starving for society.

The Cause of Intemperance

The sons of the wealthy have homes, and all that money can bring for their entertainment. But in many cases they have nothing whatever to do. They are corrupted by idleness, and it is their extreme wealth that makes their hours of idleness possible. . . . The most terrible of all stagnations is idleness. It means moral and social rottenness, and intemperance is only a single manifestation of it. . . .

No one is fully educated until the discipline of hard labor has been added to the culture of books, travel, and good society, and, on the other hand, no one is educated who has had no chance to learn anything but to work hard and steadily, and to "know his place." . . . The law of "supply and demand," so often quoted as regulating wages and prices, means nothing, more nor less, than the great fact of the poverty of the poor, and the power and comparative independence of the wealthy. . . . Starving men will always bid for wages at starvation prices. . . . The law of supply and demand is said to regulate the price of commodities, but the "demand" is limited by the great fact of the poverty of the mass of consumers. . . . "A glut in the market" has never yet meant anything more than that millions of people are too poor to pay for the food, clothes, houses, books, and opportunities that are waiting for customers. . . .

It is poverty that compels one man to borrow of another, and the price paid for the use of the money loaned is what we call interest—so that interest on money is poverty again. . . . It is the enormous profits made directly upon the labor of the wage classes, and indirectly through the results of their labor, that, first, keeps them poor, and, second, furnishes the capital that is finally loaned back to them again. . . .

It is clear that the large fortunes accumulated by the wealthy can only be defended upon the theory that their services are actually worth the compensation they receive. Are their services worth the price charged? . . . If it is fair to ask hands how much they could do without brains, it is just as fair to ask brains how long they could live without hands. The alternative presented to mankind, in case the services of managers were withdrawn, is a reduced rate of production, which means poverty. But, on the other hand, the alternative presented to those who manage labor, in case the so-called brainless workers were withdrawn, is death, or hard work with their own hands, for fields were never tilled, nor houses reared, nor garments made, nor food cooked, without manual labor. . . . The capital of the capitalist is not simply the wealth he has somehow acquired, tho this is, indeed, a very important part of his capital. The other part, without which the first would be worthless, and to which the political economist seldom, or never, refers, but to which we now call special attention, is the great and terrible fact of the poverty of the masses. It is their poverty, destitution, and consequent dependence, that compel them, every day of their lives, to make the best terms possible with those who hold in their possession the surplus wealth of the world. . . .

Poverty Causes Low Wages

III. Causes of Poverty

These are of necessity so numerous and complex, that sociologists to-day no longer attempt to analyze them or even state them, and much less venture opinion as to how far different causes contribute to the result. The most that can be done, scientifically, is to say that such and

such causes tend to produce poverty, and that some causes seem to be more potential than others. Life as it affects poverty is seen to-day to be too complex for statistical or any form of exact analysis.

Perhaps the nearest approach to a scientific tabulation and valuation of different causes is the one made in 1894 by Prof. A. G. Warner, and published in his "American Charities." He has collected and tabulated the results of investigations into the causes of thousands of actual cases of poverty in the U. S., England, and Germany. His table includes practically all the findings, as to actual cases of poverty, made in a scientific way by trained investigators; and embodies the results of investigations by the charity organization societies of Baltimore, Buffalo, and New York City, the associated charities of Boston and Cincinnati, the studies of Charles Booth in Stepney and St. Pancras parishes in London, the statements of Böhmert ("Armenwesen in 76 Deutschen Städten") for seventy-six German cities, published in 1886. It will be seen that here, if anywhere, we have a scientific analysis of the facts of the case, as collected by persons without particular bias.

We quote on p. 937 only his percentages. The conclusions and especially the averages of the table, however, should not be used without reading the explanations that follow it.

Of this table Professor Warner says (pp. 36, 37);

Explanation of Table

The first duty of one presenting such a table as this is to indicate clearly what it does not show. It deals, as already indicated, only with the exciting causes of poverty; and yet this fact is not kept clearly in mind, even by careful workers. Mr. Booth, for instance, includes "pauper association and heredity" in this list of causes; and the American societies include "nature and location of abode." Both of these are by their nature predisposing causes, rather than immediate or exciting causes; and it is confusing to mix the two. Secondly, many of the persons whose cases are here tabulated have been, as Mr. Booth says, the football of all the causes in the list. Under such circumstances to pick out one cause, and call it the most important, is a purely arbitrary proceeding. Any one of the causes might have been inadequate to produce pauperism, had not others cooperated with it. A man is drunk and breaks his leg; is the cause "accident" or "drink?" When this question was submitted to a group of charity organization workers, it was very promptly answered by two of them; but their answers were different. A man has been shiftless all his life, and is now old; is the cause of poverty shiftlessness or old age? A man is out of work because he is lazy and inefficient. One has to know him quite well before they can be sure that laziness is the cause. Perhaps there is hardly a single case in the whole 7,000 where destitution has resulted from a single cause. . . .

The impossibility of giving an accurate statistical description of the facts is still clearer when we try to separate the causes indicating misconduct from those indicating misfortune. Back of disease may be either misconduct or misfortune. The imprisonment of the breadwinner indicates misconduct on his part, but may only indicate misfortune on the part of wife and children. The same is true in the case of abandoned children and neglect by relatives. This particular classification is made in deference to popular inquiry only. In the writer's opinion its chief value consists in showing how little it is worth.

But after all possible allowance has been made for the "personal equation" of the investigator, and for all the inevitable inconclusiveness of the figures, there is a residuum of information to be got from the tables. They give, as well as such statistics can, the conclusions reached by those who are studying pauperism at first hand. If the figures furnished by all the investigators were added together into one great total, and this only were put before him, the author would indeed hesitate to base any conclusions whatever upon it. But when it is found that different investigators, at different times, in different places, reach conclusions which, while varying in many and often inexplicable ways, are yet in agreement as regards certain important facts, we can but think that the figures to some extent reflect actual conditions.

It will be seen from this table that the chief single cause of poverty, as here studied, is sickness or death in the families of the poor. Lack of work stands second, altho, if the averages as to lack of work, insufficient work, and poorly paid work be added together, as well they might be, they form the supreme cause of poverty. Drink stands third, tho only one half as great a cause as unemployment. Says Professor Warner (pp. 60 and 65):

Probably nothing in the tables of the causes of poverty, as ascertained by cold counting, will more surprize the average reader than the fact that intemperance is held to be the chief cause in only from one fifteenth to one fifth of the cases, and that where an attempt is made to learn in how many cases it had a contributory influence, its presence cannot be traced at all in more than 28.1 per cent of the cases. (See INTEMPERANCE.) Professor Warner sums up the case by saying: "The general conclusion regarding drink as a cause of poverty is sufficiently well formulated by Mr. Booth. 'Of drink in all its combinations, adding to every trouble, undermining every effort after good, destroying the home and cursing the young lives of the children, the stories tell enough. It does not stand in apparent chief cause in as many cases as sickness and old age; but if it were not for drink, sickness and old age could be better met.'"

It will also be seen from the table that causes indicating misconduct average only 21.3 per cent, while causes indicating misfortune average 74.4, or over three times as much. Four per cent of the cases are not classified; but the causes indicated as unclassified belong to causes indicating misfortune much more than misconduct, at least as far as the individual studied is concerned. How far poverty is the result of other people's misconduct or hereditary misconduct is not here shown. But as for the persons immediately concerned, misfortune is shown to be nearly four times as much the cause of poverty as their misconduct.

This seems to be the most careful analysis of the causes of poverty yet made; but not all will accept its conclusions. Certain schools of thought are apt to find the especial evil they attack the main cause of poverty. (See SINGLE TAX; TEMPERANCE; MALTHUSIANISM.)

Mr. Robert Treat Paine, in an address read at the International Congress of Charities, Correction, and Philanthropy, at Chicago, in 1893, said:

Has not the new charity organization movement too long been content to aim at a system to relieve or even uplift judiciously single cases without asking if there are not prolific causes permanently at work to create want, vice, crime, disease, and death; and whether these causes may not be wholly or in large degree eradicated? If such causes of pauperism exist, how vain to waste our energies on single cases of relief, when society should rather aim at removing the prolific sources of all the wo.

The four great causes of pauperism and of degraded city life have long seemed to me to be these: 1. Foul homes. 2. Intoxicating drink. 3. Neglect of child life. 4. Indiscriminate almsgiving.

Mr. Charles Booth counts up twenty-three principal causes of pauperism ("Pauperism and the Endowment of Old Age," p. 9):

"Crime, vice, drink, laziness, pauper association, heredity, mental disease, temper, incapacity, early marriage, large family, extravagance, lack of work, trade misfortune, restlessness, no relations, death of husband, desertion, death of father or mother, sickness, accident, ill luck, old age." He says, "that, as causes, old age stands first, sickness next, and then comes drink" (p. 148).

Among 1,610 cases, however, of the poor and very poor in London, he shows 4 per cent due to "loafing," 14 to drink, 27 to illness, large families, or other misfortunes, 55 to "questions of employment" ("Labor and Life of the People,"

CAUSES OF POVERTY
(See explanation preceding)

REPORT FROM—	Number of Cases	CAUSES OF POVERTY INDICATING MISCONDUCT					CAUSES INDICATING MISFORTUNE															
							LACK OF NORMAL SUPPORT				MATTERS OF EMPLOYMENT				MATTERS OF PERSONAL CAPACITY							
		Drink	Inefficiency and shiftlessness	Crime, immorality, and dishonesty	Roving disposition	Total	Imprisonment of breadwinner	Orphans and abandoned	Neglect by relatives	No male support	Lack of employment	Insufficient employment	Poorly paid employment	Unhealthy or dangerous employment	Ignorance of English	Accident	Sickness or death in family	Physical defect	Insanity	Old age	Total	Not classified [1]
		Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
Baltimore:																						
1890–91	690	9.0	14.0	.7	1.4	25.1	.....	.4	2.0	4.0	13.0	8.0	6.0	.4	.4	4.0	19.5	5.0	.6	5.0	68.3	6.7
1891–92	695	7.1	12.0	1.0	1.4	21.5	.4	1.4	1.4	5.0	12.0	9.1	4.0	.3	.....	4.0	21.0	7.1	1.0	7.1	73.8	4.7
Boston:																						
1890–91	991	19.2	7.6	1.5	.6	28.9	1.6	.5	.8	7.2	14.1	6.0	.5	.7	.7	3.6	23.2	2.5	.7	3.8	65.7	5.4
1891–92	1,092	21.9	6.9	1.4	1.1	31.4	1.7	1.0	1.0	4.8	14.3	5.0	1.3	.1	.9	2.3	24.9	2.3	.6	4.4	64.7	3.9
Buffalo:																						
1878–87	6,021	11.6	7.3	.....	.....	18.9	1.8	.....	.....	6.6	31.1	.....	7.5	.....	.....	3.5	21.1	8.7	.8	.....	81.1	.....
1888–89	497	8.9	3.6	.....	.....	12.5	2.2	.....	.....	14.9	27.2	.....	8.7	.....	.....	4.6	22.7	6.6	.6	.....	87.5	.....
1889–90	576	4.9	5.7	.....	.....	10.6	2.4	.....	.....	13.4	32.5	.....	6.6	.....	.....	5.0	23.8	5.2	.5	.....	89.4	.....
1890–91	560	5.7	1.8	.....	.....	7.5	1.9	.....	.....	19.4	26.8	.....	7.0	.....	.....	5.5	26.2	5.0	.7	.....	92.5	.....
1891–92	581	8.1	3.4	.3	.2	12.0	1.9	.....	.....	15.0	21.9	5.7	.3	.....	.2	4.5	29.5	1.0	1.8	3.6	85.4	2.6
Cincinnati:																						
1890–91	2,174	13.3	13.3	.7	5.2	32.5	.3	.5	1.1	7.1	9.7	2.5	.9	.2	1.1	2.3	15.5	1.7	.6	3.0	46.4	21.1
1891–92	2,670	9.2	12.5	3.0	5.4	30.1	1.2	1.6	.5	7.1	11.3	11.9	7.5	.8	.6	2.3	14.6	3.2	.7	3.1	66.4	3.4
New York:																						
1891	1,412	10.7	7.2	1.4	3.3	22.6	.6	.1	.5	7.2	29.0	6.1	2.5	.....	.4	3.3	18.5	2.7	.7	3.3	74.9	2.5
London:																						
(Stepney)	634	12.6	7.	2.5	.....	22.1	.....	.....	.....	4.6	4.4	.....	.....	.....	.....	4.7	26.7	.....	1.7	32.8	74.9	3.0
(St. Pancras)	736	21.9	13.4	6.9	.....	42.2	.....	.....	.....	2.8	2.2	.....	.....	.....	.....	2.6	20.7	.....	4.3	23.4	54.0	1.8
76 German cities	95,845	1.3	.....	.....	1.4	2.7	1.7	5.6	.6	2.5	12.5	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.1	45.8	2.4	3.4	15.8	91.4	5.9
Average [2]	.....	11	8.26	1.94	2.2	21.3	1.5	1.4	1.0	8.0	17.4	6.7	4.4	.4	.6	3.5	23.6	4.1	1.2	9.6	74.4	5.5

[1] Including large family, nature of abode, pauper associates, and heredity.
[2] These averages are of unequal value, depending upon the number of cases they are averaged from. A glance at the columns will show how many cases each average represents. Totals and averages for drunkenness and unemployment are among the most complete.

vol. i., p. 147). A large part of this lack of employment may be among the old.

Mr. J. G. Godard, in his "Poverty, Its Genesis and Exodus," argues that waste of wealth, poverty itself, are prominent causes of poverty, but that the main cause is unequal distribution. He argues that men must be poor, either because there is not enough produced for all, because some of it is wasted, or because some get too much. He shows for England that, tho relatively the number of the poor is somewhat less to-day than it was, the annual wealth produced is nearly double what it was three generations ago, and "never in the whole history of England, excepting during the disastrous period at the beginning of the century, has the absolute number of the very poor been so great as it is now" (J. A. Hobson's "Problems of Poverty," p. 26, 1891). Is there then, he asks, not enough produced? He shows that the total annual income of the United Kingdom in round numbers may be placed at £1,350,000,000 (Mr. Giffin, in his "Essays on Finance," vol. ii., pp. 460–472, estimating it in 1886 at £1,270,000,000). Dividing this by the population of the census returns for 1891 (37,740,283), he gets £35 per annum ($175) for each individual, or £175 ($875) for each family of five. He says, "Insufficient production of wealth may then be regarded as an actual cause of poverty, but one of minor influence." A more important cause of poverty he considers to be the waste of wealth. He quotes Professor Marshall as saying ("Principles of Economics," vol. i., p. 731), "Perhaps £100,000,000 annually are spent even by the working classes, and £400,000,000 by the rest of the population of England, in ways that do little or nothing toward making life nobler or truly happier." This means a waste of over one third of the whole. Poverty itself, he shows, causes much poverty. It checks profitable production; it causes large amounts of waste; leads to unequal distribution, compelling the poor to work for low wages. But, above all, he considers unjust distribution the main cause of poverty. He says (giving authorities for his conclusion), "One thirty-eighth of the population possess on the average £5,000 per head, and thirty thirty-eighths of population possess on the average £6 per head. Inequality of distribution can scarcely be carried much further." Of the annual income he says: "Thirty million weekly wage-earners obtain £500,000,000 only; the remaining 8,000,000 persons thus receiving £850,000,000. This means that the average annual income of the one class is less than £17 per head, and the average annual income is more than £106 per head." (For other statements on this point and for authorities, and for similar facts as to the U. S., see WEALTH.)

Unequal Distribution

IV. Methods of Relief

For what is being done in various countries *directly* to relieve poverty, see article PAUPERISM AND POOR RELIEF. For what is being done *indirectly*, but perhaps quite as effectively, see the various measures, CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY; OLD-AGE PENSIONS; LABOR COLONIES; GARDEN CITIES; HOUSING QUESTION; UNEMPLOYMENT; PAWN-SHOPS; TEMPERANCE; SETTLEMENT; INSTITUTIONAL CHURCHES; TRADE-UNIONS; SINGLE TAX; SOCIALISM, etc. We consider in this section simply the principal general methods or varieties of relief which have been proposed.

Mr. Charles Booth (*q. v.*), who perhaps has studied the facts of modern city poverty as carefully as any other one man, divides the residents of the poorer sections of London into eight classes and then states his principal method of relief. His classification and proposals are as follows:

(A) The lowest class of occasional laborers, loafers, and semicriminals; (B) the very poor, with casual earnings; (C) those of intermittent earnings; (D) of small regular earnings; (E) those of regular standard earnings, above the line of poverty; (F) the higher classes of laborers; (G) the lower middle class; (H) the upper middle class. Class A he thinks could be "harried out of existence" ("Life and Labor of the People," vol. i., p. 169). Class B he thinks presents the main problem. It is *de trop*. The competition of B drags down C and D, and that of C and D hangs heavily upon E. We gain nothing from B. All that B does could be done by C and D in their now idle hours. . . . To bring Class B under State regulation would be to control the springs of pauperism. Hence he would put them under State control. He says: "These people should be allowed to live as families in industrial groups, planted wherever land and building material were cheap, being well housed, well fed, and well warmed; and taught, trained, and employed from morning to night on work indoors and out, for themselves or on government account; in the building of their own dwellings, in the cultivation of the land, in the making of furniture. . . . There would be no competition with the outside world. . . . What is the poor-law system? It is a limited form of socialism—a socialistic community (aided from outside) living in the midst of an individualist nation. My idea is to make the dual system, socialism in the arms of individualism, under which we already live, more efficient by extending somewhat the sphere of the former, and making the division of function more distinct. Our individualism fails because our socialism is incomplete. In taking charge of the lives of the incapable, State socialism finds its proper work, and by doing it completely would relieve us of a serious danger."

Views of Charles Booth

More recently Mr. Booth, in his "Pauperism and the Endowment of Old Age," finding pauperism largely a problem of the aged (see above), has proposed a vast scheme for pensioning all aged persons. (See OLD-AGE PENSIONS.)

The Rev. Samuel Barnett, of St. Jude's, Whitechapel, London, warden of Toynbee Hall, is even more radical. He says ("Practicable Socialism," revised edition, pp. 101-107):

Individuals have given their money and their time, their failure is notorious, and societies have been formed to direct their efforts. The failure of these societies is not equally notorious, but few thinkers retain the hope that societies will reform society and make the conditions of living such that people will be able to grow in wisdom and in stature to the full height of their manhood. If it were a sight to make men and angels weep, to see one rich man struggling with the poverty of a street, making himself poor only to make others discontented paupers, it is as sad a sight to see societies hopelessly beaten and hardened into machines with no reach beyond their grasp. The deadness of these societies or their ill-directed efforts have roused, in the shape of charity organization workers, a most striking missionary enterprise. The history of the movement as a mission has yet to be written; the names of its martyrs stand in the list of the "unknown good," but the most earnest members of a charity organization society cannot hope that organized almsgiving will be powerful so to alter conditions as to make the life of the poor a life worth living. Societies which absorb much wealth, and which relieve their subscribers of their responsibility, are failing; it remains only to adopt the principle of the education act, of the poor-law, and of other socialistic legislation, and call on society to do what societies fail to do. There is much which may be urged in favor of such a course. It is only society, or to use the title by which society expresses itself in towns, it is only town councils which can cover all the ground and see that each locality gets equal treatment. . . . The first need is better dwellings. . . . Insanitary conditions and high rents are the points to which consideration must be directed. . . . Wise town councils, conscious of the mission they have inherited, could destroy every court and crowded alley, and put in their places healthy dwellings; they could make water so cheap, and bathing places so common, that cleanliness should no longer be a hard virtue; they could open playgrounds and take away from a city the reproach of its gutter children; they could provide gardens, libraries, and conversation rooms; they could open picture-galleries and concerts; they could light and clean the streets of the poor quarters; they could give medicine to heal the sick, money to the old and poor, a training for the neglected, and a home for the friendless. The first practical work is to rouse the town councils to the sense of their powers; to make them feel that their reason of being is not political but social, that their duty is not to protect the pockets of the rich, but to save the people. . . . If it be urged that when town councils do for social reform all which can be done, the condition will still be unsatisfactory, I agree; . . . no social reform will be adequate which does not touch social relations, bind classes by friendship, and pass through the medium of friendship the spirit which inspires righteousness and devotion. If therefore the first practical work of reformers be to rouse town councils, their second is to associate volunteers who will work with the official bodies. . . . As a rule it may be laid down that the voluntary work is most effective which is in connection with official work. . . . Teetotal advocates will preach in vain that drunkenness is the root of all evil, and that a nation of abstainers will be either a healthy, a happy, or a thoughtful nation. Thrift will be seen to be powerless to do more than to create a smug and transient respectability. . . . The nationalization of luxury must be the object of social reformers.

Views of Canon Barnett

Mr. Robert Treat Paine, of Boston, Mass., president of the Associated Charities of that city

since 1878, in the address above quoted, opposes Mr. Booth's plan, but is almost equally radical. He says:

Robert Treat Paine

The problem of poor relief in great cities has got to be restated in ampler terms. The diseases of society are more aggravated, the dangers are graver, the need of radical remedies is more absolute than the new charity has yet fully and fairly faced. . . .

When the poor sink below their poverty into pauperism, and pauperism becomes hopeless and degraded and brutal; when powerful and prolific causes are at work to swell the rising tide—the day has gone when it is enough to go on dealing with details. . . .

Pauperism is assuming a new and more terrible type in the largest cities, where paupers have lived so long in this condition that they know nothing better. . . . Strong drink is almost the sole solace of their dull routine. . . .

Crimes of violence, crimes of lust, crimes against property not only prevail, but cease to shock, where the general level of life has lapsed into a new phase of barbarism.

What hope for boys and girls growing up in such atmosphere of sin, in overcrowded cities from which playgrounds have been excluded by rising rents; playgrounds for the innocent outpouring of the boys' animal spirits which will have some vent, if not in hockey and football, then in breaking into empty buildings, stealing lead pipes, and stoning dispensary doctors or police with even-handed delight. . . .

With population rents rise so that the average man—that is, the mass of the people—is forced to live in utterly unfit homes, fearfully overcrowded; hence, low vitality of body and soul, diseased morals, and diseased bodies. . . .

Repression alone is a failure. . . .

In some cities all these evils are aggregated into great masses.

Merely to deal, no matter how wisely, with single cases of distress or crime, as they arise, is infinitely insufficient. . . .

In the largest cities, where conditions are worse and the evils of pauperism, grown chronic and contagious, are blended with habits of drunkenness and other vice, breaking out into crimes against the law, pauperism cannot wisely be considered alone, but the problem of how to uplift the general level of life must be studied as one whole problem, especially as to the causes of the evils. . . .

The methods of dealing with pauperism hitherto applied are impotent against this swelling tide of brutal, degraded pauperism. . . .

"Who does not know," says Prof. H. C. Adams, "that much of our so-called philanthropy tends to perpetuate those conditions which seem to make philanthropy necessary?" Prof. W. G. Tucker, in his Phi Beta oration at Harvard, June, 1897, compels us to seek more radical cure, by more radical measures, when he says: "The philanthropy which is content to relieve the sufferer from wrong social conditions, postpones the philanthropy which is determined at any cost to right those conditions." . . .

Pauperism, vice, and crime are common factors of the inseparable and tremendous problem how to uplift the general conditions of life among the poor.

Mr. Paine then states what he believes to be the causes of poverty (see above) and then says:

Which of the two causes dragging down the conditions of life among the masses, foul homes or intoxicating drink, is more potent, I do not know. Each leads surely to the other.

Everywhere the conviction gains ground that it is impossible to elevate the conditions of the lower class of working people above the condition of their homes. . . .

Boards of health probably have power in all cities to vacate dwellings unfit for human habitation. All that is needed is aroused public interest to learn the unspeakable horrors of the homes of the wretched poor to-day, and then to insist on a higher standard of habitability.

Boards of health will follow the public command and the public conscience. . . .

Three agencies directly deal with the task of fitly housing the people:

1. Philanthropic agencies which aim to improve the condition both of tenants and of the tenements they occupy.

2. Economic agencies providing decent homes, often in model buildings.

3. Municipal agencies aiming to abolish the worst evils and to destroy foul homes.

High above each and all of these three agencies in its influence and promise of grand results I place the rising ambition of working men themselves to own their own homes. . . .

If this laudable ambition is lacking among the lowest class, so also do both of the powerful agencies at work to provide model homes, whether by philanthropic or invested capital of which I have just spoken, shoot over their heads.

The agency which must be invoked to rescue the very poor, whether virtuous and struggling or degraded and indifferent, is the municipal power to destroy utterly unfit abodes of habitation. . . . (See TENEMENT PROBLEM.)

Intoxicating drink is the second great cause of pauperism, crime, and many other wretched conditions of degraded life.

The temperance reform makes perceptible headway, altho the most powerful passions of mankind oppose its progress. . . .

My object here is to propose and stimulate an alliance of these two forces, the friends of temperance and all the other forces working to improve the conditions of the poor. Such an alliance will strengthen both and lead each party to see the broader scope of their task. (See TEMPERANCE.)

The third prolific cause of pauperism is found in the conditions of neglect or maltreatment of child-life in great cities. The Hon. A. S. Hewitt, in his address at the opening of the United Charities Building of New York (*Charities Review*, April, 1893, p. 304), says: "In this city a large number of children of both sexes live in an atmosphere of poverty and vice, and even crime, which educates them to be paupers and criminals instead of training them to become honest workmen and good citizens. And for this result, which is generally no fault of their own, they are punished, and, along with them, the industrious class of the community is also punished by taxation for the support of poorhouses, hospitals, and criminals. Gangs of young men, not yet twenty-one years of age, are to be found in many parts of the city who, not having been permitted to learn trades, or having been denied the opportunity to follow some useful occupation, have grown up in idleness, and expend their animal energies in excesses which make them a terror to the neighborhood and a trial to the police, the only barrier between them and crime. In time most of them necessarily become criminals, and they are very sure to breed criminals." (See DEPENDENT CHILDREN.)

Indiscriminate almsgiving is the fourth and a most potent cause of pauperism. . . .

Three reforms of the abuses of outdoor relief should receive universal sanction, and will effect in very large measure the end which all parties desire: dealing with the unworthy, those out of work, and the inefficient.

First. To the unworthy, rigid prohibition of all relief, public or private, so that, abandoning all hope of it, they shall seek their own support. This includes the lazy, idle, shiftless, extravagant, or vicious paupers, as also in most cases those with relatives or friends.

Second. The provision for men or women out of work demands most serious study of ablest economists and statesmen. (See UNEMPLOYMENT.)

Third. The third and grand reform aims to recreate the inefficient, always in great cities a numerous class, into self-support by skill and cheer, and to save them from gratuitous relief as deadly poison. . . . One of the best standards today to test the progress of constructive Christian charity of the various towns and cities of our own or any country, is to see what practical measures have been devised to convert the inefficient into an efficient worker. (See INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.)

More recently Mr. Edward T. Devine, general secretary of the New York Associated Charities and president of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, in his address before the conference, May, 1906, made the following significant statement:

Edward T. Devine

If I have rightly conceived the dominant idea of the modern philanthropy it is embodied in a determination to seek out and to strike effectively at those organized forces of evil, at those particular causes of dependence and intolerable living conditions which are beyond the control of the individuals whom they injure and whom they too often destroy.

Other tasks for other ages. This be the glory of ours, that the social causes of dependence shall be destroyed. . . .

No doubt there are individual as well as social causes of dependence. No doubt the poor, like the rich, have their faults and weaknesses, the consequences of which recoil upon themselves. But since such faults and follies, such weaknesses and sins, are peculiar to no one class, since they are quite as abundant among those who give as among those who receive aid, may we not profitably turn to this other group of evils, evils from which the poor suffer grievously but against which they cannot effectively protect themselves?

I ask your attention to the common element in alcoholism as encouraged by the Liquor Trust; the cigarette evil as fostered by the Tobacco Trust; broken health and exhausted resources directly due to poisonous and fraudulent proprietary medicines; other injuries of a similar kind for which manufacturers and sellers of adulterated foods are responsible; the manufacture of sweated goods, with a sharing of the profit between dealer and consumer; the destruction of the health and the sacrifice of the lives of little children in cotton-factories, coal-mines, glass-factories, and tenement-house industries, for the sake of their employers' profits, altho in some instances also for their parents' greed; the sending of messenger boys of tender years to brothels and hotels, to their grave moral injury, that the difference between

their wages and the wages of men may go to swell the dividends of a great corporation; the abduction of innocent country girls at hotels and railway stations as a systematic industry, not merely to gratify the evil passions of individuals but also in order that the owners of houses in which prostitution is carried on may receive larger rents, and the renter more substantial profits; the payment of less than a living wage to girls in stores and factories, with sickening indifference to the methods by which the remainder is secured; the organized gambling schemes at race-track and in pool-room which hold their own in the empire state by open and shameless bribe to the county fairs; the erection and management of dwellings which are dark, unsanitary, and indecent, because they are among the gilt-edged investments, yielding not 5 or 6 but 10 and 25 per cent on the capital risked by the speculative builder, but yielding also a goodly harvest of tuberculosis and other disease; yellow journalism avowedly pandering in the one class of journals to a feverish love for excitement, and in the other, usually sold at a higher price, to a morbid desire for salacious literature and suggestive advertisements, but both, as always, for pecuniary profit.

It is a long list, but it is by no means complete. Are not these, and other forces of a like kind, really responsible for the continual accession to the numbers of those who with their children come at last to require our help? And is there not a common element in all these agencies of the evil one, widely as they differ from one another and divergent as their origins and their natural history may seem to be? The love of money is their common root. And this root of these evils, and, as a higher authority has declared, of all evil, is not, at least so far as these evils are concerned, an abstraction, an impersonal devil. On the contrary, it is embodied capital appearing at legislative hearings, or quite as often in the legislature itself, pleading against reform the rights of property, the sacredness of vested interests, the burdensome cost of each measure for the public good, raising the dust of argument to conceal the heavy cost of inaction and neglect.

The plea is made in the name of the rights of property, in the name of legitimate business, but it is a false plea and no legitimate business stands upon so frail a foundation. There are broad-minded, warm-hearted, hard-headed business men to give the lie to the false plea in every branch of industry.

Commercialism the Cause of Much Poverty

The reason why there is need in our day as never before for organized, concerted action against these serried forces of evil, is that there is already organized aggressive action on the other side. It is the financial interest threatened in any reform which makes reform difficult or impossible. Housing reform might still be difficult even if there were not a strong pecuniary interest at stake in the building and renting of unreformed tenements. But it would be easier than it is. Child labor would come to an end in a twelvemonth if there were not money to be made in the exploitation of child labor. The gigantic fraud of proprietary medicines would have been exposed and ended long since except for the advertising contracts and for that part of the $100,000,000 annual sale which is illegitimate, for the cocaine manufacturers admit that at least 20 per cent of their output is illegitimately used. The Pure Food Bill would have passed the Senate ten years earlier at least if the interests which are involved in the manufacture and sale of impure or dishonestly named foods had not appeared year after year in opposition to the health boards and the reformers.

The Consumers' League would have more success in its efforts if the love of a bargain ingrained in the purchaser were not reenforced by the margin of profit which remains in sweat-shop products even after their price is fixt at a comparatively low level. The task of the temperance reformers would be enormously simplified if they had only to persuade the intemperate to mend their ways and to convince the young that abstinence is better for them than indulgence. I do not underestimate the difficulty of even this positive and necessary work. But what we now have to do in addition, and what we are thus far succeeding very indifferently in doing, is to fight and overcome a powerful organized financial interest, which is behind the saloon, and which is responsible, if there is such a thing as the moral law, for a very large proportion of the alcoholics in our hospitals for the insane, of the "drunk-and-disorderlies" in our jails and prisons, of the non-support cases with which our charitable societies deal, of the dependent children whose parents are finally adjudged to be unfit guardians.

I have yet to find the reform movement or the philanthropic undertaking which does not at some point or other see its efforts thwarted by some organized opposition which has its root in pecuniary profit—unholy, obviously illegal profit, or, it may be, quite as often outwardly respectable profit, sanctioned by law, and sharing, it may be, with church and philanthropy, but none the less at bottom antisocial, injurious to health or morals, worthy to be outlawed as soon as its evil nature is understood.

In this warfare against the active pernicious forces of evil in our modern communities the first need is for information. We are all culpably, incredibly ignorant of the very things which it would be most to our advantage and most to our credit to know. I deliberately charge the temperance reformers in this conference, and there are not so many here as there should be, with complete ignorance as to the reasons for the existence of inebriates. . . .

I charge the managers and officers of institutions for the care of children with ignorance of the causes which have led to the orphanage or the neglect of their wards. Are they on our hands because of essential vices and weaknesses of their parents, or because they were the victims of needless accidents, preventable disease, or industrial exploitation? I have yet to find the report of an asylum or reformatory that deals intelligently and fearlessly with these questions. And yet what questions more pertinent than these can be conceived?

Ignorance of Reform Workers

I charge the hospitals—directors, superintendents, and physicians alike—with equal indifference or neglect. If things are taken down in the patients' statements on admission to be filed away in the office, if they are guessed at by wise physicians, or told to the nurses in the confidences of convalescence, which being blazoned abroad would furnish food for scandal, they are at least not tabulated and set forth in order by the hospitals so that we may shape legislation and social policies upon them. What we get instead is an appeal for funds to build and equip new wards, or at most a technical classification of diseases of which the economic and social significance is not at all understood.

Most of all I am constrained to charge my brethren in the charity organization movement itself, which stands preeminently for analysis of causes and thorough investigation, with not having at all appreciated the importance of the environmental causes of distress, with having fixt their attention far too much upon personal weaknesses and accidents and having too little sought for the evils which might yield to social treatment and for the antisocial action of other men for which our cases are paying the penalty. . . .

We have long recognized that the process of pauperization requires a conjunction of moral weakness in the recipient with unwise alms on the part of the donor. Is it not time to recognize that practically all the other forms of degeneracy and dependence require at some stage or other a conjunction of some inherited or acquired weakness in the individual and an overt temptation or an unfavorable condition external to him which would ordinarily not be presented at all if it were not to the advantage, apparently, of another party to the transaction? The most profitable task of modern philanthropy is to find this other party and to deal by radical methods with him.

References: Charles Booth (1889–1902), *Labor and Life of the People*; A. G. Warner's *American Charities* (1894); General Booth's *In Darkest England*; Mackay's *The English Poor* (1889); Mr. S. A. Barnett's *Practicable Socialism*; R. T. Paine's *Pauperism in Great Cities* (1893); J. A. Hobson's *Problems of Poverty* (4th ed., 1899); Jane Addams, *Philanthropy and Social Progress* (1894); B. Bosanquet, *Rich and Poor* (1899); W. Chance, *Our Treatment of the Poor* (1899); Edward T. Devine, *The Practice of Charity* (1904); idem, *Principles of Relief* (1904); C. R. Henderson, *Modern Methods of Charity* (1904); Robert Hunter, *Poverty* (1904); C. S. Loch, *Methods of Social Advance* (1904); B. S. Rowntree, *Poverty, A Study of Town Life* (1902.)

POVERTY IN THE UNITED STATES (see also article Poverty): After studying with great care all the statistics and sources of information known to me upon the subject, I have come to the conclusion, as stated in my book on "Poverty," that there are no fewer than 10,000,000 persons in actual poverty in the United States. This does not mean that there is this number in distress; it does mean that at least this number is much of the time underfed, poorly clothed, and improperly housed. The estimate is conservative, and an inquiry, properly conducted, would very likely show a much larger number of persons in poverty.

I base this statement upon my own observation in various cities in this country, upon the figures of the U. S. Census for 1900 concerning unemployment, upon the reports of the State Boards of Charity, the *Bulletin* of Statistics Department of the city of Boston for 1903 the records of the Municipal Court of New York concerning the number of evictions, and the report of the Department of Corrections, concerning the number of pauper burials in New York City. The report of the New York State Board of Charities indicates that 29 per cent of

the people of New York in the year 1897, and 24 per cent in 1899, found it necessary to apply for relief. While these figures cover the relief given by many private organizations, they do not include a great deal of relief given by many small clubs, circles, churches, committees, and trade-unions. But, nevertheless, it is difficult to believe that such a large number of people in New York State were in actual distress.

Excluding half the number of persons relieved by the dispensaries, in order to make some arbitrary allowance for duplications, even then the number of persons relieved would indicate that the pauperism of New York State is enormous. In actual figures, as reduced, persons in distress in 1897 numbered 1,387,348, or about 19 per cent of the people of New York; and in 1899 they numbered 1,322,891, or about 18 per cent. Leaving out all dispensary aid, the number in distress for 1898 and 1899 is about 12 per cent of the population of the state. The Boston figures show that in the year 1903 over 136,000 persons, or about 20 per cent of the total population, were aided by the public authorities alone. Taking all of these figures, and making some allowance for duplications, the results would be as follows: 1897, 19 per cent of the people of New York State in distress; 1899, 18 per cent of the people of New York State in distress; 1903, 20 per cent of the people of Boston in distress; 1903, 14 per cent of the families in Manhattan evicted. Every year about 10 per cent of those who die in Manhattan have pauper burials. In addition to these facts, the United Hebrew Charities, in their report for 1901, declared that from 75,000 to 100,000 members of the New York Jewish community were unable to supply themselves with the immediate necessaries of life, and for this reason were dependent in some way upon the public purse. The U. S. Census for 1900 would indicate that not fewer than 100,000 persons in New York were unemployed from four to six months during that year. On the basis of all these figures, a conservative estimate of the distress would be that 14 per cent of the people in the State of New York are in distress. Studies in a small town in Indiana made about twelve years ago indicate that a similar percentage were in distress there; a study made in Chicago four or five years ago led me almost to the same conclusion. These figures, however, indicate only the amount of distress, while the number of people in poverty would be very much greater. Those in poverty may not find it necessary to rely upon public assistance, but their manner of living is such as to prevent them from getting sufficient of necessaries of life to enable them to maintain a state of physical efficiency.

Evidence

My experience in Illinois, Indiana, and New York would lead me to believe that this could be fairly estimated at 20 per cent of the people, and applying this only to the largest industrial states, where it may be assumed the percentage of persons in distress is about the same as in the states inquired into, we may safely conclude that 6,600,000 persons in the states of New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan are in poverty. Taking half of this percentage and applying it to other states, many of which have important industrial communities, as, for instance, Wisconsin, Colorado, California, Rhode Island, etc., and the conclusion is that not fewer than 10,000,000 persons in the U. S. are in poverty. It is impossible in a short statement such as this to go into other estimates which would indicate a similar amount of poverty, and I am unable to state fully many reasons for believing that the percentages above used are conservative; but these figures, I believe, may be of use in conveying some idea as to the extent of poverty in the country. They are, of course, only estimates, and should not be used too positively or without certain reservations.

These additional facts are important: over 2,000,000 working men in the year 1900 were unemployed from four to six months during the year; about 500,000 male immigrants arrive yearly and seek work in the very districts where unemployment is greatest. Nearly half of the families in the country are propertyless; over 1,700,000 little children are forced to become wage-earners when they should still be in school; about 5,000,000 women find it necessary to work, and about 2,000,000 are employed in mills, factories, etc.; probably not fewer than 1,000,000 workers are injured or killed while doing their work; and about 10,000,000 of the persons now living will, if the present ratio is kept up, die of the preventable disease, tuberculosis.

It is to be regretted that our statistical data are too inadequate to permit us to be positive in our statements concerning the extent of poverty. It is to be hoped that these estimates may arouse the proper government officials to make careful inquiries into the facts. No one would be more pleased than I if they prove to be an overestimate, but all information which is now available leads me to believe that the extent of poverty is greater than this estimate would indicate.

ROBERT HUNTER.

POWDERLY, TERENCE VINCENT: Formerly General Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, now chief of Division of Information in Bureau of Immigration, Washington, D. C.; born, Carbondale, Pa., 1849; he attended common school six years; became a wage-earner at thirteen; was railroad switchman, car repairer, and brakeman. At seventeen he was apprenticed to the machinist trade, and became journeyman at twenty. In 1869 he removed to Scranton, Pa.; here he joined a branch of the Machinists' and Blacksmiths' International Union, soon becoming its president. He joined the Knights of Labor in 1874; held various offices in local and district assemblies; in 1879 was elected General Worthy Foreman, and the same year General Master Workman, which position he held for fourteen years, resigning in 1893 rather than serve with a board of officers whose policy he did not believe to be in harmony with the aims and objects of the order. He maintained that the education of the masses in all things—economic and political—stood paramount to the needs of a class. Against his protest, organization on trade lines was effected in the Knights of Labor. Conflicting elements struggled for the mastery within the order. He was charged with ordering strikes on and off for personal gain when in fact he never ordered a strike on or off, did not even receive the salary voted him, and was obliged to part with his home. Poor in pocket, rich in experience, he insisted upon his resignation being accepted. In 1878 he was elected Mayor of Scranton, on a Labor ticket, and served three terms of two years each, 1884 declining renomination. In 1888 he was

solicited to accept the Democratic nomination for Congress, but declined because he was not a Democrat or in favor of free trade. In 1891 he was nominated for delegate at large by the Republican State Convention of Pennsylvania and elected by the largest vote given any candidate on either ticket. In 1894 he was admitted to the bar of Lackawanna County, Pa., in 1897 to the bar of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and in 1901 to the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States. In 1894 he identified himself with the Republican Party and stumped for General Hastings for governor. In 1896 he stumped several states for McKinley and Hobart. In 1897 he was appointed Commissioner-General of Immigration by President McKinley, serving until 1902. In 1900 he stumped several Western and Southern states for McKinley and Roosevelt. In 1906 he was appointed by Department of Commerce and Labor to inquire into causes of emigration from Europe, and in 1907 appointed Chief of Division of Information in Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization at Washington. Author: "Thirty Years of Labor"; "History of Labor Day"; "The Army of the Discontented"; numerous magazine articles. *Address*: 502 Quincy Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORMS, THE: The Presbyterian Church is committed to the cause of social reforms, first of all, by the principles on which such reforms rest. They were first most clearly enunciated and sharply defined by John Calvin. Mr. Froude says of him:

> There was no reformer in Europe so resolute to tear out and destroy what seemed to be false, and so resolute to establish what was true in its principles and make truth to its last fiber the rule of practical life." These characteristics of the stern leader were so wonderfully imprest on his followers that they wrought for the good of man and from the highest motives. Mr. Froude says again: "The Calvinists abhorred, as no other body of men has ever abhorred, mendacity, all impurity, all moral wrong of every kind as they could recognize it. Whatever exists at this moment in England or Scotland of the fear of doing evil is the remnant of the convictions branded by the Calvinists into the people's hearts."

Calvinism

Green, in his "History of the English People," recognizes truly the genius of the new life of Europe and of the Reformation, when he says: "A vast and consecrated democracy, it stood in contrast with the whole social and political framework of the European nations. Grave as we count the faults of Calvinism, alien as its temper may be in many ways from the temper of the modern world, it is in Calvinism that the modern world strikes its roots, for it was Calvinism that first revealed the worth and dignity of man. Called of God and heir of heaven, the trader at his counter and the digger of the field suddenly rose into equality with the noble and the king." The idea of the Reformation which is traceable to Calvin has often been regarded as largely theological in its character, and as dealing with speculative rather than practical truths. This is not true. The Reformation was not more of a theological than of a social and public reform. It was an endeavor to deliver people from their ignorance and sin, first by giving them right views of the truth and then adjusting their relations with one another. Consequently the main ideas distinctly traceable to Geneva and John Calvin have secured our modern civilization. Democratic government, free institutions, free schools, and popular education—these are the great pillars on which our social reforms rest. The struggle for these constituted the great battles in Holland, France, England, and later in the United States. It required a revolution in all of these countries to establish these institutions, and our own revolution was nothing, as Bancroft has said, "but the application of the principles of the Reformation to our civil government." The history of the Presbyterian Church has been a history of the struggle for the rights of man. It was a body of Presbyterians who wrote the Mecklenberg Declaration—the pen stroke that in 1775 separated one county in North Carolina from the British Crown, and which first asserted the principle that Americans are, and of right ought to be, free and independent. Dr. John Witherspoon was not more eminent as a theologian than as a patriot. The synod of New York and Philadelphia was the first religious body to favor open resistance to England. Many of the Presbyterian ministers were actually engaged in civil service for their country. The blood of the Covenanter fought in the battles of the Revolution. The things at stake in these battles are the things at the bottom of all social reform. There is no progress of man without constitutional government, popular education, and deference to the rights of the people.

History

The Presbyterian Church, then, by reason of her principles, and of her history in illustrating and defending them, should be actively committed to every phase of social reform. Her protests against every evil have been constant and emphatic. Take, for example, the temperance reform; in this the Presbyterian Church has been unwavering in her testimony. Even as far back as 1854 the General Assembly took the following action:

> *Resolved*, That the General Assembly continue to view with deep interest the progress of the temperance reformation, most intimately connected with the vital interests of men for time and eternity, and that they do especially hail its new phase through the action of several state legislatures, by which the tariff in intoxicating liquors as a beverage is entirely prohibited. They commend this new system of legislation to the attention and support of all ministers and churches connected with this body for its blessed results already experienced, and as able, if universally adopted, to do much to seal up the great fountains of drunkenness, pauperism, and crime, and relieve humanity of one of its most demoralizing and distressing evils.

The Presbyterian Church was the first of the denominations to officially establish a Department of Church and Labor, in connection with its Home Mission Board. This department was established in 1903. Its general object is to interpret the Church to working men, to interpret working men to the Church, and to interpret employer and employee to each other, through education, inspiration, mediation, evangelism, and Twentieth-century methods of Christian work.

Department of Church and Labor

It is the aim of the department to make it the best informed office in the world on the subjects which it is studying.

So that both the Church and labor may see each other with clearer vision, the plan of the exchange of fraternal delegates between ministers' associations and central labor-unions has been adopted. Working together, the ministers' association and the central labor-union are bringing about many municipal reforms. Indeed, united, there are few things in this direction which they

may not accomplish in the cause of good citizenship, independent of partizan politics. Especially in those matters which involve moral issues—such as the saloon, gambling, the social evil, Sunday work, child labor, sanitary conditions in tenement-houses and factories, and everything else that influences the moral life of the community—may these organizations cooperate. In operation in about one hundred cities, the plan is spreading from town to town, until it is hoped that it will become effective in the 600 cities of our country that support central labor unions and ministers' associations. The practical result of this plan has been that there is a more cordial relationship between working men and the Church, first, because the minister has a broader conception of what the labor movement stands for, and, second, because the labor leader has come to know something of the mission of the Church.

A press bureau furnishing over 300 labor papers of the United States and Canada with original articles which present the view-point of the Church with reference to the labor question, and discussing the workingman's relation to the Church, is part of the work of the department. In this way it has been speaking weekly to nearly three million trade-unionists and their families, thus making an audience of at least 10,000,000.

In 1905 the Presbyterian General Assembly passed the following resolution:

Appreciating the increasing importance of the industrial problem, and realizing that the labor question is fundamentally a moral and a religious question, and that it will never be settled upon any other basis, we recommend that the Presbyterian Home Mission committees appoint subcommittees for the purpose of making a systematic study of the entire problem in their respective localities. These committees shall cooperate with the newly organized Working Men's Department of the Board of Home Missions, thus establishing, in connection with the organized Presbyterianism of every city in America, a board of experts, who may be able to inform the churches with respect to the aims of organized labor, and to inform the working men concerning the mission of the Church. These committees shall also assist in the already successfully inaugurated plan of securing for the churches fraternal relationships with working men in their organizations; become responsible for the distribution of the literature issued by the board both for the membership of the Church and for the great mass of working men outside of the Church, and to push aggressively whatever methods may bring about a more cordial relationship between the Church and labor.

In accordance with this resolution the department has in practically every large city of the U. S. special committees which represent it in the study of local problems.

Conferences are also arranged for employers and employees for the discussion of industrial problems.

The pastors of the 11,000 Presbyterian churches in the U. S. are requested by the department each year to discuss some phase of the labor question on the Sunday preceding Labor Day. It believes that just as Memorial Day and the several "birthdays" show our appreciation of those who rendered patriotic service, and just as the Church's "holy days" do honor to those who have served mankind spiritually, so "Labor Sunday" should be observed by the churches in honor of the millions of toilers who daily serve mankind in the humbler places of life. This plan has the hearty indorsement of the leading central labor bodies of the country and of practically the entire labor press.

The following resolution, adopted by the American Federation of Labor, will indicate how this movement has been received by the highest court of organized working men.

Whereas, The Presbyterian Church n the U. S. of America, at its last national convention, officially established a Department of Church and Labor for the express purpose of making a systematic study of the labor problem; and

Whereas, It is part of the plan of the department to appoint in every industrial center special committees that may become experts in their knowledge of every phase of the labor movement, so that they may inform the churches with respect to the aims of organized labor; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, indorse this new and significant movement in the Presbyterian Church, and we further recommend that central labor bodies cooperate with this department and with its subcommittees in every way that may be consistent, in order that the Church and the public at large may have a more intelligent conception of the conditions and aspirations of the toilers.

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor recommends that all affiliated state and central bodies exchange fraternal delegates with the various state and city ministerial associations, wherever practicable, thus insuring a better understanding on the part of the Church and clergy of the aims and objects of the labor-union movement of America.

In the matter of the antislavery reform the Presbyterian Church encountered peculiar difficulty because she was strong in the slaveholding states and the antislavery agitation divided the Church. But at a time when other churches had taken no strong general action upon this subject—namely, as early as 1818—the General Assembly took the following action:

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, having taken into consideration the subject of slavery, think proper to make known their sentiments upon it to the churches and people under their care. We consider the voluntary enslaving of one part of the human race by another as a gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature, as utterly inconsistent with the law of God, which requires us to love our neighbor as ourselves, and as totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principle of the gospel of Christ, which enjoins that "all whatsoever you would men should do unto you, do ye even so to them." Slavery creates a paradox in the moral system: it exhibits rational, accountable, and immortal beings in such circumstances as to scarcely leave them the power of moral action. It exhibits them as dependent on the will of others whether they shall receive religious instruction; whether they shall know and worship the true God; whether they shall enjoy the ordinances of the Gospel; whether they shall perform the duties and endearments of husbands and wives, parents and children, neighbors and friends; whether they shall preserve their chastity and purity or regard the dictates of justice and humanity. Such are some of the consequences of slavery—consequences not imaginary, but which connect themselves with its very existence. The evils to which the slave is ever exposed often take place in fact, and in their very worst degree and form; and where all of them do not take place—as we rejoice to say, in many instances, through the influence of the principles of humanity and religion on the minds of the masters, they do not—still, the slave is deprived of his natural right and degraded as a human being, and exposed to the danger of passing into the hands of a master who may inflict upon him all the hardships and injuries which inhumanity and avarice may suggest.

The Presbyterian Church has since been practically active in temperance reform. Its Temperance Committee is operating through five field secretaries, and three branch offices in as many leading cities. Its literature on this subject is extensive and it is widely distributed.

In the various lines of moral reform, both in society and in the State, the Presbyterian Church is probably doing her full share. She is striving to apply the highest power of her principles to the deepest needs of man. The ethical possibilities of Christianity are about to be proven as never before. And in this forward movement Presbyterian ministers and laymen have been, as they should be, conspicuous. They had been false to the historic glory of Presbyterians if they had not stood valiantly against every form of oppression and of unrighteousness.

CHARLES L. THOMPSON and CHARLES STELZLE.

PRESIDENCY: (In political science) the name given to the elective head of a republic. For the constitutional functions of the presidency in the United States, see CONSTITUTION. For the method of electing presidents in the U. S., see ELECTORAL COLLEGE. For the results of elections, see PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. We consider in this article various conceptions of the presidency and criticisms and proposed reforms. The conception of the presidency in the U. S. Constitution is that the executive (the president with his cabinet) should be one of the three coordinate branches of the government. As a matter of fact a president of the U. S. is given great power —many think too much. In France and Switzerland his power is little more than nominal. The executive power in France is really held by the prime minister and his cabinet. France has been called a parliamentary republic. In Switzerland the president (see below) is simply the presiding member of the Federal Council, whose duty is to represent the Council. In the U. S. his power is anything but nominal. Professor James says that the President of the U. S. is not even really responsible to the people. He says ("Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science," May, 1896):

> The term "responsible," in political science and in constitutional discussions, has come to have a definite technical meaning which makes it improper to use it in describing the relations of the officials in the U. S. to the people.
>
> Looking for a moment at the president alone, there is no sense in which the term "responsible" is used in the discussions of political science in which the president can be fairly said to be responsible to the people at all. He is elected for a period of four years and during that period is as completely and absolutely out of the reach of law and legal process, in his official capacity as president, as even the crowned heads of Europe. It is true that if the president desires to be reelected, he may shape his policy with reference to the impression it will produce upon the voters of the country, or, at least, upon the politicians; but, so the German Emperor, if he desires to secure the passage of a bill through the German legislature, will act in such a way as, in his opinion, will contribute to that end, but he is not for that reason responsible, in any political sense, to the people. Even if the president might be said, in a certain sense, to be responsible in his first term—that is, so far as he may be affected by the desire to influence public sentiment in favor of securing a second term—certainly this cannot be said of his conduct during his second term with reference to a third. He knows full well that no conduct of his would be likely to secure a third term in the present temper and with the present political traditions of the people of the U. S.
>
> No power is given to individual citizens, or to the citizens taken collectively, or to the states individually, or to the states taken together, to control or supervise in any way the acts of the president. He is, so far as any of these elements in our political system are concerned, absolutely irresponsible. Nor can he be reached by any process of the court, and he is, therefore, in this sense, as truly above the courts and free from responsibility to them as any king in Europe. Indeed one may say that in a certain sense the crowned heads of Europe are more immediately responsible to some power outside of themselves than is the president.

Of certain bond issues of Mr. Cleveland's administration, the Detroit *Tribune* said:

> Until Cleveland proved by trial what a president could do, few persons, doubtless, were aware that money could be borrowed upon the public credit, for the payment of the ordinary expenses of the government, without consultation of the legislature of the people. It would appear incredible that an intelligent and watchful nation should let its government get into such shape as that the matter of public expenditure was not controlled by the parliamentary assembly. It was incredible until the object-lessons compelled belief. . . . By the existing law the executive is given a legal way of getting money without asking the people for it. If that is not a dangerous situation, it will be hard to find dangerous situations.

As to President Roosevelt, many, even of his own party, have felt that he has pushed the presidential power almost to the limits of national danger, showing, it is said, that under the constitution a strong president can practically, if not formally, commit the country to treaties with foreign powers, involve the nation in war, employ the army, decide far-reaching policies, and take measures involving large expenditures of public moneys, almost of his own personal volition. Yet, in practise, these evils have not developed. Mr. James Bryce ("The American Commonwealth," 1st ed., chap. vii.) says:

> Altho the president has been, not that independent good citizen whom the framers of the constitution contemplated, but, at least during the last sixty years, a party man, seldom much above the average in character or abilities, the office has attained the main objects for which it was created. Such mistakes as have been made in foreign policy, or in the conduct of the administrative departments, have been rarely owing to the constitution of the office or to the errors of its holder.

Nevertheless he tells us that this must not make us overlook certain defects incidental to the American presidency. He says:

> In a country where there is no hereditary throne nor hereditary aristocracy, an office raised far above all other offices offers too great a stimulus to ambition. This glittering prize, always dangling before the eyes of prominent statesmen, has a power stronger than any dignity under a European crown to lure them (as it lured Clay and Webster) from the path of straightforward consistency. One who aims at the presidency—and all prominent politicians do aim at it—has the strongest possible motives to avoid making enemies. Now a great statesman ought to be prepared to make enemies. It is one thing to try to be popular—an unpopular man will be uninfluential—it is another to seek popularity by courting every section of your party. This is the temptation of presidential aspirants.
>
> A second defect is that the presidential election, occurring once in four years, throws the country for several months into a state of turmoil, for which there may be no occasion. Perhaps there are no serious party issues to be decided, perhaps the best thing would be that the existing administration should pursue the even tenor of its way. The constitution, however, requires an election to be held, so the whole costly and complicated machinery of agitation is put in motion; and if issues do not exist, they have to be created. . . .
>
> Again, these regularly recurring elections produce a discontinuity of policy. Even when the new president belongs to the same party as his predecessor, he usually nominates a new cabinet, having to reward his special supporters. . . .
>
> Fourthly. The fact that he is reeligible once, but (practically) only once, operates unfavorably on the president. He is tempted to play for a renomination by so pandering to active sections of his own party, or so using his patronage to conciliate influential politicians, as to make them put him forward at the next election. On the other hand, if he is in his second term of office, he has no longer much motive to regard the interests of the nation, because he sees that his own political death is near. . . .
>
> **Defects**
>
> Fifthly. An outgoing president is a weak president. During the four months of his stay in office after his successor has been chosen, he declines, except in cases of extreme necessity, to take any new departure, to embark on any executive policy which cannot be completed before he quits office. This is, of course, even more decidedly the case if his successor belongs to the opposite party.
>
> Lastly. The result of an election may be doubtful, not from equality of votes, for this is provided against, but from a dispute as to the validity of votes given in or reported from the states. This difficulty arose between Mr. Hayes and Mr. Tilden, disclosing the existence of a set of cases for which the constitution had not provided. It will not recur in quite the same form, for provision has now been made by statute for dealing with disputed returns. But cases may arise in which the returns from a state of its electoral votes will, because notoriously obtained by fraud or force, fail to be recognized as valid by the party whose candidate they prejudice. No presidential election passes without charges of this kind, and these charges are not always unfounded. Should manifest unfairness coincide with popular excitement over a really important issue, the self-control of the people, which in 1877, when no such issue was involved, restrained the party passions of their leaders, may prove unequal to the strain of such a crisis.
>
> Another evil which Mr. Bryce refers to in another chapter has been recently much minimized by civil service reform (*q. v.*), but is yet a very great tho perhaps to some extent a necessary evil—the presidential appointing power.
>
> It is probably necessary that a president responsible to an extent for the whole federal administration should appoint his own cabinet and heads of departments, subject to the approval of the Senate, as required by the constitution; but it is not necessary that these offices should be looked upon as

the natural rewards for party service, and that from the day of his election till long after his inauguration the time of a president should be almost wholly occupied by considering rival claims for office. Yet this is the almost inevitable result under the present constitution, which gives the president so much power. Says Mr. Bryce (idem, chap. vi.):

"Artemus Ward's description of Abraham Lincoln swept along from room to room in the White House by a rising tide of office-seekers is hardly an exaggeration. From the 4th of March, when Mr. Garfield came into power, till he was shot in the July following, he was engaged almost incessantly in questions of patronage. Yet the president's individual judgment has little scope. He must reckon with the Senate; he must requite the supporters of the men to whom he owes his election; he must so distribute places all over the country as to keep the local wire-pullers in good humor, and generally strengthen the party by 'doing something' for those who have worked or will work for it. Altho the minor posts are practically left to the nomination of the senators or congressmen from the state or district, conflicting claims give infinite trouble, and the more lucrative offices are numerous enough to make the task of selection laborious as well as thankless and disagreeable. . . . No one has more to gain from a thorough scheme of civil service reform than the president. The present system makes a wire-puller of him. It throws work on him unworthy of a fine intellect, and for which a man of fine intellect may be ill-qualified. On the other hand the president's patronage is, in the hands of a skilful intriguer, an engine of far-spreading potency. By it he can oblige a vast number of persons, can bind their interests to his own, can fill important places with the men of his choice. Such authority as he has over the party in Congress, and therefore over the course of legislation; such influence as he exerts on his party in the several states, and therefore over the selection of candidates for Congress, is due to his patronage. Unhappily, the more his patronage is used for these purposes, the more it is apt to be diverted from the aim of providing the country with the best officials."

Appointing Evil

Very many also criticize the methods of electing the president in the U. S. (See ELECTORAL COLLEGE.) In France the president is elected by the two houses of the legislature sitting together as a "National Assembly." In the Swiss republic the executive power is not lodged with one man, but in a federal council (Bundesrath), elected for a term of three years by an assembly of the two houses of legislature sitting together. This assembly also elects the president and vice-president of the Bundesrath, but the president is given little more power than his colleagues, and can only serve one term. Rotation in the office is rigidly carried out. In Brazil, Peru, and Bolivia the president is elected by direct vote of the people. In Mexico, Chile, and the Argentine Republic it is by indirect vote.

As to reforms affecting the presidency, discussions in the U. S. have turned mainly upon the method of electing presidents, their length of term, and their appointing power.

Concerning the method of electing presidents it is proposed that the president be elected by direct vote of the people. This would give every man a chance to express his wish, not compelling him to vote for nominees of a party. It is claimed that it would put the president in closer touch with the people, and make him more independent of party machines; that it would lessen the opportunity for corruption. On the other hand it is argued that, as there would have to be concert of action to elect a candidate, there would be practically no more freedom of personal choice than now, while secret and corrupt concerted action would have more chance. As to the objection that the present electoral system often elects a candidate who has not received the popular majority, it is answered that a popular majority might often be a sectional majority and not represent the whole country any more truly. It is, therefore, secondly, suggested that the president be elected by the national legislature, as in France.

Very many favor lengthening the term of office from four to six years, making the elections less frequent, and then forbidding a second term.

Mr. George T. Curtis (*Century*, vol. vii., p. 124) proposed having the Electoral Commission meet as an electoral chamber, competent to judge of the qualifications and returns of its own members, and then allowing this body to elect the president as responsible men, not as the mere automata of parties.

Mr. Albert Stickney ("A True Republic," chap. ix.) would make changes in the power to be given the office, and make the president responsible to the legislature, who should have direct power of removing him, without a hearing, if they think public interests demand it, by a two-thirds vote of both houses sitting as one body. He asks if any one ever heard of such a thing as insuring efficient work from a man who could not be removed instantly, so soon as, for any reason, he failed to do his work well. He would give the president the sole appointing and removing power for all heads of departments and no more. Each department head should be solely responsible for his department, each subordinate head being responsible for those under him; the president, finally, being responsible to the legislature. This system would take from the chief executive any voice in the appointment or removal of the great number of subordinate officials which he now has. It would free him to appoint his department heads without a two-thirds vote of the Senate. For any misconduct or failure he could himself be removed. If not removed, he could hold the office for life.

Some radicals believe in the abolition of the presidency. Says a memorial addrest to Congress:

1. The presidency is a copy of royalty: it is an essentially unrepublican institution; for it exalts an individual into ruling power over all the rest of the population, bringing them into a relation of subjection toward him, and accustoming them to monarchical ideas.

2. It is thoroughly antidemocratic in nature; for it does not only ignore the direct authority of the popular will, but opposes an independent and autocratic front to the representative thereof—the legislature.

3. It maintains the false, illogical, disorganizing theory—born in monarchy, and principally denying democracy—of the "partition of powers." In the democratic polity, all powers are derived from the people, and are no more capable of partition from and against each other than are the people. . . .

4. It is a constantly menacing, constantly growing cause of danger to the republic—whose eventual ruin it must inevitably occasion.

5. If it do not cause such ruin by direct, violent subversion, it must effect the same through corruption; for the presidential office is the source, the constantly growing source, of universal corruption. . . .

To avoid these dangers, the undersigned suggest that Congress propose an amendment to the constitution, abolishing the presidency, and transferring the executive functions to an administrative commission or congressional ministry, to be chosen by Congress from their own body, or from among other competent citizens; and to be supervised and instructed during the adjournment of Congress by a standing committee, who are to be in permanent session during that time, and who are to be authorized to call extra sessions of Congress when needed.

REFERENCES: James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*; Albert Stickney, *A True Republic*; E. Stanwood, *History of the Presidency* (1901); articles: *North American*, vol. cxl., p. 94; *Forum*, March, 1901; *Arena*, Nov., 1902; *Harper's Weekly*, June 13, 1903; *Nation*, July 26, 1906.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS: The following tables of the results of presidential elections are from the *World Almanac* of 1907.

There is, properly speaking, no popular vote for president and vice-president; the people vote for electors, and those chosen in each state meet

therein and vote for the candidates for president and vice-president. The record of any popular vote for electors prior to 1824 is so meager and imperfect that a compilation would be useless. In most of the states, for more than a quarter century following the establishment of the government, the state legislatures "appointed" the presidential electors, and the people therefore voted only indirectly for them, their choice being exprest by their votes for members of the legislature. In this tabulation only the aggregate electoral votes for candidates for president and vice-president in the first nine quadrennial elections appear.

Electoral Votes

1789. Previous to 1804, each elector voted for two candidates for president. The one who received the largest number of votes was declared president, and the one who received the next largest number of votes was declared vice-president. The electoral votes for the first President of the United States were: George Washington, 69; John Adams, of Massachusetts, 34; John Jay, of New York, 9; R. H. Harrison, of Maryland, 6; John Rutledge, of South Carolina, 6; John Hancock, of Massachusetts, 4; George Clinton, of New York, 3; Samuel Huntingdon, of Connecticut, 2; John Milton, of Georgia, 2; James Armstrong, of Georgia; Benjamin Lincoln, of Massachusetts, and Edward Telfair, of Georgia, 1 vote each. Vacancies (votes not cast), 4. George Washington was chosen president and John Adams vice-president.

1792. George Washington, Federalist, received 132 votes; John Adams, Federalist, 77; George Clinton, of New York, Republican, 50; Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, Republican, 4; Aaron Burr, of New York, Republican, 1 vote. Vacancies, 3. George Washington was chosen president and John Adams vice-president.

1796. John Adams, Federalist, 71; Thomas Jefferson, Republican, 68; Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina, Federalist, 59; Aaron Burr, of New York, Republican, 30; Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts, Republican, 15; Oliver Ellsworth, of Connecticut, Independent, 11; George Clinton, of New York, Republican, 7; John Jay, of New York, Federalist, 5; James Iredell, of North Carolina, Federalist, 3; George Washington, of Virginia, John Henry, of Maryland, and S. Johnson, of North Carolina, all Federalists, 2 votes each; Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina, Federalist, 1 vote. John Adams was chosen president and Thomas Jefferson vice-president.

1800. Thomas Jefferson, Republican, 73; Aaron Burr, Republican, 73; John Adams, Federalist, 65; Charles C. Pinckney, Federalist, 64; John Jay, Federalist, 1 vote. There being a tie vote for Jefferson and Burr the choice devolved upon the House of Representatives. Jefferson received the votes of ten states, which, being the largest vote cast for a candidate, elected him president. Burr received the votes of four states, which, being the next largest vote, elected him vice-president. There were two blank votes.

1804. The Constitution of the U. S. having been amended, the electors at this election voted for a president and a vice-president, instead of for two candidates for president. The result was as follows: For president, Thomas Jefferson, Republican, 162; Charles C. Pinckney, Federalist, 14. For vice-president, George Clinton, Republican, 162; Rufus King, of New York, Federalist, 14. Jefferson was chosen president and Clinton vice-president.

1808. For president, James Madison, of Virginia, Republican, 122; Charles C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, Federalist, 47; George Clinton, of New York, Republican, 6. For vice-president, George Clinton, Republican, 113; Rufus King, of New York, Federalist, 47; John Langdon, of New Hampshire, 9; James Madison, 3; James Monroe, 3. Vacancy, 1. Madison was chosen president and Clinton vice-president.

1812. For president, James Madison, Republican, 128; De Witt Clinton, of New York, Federalist, 89. For vice-president, Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, 131; Jared Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania, Federalist, 86. Vacancy, 1. Madison was chosen president and Gerry vice-president.

1816. For president, James Monroe, of Virginia, Republican, 183; Rufus King, of New York, Federalist, 34. For vice-president, Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, Republican, 183; John Eager Howard, of Maryland, Federalist, 22; James Ross, of Pennsylvania, 5; John Marshall, of Virginia, 4; Robert G. Harper, of Maryland, 3. Vacancies, 4. Monroe was chosen president and Tompkins vice-president.

1820. For president, James Monroe, of Virginia, Republican, 231; John Q. Adams, of Massachusetts, Republican, 1. For vice-president, Daniel D. Tompkins, Republican, 218; Richard Stockton, of New Jersey, 8; Daniel Rodney, of Delaware, 4; Robert G. Harper, of Maryland, and Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, 1 vote each. Vacancies, 3. James Monroe was chosen president and Daniel D. Tompkins vice-president.

Electoral and Popular Votes

Year of election	Candidates for president	States	Political party	Popular vote	Plurality	Electoral vote	Candidates for vice-president	States	Political party	Electoral vote
1824..	Andrew Jackson.....	Tenn..	Rep.....	155,872	50,551	[1]99	John C. Calhoun*.....	S. C...	Rep.....	182
	John Q. Adams*.....	Mass..	Rep.....	105,321	.....	84	Nathan Sanford.....	N. Y..	Rep.....	30
	Henry Clay.....	Ky....	Rep.....	46,587	.....	37	Nathaniel Macon.....	N. C..	Rep.....	24
	Wm. H. Crawford.....	Ga....	Rep.....	44,282	.....	41	Andrew Jackson.....	Tenn..	Rep.....	13
							M. Van Buren.....	N. Y..	Rep.....	9
							Henry Clay.....	Ky....	Rep.....	2
1828..	Andrew Jackson*.....	Tenn..	Dem....	647,231	138,134	178	John C. Calhoun*.....	S. C...	Dem....	171
	John Q. Adams.....	Mass..	Nat. R..	509,097	.....	83	Richard Rush.....	Pa....	Nat. R..	83
							William Smith.....	S. C...	Dem....	7
1832..	Andrew Jackson*.....	Tenn..	Dem....	687,502	157,313	219	M. Van Buren*.....	N. Y..	Dem....	189
	Henry Clay.....	Ky....	Nat. R..	530,189	.....	49	John Sergeant.....	Pa....	Nat. R..	49
	John Floyd.....	Ga....	Ind.....	33,108	.....	11	Henry Lee.....	Mass..	Ind.....	11
	William Wirt [2].....	Md....	Anti-M..		.....	7	Amos Elmaker [3].....	Pa....	Anti-M..	7
							Wm. Wilkins.....	Pa....	Dem....	30
1836..	Martin Van Buren*....	N. Y..	Dem....	761,549	24,893	170	R. M. Johnson [4]*.....	Ky....	Dem....	147
	W. H. Harrison.....	O.....	Whig....	736,656	.....	73	Francis Granger.....	N. Y..	Whig....	77
	Hugh L. White.....	Tenn..	Whig....		.....	26	John Tyler.....	Va....	Whig....	47
	Daniel Webster.....	Mass..	Whig....		.....	14	William Smith.....	Ala....	Dem....	23
	Willie P. Mangum.....	N. C...	Whig....		.....	11				
1840..	W. H. Harrison*.....	O.....	Whig....	1,275,017	146,315	234	John Tyler*.....	Va....	Whig....	234
	Martin Van Buren	N. Y..	Dem....	1,128,702	.....	60	R. M. Johnson.....	Ky....	Dem....	48
	James G. Birney.....	N. Y..	Lib.....	7,059	.....	.....	L. W. Tazewell.....	Va....	Dem....	11
							James K. Polk.....	Tenn..	Dem....	1
							Thomas Earle.....	Pa....	Lib.....	.....
1844..	James K. Polk*.....	Tenn..	Dem....	1,337,243	38,175	170	George M. Dallas*.....	Pa....	Dem....	170
	Henry Clay.....	Ky....	Whig....	1,299,068	.....	105	T. Frelinghuysen.....	N. J...	Whig....	105
	James G. Birney.....	N. Y..	Lib.....	62,300	.....	.....	Thomas Morris.....	O.....	Lib.....	.....
1848..	Zachary Taylor*.....	La....	Whig ...	1,360,101	139,557	163	Millard Fillmore*.....	N. Y..	Whig....	163
	Lewis Cass.....	Mich..	Dem....	1,220,544	.....	127	William O. Butler.....	Ky....	Dem....	127
	Martin Van Buren.....	N. Y..	F. Soil..	291,263	.....	.....	Charles F. Adams.....	Mass..	F. Soil...	.....

* See footnotes on opposite page.

ELECTORAL AND POPULAR VOTES—*Continued*

Year of election	Candidates for president	States	Political party	Popular vote	Plurality	Electoral vote	Candidates for vice-president	States	Political party	Electoral vote
1852..	Franklin Pierce*.....	N. H..	Dem....	1,601,474	220,896	254	William R. King*.....	Ala...	Dem....	254
	Winfield Scott.....	N. J...	Whig....	1,380,576	.....	42	William A. Graham....	N. C...	Whig....	42
	John P. Hale.....	N. H..	F. D.[9]...	156,149	.....	.....	George W. Julian.....	Ind....	F. D	.....
	Daniel Webster[11].....	Mass..	Whig....	1,670	.....	.....				
1856..	James Buchanan*.....	Pa....	Dem....	1,838,169	496,905	174	J. C. Breckinridge*....	Ky....	Dem....	174
	John C. Fremont.....	Cal....	Rep.....	1,341,264	.....	114	William L. Dayton....	N. J...	Rep.....	114
	Millard Fillmore.....	N. Y..	Amer....	874,538	.....	8	A. J. Donelson.....	Tenn..	Amer....	8
1860..	Abraham Lincoln*....	Ill....	Rep.....	1,866,352	491,195	180	Hannibal Hamlin*....	Me....	Rep.....	180
	Stephen A. Douglas...	Ill....	Dem....	1,375,157	.....	12	H. V. Johnson.....	Ga....	Dem....	12
	J. C. Breckinridge.....	Ky....	Dem....	845,763	.....	72	Joseph Lane.....	Ore...	Dem....	72
	John Bell.....	Tenn..	Union...	589,581	.....	39	Edward Everett.....	Mass..	Union...	39
1864..	Abraham Lincoln*....	Ill....	Rep.....	2,216,067	407,342	[5] 212	Andrew Johnson*.....	Tenn..	Rep.....	212
	George B. McClellan ..	N. J...	Dem....	1,808,725	.....	21	George H. Pendleton ..	O.....	Dem....	21
1868..	Ulysses S. Grant*.....	Ill....	Rep.....	3,015,071	305,456	[6] 214	Schuyler Colfax*.....	Ind...	Rep.....	214
	Horatio Seymour.....	N. Y..	Dem....	2,709,615	.....	80	F. P. Blair, Jr.....	Mo....	Dem....	80
1872..	Ulysses S. Grant*.....	Ill....	Rep.....	3,597,070	762,991	286	Henry Wilson*.....	Mass..	Rep.....	286
	Horace Greeley.....	N. Y..	D. & L..	2,834,079	.....	(7)	B. Gratz Brown.....	Mo....	D. & L..	47
	Charles O'Conor.....	N. Y..	Dem....	29,408	.....	.....	John Q. Adams.....	Mass..	Dem....	.....
	James Black.....	Pa....	Temp...	5,608	.....	.....	John Russell.....	Mich..	Temp....	.....
	Thomas A. Hendricks.	Ind...	Dem....	.....	.....	42	George W. Julian.....	Ind...	Lib.....	5
	B. Gratz Brown.....	Mo....	Dem....	.....	.....	18	A. H. Colquitt.....	Ga....	Dem....	5
	Charles J. Jenkins.....	Ga....	Dem....	.....	.....	2	John M. Palmer.....	Ill....	Dem....	3
	David Davis.....	Ill....	Ind.....	.....	.....	1	T. E. Bramlette.....	Ky....	Dem....	3
							W. S. Groesbeck.....	O.....	Dem....	1
							Willis B. Machen.....	Ky....	Dem....	1
							N. P. Banks.....	Mass..	Lib.....	1
1876..	Samuel J. Tilden.....	N. Y..	Dem....	4,284,885	250,935	184	T. A. Hendricks.....	Ind...	Dem....	184
	Rutherford B. Hayes*.	O.....	Rep.....	4,033,950	.....	[8] 185	William A. Wheeler*..	N. Y..	Rep.....	185
	Peter Cooper.....	N. Y..	Greenb..	81,740	.....	.....	Samuel F. Cary.....	O.....	Greenb..	.....
	Green Clay Smith.....	Ky....	Pro.....	9,522	.....	.....	Gideon T. Stewart.....	O.....	Pro.....	.....
	James B. Walker.....	Ill....	Amer....	2,636	.....	.....	D. Kirkpatrick.....	N. Y..	Amer	.....
1880..	James A. Garfield*....	O.....	Rep.....	4,449,053	7,018	214	Chester A. Arthur*....	N. Y..	Rep.....	214
	W. S. Hancock.....	Pa....	Dem....	4,442,035	.....	155	William H. English....	Ind...	Dem....	155
	James B. Weaver.....	Iowa..	Greenb..	307,306	.....	.....	B. J. Chambers.....	Tex...	Greenb..	.....
	Neal Dow.....	Me....	Pro.....	10,305	.....	.....	H. A. Thompson.....	O.....	Pro.....	.....
	John W. Phelps.....	Vt....	Amer	707	.....	.....	S. C. Pomeroy.....	Kan...	Amer	.....
1884..	Grover Cleveland*....	N. Y..	Dem....	4,911,017	62,683	219	T. A. Hendricks*.....	Ind...	Dem....	219
	James G. Blaine.....	Me....	Rep.....	4,848,334	.....	182	John A. Logan.....	Ill....	Rep.....	182
	John P. St. John.....	Kan ..	Pro.....	151,809	.....	.....	William Daniel.....	Md....	Pro.....	.....
	Benjamin F. Butler....	Mass..	Greenb..	133,825	.....	.....	A. M. West.....	Miss...	Greenb..	.....
	P. D. Wiggington.....	Cal....	Amer	.....	.....	.....				
1888..	Grover Cleveland.....	N. Y..	Dem....	5,538,233	98,017	168	Allen G. Thurman	O.....	Dem....	168
	Benjamin Harrison*...	Ind...	Rep.....	5,440,216	.....	233	Levi P. Morton*.....	N. Y..	Rep.....	233
	Clinton B. Fisk.....	N. J...	Pro.....	249,907	.....	.....	John A. Brooks.....	Mo....	Pro.....	.....
	Alson J. Streeter.....	Ill....	U. L. ...	148,105	.....	.....	C. E. Cunningham.....	Ark...	U. L.	.....
	R. H. Cowdry.....	Ill....	U'd L...	2,808	.....	.....	W. H. T. Wakefield....	Kan...	U'd L....	.....
	James L. Curtis.....	N. Y..	Amer	1,591	.....	.....	James B. Greer.....	Tenn..	Amer	.....
1892..	Grover Cleveland*.....	N. Y..	Dem....	5,556,918	380,810	277	Adlai E. Stevenson*...	Ill....	Dem....	277
	Benjamin Harrison....	Ind...	Rep.....	5,176,108	.....	145	Whitelaw Reid.....	N. Y..	Rep.....	145
	James B. Weaver.....	Ia....	Peop....	1,041,028	.....	22	James G. Field.....	Va....	Peop....	22
	John Bidwell.....	Cal....	Pro.....	264,133	.....	.....	James B. Cranfill.....	Tex...	Pro.....	.....
	Simon Wing.....	Mass..	Soc. L...	21,164	.....	.....	Charles H. Matchett...	N. Y..	Soc. L...	.....
1896..	William McKinley*....	O.....	Rep.....	7,104,779	601,854	271	Garret A. Hobart*.....	N. J...	Rep.....	271
	William J. Bryan.....	Neb...	Dem... }	6,502,925	.....	176	Arthur Sewall.....	Me....	Dem.....	149
	William J. Bryan.....	Neb...	Peop... }		.....	.....	Thomas E. Watson....	Ga....	Peop....	27
	Joshua Levering.....	Md....	Pro.....	132,007	.....	.....	Hale Johnson.....	Ill....	Pro.....	.....
	John M. Palmer.....	Ill....	N. Dem..	133,148	.....	.....	Simon B. Buckner	Ky....	N. Dem ..	.....
	Charles H. Matchett...	N. Y..	Soc. L...	36,274	.....	.....	Matthew Maguire.....	N. J...	Soc. L....	.....
	Charles E. Bentley....	Neb...	Nat.[10]...	13,969	.....	.....	James H. Southgate...	N. C...	Nat.[10]...	.....
1900..	William McKinley*....	O.....	Rep.....	7,207,923	849,790	292	Theodore Roosevelt*..	N. Y..	Rep.....	292
	William J. Bryan.....	Neb...	Dem. P..	6,358,133	.....	155	Adlai E. Stevenson....	Ill....	Dem. P..	155
	John G. Woolley.....	Ill....	Pro.....	208,914	.....	.....	Henry B. Metcalf.....	O.....	Pro.....	.....
	Wharton Barker.....	Pa....	M.P.[12]...	50,373	.....	.....	Ignatius Donnelly.....	Minn..	M. P.[12]...	.....
	Eugene V. Debs.....	Ind...	Soc. D...	87,814	.....	.....	Job Harriman.....	Cal....	Soc. D....	.....
	Jos. F. Malloney.....	Mass..	Soc. L...	39,739	.....	.....	Valentine Remmel....	Pa....	Soc. L....	.....
	J. F. R. Leonard.....	Ia.....	U. C.[13]..	1,059	.....	.....	John G. Woolley.....	Ill....	U. C.[13]..	.....
	Seth H. Ellis.....	O.....	U. R.[14]...	5,698	.....	.....	Samuel T. Nicholson...	Pa....	U. R[14]...	.....
1904..	Theodore Roosevelt*..	N. Y..	Rep.....	7,623,486	2,545,515	336	Charles W. Fairbanks*.	Ind...	Rep.....	336
	Alton B. Parker.....	N. Y..	Dem....	5,077,971	.....	140	Henry G. Davis.....	W. Va.	Dem....	140
	Eugene V. Debs.....	Ind...	Soc.....	402,283	.....	.....	Benjamin Hanford....	N. Y..	Soc.....	.....
	Silas C. Swallow.....	Pa....	Pro.....	258,536	.....	.....	George W. Carroll....	Tex...	Pro.....	.....
	Thomas E. Watson....	Ga....	Peop....	117,183	.....	.....	Thomas H. Tibbles....	Neb...	Peop....	.....
	Charles H. Corrigan...	N. Y..	Soc. L...	31,249	.....	.....	William W. Cox.....	Ill....	Soc. L...	.....

* The candidates starred were elected. [1] The first Republican Party is claimed by the present Democratic Party as its progenitor. [2] No candidate having a majority of the electoral vote, the House of Representatives elected Adams. [3] Candidate of the Anti-Masonic Party. [4] There being no choice, the Senate elected Johnson. [5] Eleven Southern States, being within the belligerent territory, did not vote. [6] Three Southern states disfranchised. [7] Horace Greeley died after election, and Democratic electors scattered their votes. [8] There being a dispute over the electoral vote of Florida, Louisiana, Oregon, and South Carolina, they were referred by Congress to an electoral commission composed of eight Republicans and seven Democrats, which, by a strict party vote, awarded 185 electoral votes to Hayes and 184 to Tilden. [9] Free Democrats. [10] Free Silver Prohibition Party. [11] In Massachusetts. There was also a Native American ticket in that state which received 184 votes. [12] Middle of the Road or Anti-Fusion People's Party. [13] United Christian Party. [14] Union Reform Party.

For popular and electoral vote by states in 1900 and 1904 see following tables.

Popular and Electoral Vote for President, 1880–1900

States	1900 Popular Vote: Bryan, Dem.	McKinley, Rep.	Woolley, Pro.	Debs, Soc.	Malloney, Soc. L.	Barker, M.R. Pop.	Pluralities	1896 Electoral Vote: Bryan, Dem.	McKinley, Rep.	1892 Electoral Vote: Cleveland, Dem.	Harrison, Rep.	Weaver, Pop.	1888 Electoral Vote: Cleveland, Dem.	Harrison, Rep.	1884 Electoral Vote: Cleveland, Dem.	Blaine, Rep.	1880 Electoral Vote: Hancock, Dem.	Garfield, Rep.
Alabama	97,131	55,512	2,762	.....	.....	4,178	41,619 B	11	.....	11	.....	.....	10	.....	10	.....	10	.....
Arkansas	81,142	44,800	584	.....	.....	972	36,342 B	8	.....	8	.....	.....	7	.....	7	.....	6	.....
California	124,985	164,755	5,024	7,554	.....	.....	39,770 McK	1	8	8	1	.....	.....	8	.....	8	5	1
Colorado	122,733	93,072	3,790	654	700	387	29,661 B	4	.....	.....	.....	4	.....	3	.....	3	.....	3
Connecticut	73,997	102,507	1,617	1,029	898	.....	28,570 McK	.....	6	6	.....	.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	6
Delaware	18,858	22,529	538	57	.....	.....	3,671 McK	.....	3	3	.....	.....	3	.....	3	.....	3	.....
Florida	28,007	7,314	1,039	601	.....	1,070	20,693 B	4	.....	4	.....	.....	4	.....	4	.....	4	.....
Georgia	81,700	35,035	1,396	.....	.....	4,584	44,665 B	13	.....	13	.....	.....	12	.....	12	.....	11	.....
Idaho	29,414	26,997	857	.....	.....	213	2,216 B	3	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois	503,061	597,985	17,623	9,687	1,373	1,141	94,924 McK	.....	24	24	.....	.....	.....	22	.....	22	.....	21
Indiana	309,584	336,063	13,718	2,374	663	1,438	26,479 McK	.....	15	15	.....	.....	.....	15	15	.....	.....	15
Iowa	209,179	307,785	9,479	2,778	259	613	98,606 McK	.....	13	.....	13	.....	.....	13	.....	13	.....	11
Kansas	162,601	185,955	3,605	1,605	.....	.....	23,354 McK	10	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	9	.....	9	.....	5
Kentucky	235,103	227,128	3,780	646	390	1,861	7,975 B	1	12	13	.....	.....	13	.....	13	.....	12	.....
Louisiana	53,671	14,233	.....	.....	.....	.....	39,438 B	8	.....	8	.....	.....	8	.....	8	.....	8	.....
Maine	36,822	65,435	2,585	898	.....	.....	28,613 McK	.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	6	.....	6	.....	7
Maryland	122,271	136,212	4,582	908	391	.....	13,941 McK	.....	8	8	.....	.....	8	.....	8	.....	8	.....
Massachusetts	156,997	238,866	6,202	9,607	2,599	.....	81,869 McK	.....	15	.....	15	.....	.....	14	.....	14	.....	13
Michigan	211,685	316,269	11,859	2,826	903	833	104,584 McK	.....	14	5	9	.....	.....	13	.....	13	.....	11
Minnesota	112,901	190,461	8,555	3,065	1,329	.....	77,560 McK	.....	9	.....	9	.....	.....	7	.....	7	.....	5
Mississippi	51,706	5,753	.....	.....	.....	1,644	45,953 B	9	.....	9	.....	.....	9	.....	9	.....	8	.....
Missouri	351,922	314,092	5,965	6,139	1,294	4,244	37,830 B	17	.....	17	.....	.....	16	.....	16	.....	15	.....
Montana	37,146	25,373	298	708	.....	.....	11,773 B	3	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nebraska	114,013	121,835	3,655	823	.....	1,104	7,822 McK	8	.....	.....	8	.....	.....	5	.....	5	.....	3
Nevada	6,347	3,849	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,498 B	3	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	3	.....	3	3	.....
New Hampshire	35,489	54,803	1,270	790	.....	.....	19,314 McK	.....	4	.....	4	.....	.....	4	.....	4	.....	5
New Jersey	164,808	221,707	7,183	4,609	2,074	669	56,899 McK	.....	10	10	.....	.....	9	.....	9	.....	9	.....
New York	678,386	821,992	22,043	12,869	12,622	.....	143,606 McK	.....	36	36	.....	.....	.....	36	36	.....	.....	35
North Carolina	157,752	133,081	1,006	.....	.....	830	24,671 B	11	.....	11	.....	.....	11	.....	11	.....	10	.....
North Dakota	20,519	35,891	731	518	.....	110	15,372 McK	.....	3	1	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio	474,882	543,918	10,203	4,847	1,688	251	69,036 McK	.....	23	1	22	.....	.....	23	.....	23	.....	22
Oregon	33,385	46,526	2,536	1,466	.....	203	13,141 McK	.....	4	.....	3	1	.....	3	.....	3	.....	3
Pennsylvania	424,232	712,665	27,908	4,831	2,936	638	288,433 McK	.....	32	.....	32	.....	.....	30	.....	30	.....	29
Rhode Island	19,812	33,784	1,529	.....	1,423	.....	13,972 McK	.....	4	.....	4	.....	.....	4	.....	4	.....	4
South Carolina	47,236	3,579	.....	.....	.....	.....	43,657 B	9	.....	9	.....	.....	9	.....	9	.....	7	.....
South Dakota	39,544	54,530	1,542	176	.....	339	14,986 McK	4	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee	144,751	121,194	3,900	410	.....	1,368	23,557 B	12	.....	12	.....	.....	12	.....	12	.....	12	.....
Texas	267,337	121,173	2,644	1,841	160	20,976	164,964 B	15	.....	15	.....	.....	13	.....	13	.....	8	.....
Utah	45,006	47,139	209	720	106	.....	2,133 McK	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Vermont	12,849	42,568	368	.....	.....	367	29,719 McK	.....	4	.....	4	.....	.....	4	.....	4	.....	5
Virginia	146,080	115,865	2,150	.....	.....	.....	30,215 B	12	.....	12	.....	.....	12	.....	12	.....	11	.....
Washington	44,833	57,456	2,363	2,006	866	.....	12,623 McK	4	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia	98,807	119,829	1,692	268	.....	274	21,022 McK	.....	6	6	.....	.....	6	.....	6	.....	5	.....
Wisconsin	159,285	265,866	10,124	524	7,065	.....	106,581 McK	.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	11	.....	11	.....	10
Wyoming	10,164	14,482	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,318 McK	3	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total	6,358,133	7,207,923	208,914	87,814	39,739	50,373	.....	176	271	277	145	22	168	233	219	182	155	214
Plurality	.....	849,790	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

The total vote of the U. R. party for 1900 was 5,698, and of the U. C. party 1,059.

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE FOR PRESIDENT IN 1904

STATES AND TERRITORIES	POPULAR VOTE							ELECTORAL VOTE	
	Parker, Dem.	Roosevelt, Rep.	Debs, Soc.	Swallow, Pro.	Corrigan, Soc. L.	Watson, Pop.	Plurality	Parker, Dem.	Roosevelt, Rep.
Alabama	79,857	22,472	853	612	839	5,051	57,385 D	11	.....
Arkansas	64,434	46,860	1,816	983	.....	2,318	17,574 D	9	.....
California	89,404	205,226	29,535	7,380	.....	.....	115,822 R	.....	10
Colorado	100,105	134,687	4,304	3,438	335	824	34,582 R	.....	5
Connecticut	72,909	111,089	4,543	1,506	575	494	38,180 R	.....	7
Delaware	19,360	23,714	146	607	.....	46	4,354 R	.....	3
Florida	27,046	8,314	2,337	.....	.....	1,605	18,732 D	5	.....
Georgia	88,331	25,335	197	845	.....	23,490	62,996 D	13	.....
Idaho	18,480	47,783	4,949	1,013	.....	353	29,303 R	.....	3
Illinois	327,606	632,645	69,225	34,770	4,698	6,725	305,039 R	.....	27
Indiana	274,345	368,289	12,013	23,496	1,598	2,444	93,944 R	.....	15
Iowa	149,141	307,907	14,847	11,601	.....	2,207	158,766 R	.....	13
Kansas	84,800	210,893	15,494	7,245	.....	6,156	126,093 R	.....	10
Kentucky	217,170	205,277	3,602	6,609	596	2,511	11,893 D	13	.....
Louisiana	47,708	5,205	995	.....	.....	.....	42,503 D	9	.....
Maine	27,638	64,438	2,103	1,510	.....	338	36,800 R	.....	6
Maryland	109,446	109,497	2,247	3,034	.....	.....	51 R	7	1
Massachusetts	165,746	257,822	13,604	4,279	2,359	1,294	92,076 R	.....	16
Michigan	134,151	361,866	8,941	13,308	1,012	1,159	227,715 R	.....	14
Minnesota	68,631	214,978	6,376	5,603	.....	2,004	146,347 R	.....	11
Mississippi	53,376	3,189	393	.....	.....	1,425	50,187 D	10	.....
Missouri	296,312	321,449	13,009	7,191	1,674	4,226	25,137 R	.....	18
Montana	21,773	34,932	5,676	335	208	1,520	13,159 R	.....	3
Nebraska	51,876	138,558	7,412	6,338	.....	20,518	86,682 R	.....	8
Nevada	3,982	6,867	925	.....	.....	344	2,885 R	.....	3
New Hampshire	33,992	54,177	1,090	749	.....	81	20,185 R	.....	4
New Jersey	164,566	245,164	9,587	6,845	2,680	3,705	80,598 R	.....	12
New York	683,981	859,533	36,883	20,787	9,127	7,459	175,552 R	.....	39
North Carolina	124,121	82,442	124	361	.....	819	41,679 D	12	.....
North Dakota	14,273	52,595	2,005	1,137	.....	165	38,322 R	.....	4
Ohio	344,674	600,095	36,260	19,339	2,633	1,392	255,421 R	.....	23
Oregon	17,551	60,455	7,619	3,806	.....	753	42,904 R	.....	4
Pennsylvania	335,430	840,949	21,863	33,717	.....	2,211	505,519 R	.....	34
Rhode Island	24,839	41,605	956	768	488	.....	16,766 R	.....	4
South Carolina	54,635	2,254	22	.....	.....	1	52,381 D	9	.....
South Dakota	21,969	72,083	3,138	2,965	.....	1,840	50,114 R	.....	4
Tennessee	131,653	105,369	1,354	1,889	.....	2,491	26,284 D	12	.....
Texas	167,200	51,242	2,791	4,292	421	8,062	115,958 D	18	.....
Utah	33,413	62,444	5,767	.....	.....	.....	29,031 R	.....	3
Vermont	9,777	40,459	859	792	.....	.....	30,682 R	.....	4
Virginia	80,648	47,880	218	1,383	56	359	32,768 D	12	.....
Washington	28,015	100,698	.....	.....	.....	.....	72,683 R	.....	5
West Virginia	100,850	132,608	1,572	4,413	.....	337	31,758 R	.....	7
Wisconsin	124,107	280,164	28,220	9,770	223	530	156,057 R	.....	13
Wyoming	8,904	20,467	1,077	207	.....	.....	11,563 R	.....	3
Total	5,098,225	7,621,985	386,955	254,923	29,222	117,257	.....	140	336

Popular vote, Roosevelt over Parker	2,523,753
Popular vote, Roosevelt over all	1,735,406
Electoral vote, Roosevelt over Parker	197
Total popular vote, all candidates	13,508,568
Total popular vote, including scattering votes	13,523,510

PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN, THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE: Established in London in May, 1884, and became incorporated by royal charter as a national society. Patrons, the king and queen, and a long list of notables. President, the Duke of Abercorn. Object: that no child in the United Kingdom shall live an unendurable life. This object is sought by (1) warnings; (2) enforcement of laws; (3) promotion of any new law that may be necessary. We quote from an earlier report of the director:

If the reader will conceive of a procession of 1,179,916 children passing before him, child after child, he may gain some adequate sense of the wrong and the suffering the society has been working among since it began in 1889. First come 943,910 sufferers from neglect and starvation, miserable with living irritations and filth, ragged, well-nigh naked. Following these come 128,252 children who suffered violence from all sorts of weapons in the hands of the reckless, vengeful ones who owned them. . . . Then come 69,621 little things who were exposed to suffering to draw the lazy and cruel charity of the street for the benefit of their elders. . . . After these 24,527 pitiable girl victims of immorality. . . . And then 18,167 little slaves of improper, hurtful, and dangerous employments . . . toilers with burdens too heavy, and sufferers by various other cruel wrongs. . . . And last of all come 4,561 funerals of little ones, where the society obtained its information of their childish wrongs too late to save them, and had therefore nothing that it could do save to bring the cruel parents to their appropriate punishment at the hands of justice. The procession is 558 miles long and takes nine days to accomplish its painful "march past."

There is one third of the kingdom where its agencies are not yet established. Organ, *The Child's Guardian.* The League of Pity is the children's section of the society. Its object is to interest happy children in the welfare of the unhappy, and to do as much for the latter as possible. Director, R. J. Parr, Leicester Square, London.

PRICE, HON. THOMAS: Premier, Commissioner of Public Works, and Minister of Education of South Australia since July, 1905; previously leader of the Parliamentary Labor Party from 1901; born 1852. Clerk of works in the government employ at Islington locomotive shops; worked at his trade as stone-cutter on Parliament buildings. He has sat in House of Assembly since

1893. Secretary of Masons and Bricklayers' Society in 1891 and Labor Party in 1901. Prominent temperance leader. *Address*: Hawthorne, Lower Mitcham, near Adelaide, South Australia.

PRICES: The following table as to the prices of the leading classes of necessary articles of daily consumption at primary markets is from the United States Statistical Abstract for 1907:

PRICES IN THE UNITED STATES

[Index Number, from *Dun's Review*]

DATE	Breadstuffs	Meats	Dairy and garden	Other food	Clothing	Metals	Miscellaneous	Total
July 1—	*Dollars*	*Dollars*	*Dollars*	*Dollars*	*Dollars*	*Dollars*	*Dollars*	*Dollars*
1860	20.530	8.973	12.662	8.894	22.439	25.851	15.842	115.101
1861	15.749	7.485	10.813	7.653	21.147	22.500	16.573	101.920
1862	18.057	7.150	13.406	10.987	28.413	23.207	17.290	118.510
1863	26.154	10.115	13.530	16.359	45.679	37.079	24.264	173.180
1864	45.616	15.685	26.053	27.303	73.485	59.192	31.653	278.987
1865	25.404	16.112	18.049	21.057	49.307	38.956	25.551	194.436
1866	31.471	17.153	23.472	20.821	45.377	41.762	27.922	207.978
1867	36.537	14.278	18.418	20.167	38.169	35.426	25.529	188.524
1868	38.416	13.210	23.614	19.720	35.694	27.385	24.786	182.825
1869	29.116	13.181	18.121	16.347	35.309	28.355	24.201	164.630
1870	25.322	14.161	16.112	13.308	31.480	26.612	21.786	148.781
1871	24.809	12.177	20.799	13.823	30.624	27.371	21.907	151.510
1872	22.171	11.055	16.019	14.845	32.427	32.643	21.319	150.479
1873	20.460	10.114	15.629	13.625	29.411	32.298	21.552	143.089
1874	25.657	11.560	19.142	13.678	27.260	25.254	19.582	143.133
1875	24.848	13.287	14.918	14.418	25.318	23.515	18.398	134.702
1876	18.777	10.726	15.912	12.914	21.747	20.452	15.951	116.479
1877	21.812	10.036	11.790	13.321	21.850	15.578	15.160	109.547
1878	15.672	8.181	10.608	11.346	19.836	15.789	14.836	96.268
1879	17.054	8.239	10.253	9.884	20.420	15.149	16.286	97.285
1880	17.461	9.230	12.594	11.539	21.984	18.708	17.139	108.655
1881	20.369	11.381	11.311	11.663	20.982	19.295	16.900	111.901
1882	25.494	13.740	14.685	11.627	21.202	19.832	16.650	123.230
1883	19.018	11.210	12.250	10.726	20.209	18.071	15.764	107.248
1884	17.871	11.172	11.369	9.323	19.014	16.272	14.685	99.706
1885	16.370	9.205	10.872	8.712	17.740	14.132	13.666	90.697
1886	15.311	8.906	10.241	8.570	18.063	14.466	13.669	89.226
1887	15.156	8.667	11.188	9.252	18.174	16.035	15.153	93.624
1888	16.984	9.416	11.849	9.917	17.447	15.366	14.155	95.134
1889	14.351	8.244	9.695	10.912	17.107	14.782	14.600	89.691
1890	14.867	8.036	10.711	9.749	17.264	15.506	15.416	91.549
1891	19.782	9.217	12.455	9.339	16.501	15.107	13.691	96.092
1892	17.426	8.700	10.403	8.733	15.648	14.827	14.252	90.105
1893	14.963	10.135	11.710	9.188	15.871	14.030	14.716	90.613
1894	15.115	9.389	10.394	8.478	13.860	12.015	14.041	83.292
1895	14.765	8.622	9.874	8.689	15.315	11.021	13.233	81.519
1896	10.504	7.058	7.872	8.529	13.602	13.232	13.520	74.317
1897—Jan. 1	11.729	7.327	10.456	8.170	12.407	13.014	12.399	75.502
July 1 (low)	10.587	7.529	8.714	7.887	13.808	11.642	12.288	72.455
1898—Jan. 1	13.511	7.336	12.371	8.312	14.654	11.572	12.184	79.940
July 1	12.783	7.694	9.437	8.826	14.663	11.843	12.522	77.768
1899—Jan. 1	13.816	7.520	11.458	9.096	14.150	11.843	12.540	80.423
July 1	13.483	7.988	10.974	9.157	15.021	15.635	12.969	85.227
1900—Jan. 1	13.254	7.258	13.702	9.200	17.484	18.085	16.312	95.295
July 1	14.898	8.906	10.901	9.482	16.324	14.834	16.070	91.415
1901—Jan. 1	14.486	8.407	15.556	9.504	16.024	15.810	15.881	95.668
July 1	14.904	9.430	11.030	9.086	15.098	15.344	16.617	91.509
1902—Jan. 1	20.002	9.670	15.248	8.952	15.547	15.375	16.793	101.587
July 1	20.534	11.628	12.557	8.748	15.533	16.084	16.826	101.910
1903—Jan. 1	17.104	9.522	14.613	9.418	15.938	17.185	16.578	100.356
July 1	17.473	9.269	13.083	9.186	17.136	16.544	16.765	99.456
1904—Jan. 1	17.102	8.138	15.287	9.653	17.316	15.887	16.759	100.142
July 1	18.244	9.033	10.648	10.406	16.514	15.428	16.919	97.192
1905—Jan. 1	18.278	7.950	13.948	10.699	16.319	16.188	16.936	100.318
July 1	18.831	8.614	9.982	9.922	17.986	15.916	17.061	98.312
1906—Jan. 1	16.554	8.426	14.399	9.822	19.313	17.141	18.809	104.464
July 1	17.923	9.677	12.590	9.645	19.177	16.649	19.555	105.216
1907—Jan. 1	16.079	9.350	14.965	9.760	19.637	18.087	19.386	107.264

The course of prices of commodities is shown and in each case the price is multiplied by the annual per capita consumption, which precludes any one commodity having more than its proper weight in the aggregate. Breadstuffs include many quotations of wheat, corn, oats, rye, barley, beans, and pease; meats include live hogs, beef, sheep, and many provisions, lard, tallow, etc.; dairy and garden products embrace eggs, vegetables, fruits, milk, butter, cheese, etc.; other food includes fish, liquors, condiments, sugar, rice, tobacco, etc.; clothing covers the raw material of each industry, and many quotations of woolen, cotton, silk, and rubber goods, as well as hides, leather, boots, and shoes; metals include various quotations of pig iron and partially manufactured and finished products, as well as the minor metals, tin, lead, copper, etc., and coal and petroleum; miscellaneous includes many grades of hard and soft lumber, laths, brick, lime, glass, turpentine, hemp, linseed oil, paints, fertilizers, and drugs. The third decimal is given for accuracy of comparison.

GREAT BRITAIN

Basing his conclusions on the "Report on Wholesale and Retail Prices of the Board of Trade for 1903," Mr. A. L. Bowley ("National

Progress and Wealth and Trade," p. 25) comes to the following conclusions:

Fall in Prices

If we make up a budget of the goods most usually purchased by the working classes, and compare the prices at which they were bought year by year for the last twenty years, we find that such a budget, costing £1 in the period 1898–1902, would have cost 19*s.* 6*d.* in 1893–95, 20*s.* 6*d.* in 1888–92, and 21*s.* 6*d.* in 1883–87. In other words, during the last twenty years the purchasing power of money has increased about 8 per cent, or (what is the same thing) prices have fallen about 8 per cent. Thus, while the apparent increase of wages was about 30 per cent in that period, the real increase, when we allow for the fall in price, is found to be about 40 per cent.

In the above estimates are included the prices of bread (fall 10 per cent), meat (fall 10 to 20 per cent), sugar (fall 30 per cent), tea (fall 20 per cent), oil (fall 20 per cent), coal (rise 20 to 30 per cent), beer and tobacco (unchanged), and some clothing materials: in all over forty articles.

There are omitted, on the one hand, the innumerable small and rapidly cheapening articles of modern manufacture (e. g., cheap household requisites), and furniture, bicycles, traveling, newspapers, and other miscellaneous goods, which account for a considerable part of the normal expenses of those households where the income is above the bare minimum: in this group the fall of price must have been considerable. On the other hand is omitted rent (including rates), which is generally supposed to have risen in towns. . . .

Taking all these things into consideration, it may be reasonably admitted that the value of £1 in the hands of a workingman has at any rate not fallen in the last twenty years; while the evidence on the whole is in favor of the rise of nearly 10 per cent.

Of other countries Mr. Bowley says (idem, p. 78):

No reliable comparison can as yet be made with former years, though data are accumulating. In 1902 wheat was about the same price in the United Kingdom, the United States, and Belgium, dearer in Germany, and yet dearer in France. Beef is stated to have been about the same price in England, France, and Germany, and cheaper in Belgium and at New York. For sugar England was much the cheapest and France the dearest of these countries.

The figures we have for Germany ("Fiscal Blue Book," pp. 223–226) show that the course of prices in the last fifteen years has been similar there and in England. A comparison with twenty years ago shows a greater fall in England than in Germany. The German figures come from Essen only. The figures given on p. 227 (ibid.) are of wholesale prices, and show great fluctuations.

Concerning production in the United Kingdom A. C. Bowley ("National Progress in Wealth and Trade," pp. 35–42) gives the following table and statements. He says:

There are unfortunately very few cases where we have any direct information as to total production; and the indirect evidence given by the use of raw materials does not enable us to distinguish the output for the home from that for the foreign market. The table below gives the accessible information as to such production.

Of so-called raw materials, the output of coal and pig iron has increased considerably, that of other metals fallen fast. Among agricultural produce wheat has fallen; and other cereals, hay, and roots have fluctuated year by year without any permanent change of level. The quantity of fish landed on our shores has increased steadily. The tonnage of ships built for the home mercantile navy or for foreigners was 23 per cent more in the years 1893–1902 than in the previous decade.

The conveyance of goods to their destination or to the sea is an essential part of their production, and therefore the weight handled by railways is given in the table.

It is obvious that no general conclusions can be drawn from such incomplete statistics. Practically the only industries of which we know the output are mining, agriculture, and shipping. The only means, then, that we have at present of judging our productive power is by the consumption of raw materials. . . .

Raw Materials

When we compare the years 1898–1902 with 1883–87, we find that we have used in manufacture 15 per cent more cotton, 40 per cent more wool, 18 per cent more iron, 60 per cent more lead, 80 per cent more zinc, 85 per cent more leather, 60 per cent more imported wood and timber, 28 per cent more coal, the same amount of tin, but 25 per cent less silk, in the latter period than in the former; meanwhile the population has grown 14 per cent.

To obtain these figures the home production and foreign importations of the raw materials have been added together, the exportation subtracted, and the remainder taken as used at home. There is some doubt about the exact amount of tin, lead, and zinc retained, and we have no figures for home-grown timber nor sufficient figures for flax or jute, while those for copper need expert interpretation.

This list includes the great bulk of the more important raw materials, and shows a very remarkable progress.

Home Production

	Quinquennial Averages				
	1883–87	1888–92	1893–97	1898–1902	
Coal: retained for home use	137	150	155	176	Million tons.
Coal: exported	23	29	33	43	Million tons.
Produced from British ores:					
Copper	22	9	5	5	Hundred tons.
Lead	398	337	292	222	Hundred tons.
Tin	94	93	66	44	Hundred tons.
Zinc	96	92	76	88	Hundred tons.
Wool: estimated home clip	130	135	135	135	Million lbs.
Pig-iron[1]: retained for home use	6.5	6.7	7.0	7.6	Million tons.
Pig-iron[2]: exported	1.2	1.0	1.0	1.1	Million tons.
Sea fish for home and exports	.....	12	14	16	Million cwts.
Grown in the United Kingdom:					
Wheat	80[2]	72	53	62	Million bushels.
Barley	77[2]	77	74	72	Million bushels.
Oats	160[2]	165	172	170	Million bushels.
Hay[3]	12.6[2]	14.0	12.5	13.8	Million tons.
Potatoes	6.5[2]	5.7	5.7	6.9	Million tons.
Turnips, etc	34[2]	38	36	35	Million tons.
Ships built for British owners[4]	453	634	518	752	Thousand tons' burden.
Ships built for foreigners	72	137	138	188	Thousand tons' burden.
Weight of goods and minerals conveyed by railways	265	241	340	414	Million tons.

[1] Produced from British or foreign ores.
[2] Average for 1884–87.
[3] Average for 1885–87.
[4] Excluding ships built for the Royal Navy.

PRIMARIES (for the evils of the present system of primaries existing in most states of the United States, see Elections, p. 439): The flagrant abuses which have arisen in the U. S. from primaries early led to discussions of methods of reform, but only within the last ten or twelve years has there been progress actually made. The first reform undertaken was the so-called

"primary election laws," embodying in various ways the control of primaries by law, by making the primary meeting of a political party a legally organized body instead of a self-constituted group. Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Maryland, South Carolina, Georgia, and other states have adopted statutes of this nature. While details vary, in general it may be said that they provide that due public notice be given of the time and place of primary elections; that the elections be by ballot, and that the expense be paid by the state. In some states the law defines the qualification for admission to the primary. In general the aim is to give all persons who voted with their party at the last elections the right to a vote in the choice of candidates in the primary.

Besides variation in details, there has also been in most states progressive legislation. In Illinois, for example, two systems have been tried:

(1) The indirect or convention system, wherein the law gives to the parties a method which simply insured that the delegates to the nominating convention were honestly elected and seated.

(2) The direct system, wherein the law furnished parties a method whereby the members of a party should vote directly on various names to determine the nominee of the party.

The general tendency is, however, first, to increase the control of primaries by state law and then, secondly, to abolish them and substitute "*direct nominations*" (*q. v.*) as in the Minnesota Primary Law.

According to this plan in place of a primary there is held a preliminary election conducted by the state in which a voter may participate. Each voter indicates the name he nominates, and the party for which he nominates him. Prospective candidates may announce their names to the public before the preliminary election in any way or through any organization they will. The election gives the official nomination in each party to the person receiving the largest support.

This is in many ways like the second ballot in France. (See ELECTIONS, p. 440.)

This system was first tried in Minneapolis in 1899 and later was applied to state elections. It is said to be a distinct success and this idea is being largely advocated in other states. At the Congress of Primary and Election Laws, held by the National Civic Federation, April, 1906, Mr. Horace E. Deming (of New York), of the National Municipal League, thus outlined a general system of primary reform:

> The nominating election should be a public election to determine as to each elective public officer who, as a candidate for that office, shall have the right as the sole representative of a given set of political principles properly applicable to its conduct to have his name appear upon the official ballot used at the general election. Prior to registration day, let every candidate for nomination be announced as such candidate, together with a statement of the platform of political principles upon which he stands, each distinct set of principles being denoted by a short title or phrase; let the names of all candidates for the nomination be printed by the state upon an official nominating ballot delivered to the voter upon a registration day and immediately after registering, and let the voter mark secretly upon it his preference among all the candidates for nomination to each office; let the ballot then be deposited in the ballot-box under exactly the same circumstances as at the general election, and at the close of the polls let the votes be canvassed and the result be announced, as at the general election; upon the official ballot used at the ensuing general election, let only such policies and candidates appear as have successfully passed the two tests set forth above. In this way the local interests of the city could be freed from confusion with national politics; and municipal elections could be fought out by local parties, which would appear and disappear according as local issues did or did not warrant their existence.
>
> The incongruity and absurdity of having so many elective offices would be brought out clearly, and the day would be hastened when the nine out of ten offices now elective which should be appointive would be taken out of politics.

PRIMITIVE PROPERTY: According to some sociological writers, the present system of private ownership in land was preceded by a system of collective or communal ownership and cultivation. The main authorities for this view are Sir Henry Maine, in his "Ancient Law"; G. L. von Maurer, in his "Einleitung zur Geschichte der Mark, Hof-, Dorf- und Stadtverfassung" (1854); P. Viollet, in his "Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes" (1872), and Em. Laveleye, in his "De la Propriété de ses Formes Primitives" (1874), well known to English readers in Marriott's translation, "Primitive Property" (1878). Maine says in the above work (p. 268):

> Property once belonged not to individuals, nor even to isolated families, but to larger societies. Maurer says (p. 93): "All land in the beginning was common land and belonged to all; that is to say, to the people." Viollet says (p. 503): "Land was held in common before it became private property in the hands of a family or an individual." De Laveleye says: "The arable land was cultivated in common; private property grew up afterward out of this ancient common ownership."
>
> Maurer builds his argument from certain expressions in Cæsar, Tacitus, and other Latin authors, and from certain words and phrases like *communia* and *ager publicus* in classic and medieval formularies, laws, etc. He studies the subject simply in regard to Germanic peoples.
>
> Viollet finds communal property described or referred to among the Greeks and Romans, by Plato, Vergil, Justin, Tibullus, and other writers. He sees a relic of it in the public meals of Sparta, the feasts of the Athenian *prytanes*, and of the Roman *curiæ*.
>
> De Laveleye traces such communal property in the Javan *dessa*, the Russian *mir*, the Indian village community, the German *Mark*, the family communities of Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria, Champagne, and Auvergne, in the Swiss *Allmenden*, the Scotch township, the common lands of France, Belgium, and other countries. De Laveleye does not write as an admirer of the "primitive communism." He argues, in his introduction, that inequality overthrew Greece and Rome and threatens us in still more critical form, and then says: "The object of this book is not to advocate a return to the primitive agrarian community, but to establish historically the natural right of property as claimed by philosophers, as well as to show that ownership has assumed various forms and is consequently susceptible of progressive reform." According to De Laveleye, land was first unappropriated at all. Then certain tribes laid claim to certain portions of territory for grazing purposes. Next, portions began to be claimed for cultivation by the tribe. Then this was parceled out among the families of the tribe for cultivation. Next the parcels were claimed for occupation by patriarchal families. Finally, individual hereditary property appears. For a discussion of the Russian *mir*, see MIR: for the German *Mark*, see MARK; for the *Allmend*, see SWITZERLAND. Of the Slavic family communities De Laveleye gives a specially interesting account. Under this system land belongs to the *gmina* (German *Gemeinde*, or commune), which divides the land among the patriarchal families, according to their size. At the head of each family is a *gospodar*. He is elected by the community and transacts its business. He is the executive, but acts only with the advice of the community. The wife of the *gospodar* or some other chosen woman is the *domatchica*, and regulates the domestic interests. The houses cluster around the central house of the *gospodar*. In this house all take their meals. Each community has twenty to thirty persons, and occasionally more. There are usually three generations. When the community becomes too large it divides. The young women usually pass into their husbands' family community. The fruits of the agricultural labor are usually held in common, but of industrial labor, individually. Each community owns about forty acres. The aged and infirm are cared for in common. The women take turns in the common work. Communities aid each other. In the evenings, the community meets for songs and dance. Members are allowed to leave. The system allows of division of labor, union of capital and labor, and simple fraternal life. But it is dying before the forces of self-seeking and western individualism.
>
> Similar communities, De Laveleye says, were developed all through Europe in the Middle Ages, and existed till our own day in Brittany, Auvergne, and various secluded territories.

De Laveleye

This view of primitive property in land, however, has been severely criticized by other scholars; notably by Fustel de Coulanges in an essay on "The Origin of Property in Land," first appearing in the *Revue des Questions Historiques* for April, 1889, and translated under the above title by Margaret Ashley (1891).

Contrary View

M. de Coulanges argues that Maurer and Viollet have forced the meaning of the classic authors they quote, and that common meals and family communities by no means prove the communal ownership of land. De Coulanges says in summing up his essay (p. 149): "Are we to conclude from all that has gone before that nowhere and at no time was land held in common? By no means. To commit ourselves to so absolute a negative would be to go beyond the purpose of this work. The only conclusion to which we are brought by this prolonged examination of authors, is that community in land has not yet been historically proved. . . . M. Viollet has not brought forward a single piece of evidence which proves that the great cities ever practised agrarian communism. M. de Jubainville has not brought forward one which proves communism in Gaul. Maurer and Lamprecht have not produced one which shows that the *Mark* was common land. . . . National communism has been confused with the common ownership of the family; tenure in common has been confused with ownership in common; agrarian communism with village commons."

Such are the two opposing schools. Some argue that the correct balance of truth is that property was not originally held either by individuals or communally, but by bodies of men under some "strong man"—despot, tyrant, or at best patriarch. This would be far from communism, but perhaps equally far from individual ownership.

Prof. Ch. Letourneau in his "Property and Its Origin and Development" (Contemporary Science Series, 1892) finds the origin of property in a biological root, which begins among the animals.

The instinct of property, he says (p. 2), is but one of the manifestations of the most primordial of needs—the need of self-preservation, of existing, and securing existence to offspring. The banquet of nature is very irregular and sometimes very niggardly; the guests are numerous, hungry, and often brutal. Yet, under pain of death, a place must be gained there, defended, and, as far as possible, retained; for continually recurring needs must constantly be satisfied. The severity of the struggle for existence may be greater or less, but it goes on without a truce; therefore the more intelligent the organized being, whether man or animal, the more he takes thought for the future, the more he tries, by securing some sort of property, to reduce the element of chance in his life. . . . But this may be done in various ways: sometimes selfishly, in isolation, if the individual is gifted enough or well enough armed with force or cunning to suffice unto himself; sometimes collectively, if those concerned are sufficiently intelligent, sufficiently sociable, to supplement their native feebleness by combining, by creating a powerful cluster through the union of small individual energies. These two very different methods of understanding property are found in the animal kingdom, and each of them makes its own mark upon the manners, tendencies, and mentality of the species. Letourneau then goes on to trace the development of the instinct of property in the animals which lay claim to certain tracts of territory, exactly as do nomadic tribes, or to dens, lairs, or nests, exactly like primitive men. Weaker animals, like bees and ants, have to think of the future. They develop sociability and intelligence, and organize armies and clusters, with officers and laws. From the animal, Letourneau passes to man and finds some men lower than the brute in the instinct of property. He notices the property of anarchic hordes, the savages of Borneo, the Veddahs of Ceylon, the sociability of the Bushmen, the solidarity of the Fuegians, the Australian clans. Among them all property is, as a rule, communal and not private, though the instinct of private property is developing in the private ownership of a weapon or an ornament. Often these are burned or buried with the dead owner. For the property in women, see FAMILY. Among the republican tribes of America, Letourneau finds the same, from the communism of the North American Indian to the developed kingdom of the Incas (see PERU). A step up we come to the monarchic tribes, where despotic heads develop caste and slavery. Here wives are made to toil as the property of the monarchs, and upon fields owned by the monarchs. In New Zealand there were three kinds of proprietors—the tribe, the family, and the individual. In Polynesia, generally, primitive equality has been wholly left behind, and property is owned by chiefs. In Africa the aborigines have developed out of equality, but the degrees are not fixt. In southern Asia we find the Javanese *dessa* and Indian communal village. This is perhaps due to the necessity of collective irrigation of rice-fields. In ancient Egypt we have a kingdom something like that of the Incas; all nominally owned by kings, but divided into kings' lands, priests' lands, and warriors' lands. Beneath these grades are herdsmen, artizans, and slaves. In China land is nominally owned by the king, but allotted to families. It must be tilled, or can be forfeited. Land is inalienable. Village communities are traceable. In nomadic Arabia a system of combined individual and communal property exists. Among the Hebrews land was divided among all, by families. The early Aryan races seem to have practised the village community, and this brings us to historic times.

REFERENCES: See the books quoted above. (See also PROPERTY; LAND; COMMUNISM.)

PRISONER OF WAR, TREATMENT OF THE: In international law, a combatant or person in arms taken by the enemy either by capture or surrender in time of war, is a prisoner of war. By extension, he is any one attached to a hostile army for active aid; sometimes including also civilians such as correspondents, contractors, and sutlers. By the articles of the convention of Aug. 22, 1864, completed by additional articles in 1868, all medical persons, the wounded in ambulances, chaplains, and nurses are considered non-combatants.

Montesquieu, in his "Esprit des Lois" (bk. x., ch. iii.), says: "In the best days of **Pagan antiquity** the laws of war . . . decreed, with unyielding severity, confiscation and pillage for the possessions of the enemy; slavery or death for the enemy himself." Under the Romans, capitulation was not sufficient to save life. In the flush of their triumphs, they often put to death the enemy's chiefs, even tho they had become prisoners by surrender. When the putting to death of male prisoners became less frequent, they were deported, enslaved, drafted into the armies, or used in the arenas as prey for the wild beasts against which they were compelled to fight. Civilization and Christianity have brought about the modification of this treatment. Probably the most barbarous treatment of all was that practised by the ancient Britons on their captives. These were turned over to the priests and condemned to death by burning; then they were thrust into huge wicker-work cages with oxen and other beasts and burned or cast upon Druid altars to be slaughtered with knives. With the advent of the Roman dominion in Britain the Romans exterminated the Druids and their sacrifices were never revived. Sparing the lives of most of their captives, the Romans led many of them back to Rome in triumph and there they were sold as slaves or sent to the galleys.

When **the Normans** came to England they respected nothing; neither person nor property. Their prisoners, like so many cattle, became the prey of the conqueror. By right of might or violence, valets became feudal lords, and seized for themselves daughters of noble families, while the former lords were reduced to serfdom. The Normans confiscated their property and with it lay the foundation of the nobility of to-day. During the wars between Richard I. and Philip Augustus, each monarch blinded fifteen of the prisoners he had taken and sent them back to their camps in that state. While in Palestine, Richard himself ordered the massacre of 2,500 prisoners which he had captured.

With **the dawn of Chivalry** generosity to a fallen foe asserted itself, and the practise of ransoming prisoners was introduced. The condition of prisoners of war during this period was comparatively secure. Occasionally, it is true, entire garrisons were butchered, but, as a general rule, the captives were ransomed, exchanged, or deported. In the thirteenth century the custom of exchanging prisoners predominated. Then, too, the status of the prisoner of war changed. He was no longer the property of his captor nor that of the commanding officer, but of the government against which he had taken arms. Notwithstanding this, mutilation was still practised in some degree, as by the Japanese, who in their wars with Korea in the seventeenth century lopped off the ears of 3,600 Koreans, sending them home as trophies of their victory. Thus precedent was established for the treatment in recent times of the unfortunate Kongolese by the Force Publique of the Kongo Free State, members of whose troops are said to have cut off the fingers and hands of those who opposed them in the execution of their duty.

During the relentless **War of Candia** (1667–68) between the Venetians and the Turks, the latter, who ultimately captured the place, put 30,000 Christian prisoners to death in retaliation for their losses, which totaled 120,000 men.

According to modern international law, prisoners of war taken in battle must not be killed or enslaved. By a law passed June 20, 1792, French prisoners of war are placed under the protection of the nation and must be shielded from all insult or outrage. By a later decree (May 25, 1793), it was

ordered that no person captured from the enemy shall be compelled to serve in the army of the State by which he has been taken. With **the Napoleonic Wars** and the War of the Revolution came the incarceration of prisoners of war, who were often ill fed, poorly clothed, and subjected to gross indignities, being often compelled to perform work that would lessen the cost of their maintenance. On April 4, 1811, a decree promulgated ordered that a prisoner of war of the rank of officer and any hostage who violates his parole shall, if recaptured, be treated as a soldier, receive the same rations, and be confined in castle, citadel, or fort.

The attitude of the British authorities toward the American prisoners of war captured during the **Revolutionary Period** (1776–83) is shown by the method of imprisonment adopted. They put the captured men in condemned hulks which were moored in Wallabout Bay, New York. In these prison-hells they suffered from cold, hunger, thirst, and disease, so that no less than 11,400 died in less than six years.

The attitude of the American colonies toward prisoners of war during the Revolutionary War may be seen from letters written by Thomas Jefferson at that time. In regard to their comfort he said, writing to Governor Henry: "Is an enemy so execrable that, tho in captivity, his wishes and comforts are to be disregarded and even crossed? I think not. It is for the benefit of mankind to mitigate the horrors of war as much as possible. The practise, therefore, of modern nations, of treating captive enemies with politeness and generosity, is not only delightful in contemplation, but really interesting to all the world, friends, foes, and neutrals."

That the health of prisoners should receive consideration also, Jefferson urged on Henry, saying:

"The health (of the British prisoners) is also of importance. I would not endeavor to show that their lives are invaluable to us, because it would suppose a possibility that humanity was kicked out of doors in America, and interest only attended to."

Negotiations for the exchange of prisoners having proved unsuccessful, Jefferson, writing to General de Riesdesel, said:

"I am sorry to learn that the negotiations for the exchange of prisoners have proved abortive, as well from a desire to see the necessary distresses of war alleviated in every possible instance, as that I am sensible how far yourself and family are interested in it."

Of the treatment accorded to Governor Hamilton by the Americans, Jefferson wrote to Sir Guy Carleton as follows:

"We think ourselves justified in Governor Hamilton's strict confinement on the general principle of national retaliation. Governor Hamilton's conduct has been such as to call for exemplary punishment on him personally. In saying this I have not so much in view his particular cruelties to our citizens, prisoners with him, as the general nature of the service he undertook at Detroit, and the extensive exercise of cruelties which it involved. Those who act together in war are answerable for each other. The known rules of warfare of the Indian savages is an indiscriminate butchery of men, women, and children. These savages, under this well-known character, are employed by the British nation as allies against the Americans. Governor Hamilton undertakes to be the conductor of the war. In the execution of that undertaking he associates small parties of the whites under his immediate command with large parties of the savages, and sends them to act, sometimes jointly, sometimes separately, not against our forts or armies in the field, but the farming settlements on our frontiers. Governor Hamilton is himself the butcher of men, women, and children. I will not say to what length the fair rules of war would extend the right of punishment against him; but I am sure that confinement under its strictest circumstances, for Indian devastation and massacre, must be deemed lenity."

The Exchange of Prisoners

In exchanging prisoners of war efforts were usually made to exchange like for like; that is, men of equal or nearly equal rank were transferred whenever possible. In 1690 a marshal in the French army was considered worth as many as 10,000 soldiers, but a century later he was not considered worth more than fifty. The number of French prisoners exchanged by cartel in 1781 from the commencement of the war declared by France against England in 1778 was 44,000, and the number of English prisoners taken by France during the war of the First Coalition (1792–97) was approximated at 6,000, while of French captives in England there were 27,000 in Sept., 1798. During the operations of the Third Coalition and subsequent war with France 47,600 French prisoners were transported to England and released at the close of hostilities.

Prisoners of war that fell into the hands of Napoleon, altho kept in confinement, were, with one notable exception, humanely treated—1,200 Turkish prisoners, the defenders of Jaffa, whom he could not transport and was unable to feed, were shot.

During **the War of 1812** Great Britain transported to England a number of American soldiers and seamen who had been captured, and confined them in a prison on Dartmoor. Ill-fed and neglected the men rebelled, and during a riot that ensued (April 6, 1815) seven of the prisoners were killed and thirty-five wounded. The Prince Regent (afterward George IV.) ordered an investigation, and on receiving a report of the incident severely censured the officers in charge of the prisoners of war. A pleasant contrast was afforded by the treatment accorded to American seamen who, having been taken prisoners during several naval engagements, in 1815, were conveyed to Bermuda, where they were kept in confinement, but where such Bermudians as were permitted to have access to them, extended "generous and tender sympathy" which "prompted the kindest attentions" to the living, and honored those who died during detention (Jan.–Feb., 1815).

The condition of the Russian prisoners taken by the Allies during **the Crimean War** (1854) was more pitiable than that of the regular troops, which was shameful. Owing to the breakdown of the commissariat, food supplies, clothing, and other necessaries were sent to places where there was no need of them, while in others the troops suffered terrible hardships for lack of them. No less than 18,500 men died in the hospitals, which were frightfully mismanaged. Under such conditions prisoners fared severely.

The stern repressive measures taken by the British against the Sepoys during **the Indian Mutiny** (1857) were the result of the barbarisms which the Sepoys themselves practised on the Europeans who fell into their hands. The ruthless butchery of the white prisoners in Cawnpore was punished by the blowing from the mouths of guns the rebel leaders who had been captured.

American Civil War

During the American Civil War large numbers of prisoners were exchanged, but the Confederate Congress having passed an act (May, 1863) to punish with death or otherwise all commanders of negro troops taken in the field, this temporarily put a stop to release by exchange. Negotiations, however, were reopened by General Grant, Oct. 15, 1864, and the Secretary of War reported that the number of prisoners captured to 1864 was 152,434, of which 121,937 Confederates were exchanged for 110,866 Federal soldiers. From Jan. 1 until Oct. 20, 1865, there were in the Federal prisons 98,802 prisoners of war of whom 1,955 enlisted in the United States army. When fighting ceased, 63,442 prisoners were released, 33,127 were exchanged, and 174,223 surrendered in the Confederate armies and were released on parole. During the war the U. S. established prisons at Camp Douglas, Utah; Camp Chase, Ohio; Chicago, Ill.; Elmira, New York; Point Lookout, Maryland; and Rock Island, Ill., and here the Confederate prisoners of war were detained.

Confederate Prisons

Of the prisons in the Confederate States these were situated at Andersonville, Ga.; Belle Isle; Castle Thunder; the Libby at Richmond, Va., and Salisbury. Here Federal prisoners were detained. Of these institutions the Libby Prison and that at Andersonville were notorious for their unsanitary conditions. The Libby was a tobacco warehouse, three stories high and containing six rooms 100 feet long by 45 feet wide. The building was situated on Main Street and was surrounded by a stockade. Within its walls as many as 1,200 prisoners were confined at one time. The prisoners suffered terribly from want of food, from cold due to scant clothing, and neglect, and from the lack of proper sanitary arrangements, so that many died during their confinement and others suffered permanently from impaired health.

Andersonville Prison was an open pen, 1,540 feet long by 750 feet wide. It was situated on a hillside field and surrounded by a stockade. Within its walls 44,882 Union prisoners were detained within one year, and of this number 12,926 died from starvation or lack of proper care.

After the close of the war Captain Henry Wirz, one of the officers who had charge of the prisoners and against whom gross cruelty was alleged, was indicted for "injuring the health and destroying the lives of prisoners by subjecting them to tor-

ture and great suffering, by confinement in unhealthy and unwholesome quarters, by exposing them to the inclemency of the winter and the dews and burning sun of the summer, by compelling the use of impure water, and by furnishing insufficient and unwholesome food; for establishing the dead-line and ordering the guards to shoot down any prisoner attempting to cross it; for keeping and using bloodhounds to hunt down prisoners attempting to escape; and for torturing prisoners and confining them in stocks."

A commission began the trial of Captain Wirz, Aug. 21, 1865, and he was found guilty and hanged on Nov. 10th of that year.

The number of French prisoners taken by the Prussians in **the Franco-Prussian War** (1870–71) was enormous and they were transported to German soil. They were detained chiefly in fortified towns throughout Germany, the largest contingents being held in Berlin, Breslau, Cassel, Ingolstadt, Königsberg, Leipsic, Mainz, Magdeburg, Munich, Posen, Stettin, etc. Here the only restraint put upon them was presence at roll-call every morning, and report of return at night. During the day the prisoners were permitted to mix with the native population and to hire themselves out to work among such of the German people as could utilize their services. They were fed at their own camp or barrack kitchens, the German Government bearing the cost. Medical attendance was supplied the sick, and clothing served to the destitute. No statistics of the numbers captured and returned are available, but it is known that in the aggregate they totaled several hundred thousands.

In the course of **the Russo-Turkish War** of 1877 the Russian troops captured no less than 80,000 prisoners, many of whom were wounded and perished from cold during their removal to Russia (Dec., 1877), as no special provision had been made for their care.

During **the Spanish-American War** (1898) the number of Spanish troops surrendered at Manila was about 13,000, and the number at Santiago about 24,000. None of these prisoners were brought to or held in the U. S. In accordance with the terms of surrender, which contained a proviso that the prisoners should be returned home by the U. S., their return to Spain was conducted by the Quartermaster's Department of the U. S. army.

By the U. S. army regulations, money and other valuables found on a prisoner, such as jewelry and extra clothing, are considered as the private property of a prisoner and must not be appropriated by his captors. A prisoner of war is liable to such confinement as may be considered necessary for public safety, but is not to be the subject of indignity or intentional suffering. If he escapes he may be shot or killed as he flees, but for attempting to escape he is not amenable to military law, such attempt not constituting a crime, according to the rules of war.

A different method of treating prisoners of war was introduced by the Boers during the progress of their war against Britain (1899–1902). At first prisoners were conveyed to Pretoria. The officers were imprisoned in one of the schoolhouses there; the men were kept within a wire entanglement in one of the public squares in the town, where they were guarded by such volunteers as the Irish Brigade. As fighting wore on and the Boer capitals were captured, the commandants found it most convenient to strip their prisoners of their clothing and other personal property and turn them loose. At Vlakfontein a British patrol of twenty men and a few native scouts surrendered to a commando of 200 Boers, who ordered the scouts to hold up their hands and shot them in cold blood. One of these was a white trooper from Cape Colony. Following this event Commandant Kruitzinger announced that he would shoot all natives, armed or unarmed, who were caught with the British. Fortunately for the reputation of the Boers as civilized people, the example set by Kruitzinger was not followed by his brother officers.

In the Boer War

The treatment accorded to the Boer prisoners by the British was somewhat different. Laagers surrounded by wire entanglements to prevent escape were established at Simon's Town, St. Helena, Ceylon, and Bermuda. There the captured officers and men were transported. Within the laagers they were permitted to establish a government of their own, and only in cases of refractory prisoners was appeal made to the British adjutants in charge, who invariably referred such cases to their superiors. The prisoners were not required to do any work, but if they volunteered to do it, were paid at the same rate as British soldiers would be paid. They were allowed the freedom of the laagers and were permitted to bathe in the sea, but not allowed to swim beyond the military zone marked by buoys. The rations served to each prisoner first passed a joint examination by Boer and British officers. Food declared unfit was promptly condemned. Each man was given per day 1 pound of fresh meat, 1 pound of biscuit or $1\frac{1}{4}$ pounds of graham bread, $\frac{1}{2}$ pound of fresh vegetables, $\frac{2}{3}$ ounce of ground coffee, 2 ounces of sugar, $\frac{1}{2}$ ounce of salt, $\frac{1}{36}$ ounce of pepper, $\frac{1}{10}$ gill of lime juice, 2 gallons of fresh water. In addition to the above, prisoners who had the means were at liberty to purchase luxuries, as fruit, fresh or canned; preserves; fish, smoked or dried; etc., from a Boeren winkel, or company store, maintained by the prisoners themselves for the common good. No restrictions were placed on fishing from shore, so that those who desired it could add to their rations in this way. In Bermuda, the one hardship was the quantity of fresh water supplied per man—two gallons being held not sufficient for their needs.

Rations Served

On the arrival of the prisoners at the detention camps, each man's kit was examined, and bedding was supplied to him. To those who were destitute of clothing, new clothing was served. This clothing was of the common kind usually supplied to army laborers, and on this account was occasionally the cause of complaint. Of the complement of prisoners sent to Bermuda (nearly 5,000), only five died from disease in two years and one was shot for attempting to escape. While at sea, on the voyage from Cape Town to Bermuda, twenty-one died from wounds, dysentery, and other causes due to exposure in the field.

Clothing Supplied

The refugee camps established by the British in Cape Colony for the wives and children of the Boers in the field were not prisons in the military sense, and the persons detained were not strictly prisoners of war—the camps having been formed for the sake of the maintenance of the occupants

in lieu of allowing them to starve to death on desolate farms. The refugees were housed in iron, wooden-lined buildings and marquees, each family having separate accommodation. A free government school where English and Dutch were taught was maintained. The cost of housing and feeding the 137,619 refugees and the 20,000 prisoners of war in various parts of the world was borne by the British taxpayer. Notwithstanding the care given to the treatment of the refugees, an outbreak of zymotic disease, chiefly measles, resulted in a high death-rate among the children. The total deaths of whites (adults and children) during six months of the year 1901 was 13,941—a rate which was gradually reduced as the Boers overcame their prejudices, observed the sanitary regulations made for their welfare, and took the medicine prescribed for them. Throughout the war all communications, such as telegrams and letters, were delivered subject to the censor and approval of the commanding officer.

Refugee Camps

During **the Chino-Japanese War** (1894–95) a marked change was noticed by the Chinese prisoners in the treatment accorded them by their foes. They could not account for it, especially as on the Japanese who fell in their hands they had perpetrated nameless atrocities. The common belief was that they were being fattened to kill and that they would have done better to die in battle. But the true cause of this was that in 1886 Japan joined the Red Cross nations. One notable exception was the treatment accorded the Chinese at the taking of Port Arthur (Nov. 21, 1894). Then, long after the surrender of the place, the Japanese continued the indiscriminate slaughter of the Chinese. This inhumanity has been attributed to the frenzied condition of the Japanese who were horrified at the mutilation of their men by the enemy.

As **the Russo-Japanese War** progressed (1904–1905) the Japanese Government issued regulations for the treatment of the Russian prisoners that fell into their hands.

Japanese Regulations

(1) All prisoners of war shall be treated humanely; they shall not be subject to insult or cruelty. (2) They shall be treated in conformity to their rank and position. (3) Except where imposed by military discipline, they shall not be subjected to physical restraint. (4) They shall be at liberty to attend the religious services of their own faith, so long as in doing so they do not infringe the requirements of army discipline. (5) Insubordinate prisoners shall be subjected to disciplinary measures, according to the offense committed, and so also must prisoners who attempt to escape, or who may actually, for a time, contrive to get away and are retaken; no criminal punishment shall be inflicted on account of such attempt at escape. (6) Offenses of prisoners are dealt with and punished in conformity with the established rules of the military court.

(7) Officers to be transported to the place of their internment separately from the common soldiers. (8) The military authorities to provide places suitable for the internment of prisoners; soldiers' barracks, temples, or other convenient buildings are to be used for this purpose. (9) In each place of detention the inmates shall appoint one person to be their chief, who shall be responsible for his fellow prisoners. (10) Prisoners are at liberty to purchase with their own money any articles that may add to their comfort, subject, of course, to the approval of the superintending officer. (11) All telegrams or letters are subject to the approval of the supervising officer; no cipher or suspicious communication of any sort can be permitted to pass. (12) The postal matter sent to or from prisoners is free of charge, in accordance with the postal convention rules.

All articles or money held for safe custody by the Japanese were returned to the prisoners on their discharge. All articles or money belonging to prisoners who died were forwarded to the Prisoners' Intelligence Board.

The rations served to prisoners were based on an amount of money stipulated by schedule.

Ration Schedule. Per Person per Day

	Officers and their equals	Non-commissioned officers and men
Bread	1½ kin [1]	1½ kin
Animal food (meat, fish, or poultry)	100 monme [2]	50 monme
Vegetables	120 monme	80 monme
Table salt	5 mônme	5 monme
Sugar	4 monme	3 monme
Appetizers	Some	Some

[1] Equals 1.325 pounds avoirdupois.
[2] 1 gram equals $\frac{1}{4}$ monme.

The foregoing was modified according to climatic conditions. The amount per diem allowed for the cost of these rations was, for officers and their equals, 60 sen; for non-commissioned officers and men, each 30 sen—a sen is about four fifths of a cent.

Each person of the rank of sergeant-major and above was allowed bed, blankets, and a toilet set, which was loaned to the captives. To non-commissioned officers and men, blankets or wadded quilts were loaned individually, and toilet sets in groups. Of clothing each prisoner wore what he possest; when that wore out a new suit was lent to prisoners of the rank of officers or above, and second-hand clothing to non-commissioned officers or privates.

The prisoners were quartered at Matsuyama. The officers had quarters in a Buddhist Temple in a wooded park there. The other prisoners were stationed in temples and large bamboo barracks and hospital wards. Their physical condition could not have been better. That the number of prisoners was enormous is shown by Japan's bill for their maintenance. It amounted to about $75,000,000, the last payment of which ($24,302.200) was made Nov. 23, 1907.

Of the treatment accorded to the Japanese by the Russians, little or nothing has been published, and no official information is available, but it is known that Russia's expenses for the maintenance of Japanese prisoners were $40,000,000.

During the last fifty years great strides have been made in the care of prisoners of war. From imprisonment, as if criminals, they have now been emancipated. Sympathy for the conquered by the conqueror has shown itself until, among civilized nations, the sick receive free medical attendance and the healthy are well fed, well housed, and plainly but serviceably clothed. As much attention has been given to their physical well-being as to their treatment. This has been due as much to the placing of prisoners in charge of humane officers as to international comity. Russian prisoners mostly played ball: Boer prisoners enjoyed the privilege of cricket, croquet, football, gymnastics, and various games of ball. Gymnastic appliances, as horizontal and parallel bars, etc., were supplied in several of the detention camps. Schools were conducted, and the prisoners were also permitted to make tennis-courts and billiard-tables for their use. Card games were few. Athletic sports were freely indulged in.

The question of the admission of liquor to the camps was purely one of local option and its exclusion was voted in all. To this may be attributed, in some degree, the small death-rate among the prisoners detained, and the total absence of rioting.

Frank H. Vizetelly.

PROBATION AND PROBATION OFFICERS: Probation in sociology means the suspension of sentence chiefly of juvenile and first offenders for transgressions of not too serious a nature. It rests on two principles: (1) It draws a distinction between those who have transgressed the law from some definite and immediate cause—e. g., hunger, sudden impulse or passion, etc.—and those who are thoroughly vicious and have criminal tendencies. (2) It is a postponement of condemnation while the offender is given an opportunity to redeem himself and become a useful member of society. Probation officers are persons into whose care and supervision the offenders are put while under probation. They may be paid officials of the state or municipalities, or private individuals interested in the prevention of further transgressions by first or juvenile offenders.

Massachusetts passed a law for the establishment of the probation system in 1878. The procedure is briefly this: The probation officer receives notice in the case of a first offender from the clerk of the court, to make investigations concerning him and report. On the day of trial this report is submitted to the judge, and practically decides whether the accused—if found guilty—is considered fit for probation or not. If fit, the judge determines the period during which the offender is to be under the surveillance of the probation officer—the latter becoming "the bondsman to save the offender from prison." The officer has to report to the judge at stated intervals; and if these reports and the behavior of the probationer are satisfactory, sentence may be suspended by the court for a longer period, or canceled. Otherwise it may be pronounced and go into effect at once.

This system of redeeming offenders from prison is now practised extensively both in Europe and America. In Massachusetts 8,140 persons of all ages were placed on probation during 1903, and about 65 per cent proved successes. New York requires probation for at least one year, and the probation officer of Brooklyn advocates its extension to three or four years so as to establish thoroughly friendly relations. In the case of juvenile offenders the process is this: *reformatory* on indeterminate sentence; *release* "on parole" for good conduct under a probation officer; period of probation; period of indefinite suspension of sentence.

Germany's probation law provides for a Court of Guardianship—consisting of local officials, the parents, clergymen, schoolmasters. The advantage of this sytem is that a number of persons become responsible for and interested in the transgressor—one person is, however, appointed probation officer in each case, and responsibility is centralized. The law of Hungary resembles that of Germany. In Holland, Belgium, France, and Switzerland authorized private organizations—Sociétés de Patronage—assume the responsibilities for juvenile offenders.

The question is, whether the expenses connected with this system are a good investment. Massachusetts, for instance, pays probation officers from $1,500 to $1,800 per year; New York has just (June 6, 1907) passed a law to create a *State Probation Commission* with voluntary members, but a paid secretary with a salary of $3,000 a year plus funds for stenographer, etc. The expenses are likely to grow as the probation system develops, and objections are raised. It would be a good investment even if it saved only one half of the probationers from a career of crime. A German report ("Statistik über die Fürsorge-Erziehung") says that the total cost of over £300,000 per annum in Germany would be amply compensated by restraining only 25,000 offenders for one year from further transgressions. The gain to the State in better citizens is, of course, not expressible in figures.

PROFIT (for facts and statistics as to profits, see following article): The word profit is used in political economy by different writers in different senses. It is not at all difficult to understand its different uses, but great care must be taken to be sure that one knows the sense in which an author uses it, before one can judge or understand his meaning. The failure to do this has led to endless popular confusion, and not seldom to inaccurate statements by economists themselves.

Adam Smith defines it as "the revenue derived from stock (capital) by the person who manages or employs it" ("Wealth of Nations," i., 7). Mill defines it ("Polit. Econ.," chap. xv., § 1) as "the gains of the person who advances the expenses of production—who, from funds in his possession, pays the wages of the laborers, or supports them during the work, who supplies the requisite buildings, materials, and tools, or machinery; and to whom, by the usual terms of the contract, the produce belongs, to be disposed of at his pleasure."

Jevons ("Primer of Political Economy," p. 52) uses it of wages of superintendence, interest, and recompense for risk. He says:

"The proper share of the capitalist is interest; but this is usually a good deal less than what actually remains in the hands of the capitalist. Business is generally carried on by some capitalist who rents a piece of land, builds a factory, purchases machinery, and then employs men to work the machinery, paying them wages. The capitalist himself often acts as manager, and works every day almost as long as the workmen. When the goods are finished and sold, he keeps the whole of the money he gets for them; but then he has already paid out a large sum as wages, while the goods were being made; another part goes to pay the rent of the land which he has hired. Having struck off these portions, there ought to remain a certain profit, part of which he uses to live upon. But even this profit consists of more than interest upon his capital. It should include also a payment for his labor in superintending the business. The manager of a factory may seldom touch the cotton, flax, iron, or other material, which is manufactured; nevertheless, he works with his head and his pen, calculating the prices at which he can produce goods, inquiring where he can buy the materials most cheaply, choosing good workmen, keeping the accounts straight, and so on. Severe mental labor is really far more difficult and exhausting than manual labor; and in raising up a good business, and carrying it through times of danger, a manager has to undergo great anxiety and mental fatigue. Thus, it is necessary that a successful manager should receive a considerable share of the produce, so as to make it worth his while to give this labor. His share is called the wages of superintendence, and, altho usually much larger than the share of a common laborer, it is really wages of the same nature.

What Profit Is

"Another part of the capitalist's so-called profit ought to be laid aside as recompense for risk. There is always more or less uncertainty in trade, and even the most skilful and careful manager may lose money by circumstances over which he has no control. Sometimes, after building a factory, the demand for the goods which he is going to produce falls off; sometimes the materials cannot be bought; perhaps it is discovered, when too late, that the factory has been built in an unsuitable place; occasjonally, too, the workmen are discontented, and refuse to work for such wages as the capitalist can afford to pay. Now, whenever any of these mistakes or misfortunes happen, it is the capitalist who mainly suffers, because he loses a great deal of money, on which he might otherwise have lived comfortably."

Professor Ely uses the word to exclude interest and wages of superintendence. He says ("Political Economy," p. 217, 1st ed.):

"Whatever is left after paying interest, rent, and wages is profits. It is the return which is received for the organization and management of a business at one's risk. It is, strictly speaking, not "wages of superintendence," for that may be deducted, and often is deducted."

Profits then may be considered (1) to be what the stockholders or owners of a business receive after those who manage the business have received their "wages of management," after the capital invested or borrowed has received its due interest, and after payment has been made for risk; or (2) profit may be used in a larger sense to include one or more of all these items.

Of the law which governs profits we have many statements. John Stuart Mill says ("Political Economy," 5th London ed., book ii., chap. xv.):

Law of Profits

The lowest rate of profit which can permanently exist is that which is barely adequate, at the given place and time, to afford an equivalent for the abstinence, risk, and exertion implied in the employment of capital. . . . Such, then, is the minimum of profits; but that minimum is exceedingly variable, and at some times and places extremely low; on account of the great variableness of two out of its three elements. The rate of necessary remuneration for abstinence, or, in other words, the effective desire of accumulation, differs widely in different states of society and civilization. . . . There is still a wider difference in the element which consists in compensation for risk. . . . But tho profits thus vary, the parity, on the whole, of different modes of employing capital (in the absence of any natural or artificial monopoly) is, in a certain and a very important sense, maintained. On an average (whatever may be the occasional fluctuations), the various employments of capital are on such a footing as to hold out, not equal profits, but equal expectations of profit, to persons of average abilities and advantages. By equal, I mean after making compensation for any inferiority in the agreeableness or safety of an employment.

Representing much later and, at present, far more generally accepted thought, Professor Marshall says ("Economics of Industry," book vi., chap. viii.):

Professor Marshall's View

The profits of a business are the excess of its receipts over its outgoings, and the annual rate of profits is the ratio which the yearly profits bear to the capital invested. We have next to inquire whether there is any general tendency of the rate of profits to equality.

The first difficulty arises from the fact that the outgoings of a business, and therefore its profits, are not always estimated in the same way. This was well pointed out by Adam Smith, who said: "The whole drugs which the best employed apothecary in a large market-town will sell in a year may not perhaps cost him above thirty or forty pounds. Tho he should sell them, therefore, for three or four hundred, or a thousand per cent profit, this may frequently be no more than the reasonable wages of his labor in the only way in which he can charge them, upon the price of the drugs. The greater part of the apparent profit is real wages disguised in the garb of profit. In a small seaport town a little grocer will make 40 or 50 per cent upon a stock of a single 100 pounds, while a considerable wholesale merchant in the same place would scarce make 8 or 10 per cent upon a stock of 10,000." . . .

There are even reasons for thinking that the rate of profit, rightly estimated, on large capitals tends to be higher than on small. For of two businesses competing in the same trade, that with the larger capital can nearly always buy at a cheaper rate, and can avail itself of many economies in the specialization of skill and machinery and in other ways, which are out of the reach of the smaller business: while at most the only important advantage which the latter is likely to have consists of its greater facilities for getting near its customers and consulting their individual wants. . . .

There are some trades which require a very high order of ability, but in which it is nearly as easy to manage a very large business as one of moderate size. In rolling-mills, for instance, there is little detail which cannot be reduced to routine, and a capital of £1,000,000 invested in them can be controlled by one able man. A rate of profits of 20 per cent, which is not a very high average rate for some parts of the iron trade, would give the owner of such works earnings of management amounting to more than £150,000 a year. And since ironmasters can with so little additional effort get the earnings of management on an increased capital, wealthy men remain in the trade longer than in most others; and the competition of the great ironmasters with one another is said to have reduced the average rate of profits in the trade below the ordinary level.

The rate of profits is low in nearly all those trades which require very little ability of the highest order, and in which a public or private firm with a good connection and a large capital can hold its own against newcomers, so long as it is managed by men of industrious habits and sound common sense and a moderate share of enterprise. And men of this kind are seldom wanting either to a well-established public company or to a private firm which is ready to take the ablest of its servants into partnership.

We may then conclude, firstly, that the true rate of profits in large businesses is higher than at first sight appears, because much that is commonly counted as profits in the small business ought to be classed under another head. . . .

Profits are exceptionally high where the wages bill is very large, relatively to the capital. . . .

Variations

It is obvious that wholesale dealers who buy and sell large quantities of produce in single transactions, and who are able to turn over their capital very rapidly, may make large fortunes, tho their average profits on the turnover are less than 1 per cent; and, in the extreme case of large stock exchange dealings, even when they are only a small fraction of 1 per cent. But a ship-builder, who has to put labor and material into the ship, and to provide a berth for it, a long while before it is ready to sail, and who has to take care for every detail connected with it, must add a very high percentage to his direct and indirect outlay in order to remunerate him for his labor and the locking up of his capital.

Again, in the textile industries, some firms buy raw material and turn out finished goods, while others confine themselves to spinning, to weaving, or to finishing; and it is obvious that the rate of profit on the turnover of one of the first class must be equal to the sum of the rates of profit of one of each of the three other classes. Again, the retail dealers' profit on the turnover is often only 5 or 10 per cent for commodities which are in general demand, and which are not subject to changes of fashion; so that, while the sales are large, the necessary stocks are small, and the capital invested in them can be turned over very rapidly, with very little trouble and no risk. But a profit on the turnover of nearly 100 per cent is required to remunerate the retailer of some kinds of fancy goods which can be sold but slowly, of which varied stocks must be kept, which require a large space for their display, and which a change of fashion may render unsalable except at a loss; and even this high rate is often exceeded in the case of fish, fruit, flowers, and vegetables. . . .

To pass to another point, the number of those who succeed in business is but a small percentage of the whole; and in their hands are concentrated the fortunes of others several times as numerous as themselves, who have made savings of their own, or who have inherited the savings of others and lost them all, together with the fruits of their own efforts, in unsuccessful business. In order, therefore, to find the average profits of a trade we must not divide the aggregate profits made in it by the number of those who are reaping them, nor even by that number added to the number who have failed; but from the aggregate profits of the successful we must subtract the aggregate losses of those who have failed, and perhaps disappeared from the trade; and we must then divide the remainder by the sum of the numbers of those who have succeeded and those who have failed. It is probable that the true gross earnings of management—that is, the excess of profits over interest—is not on the average more than a half, and in some risky trades not more than a tenth part, of what it appears to be to persons who form their estimate of the profitableness of a trade by observation only of those who have secured its prizes. There are, however, reasons for thinking that the risks of trade are on the whole diminishing rather than increasing.

John Stuart Mill adds an important point. He says ("Political Economy," book ii., chap. xv., § 5):

Labor, the Source of Profit

To popular apprehension it seems as if the profits of business depended upon prices. A producer or dealer seems to obtain his profits by selling his commodity for more than it cost him. Profit altogether, people are apt to think, is a consequence of purchase and sale. It is only (they suppose) because there are purchasers for a commodity, that the producer of it is able to make any profit. Demand—customers—a market for the commodity, are the cause of the gains of capitalists. It is by the sale of their goods that they replace their capital and add to its amount.

This, however, is looking only at the outside surface of the economical machinery of society. In no case, we find, is the mere money which passes from one person to another the fundamental matter in any economical phenomenon. If we look more narrowly into the operations of the producer, we shall perceive that the money he obtains for his commodity is not the cause of his having a profit, but only the mode in which his profit is paid to him.

The cause of profit is that labor produces more than is required for its support. The reason why agricultural capital yields a profit is because human beings can grow more food than is necessary to feed them while it is being grown, including the time occupied in constructing the tools and making all other needful preparations; from which it is a consequence that, if a capitalist undertakes to feed the laborers on condition of receiving the produce, he has some of it remaining for himself after replacing his advances. To vary the form of the theorem: the reason why capital yields a profit is because

food, clothing, materials, and tools last longer than the time which was required to produce them; so that if a capitalist supplies a party of laborers with these things, on condition of receiving all they produce, they will, in addition to reproducing their own necessaries and instruments, have a portion of their time remaining, to work for the capitalist. We thus see that profit arises, not from the incident of exchange, but from the productive power of labor; and the general profit of the country is always what the productive power of labor makes it, whether any exchange takes place or not. It there were no division of employments, there would be no buying or selling, but there would still be profit. If the laborers of the country collectively produce 20 per cent more than their wages, profits will be 20 per cent, whatever prices may or may not be. The accidents of price may for a time make one set of producers get more than 20 per cent, and another less; the one commodity being rated above its natural value in relation to other commodities, and the other below, until prices have again adjusted themselves; but there will always be just 20 per cent divided among them all.

All economists, however, do not agree with Mill that the cause of profit is that labor produces more than is required for its support. They deny the fact. Mr. Edward Atkinson, e. g., argues that capital is as necessary to labor as labor to capital. He says ("The Industrial Progress of the Nation," p. 147):

Part Played by Capital

Many an honest workman now sincerely contests the equity of distribution by way of capitalists. What is the true answer? There is and there can be but one reply to this question. Labor does not produce the entire product; it only shares in the work as it shares in the product. Without capital labor alone would be almost incapable of sustaining those who constitute the mere working classes in the narrowest sense. Capital is a force, and capitalists are those who direct this force. By the direction which the owners or the administrators of capital give to this force, which requires mental work of the most uncommon kind, the joint product of labor and capital is so much increased that even tho the capitalist secures to his own use a large part of the joint product, what is left to the workingman is more in quantity and in value than he could otherwise have attained by his own unaided efforts.

Mr. Atkinson says elsewhere ("The Distribution of Profits," p. 38): "The late Cornelius Vanderbilt may be taken as an example of a communist in a true sense. He was the greatest communist of his age. He consolidated and perfected the railroad service in such a way that a year's supply of meat and bread can be moved 1,000 miles from the Western prairies to the Eastern workshop at the measure of cost of a single day's wages of a mechanic or artizan in Massachusetts."

Says Mr. George Gunton ("Wealth and Progress," chap. i.):

The idea most prevalent, indeed, well-nigh universal, among working men regarding the production of wealth, to use the official language of the largest labor organization in the world,[1] is: "(1) That labor creates all wealth. (2) That all wealth belongs to those who create it." From this it manifestly follows that all wealth rightfully belongs to the laborer. Hence, all who obtain wealth without his consent do so by cheating him out of the product of his labor, and are "thieves and robbers."

This is not merely the official dogma of a single society, but it constitutes the basis of nearly every proposition and the essence of nearly all economic literature put forth in the name of industrial and social reform. With financial reformers the robbery is labeled "interest and usury"; with land reformers it is "rent," and with the Socialists, in the language of their own economist, Karl Marx, it is "surplus value," which is more sweeping than any of the others, and includes all rents, profits, and interest.

If this formula is correct, and all profits, interest, rents, etc., are "exploitation"—mere plunder of the laborer—clearly the working men would be justified in using any means within their power to take possession of all the wealth in the community, as many of their leaders are expecting them some day to do.

But is it correct? If the first proposition is true, the balance of the formula is indisputable; but if it is not true, then the whole fabric falls, and all efforts at social reformation based upon it must surely fail to produce the desired and expected result.

A very little reflection will suffice to show that this proposition, while seemingly true, is essentially false. . . . There are clearly two sets of forces or two kinds of motor power that can be employed in producing wealth. One is labor power engendered and put forth by human beings; the other is natural power engendered and put forth by material objects, as capital (machinery, etc.). The former is slow, clumsy, and ineffectual, and capable of very little increase, while the latter is rapid, exact, and powerful, and is capable of indefinite increase.

Accordingly, in proportion as wealth is produced by human labor it is scant and dear, and the masses are poor and barbarous; and according as it is produced by natural forces (steam, etc.) it is abundant and cheap, and the masses are materially prosperous and socially civilized. Thus, e. g., in India, where wealth is produced mainly by human labor, the annual earnings are about £2 ($10)[1] per capita of the population, as against £33 ($165) per capita in this country, where human labor supplies the smallest per cent of the productive power of any country in the world.[2] The same is true of other countries.

Hence we find that in England over 78 per cent of the productive power is furnished by steam, as against 10 per cent in Russia. In Spain, 24; Italy, 34; and Portugal, 42 per cent of the productive power is furnished by human labor, as against 4 per cent in England and America. . . .

It is, therefore, clear that human labor does not, except under the most primitive state of savagery, "create all wealth," and that the social condition of the laborer is not necessarily the best when he gets the whole product; but, on the contrary, wealth is produced by the combined effort of labor and capital, and that, according as the proportion of the total wealth produced by human labor diminishes, the actual amount the laborer receives increases.

Most Fabian Socialists do not hold that labor produces all wealth. They argue that wealth comes from land, labor, and capital. They agree, however, with the Marxian Socialists that labor should get all the wealth, because they believe that all men should labor, and that it is neither wise nor just that one class in the community should own the land and capital and be paid for their use, and another class furnish the labor and be paid for their work. They would have the same men and women (the whole community) own the capital and land and furnish the labor, and so receive the whole product. The Socialist's and the workingman's quarrel is not with capital, but with the capitalist; that is, with the wage system where one class does the work and another class furnishes the capital.

Socialist View

Already the share that goes to capital as a whole is falling, even tho, by concentration, a few capitalists are gaining enormous wealth. The profits on capital may fall so low as to fail to induce men to furnish capital or allow them to live on the returns to capital; then a cooperative system will become necessary, or the whole community be compelled to work and be paid by a few successful capitalists who will get enormous returns, at very low rates, from still more enormous investments.

That the rate of profits is falling is not denied. Says Professor Marshall ("Economics of Industry," book ii., chap. xii., §§ 7–8):

Rate of Profit Falling

The total amount of the earnings of management got by business men in a country may be found by subtracting interest on the whole amount of their own capital from their total net incomes after allowing for all expenses and losses; and, even after allowance has been made for insurance against personal risks, this amount certainly gives a very high rate of wage for the skill and ability of business men. But this rate is not so high as at first sight appears; for great deductions must be made on account of those who have lost their capital in trade. The earnings of the labor that these men have wasted, together with all the capital that they have lost, must be deducted from the earnings of management got by successful men before the average earnings of management can be found. Those who fail are quickly lost from sight and memory; but their number is very great. It is said that in America three fourths of those who engage in trade become insolvent in the course of the first five years (Bowen, "American Political Economy," chap. x.).

§ 8. The supply of skilled labor is increasing faster than that of unskilled labor, and the supply of business power is

[1] "Polity of the Labor Movement," vol. i., p. 4, published by the Knights of Labor, 1885.

[1] See Mulhall's "Progress of the World," p. 42.
[2] Ibid., "History of Prices," p. 53.

increasing faster than that of the lower kinds of skilled labor. Thus the competition of business power for the aid of the lower orders of labor in production is increasing. And, as a consequence, the earnings of management that can be got by doing work of a given order of difficulty—the task-earnings of management—are diminishing. The continual increase in the complexity of business, and the continual increase in the amount of capital that can be employed in business under a single management, are indeed giving to business ability of the highest order the opportunities of obtaining greater earnings of management than were ever heard of in earlier generations. But the total amount of the earnings of management is not so high in proportion to the amount of capital employed as it used to be. And the ratio which the earnings of management of a business bear on the average to the capital employed goes on diminishing; and will probably continue to diminish. For the growth of education will increase rapidly the supply of business power that is competing for the aid of hired labor in production; and this competition will prevent the earnings of management from growing as fast as capital is likely to grow.

Since the normal rate of interest is likely to fall, and the ratio which normal earnings of management bear to capital is likely to fall, and since profits are composed of interest and earnings of management, therefore the normal rate of profits is likely to fall. It will not fall rapidly for a time, and then remain stationary at a minimum. But subject to some oscillations its fall will probably be continuous, tho increasingly slow, so long as the world is inhabited by men of the same nature with ourselves.

So argues Mr. Edward Atkinson. He says ("The Industrial Progress of the Nation," p. 305):

Under existing institutions and laws the working classes, in the sense in which they use that word, have been securing to their own use and enjoyment an increasing share of an increasing product. 2d. The richer classes controlling and using capital are securing to their use, control, and enjoyment a decreasing share of the same increasing product.

For Mr. Atkinson's proof of this, as also for contrary views, see articles WEALTH and WAGES.

PROFITS (NET): For a discussion of the principles involved, see PROFIT. We are concerned here simply with the facts. Statistics as to net profits, and conclusions deduced from them, must be suspiciously viewed. The "Twenty-first Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor" reports on the net profits of sixty-four manufacturing industries in that state, but even this report has been most severely criticized. We give its conclusions, and some of the criticisms upon it. Says the report (pp. 623–630):

We first bring forward the following general caution:

No one should make use of these tables without careful consideration of the analyses for each industry which follow the tables. These analyses are intended to supplement the tabular presentations, as deductions drawn from the figures alone, without due regard to the analyses, would, in many cases, be misleading.

Capital Invested

In the returns as to net profits 10,013 establishments are represented, representing 75.45 per cent of the grand aggregate of capital invested in all establishments in all industries, and in them was produced nearly 70 per cent of the entire product turned out in the manufacturing and mechanical industries in the commonwealth. Of the 10,013 establishments, 9,251, or 92.39 per cent, made a profit, while 762, or 7.61 per cent, did not make a profit. The establishments making a profit had 81.22 per cent of the capital invested, and made 88.77 per cent of the goods manufactured. The establishments not making a profit had 18.78 per cent of the capital invested, and made 11.23 per cent of the goods manufactured. The result for all industries was a net profit amounting to 3.90 per cent of the selling price, and equivalent to 4.83 per cent on the capital invested.

Out of the grand total of $500,594,377 of capital invested in manufacturing and mechanical industries in the commonwealth, land, buildings, and fixtures are valued at $118,886,643, or 23.74 per cent of the total; machinery, implements, and tools at $115,254,330, or 23.03 per cent; cash at $173,440,947, or 34.65 per cent; and credit at $93,012,457, or 18.58 per cent. For every $100 invested the proportions of the details are as follows: Land, buildings, and fixtures, $24; machinery, implements, and tools, $23; cash, $35; credit capital, $18. The total plant values represent $47, and the total cash and credit capital, $53.

Cost of Production

As to cost of production, each $100 of total cost includes the following elements: Stock (including raw or manufactured materials), $67.67; salaries, $1.98; wages, $25.66; rent, 85 cents; taxes, 64 cents; insurance, 38 cents; freight, $1.46; new equipments, 28 cents; repairs, 93 cents; other expenses, 15 cents; these items aggregating $100, or 100 per cent, if the items are considered as percentages instead of dollars and cents. By total cost is meant the cost to the manufacturer of the completed product, ready for sale, but excluding profit.

As to selling price, each $100 of selling price includes the following elements: Stock, or materials, $58.91; salaries, $1.73; wages, $22.34; rent, 73 cents; taxes, 56 cents; insurance, 33 cents; freight, $1.27; new equipment, 24 cents; repairs, 81 cents; expenses not previously enumerated, 13 cents. In each $100 there is an excess of selling price above the cost of production amounting to $12.95. This $12.95 is the manufacturer's gross profit, and is equivalent to 16.01 per cent on the amount of capital invested in, and needed to carry on, his business. These items, as enumerated, including gross profit, aggregate $100, or 100 per cent, if the items are considered as percentages of selling price instead of dollars and cents. By selling price is meant the price for which a given quantity of manufactured product is sold by the manufacturer, and it includes, as shown above, cost of production, and profit, if any.

Of the sixty-four industries considered in the investigation all but one, print works, dye works, and bleacheries, show an excess of selling price above the cost of production; that is, all but one made a gross profit. The net profit was determined by the following deductions, determined upon after careful consideration:

Interest on cash and credit capital.....	5 per cent
Depreciation in the value of machinery, implements, and tools.....	10 per cent
Allowance for selling expenses, losses, and bad debts.....	5 per cent

After these deductions were made 58 out of 64 industries exhibited a net profit.

The excess of selling price above the cost of production amounts, on an average, to $12.95 in each $100 worth of manufactured product. If from this $12.95 excess are deducted the following: $2.15 for interest, $1.90 for depreciation on machinery, implements, and tools, and $5 for selling expenses, and to make up for losses from bad debts, there will then remain as net profit $3.90, which is equivalent to 4.83 per cent on the amount of capital invested, or an annual return of $4.83 upon each $100 of invested capital.

Earnings and Profits

In private firms, each of 257,656 employees (including both sexes and all ages) receives an average of $362.23 for annual earnings in return for his labor, while each of 12,558 partners in private firms, with an average investment of $10,701, receives an average net profit of $517 in return for his money investment and his labor.

In corporations, each of 162,310 employees (including both sexes and all ages) receives an average of $333.22 for annual earnings in return for his labor, while each of 30,967 stockholders in corporations, with an average investment of $7,857, receives an average net profit of $379 in return for his money investment, mainly, as comparatively few stockholders render any personal service, unless paid salaries therefor, to the corporations in which they are financially interested.

As a general result in all industries it appears that: First, in private firms, the percentage of the average yearly earnings of each employee of the average net profit to each partner is 70.02, or a little more than seven tenths; second, in corporations, the percentage of the average yearly earnings of each employee of the average net profit to each stockholder is 87.86, or a little more than seven eighths. These figures show the narrow money margin between the earnings of employees and the net profits of partners and stockholders.

If net profits are added to the wages fund, and the sum is divided equally among the employees, the employees of private firms would receive, on the average, an increase of $37.47, or 10.34 per cent, on their present average annual earnings; the employees of corporations would receive an advance of $89.44, or 26.84 per cent, while the employees of all establishments, including both private firms and corporations, would receive an advance of $57.55, or 16.40 per cent, on the average, above their present average annual earnings.

Eliminating 71,025 partners and stockholders, and assuming that all the gross profits and the wages fund go to the employees, then each employee, regardless of sex or age, would receive $541.86 for an annual income, or $10.42 per week on the average. Of the employees now employed in manufacturing industries in Massachusetts 38.79 per cent receive more than $10 per week under the present application of the wage system.

If gross profits are added to the wages fund, and the sum is divided equally among the employees, the employees of private firms would receive, on an average, an increase of $124.24, or 34.30 per cent, on their present annual earnings; the employees of corporations would receive an advance of $296.55, or 89 per cent, while the employees of all establishments, in-

cluding private firms and corporations, would receive an advance of $190.84, or 54.07 per cent, on the average, above their present average annual earnings.

In the case of private firms, if net profits and wages are added together, and divided equally between the employees and partners, the employer thus sharing alike with each of his employees, the amount falling to each would be $360.15; in the case of corporations, each employee and stockholder would receive $334.57, while, as a grand aggregate for all establishments (including private firms and corporations), the wages fund and net profits combined would give $349.47 to each employee, partner, or stockholder.

On the share-and-share-alike plan (or an equal division among employees, partners, and stockholders of the net profits and wages fund combined), the average annual earnings per employee would have been $349.47 instead of $351.02, or a decrease of 0.44 per cent; the net profits per partner would have been $349.47 instead of $341.20, or an increase of 2.42 per cent; and the net profits per stockholder would have been $349.47 instead of $339.71, or an increase of 2.87 per cent.

Balance

Assuming that giving the entire net profits or the entire gross profits to labor would be more than just to labor, and consequently unfair to capital, and also assuming that the share-and-share-alike plan is just and fair to both labor and capital, these results prove that the average financial condition of the employee shown under the wage system is slightly better, as a general average, than it would have been if the net profits had been added to the wages fund, and the sum equally divided between the employees and their employers.

The average annual financial returns to the employee from the wage system, and from a plan in which the net profits and the wages fund, if combined, were divided equally between employees and their employers, are substantially the same, the variation being but $1.55 per year, that sum being the excess paid by the wage system over and above what would have been derived from the share-and-share-alike plan.

The report says further, pp. 629–630:

The results of the investigation seem to warrant the inference that material improvement in the workingman's condition is not to be expected from an increase of his money wages gained by adding thereto a portion of the profits now absorbed by capital, but rather from an increase in his real wages, gained through materially increased production, accompanied by materially reduced prices, with consequent increased consumption; the rise in the standard of living implied by the increased consumption being accompanied and still further raised by reduced hours of labor.

In the light of the results, too, it would seem that theories of industrial reform which relate chiefly to changes in the mode of distribution of the existing results of production should give place in importance to plans involving an increase in production itself, whereby both labor and capital may have more, without diminishing the amount which either now receives.

So far as cooperation, profit-sharing, or any other scheme of industrial reform involves an increase of production, so far it moves in the right direction. But the success of any such scheme would seem to rest largely upon its power to augment production in the aggregate, by stimulating endeavor, diminishing waste, promoting harmony, simplifying management, or otherwise, rather than in the changes it might introduce in the mode of division of the fruits of production.

Conclusions

The general results of the investigation indicate average conditions—but no one sees such conditions. We see the exceptionally prosperous establishment, or the very rich manufacturer, and are apt to consider that all manufacturing is equally prosperous, and all manufacturers equally rich. The bankruptcy court shows the other side of the picture, but its records do not appeal to the eye or the imagination as does a large factory or an imposing mansion.

The results, on the percentage basis, for net profits show that in few industries, if any, can the profits be called exorbitant, all things considered, for we find the largest percentages of net profit in the small industries, while large industries involve small profits, and, sometimes, large losses. As to the general result for all industries, no one, we think, will maintain that the percentage of net profit is excessive. While it is true that this conclusion is based upon an average, and may not show the condition in any one industry, it must be remembered that any of the proposed changes so frequently urged for the improvement of our industrial system must be measured by its effect upon average conditions, and that such changes may be fairly tested by comparing the new averages resulting from them with those based upon conditions now prevailing.

Where are we, then, to look for the margin between cost of production and the price to the consumer? If neither the workingman nor his employer is profiting unduly by the present system, may it not be possible that the middleman, or the distributor of wealth in its various forms, may be securing more than his rightful share, and is thus bearing down upon the two extremes between which he is placed? Are not the creators and the consumers of wealth suffering in common from the exactions of the distributors of wealth? This question cannot be answered from data now at hand, but it is evident that the mechanism of distribution, as well as the mechanism of production, must be brought to the statistical basis before the final solution of the question of profits will be secured.

This report, however, seems open to the severest criticism. Says the *Christian Union* for Oct. 3, 1891:

The Massachusetts returns were utterly untrustworthy. One large industry reported a net loss amounting to 28 per cent of the value of the goods sold. Yet the returns of the manufacturers are much less misleading than the deductions of the commissioner who has edited them. The manufacturers in estimating their profits naturally deducted whatever they paid as rent, and this amounted to 4 per cent upon the capital invested in lands and buildings. The commissioner obligingly supplements this deduction by a further one of 5 per cent for "interest" upon the cash and credit capital invested. The manufacturers in estimating their profits have naturally deducted 3 per cent upon the value of the goods sold for "salaries and freight." The commissioner obligingly makes the further deduction of 5 per cent for "selling expenses and loss through bad debts." The manufacturers in estimating their profits had naturally deducted for "new equipments and repairs" an amount equal to 6 per cent upon the capital invested in machinery and tools. The commissioner obligingly makes a further deduction for "depreciation" of an amount equal to 10 per cent upon the capital invested in machinery and tools. By this means the profits are whittled down from 16 per cent, as reported by the manufacturers, to $4\frac{83}{100}$ per cent, as returned by the commissioner. That this report should have been published by the Bureau of the Statistics of Labor shows the direction which has been given to the work of this department. The figures leave no one wiser than before and could have been published only from a desire to help manufacturers by representing that, after all, their business is in a bad way, and that higher wages, shorter hours, and lower tariff are not to be thought of. The department might better be called the "Bureau of the Statistics of Capital."

Mr. Frederick B. Hawley ("American Statistical Association Publications," 1893, vol. iii., p. 38) also severely criticizes the Massachusetts report. He finds many suspicious points in the report, all pointing one way. The great cotton-goods industry is reported as selling at a net loss of 10.91 per cent of the selling price. Says Mr. Hawley:

The cotton-goods industry, like others, has its ups and downs, but I do not believe it ever had as bad a year as this. But if the figures are correct, then it follows that the choice of that year for gathering of the original data was an unfortunate one.

Yet it employed 27.33 per cent of the capital and 11.55 per cent of the whole output of the 10,013 establishments reported, and vitiates the final conclusion, Mr. Hawley calculates, by no less than 64.61.

On the other hand a business man writes to the Statistical Association that, adding together the total dividends of all the larger manufacturing and other companies in Massachusetts which have not changed their capital from 1882 to 1892, he gets $24,420,913, and he also says that Jan. 1, 1892, their stocks could be bought for $11,005,913 less than Jan. 1, 1882, and that, deducting this from the dividends, we have $13,415,446 as the net dividends, which would make only 2.68 per cent a year.

Such contradictory statements as these show the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of making any correct general statements as to net profits. It depends very largely upon what is included under profits. (See PROFIT.) This is true of all industries. It is particularly true of mercantile establishments. Some great stores are said, on good authority, to make 25 per cent profit on their capital; many make little or none, and vast numbers go into bankruptcy. Of the railroads it is almost as difficult to speak, because of the dif-

ferences of bookkeeping. Many railroads declare small and often no dividends. The inference would seem to be that they are making low net profits or none at all. This, however, by no means necessarily follows. It is true, undoubtedly, of some roads, but of many roads it is simply a matter of bookkeeping. Watered stock accounts for a part of it. Railroads with watered stock try to pay dividends on capital never paid in. (See STOCK-WATERING.) Duplication in accounts explains much. Railroads absorb small roads, and in their accounts the capitalization and bonds of the smaller roads appear both separately and added to the capital of the main road. Salaries and jobs granted to the officers of the road account for much. Sums put down as expenses of maintenance really often mean immense profits for some favored few. Hence, roads nominally making nothing often immensely enrich some of their owners. Undoubtedly, however, the legitimate net profits of many forms of investment are not large. Most of the large fortunes made in industrial investments are made in more or less illegitimate gambling in stocks, the bulling and bearing of railroads, or in monopolies, natural or the creatures of the law. (For a discussion of this, see WEALTH.)

It follows from this view that, if social reformers would increase wages, and lower profits, thus equalizing distribution, what they must strive for is not so much the increase of wages in legitimate industry, as for a change in laws and customs allowing of the immense profits made to-day by speculation in natural or artificial monopolies. Most reformers believe, to-day, that a more equitable distribution must come from change of system rather than from mere generosity on the part of employers. That in some way immense net profits are made to-day, the facts of the distribution of wealth, both in England and America, abundantly prove (see WEALTH).

PROFIT-SHARING: This system of industrial remuneration has been defined as "the division of realized profits between the capitalist, the employer, and the employee, in addition to regular interest, salary, and wages"; and it is claimed by its advocates to be "the most equitable and generally satisfactory method of remunerating the three industrial agents."[1]

It has also been defined by the International Congress, held in connection with the Paris Exposition in the summer of 1889, as "a voluntary agreement under which the employee receives a share, fixt beforehand, in the profits of the business."

Participation of the workmen in the profits of business undertakings is, historically, a method first prominently associated with the name of the Parisian house-painter and decorator, Edme Jean Leclaire (*q. v.*). As a youth he became an apprentice to a house-painter in Paris, and showed himself remarkably diligent in his work. He set up for himself in 1827, and his first great stroke of business was a contract for painting seven houses in 1829, by which he cleared 6,000 francs; he paid his men 5 fr. per day on this job, instead of the usual 4 fr. In 1838 he established a mutual aid society for them, which he found "a powerful means of moralization." But he desired, furthermore, to provide for his men in their old age, and in case of a change in the ownership of the business. A friend, M. Frégier, told him that he saw no solution to the problem except in the participation of the workmen in the profits of the master. "This was in 1835," writes Leclaire. "My head was too thoroughly crammed with all the ideas of the economists and reformers of the time to relish this proposition. It appeared to me entirely impracticable. I rejected it emphatically." But all at once, five years later, he perceived that he might have made a great mistake in his reasoning. He could not afford to take out from his average profits a sum sufficient to help his workmen much. But would not an industrial partnership "create, by the common effort, in view of the division of profit, and with the energy so called forth," a further return beyond the average, which would not only pay the workman a bonus, but might even increase the profits of the employer? Are there not, in the common workman, moral qualities to which the simple wages system makes slight appeal, because it leaves the inspiring word "profit" out of the workman's vocabulary, with all its implications of ambition, zeal, and persistence? Would not the prospect of a share in the profits of business advance the prosperity of the establishment by increasing the quantity of the product, by improving its quality, by promoting care of implements and machinery, and economy of materials, and by diminishing labor difficulties and the cost of superintendence? Leclaire tried the experiment cautiously, beginning in 1842, after due preparation; and he soon found that all these questions were answered by experience with a decided affirmative.

His workmen, despite his many efforts for their good and his careful preparations for the new scheme, were suspicious at first, but the first bonus changed their feelings. On Feb. 12, 1843, Leclaire distributed to forty-four workmen 12,266 fr. When he was a candidate for the Constituent Assembly, in 1848, he stated in his electoral address that he had distributed in six years 112,588 fr. The number of participants had risen to ninety-eight. "This is what we can do without touching any one's property; this is what I have practised for six years; I have found my profit in it, and others also."

In 1853 Leclaire associated with himself M. Alfred Defournaux, the son of an overseer, who had grown up in the house, and the Mutual Aid Society was reconstituted for a second term of fifteen years, its entire resources to consist of annual donations from the house. In 1860 the time limit was abolished, and retiring pensions established. In 1863 the Mutual Aid Society was incorporated and became a perpetual sleeping partner with limited liability in Leclaire et Cie. Of its accumulated capital, 116,442 fr., 100,000 fr. were invested in the firm at 5 per cent interest. It received 20 per cent of the net profits, while 30 per cent went to the workmen as a bonus calculated on wages. This was the result of twenty-one years' trial of profit-sharing. In 1865 Leclaire withdrew from active business; in 1869 the system was thoroughly revised, and in 1871 a resolution was passed admitting to a share in the profits the apprentices and auxiliary workmen. Henceforth, even a single day's work entitled a transient employee to a share in the bonus. Leclaire died at Herblay, near Paris, in 1872, leaving a fortune of 1,200,000 fr., which he attributed largely to his system of participation.

[1] "Profit-Sharing Between Employer and Employee," by N. P. Gilman, p. 412.

The Maison Leclaire is now an elaborate and almost ideal industrial partnership. It has two managing partners and one sleeping partner, the Mutual Aid Society. The society holds half of the capital of 400,000 fr. and each partner a fourth. If, when a new partner is chosen by the men, he has not this amount of capital, the acquisition of it is rendered easy for him. The reserve fund is 100,000 fr. When it falls below this amount a first levy of 10 per cent is to be made upon the profits of the year until it is restored to its normal size. Capital receives 5 per cent interest, and each manager 1,200 fr. as salary for superintendence. After interest, salary for management, and any needed sum for the reserve fund have been taken from the gross profits of the year, the net profit is thus divided: One quarter part goes to the two partners, a second to the society, and the remaining half to the working force in proportion to wages and the number of hours' work done. Between 1870 and 1886 the number of participants varied from 710 to 1,125, the total of wages paid from 406,414 fr. to 1,069,905, the total bonus from 61,625 fr. to 240,050, and the ratio of bonus to wages from 12 to 24 per cent. The liability of the workmen is confined to their interest in the reserve fund, which has never yet been drawn upon to pay losses.

The Maison Leclaire

The *noyau*, or nucleus, is an important feature in the Maison Leclaire. The conditions of membership are five years' service in the house; age between twenty-five and forty; ability to read, write, and cipher; skill in work, and good moral character. The membership is kept at nearly the same figure; the members have a first claim to employment in bad times; it supplies men for vacancies in the clerical force, from which it elects a new partner on occasion. It chooses eight members of the committee of conciliation, the partners being the other two. This committee takes cognizance of any misconduct in the force, and examines candidates for admission. The *noyau* chooses the foreman each year from a list submitted by the managers. Membership in the *noyau* is a condition for admission to the Mutual Aid Society, which is thoroughly organized and generously administered, giving aid in sickness, at death, and in pensions and life-insurance policies. In 1887 its property was 2,053,618 fr.

The workman in the Maison Leclaire receives the highest wages paid in his craft in Paris; a year's bonus varying from 12 to 24 per cent; in case of sickness 5 fr. a day; in case of permanent disability, a pension of 1,200 fr., and he may retire on such a pension after twenty years' service. His sons are preferred as apprentices, and at his death 1,000 fr. of life-insurance are paid to his family and the funeral expenses defrayed. The standard of skill and character corresponds to these exceptional advantages. Peace and good-will reign in the establishment, and its long career of more than sixty years of prosperity has made it the classic instance of profit-sharing elaborately developed.

The profit-sharing firms of France are now some 125 in number. Among the more important cases, for size and length of trial of the system, are the noted Bon Marché of Paris, employing 3,000 persons, and doing a business of $30,000,000 a year; the immense Chaix printing house of Paris; the great Godin foundries at Guise, with a capital of 6,000,000 fr., and the Laroche-Joubert paper works at Angoulême, with its thousand employees.

The French Society for the Practical Study of Profit-Sharing, founded in 1879, is a flourishing organization. Membership in the society is confined to business men practising the system.

In Germany and other countries of the Continent the heads of some 70 firms would be eligible to such membership.

In the United States it is a conservative estimate that there are now half a hundred firms practising profit-sharing. No list of such firms has been published since 1891. The manufacturing company the head of which is Mr. N. O. Nelson (*q. v.*), of St. Louis, is, in several ways, the most conspicuous of all American profit-sharing enterprises.

United States

The N. O. Nelson Manufacturing Company, at Edwardsville, Ill., is situated within an hour's ride of St. Louis. In this village, Leclaire (*q. v.*), the building of a home is rendered easy by the Cooperative Building Association and special facilities provided by the company; a large clubhouse is managed by a considerable number of men, who lodge and board in it at a moderate price; all the buildings are provided with water, steam-heat, electric light, good drainage, and nearly every other convenience of a city house; provision for amusements has not been overlooked.

The first year's dividend, paid by the company in 1887, was 5 per cent on wages; the next, 10 per cent; the third, 10 per cent; the fourth, 8 per cent; the fifth, 10 per cent; the sixth, 7 per cent, and the seventh, 4 per cent; making 54 per cent in seven years, or, practically, 8 per cent a year. In 1893 the company succeeded in paying its full force full wages for full time (a nine-hour day), but earned no bonus. The dividends for the first five years were paid in cash, but employees were always at liberty to take it in stock, and about three fourths did so. After having paid the dividends in cash for five years, the company took up the plan of paying only in stock; it has always been a rule to redeem the stock at par, when the holder leaves the company's employ.

Two other cases of profit-sharing in the United States deserving particular attention are the Bourne Cotton-Mills at Fall River, Mass., and the Procter & Gamble Soap Works at Cincinnati. (For a full account of these two cases, and of the Nelson case, see "A Dividend to Labor," part iii.)

The cause of profit-sharing is ably represented in Great Britain by the Labor Copartnership Association. In its monthly paper, *Copartnership*, it states its principles briefly thus, with an indication of the results (issue for Aug., 1907): "Our object is to bring about an organization of industry based on the principle of labor copartnership; that is to say, a system in which all those engaged shall share in the profit, capital, control, and responsibility. With this view we seek (1) in the cooperative movement to aid by propaganda and advice all forms of production based on the above principle. (2) In other businesses to induce employers and employed to adopt schemes of profit-sharing and investment tending in the same direction. This system is no mere dream. Independent of the copartnership steps taken by ordinary businesses, the principle is carried out by British productive businesses,

organized by working men, which, at the end of 1906, numbered 120; had a capital of £1,938,980; sold in the year £3,806,156 worth of goods; made a net profit of £187,501 (after deducting losses); and paid to labor, in addition to provident funds, a sum not easily ascertained, but exceeding £22,308, as labor's share of the results over and above standard wages. In some, the part of labor, whether in profit or in management, is smaller, and in some larger, but in all there is co-partnership."

The number of cases in England where profit-sharing is at present in effect in the "ordinary businesses" just mentioned is 82, according to the latest figures of the Board of Trade. Among these instances of profit-sharing some having special interest are Fox Bros., woolen manufacturers, Wellington, Somerset (now the oldest instance, going back of 1866); J. T. & J. Taylor, of Batley (fourteen years); Hazell, Watson & Viney, printers, of London; Wm. Thomson & Sons, woolens, Huddersfield (twenty years); Clarke, Nicholls & Coombs, of London, confectioners; and Sir W. G. Armstrong, Whiteworth & Co., the immense engineering works. The most notable development in a particular business, however, is in the manufacture of gas. Here the South Metropolitan Company of London has followed the counsels of Sir George Livesey, the managing director, with the striking result shown in the first line of figures of the following table, which also shows the experience of four other gas companies, influenced by the example of the South Metropolitan Company. (See the full account of this company's scheme in "A Dividend to Labor," pp. 317–323.)

PARTICULARS OF COPARTNERSHIP AND PROFIT-SHARING IN BRITISH GAS COMPANIES

NAME OF COMPANY	No. of years scheme has been in operation	Capital in 1906. Total share and loan	No. of employees under agreement for profit-sharing or copartnership	Amount divided among employees for year ending June, 1906	Amount per cent on wages	Total profit to employees since scheme was adopted	Amount of shares and deposits held by employees in the company. Market value (about)
		£	about	£		£	£
South Metropolitan	Since 1889	8,245,445	5,000	43,962	9¾	345,214	309,000
Commercial	Since 1901	2,478,280	1,236	5,742	5½	23,446	30,043
South Suburban	Since 1893	788,415	532	2,867	6	24,920	27,000
Newport	Since 1900	291,151	300	401	2.41	2,103	1,524
Chester	Since 1901	181,413	69	284	5	795	981

It will be seen that the total sums credited to the employees under the schemes for the year ending June 30, 1906, was no less than £53,256, while the aggregate amount since the schemes were adopted exceeds £396,478, and the total amount capitalized equals £368,548. It is expected that the total amount standing to the credit of the 7,137 employees in the capital of the companies in two years will be not far short of £500,000. What this great sum, owned by men most of whom before the adoption of these schemes probably never possest a penny after they had paid their debts, means in freedom from anxiety, stimulus to careful habits and forethought, and all that goes to add to happiness and strengthen character, it is difficult to overestimate. On the face of it it is clear that not only are the individual workmen the gainers, but, as is the case with all genuine progressive steps, the community gains too. One thing at any rate these schemes show, and that is that labor copartnership is practicable in gas companies, and if these alone throughout the country would take the matter up, as five have already done, the improvement in the lives of some tens of thousands of workmen would be great indeed.

The most striking point about the scheme of the South Metropolitan and the South Suburban companies, is that since 1898 the former has had three workmen directors on its board, chosen by the workmen, and the latter also has had such directors. (The Consolidated Gas Company of Boston, Mass., has recently put into effect a stock-sharing plan like that of these English companies.)

In view of this record a recent utterance of Sir George Livesey, now chairman of the company, may be quoted. At the annual meeting of the Labor Copartnership Association, held Oct. 31, 1906, he moved this resolution:

"That this meeting, recognizing the serious inequalities which abound in the existing social system, affirms its belief in the principle of copartnership, by which labor and capital are united in a common endeavor to produce and distribute wealth in the most efficient manner, and hopes that both employers and employed will give increasing support to an industrial method so well calculated to solve some of our most acute social problems."

He then said he had studied the industrial question very closely since 1889, and he did not think that employers and employed were getting closer together under the present wage system. The remedy, he believed, was to be found in the union of capital and labor in the same hands. Co-partnership united capital and labor and also enabled the laborer to become the owner of property. In advocating copartnership as the remedy, he was simply stating what he believed to be the absolute truth. Mere profit-sharing did not in his experience go far enough. The distribution of profits each year in cash did not encourage thrift because often those among whom the profits were divided did not make the best use of them. Copartnership meant that the workers would have a sense of responsibility because as shareholders they would experience the effects of bad times as well as of good. When the South Metropolitan gas scheme was started the share of profits was paid in cash, with the option of investment, but only about 45 per cent of the men invested. In 1894 it was decided that half the amount due should be credited to the men as stock in the company and the balance paid in cash. Now, practically every pound allotted is invested, the men realizing that it is much to their advantage to let their share of profit accumulate. Of the £43,000 allotted to the men last July none had been withdrawn, except that paid to men leaving or in respect of workmen who had died. To-day every man in regular employ was a shareholder, the total amount invested being over £300,000. Co-partnership, continued Sir George, increased the workers' self-respect and removed the fear that in

old age they would be in want. To show how the men had benefited he said that eleven of them employed in one department held between them £2,000 in the company, while one man had £400. Sir George referred to the many difficulties that had to be contended with in carrying out the scheme, the men having to be educated up to it step by step, but he did not see why other companies should not put copartnership into operation as his own had done.

Practicability

Profit-sharing is a conservative movement. It attempts to recall, as far as is possible under the changed conditions of modern industry, the old sentiment of partnership felt when the shoe manufacturer in his small shop worked at the same bench with his few employees, or when the farm was let on shares, or the catch of the fishing schooner was apportioned among the crew. We can no longer divide the actual products of industry among the workers. But we can modify the wage system, and strengthen it at a weak point, by adding to fixt wages a variable bonus, dependent on the workman's zeal. Industrial partnership, again, has this singular advantage over the socialisms of the day, and even over the more sober scheme of productive cooperation: it pays due respect to the two great principles of modern society which must find a *modus vivendi*—democracy and aristocracy. Those who would solve all industrial troubles by a resort to the easy but deceptive analogy of democratic government, and the erection of an "industrial republic," declare that profit-sharing is not a practical reform, that it is unjust to the workman, since the bonus is bestowed as a gift and not as a right, and that, in reality, it intensifies the evils of the wage system by making the workingman more dependent on the employer. These objections by Socialists and revolutionary reformers have the character usual in criticism of moderate and statesmanlike measures by theorists. The practicability of the system has been amply proved by many firms in long years of trial. The bonus tends steadily to become a fixt and regular addition to wages, dependent not on the mere will of the employer, but on a written agreement and the results of the year. In its developed and logical form, profit-sharing makes the transition to cooperative production more gradual, easy, and sure than any other method yet devised. Its advocates do not find any objection to it in the fact that the employer often profits by the system as well as the employee, but this fact seems sufficient to stamp the plan as iniquitous in the eyes of so-called reformers who consider that the employer should either lose or, at least, not profit by any change in existing methods. A system advantageous to both parties fails to commend itself to such very partial thinkers! Profit-sharing, on the contrary, starting from the actual state of things, would modify this in the interest of both parties and to the injury of neither; and here is its recommendation to the enlightened employer and the sensible workingman.

It is not on the ground of abstract justice or inherent right—these are matters about which it is very easy to be mistaken—but on the ground of ordinary human nature and actual experiment, that the advocate of profit-sharing bases his confidence in its gradual diffusion.

He can now appeal to a large body of experience in favor of his claim that a regular dividend to labor out of profits is one of the next steps which the evolution of industry is likely to follow in numerous quarters. The chief reason why profit-sharing has not made greater progress than the above figures show, is undoubtedly the common opposition of the trade-unions. How far this opposition is justifiable from the standpoint of the general welfare of society we cannot here take room to consider. Profit-sharing is a move by the employer toward industrial peace; if it is not accepted by the workman, the latter should offer, if he can, a system better calculated to advance the interests of both parties.

For details of the history of profit-sharing and its present condition, and a full statement of the argument for it, see "Profit-Sharing Between Employer and Employee," chap. ix. of "Socialism and the American Spirit," and "A Dividend to Labor" (part iii. and appendices), by N. P. Gilman (a bibliography may be found in the first work, continued in the other two volumes); "Profit-Sharing Between Capital and Labor," by Sedley Taylor; "Profit-Sharing and the Labor Question," by T. W. Bushill (an employer); "Sharing the Profits," by Mary W. Calkins; "La Participation aux Bénéfices," the French translation of Dr. Victor Böhmert's work, with additions, revised edition; "Guide Pratique pour l'Application de la Participation aux Bénéfices," par A. Trombert; "Methods of Industrial Remuneration," by D. F. Schloss, third edition; "History of Cooperation in the United States"; the "Bulletin of the French Society"; *Copartnership*, the monthly organ of the Labor Copartnership Association of London, and the annual reports of the Labor Department of the Board of Trade since 1894, usually summarized in the *Labor Gazette* of the department.

N. P. Gilman.

Objections to Profit-sharing

1. That it is not practical, not being suited to the times. The distinguishing economic characteristic of the present time is a tendency to combination. Firms that will not enter into combines, or are not themselves doing a very large business, are troubled not as to the way in which to share their profits, but as to their inability to make any profits to share. In the best times many firms make no profits. Profit-sharing is scarcely then applicable except to great monopolies and the strongest firms. Of the seven instances in New England cited by Professor Bemis ("Cooperation in New England," by Professor Bemis, in publications of the American Economic Association, Nov., 1886), one, a shoe establishment of Brockton, Mass., was not a case of profit-sharing, but a percentage on capital paid in by workmen; one, the New Haven Wire Company, merely proposed the plan to the employees, which was rejected; and only one of the entire seven had ever paid a dividend. Mr. Paul Monroe states, in the *American Journal of Sociology* for May, 1896, that of 50 cases of profit-sharing only 12 continue. Its friends claim that in many cases of discontinuance the failure was due, not to anything inherent in the system, but to intrinsic causes. This is true and is the most damaging and conclusive testimony against the system. It is not suited to the times. Extrinsic causes

usually prevent its successful operation. Its diagnosis of present evils does not go deep enough. Employers can rarely practise it, and employees care little for it.

2. Even when successful, as it is in a few strong firms, it is of questionable advantage to working men. Unless coupled with other reforms, which are not profit-sharing, it gives the worker no voice in the management. It does not develop the responsibility of the worker. Its advocates claim, indeed, that while it does not do everything it is at least a practical first step to-day toward industrial partnership. This, its critics say, is not the case. In their view it is not a step toward industrial democracy or fraternity. It intensifies paternalism. It says, "If you, the worker, will work a little harder, we, the management, will give you a slight share of your increased earnings." Mr. Monroe (see above) sums up the case as to profit-sharing by declaring it of some importance from a statistical point of view, but little, if any, from that of social progress.

3. Profit-sharing is unjust.

Says a recent writer—we abridge his words:

> There is only one party to it, and that is the employer. He proposes it; he decides when a surplus of profits exists, and how much it is; he lays down rules for apportionment and distribution among employees; in a word, he manages the business and the books without any right of interference or question by employees, and from his decision there is no appeal. All these things give profit-sharing the appearance of a gift bestowed, whereas it is a payment earned. It is not legally a gift which must take effect immediately; it is a mere promise without consideration, and cannot be enforced. Wage-workers demand not merely greater wages, which they have already obtained, but a greater proportionate share of products in accordance with the new ethics of social justice. Profit-sharing not only offers no balm for this, the real wound of industrial society, but aggravates the difficulty. Mr. Gilman, in the work above quoted (pp. 415–416), says that employers who have adopted profit-sharing "generally agree that the division of a bonus among the working men is good business policy; . . . in most cases they claim that their own share is greater than the whole profits were under the simple wage system." By what means has their share become "greater"? Through whose efforts are they enriched by extra profits? Says Mr. Gilman: "Out of this extra profit comes the share of men whose diligence and care have created it."
>
> Profit-sharing thus reduces the proportionate share of workmen. If extra profits, or, in other words, more goods, are produced solely by the "diligence and care" of employees, to them should belong the goods. No part of them should go to capital, for this has played no part in creating the surplus: no part should go to the employer, for he has done actually less. Every consideration of justice demands that laborers, who have by increased exertion produced more, should alone have the fruit of their labor. To bestow a part of this on the laborer, and a part on the employer, is what profit-sharing graciously offers to do!

4. Profit-sharing misleads. It has been before the world fifty years. Largely tried, it has to-day only 108 firms in all the United States and Great Britain. Meanwhile the social question is developing a crisis around the world. Society demands deeper remedies than what has accomplished so little in fifty years, and that of doubtful good.

PROGRESS (UNITED STATES): The table on pages 968, 969 is compiled from the monthly summary of the U. S. Bureau of Statistics for March, 1907.

PROHIBITION: The object of Prohibitionists is to obtain laws prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, except for the purpose of manufacturing industries, science and art, and medicine. They argue that this is advisable because vast sums of money are annually wasted by the people in the purchase of liquor, and its consumption reduces the productiveness of labor; because pauperism and crime are largely increased thereby; because the habit of drinking renders the citizen less able to serve in the defense of government, when necessary, or to perform his part in the upbuilding of the nation, and because the government should protect the defenseless women and children, who are most injured by drunkenness. They also urge that the sale of liquor as an organized business is an element of corruption in national life. The opponents of prohibition dispute some of the facts of its advocates; assert that drunkenness is rather the accompaniment than the cause of pauperism and crime, and argue that, in any event, prohibitory laws cannot be enforced, and that some other system will be more effectual in restraining the sale of liquor. They also contend that prohibitory laws infringe the individual liberty of the citizen. On Dec. 5, 1887, the Supreme Court of the United States rendered an important decision, holding that it is within the discretionary police powers of a state to protect public health, safety, and morals, even by the destruction of property, and that the Kansas laws, providing for the destruction, without compensation, of property used in connection with liquor-selling, do not violate the provision in the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, that "no state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the U. S., nor shall any state deprive any person of . . . property, without due process of law." A prohibitory law was passed in Maine in 1846, and in 1851 a more stringent one, including the provision for the seizure and destruction of intoxicating liquors (known as the "Maine Law," and drafted by Neal Dow), was enacted, and has since been in force, except for the years 1856 and 1857. Vermont in 1852, New Hampshire in 1855, and Connecticut in 1854 passed the Maine law. New York enacted a similar law in 1855, but it was promptly declared unconstitutional by the courts on account of the exposure to confiscation of liquors owned prior to its passage. A prohibition law was enacted in Indiana in 1855, but declared unconstitutional, and was repealed in 1858. Illinois also had a nominal prohibition law, 1851–53. Ohio and Michigan, by their constitutions, forbade the passage of a license law. A prohibitory amendment to the constitution of Kansas was ratified by the people in 1890, and this has been enforced by legislation. A similar amendment was passed in Iowa in 1882, and had a large popular majority, but in the next year it was pronounced invalid because of informalities in its passage. In 1884 a prohibitory law was passed by the legislature. Alaska was placed under prohibition in 1887 by executive order of President Cleveland. Rhode Island has at various times had prohibitory statutes in force. North and South Dakota were admitted to the Union in 1890 as prohibition states. The Indian Territory was early placed under prohibition by act of Congress and the prohibitions were added to by legislation of the Indian "nations." Georgia passed a prohibitory statute in 1907, exceedingly stringent and far-reaching in its terms, and Oklahoma, on Sept. 17 of the same year, adopted a constitution containing a prohibitory clause.

History

Prohibition in Vermont was repealed in 1902 by political agitation. The same thing came to pass in New Hampshire in 1903. Connecticut repealed

the law in 1872. Rhode Island repealed her latest prohibition law in 1889. Iowa nullified the prohibition law by enacting the "mulct law" (to all intents a license law) in 1894. Ohio retains its antilicense constitution, but legalizes the liquor traffic under a "tax." Michigan repealed prohibition in 1875. South Dakota repealed its law in 1896, and Congress voted a license law for Alaska in 1899.

The year 1907 closes with five prohibition states, including the new State of Oklahoma—Maine, Kansas, North Dakota, Georgia, and Oklahoma, and probably Alabama.

It may properly be said here that in spite of all that is alleged to the contrary, prohibitory law has never been a "failure" in any of the states where it has been tried, tho, on account of political corruption, it has frequently lacked much of accomplishing the full results desired. Its repeal, in every case, has been secured by tremendous efforts upon the part of the liquor interests which have resorted to misrepresentation, bribery, intimidation, and frauds of the grossest character.

The year 1907 witnessed a marked revival of the prohibition idea, especially in the South, where already (see article LOCAL PROHIBITION) there is much territory under no-license law. North Carolina, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama are believed to be upon the eve of passing prohibitory laws.

I. What Prohibition Means

Prohibition, the opposite of permission, is not a synonym of annihilation. Those who say, "Prohibition does not prohibit"—a self-contradictory proposition—mean that prohibition does not annihilate. This is manifestly true of all kinds of prohibitions in this world—those of the divine government, of family government, and of civil government alike. Prohibition does not annihilate, not even when it forbids murder, adultery, theft, false witness, and Sunday-work.

Prohibition does not define accomplishment, but only the aim and attitude of government toward wrong. License is a purchased truce—sometimes a surrender; prohibition is a declaration of war. License is an edict of toleration—sometimes a certificate of "good moral character"; prohibition is a proclamation of outlawry. The first requisite of law is justice. A law that sanctions wrong is not law at all, but legislative crime. It is not "public sentiment," but public conscience, out of which law should be quarried. Law is an educator. Dueling, and smuggling, and liquor-selling were once in the "best society." Gradually the law has made them disreputable. Rum-selling under prohibition is a sneaking fugitive, like counterfeiting—not dead, but disgraced, and so shorn of power.

In Maine children grow up without ever seeing a drunken man. In most parts of Kansas and in Iowa, while the prohibition law was in force, the law against the saloon is as effective as the law against the brothel or the burglar. To this fact testify governors, senators, congressmen, pastors, physicians, manufacturers—against whose evidence scarcely a witness can be brought in rebuttal except "anonymous." The liquor-dealer's statement that more liquor is consumed under prohibition than without it is canceled by actions that speak louder than words, by frantic efforts, at great cost, to defeat prohibition wherever it is proposed.

Arguments

The argument for prohibition may be concisely stated in four propositions:

1. The business interests of our country demand the suppression of their worst foe—the liquor traffic.

2. The homes of our country demand the suppression of their worst foe—the liquor traffic.

3. The political liberty of our country demands the suppression of its worst foe—the liquor traffic.

4. The conscience of the country demands that the attitude of government toward this foe of business, home, and liberty, as toward other foes of the public good, shall be one of uncompromising hostility.

The prohibiting of the sale of a maddening poison is not a "sumptuary law"—that is, a law against luxury—but rather a law to promote luxury; to give every year to the impoverished families of those who waste their money for drink, in place of it, a billion dollars' worth of pianos, books, pictures, etc.

Prohibition is consistent with liberty in the same way as fire-escapes and quarantines are. A prohibitory liquor law is not aimed at the habits of the drinking-man but at the vicious business of the seller, and therefore is a law for the promotion of commerce, for the protection of labor, for the prevention of cruelty and crime, for the preservation of health and home and liberty.

The capital that is invested in the liquor business, if invested in legitimate forms of trade, would give employment to hundreds of thousands more people than are now employed by it, producing goods that would be demanded if the money spent for drink were turned to the legitimate channels of trade.

Not only life, but liberty itself, is menaced by alcohol. In the words of the *Catholic Review*, "There is nothing fanciful in the assertion that in most of the large cities the saloon-keeping interest has as much representation in the common council as have all other interests combined—that is to say, the minority in numbers, intelligence, and decency governs the majority in most of our large cities." It is this "spoils system" of the saloons that civil-service reformers should strike at, if they would cure political corruption at the root. It is not so much examination of office-seekers as extermination of these office-brokers of the saloon that is needed. Municipal reformers also should learn that it is not by a change in the mayor's office, but by a change in the saloon, that city politics is to be purified. If our city politics is in slavery to the saloons to-day, when the states are able to restrain them by their yeoman majorities in the legislatures, what of the time when the cities shall have the majority of our voters?

Those uses of alcoholic liquors which have been made the excuse for their continued sale, specially their use in medicine, have far less importance now than formerly. The whole trend of medical science is away from the use of alcohol as a medicine. Only a small part of the amount so used a quarter of a century ago is employed to-day. Thousands of successful physicians now never use it at all, and its most ardent advocate uses it with care and far less frequently than in the past. In the realm of the arts, denatured alcohol—that is to say, alcohol made unfit for drinking purposes by adding substances having a repelling taste—is now coming into common use.

PROGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

ITEMS	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860
Area[1], square miles	827,844	1,999,775	2,059,043	2,059,043	2,059,043	2,980,959	3,026,789
Population[2]	5,308,483	7,239,881	9,638,453	12,866,020	17,069,453	23,191,876	31,443,321
Population, square mile[2]	6.41	3.62	4.68	6.25	8.29	7.78	10.39
Wealth[21] $						7,135,780,000	16,159,616,000
Wealth per capita[21] $						307.69	513.93
Debt, less cash in treasury[5] $	82,966,294	53,173,218	91,015,566	48,565,407	3,573,344	63,452,774	59,964,402
Debt per capita $	15.63	7.34	9.42	3.77	0.21	2.74	1.91
Interest-bearing debt[6] $	82,976,294	53,173,218	91,015,566	48,565,406	3,573,344	63,452,774	64,640,838
Circulation of money $	26,500,000	55,000,000	67,100,000	87,344,295	186,305,488	278,761,982	435,407,252
Per capita $	5.00	7.59	6.94	6.79	10.91	12.02	13.85
National banks, No.							
Capital $							
Bank clearings, New York $							7,231,143,057
Total, U. S. $							
Deposits in national banks $							
Savings-banks $			1,138,576	6,973,304	14,051,520	43,431,130	149,277,504
Depositors, savings-banks, No.			8,635	38,085	78,701	251,354	693,870
Farms and farm property[2] $						3,967,343,580	7,980,493,060
Farm products, value[2] $							
Manufacturing establishments[2], No.						123,025	140,433
Value of products[2] $						1,019,106,616	1,885,861,676
Receipts—Net ordinary[12] $	10,848,749	9,384,214	17,840,670	24,844,117	19,480,115	43,592,889	56,054,600
Customs $	9,080,933	8,583,309	15,005,612	21,922,391	13,499,502	39,668,686	53,187,512
Internal revenue $	809,397	7,431	106,261	12,161	1,682		
Expenditures—Net ordinary[13] $	7,411,370	5,311,082	13,134,531	13,229,533	24,139,920	37,165,990	60,056,755
War $	2,560,879	2,294,324	2,630,392	4,767,129	7,095,267	9,687,025	16,472,203
Navy $	3,448,716	1,654,244	4,387,990	3,239,429	6,113,897	7,904,725	11,514,650
Pensions $	64,131	83,744	3,208,376	1,363,297	2,603,562	1,866,886	1,100,802
Interest on public debt $	3,402,601	3,163,671	5,151,004	1,912,575	174,598	3,782,393	3,144,121
Imports of merchandise $	91,252,768	85,400,000	74,450,000	62,720,956	98,258,706	173,509,526	353,616,119
Per capita $	17.19	11.80	7.71	4.87	5.76	7.48	11.25
Exports of merchandise $	70,971,780	66,757,970	69,691,669	71,670,735	123,668,932	144,375,726	333,576,057
Per capita $	13.37	9.22	7.22	5.57	7.25	6.23	10.61
Domestic exports—Iron, steel, and manufactures of $	52,144	91,914	46,552	322,747	1,127,877	1,953,702	5,870,114
Manufactures $			7,792,544	9,579,195	15,425,180	23,223,106	48,453,008
Farm animals—Value $						544,180,516	1,089,329,915
Production of gold $		[27] 2,463	[17] 73,112	[17] 564,950	[17] 11,697,829	50,000,000	46,000,000
Silver, commercial value $						50,900	156,800
Coal, tons		[19] 20	3,080	285,779	1,848,249	6,266,233	13,044,680
Petroleum, gallons							21,000,000
Pig iron, tons			20,000	165,000	286,903	563,755	821,223
Steel, tons							
Tin plates, lbs.							
Copper, tons					[21] 100	650	7,200
Wool, lbs.					35,802,114	52,516,959	60,264,913
Wheat, bushels					84,823,272	100,485,944	173,104,924
Corn, bushels					377,531,875	592,071,104	838,792,740
Cotton, bales	155,556	340,000	606,061	976,845	2,177,835	2,333,718	4,861,292
Cane sugar, tons					69,246	110,526	119,040
Sugar consumed, tons				69,711	107,177	239,409	428,785
Railways operated, miles				23	2,818	9,021	30,626
Passengers carried, No.							
Freight carried 1 mile, tons							
Rates, ton per mile, cents							
American vessels: built, tons	106,261	127,575	51,394	58,560	121,203	279,255	214,797
Trading, domestic, etc., tons	301,919	440,175	660,065	614,508	1,280,999	1,949,743	2,807,631
Trading, foreign, tons	669,921	984,269	619,048	576,475	899,765	1,585,711	2,546,237
On Great Lakes, tons			[22] 3,500	11,106	54,199	198,266	467,774
Vessels passing through Sault Ste. Marie Canal, tons							403,657
Commercial failures, No.							3,676
Amount of liabilities $							79,807,000
Post-offices, No.	903	2,300	4,500	8,450	13,468	18,417	28,498
Receipts, Post-office Department $	280,804	551,684	1,111,927	1,850,583	4,543,522	5,499,985	8,518,067
Telegrams sent[23], No.							
Newspapers, etc., No.		[25] 359	[26] 861	1,403		2,526	4,051
Public schools, salaries $							
Patents issued, No.							
Immigrants arrived[28], No.			8,385	23,322	84,066	369,980	150,237

[1] Exclusive of Alaska and islands belonging to the United States.
[2] Census figures; those for intermediate years estimated.
[3] True valuation of real and personal property.
[4] 1904.
[5] Total debt prior to 1855.
[6] Figures for the years 1800 to 1850 include the total public debt.
[7] Gold and silver cannot be stated separately prior to 1876. From 1862 to 1875, inclusive, gold and silver were not in circulation except on the Pacific coast, where it is estimated that the average specie circulation was about $25,000,000, and this estimate is continued for the three following years under the head of gold. After that period gold was available for circulation.
[8] Total specie in circulation. Gold and silver not separately stated prior to 1876.
[9] Includes notes of Bank of U. S., state-bank notes, demand notes of 1862 and 1863; fractional currency, 1863 to 1878; treasury notes of 1890, 1891 to date; and currency certificates, Act of June 8, 1872, 1892 to 1900.
[10] 1905.
[11] Exclusive of neighborhood industries and hand trades, included in previous years.
[12] "Net ordinary receipts" include receipts from customs, internal revenue, direct tax, public lands, and "miscellaneous."
[13] "Net ordinary expenses" include expenditures for war, navy, Indians, pensions, and "miscellaneous."

PROGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES—*Continued*

ITEMS	1870	1880	1890	1900	1906
Area[1], square miles	3,026,789	3,026,789	3,026,789	3,026,789	3,026,789
Population[2]	38,558,371	50,155,783	62,622,250	76,303,387	84,154,009
Population, square mile[2]	12.74	16.57	20.69	25.14	27.71
Wealth[2 3] $.	30,068,518,000	42,642,000,000	65,037,091,000	88,517,306,775	[4]107,104,211,917
Wealth per capita[2 3] $.	779.83	850.20	1,038.57	1,164.79	[4]1,310.11
Debt, less cash in treasury[5] $.	2,331,169,956	1,919,326,748	890,784,371	1,107,711,258	964,435,687
Debt per capita $.	60.46	38.27	14.22	14.52	11.46
Interest-bearing debt[6] $.	2,046,455,722	1,723,993,100	725,313,110	1,023,478,860	895,159,140
Circulation of money $.	675,212,794	973,382,228	1,429,251,270	2,055,150,998	2,736,646,628
Per capita $.	17.50	19.41	22.82	26.94	32.32
National banks, No.	1,612	2,076	3,484	3,732	6,053
Capital $.	427,235,701	455,909,565	642,073,676	621,536,461	826,129,785
Bank clearings, New York $.	27,804,539,406	37,182,128,621	37,660,686,572	51,964,588,564	103,754,100,091
Total, United States $.	.....	.....	58,845,279,505	84,582,450,081	157,749,328,913
Deposits in national banks $.	542,261,563	833,701,034	1,521,745,665	2,458,092,758	4,055,873,637
Savings-banks $.	549,874,358	819,106,973	1,550,023,956	2,389,719,954	3,299,544,601
Depositors, savings-banks, No.	1,630,846	2,335,582	4,258,893	6,107,083	8,027,192
Farms and farm property[2] $.	8,944,857,749	12,180,501,538	16,082,267,689	20,514,001,838	.....
Farm products, value[2] $	1,958,030,927	2,212,540,927	2,460,107,454	3,764,177,706	.....
Manufacturing establishments[2], No.	252,148	253,852	355,415	512,339	[10 11]216,262
Value of products[2] $.	4,232,325,442	5,369,579,191	9,372,437,283	13,014,287,498	[10 11]14,802,147,087
Receipts—Net ordinary[12] $.	395,959,834	333,526,501	403,080,983	567,240,852	594,454,122
Customs $.	194,538,374	186,522,065	229,668,585	233,164,871	300,251,878
Internal revenue $.	184,899,756	124,009,374	142,606,706	295,327,927	249,150,213
Expenditures—Net ordinary[13] $.	164,421,507	169,090,062	261,637,203	447,553,458	544,476,223
War $.	57,655,675	38,116,916	44,582,838	134,774,768	117,946,692
Navy $.	21,780,230	13,536,985	22,006,206	55,953,078	110,474,264
Pensions $.	28,340,202	56,777,174	106,936,855	140,877,316	141,034,562
Interest on public debt $.	129,235,498	95,757,575	36,099,284	40,100,333	24,308,576
Imports of merchandise $.	435,958,408	667,954,746	789,310,409	849,941,184	1,226,562,446
Per capita $.	[14]11.06	12.51	12.35	10.88	14.42
Exports of merchandise $.	392,771,768	835,638,658	857,828,684	1,394,483,082	1,743,864,500
Per capita $.	[15]9.77	16.43	13.50	17.96	20.41
Domestic exports—Iron, steel, and manufactures of $.	13,483,163	14,716,524	25,542,208	121,913,548	160,984,985
Manufactures $.	70,040,845	121,818,298	178,982,042	484,846,235	686,023,169
Farm animals—Value $.	1,524,960,149	1,576,917,556	2,418,766,028	2,228,123,134	3,675,389,442
Production of gold $.	50,000,000	36,000,000	32,845,000	79,171,000	[18]96,101,400
Silver, commercial value $.	16,434,000	34,717,000	57,242,100	35,741,100	[18]37,642,900
Coal, tons	29,496,054	63,822,830	140,866,931	240,789,310	[10]350,820,840
Petroleum, gallons	220,951,290	1,104,017,166	1,924,552,224	2,672,062,218	[10]5,658,138,360
Pig iron, tons	1,665,179	3,835,191	9,202,703	13,789,242	25,307,191
Steel, tons	68,750	1,247,335	4,277,071	10,188,329	[10]20,023,947
Tin plates, lbs	.....	.....	[20]2,236,743	677,909,600	[10]1,105,440,000
Copper, tons	12,600	27,000	115,966	270,588	[10]402,637
Wool, lbs	162,000,000	232,500,000	276,000,000	288,636,621	298,915,130
Wheat, bushels	235,884,700	498,549,868	399,262,000	522,229,505	735,260,970
Corn, bushels	1,094,255,000	1,717,434,543	1,489,970,000	2,105,102,516	2,927,416,091
Cotton, bales	3,114,592	5,761,252	7,311,322	9,436,416	11,345,988
Cane sugar, tons	46,800	92,802	136,503	149,191	268,193
Sugar consumed, tons	607,834	956,784	1,476,377	2,219,847	2,864,013
Railways operated, miles	52,922	93,267	166,703	194,262	[10]217,341
Passengers carried, No.	.....	.....	520,439,082	584,695,935	[10]745,446,641
Freight carried 1 mile, tons	.....	.....	79,192,985,125	141,162,109,413	[10]187,375,621,537
Rates, ton per mile, cents	.....	.....	0.93	0.75	[10]0.78
American vessels: built, tons	276,953	157,409	294,122	393,790	418,745
Trading, domestic, etc., tons	2,729,707	2,715,224	3,477,802	4,338,145	5,735,483
Trading, foreign, tons	1,516,800	1,352,810	946,695	826,694	939,486
On Great Lakes, tons	684,704	605,102	1,063,063	1,565,587	2,234,432
Vessels passing through Sault Ste. Marie Canal, tons	690,826	1,734,890	8,454,435	22,315,834	41,098,324
Commercial failures, No.	3,546	4,735	10,907	10,774	10,682
Amount of liabilities $.	88,242,000	65,752,000	189,856,964	138,495,673	119,201,515
Post-offices, No.	28,492	42,989	62,401	76,688	65,600
Receipts, Post-office Department $.	19,772,221	33,315,479	60,882,098	102,354,579	167,932,783
Telegrams sent[23], No.	9,157,646	29,215,509	63,258,762	79,696,227	[24]96,987,146
Newspapers, etc., No.	[27]5,871	9,723	16,948	20,806	22,326
Public schools, salaries $.	37,832,566	55,942,972	91,836,484	137,687,746	[10]177,462,981
Patents issued, No.	13,333	13,947	26,292	26,499	31,965
Immigrants arrived[28], No.	387,203	457,257	455,302	448,572	1,100,735

[14] Imports for consumption after 1860.
[15] Domestic exports only after 1860.
[16] Includes mules.
[17] Dr. Soetbeer's estimate averaged for the period.
[18] Estimate of the Director of the Mint.
[19] 1814.
[20] Last six months of 1891.
[21] 1845.
[22] Andrew's Colonial and Lake Trade.
[23] Western Union to 1880; includes Postal Telegraph after 1880.
[24] Not including messages sent by Western Union over leased wires or under railroad contracts.
[25] 1810 to 1860, inclusive, from census of 1880.
[26] 1828.
[27] After 1860, from Rowell's Newspaper Directory.
[28] 1820 to 1850, includes aliens not immigrants; 1820 and 1830, years ending Sept. 30; 1850, fifteen months ending Dec. 31; 1840 and 1860, calendar years; after 1860, fiscal years.

II. Results of Prohibition

Benefits of Prohibition.—The practical trial of the prohibition policy in the U. S. has been interfered with by many and serious difficulties. Great as is the extent of territory, in the aggregate, where experiments have been made since the agitation began, this policy has never had the advantage of a systematic introduction and broad foundation. The national Congress has never enacted general prohibitory legislation, and has never given support to or even recognized the prohibitory measures adopted in states and localities; indeed, the attitude of the federal government for nearly fifty years has been in formal antagonism to prohibition. The states, with very few exceptions, have uniformly (or with but brief intervals of prohibition) permitted license under certain conditions—conditions that, in practise, have effectually excluded prohibitory law from most of the chief centers of population. Thus, in New England, while two states (Maine and Vermont) were constantly under complete prohibition for a long term of years; the other four states (Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island), tho nominally prohibiting the traffic at times in that period, have so far inclined to license as to give continuance to liquor manufacture and commerce in such cities as Boston, Portsmouth, New Haven, Hartford, and Providence. Kansas has for years stood alone at the West; meantime the neighboring license states with their great cities have been aggressively hostile to prohibitory laws and diligently sought to flood the prohibition districts with liquor. There is no prohibition state or county, city, village, or township where the success of the policy is not or may not be at any time endangered by the interference of the liquor trade in license states, counties, or localities close at hand.

Not Fairly Tried

By a decision of the U. S. Supreme Court no prohibition state can, without the consent of Congress (not yet granted), prevent an interstate railway or express company from carrying to any point within its borders liquor brought from another state.

The chief of the local difficulties undoubtedly arises from the failure of the controlling political parties to earnestly identify themselves with the cause of prohibition. This is not at all equivalent to saying that the people, as the source of parties and of government, are fundamentally responsible in cases of neglect or opposition; for the existence of prohibition implies that popular consent and approval have already been granted. An indifferent or a hostile partizan attitude is frequently, if not always, taken without regard to genuine public sentiment—at least without regard to the sentiment of the best citizens; party action is controlled by designing leaders, and leaders are readily influenced against prohibition by aggressive demands, bribes, threats, and promises of support from the liquor element. Thus it has happened nearly everywhere that prohibition has not enjoyed the cordial political support necessary to its full success. Men personally opposed to prohibition, or deliberately pledged to its organized foes, have been chosen to fill the offices most intimately connected with the administration of law—as judges, prosecuting attorneys, mayors, sheriffs, aldermen, police authorities, etc.; juries have been packed with saloon adherents—in short, it has often seemed that the entire machinery of government has been given over to the outlawed traffic. Would thoroughly enforced prohibition be beneficial? Are the benefits of partial prohibition such as to justify enacting a prohibitory law that may be only partially effective?

Experience

In sifting the great mass of testimony that every patient inquirer may easily gather, it is difficult to adopt an entirely satisfactory method of classification. For the purposes of this article the testimony will be presented under two heads: (1) Diminution of the Consumption of Drink, and Effects upon Crime and Kindred Evils; (2) Economic and Other Effects.

Nothing is more suggestive than the unanimity and the vigor with which prohibition laws are opposed by all engaged in the liquor traffic. In the uncompromising hostility with which the "trade" meets every attempt to establish prohibition lies a strong indication of prohibition's effectiveness.

Neal Dow, the "Father of the Maine Law," made this declaration: "I think I have seen nearly an acre of puncheons of West India rum at one time on our wharves, just landed from ships. All this time seven distilleries (in Portland) running day and night! Now I will venture to say that we have not had a puncheon of West India rum imported here in five years—yes, I will say ten years, and there is but one distillery in the state, and that not running, I think; but if it runs it is laid under $3,000 bonds to sell no spirit except for medicinal or mechanical purposes or for exportation."[1]

Maine

These statements are confirmed with the strongest emphasis by well-nigh all the eminent men of Maine. It is impossible in this article to make even a summary of all the important testimony.

Senator William P. Frye in 1890 wrote:

> I can remember the time when in the State of Maine there was a grocery store at nearly every four corners in certain portions of the state, whose principal business was in the sale of New England rum; when the jails were crowded and poverty prevailed. To-day the country portions of the state are absolutely free from the sale of liquor; poverty is comparatively unknown, and in some of the counties the jails have been without occupants for years at a time. . . .
>
> The law is not a failure; it has been, on the other hand, a wonderful success.

Senator Eugene Hale in the same year wrote:

> Throughout the state generally the prohibitory law has driven out the grog-shop, and while liquor is undoubtedly sold in the larger towns and cities, it is not done in an open way, and the amount of liquor-selling is smaller even in these larger towns and cities than in corresponding places elsewhere. Maine people believe in prohibition because they are everyday witnesses to its good effect.

These letters were published in *The Voice* with the following indorsements:

> James G. Blaine: "On the point of the relative amount of the liquors sold at present in Maine and in those states where a system of license prevails, I am sure, from personal knowledge and observation, that the sales are immeasurably less in Maine."
>
> Hannibal Hamlin, U. S. senator from Maine, and formerly vice-president of the U. S.: "I concur in the statements made by Mr. Frye. In the great good produced by the prohibitory liquor law of Maine, no man can doubt who has seen its results. It has been of immense value."
>
> Lot M. Morrill, U. S. senator from Maine: "I have the honor unhesitatingly to concur in the opinions exprest in the foregoing by my colleague, Hon. Mr. Frye."

[1] "Alcohol and the State," p. 352.

John Lynch, member of Congress from Maine: "I fully concur in the statement of my colleague, Mr. Frye, in regard to the effect of the enforcement of the liquor law in the State of Maine."

John A. Peters and Eugene Hale, members of Congress from Maine: "We are satisfied that there is much less intemperance in Maine than formerly, and that the result is largely produced by what is termed prohibitory legislation."

Confessedly, of late years, there has been much violation of the law in Maine. The assertion has frequently been made that it cannot be enforced. The election of a Prohibition Party sheriff, Samuel F. Pearson, in Portland, in 1900, answered that assertion, and the law has since been enforced there and in other cities by Republican officials under proper incentives.

Kansas

In Kansas there has always been a tremendous opposition to the law, and at times the opponents have been in practical possession of the state government. In some of the cities, notably in Kansas City, Leavenworth, Atchison, and Wichita, the law has been openly violated without opposition, for years in succession. Yet the results considering the whole state have amply justified the policy.

In 1880, when prohibition was adopted, Kansas had 4 distilleries and 39 breweries, producing 42,779 gallons of spirits and 32,270 barrels of beer. In 1906, in spite of the reported failure of the law, only 18,800 gallons of spirits (and that an increase of more than 7,000 gallons over 1905) and 29,565 barrels of beer were produced in Kansas, Indian Territory, and Oklahoma *together*. The figures for Kansas alone are not given by the government. In 1907 the last illegal brewery in Kansas closed up and left the state. A considerable number of U. S. liquor-tax certificates have always been issued in Kansas, but in the greater part of the state liquor is not sold openly.

In 1889, when the law was fairly well enforced, *The Voice* applied to the probate judges of the 106 counties of Kansas for information as to the effects of the law; and, among other questions, the following were asked: "How successfully has prohibition closed the saloons in your part of the state?" and "To what extent, in your judgment, has it diminished drunkenness and the consumption of intoxicants for beverage purposes?" There were replies from ninety-seven counties. Ninety-four of the writers declared positively that there were no open saloons, while the other three made qualified reports. Ninety-two stated that drunkenness and the consumption of drink had been greatly diminished. A majority, in estimating the extent of the diminution, placed it at from 75 to 90 per cent; others said that drunkenness and drink had been "entirely eradicated" in their parts of the state, or "almost totally," or were "too small to estimate," etc.[1]

Perhaps the best illustration of the success of the enforcement of the prohibitory law in the State of Kansas has been furnished in the present year (1907) in Kansas City, where the Hon. C. W. Trickett was appointed assistant attorney-general for the purpose of enforcing this law. Kansas City, Kan., lies in close proximity to Kansas City, Mo., so that the problem presented special difficulties. The results are summed up in *The Defender*, New York, on Sept. 26, 1907, and show that by the enforcement of the law Mr. Trickett closed every one of the 256 saloons doing unlawful business in the county when he took office, and that 200 gambling-dens and sixty infamous resorts closed with them; that bank deposits increased; that attendance at public schools, by boys and girls, who had been obliged to work while liquor was sold, grew at once; that the expense of prosecuting criminals at once decreased, and crime sank to a minimum, while all kinds of business flourished and the city treasury showed an unprecedented favorable balance. With $84,000 of unlawful revenue from saloons Kansas City, Kan., was always in debt. Without that revenue and without the expenses caused by the saloons, her municipal finances in 1907 are prosperous. Governor E. W. Hoch, of Kansas, writing of the prohibition revival in that state, in a letter to *The Defender*, on Sept. 16, 1907, says:

> The state (Kansas) was never so free from saloons and joints as it is to-day. It was never so prosperous as it is now materially and financially. I do not believe that there are anywhere on earth 1,600,000 people maintaining a higher standard of morals than the 1,600,000 who constitute the population of Kansas, nor do I believe that there are anywhere else on earth a similar number of people enjoying such freedom from pauperism and poverty. We have not only proved the wisdom of the prohibition policy so far as the moral and intellectual interests of the people are concerned, but we have established its wisdom from a financial standpoint.

Iowa

From July 4, 1884, to and including 1893, Iowa was a prohibition state. During the first four of these years the law was well enforced in the greater part of the state. That it ministered to the welfare and prosperity of the state there is ample evidence. The Hon. Henry Sabine, superintendent of public instruction in that state, testified of it, "Prohibition has not only emptied our jails, but it has also filled our colleges and schools, and brought prosperity to all our educational interests." In 1885 thirty-eight newspaper editors, from all parts of the state, headed by C. F. Clarkson of the leading Des Moines daily paper, signed the statement that the prohibition law was "as well enforced throughout the state as other laws." In 1899 the Hon. William Larrabee, who had been governor of the state, 1886–90, made a public statement in which he showed the results of enforced prohibition, of its nullification, and of its repeal, in a statement of the prison population of Iowa for twelve years, as follows:

Prohibition Years			
1886	696	1888	596
1887	667	1889	574
Anti-Prohibition Years			
1890	588	1892	659
1891	631	1893	727
Mulct Law Years			
1894	847	1896	1,094
1895	1,094	1897	1,118

In his message to the legislature in 1889 Governor Larrabee, speaking of the success of the law, said: "The deposits of the banks show an unprecedented increase, and there are everywhere indications of a healthy growth of legitimate trade."

Other States

In existing circumstances the decision of the question whether state prohibition has wholesome practical effects, if executed with tolerable fairness, rests mainly upon the conclusions coming from a thorough study of Maine, Kansas, and Iowa experience; for these are the only states in which there has been anything like an adequate and a prolonged trial of the policy

[1] See *The Voice*, June 13, 1889.

throughout a broad extent of territory embracing considerable cities and peopled by enterprising classes of citizens.

Vermont and New Hampshire.—These two states, since the repeal of their prohibitory laws, mentioned above, have given startling proof of the dissatisfaction of the public with license laws, in the fact that no-license territory has constantly increased until the larger part of both the states is under local prohibition.

North Dakota.—In this state the enforcement of the prohibitory law has been strenuously opposed by railroad interests, influenced by money received for transportation of liquors, yet in many towns, notably in Fargo, the law has proved a great success. Fargo, judged by the tests of prosperity, absence of crime, etc., is immeasurably in advance of the license city, Moorehead, located just across the Red River in Minnesota. (See "Fargo and Moorehead," a leaflet published by the National Temperance Society of New York.)

The year 1907 is specially notable for the appearance of a strong movement to repudiate the constitutionality of any law licensing the sale of liquor. Judge Samuel R. Artman, of Indiana, in a formal decision, declared the license laws of that state unconstitutional, on the ground that the sale of liquor is opposed to those things for which the constitution is established, and is a nuisance per se which the legislature cannot legalize. Judge Artman has been followed by several other circuit court judges in Indiana, and, tho one of the cases, passed upon by the supreme court of that state, has been decided adversely, the movement is by no means checked, and the prohibitionists of Indiana are using every effort to bring the case before the Supreme Court of the U. S. It is freely charged that the supreme court of Indiana was influenced by political necessities in its decision. This movement rests upon the ground taken by the U. S. Supreme Court when it said (Stone *vs.* Mississippi, 102 U. S., 816): "No legislature can bargain away the public health or the public morals. The people themselves cannot do it, much less their servants. Government is organized with a view to their preservation and cannot divest itself of the power to provide for them."

William P. F. Ferguson.

PROHIBITION PARTY, THE: The Prohibition Party was established in 1869. The early efforts (1844–60) to secure the prohibition of the liquor traffic were purely non-partizan. The liquor business had little or no political influence and was without effective organization. In most of the cases where prohibition laws were submitted to the people of a state the submission was in good faith and the vote honestly taken.

It is considered memorable that Rev. Charles F. Deems published at Greensburg, N. C., in 1854, a newspaper urging independent political action by the advocates of prohibition. Only a few numbers of this journal were issued.

Origin

In the Civil War (1861–65) all political questions save the supreme questions arising from that conflict were lost sight of. The liquor traffic was given a new footing by the internal revenue legislation. Brought into political prominence and schooled in political arts by its close relations with the federal government, the liquor element gradually asserted itself in politics. No new prohibitory measure was enacted at the North during the war. Rhode Island's statute was repealed in 1863, other state laws were weakened, and nearly all were flagrantly violated. Soon after the restoration of peace it became evident that the liquor dealers were bent on sweeping away, by political operation, all the prohibitory legislation of the union. In Massachusetts, the most populous of the prohibition states, the liquor forces made an aggressive political canvass in 1867, resulting in the election of a legislature which rescinded the law the next year. In Connecticut, in 1860, an active agitation for repeal was begun. In the same year the National Brewers' Congress (at Chicago, June 5, 1860) adopted the following resolution:

Whereas, The action and influence of the temperance party is in direct opposition to the principles of individual freedom and political equality upon which our American union is founded; therefore

Resolved, That we will use all means to stay the progress of this fanatical party, and to secure our individual rights as citizens, and that we will sustain no candidate, of whatever party, in any election, who is in any way disposed toward the total abstinence cause.

A steadily growing disposition upon the part of political leaders to cater to the wishes and consent to the demands of the liquor interests gradually forced the advocates of prohibition to the position that the interests which they championed could be conserved only by the control of the machinery of government by the advocates of those interests.

In Feb., 1867, the State Temperance Convention of Pennsylvania declared that "if the adversaries of temperance shall continue to receive the aid and countenance of present political parties we shall not hesitate to break over political bands and seek redress through the ballot-box." The Grand Lodge of Good Templars of Pennsylvania, at Pittsburg, June 10, 1860, passed a similar resolution, and the Right Worthy Grand Lodge of Good Templars (the supreme body of the order), in session at Richmond, Ind., May 28, 1868, recommended the formation of a prohibition party.

In 1869 (at Oswego, N. Y.), at a meeting of the Grand Lodge, a conference of those favoring separate political action was held, and the duty of preparing a call for a national convention to organize a national prohibition party was assigned to a committee of five, composed of Rev. John Russell, of Detroit, Mich., Prof. Daniel Wilkins, of Bloomington, Ill., J. A. Spencer, of Cleveland, O., John N. Stearns, of New York, and James Black, of Lancaster, Pa.

The organizing convention met in Farwell Hall, Chicago, on Sept. 1, 1869, with nearly five hundred delegates in attendance. The name Anti-Dramshop Party at first found favor, but the organization was launched as the National Prohibition Party. Articles II. and III. of the platform adopted by this convention set forth the party's position. They read:

2. That the traffic in intoxicating beverages is a dishonor to Christian civilization, inimical to the best interests of society, a political wrong of unequaled enormity, subversive of the ordinary object of government, not capable of being regulated or restrained by any system of license whatever, but imperatively demanding for its suppression effective legal prohibition, both by state and national legislation.

3. That in view of this, and inasmuch as the existing political parties either oppose or ignore this great and paramount question, and absolutely refuse to do anything toward the suppression of the rum traffic, which is robbing the nation of its brightest intellects, destroying internal prosperity, and rapidly undermining its very foundations, we are driven by an

imperative sense of duty to sever our connection with these political parties and organize ourselves into a National Prohibition Party, having for its primary object the entire suppression of the traffic in intoxicating drinks.

The platform denounced "all repudiation of the public debt," pledged "fidelity to the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the federal Constitution" and deemed it "not expedient at present to give prominence to other political issues." The fifth section exprest reliance upon divine aid. From that day to this the party's utterances have always been deeply religious in tone and form.

At the fall elections of 1869 Ohio was the only state returning votes for the Prohibition Party as a distinct organization, 679 being reported from that state. But Maine cast 4,743 and Minnesota 1,061 votes for "Republican Prohibition" candidates.

In 1870 support was received at the polls in six states, as follows: Illinois, 3,712; Massachusetts (lieutenant-governor), 8,692; Michigan, 2,170; New Hampshire, 1,167; New York, 1,459; Ohio, 2,812—total, 20,012. In Massachusetts the Prohibition candidate for governor, Wendell Phillips, indorsed by the Labor Party and Independent Republicans, polled 21,946 votes.

Only a few of the states held elections in 1871. Five returned Prohibition votes: Massachusetts, 6,598; New Hampshire, 314; New York, 1,820; Ohio, 4,084, and Pennsylvania, 3,186—total, 16,002. In New York the party took the name of "Anti-Dramshop."

The first National Nominating Convention was held on Feb. 22, 1872, at Columbus, Ohio. James Black, of Pennsylvania, and John Russell, of Michigan, were unanimously nominated for president and vice-president, respectively.

First Presidential Nomination

Besides the prohibition planks there were planks favoring a sound currency, convertible into gold or silver, suffrage irrespective of color or sex, low rates of travel and transportation, direct vote for presidency and vice-presidency, promotion of immigration, transportation, and purity of office. The total vote was only 5,607, only six states having tickets in the field.

1876 to 1884

The second National Nominating Convention met in Cleveland on May 17, 1876. Green Clay Smith, of Kentucky, was nominated for president, and Gideon T. Stewart, of Ohio, for vice-president. "The National Prohibition Reform Party" was substituted for the old name.

Resources for a canvass were wholly lacking, the contest between the old parties was bitter, Hayes and Tilden being the candidates, and only 9,737 votes were recorded, but they came from eighteen states. A national conference was held in New York in Sept., 1877, and in state elections that year marked progress was shown. Iowa, which had hitherto ignored the movement, cast 10,545 votes, and Massachusetts, 16,354. The politicians of the former state hastened to submit a prohibitory constitutional amendment to counteract the movement.

The third National Nominating Convention met at Cleveland, June 17, 1880. General Neal Dow, of Maine, was nominated for president, and the Rev. H. A. Thompson, of Ohio, for vice-president.

Again no campaign was waged and in only sixteen states did the party appear, receiving a total of 9,678 votes.

In Aug., 1881, a group of temperance leaders, most of whom had not been identified with the prohibition movement, in a meeting at Lake Bluff, near Chicago, decided to secure a reorganization of and a wider support for the party. A call for a national convention to absorb and supersede the Prohibition Party was issued, and the body met in Farwell Hall, Chicago, Aug. 23 and 24, 1882; 341 delegates being present from twenty-two states. The name, the "Prohibition Home Protection Party," was adopted and was more or less readily accepted by prohibition agitators and voters. The state elections of 1881, 1882, and 1883 were encouraging.

The nominating convention of 1884 was called to order at Pittsburg, May 21st. But it was desired by some of the new leaders, and by many who had not fully made up their minds, to make a final test of the tendencies of the other political parties before entering the field, and this was done.

1884 to 1888

The platform committees of the two conventions, after listening with scant courtesy to the advocates, ignored their requests. Many who had hoped that the Republican or the Democratic Party would take up the cause in due time, were now convinced of the hostility of both these organizations, and, when the Prohibition convention assembled at Pittsburg, on July 23d, it was evident that a profound impression had been made on the country. Thirty states and territories and the District of Columbia sent 465 accredited delegates. The original name of the party was restored. John P. St. John, who had been governor of Kansas for two terms as a Republican, was nominated for president, and William Daniel, of Maryland, for vice-president. The temperance women were given special representation in the committee, by the selection of Miss Frances E. Willard, of Illinois, and Mrs. Stewart, of Ohio, as members-at-large. Woman suffrage, however, was left to the discretion of the states, and the platform devoted almost entirely to prohibition. John B. Finch was elected national chairman, and held the office until his death, in 1887.

With the presidential campaign of 1884 the National Prohibition Party ceased to be a merely nominal organization, and began its active career.

An event contributing much to the success of the campaign of 1884 was the founding of a new prohibition paper, *The Voice*, in New York City, by Dr. I. K. Funk. This paper was continued until 1907 and was one of the greatest factors of the reform.

Prohibition electoral tickets for St. John and Daniel were in the field in thirty-four states, and a total vote of 150,626 was counted. The great growth of the party created a sensation, which was intensified by the fact that the votes drawn by it from the Republican Party in New York caused the defeat of Blaine and the election of Cleveland. The resentment of the Republican politicians took the form of persecution of Prohibitionists, but the party thrived upon it.

1888-1904

The National Convention of 1888 was held in Indianapolis. General Clinton B. Fisk, of New Jersey, was nominated for president, and John A. Brooks, of Missouri, for vice-president. In spite of much opposition, especially from the South, the platform made a distinct declaration for woman suffrage. A number of other issues were also recognized.

The campaign waged was vigorous, but the excitement created by the tariff issue between the old parties and the failure of the Methodist Church to support General Fisk, who was a leading member of that body and depended much upon the strong utterances of its conferences, made the vote disappointingly small. However, 249,945 votes were counted, every state excepting South Carolina contributing.

Following the election of 1888 the party propaganda was vigorous in almost all parts of the country and resulted in a large and enthusiastic national convention in Cincinnati in 1892. General John Bidwell, of California, was nominated for president, and J. B. Cranfill, of Texas, for vice-president. In addition to prohibition the platform declared for woman suffrage, currency reform, laws against monopoly, the restriction of emigration, arbitration, just pensions, support of public schools, and suppression of speculation.

Samuel Dickie was continued as chairman of the national committee, and William T. Wardwell, of New York, the treasurer of the Standard Oil Company, became the secretary of the committee.

The currency issue, the question between the advocates of free silver and a gold standard, was much agitated in the Prohibition Party during the years which followed, and as a result the national convention of 1896, which met at Pittsburg on May 27th, attended by 840 delegates representing thirty-nine states, "split," the free-silver advocate mustering 387 out of 814 votes in the test vote on platform. The platform adopted was known as a single-plank platform, making no declaration on any subject except the prohibition issue. Joshua Levering, of Maryland, was nominated for president, and Hale Johnson, of Illinois, for vice-president. The advocates of the free-silver policy, under the leadership of John P. St. John, R. S. Thompson, Helen M. Gougar, L. B. Logan, withdrew from the convention and formed the "National Party," which polled a few votes in the election which followed and disappeared.

The first McKinley-Bryan campaign so centered public attention upon the currency question that the prohibition issue had hardly a hearing. Only a little over 130,000 votes

were cast for the party's candidates—a falling off of one half. The party rallied itself after this blow, and it was evident that the movement was too deep-rooted to be checked by any disaster. In 1899 the leading prohibition paper, then known as *The New Voice*, was purchased by the firm of Dickie & Woolley and removed to Chicago under the direction of John G. Woolley with William P. F. Ferguson as managing editor.

The National Convention of 1900 met in Chicago and nominated John G. Woolley, of Illinois, for president, and Henry B. Metcalf, of Rhode Island, for vice-president. The platform adopted confined itself entirely to the prohibition issue and the relation of that issue to other questions of national importance. The vote was largely increased, almost 210,000 ballots being counted, every state excepting Louisiana, Nevada, and Mississippi returning Prohibition votes.

In the year 1902 began the movement which has since assumed some importance in the election of Prohibitionists to state legislatures. In that year Mr. Stewart, the national chairman, was elected on the straight Prohibition ticket to the legislature of Illinois from a Chicago district. In 1904 three Prohibitionists secured seats in the Illinois legislature, two others being possibly elected but counted out. In 1906 three Prohibitionists were elected to the legislature of Illinois, and three in Minnesota, while some ten other candidates narrowly missed of election. Pronounced Prohibitionists were also elected to the legislature, by the aid of other parties, in Massachusetts and Connecticut, while, in New York, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia, Prohibitionists took part in successful fusion movements.

The National Convention of 1904 met at Indianapolis and nominated Silas C. Swallow, of Pennsylvania, for president, and George W. Carroll, of Texas, for vice-president. Dr. Swallow had gained wide public attention by campaigns in the State of Pennsylvania against political corruptionists and had polled a large vote for governor in that state on the Prohibition ticket.

The following is the presidential vote of the Prohibition Party from 1872 to 1904:

State	1872	1876	1880	1884	1888	1892	1896	1900	1904
Alabama	.....	.....	.....	613	583	239	2,147	2,173	612
Arkansas	.....	.....	.....	.....	614	113	889	584	983
California	.....	.....	61	2,960	5,761	8,096	2,573	5,024	7,380
Colorado	.....	.....	.....	761	2,191	1,652	1,717	3,790	3,438
Connecticut	205	378	409	2,305	4,334	4,026	1,808	1,617	1,506
Delaware	.....	.....	.....	64	400	564	355	538	607
Florida	.....	.....	.....	72	417	561	654	2,234	.....
Georgia	.....	.....	.....	168	1,808	988	5,613	1,396	845
Idaho	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	288	197	857	1,013
Illinois	.....	141	443	12,074	21,695	25,870	9,796	17,626	34,770
Indiana	.....	38	.....	3,028	9,881	13,050	3,056	13,718	23,496
Iowa	.....	36	592	1,472	3,550	6,340	3,192	9,502	11,601
Kansas	.....	110	.....	4,495	6,779	4,553	1,611	3,605	7,245
Kentucky	.....	818	258	3,139	5,225	6,442	4,781	3,780	6,609
Louisiana	.....	.....	.....	328	160	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maine	.....	.....	93	2,160	2,691	3,062	1,570	2,585	1,510
Maryland	.....	10	.....	2,827	4,767	5,877	5,918	4,582	3,034
Massachusetts	.....	84	682	9,923	8,701	7,539	2,998	6,207	4,279
Michigan	1,271	767	942	18,403	20,942	20,857	5,025	11,859	13,308
Minnesota	.....	144	286	4,684	15,316	14,017	4,365	8,555	6,253
Mississippi	.....	.....	.....	.....	218	910	485	.....	.....
Missouri	.....	64	.....	2,153	4,539	4,298	2,196	5,965	7,191
Montana	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	549	186	298	335
Nebraska	.....	1,599	.....	2,899	9,429	4,902	1,243	3,685	6,323
Nevada	.....	.....	.....	.....	41	89	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire	200	.....	180	1,570	1,594	1,296	779	1,270	749
New Jersey	.....	43	191	6,153	7,939	8,131	5,614	7,183	6,845
New York	201	2,329	1,517	24,999	30,231	38,193	16,052	22,043	20,787
North Carolina	.....	.....	.....	454	2,787	2,636	675	1,006	361
North Dakota	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	899	358	731	1,137
Ohio	2,100	1,636	2,616	1,169	24,356	26,012	5,068	10,203	19,339
Oregon	.....	.....	.....	492	1,677	2,281	919	2,516	3,806
Pennsylvania	1,630	1,319	1,319	15,283	20,447	25,123	19,274	27,908	33,717
Rhode Island	.....	68	20	928	1,251	1,654	1,160	1,529	768
South Carolina	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Dakota	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	683	1,542	2,965
Tennessee	.....	.....	.....	1,131	5,969	4,856	3,098	3,900	1,889
Texas	.....	.....	.....	3,534	4,749	2,165	1,786	2,644	4,292
Utah	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	209	.....
Vermont	.....	.....	.....	1,752	1,460	1,424	733	383	792
Virginia	.....	.....	.....	138	1,682	2,798	2,350	2,150	1,383
Washington	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,553	968	2,363	3,229
West Virginia	.....	.....	.....	939	1,084	2,145	1,216	1,585	4,413
Wisconsin	.....	151	69	7,656	14,277	13,132	7,509	10,124	9,770
Wyoming	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	530	.....	.....	207
Total	5,607	9,737	9,678	150,626	249,945	270,710	130,617	209,260	258,787

The platform, as the latest and as well the broadest official utterance of the Prohibition Party, is worthy of reproduction here.

National Prohibition Platform, 1904

The Prohibition Party in national convention assembled, at Indianapolis, June 30, 1904, recognizing that the chief end of all government is the establishment of those principles of righteousness and justice which have been revealed to men as the will of the ever-living God, desiringHis blessing upon our national life, and believing in the perpetuation of the high ideals of government of the people, by the people, and for the people, established by our fathers, makes the following declaration of principles and purposes:

I. The widely prevailing system of the licensed and legalized sale of alcoholic beverages is so ruinous to individual interests, so inimical to public welfare, so destructive of national wealth, and so subversive of the rights of great masses of our citizenship, that the destruction of the traffic is, and for years has been, the most important question in American politics.

II. We denounce the lack of statesmanship exhibited by the leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties in their refusal to recognize the paramount importance of this question, and the cowardice with which the leaders of these parties have courted the favor of those whose selfish interests are advanced by the continuation and augmentation of the traffic, until to-day the influence of the liquor traffic practically dominates national, state, and local government throughout the nation.

III. We declare the truth, demonstrated by the experience of half a century, that all methods of dealing with the liquor traffic which recognize its right to exist, in any form, under any system of license or tax or regulation, have proved powerless to remove its evils, and useless as checks upon its growth, while the insignificant public revenues which have accrued therefrom have seared the public conscience against a recognition of its iniquity.

IV. We call public attention to the fact, proved by the experience of more than fifty years, that to secure the enactment and enforcement of prohibitory legislation, in which alone lies the hope of the protection of the people from the liquor traf-

fic, it is necessary that the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government should be in the hands of a political party in harmony with the prohibition principle, and pledged to its embodiment in law, and to the execution of those laws.

V. We pledge the Prohibition Party, wherever given power by the suffrages of the people, to the enactment and enforcement of laws prohibiting and abolishing the manufacture, importation, transportation, and sale of alcoholic beverages.

VI. We declare that there is not only no other issue of equal importance before the American people to-day, but that the so-called issues upon which the Democratic and Republican parties seek to divide the electorate of the country are, in large part, subterfuges under the cover of which they wrangle for the spoils of office.

VII. Recognizing that the intelligent voters of the country may properly ask our attitude upon other questions of public concern, we declare ourselves in favor of:

The impartial enforcement of all law.

The safeguarding of the people's rights by a rigid application of the principles of justice to all combinations and organizations of capital and labor.

The recognition of the fact that the right of suffrage should depend upon the mental and moral qualifications of the citizen.

A more intimate relation between the people and government, by a wise application of the principle of the initiative and referendum.

Such changes in our laws as will place tariff schedules in the hands of an omnipartizan commission.

The application of uniform laws to all our country and dependencies.

The election of United States senators by vote of the people.

The extension and honest administration of the civil service laws.

The safeguarding of every citizen in every place under the government of the people of the U. S., in all the rights guaranteed by the laws and the Constitution.

International arbitration, and we declare that our nation should contribute, in every manner consistent with national dignity, to the permanent establishment of peace between all nations.

The reform of our divorce laws, the final extirpation of polygamy, and the total overthrow of the present shameful system of the illegal sanction of the social evil, with its unspeakable traffic in girls, by the municipal authorities of almost all our cities.

In December, 1904, Charles R. Jones, of Pennsylvania, was elected national chairman.

WILLIAM P. F. FERGUSON.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION: No one, who has not analyzed the statistics of political elections, can realize how defective is the electoral machinery of most countries. The late Mr. Thomas Hare, who was known in England as the "Father of Proportional Representation," calculated that no less than two fifths of the voters were wholly unrepresented in Parliament, while in this country Mr. Salem Dutcher, to whom we owe an excellent work on "Proportional Representation," curiously enough found the same proportion of two fifths to be true also for the Fortieth, Forty-first, and Forty-second Congresses of the United States. In Switzerland the statistics for the years 1881, 1884, and 1887 of the elections to the National Council, which corresponds to our House of Representatives, revealed the same unjust state of affairs. Down to the present time the same system goes on producing similar results. As matters now stand in these countries, the powers of government are entrusted to a majority of the majority, who may be a minority of the whole electorate. If, for instance, three fifths of the electors only are represented in a certain legislature, and one half plus one of the representatives, or say two thirds in order to leave a little margin, regulate the character of legislation, then the majority in that legislature, which frames the laws, represents a minority of the electors; for two thirds of three fifths is two fifths, which is less than one half. Mr. Garfield, while still a Congressman, described this unjust feature of our political machinery with characteristic clearness in a speech delivered before the House of Representatives on June 23, 1870. "In my judgment," he said, "it is the weak point in the theory of representative government, as now organized and administered, that a large portion of the voting people are permanently disfranchised. . . . Take my own district as an example; I have never been elected by less than 9,000 majority. Sometimes the majority has exceeded 12,000. There are about 10,000 Democratic voters in my district, and they have been voting there for the last forty years, without any more hope of having a representative on this floor than of having one in the Commons of Great Britain."

Injustice of Present Methods

Many readers can supply illustrations of similar injustices, either from their own electoral district or from the wider field of national politics.

Here are a few recent examples of similar injustice and disproportion:

The congressional delegation elected in Ohio in 1906 contained 16 Republicans and 5 Democrats. According to the actual vote cast, the proportion ought to have been 11 Republicans and 10 Democrats.

In the British parliamentary election of 1906 the Ministerialist groups had 56 per cent of the votes and elected 72 per cent of the members. The Conservatives had 44 per cent of the votes and elected only 28 per cent of the members. So that the huge Ministerialist majority of 256 ought to have been only 68.

The Oregon House of Representatives consists of 60 members. In the election of June, 1906, the vote cast was, in round figures, as follows: Republicans, 54,000; Democrats, 30,000; Socialists, 7,000; Prohibitionists, 5,000. The fair and proper representation for each party would, therefore, have been 34 Republicans, 19 Democrats, 4 Socialists, and 3 Prohibitionists. Yet the actual result was 59 Republicans, 1 Democrat, and no Socialists or Prohibitionists.

Hundreds of similar examples could be given. The present system is unjust to Republicans as well as to Democrats, to Liberals as well as to Conservatives, and most of all to the smaller parties. The system is hopelessly faulty. By mere accident it sometimes approximates fair results as between the two main parties, but between them alone.

Undoubtedly the habit of manipulating the boundaries of electoral districts for party purposes also tends to aggravate these discrepancies. This abuse is called by the Germans *wahlkreisgeometrie*, or the geometry of electoral districts. In the United States it has been nicknamed the *gerrymander* (*q. v.*).

But even if dishonest electoral districts were never created, there would still remain a high percentage of unrepresented voters. The truth is, the whole system of electing representatives, as now practised the world over, cannot be made to produce accurate results. It is evident that a radical reform is demanded—one which shall make the vote of every elector effective, by applying the principle of proportional representation.

The various systems proposed of proportional representation are all based upon what is known technically as the electoral quota.

Suppose that in an illustrative state 70,000 votes are cast for the election of seven representatives on the proportional principle. Now, if 70,000 can elect seven, then one seventh of

70,000, that is, 10,000, ought to be able to elect one. Thus 10,000 is the electoral quota in such a case. Every candidate who obtains 10,000 votes is sure of election; and every party is entitled to one representative for each 10,000 votes. This assumes that all these seven representatives are elected from the one electoral district.

Basis of Proportional Representation

The same principle applies to a meeting of seventy persons who elect a committee of seven. Any ten persons voting together ought to be able to elect one of the committee, and the electoral quota is therefore ten. Any candidate obtaining ten votes is sure of election. If sixty persons are electing a committee of five, then any twelve of them ought to be able to elect one; and so on, whatever the number of electors or of representatives.

The theoretical basis of the electoral quota is, therefore, to divide the number of votes cast by the number of seats to be filled; in other words, to divide all the votes by all the seats. This gives what may be termed "the large quota." But in practise it is found that a smaller quota is sufficient to insure the election of any candidate and there are simple rules for finding such a quota, with which we will not trouble the reader at this stage. Let it suffice to indicate the general principle on which the electoral quota rests.

Then comes the working out of the quota principle in contested elections. This can best be shown by the descriptions of specific systems which follow:

The Hare or Hare-Spence System

We take first the Hare or Hare-Spence system, as being more explanatory of the proportional principle than any other, and we describe it in a colloquial way:

If you are voting on the Hare-Spence system in a seven-member electoral district, you mark your ballot for seven candidates (or less) in the order of your choice, with the figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. The man whom you like best you mark No. 1, the next best No. 2, and so on in rotation. If your vote goes to help the candidate of your first choice to be elected, then it does not count for anybody else. But if the candidate whom you have marked No. 1—your first choice—has enough votes without yours, or has so few votes that he cannot be elected, then your vote goes to the man whom you have marked No. 2. If your No. 2 does not need or cannot use your vote, then it is passed on to No. 3, and so forth.

In counting the votes, the first operation in the Hare system is to sort out the ballots into as many compartments as there are candidates, according to the first choice or No. 1 votes, paying no attention for the present to the other figures on the ballots. While this is being done two tally-clerks are keeping tally of the votes. When the total number of votes is thus ascertained, it is divided by seven, which is the number of members to be elected. This gives the "quota" or numbe· of votes required to elect any one man. For instance, if seven members are to be elected and 14,000 votes have been cast, the "quota" will be 2,000.

This is the "large quota." If the more accurate smaller quota of Mr. Droop is used, the process is thus: Divide the 14,000 votes by one more than the seven seats, and add one to the quotient. This gives 1,751 as the electoral quota. Any candidate getting 1,751 votes is sure of election, because if seven candidates get 1,751 votes each, there are not votes enough left to put an eighth candidate on a par with them.

Then any one of the candidates who has a quota or more than a quota is declared elected. If he has more than a quota, his surplus ballots are transferred to such of the other candidates as may have been marked No. 2 on the ballots so transferred. If the candidate marked No. 2 on any of these ballots has already been elected, then the ballot goes on to No. 3, and so on.

It never happens that the full number of members required have quotas of first-choice votes; so we then begin at the other end, take the man at the foot of the poll, with the lowest number of votes, declare him "out of the count," and then distribute the whole of his votes among the remaining candidates, according as indicated by the voters themselves, each on his own ballot. This process of elimination is repeated until seven of the candidates either get a quota or come the nearest to it, and these seven are the elected ones.

From the above it will be seen that there are four chief factors in the Hare system of proportional representation:

1. The multiple electoral district; that is, a district from which several members are elected—not less than five, and more being better, up to the limit of balloting convenience.
2. The single vote; that is, each elector has one vote only which finally counts.
3. The electoral quota.
4. The transfer of votes.

Two or more of these factors are common to all systems of proportional representation.

The Gove Plan

Hon. William H. Gove (Salem, Mass.) has devised a system on the same general principles as the Hare plan, but greatly simplified. After nomination and before election each candidate publishes, in a certain formal way, a preferential list of those other candidates to whom he directs that any necessary transfers of his votes shall be made; that is, his surplus, if any, or all his votes if he be eliminated. Then at the election each voter marks only one name on his ballot. The counting and the use of an electoral quota are the same as in the Hare system, except that the candidates' lists are used instead of the voters' second or subsequent choices, and actual ballots are not transferred. Transfers are made by calculation only, so that the ballots have not to be brought to one central place for counting.

The Japanese System

A simpler plan still is used in Japan. In multiple electoral districts each elector has one vote only. The districts vary in electoral size from five members to fifteen. There is no electoral quota, and there are no transfers. The votes are simply counted, and the required number of members taken from the head of the poll. This frequently gives a true proportional result; because the process is just the same as if only the first choices were counted in the Hare system; and often in that system those who head the poll on the count of first choices are those ultimately elected. In any event the only difference the transfers make is a difference of one member, or two at most. The explanation is that the tendency of electoral transfers is from the weaker to the stronger candidates. Therefore the simple single vote in a multiple district is approximately proportional.

The Proxy System

An addition to the Japanese system is proposed by Mr. John H. Berry, of Salem, Mass., and has been twice or three times embodied in a bill before the Massachusetts Legislature, but not passed. It gives each elected representative as many votes on a division as he has received from his constituents at his election, and provides a simple and ingenious plan by which any voter may transfer his vote from one representative to another, or from an unsuccessful to a successful candidate, thus enabling voters to withdraw support from an unfaithful representative, and insuring that every voter can be represented if he chooses.

Cumulative Voting

A plan called cumulative voting was used for thirty years in the election of English school-boards. It is now in use in the State of Illinois for legislative elections, in three-member districts—districts too small for really good working. Each elector has as many votes as there are candidates to be elected, and he may divide these votes among several candidates or "cumulate" them all on one or two of the candidates, as he pleases. The more the voters cumulate, the more proportional is the result. Cumulative voting, used as a system by itself, is an imperfect plan, and leads to great waste of votes. It is used in multiple districts.

The List Systems

Between systems of proportional representation there is a distinct line of cleavage: that between list systems and the non-list methods we have been describing. A marked feature of list systems is that either the single vote, the multiple vote, or the cumulative vote may be used with them. They all require that the candidates be divided into party lists on the ballots; hence the name. Each list has its appropriate party heading. A vote counts both for the list and for the individuals in it to whom the vote is given.

The process of counting is to ascertain the grand total of votes, and the total for each list. Then the electoral quota is obtained in one of the ways already mentioned, or by mathematical methods such as the d'Hondt plan, which is adapted to list systems only, and gives a smaller quota than even the Droop. Next the lists are divided in turn by the electoral quota, thus showing the number of representatives to which each list is entitled. These representatives are chosen from the candidates having the largest number of votes.

In Switzerland the system is called the free list, and the multiple vote is chiefly used in connection with it; only one canton having the cumulative vote instead. The effect of the multiple vote, so used, is to give proportional results as

between parties, but not as between members of the same party.

In Belgium the single vote is used with the lists, each elector having one vote only; but the nominating arrangements are such as to give great power to the party organizations.

Akin to proportional representation is the preferential plan of securing an absolute majority at one balloting when electing a single officer such as a governor or mayor, no matter how many candidates are running. There is also the great advantage of promoting free nomination of candidates, because a weak candidate can be nominated without fear of cutting into the vote of a stronger candidate in the same interest. The method is simply that of the Hare or Gove system without the electoral quota. The counting finally concentrates the whole vote on two of the candidates, one of whom must then have a clear majority; barring a tie, which then is dealt with in the ordinary way. When at the same election both single officers and representatives have to be chosen, it is an advantage to use a similar method of balloting for each kind of election.

The Absolute Majority Method

Turning now to the actual use of proportional representation in legislative elections, we have the example of Switzerland, Belgium, Denmark, Tasmania, Japan, and Finland.

Switzerland uses the free list with multiple vote, Canton Zug having the additional feature of cumulation.

A Swiss canton is the equivalent of an American state or a Canadian province. Six cantons elect their legislatures by proportional representation, namely, Ticino, Neuchâtel, Geneva, Zug, Basel, and Soleure. Besides this, the people of Soleure elect the tax commission proportionally; also all municipal councils which consist of more than seven members. When the number is less than seven, the proportional method of election ceases to be obligatory and becomes optional. In Canton Freiburg there is the option of electing municipal councils proportionally. Canton Bern and Canton Ticino also use proportional representation municipally; this including the large capital city of Bern. Recent news is that the canton of Schwyz has voted for the adoption of proportional representation by a good majority.

Operation Where Adopted

Belgium uses the free list with the single vote and elects both houses of Parliament on that system, which was first used in the general elections of May, 1900. There have since been general elections in 1902, 1904, and 1906, all on the same proportional plan.

The Kingdom of Denmark has used a modified Hare system in the elections to the Upper House for the last fifty years; also in the election of parliamentary committees. In this case the application of the proportional principle is restricted and partial.

The British colony of Tasmania used the Hare system in Jan., 1897, and again in March, 1900, in the cities of Hobart and Launceston respectively, for the election of members of the island legislature. Six were elected in Hobart and four in Launceston. After the formation of the Australian Commonwealth, the then new state of Tasmania elected her six commonwealth senators and five representatives by the same Hare system. Then interested politicians brought about an indirect abolition of the system, by doing away with the large electoral districts in which alone it could be worked. The government responsible for this was overwhelmingly defeated at the next general election, and the new government reenacted proportional representation, their bill passing the Lower House of the legislature almost unanimously. But the Upper House defeated the measure by a majority of two, and there the matter stands for the present. This Tasmanian Upper House is a monopolistic and reactionary institution, small in numbers, and elected for long terms on a restricted franchise.

Japan's Parliament or "Diet" consists of two chambers, the House of Peers and the House of Commons. There are 379 members in the House of Commons, elected from forty-seven electoral districts, thus averaging eight members to a district. The number of members elected from these districts varies from five to fifteen. In every district each elector has one vote only, which gives an exceedingly simple electoral system, with a close approximation to proportional representation in its results.

Finland's new constitution contains a provision for proportional representation, and the system was used for the first time in the 1907 legislative elections of that interesting Russian dependency.

The results of all these various and widely differing practical tests may be shortly summarized in the one word, success.

We will take Belgium as an example, because it is there that proportional representation has been tried on the largest scale, in a country where exact data are available. The information given here comes from "La Représentation Proportionnelle en Belgique," a book published by the distinguished statesman and author, M. le Comte Goblet d'Alviella. We choose the election of 1900 instead of later ones, because, being the first election under proportional representation, the contrast between the new and old systems can be better shown:

Actual Results in Belgium

In the general elections for the Belgian Parliament at the end of May, 1900, a million and a half voters cast their ballots under the free-list plan of proportional representation. There are three parties in Belgium—the Clerical Conservatives, the Liberals, and the Socialists. The Clerical Conservatives prefer to be called simply the Catholic Party. At the previous election under the old system, the Catholics were grossly over-represented, chiefly at the expense of the Liberals; but the new system set this nearly right, and had the effect of giving each party a fairly proportional representation in accordance with the numerical strength of each, thus proving its right to the name it bears. The figures for the Chamber of Deputies (the Lower House) are worth giving.

The defunct Chamber, elected under the old system, contained 112 Catholics, 12 Liberals, and 28 Socialists. In 1900, on May 27th, proportional representation elected 86 Catholics, 33 Liberals, 32 Socialists, and 1 "Democratic Christian"—a dissident from the Catholic Party. This striking difference is indeed an object lesson.

One noteworthy result of the new system has been a great lessening of partizan virulence, largely because each party realized that the system prevented unfair advantage being taken. Another beneficial effect is stated by Count d'Alviella as follows:

"One of the advantages of our proportional representation consists in having broken the old lines that divided in politics our Walloon and our Flemish citizens. Formerly the Walloon districts returned Socialist and Liberal members: the Flemish without exception only Clericals, or Catholics, as they prefer to call themselves. Now, of course, each district has members belonging to both parties, or even to three; and this tends to diminish racial antagonism.

"Another result has been to awaken political life in numerous districts where for a long time it had seemed to be extinguished, especially in the Flemish provinces. In the heart of the two Flanders, notably at Anvers and even at Limbourg, liberal associations have been born or revived in localities most devoted to the conservative Catholic Party. The Socialists entered into the struggle wherever they could find candidates, and the Catholics raised their flag in districts in the Walloon country where they had never succeeded in electing a candidate within the memory of man.

"Among other indirect advantages, proportional representation has thus put an end to the perilous coincidence which tended to establish itself between political divisions

and racial or linguistic divisions. (In Belgium there are two distinct races, speaking different languages.) The Flemish Liberals have to-day in the Chamber of Deputies members who know their country and speak their language; just as the Catholics of the industrial districts find other representatives of their interests than 'Luxembourgeois'—country squires, or Flemish proprietors."

The system used in Belgium promotes the solidarity of the great political parties. Count d'Alviella says: "These elections show that Belgium has room for three parties, but only for three. Even in the city of Brussels, which was one large constituency, returning eighteen members, so that to carry a seat less than one eighteenth of the votes cast was required, the lists of the commercials, of the industrial commercials, and of the P. O. L. obtained with difficulty some thousands of votes; but further, neither the independents, in spite of the personal influence of M. Theodor, nor the Christian Democrats, in spite of the intense propaganda of Abbe Daens, succeeded in reaching the electoral quotient which gives a seat. Except the one follower of Abbe Daens elected at Alost, not a dissident has entered either the Chamber or the Senate. The three parties are certainly more homogeneous than they were in the last Parliament elected under the old system.

"On the other hand, proportional representation has put an end to the heterogeneous coalitions which have tended for some years to be introduced into Belgian politics, and which end in reciprocal disappointments. Everywhere the radicals, who generally form the mainspring of anticlerical combinations, have had to resign themselves to go with the moderate Liberals or to struggle alone. At Brussels the independents have been constrained to break with the Catholics, and thus is terminated an equivocal alliance which had monopolized for fourteen years the 'representation' of the district. Each party, freed from the care of seeking at any price allies which it hoped to dupe on the morrow, has been able to present itself with an integral and homogeneous program which, for the first time, perhaps, in an electoral contest, was distinguished for clearness and sincerity."

Progress and Propaganda

Coming now to the prospects, progress, and propaganda of the proportional-representation movement in countries other than those mentioned, we find pending legislation or an active propaganda in at least five countries, namely: Sweden, France, Australia, England, and the United States.

The American Proportional Representation League was organized in 1893 (*q. v.*).

The recent work of the American Proportional Representation League has been to collect and distribute information to inquirers and others as to the principles and progress of the movement, particularly among workers for direct legislation, who are to-day among those most interested in political and electoral reform. One result of this policy is a local campaign for the adoption of proportional representation in Oregon, where the old system has had a particularly obnoxious outcome.

The American Proportional Representation League now consists of something over a hundred members, and keeps quietly, but steadily, at work.

Great Britain

A Proportional Representation Society has existed in England for many years, but was almost dormant from 1888 until March, 1905, when a reorganization took place, with Lord Avebury as president, Hon. Leonard Courtney (now Lord Courtney) as chairman of committee, and Mr. John Humphreys (107 Algernon Road, Lewisham, S. E. London, England) as honorary secretary. Since then much active work has been done. Articles have been published in many newspapers, pamphlets printed and distributed, two bills introduced into the imperial parliament, and a Blue Book of authoritative information issued by the House of Lord, concerning the use of proportional representation in various countries.

In Great Britain the only system proposed is that of Mr. Hare, as modified by Miss C. H. Spence, by introducing the feature of electoral districts instead of the whole of the country being one district as Mr. Hare proposed. Hence the method is sometimes known as the Hare-Spence system. Altho approved in England, a densely populated country, many members of the American League believe that the Hare system would not work well in the U. S.

The Australian Commonwealth

South Australia is the home of Miss Catherine Helen Spence, an able advocate of electoral reform; now over eighty-one year of age, but still active as a journalist and public speaker. For some years proportional representation has been in practical politics in that state, but so far without actual adoption. Its prospects seem bright for the near future.

In Victoria attempts have been made to introduce the proportional principle, but so far unsuccessfully. Professor Nanson, professor of mathematics in the University of Melbourne, is leader of the movement in that state.

Tasmania has been already referred to. Some propaganda work has been done in New South Wales.

There is now before the commonwealth Parliament a government bill for the use of preferential voting in single member districts. The Hare-Spence system is the only plan of proportional representation advocated or used in Australia. France during the last few years has been much stirred by the example of her near neighbor, Belgium, and a strong movement for proportional representation is in progress. The organ of the movement is *Le Proportionnaliste*, a quarterly journal published at 71 Grande-Rue Roubaix, France; and it has the support of powerful daily newspapers.

The French Republic

At the general election in May (1907) proportional representation figured in the program of many candidates, and, as soon as the new Parliament was opened, three bills tending to establish it in municipal and parliamentary elections were introduced.

As a result of the long struggle for electoral reform in Sweden the Swedish Government introduced into Parliament in Jan., 1907, a comprehensive measure which includes provisions for proportional voting in the elections for both chambers of the Riksdag and for municipalities.

Sweden

ROBERT TYSON.

REFERENCES: Library of Congress, a list of books (with references to periodicals) relating to proportional representation, Washington, 1904; Prof. John R. Commons, *Proportional Representation* (2d ed.), with chapters on the Initiative, the Referendum, and Primary Elections, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1907. *Proportional Representation Review*, published quarterly as a department of Equity Series, by Dr. C. F. Taylor, 1520 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia. *P. R. in Belgium* (2 pamphlets); *P. R. in Switzerland*; *Voting Methods for Clubs and Societies*; and *A Primer of D. L. and P. R.*: all by Robert Tyson, secretary of the American Proportional Representation League, 10 Harbord Street, Toronto, Canada.

PROSTITUTION OR THE SOCIAL EVIL: The "social evil," as one form of social wrongdoing is commonly denominated, is not an evil peculiar to any age, country, or civilization. Herodotus tells us of an extent and infamy of prostitution in ancient Babylon almost beyond belief. Prostitution in terrible and unnatural forms was a part of the religious cultus of goddesses or gods worshiped under different names in Phœnicia, Syria, Phrygia, Egypt, and the ad-

jacent countries. Similar rites entered into the idolatry which repeatedly led the children of Israel astray, and are connected with the "groves" and "pillars," and other terms under which the English Old Testament covers the literal meaning of the Hebrew original. In Greece and at Athens, as well as in Corinth, we find the same sexual worship and prostitution made a matter of civic glory and religious gain. Unnatural vice was openly practised and defended by Greece's sages, heroes, and statesmen. Prostitution was taught as an art. The most educated women of Greece were courtezans. In Rome, if vice was less beautiful, it was more unbridled. Women of the highest rank, even of the imperial purple, enrolled themselves as common prostitutes. Orgies took place in the baths and in the temples. Obscenity ruled the stage.

We find the evil in every portion of the globe; in India, in Japan, in Hawaii, and everywhere about in proportion to our knowledge of the life of the age and country. We find it in the Middle Ages alike in hovel and in palace; in cloister and in hall. If under the Puritan régime it was temporarily restrained, it broke out in the Restoration in a wilder carnival of vice. (See CRIME.) It exists to-day in modern Babylons as in the old; if it is now publicly condemned and the number of the pure is enormously increased, there are those who believe that it is eating to-day under the surface far more than is generally known. At the National Purity Congress in Baltimore (Oct., 1895) it was stated that the number of prostitutes in the United States was 230,000, and that this implied at least 1,150,000 prostitutemen, which is probably far under the truth. Miss Kate R. O'Hare, a rescue mission worker of many years' experience, estimates (*The Worker*, May 26, 1906) 600,000 public prostitutes in the U. S., and possibly as many more who sacrifice their chastity in connection with some other means of livelihood. Prostitutes are mainly found in the cities. Their male companions live not only in the cities, but also in the towns and villages, whose residents go to the cities for business, or pleasure, or both.

Extent

In a paper prepared for the World's Congress on Social Purity, held in Chicago in June, 1893, Hon. Elbridge T. Gerry states that Superintendent Byrnes, of the police department, and himself compared notes with exactly the same result, and, viewing the matter from two different standpoints, they were agreed that the number of prostitutes at that time in New York City was at least 40,000.

Some think this estimate was too high. The Rev. F. M. Goodchild, writing in *The Arena* for March, 1896, says:

> It has been declared that in New York City there are between 40,000 and 50,000 such women. That would make one habitual prostitute for every nine mature men in the city. As it is estimated that every fallen woman means on an average five fallen men to support her, it would appear that more than half our men are regular contributors to the brothel, which I should hesitate very much to believe.

Mr. Goodchild, however, appears to forget that prostitutes in a city are not supported by residents of that city alone, so that there may be 40,000. Nor is there any reason for believing that New York is much, if any, worse than other places in proportion to their size.

Mr. George K. Turner (*McClure's*, April, 1907) estimates that $20,000,000 a year is made by prostitution in Chicago. He says:

> There are at least 10,000 professional prostitutes. Average annual receipts of $2,000 each are brought in by these women. They do not themselves, however, have the benefit of this revenue. Much of it is never received by them. They are, in fact, exploited by large business interests.
>
> There are four large interests which are concerned in the exploitation of prostitution. The first of these is the criminal hotels, the second is the houses of ill fame, the third the cheap dance-halls and saloons, and the fourth the men—largely Russian Jews—who deal in women for the trade. There are large indirect interests—such as, for instance, the leasing or subletting of tenements to the business, an operation which yields enormous percentages of profit—but these are the four principal direct interests in the trade.
>
> He states that 292 hotels interested in prostitution are known and recorded, with 10,000 rooms, and receipts of not less than $8,000,000 annually, probably $10,000,000. They are, however, now being proceeded against. The number of good-sized houses of prostitution he puts at 350, with more than 4,000 women. The annual gross receipts are not less than $8,000,000; they are more likely over $10,000,000. These houses are disposed throughout the city. Their profits are not only from their shares in the women's wages, but from excessive prices for liquor. They also secure large returns from furnishing clothing and other necessities of life to their employees, at prices ranging from 100 to 200 per cent higher than the usual retail price. By this system the wages of the women are largely secured by the proprietors of the establishments. The plan is not different in principle from the familiar "company store" system of the manufacturing and mining district. It is a first rule of the business, as generally conducted, to keep the employees continuously in debt, so that they are unable to leave the establishments unless the proprietors desire it.
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> **The Profits in Prostitution**
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> The business of the small places, the flats, cannot be estimated, but it is very large and is growing constantly, especially since the official attacks which have frightened away custom from the criminal hotels. There are certainly not less than 2,000 women in these flats, and annual expenditures are certainly not less than $4,000,000. In some sections of the city there are scores of these small places. One building of over seventy apartments is said to contain nothing else.
>
> These places and the hotels cater to the demand for ruining young girls—especially the low-paid employees of department stores and factories, which furnish the majority of the English-speaking women in the profession in Chicago. The dance-halls and irregular saloons also take a part of the profit from this source. The direct business of supplying women to the trade, while not so large as these others, is also profitable. Some of the more enterprising of the keepers of the regular houses of ill fame have private arrangements with men, who ruin young girls for their use. Most of the young women who come into the business in this way do so before reaching the age of nineteen.
>
> The largest regular business in furnishing women, however, is done by a company of men, largely composed of Russian Jews, who supply women of that nationality to the trade. These men have a sort of loosely organized association extending through the large cities of the country, their chief centers being New York, Boston, Chicago, and New Orleans. . . . The price paid is about $50 a head. In some exceptional cases $75 has been given. This money paid over to the agent is charged up to the debt of the woman to the house. She pays that for her own sale. In addition she gives over a large share of her earnings to the man who places her.

In New York City prostitution is perhaps less open than in Chicago, but the social evil has probably also been more widely spread through all classes of society, from the very wealthy to the very poor. Recently there has been much agitation against it and its more open forms much reduced. According to the report, however, of "The Committee of Fifteen" (1902), in one police precinct, not more than a mile square, there were known to be in 1900 forty houses of prostitution, besides sixty well-known centers of prostitution in tenement-houses.

The Raines Law, requiring saloons to become "hotels," has given opportunity and a cloak of attractiveness and ease to prostitution. The appearance of the "cadet" (who makes money by seducing girls and placing them in houses of prostitution, and receiving from them $40 or $50 per week) is but one link between the tenements and

the evil trade. The partnership between some of the police department and the keepers of evil houses has given immunity from arrest in exchange for a share in the profits. Says the report: "When a house containing not more than ten inmates, exclusive of the proprietress, and known as a 'fifty-cent house,' could afford to pay an initiation fee of $500 to the wardsman and $50 a month for the privilege of continuing in this illegal occupation unmolested, an estimate can be formed as to the amount of trade which must be carried on within."

Of Philadelphia Mr. Goodchild writes (see above):

> There are not less than 1,000 houses of ill fame in the city, and as many as 5,000 women live among us by the sale of their bodies. I wish I might have confidence that the estimate is too high; but nearly six years of observation make me fear that the figures are much too low. This does not include, of course, the vast multitude of poor girls whose labor yields scarcely enough to keep body and soul together, many of whom fall victims to the lecherous men who are always on the watch for "new cases."

In many cities like Boston, where there is perhaps less prostitution, there is much evil in society. A responsible reform worker in that city points out a fashionable avenue almost lined with the apartments of the kept mistresses of business men.

But the older cities of Europe are probably even worse. General Booth of the Salvation Army in his "Darkest England" chart estimates the number of prostitutes in London at 30,000. They have, however, also been put at 10,000. The fact is that no one knows the number of prostitutes in any city. Certainly so far as street solicitation goes, police regulation has of late years much reduced the evil in London, while the fact that any private citizen can set in motion the severe laws against houses of prostitution and their owners has broken up very many such houses, and most of the centers where formerly they multiplied. The believers of the English system of depending on such measures to reduce the evil, and of not attempting medical or legal supervision as on the Continent, point to these successes and prove the decrease of syphilis in the army of Great Britain (not in the empire, in parts of which, as India, conditions are very different).

It must be remembered, however, that London is a world center and that all its evils are not due to local conditions. Critics, therefore, of the English system, in Germany especially, claim that the English system does not work.

A German authority says: "In no country of the world does prostitution assume such a cynical character as in England. In no country do so many children become its victims as in England; in no country does traffic in girls, especially that of minors, flourish as in England. London is the center for the traffic in girls, the central point for men trading in girls and of their agents. The London houses of ill fame maintain agents of both sexes in every country of Europe, who furnish them with fresh 'goods.' Numberless girls who are enticed to go to England as seamstresses, milliners, servants, governesses, etc., lose their maidenhood in London resorts of ill fame." (See "Freheit oder gesundheitliche Ueberwachung der Gewerbsunzucht," by Gaston Vorberg, M.D., 1907, p. 43.) This authority goes on to say that some keepers of houses maintain from six to ten houses, and that stock companies have been formed for this purpose, tho under different names. One of them is said to have a capital of £100,000, and divided £56,389 as profit after the first year. It states as its purpose "the better exploitation of real estate of little value." The company has 128 houses, the rent of which would under ordinary circumstances amount to only £40–£50. Each house has ten girls, of whom each yields a net profit of 5*s.* per diem. The managers, generally women, are entitled to 25 per cent of the income, and are pensioned after ten years.

Great Britain

In Berlin a commission appointed by the Society of Medicine, with Professor Virchow as president, found 4,364 prostitutes in that city recognized by the police, and estimated the total number at from 40,000 to 50,000. ("Addresses of National Purity Congress," 1895, Baltimore, pp. 250–252.) The prefect of police of Paris is quoted as saying that there were in Paris over 100,000. ("Addresses," as above, p. 310.)

Europe

Germany has a strict system of supervision by means of registration, and of these statistics can be given. The number of registered prostitutes in 1900 in cities with a population in 1897–98 was: Berlin, 4,500 with a population of 1,677,304; Breslau, 1,021 with 373,169; Dresden, 250 with 336,440; Hamburg, 733 with 625,552; Cologne, 500 with 321,564; Leipsic, 294 with 399,963; Munich, 60 with 409,307. The number of these women is stated to have decreased since 1900, because a law went into effect that year which enabled the police to send all prostitutes under eighteen years to an institution, and a large number of those between eighteen and twenty-one. The number of non-registered prostitutes is estimated to be about three times that of the registered, and that of mistresses, considerably higher. The registered girls are visited regularly by physicians, about twice a week in some places, and sent to the hospitals for free treatment, where they are retained until cured.

Germany

The houses of assignation in Paris have decreased more than 66 per cent since 1872. In that year the city had 138 houses with 1,092 inmates; in 1907, 41 with 390. This change does not, however, of necessity indicate an increase in morality, but simply one of fashion. The registered houses are no longer allowed to admit girls under twenty-one years of age, since experience has proved that if girls can be tided over to that year, they are less susceptible to temptation; statistics show that only 25 per cent have fallen after their twenty-first year. The registered women are visited weekly by a physician, but must report at once if they are ill. The hospital of St. Lazare furnishes free treatment. Owing to this close supervision, syphilis has largely decreased among the inmates, i. e., from 23.9 per cent in 1872 to practically nil in 1906, perhaps because the diseased women go to the provinces for treatment. In 1904 Dr. Hennequin made confidential inquiries in behalf of the Ministry of the Interior among the mayors of the larger cities. Out of eighty-seven answers, seventy-four were in favor of supervised bordels.

France

All courtezans who live alone must submit to a physical examination twice a month, and have to show their card of health, if requested. Their number has increased in proportion to the decrease of those in houses, i. e., from 2,583 in 1872

to 5,776 in 1906. Syphilis among them has been reduced greatly, from 20 per cent in 1872 to about 4 in 1906.

The secret or unregistered women who solicit in the streets are examined only when arrested; they do not seek medical aid, altho it is furnished free to them, and thus cause infection. Their number has changed little since 1872, i. e., from 2,498 to 2,265 in 1906; but an average of 25 per cent are treated for syphilis. The number of those who solicit in secret is, of course, considerably larger. Among the alarming facts as to these is, that most of them are minors, e. g., from 1878–87 the police caught 12,615 minors; in 1904 alone, 2,439. They are most susceptible to syphilis, and very dangerous to the public health. The number of other women who have "friends" or supplement their scanty earnings for a compensation of one kind or another, is estimated variously from 50,000 to 100,000.

Other cities in Europe have in the main copied the systems of Paris or Berlin, tho of recent years there has been a decided tendency to abolish the supervision of prostitution owing to the steady protest and agitation of the critics of the system, and the organization of societies to work for its abolition.

Other Cities

French cities, however, in the main have followed Paris, and in smaller cities it is usually somewhat easier to enforce effective regulations. German cities as a rule regulate vice. Hungary is said to have an efficient system, Austria a less efficient one. Belgium has in the main copied Paris. The larger Italian cities, down to 1888, copied Brussels. In 1888 the law of supervision was abolished, under Crispi, and an increase of venereal diseases in the army is said to have taken place in one year from 4.25 per cent to 10.25 per cent. The Scandinavian cities usually control vice, tho Norway abolished the system in 1888, and Denmark in 1906. Russia demands the registration of both houses and prostitutes. Switzerland is divided, some cantons still maintaining supervision, others abandoning it.

Of the evils connected with prostitution there is scarcely need to speak. Many careful students are coming to believe that the sexual evil, in its various forms, is greater even than that of intemperance. Says Prof. A. G. Warner ("American Charities," p. 66): "Careful observers believe it to be a more constant and fundamental cause of degeneration than intemperance. It certainly effects degeneration of a more or less pronounced type in a much larger number of persons. It persists almost to the end in the most degenerate stock, while at the same time it is operative among the healthier classes. . . ." Intemperance is, however, all but universally the companion of prostitution. It has been frequently said that girls rarely can, and men rarely do, continue a fast life without drink. If the saloon is often literally the entrance to a brothel, the brothel as frequently leads to the saloon. An eminent lawyer is quoted on p. 121 of the published "Addresses of the National Purity Congress" at Baltimore (1895) as saying: "It is my deliberate conviction, based upon facts coming to my knowledge in the course of twenty years' practise, that more boys are converted to drinking habits in houses of ill fame than in the saloons."

Amount of Evil

Of the physical evils attendant upon prostitution, perhaps more than enough has been said. Yet an evil that at any time may, and repeatedly does, reduce youth to premature, helpless old age; transform the body into a rotten shell; affect not only the sinner, but his posterity; make the kiss of love the means of carrying contagion and foul disease to pure brides and innocent children, it is difficult to describe too strongly.

One of the most atrocious evils connected with prostitution are the abominations of child prostitution. Says the Hon. E. T. Gerry ("Addresses," as above, p. 340):

Child Prostitution

Few have the remotest idea of the extent to which sexual vice exists among children at the present time. I use the word "sexual vice" as including both self-abuse and prostitution. . . . Nothing but the vigilance of parents and guardians can detect the solitary vice, and hence statistics are very difficult to obtain, excepting when the one vice leads up to the other. But in the other case, the figures show a frightful prevalence, at the present time, of juvenile prostitution. True, under the stringent laws which have been enacted in the various states of our union, at the instance of Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, those who utilize little children for the simple gratification of lust are made to suffer a felon's imprisonment, and while the effect has been to practically denude the brothels of youthful victims, still the vice exists, more especially among the lower classes, to a degree hardly credible in this civilized country. A large number of the brothels, at the present time, are replenished by juvenile prostitutes, rather than by those who have fallen but once. . . . That the disease is spreading is unquestioned.

In a paper on the subject of "Child Prostitution," read at the World's Social Purity Congress in Chicago in 1893, Mr. Gerry states that there is a fearful theory existing in this country, tho more particularly among foreigners, according to which, if any male who has contracted disease through indulgence, can secure a perfectly pure child as his victim, the disease will pass from him to the child. Nor is it only among the poor that these grosser evils exist. If one is to credit the sad whispers of grave officials of the Church as to the morals in boy choirs, or in private and public schools, one finds fearful evidence of the existence, in all ranks of society, of various forms of unnatural vice.

Akin to this evil is that of the organized traffic in girls, which is declared by all who have investigated the subject to be carried on around the world. A few years ago it was stated to the House committee which was investigating the immigrant question in New York, by the president of the Woman's National Industrial League, that "syndicates exist in New York and Boston, for the purpose of supplying fresh young girls from immigrants arriving in this country, for houses of ill fame; agents of the business go abroad and assist in this nefarious business. Immigrants arriving in New York furnish 20,000 victims annually." Much, however, is now done to protect immigrants and traveling girls. Yet the evil is still real. In very many cities agents of houses of ill fame meet girls coming to the cities on the railroads and on the boats. They advertise for girls wanted for light work and good pay. When the girls come they are detained. Agents go out to solicit boys and men as patrons.

Traffic in Girls

A book, "The Traffic in Girls and Florence Crittenton Missions," exposes many of the traps laid for unwary girls. The schools, private as well as public, are often made the main place for promoting child prostitution, disseminating obscene literature, and obtaining fresh victims.

Mrs. Charlton Edholm said at the Baltimore Congresses ("Addresses," p. 153): "I stand here in the presence of God, to say that of the 230,000 erring girls in this land, three fourths of them have been snared and trapped, and bought and sold."

When one realizes that the average life of a

prostitute is said to be but five years, one can understand what a traffic it must be to obtain the 230,000 for the U. S. alone, while alike in Germany and Japan, in France and in England, the traffic goes on.

Causes

It is now necessary to ask what are the causes of prostitution, as a means to asking how the evil can be met. Dr. Sanger, in the book referred to above, attributes, out of 2,000 cases, 525 to destitution, 513 to inclination, 258 to seduction, 181 to drink.

Different writers differ from this. The most thorough statistical study was made by the Bureau of the Statistics of Labor for Massachusetts in 1888. It says:

The statistical method is not the best under which to determine moral conditions; yet, as an auxiliary, it has great efficiency. Statistical science can only be employed to show the results of the lives of the people; it cannot show the inner motives which lead to results. . . .

Observation is not sufficient, and personal interviews might lead to difficulties greater than those belonging to observation alone. The force of statistics in such conditions is rather negative than positive, and this negative quality is brought into use here.

It is often flippantly asserted that the shop-girls, those comprizing the class under investigation, recruit the ranks of prostitution. . . . Of course, such a charge cannot be entirely removed when applied to any class. The only question here is, Does it apply to the class against which it is brought?

A few statistics of a negative character have been collected, relating to prostitution. This partial investigation has been made as to how far the ranks of prostitution are recruited from girls belonging to the industrial classes. It should be distinctly borne in mind that this partial investigation was applied only to what may be called professional prostitutes; for no statistical investigation can disclose the amount of immoral conduct of any class of people. So that quiet, unobtrusive, and unobserved prostitution, which exists in all communities, has no place in the present consideration.

Original investigation was made in the following cities: Brooklyn, Buffalo, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Indianapolis, Louisville, Newark, New Orleans, New York, Philadelphia, Richmond, St. Louis, and San Francisco.

In 1884 the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor made a report as to the previous occupations of 170 professional prostitutes in the city of Boston, and the facts then given have been incorporated in this report.

The number of prostitutes as stated in the following table, for any one of the cities named, falls far below the total number of prostitutes in that city, but the number and variety of those from whom information has been received are sufficient to insure representative results. Thus in Chicago, for example, there are, or were at the time of the investigation of the department, 302 houses of ill fame, assignation houses, and "rooming" houses, known to the police, containing 1,097 inmates. This investigation involved 557 of this number. . . .

The facts as to marriage are shown by the following brief table, which gives the number of prostitutes furnishing information in the cities referred to, the number reporting themselves as having been married, and the per cent of the total number who were married:

City	Number of prostitutes furnishing information	Number of prostitutes reported as having been married	Per cent of married of total number
Boston	170	13	7.65
Chicago	557	143	25.67
Cincinnati	382	77	20.16
Louisville	263	70	26.62
New Orleans	167	4	2.40
Philadelphia	100	3	3.00
San Francisco	323	81	25.08

It is hardly worth while to take space at this time to give the occupations of all those who have entered prostitution from the different cities involved.

The number of prostitutes giving information was 3,866, and the following summary exhibits the occupations of this number preceding their entry upon their present life. For this purpose, occupations similar in character have been grouped, and no occupation or group containing less than ten persons has been included in the classification—those numbering under ten being put into the general classification of "various occupations":

Actresses, ballet-girls, circus performers, singers, etc.	52
Bead-trimming makers, embroiderers, lace-workers	21
Bookbinders	18
Bookkeepers, clerks, copyists, stenographers, typewriters, etc.	31
Candy factories	10
Cigarette, cigar, and tobacco factories	78
Corset factories	16
Dressmakers, seamstresses, employees of cloak and shirt factories, buttonhole-makers, etc.	505
Hair-dressers and hair-workers	15
Housework, hotel-work, table-work, and cooking	1,155
Laundry-work	70
Milliners and hat-trimmers	71
No previous occupation (home)	1,236
Nurses (hospital and house), and nurse-girls	22
Paper-box factories	32
Rope and cordage factories	12
Saleswomen and cashiers	126
Shoe factories	43
Students (at schools or convents)	14
Teachers, governesses, etc.	23
Telegraph and telephone operators	11
Textile factories	94
Various occupations	211

The following list shows the character of the more important occupations, omitted from the foregoing summary, with the number of women who had been employed in each, and which are included under "various occupations":

Artificial flower-makers	9
Button factories	9
Farm-work	9
Canning establishments	8
Necktie-makers	8
Housekeepers	7
Straw sewers	7
Hat and cap factories	6
Bag factories	5
Canvassers	5
Clock and watch factories	5
Box factories (wooden)	4
Chewing-gum factories	4
Florists	4
Feather curlers and sewers	4
Restaurants	4

The preceding figures are exceedingly instructive. By them it will be seen that the largest number coming from any occupation has been taken from those doing housework, hotel-work, and cooking; this number, 1,155, being 29.88 per cent of the whole number comprehended in the statement.

The next largest number, so far as occupation is concerned, ranks with the seamstresses, including the dressmakers, employees of cloak and shirt factories, etc., this number being 505.

A fact which strikes one sadly is the large number who enter prostitution directly from their homes. This number is 1,236, being 31.97 per cent of the whole number comprehended.

It cannot be said, therefore, so far as this investigation shows, that the employees in workshops are to be burdened with the charge of furnishing the chief source whence the ranks of prostitution are recruited.

The experience of the writer in making an examination in many cities, both in the U. S. and in Europe, sustains the statement, but more strongly than the figures here given, that working women do not recruit the houses of prostitution.

Nor does the investigation show that employers of labor are guilty of reducing their employees to a condition of prostitution, as is often alleged. Only in the rarest cases can one meet with a whisper that this is the case. And these whispers, followed to their source, have rarely disclosed any facts which would lead to the conclusion that employers make bargains based on the loss of character of their employees. . . .

Working women are not street-walkers. They could not carry on their daily toil and walk the streets, too. A captain of police exprest the matter well when he said that people who charge the working women with walking the streets at night for evil purposes do not know what they are talking about. Night-walkers are, all of them, hardened professionals. The prostitutes, some of them, may have been hard-working women, but no working woman ever walks the streets as a prostitute. This captain said that, when a girl falls from virtue, she has first to graduate as a "parlor" girl, and then serve some time in a still lower house, before she is hardened enough to take to the streets.

Before, however, drawing inferences from this table, it must be remembered that it is only drawn from the facts as to girls in houses of ill

fame. Shop-girls, working girls, are, as a rule, not there. If investigation was made of girls occupying rooms by themselves, quite another story might be found. Even of the bagnios there is another side. Mr. Stead, in his "If Christ Came to Chicago," gives the testimony of Dora Claflin, the "Madam" of a house of ill fame. She says:

Economic Cause

> Prostitution is an effect, not a careless, voluntary choice on the part of the fallen. Girls do not elect to cast themselves away. They are driven to the haunts of vice. The more distinctively womanly a girl is—and I mean by that the more she has beauty, delicacy, love of dress and adornment, feminine weakness—the easier a mark she is for the designing. And the designers are not wanting.
>
> Girls, and I say this emphatically, are not seducers. They have innate delicacy and refinement. I say honestly that I do not believe that one woman in 10,000 would cast herself at the feet of lust except under duress or under the force of circumstances.
>
> The recruiting grounds of the bagnio are the stores, where girls work long hours for small pay; the homes that have few comforts, and practically no pleasure; the streets, where girls are often cast, still unknown to sin, but in want and without shelter; in a word, places outside the levee, where distress and temptation stand ever present as a menace to purity and rectitude; behind every effect there is a cause. In the case of prostitution, the real cause lies not in the girls who fall, but in the social conditions that make the fall easy, and the men who tempt to the step and furnish the money to support degradation after the step has been taken. Before reform in the levee is possible, there must be reform in the home, on the mart.

All writers on the subject agree in the fact that poverty leads to much prostitution, and that in stores, factories, and offices, salesgirls, working girls, and typewriters are drawn or lured by the lack of money or the desire for money. One speaker at the Baltimore congress considered the factory a mill for the production of prostitutes. Says the Rev. F. M. Goodchild (*The Arena*, March, 1896):

> The money returns furnish a very great temptation to girls to part with their virtue. Some fall because they cannot find work; some because they do not wish to work. Many a girl who is strong, and healthy, and comely, and lazy, learns that there is a market for such as she; that she can earn more in a night by sin than she can in a week or a month by work, and she sells herself accordingly. Mr. Stead reminded the Woman's Club of Chicago that the peculiar temptation of a woman is that her virtue is a realizable asset. This vice costs a man money; to a woman it yields money. Mr. Booth says that the number of young women who receive $2,500 in one year for the sale of their persons is larger than the number of women of all ages, in all businesses and professions, who make a similar sum by honest industry. In sin the prizes come first; in honest callings only after long and painful toil. Even in the common houses on Bainbridge Street, at a fifty-cent rate, girls often make $20 or more a week.

Yet, on one point, one must be guarded. Even if it be true that women of impure life average $20 a week by their vice, it by no means proves that the average woman can get $20 per week. A few women of the demi-monde, mistresses, and even prostitutes, have hundreds, and thousands of dollars squandered on them in a brief while. This enormously raises the average income of their class, but the great mass of these women get vastly less. At best, their income is but for a few years, and vast, vast multitudes never live in luxury, but in utter want. Many of their homes, many houses of ill fame are not only not attractive, but poorly furnished. It must be remembered that the wages of sin rise and fall with the market, and with the conditions of different countries. If in "good times" men throw money away recklessly, in hard times, when the women are most tempted to prostitution for profit, they do not. Instances are not unknown where girls have left situations with low wages for the reported "high wages" of the prostitute, and have found, as actual fact, that, as prostitutes, they earned even less than before. Prostitutes starve; prostitutes are "unemployed," even as in any trade. All this must not be forgotten, even while it remains true than an enormous amount of prostitution is due to the economical conditions which often make it next to impossible for a single woman to earn a decent living, and throw thousands of women on the streets, and bring immorality within easy reach of almost any man.

The throwing of the sexes together in factory and in store, and quite as much in private counting-rooms and offices, has its dangers. Coeducation in the halls of learning is winning its way. Working together in communication, where morals are often at their lowest, is another thing. The evil lies not in the mingling of men and women, but in the evil environment.

The stage, the concert hall, and the ball bear a large responsibility. From the spectacular play and from the ball, with underdressed women at the one, and underdressed women and wine at the other, men hurry to the brothel. It by no means follows that the cure lies in the abolition of the theater or the dance (tho some think so), yet the part in this matter played by the present stage and fashionable society cannot be denied. The supreme social cause of prostitution, however, we believe, has not yet been mentioned. This is the crowded tenement. (See Overcrowding; Tenements.) When boys and young girls have no attractive home, and no healthy playground, they must be on the streets. A child cannot be kept in the house all day, and live. When a girl comes from a school or from the store, to the crowded living-room or flat, and finds the narrow quarters redolent with the steam of washing and the fumes of cooking, she must (in the cities) go on the street for fresh air. There bad company captures more girls than in any other one way. Not many girls sell themselves, for the first time for money; after the first great downward step, money directly plays its part, but the supreme social cause of prostitution we believe to be the bad housing of the poor, resulting from low wages, and the poverty of the great masses in our cities.

Reform

In classic and earlier ages prostitution, not being generally considered an evil, was rarely legislated against; adultery on the part of the wife was considered the one social evil. The Germanic tribes, however, Tacitus says, punished an unchaste person by death (later by punishment and beating). The early Christian emperors also made some attempts at repression of the evil. (See Christianity and Social Reform.) Gradually, however, the State came to recognize the evil and undertook to control it. The aim was to keep the prostitute a class distinct from the community and to prevent the brothel from being a place of disorder. The brothel was therefore licensed and controlled. The prostitute played a recognized part in society, taking part in public festivities, processions, and even sacred festivals. The public women were, as in Nuremberg, organized in gilds of their trade. As later, however, corruption grew, more repression was tried, and sumptuary laws passed controlling these houses, etc. From the medieval customs developed the modern European methods of

History

"regulation." In 1802 in Paris the prefecture of police proceeded to register public prostitutes and to impose upon them the obligation of submitting to fortnightly examination; a little later prostitutes were confined to houses specially licensed for that purpose. By 1848 the present French system was practically developed; prostitutes being licensed either in houses of prostitution or of accommodation. Those in houses are examined every week; those at large every two weeks; the diseased are sent to the hospital of the prison of St. Lazare and detained there till they are supposed to be cured. The medical service numbers a chief and some fifteen assistants. In Berlin this system began, in essence, as early as 1700. In 1839 the licensed brothels were confined to one street. After various experiments, in 1856 the licensed brothels were closed. In Germany to-day, generally, the prostitutes are registered and examined periodically, and in many cities licensed brothels exist.

This is still the general system in Europe, tho everywhere unregistered prostitutes outnumber the registered, often ten to one.

It was in 1864 that by act of Parliament, supplemented by additional legislation in 1866, and again in 1869, the regulation system was introduced in Great Britain, under the name of the "Contagious Diseases Acts." They were applied to sundry military districts, ostensibly to promote the health of the army, but with the purpose on the part of their projectors, later avowed, ultimately to extend them also to the civil population. When their real character and object became known, a vigorous repeal agitation was begun, under the leadership of Mrs. Josephine E. Butler, which was continued for twenty years. At the end of the two decades the repeal movement was triumphant, and the acts were swept from the statute-books. During the prolonged contest the battle of statistics was many times fought, and with great earnestness on both sides. Figures were employed to prove both the hygienic success and failure of the acts.

Great Britain

In America there have been attempts to introduce the registration system in almost all the larger cities, but only in St. Louis has it ever been tried for any length of time, and was there given up after about four years.

United States

It was in 1870 that the license system was inaugurated in St. Louis. The authority for it was obtained by a legislative trick: the interpolation, without debate, of the two words, "or regulate," into an amendment of the city charter, intended, as was generally supposed, to suppress prostitution. The legal effect of this amendment, as was subsequently decided by the Supreme Court of the State of Missouri, was to repeal all State laws prohibiting prostitution, so far as St. Louis was concerned, and to give to it a business status as a legitimate industry. A German municipal officeholder was deputed to visit Europe, to familiarize himself with regulation laws there. An ordinance was subsequently adopted, requiring the registry of prostitute women.

The regulationists of St. Louis, especially those connected with its Board of Health, attempted to show by the figures of the earlier registrations, made at intervals of a few months, a diminution in the number of prostitutes. Dr. William G. Eliot, the honored president of Washington University of St. Louis, who made a most thorough, impartial investigation of the whole matter, says of this claim of a diminished number of prostitutes, that: "In fact, they had scotched the snake, not killed it, and in all probability the number of prostitutes had not been diminished at all. To scatter a nest of hornets," he says, "is a very different thing from its destruction."

The results during the progress of the experiment proved an increase of 34 per cent in the number of brothels, and an increase in the number of registered women of more than 35 per cent. There was also an undoubted increase, meanwhile, of clandestine prostitution. Concerning the sanitary aspect, Dr. Eliot says: "What is still more startling, when the stamping-out process is examined, it appears that while the number of diseased women under treatment in 1871 was 18 out of 480, or 3¾ per cent, it has risen now (1873) to an average of 40 out of 653, or over 6 per cent, showing the remarkable fact, to which, however, we can find a parallel in Paris itself, that even among the registered and regularly inspected prostitutes the hateful disease may increase, a result which, tho unexpected, ought not to surprize us so long as the male prostitutes are themselves exempt from medical inspection." How incomplete was the registration, and of how little practical value, in a sanitary point of view, the system of medical inspection, may be seen from the significant figures presented by Dr. Eliot, taken from the reports of the chief of police of St. Louis, for the years 1871 and 1872. He says: "The year 1871, ending March 31st, shows that out of 3,722 females arrested 1,526 were prostitutes, and 218 keepers of bawdy houses (the Board of Health report of the same date shows 480 registered prostitutes and 99 keepers!), being a total of 1,744, or 46 per cent of all females arrested. The year 1872 shows that out of 3,187 females arrested, 2,613 were prostitutes and 71 keepers of houses, or a total of 2,684, being over 64 per cent of all females arrested, and an increase of 940 prostitutes arrested, or 18 per cent more than the previous year."

When it was discovered what had been accomplished by legislative legerdemain, a vigorous agitation for repeal began. A petition for repeal was signed by 4,000 women of St. Louis, and presented to the Missouri Legislature. The archbishop, bishop, and Catholic clergy, nearly all the Protestant clergy, and a majority of the St. Louis bar were enlisted in the cause of repeal, over 150 lawyers and physicians.

The legislature of 1873–74, after a prolonged and embittered discussion, finally voted the repeal by a vote of three fourths of all the members of the Senate, and the House by 90 to 1.

The Philanthropist, to which we are indebted for the above details, thus sums up some of the evils of the license system:

1st. It confers the sanction of law upon the barbarous trade in women.

2d. It subjects these tempted and often coerced helpless women to the atrocity of continuous compulsory examination by men, and the conspicuous posting of their names as having been thus systematically outraged.

3d. It fosters vice instead of "preventing" it, in that it contemplates opportunity, facilities, and safety for the "guests," who are more than equal participants.

4th. It fails to protect health for the community, because it does not adopt any precaution against the spread of venereal contagion by the "guests" for whose indulgence it provides. It makes no provision for their examination and cure, tho they are much more numerous and dangerous than their victims, as transmitters of disease.

5th. It makes a permitted trade of the cruel and dastardly occupation of the procurer and procuress.

6th. It grants permits at a price that will not prohibit the dreadful trade, but will invite to it.

On the other hand there seems little use in the mere effort to suppress houses of prostitution.

In New York City, owing to the agitation conducted by Dr. Parkhurst, hundreds of prostitutes have been turned out of their houses and the houses closed by the police. It is considered a triumph of morals, and other cities are following the example.

But where have the women gone? Have they been redeemed to virtue? If they have, have their male partners in vice been redeemed? If not, even if the women have been redeemed, these men remain to seduce other women to take the place of their victims that have been rescued from them. But no informed mind fancies that closing disorderly houses redeems their inmates to virtue. Where then are they? In the flats of the upper middle class and among the tenements of the poor. Formerly they were brought little in contact with home life and childhood. Now they are scattered among the homes and children of New York. Is this a triumph of virtue? Driving sinful women to continue their trade among homes and children, and letting men go free—is this reform? Dr. Rainsford well says that you might just as well take cases of smallpox, and say they should not be allowed in houses by themselves, and therefore scatter them around among homes.

Nor are these results imaginary. Says the report of the New York Tenement-House Committee of 1894 (p. 88):

The presence of many immoral women in the tenement-houses, where they are thrown in contact with respectable people, and, worse than that, with large numbers of ignorant and innocent children, forms a most deplorable condition.

There has been a manifest increase in this condition during the past year or eighteen months, and there is no doubt that the influx of prostitutes into actual residence in tenement-houses is due to the police raids, which have closed most of the houses of ill fame in the tenement-house districts. Under the old order of things, no matter what its evils may have been, the immoral women occupied houses by themselves. At present they form a part of the life of the great tenement-houses, and thus their contaminating influence is felt far more directly by the general public than was formerly the case. The tenements always have had, and probably always will have, their share of immoral women—of a class peculiar to them and separate from the professional prostitutes driven of late into them, from houses of ill fame. Most of this tenement class consists of women who have been abandoned by their husbands, and who, in order to support themselves and their legitimate children, are driven to depend to some extent upon evil sources of income. Such abandonment is distressingly common among certain foreign nationalities. Probably fifty cases have been brought to your secretary's attention. These women, however, generally work when they can, and turn to prostitution only as a last resource. They are surrounded by none of the glamour of the professional prostitute; do not ordinarily live or dress more elaborately than other inmates of the house in which they live, and are generally regarded with more pity than envy or resentment by their neighbors and their neighbors' children. Thus they are not so especially dangerous to the morals of the house. But an apartment full of such prostitutes as have now been driven into the tenements, where they are surrounded by comparative luxury, and live lives of apparent ease, in the midst of a houseful of adults and children, whose frugal, honest living is obtained only by the hardest of work and the most rigid economy, can scarcely be less dangerous to the moral health of the house than an apartment full of cholera-infected persons would be to the physical welfare.

Mere Raiding a Failure

Some persons, therefore, would not license or inspect houses of ill fame, but simply, if they do not become too bold, allow them within certain limits by themselves and try to fight the evil by lifting up the general standard of the community.

But the complete districting of the evil seems impossible, if desirable. Mr. E. T. Gerry, in *The Philanthropist* (March, 1895), thus describes the results of the two main experiments in this direction:

In the winter of 1886–87, while at the city of Rome, Italy, I had a personal interview with Cardinal Simeoni, which lasted over two hours, chiefly in reference to the course pursued by the Italian Government while in the hands of the Vatican, in the matter of regulating prostitution. The cardinal stated to me that the experiment of attempting to confine sexual vice within a specified district had been most thoroughly tried. A portion of the city, remote itself and not particularly attractive for purposes of residence, had been selected. . . . At the same time a very strict cordon of police was placed around the geographical boundary, and any attempt on the part of females who had once entered the district to escape therefrom was followed by prompt and immediate arrest. The idea was so novel that at first quite a number of registered prostitutes entered the district, hired and occupied the houses, and attempted to ply their vocation there. But the district soon became very notorious. The thieving, the lawless, and the seditious found their way there, and became permanent residents. They brought with them very little money, and as the sole means which the inmates of the district had of supporting themselves was by the sale of their persons, it was obvious that their custom must come from without and not from within, as men generally did not care to be known as inhabitants of the district. And as soon as the fact of its establishment was made public, men were very wary about entering the district for fear of identification. . . . It was not long before the storekeepers complained that they could not make a living. Even the women found that the money did not flow in upon them as it did when they practised their calling unrestricted by geographical limits, and it was not long before escapes from the district became impossible of prevention by the police, and some of the most notorious women in Rome, after having been put there, and sent there, made their escape and were found in other quarters, plying their trade. . . .

Districting a Failure

The cardinal stated to me that the attempt to district vice was in his judgment a stupendous failure; that the Church had used every effort to reclaim the fallen when so environed by the police and placed in a locality where it could put its hand upon them, but to no purpose.

One further effort for localization of the social evil deserves to be noticed, that of the Yoshiwara in Japan. For a long time previous to the contact of Japan with the enlightened nations of the earth, the social evil was looked upon as one necessary and unavoidable, and the government took entire charge of the matter. In a suburb adjacent to the capital (Tokio) large houses were built for the purpose, some of them elaborate in construction, and the whole guarded most thoroughly by the soldiery. The number of prostitutes in Tokio alone is said to be about 5,000. The children of the poor are usually utilized for the purpose and sold by their parents, who receive a stipulated income as the result. It is not an unusual thing for these girls to marry, and they are not looked upon as outcasts or pariahs of society by any means. The girls in these establishments range in age from ten to eighteen, and, owing to the developing influences of the climate, at the latter age they are as mature as most of our women at twenty-five to thirty. These are the regular, so to speak, licensed or recognized prostitutes. The women are permitted to leave and marry when they choose. This number of course does not include the kept mistresses of foreigners or others, who occupy small houses at the expense of their maintainers. Of these districts, which are known as Yoshiwara, there are five in Tokio and two in Yokohama, the latter possessing probably the largest and best known. The government has entire charge of the system, derives extensive revenue as the result, and under the Japanese code of morals, from which sexual morality is practically excluded, it is said to be a success so far as engendering public peace and quietness. Such a course naturally destroys all appreciation of the vice as vice.

Yet, on the other hand, there seems little hope in leaving the evil alone.

In London there is neither license, examination, nor practical restriction. Police regulations of recent years have somewhat kept prostitutes off the streets and certain squares where in former years in the late evening they almost literally blocked the sidewalk. Yet facts (see p. 980) certainly show that lack of restriction is no cure. The police usually limit their attempt to keep the peace to requiring these women to move on, and as passers-by do not care to make complaints against them, they simply do move on. A large number of the brothels are situated on the outskirts of London, in such places as St. John's Wood, Pimlico, and the like, which are easy of access by cabs and the railways. Most of these street prostitutes are said to be discharged from the Continent, because infected with disease.

It is thus easier to show what not to do than what to do. With the means of reaching the evil through personal work, religious or ethical, we are not, in this encyclopedia, concerned. Many, however, believe that this is the main thing to do, to raise a higher standard of personal purity, and, above all, an equal standard of purity for both sexes.

Ethical Means

The writer of the article in the *Westminster Review*, quoted above, says:

One aim most, if not all, schemes of reform have in common, and that is the establishment of an equal standard of sexual morality for both sexes. On all sides it seems to be agreed that the existing dual standard of morality is, or will be, doomed, now that society, and especially the female portion of it, is becoming so keenly alive to its evils. It is also felt that unless masculine morality is raised to a higher level, feminine morality may fall from the exalted position it has held for so long, as it awakes to the full value of the fact that its purity is only playing into the hands of the impurity which it encounters in the other sex. The proposed paths toward the desired goal are very wide apart, but there are a few main ideas on the subject which can be briefly described.

First, there is the movement started by those persons who believe that the purification of our social morals can only be attained by setting up for men the same high standard of chastity and pureness of living as that which has been hitherto considered as binding only upon women of the protected and wife-supplying classes. . . .

Then there are those who take an exactly opposite view, and who believe that the end is to be reached by some extension of sexual freedom to all classes of women. They regard the attempt to raise men to that high level of morality hitherto reserved for women as a natural impossibility or Utopian dream, and they would seek for equality by lowering

the standard for women, and thus bridge over the wide gulf which now exists between the average sensual man and the average chaste woman, and still more between the average chaste woman and the woman of the streets.

The writer sympathizes with neither of these extreme views, and favors what he regards as the middle course, viz., reform of sexual morality through more liberal divorce laws. He believes that erring humanity ought to have the opportunity of retrieving even its matrimonial mistakes and failures, and that the sacrifice of individuals to an absolute system is neither moral nor expedient. The current objections to liberal divorce laws he regards as based on religious prejudices rather than on utilitarian social considerations.

For contrary views, see DIVORCE and FAMILY.

Says the Rev. F. M. Goodchild (*Arena*, March, 1896):

The first thing to do, probably, is to arouse the people to a sense of the enormity of the evil as it exists among us. . . .

The best mitigation, probably, must come from our homes. Parents have been criminally negligent. Ignorant innocence leads most girls astray. A prudish silence lands many a girl in the brothel, and provides her customers as well. It ought to be possible to impart to our children some instruction about these most important relations of life, without mantling the cheeks of parent or child with a blush. It is little short of criminal to send our young people into the midst of the excitements and temptations of a great city with no more preparation than if they were going to live in Paradise.

The Home

And I cannot escape the conviction that women hold in their hands the key to the solution of this problem. They are cruel in their severity toward their fallen sisters, but they are criminally indulgent toward the men who cause their fall. The woman sinner is reprobated. But the man sinner is made a hero, is welcomed into respectable homes, is permitted to marry a pure girl and make her the mother of children, cursed before they are born with lecherous appetites. Let woman's attitude be changed.

Yet, undoubtedly, organized society can do something. It can prohibit solicitation on the street alike for men and women. It can arrest and expose men as well as women in disorderly houses, condemning them to punishment and exposure, and not merely to a fine. It can change the laws and make them bear equally on men and women (see AGE OF CONSENT; MARRIAGE; DIVORCE; WOMAN). There is no question that fear of exposure does deter many men from visiting these houses.

The report of the New York "Committee of Fifteen" (1902) says:

The better housing for the poor, purer forms of amusement, the raising of the conditions of labor, especially of female labor, better moral education, minors more and more withdrawn from the clutches of vice by means of reformatories, the spread of contagion checked by more adequate hospital accommodations, the evil itself unceasingly condemned by public opinion as a sin against morality and punished as a crime, with stringent penalties whenever it takes the form of a public nuisance—these are the methods of dealing with it upon which the members of the committee have united.

Yet many reformers, all Socialists, all extreme individualists, and a growing number of earnest men and women of all schools of thought, believe that none of these legislative reforms go to the bottom causes of prostitution. These they find in wrong sociological ideas, coupled with unjust economic conditions. Their remedy is education in right living and relief from economic injustice.

Economic Reform

REFERENCES: *The Social Evil* (Report of N. Y. Committee of Fifteen, 1902); Amos, S., *Prohibition, Regulation, and Licensing of Vice; Report of Mass. Bureau of Labor*, 1888; Josephine E. Butter, *Personal Reminiscences of a Great Crusade*, 1898; G. Vorberg, M.D., *Freiheit oder gesundheitliche Ueberwachung der Gewerbsunzucht*, 1907 (favors restriction) For society reports, see SOCIAL PURITY.

PROTECTION: An opinion prevails in some circles that, while free trade is scientific and founded upon natural law, protection is artificial, devoid of philosophy, and but a scheme of selfishness. Protectionists claim that this is untrue; that the theory of protection is, to say the least, as philosophical as that of free trade; that it is more natural, because built upon self-defense, which is the first law of nature; that it promotes, rather than hinders, the development and enjoyment of natural business opportunities; that it coordinates our national existence, and forms the chief reason for it; that it is less selfish than free trade, because it is necessarily cooperative, and that it is more universal, because it is applicable to all the industries of a people, while free trade unavoidably sacrifices some to others.

The history of protection is the history of civilization. Every group of humanity that has risen a degree above barbarism has adopted some form of protection. Preparations for war, tho sometimes provocative of war, are generally regarded as protective to peace. Washington advised this precaution in his farewell address. Anciently a nation's commerce, industry, and existence depended upon its readiness for instant defense; nowadays strength in all the resources for war is more important than weapons in hand. An industrial policy which makes the unit man self-reliant and resourceful, and not dependent upon others, is commended by free traders; it is equally claimed by protectionists in its applicability to groups. The people who purchase ore, or wheat, or wool, because it is temporarily easier or cheaper to exchange for them lumber, or fish, or furs, than it is to raise them, never become strong for either peace or war. A few individuals, engaged in trade or transportation, may thrive. But the laws of business are not confined to the handling of merchandise. Production is more important than distribution. The nations which have attained highest development are those which have made the most of their natural endowments. Without a single exception they have done this by protection in some of its varied forms. The only free-trade nations on the earth to-day, Great Britain and Holland, attained greatness through centuries of protection, and maintain maritime supremacy still by that means.

I. History

Commerce between the nations of antiquity was almost exclusively in dissimilar or non-competing articles. This was natural and friendly commerce and it created no occasion for discriminating duties. The most instructive and eloquent description of this commerce is found in the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth chapters of Ezekiel, in which the prophet portrayed the glories of Tyre. The peculiar products of all lands were brought to Tyre—fine linen from Egypt; purple from the Greek islands; silver, iron, tin, and lead from Tarshish; brass from the Taurus; horses and mules from Armenia; ebony and horns of ivory from many isles; wheat, honey, oil, and balm from Israel, and sheep and lambs from Arabia, all of which were traded for Tyrian wares, "by reason of the multitude of thy handiworks," and "when thy wares went forth out of the seas, thou filledst many people; thou didst enrich the kings of the earth with the multitude of thy riches and of thy merchandise." So all this commerce appears to have been mutually beneficial; hence there was no occasion for protection against any part of it

Ancient Times

by Tyre, or by the other nations. Competition, in the modern sense, was practically unknown. Whenever it appeared war resulted, and one nation or the other was reduced to vassalage.

There is no record of the revenue laws applicable to commerce. When Matthew was called to the discipleship, he was "sitting at the receipt of customs," on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee, but whether he collected from the caravans, or whether the term "customs" was used indiscriminately for tax or tribute, external or internal, there is nothing to show.

There is almost equal obscurity as to the customs laws of later Rome. Some of the time, at least, protection was applied on land, along the great roads, where traffic was often competitive. This was the case under the illustrious reign of Theodoric, the greatest of the Gothic kings, whose chief desire seems to have been to "restore to Italy its long-lost material prosperity and plenty."

Rome After the Empire

Reviving prosperity caused extensive importations of luxuries from the East. They were purchased by the upper classes in such quantities as to drain the nation of its gold, sometimes at the rate of $4,000,000 a year, and thus unemployment and decay set in. The Romans were invaders, settlers, builders, warriors, mariners, farmers, but they did not excel as merchants and manufacturers. When conquest ceased to add to their riches, their economic science was not far enough advanced to supply the deficit from their own resources. So long as they could thrive at the expense of others, their thrift was great; left to themselves, they failed.

Venice and Later Italy.—But after 300 years, those who had fled before the Goths and Huns to the marshes of the Adriatic began to develop the wonderful city and commerce of Venice. Forced to a seafaring life, they became familiar with the productions, and, gradually, with the processes of other peoples. To commerce they added manufacture, and soon became famous for ingenuity. They excelled all but the Orientals in the manufacture of textiles, metals, and glass; and as this brought them into direct competition with the artizans of the East, laws were enacted to encourage home production, and to prevent workmen from carrying their arts to foreign countries. Other Italian cities—Florence, Naples, Genoa, Milan—followed the example of Venice, and became seats of fine production, from which Europe drew supplies. After centuries of unexampled prosperity, Venice became involved in foreign wars, and fell into decay, but United Italy is enjoying greater thrift than ever before, as the result of the wise industrial policy which Venice started, and which, extended and improved, is the national policy to-day. Since 1900 the manufactures of Italy have made rapid progress, and wages have been nearly doubled. Extensive immigration to the United States, where ample employment at high wages has been found, instead of proving an economic loss to the country, has resulted in the return of so much money that the industrial life of the nation has felt its reviving influence. Italy appreciates the value of protection because it promotes the employment of her people both at home and abroad.

Middle Ages

The Hanseatic League.—It has been claimed that the manufactures and commerce of the eighty-five free cities of the Hanseatic League, which flourished in western Europe from 1241 to 1575, were built up without protection, and were greatly promoted by free trade. The fact is otherwise. The league itself was for protection from the cupidity and oppression of the monarchs of those countries; from piracy; from the cornering of raw materials; from trespass upon the field or specialty of one member by another; from the theft of their processes by aliens, and for the encouragement of gilds, apprenticeships, invention, and progress in handicraft. To be sure there was no protective tariff, in the modern sense, but this was because nearly all commerce was an exchange of dissimilar articles, peculiar to different countries.

Flanders and Holland.—What has been said of the Hanse towns applies equally to the Flemish and Dutch a little later. They attained supremacy in manufactures, first, by supplying the home market, and then foreign markets, with goods that were different from what others offered. They did not attempt to compete with Venice in silks, or with India in cottons, but they became the best spinners and weavers of flax and wool in the world, and their cutlery, armor, and leather equaled the famous products of Damascus and Calcutta, which were then more expensive.

Until England had been twice invaded and conquered by foreigners, and until the foreign and domestic trade had all fallen into their hands, no attempt was made to recover for Englishmen their natural opportunities. King after king had sold concessions to aliens, and the native population, almost exclusively farmers and miners, with no home market of any value, and dependent upon other countries for all the products of industrial art, was kept in hopeless poverty and weakness. Finally, the Anglo-Saxon spirit rose. There was a revolt against the aliens. It took the form, under Edward I., of higher duties on goods imported by strangers than by Englishmen. Under Edward II. this policy was abandoned, but in 1337 a statute of Edward III. "laid the foundation of the liberties of the people, by providing for the diversity of their employment, and the development of individual faculties." This famous statute prohibited the exportation of wool and the importation of woolen cloth, and required Englishmen to wear domestic cloth. Such a statute could be called drastic and tyrannical now, but it was absolutely necessary then; in no other way could domestic manufactures have been established in the face of all the advantages held by the aliens. The policy was strengthened in subsequent reigns. Under Richard II. it was "ordered and assented that no merchant stranger alien shall sell or buy merchandise within the realm with another stranger merchant alien, to sell again," and under Edward IV. the first of the corn laws "prohibited the import of foreign-grown grain when the price of wheat at the port of entry did not exceed six shillings and eight pence to the quarter." In 1463 a statute prohibited the importation of sixty-seven manufactured articles in most common use; really more than that, for some of them were classes of articles; in 1488 Henry VII. induced skilled laborers to come from the Continent and instruct his people, and in 1552 a general act was passed for the regulation, control, and encouragement of the woolen industries of the realm. Navigation laws were enacted under Mary and Elizabeth, which gave such preference

Protection in Britain

to English shipping as to drive foreign ships from the internal, coastwise, and foreign trade of the realm. Thus, in 200 years, by the most rigid policy of protection ever before or since set up by any nation, Britain rose from practical vassalage to one of the most independent, prosperous, and powerful countries in the world, and gained the ascendency in manufactures, trade, commerce, and wealth, which, in many respects, is maintained to this day, and which in no way has been surpassed, save by other protective nations. Those who attribute Britain's greatness to free trade, which did not begin until 1846, when her industrial primacy was of itself protective, and was sure to remain so for many years, must have forgotten all her earlier history, and must have attached more importance to the cramp and hindrance of the gilds which were a part of the protective policy, and to some of the prohibitions, which, however necessary and useful in the beginning, afterward became a hindrance, than they attached to the great and necessary acts which emancipated the kingdom from industrial, monetary, and commercial servitude, and made her factories and her artizans, her merchants and her ships, the wonder and the envy of the world. Since the Royal Commission of 1887 on the Depression of British Industries made its report, there has been growing in the United Kingdom an opinion that a return to protection will be wise if not necessary. It did not take form in politics until 1903, and even then most of the parliamentary elections turned on other issues, but fully 45 per cent of the electorate voted for the Chamberlain policy. The scheme is to have preferential duties between all parts of the empire, and this implies the abandonment of free trade by the United Kingdom. Economically it means imperial federation. Some call it "fair trade" in contradistinction from free trade. It draws support from all parties and factions, but organized labor opposed it in 1903, through fear that it would increase the cost of living. Its advocates showed, however, that when the duty on sugar was raised the price was not increased; that when the shilling registration duty on corn was taken off in 1869 the price of bread was not lowered; and that when it was put on again in 1902, on account of the cost of the Boer War, it did not raise the price of bread; also that when Italy raised the corn duty in 1888 from *1s.* 10*d.* to *7s.* 6*d.* the cost of food was not increased, partly because foreign growers met the duty by lowering their prices and partly because domestic agriculture was greatly stimulated by the protection; and finally, Mr. Chamberlain promised to remove the duties from tea, coffee, and chocolate, so that the workingman's table as a whole should cost less rather than more. For the first time in more than fifty years literature contrasting the effects of protection and free trade was circulated, the sources of it being a committee at Birmingham and the United Empire Trade League in London. It was admirably prepared, its data authentic, and its arguments so clear that the plainest people could understand them. The end is not yet.

Protection in France

Until near the close of the sixteenth century the condition of the people of France was similar to that of the English a century before. But in 1592 Henry of Navarre became king, and with a purpose to develop the country, Sully, who was appointed Minister of Finance, studied conditions in all parts of the realm, and soon the nobles were prohibited from taxing the people; the royal treasury became plethoric; roads, bridges, and canals were built; mines were opened, and manufactures were introduced by giving protection to artizans who were induced to come from Holland and Venice. Slow progress was made under the next reign, that of Louis XIII. and Cardinal Richelieu, but in the latter part of the long reign of Louis XIV., with the great Colbert as Minister of Finance, not only was Sully's system of internal improvement continued, but the first general tariff of duties upon imports was enacted. This was in 1664. The principles upon which this tariff was based were: "1. To reduce the duties on the importations of all articles required for the manufactures of the kingdom, and 2, to exclude foreign manufactures by raising the duties." In 1667 duties were much increased on such articles of foreign production as competed with the new industries; towns sprang up where there had been but wastes; the people turned from discontent to occupation, and the country grew great and strong. After the death of Colbert the king committed the fatal blunder of persecuting the Huguenots, with the result that nearly 400,000 of the people, most skilled in industry, fled the kingdom, and spread over countries that soon became rivals in peace and enemies in war. The next century was one of many wars and abuses which culminated in the Revolution. An experiment in fiat money had been tried, with disastrous results, of course. Fully one half of the people belonged to the privileged classes, and paid no taxes. Agriculture, thus doubly burdened, fell into decay. Such conditions had not been favorable to the growth of manufactures, and what protective laws remained were all but inoperative. And what was even more to be deplored, they were confused by a school of French economists which became known as physiocrats, which was formed by Quesnay, the physician of Louis XV., and which first promulgated the free-trade doctrine of *laissez-faire*, "let things alone," with the abuses of power which were tyrannical on the one hand and paternal on the other. These so-called economists failed to see the difference between a government's protecting the natural opportunities of its people and the exemption of favorites from taxation, or between promoting the growth of industries which would afford employment, yield wealth, and reduce the cost of necessaries, and the granting of monopolies, farming the collection of revenue at excessive profits, and the placing of duties upon exports as a means of replenishing the plundered treasury. In the presence of so many abuses of power, every act of government that related to revenue, or to the industries of the people, seemed to them alike a wanton interference. It is easy to excuse them for the failure to discriminate, but the motto which they coined for their place and time, and which has been accepted as the fundamental principle of free trade, is seen in the light of the subsequent history of France, and of all other nations, to have its limitations. "Let alone" may well be said to a blacksmith who would tinker a watch, but what man of sense would cry it to a general about to repel an invasion; a board of health redeeming a marsh, or a government whose people are competing against the export bounties and subsidized ships of other nations? Napoleon Bonaparte, who, if he had known when to stop his foreign wars, would have been

the greatest statesman as well as the greatest conqueror of his time—he of whom Byron wrote

> A single step into the right had made
> This man the Washington of worlds betrayed—

did not forget the industries of France, and did not neglect the means for their promotion. "Duties," said he to Las Casas, at St. Helena, "which were so severely condemned by political economists, . . . should be the guaranty and protection of a nation, and should correspond with the nature and the objects of its trade. . . . Foreign trade, which, in its results, is infinitely inferior to agriculture, was an object of subordinate importance in my mind. Foreign trade is made for agriculture and home industry, and not the two latter for the former." During and since his reign France made its greatest progress in the arts of peace, for protection has been its policy, with the exception of a partial abandonment, which Cobden persuaded Louis Napoleon to make, and which was one of the causes that led to the downfall of that emperor, and the humiliation of his country. During the twenty years of the Cobden treaty French commerce declined 65 per cent, and many industries barely lived, thanks only to the partial protection that remained. On Jan. 26, 1876, M. Thiers, afterward the first president of the French Republic, and one of the greatest statesmen of any country, ancient or modern, in speaking upon tariffs to the Assembly, drew this instructive and most prophetic contrast between France and England. After complimenting England for its civil liberty, and other great characteristics, he said:

> But I may be allowed to say that it has in its industrial greatness that which is not so solid as the situation of France. France has her consumers within itself. Its market does not depend upon a cannon-shot fired in Europe. And for exportation she has her beautiful products. England, on the contrary, has an artificial existence. She depends upon the days of the United States; upon the doings of her colonies, which already oppose her with hostile tariffs. May not the day come when its immense production will find no purchasers? She produces ten times as much as her consumption. This little island, in the words of Fox, embraces the world. True; but when she embraces the world, she is vulnerable everywhere. Such was the situation of Holland in the seventeenth century, which had realized a prodigy almost as marvelous. What was needed to make Holland, which gave laws to France, descend from this lofty place? It needed only fifty years. It needed only a Navigation Act in England; it needed only a Colbert in France. God forbid that I should predict for England such a destiny! but I repeat it, her existence, which depends upon consumers which she seeks everywhere without herself, is less solid than that of France, which has her consumers in her own bosom.

Germany is no less interesting than France. The first progress in manufactures began with the coming of the Protestant refugees from France after Louis XIV. had revoked the Edict of Nantes. Under Frederick the Great, from 1746 to 1786, the economic policy of Prussia embraced duties on imports, bounties on exports, premiums on production, and exemptions of new manufactures from taxation, and the result was an unprecedented development of all the industries of the kingdom. The smaller German states presented a less encouraging picture. Governed expensively, their exactions of revenue were burdensome to industry and restrictive of trade in its natural field. Later their industries were nearly crusht by the Napoleonic wars and the inundation of French and English goods after the battle of Waterloo, but in 1818, Prussia leading, they adopted a vigorous policy of protection. It abolished State monopolies and special privileges to individuals, gave all citizens equal chances, admitted necessary raw materials free, and adhered to the system of duties and bounties established under Frederick. Subsequently it was found that most of the states were too small for each to set up a national policy of this kind. They needed each other's markets. In 1833 six of them formed a zollverein, or customs union, with no duties between themselves and with a division of outside duties according to population. By 1842 the other German states had come in. The basis was the Prussian tariff of 1818. The administration was by a zollverein Parliament, which was succeeded by the German Reichstag when the empire was formed in 1871. From time to time duties had been raised to meet aggressive importation, but the production of fine goods had hardly been attempted, and the classes which consumed them were easily persuaded by Mr. Cobden that they ought to have them free of duty. Those classes were influential. The result was that a free-trade wave swept over Germany, first in the form of lower duties in 1865, then in a commercial reciprocity with Austria in 1868, and by successive annual reductions until the full English policy was reached, when everybody felt rich and grew extravagant and careless under the payment of the French indemnity in 1871. The result of open ports was to close the factories. There was failure upon failure. Wages and prices fell, but taxes rose. Foreign corn deprest agriculture. The people wore the fabrics of England and France, and labor began to starve. A powerful reaction set in. Bismarck, after profound study, began in 1878 to advocate protection. Among his arguments was this:

Protection in Germany

> The success of the U. S. in material development is the most illustrious of modern time. The American nation has not only borne and supprest the most gigantic and expensive war of all history, but immediately afterward disbanded its army, found employment for all its soldiers and marines, paid off most of its debts, gave labor and employment to the unemployed of Europe as fast as they could arrive within its territory, and still by a system of taxation so indirect as not to be perceived, much less felt. Because it is my deliberate judgment that the prosperity of America is mainly due to its system of protective laws, I urge that Germany has now reached that point where it is necessary to imitate the tariff system of the U. S.

In 1879 the Reichstag accepted his policy by a vote of 217 to 117. In two years the exports of manufactures increased 33 per cent; in eight years the number of artizans in iron and steel increased 30 per cent, their aggregate wages increased 27 per cent, and the average wages in all industries increased 12 per cent. The payment of a bounty on the exportation of sugar caused production to increase from less than 200,000 tons in 1871 to more than 1,000,000 tons in 1891. There was activity in all employments. Machinery improved and skill increased. Wages, tho from 98 to 226 per cent higher than in 1848, were still so much lower than in England that German goods found an increasing market there, to the depression of many British industries and to the ruin of some, and they were even able to overcome many of the duties of the U. S. and undersell the products of some of the best established industries in this country. From 1875 to 1886 the exports of manufactures of silk increased 884 per cent; woolens, 296; cottons, 302; glass, 264; paper, 322; spirits, 258; beer, 446; and machinery, 260 per cent. Industries became diversified as never before in any country, and from 1878 to 1896 schools for technical and manual training were established in 328 places. All these mar-

velous figures utterly disprove the theory of free trade that protection dulls and dwarfs the individual and cramps and curtails the aggregation. On Dec. 25, 1902, the agrarians having obtained ascendency in the Reichstag, duties were raised on most farm products, drest meats, live animals, lumber, shoes, sewing-machines, electrical machines, machine tools, automobiles, and railway cars, to go into effect in 1906, but subject to be reduced by treaty. Treaties were made with seven European countries and a provisorium with the U. S., which has been followed by a compact liberalizing our administrative customs practises, so that the higher duties are not yet levied on goods from this country. Germany's industrial progress has continued, and there is very little desire among her people to introduce free trade.

Protection in Russia

Russia, the wonderland of two continents, affords a most striking example of the influence of protection to convert barbarism into civilization and transform deserts into cities and gardens. Russia entered upon its career as a modern power with the reign of Peter the Great, which began in 1689. That enlightened monarch worked incognito in the shipyards of Holland, that he might teach his people how to build ships. When he visited England, tho tendered kingly honors, he took private lodgings and studied the laws and industries. Tho "dropping pearls and vermin," and leaving evidence in his lodgings that "a barbarian had been there," he took away about all that was to be learned, at that time, of national development. This knowledge was applied at home under the disadvantages of popular ignorance, but in a thousand ways Russia was transformed. Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce became established. In treaties and decrees the protective principle was carefully observed. Near the close of the seventeenth century, or contemporaneously with the U. S., Russia adopted a tariff of protection, and in many cases of prohibition. Again, as in the U. S., this policy was relaxed in 1816–19, but returned to in 1822 and maintained until 1849. In the revisions of 1851 and 1854 prohibitions were generally abolished and the duties made discriminating, as suggested by economic changes. The same policy was adhered to in the revisions of 1867 and 1876; the last increasing the protection. A new revision, on the same lines, was begun in 1887 and completed in 1891. In these later and scientific tariffs Napoleon's idea of subordinating revenue to protection prevailed. The general results of a century of protection were progress in every domestic industry, a favorable balance of trade, and a steady gain in employment and wages. In 1894 Russia produced nearly two billion bushels of grain and more than one and a quarter billion pounds of cotton. In 1890 the output of the mines and factories was valued at $828,000,000. Of the European countries, Russia is second to only England in cotton manufacturing; having 6,000,000 spindles in 1892. Woolen, silk, leather, lumber, flour, and tobacco are all important and growing industries. In 1895 there were 65,000 factories of all kinds, employing 1,000,000 people. From 1884 to 1896 the sugar industry increased 100 per cent; iron, 68; steel, 59; coal, 129; and petroleum, 1,475 per cent. Wages have advanced, but are still low; being from $80 to $150 a year for men in the cotton-mills, and but a trifle more than half that for women. Most of the mills are run from nine to twelve hours a day. During the decade ending with 1906, tho greatly disturbed by revolutionary outbreaks, which often took the form of labor difficulties, but which were more political than industrial, and tho much retarded by the costly war with Japan, Russia continued to develop. Her manufactures became more varied and extensive, and in 1903 Minister Witte reported a heavy fall in prices "as a consequence of increased competition among producers," and that this was "the very object of our protective policy, i. e., the provision of the country with cheap manufactures of home production." In 1904 the chief articles of import were: foods, $46,000,000; raw materials for manufactures, $166,000,000; finished goods, $78,000,000. The greatest trade was with Germany, France, Great Britain, and the U. S., in the order named, but the internal trade was greatest of all.

Other Europe.—The progress of other European countries under protection compares favorably with that of the great countries named. Apparently protection is their settled policy. Spain has recuperated rapidly from the losses caused by the war with the U. S., and her manufactures are increasing. The loss of her colonies seems to have been more than compensated by the $20,000,000 received as the price for the Philippines and by the policy of self-reliance and home improvement, resulting from self-respect, emulation, and protection.

British Provinces

Prior to the formation of the Dominion of Canada in 1867 the several provinces had protective tariffs. The need of a uniform system was one of the causes of union, as it was in the U. S. In 1879 the Dominion Parliament enacted a protective tariff which became known as the national policy. Under it the country prospered and a great variety of manufactures was introduced. Both parties actually favored it, for altho the Liberals had advocated partial free trade, on assuming power in 1897 they made no important changes in the law except to admit imports from British countries under a preference of 12 per cent, which was soon raised to 25—and later to 33⅓. This was partly in pursuance of a policy discust in a colonial conference which was held in Ottawa in the summer of 1894 and was attended by delegates from the imperial government, New South Wales, Cape Colony, New Zealand, Victoria, Queensland, and Canada. This was the first practical step taken toward imperial federation. In 1906, after a commission of Parliament had conducted hearings in all the provinces, a new tariff was enacted which it is believed will prove quite as protective as the one it displaced. To be sure it contains a new feature, called the intermediate tariff, with rates about one half way between those of the general tariff and the British preferential, which the governor in council may apply to imports from countries not entitled to the preferential, "in consideration of benefits satisfactory" to him. This is spoken of as a reciprocity feature, but the inducement has not attracted other countries to date. Another feature of the Canadian tariff is a surtax of one third which the governor in council may add to the general tariff on goods "from any foreign country which treats imports from Canada less favorably than those from other countries." This has been applied to German goods. Still another comparatively new feature is an antidumping clause, which authorizes the governor in council to add a special

duty not exceeding 15 per cent to goods with a few exceptions which are sent to Canada at a price below the fair market value when sold for consumption in the country of their production. This is decidedly a protective feature and it is said to work well. There is no little dissatisfaction in Canada with the British preferential, especially among woolen manufacturers, many of whom it has driven out of business, but others accept it as a tribute of loyalty and indulge a hope that the United Kingdom will soon become protective, in which event Canadian products will have an advantage there over those from other countries. Despite the preference, however, during the fiscal year ended March 31, 1907, the increase in Canada's trade with the U. S. was much more than double the increase with Great Britain, which is mainly due to the convenience of proximity. Not only is the domestic trade of the Dominion highly prosperous under protection, but its foreign trade grew in imports in the last six years from $181,000,000 to $290,000,000 and in exports from $177,000,000 to $235,000,000. The dutiable imports from Great Britain in 1906 were $52,000,000, and from the U. S., $89,000,000.

Protection and free trade were tried side by side in Australia before the formation of the Commonwealth in 1901. The province of Victoria had a protective tariff and New South Wales a free-trade tariff. Government reports in 1897–98 showed that while Victoria was smaller in area and population, she made greater progress than New South Wales in productive industries, in intercolonial traffic, in savings-banks and deposits, in public education and the diffusion of wealth, while her annual expenditures were less by £5 per capita. Her success went far to determine the policy of the new union, which adopted protection and has steadfastly maintained it. The country as a whole and the several states have prospered, but chiefly by reason of the mineral output and the revival of sheep husbandry, for manufacturing has been delayed by the prevalence and the high cost of municipal ownership, which has made capital timorous, the rate of interest high, and caused a condition of uncertainty. Imports in 1903 were £37,000,000 and exports £57,500,000. The U. S. has a growing share in this trade, altho lacking regular steamship lines to compete with those of France, Germany and Great Britain.

The tariffs of most of the other British colonies are chiefly for revenue, but not being limited to such articles as the colony cannot produce, they operate to protect such natural industries as exist or may be started.

II. Protection in the United States

The agitation for protection began in the colonial period, partly because of England's oppressive laws to prevent manufacturing in the colonies, and partly because of the depression of industry from the use of foreign goods. In 1767 the inhabitants of Boston voted in town meeting and afterward signed a pledge not to buy the "foreign superfluities" mentioned in a long list. The Articles of Confederation, under which the country was governed from 1781 until the ratification of the Constitution in 1787, permitted each state to regulate its own commerce, and this made a general tariff impossible. The states were deluged with foreign goods. Distrest working men and merchants in the principal cities united in great petitions for protection. To meet this want was one of the chief reasons (Daniel Webster said it was "the leading cause") for forming the "more perfect union" spoken of in the preamble to the Constitution. The second act of the First Congress which assembled under the new Constitution was a tariff, the object of which, as declared in the preamble, was "for the support of government, for the discharge of the debts of the U. S., and for the encouragement and protection of manufactures." This passed the House by a vote of more than five to one, and the Senate by a unanimous vote, and was approved by George Washington, July 4, 1789. From that time to 1907 fifty-one general tariff laws were enacted, all of them in some degree protective.

Early History

There was no departure from the protective policy until 1816, and the new duties of that year were intended to be ample, but they proved insufficient against the destructive commercial war which England determined to wage. In a speech in Parliament Lord Brougham declared that "it is worth while to incur a loss upon the first exportation, in order, by the glut, to stifle in the cradle those infant manufactures in the U. S. which the war has forced into existence." While in 1813 imports were only $13,000,000, in 1818 they had risen to $121,750,000. An adverse balance of trade of $229,000,000 had been created, and industry was everywhere deprest. In 1824 a more protective tariff was passed, and it was strengthened in 1828. Under both tariffs the country prospered. But meanwhile the tariff had become a sectional question. The cotton-planters of the South, whose principal market was in England, were led to adopt the free-trade ideas of Richard Cobden, John Bright, and later of Sir Robert Peel, and under the lead of Mr. McDuffie, of South Carolina, they advanced the strange theory that, by selling cotton to be manufactured in England, they were manufacturers themselves, and as much entitled to government favor by exemption from duties on the imports with which they were paid as the cotton manufacturers of New England were by the imposition of duties upon competing goods. Resentful of Northern hostility to slavery, they favored England instead of New England; reasoned that protection is paternalism; decried the tariff as "a local question," and threatened to secede from the union. Wishing to avert this calamity, Henry Clay, the greatest of the protective statesmen except Daniel Webster, proposed a compromise tariff, which became a law in 1833, which took the form of a sliding scale of biennial reductions to uniform duties of 20 per cent, to be reached in 1842. Of course, such disregard of discrimination which varying costs of production require in a protective tariff, as well as the lower duties, proved disastrous to both revenue and business, and this, complicated with a banking question, produced a great panic in 1837. In the tariff of 1842 the country returned to protection, but in 1846 the South again prevailed, and the "Walker tariff" of that year made heavy reductions in the duties that protected manufactures. The disastrous effects were referred to by Presidents Fillmore in 1852 and Buchanan in 1857, but owing to causes other than the tariff, the country enjoyed some measure of prosperity. Those causes were admirably stated by Mr. Blaine in his "Twenty Years of

Congress." When those causes ceased to operate a panic ensued in 1857, and in 1861 the "Morrill tariff," which returned to protection, was enacted a short time before the outbreak of the Civil War. During the war many duties were increased, the prime object being revenue, because the war itself proved a great stimulus to industries. When peace was restored free traders raised a clamor for the abolition of the war tariffs. Changes were made in 1867, 1870, and 1872, most of which were extensive reductions. Importations, which had already become large as a result of extravagance, incident to an inflated currency, then increased, the country had an adverse balance of trade, and in 1873 there was another panic. In 1875 a more protective tariff was enacted and prosperity returned. In 1883 what was supposed to be a scientific readjustment of duties, recommended by a commission of experts, was made, but economic changes which they did not anticipate caused it practically to fail, like the tariff of 1816. Again business suffered, but the McKinley tariff, of more discriminating duties, and improved administrative features, was enacted in 1890, and during its three years' operation both production and commerce prospered as never before. More people were employed, and at higher wages, the public debt was reduced $252,000,000, new industries sprang into existence, there was a favorable balance of trade, the public credit reached its highest figure. But the extensive free-trade propaganda denounced the duties as excessive and misled enough voters with the false statement that "prices had advanced all along the line," to reverse the policy at the next elections. The Democratic Party promised to introduce free trade, but its candidate promised that nothing should be done to hurt the industries. Both promises failed. The Wilson Bill of 1894 did not even pretend to frame schedules on free-trade principles; it was simply a reduced McKinley tariff, but so much reduced that Southern senators from coal- and iron-producing states refused to accept it, and raised certain rates. President Cleveland denounced this as an act of "perfidy and dishonor," and allowed the bill to become a law without his approval. Some of its duties proved fairly protective; others invited increasing imports, and when the market became flooded with foreign goods, domestic industry collapsed. A deficiency in revenue, coupled with an intimation by a Secretary of the Treasury, with an unsound financial record, that public obligations might be paid in depreciated silver, caused a panic in the early summer of 1893, and tho that was soon over, there was no general prosperity until the Republicans were restored to power in 1896 and the Dingley tariff was enacted in 1897. The public debt was increased by nearly $300,000,000, the public credit fell to a humiliating figure, there was an adverse balance of trade, unemployment increased in nearly all industries, wages fell, trade declined, general discontent prevailed, and the shrinkage in values of property during the four years totaled more than the money cost of the Civil War.

War Tariff

The Dingley Tariff

The tariff act of July 24, 1897, called the Dingley Law, in honor of its principal framer, former Governor Nelson Dingley, Jr., of Maine, who was then chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means, employed the same schedules as were in the tariffs of 1890 (McKinley) and 1894 (Wilson), but changed many of the rates and classifications. Some of the duties are lower than those of 1890, and most of them are higher than those of 1894. Its free list is larger than either of the others. The average ad valorem rates on all imports were: McKinley tariff, 24.78 per cent; Wilson, 20.76; Dingley, 26.78. The duties per capita were: McKinley, $2.42 a year; Wilson, $2.19; Dingley, $3.02. Even the last is so small that the tariff would never be complained of as a tax if it were not for the belief, erroneous in most cases, that the duty is added to the cost of domestic as well as imported goods. It is not added to either when there is unrestricted domestic competition, unless, as sometimes happens, and which is the case in 1907, the demand is greater than the supply. Under any tariff it is the law of demand and supply which determines prices. To be sure, it is said that certain trusts have monopolized supply and fixt prices at an abnormally high figure. There is but a small measure of truth in this, and it is the same under free trade as under protection. (See vol. 18, U. S. Industrial Commission's Report, 1902, and No. 288 of Monthly Consular Reports, 1904.) This being so, it is not true that trusts are caused by protection, or that repealing protection will abolish trusts. When trusts are international, like the Thread Trust and the Borax Trust, it has not yet been pointed out how a change of duty can compel them to change the price, altho it is easy to see how it might cause them to close their American mills and supply us wholly from abroad.

That there was an increase in prices in the decade from 1897 to 1907 of about 50 per cent is true, but prices had become abnormally low under the Wilson Law, hence what they were in 1897 is not a fair standard. A fairer comparison is between the last seven years and a period of twenty years before 1890. Dun's index number shows that the first of January prices for a year's necessaries averaged in the earlier period $100, 54 cents and 8 mills, and for the latter only $90, 69 cents and 1 mill. This proves that under the development and economies of production incited by protection the tendency of prices in long periods of time is downward. But should it still be thought that a comparison with the Wilson period is fair, another factor is to be considered and that is the gain in the production of gold and in our money in circulation. During seven years before 1900 the average U. S. production of gold per capita was 74 cents, and since 1900 it has been 120 cents, an increase of 62 per cent. The money in circulation in the former period was $23.82 per capita and in the latter period $29.57—a gain of more than 24 per cent. Economists of all schools recognize that the more gold there is and the more money in circulation, the higher must be the prices of commodities measured by these standards. Taking this into account and also the extraordinary demand for all products owing to a high state of prosperity, it cannot be said that prices are excessive.

Duties Not the Cause of Higher Prices

Unexampled Prosperity

In all the industries there have been repeated increases of wages, nearly or quite equal to the advance in prices, and as labor is fully employed and the demand greater than the supply, it is doubtful if the industrial population ever before enjoyed equal prosperity. June 30,

1906, there were 8,027,192 depositors in the savings-banks, and the average deposit was $433.79—a gain of more than 600,000 depositors in a year and of more than $10 each—a gain of more than 3,000,000 of depositors since 1896 and of $51.71 in the average deposit. What more conclusive evidence could there be of general thrift and of conditions which permit accumulation? In all other respects the progress of the people in the Dingley period has been unprecedented in this or any other country. Lands have been drained, irrigated, and fertilized; buildings and machinery improved and increased, many thousands of miles of permanent roads built, most of the older cities extensively rebuilt, railroads and railways extended, double-tracked, and electrified as never before, motor boats and carriages introduced, mines and quarries and factories enlarged and increased in number, schools and religious and charitable institutions built, improved, and paid for, islands acquired and helped with a generous hand, a powerful navy and hundreds of public buildings built, mortgages paid, municipal and national debts reduced, and the total wealth increased from $77,000,000,000 in 1895 to $108,000,000,000 in 1905.

Meanwhile foreign commerce has enjoyed a corresponding growth, to the confusion of those who believed that protection was calculated to cripple it. As a whole it increased 71.2 per cent from 1895 to 1905. Imports increased 52.7 per cent and exports 88 per cent, thus giving the country a handsome merchandise balance of trade. A lesson is found in an analysis of this commerce. While imports of food and live animals grew only 16.9 per cent, showing the adequacy of our home supply, and finished goods for consumption increased only 19 per cent, crude articles for domestic industry increased 93.3 per cent and articles wholly or partially manufactured for use as materials in mechanic arts increased 72.4 per cent, showing the scientific adjustment of the tariff to the promotion of domestic manufactures. At the same time imports of articles of voluntary use, luxuries, etc., increased 57.8 per cent, showing that the duties are anything but prohibitory and that the forehanded classes must have enjoyed good incomes from investments in domestic industry to enable them to purchase so many imported luxuries. At the same time our exports of agricultural products grew 48.4 per cent and of domestic manufactures 196.1 per cent, which has a healthy look. Other exports increased as follows: mining products, 175.4; forest products, 117.4; fisheries, 35.9; and miscellaneous, 66.4. The statistics of the Department of Commerce and Labor show that our trade increased with all the grand divisions of the world and that our exports to Europe increased 62.6 and to North American countries 140 per cent.

Growth of Foreign Commerce Also

During 118 years the U. S. has had about eighty years of effective protection. In every protective period it prospered. In every free-trade or compromise period there was business distress. Every period of excessive foreign buying ended with a crisis. Even before the Dingley triumph, the U. S. had become first in agriculture, first in mining, and first in manufactures, and its population is the best conditioned of any in the world.

In view of all this, people who believe that protection is needed for only "infant industries" now very naturally inquire if the time has not come when it can be dispensed with. If our industries have become giants, so have their foreign competitors. Alexander Hamilton stated in his Report on Manufactures in 1791 that the freight charges on goods from Europe to America at that time ranged from 15 to 25 per cent of the cost of the goods. In these days of 20,000-ton steamships, one cargo from which will load ten miles of freight-cars, the cost of ocean freight is often less than 1 per cent of the value of the goods. The cost of transportation therefore no longer protects. Besides, Germany and France, which own railroads, make rates on goods for export at one half their rates on goods for home distribution. Moreover, many European manufacturers combine to capture foreign markets and pool the losses sustained in cutting prices to accomplish that purpose. These are wholly new and powerful conditions which prove the necessity of continuing protection by tariffs. Furthermore, while many industries have grown great, there are always new or infant industries. It is necessary that they should be protected in order that there may be domestic competition. And as the Constitution requires that duties shall be uniform throughout the U. S., protection cannot be withdrawn from one establishment and kept for another in the same line of business. The tariff that protects trusts cannot be abolished without destroying the domestic competitors of trusts and playing into the hands of foreign trusts. The advocates of repealing or greatly reducing duties fail to take note of these facts and when they talk about "adapting a tariff to changed conditions" they never recognize the necessity of raising as well as lowering duties, to meet new forms of foreign aggression. When they think of Japan as a modern military power they readily assent to large appropriations for a powerful navy, and yet they fail to see the greater danger to American labor in the fact that Japan is rapidly becoming a first-class manufacturing nation, with wages below forty cents a day, and that it costs less than four mills a yard to bring cotton cloth from Osaka to New York.

Modern Conditions

III. The Principles of Modern Tariffs

These are easily understood. The difference between a free-trade tariff and a protective tariff is not so much one of low or high duties as it is the choice of articles to which duties shall be applied. Britain's free-trade tariff raises more revenue per capita than the protective tariff of the U. S. raises. But free trade applies duties to articles which must be imported, because they are wanted and are not produced in the country; protection admits such articles free, so as to cheapen their cost, and applies duties to articles which do not need to be imported, because they are or can be produced in the country. Britain derives a large revenue from tea and coffee, not a pound of which is raised at home; the U. S. has admitted them free of duty since 1872. Britain admits cotton and woolen goods free, altho producing them; the U. S. subjects them to duty, so that more of them may be produced here. If Britain's need of revenue requires a duty to be placed upon an imported article like what is produced in the country, an excise is put upon the domestic product to countervail the duty, so that the duty will not be protective. In the U. S., if duties fail after due trial to develop a domestic supply in quantities adequate

to reduce the price to a fair level, they are removed, so as not to increase the cost of living. It is claimed by protectionists that the duty is not added to the price, except when the people are dependent upon foreign supply. When they are not dependent the duties on goods sent here to compete are paid by the foreigners in form of a lower price. This claim is not only admitted by exporters to protective countries, but is proved by prices, most of which are as low as those abroad, all of which are lower after than before protection, and many of which are actually lower than the duties themselves. In the last case the duty might be dispensed with, but it does no harm to consumers and protects producers from bankrupt stocks or from the destructive prices that Lord Brougham advised to make and that combinations of European manufacturers now make on exports.

There has been much misleading talk about "high tariff" and "low tariff." A tariff may be very high and yet not in the least protective, or very low and yet sufficiently protective. All this depends upon the objects to which duties are applied and the conditions of production and distribution. And since the duty cannot be added to the price when there is strong domestic competition, no consumer need care how high it is. But if it falls below the line of protection, domestic competition is crusht, and then the importer can add the duty to his price. In countries of comparatively small population low duties are quite as protective as high duties in the U. S., because there is not the same pressure to gain the market.

Under both free trade and protection duties are either specific or ad valorem, and sometimes both. A specific duty is so many cents per pound or yard, or other unit of quantity. An ad valorem duty is such a percentage of value. The former requires only counting or weighing at the custom-house, but the latter requires appraisement. It is difficult to ascertain the value of foreign goods, and they are often invoiced far below their true value, so as to cheat the customs and enable the importer to undersell others in the market. This deprives the Treasury of part of its expected revenue and deprives domestic producers of a part of their promised protection. The tariffs of all foreign countries are now almost wholly specific. In America protectionists favor specific duties, but free traders generally favor ad valorems.

Effect Upon Wages

The effect of tariff upon wages has long been a subject of dispute. Perhaps the most accurate statement is that they neither raise nor lower wages except as they increase or diminish employment. If the goods we consume are made abroad, we do not make them ourselves, therefore labor suffers. Wages in Europe average from one fifth to two thirds those in the U. S.; in India, China, and Japan, from one tenth to one fifth the rates paid here. These comparisons are based on the relative productivity of labor and machinery. And as the cost of ocean transportation is now but a small percentage on the cost of the goods, the only way to secure employment and good wages in this country is to have duties that will at least equal the difference in the labor cost of production in general industries between those countries and this. Thus the tariff question is largely a labor question. It is often contended by free-trade advocates that the ability of a U. S. manufacturer to export to Europe at a profit proves that he no longer needs protection. If this were true of a few, which is doubtful, it is not true of the 500,000 manufacturers of this country. Our exports of manufactures in 1905 were only 9.11 per cent of the whole product, and most of the export is due to some peculiarity of make or material, which foreigners soon imitate or equal. Foreign markets are hard to gain and hold, even with superior goods produced at lower cost, as may sometimes but rarely happen. All our gains in foreign markets do not equal the growth of the home market, and the greater should not be endangered for the less.

ALBERT CLARKE.

REFERENCES: There are many works on protection, but the latest, which also states the free-trade contention, is *Tariff Controversies of the Nineteenth Century*, by Edward Stanwood (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York); *Protection and Prosperity*, by George B. Curtiss (The Pan-American Publishing Company, New York); *Protective Philosophy*, by David Hall Rice (George B. Reed, publisher, Boston); *History of the Protective Tariff*, by ex-Secretary of the Navy, R. W. Thompson (R. S. Peale & Co., publishers, Chicago); *A Short Tariff History of the United States*, by David H. Mason (Chicago); *Manual of Social Science*, by Henry C. Carey (H. C. Baird & Co., Philadelphia); *Political Economy*, by Prof. W. D. Wilson (same publishers); *Protection to Home Industry*, by Prof. Robert Ellis Thompson (D. Appleton & Co., New York); *Rudimentary Economics*, by George M. Steele, LL.D. (Leach, Shewell & Sanborn, Boston); *Political Economy for American Youth*, by Prof. Jacob Harris Patten (A. Lovell & Co., New York); *Wealth and Progress*, by Prof. George Gunton (D. Appleton & Co.); *Principles of Social Economics*, by George Gunton (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York); *Conversations on Political Economy*, by William Elder (H. C. Baird & Co., Philadelphia); *The Political Economy of Natural Law*, by Henry Wood (Lee & Shepard, Boston); *Political Economy*, by Horace Greeley (*The Tribune*, New York); *Farm and Factory*, by J. R. Dodge, ex-Statistician of the Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.; *Records of the Fifty-first and Fifty-third Congresses*; files of the *Protectionist*, the *American Economist*, and the *Manufacturer*, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia; and free pamphlets of the Home Market Club, Boston, and American Protective Tariff League, New York; also the lives and speeches of Madison, Jefferson, Clay, Webster, Harrison, and McKinley.

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM (for a statement of the activities of the Protestant Episcopal Church in social reform, see CHURCH ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF LABOR; CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION; INSTITUTIONAL CHURCHES): The Protestant Episcopal Church probably leads the religious societies of the United States in its activities in social reform. The existence of the above-mentioned societies, the activities and utterances of such men as the late Bishop Huntington of Central New York, Bishop Potter of New York, Bishop Sessums of Louisiana; with such clergymen as the late William Augustus Muhlenberg, D.D.; Rev. W. S. Rainsford, D.D.; Rev. R. Heber Newton, D.D.; Rev. R. H. Holland, S.T.D.; Rev. James Huntington, O.S.; Rev. J. D. Peters, D.D.; Rev. W. D. P. Bliss; Rev. Philo Sprague; with such laymen and women as Professor Ely, Miss Vida D. Scudder, and many others, go far to substantiate this view. Referring to the above-named articles for details, we give here a significant extract from the pastoral letter of the bishops of the Church in 1889:

> In a country such as ours, distinguished among the nations by institutions which presuppose the liberty, intelligence, and civic virtues of the citizen, it is of the utmost importance that men should feel and recognize their political responsibility. And while the Church of God—the kingdom not of this world—does not undertake to wage the warfare of the partizan, it is nevertheless charged with the duty of establishing and maintaining principles which shall find expression in the political as well as in the social and family life. The Incarnation would be emptied of a large part of its sig-

nificance if it were supposed to leave untouched and uninfluenced the life of men under the ordered polity of the commonwealth. To "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's" is surely more than the due payment of the tribute money which supports the public action of the State. It is, no less, the righteous and godly exercise of all the functions of the citizen. On account of the dangers which beset all government, the far-seeing founders of the republic rested their hopes for its welfare and success upon the civic fidelity of the people—not upon the excellence of our governmental methods. Those methods make possible among us gross and shameful perversions of political right and authority. It has come to pass, in the heat and eagerness of party struggle, that vicious and corrupt conduct is largely condoned, and the standards of political morality are sensibly and dangerously lowered. We are confronting a great peril—and one which must excite the fears of Christian men—lest character fashioned in the working of free institutions be irretrievably damaged, and the poison, entering here, spread itself throughout the entire life of the nation. Purity and integrity in the administration of public affairs are strenuously demanded by the religion of Christ, as well as by all patriotic aspiration. Official place, in morals and in politics, is not the prize won by a vulgar selfishness, nor the refuge of patronized incompetence, nor yet the barter price promised or paid for political influence, but the place in which a righteous man may serve his fellow men and advance the reputable interests of his country. The emoluments of office are derived from a fund contributed to the State by the loyal obedience and patient toil of the industrious masses; to say the very least, it should be distributed so as to secure the most efficient and economical conduct of public affairs. The honors of office are legitimate rewards bestowed by popular confidence upon upright citizenship. It must be an evil day for our country when both emoluments and honors are made the prey of a partizan activity which often discards all honesty in its methods and renounces all shame in its corrupt and corrupting success. The religion of Christ is "for the healing of the nations" sick with sin and wrong; and the Church of Christ, while holding itself aloof from the strife of faction and party, is yet called upon, in the persons of its members, to guard jealously the great heritage which God's providence has bestowed, and to maintain earnestly the beneficent ideals of political life and action. To answer that call with ready mind and will is the becoming office of faithful men who would promote the righteousness which "exalteth a nation," and invite still further blessings from Him who "hath brought us forth into a wealthy place" among the peoples of the earth.

Morals

We pass on to a kindred topic. It is inevitable that the Church of God shall be profoundly concerned at the disturbed relations of what are commonly called the "industrial classes"—the wage-workers and the employers of human labor. The spirit of our holy religion forbids indifference, on our part, to any actual trials, oppressions, or sufferings of men, and its due practical operation has tended always to do away with jealousies, suspicions, and antagonisms between the children of the one Father of us all. We may confidently claim for the Church of Him who by His presence consecrated the carpenter shop of Nazareth that, however, at any time or place it may have been tempted to shelter itself under the patronage or protection of earthly power and wealth, nevertheless its deep, constant purpose has been to soften asperities of feeling, to promote mutual good-will, to curb injustice, as between man and man. And if there be, as unhappily there often is, a forgetfulness by many of the blessed changes wrought in human conditions by Christ's religion, we may not ignore the significant truth that the unchallenged claim of men of our day to considerate justice and all righteous recognition by their human brothers rests finally and completely upon the dignity and sacredness of the humanity taken into the Godhead by the Word made Flesh, and by Him redeemed unto the liberty of the children of God.

It is painfully evident that the existing industrial system is subjected not only to vehement criticism, but to perilous strain; and one of the most discouraging elements of the situation seems to be the hopeless or despairing tone of those who deal with the overshadowing questions which throng so persistently upon the mind and heart of our generation. It seems scarcely to be expected, by many, that a solution of the problems can be reached by applying to them any devices of human sagacity or any reconciling principles of economic science.

It is often assumed without question, alike by reckless passion and thoughtful earnestness, that there is no soothing for the uneasy world; that opposing interests and aims are here met in mortal strife. We do not venture to intimate that we have any swift and potent cure for the evils which we must and do deplore. But we are confident that it is a fallacy in social economics, as well as in Christian thinking, to look upon the labor of men, women, and children as a mere commercial commodity to be bought and sold, as an inanimate and irresponsible thing. It is the employer who seeks and finds the inner soul of the operative, who respects his manhood, and perhaps translates for him into fact the inarticulate longings of his better nature; it is the master whose watchful sympathy finds room and play in the cottages of his wearied workmen, and in all the life which has its centers there—it is he who has found the open secret of a wisdom that is "peaceable" because it is "from above," and is "pure," "gentle," and "easy to be entreated." Any social philosophy which eliminates from its consideration the value and significance of human feeling or human susceptibility to the influence of kindness, justice, and loving manliness has surely left itself fatally maimed and incomplete. The heart and soul of a man cannot be bought or hired for money in any market, and to act as if they were not needed in the doing of the world's vast work is as unchristian as it is unwise. We may not therefore omit to urge upon all those to whom our words may come, the profound need of a righteous and full appreciation of the moral and spiritual factors which enter into industrial questions. To bear in mind the hardships and heavy cares of our brother men; to remember our common kinship in the great family of God; to ponder their necessities; to stand ready and glad to plead their cause; to brighten their lot and comfort their distresses—this is the exalted office of Christian men—it is the hopeful method of peace and good-will. And let it never be forgotten that there is here a reciprocal obligation laid upon labor—a duty defined by every principle of righteousness and truth. That duty—a duty fully and fitly recognized by large numbers of Christian working men—plainly is to treat the employer, in his most difficult position, with all considerate and thoughtful regard. His legitimate interests may not be ignored, and it should be the stedfast will and purpose of his working associates to protect those interests and defend them against all unjust aggressions. He is frequently placed in situations of great embarrassment, and the kindly patience and sympathy of his workmen may bring relief. He is always entitled to that, and there is grave injustice when it is withheld. Combinations which cripple or hinder his rightful freedom of action, unreasonable demands concerning the hours and compensation and division of labor—these are not in the way of substantial right, and any temporary or passing triumph for them is but the delusive promise of a method bad in morals, which really invites and compels disaster. The stars in their courses through God's sky of truth fight against ungodliness and wrong, and they who would claim equity must do equity. In considering these relations between employer and employed, we desire to express our profound interest in the provisions that may be and should be made for penetrating the life of the great masses of men with positive Christian influence. If the world's exacting labor is to be done in any accord with the principles of the kingdom of God, there must of necessity be, on the part of employers, a distinct and unqualified recognition of the spiritual needs and claims of the workmen whose toil they control or direct.

Wage Question

In the law of God there is a day which He calls His own, and by the declaration of the Lord Jesus Christ it was "made for man." It is doubly protected then by the sovereignty of God and by the everlasting sanctity of a human right; the Holy Day—thus guarded and shielded against invasion—is the day for worship and for rest. To rob it of its character at the demand of greed; to make labor so weary under its daily burden that it is tempted and almost forced to change its day of high and holy refreshment into a day of reckless indulgence or soulless apathy, is grievous sin. We are enabled to thank God for the good examples of some of our brethren who have been forward to minister graciously and helpfully to large bodies of operatives in their employ. They have provided for needed rest, for helpful and elevating recreation, for due demands of human frame and human spirit. Let the examples be multiplied, and let the Church of God interpose its protest against oppressive wrong.

Since this pastoral letter was written, the Church has greatly extended her activities in various ways along lines of social reform. A recent report ("Church Philanthropy in New York," by Floyd Appleton, Ph.D., 1906) enumerates among remedial institutions six hospitals, besides numerous clinics and dispensaries—six for the incurable, blind, and deaf; thirteen for the aged and orphaned; five for the delinquent—aside from a large number of local and smaller institutions. The Church has done as well in other parts of the country in proportion to her means and membership.

Officially, the Church has reiterated, emphasized, and clarified her position in various pastoral letters, both on the part of the House of Bishops and of individual bishops.

At the recent general convention at Richmond, Va. (Oct., 1907), the report on "Capital and Labor" recommended a more intelligent study of these questions; deprecated the ignorance of clergymen of the real issue, and that of laboring men concerning the true mission of the Church;

deplored the employment of children in mills and factories; urged the coordination of the various existing societies within the Church under a central committee; and called for systematic efforts to arouse interest in these matters on the part of Church people in general.

The convention adopted the report, and created a permanent Committee on Capital and Labor with authority to speak in the name of the Church in these matters. *Secretary*: Rev. Edward L. Parsons, Berkeley, Cal.

PROUDHON, PIERRE JOSEPH: French philosophical anarchist; born 1809, Besançon, France. He early displayed a love of study, and, borrowing books from the town library, he read, and went to the day-school when his work allowed. At sixteen he entered the college of his native place, but could not buy the necessary books, and had to borrow them from his mates in order to copy the lessons. There is a story of young Proudhon returning home laden with prizes, to find that there was no dinner for him. At the age of nineteen he worked in a printing-house, correcting proof, and acquired knowledge on many lines, particularly in theology; learning Hebrew, as well as Greek and Latin. He was thus enabled to contribute some articles to an "Encyclopédie Catholique." In 1836 he established a small printing-office in Besançon, but, his partner committing suicide, he had to wind up the business in 1838. In 1837 he had written an "Essay on General Grammar," and obtained a pension of 1,500 francs. This enabled him to go to Paris and to compete for a prize essay on the subject of "The Celebration of Sunday," in which he first broached liberal social ideas.

In 1840 he published his first work, "Qu'est-ce que la Propriété?" giving his famous answer to the question, "La Propriété, c'est le Vol" (Property is Theft). It attracted little notice; the sole results to its author were the withdrawal of his pension by the Academy, and the threat of a prosecution. In 1842, for a repetition of offense in his "Avertissement aux Propriétaires," he was prosecuted before the Cour d'Assises of Besançon, but was acquitted. From 1843 to 1847 he was employed at Lyons, in the superintendence of a scheme of water-transport on the rivers Saône and Rhône, publishing during this time at Paris the two works entitled "De la Création de l'Ordre dans l'Humanité" and "Système des Contradictions Économiques," his most important works, and written under the influence of Hegel, Adam Smith, and the Bible. In 1847 he finally settled in Paris, where he was becoming celebrated as a leader of innovation. The revolution of February (1848) found the social reformers unprepared. But Proudhon threw himself with ardor into the conflict of opinion, and gained national notoriety. He was editor of the *Représentant du Peuple* and other journals, in which the most advanced theories were advocated; elected member of Assembly for the Seine department, by 77,094 votes, he brought forward a proposal to exact an impost of one third on interest and rent, which was rejected. He had various struggles with the Mountain and other political factions, whom he accused of favoring socialism only in pretense. He fought a duel with Félix Pyat and denounced Louis Bonaparte, who was already preparing his *coup d'état*. For this he was condemned to a fine of 10,000 francs and three years' imprisonment, and fled to Belgium. Proudhon only remained in Belgium a few days, and returning to Paris in disguise, was discovered, and imprisoned three years. He wrote during these years his "Confessions d'un Révolutionnaire" (1849), "Actes de la Révolution" (1849), "Gratuité du Crédit" (1850), and "La Révolution Sociale Demontrée par le Coup d'État." In June, 1852, he was set at liberty, and lived, writing, in comparative quiet, till the publication of his work, "De la Justice dans la Révolution et dans l'Église" (1858), in which he attacked the Church and other existing institutions with unusual fury. This time he fled to Brussels to escape imprisonment. On his return to France his health broke down, tho he continued to write. Died at Passy, 1865.

Thomas Kirkup says of Proudhon (article "Proudhon," "Encyclopædia Britannica," 9th ed.):

> Personally Proudhon was one of the most remarkable figures of modern France. His life was marked by the severest simplicity and even Puritanism; he was affectionate in his domestic relations, a most loyal friend, and strictly upright in conduct. He was strongly opposed to the prevailing French socialism of his time because of its utopianism and immorality; and, tho he uttered all manner of wild paradox and vehement invective against the dominant ideas and institutions, he was remarkably free from feelings of personal hate. In all that he said and did he was the son of the people, who had not been broken to the usual social and academic discipline; hence his roughness, his one-sidedness, and his exaggerations; but he is always vigorous, and often brilliant and original.
>
> It would, of course, be impossible to reduce the ideas of such an irregular thinker to systematic form. Yet the groundwork of his teaching is clear and firm; no one could insist with greater emphasis on the demonstrative character of economic principles as understood by himself. He strongly believed in the absolute truth of a few moral ideas, with which it was the aim of his teaching to mold and suffuse political economy. Of these fundamental ideas, justice, liberty, and equality were the chief. What he desiderated, for instance, in an ideal society was the most perfect equality of remuneration. It was his principle that service pays service; that a day's labor balances a day's labor—in other words, that the duration of labor is the just measure of value. He did not shrink from any of the consequences of this theory, for he would give the same remuneration to the worst mason as to a Phidias; but he looks forward also to a period in human development when the present inequality in the talent and capacity of men would be reduced to an inappreciable minimum. From the great principle of service as the equivalent of service is derived his axiom that property is the right of *aubaine*. The *aubain* was a stranger not naturalized; and the right of *aubaine* was the right in virtue of which the sovereign claimed the goods of such a stranger who had died in his territory. Property is a right of the same nature, with a like power of appropriation in the form of rent, interest, etc. It reaps without labor, consumes without producing, and enjoys without exertion. Proudhon's aim, therefore, was to realize a science of society resting on principles of justice, liberty, and equality thus understood; "a science absolute, rigorous, based on the nature of man and of his faculties, and on their mutual relations; a science which we have not to invent, but to discover." But he saw clearly that such ideas, with their necessary accompaniments, could only be realized through a long and laborious process of social transformation. As we have said, he strongly detested the prurient immorality of the schools of Saint-Simon and Fourier. He attacked them not less bitterly for thinking that society could be changed offhand by a ready-made and complete scheme of reform. It was "the most accurst lie," he said, "that could be offered to mankind." In social change he distinguishes between the transition and the perfection or achievement. With regard to the transition he advocated the progressive abolition of the right of *aubaine*, by reducing interest, rent, etc. For the goal he profest only to give the general principles; he had no ready-made scheme, no utopia. The positive organization of the new society in its details was a labor that would require fifty Montesquieus. The organization he desired was one on collective principles; a free association which would take account of the division of labor and which would maintain the personality both of the man and the citizen. With his strong and fervid feeling for human dignity and liberty, Proudhon could not have tolerated any theory of social change that did not give full scope for the free development of man. Connected with this was his famous paradox of anarchy, as the goal of the free development of society, by which he meant that through the ethical progress of men government should become unnecessary. "Govern-

Principles

ment of man by man in every form," he says, "is oppression. The highest perfection of society is found in the union of order and anarchy."

Proudhon is considered the father of the school of the philosophical anarchists (see ANARCHISM), tho he held their views only in the germ and not in their developed form, and he has found, as he predicted, his chief following in the United States. Author: "Qu'est-ce que la Propriété?"; "De la Création de l'Ordre dans l'Humanité"; "Système des Contradictions Économiques"; "Confessions d'un Révolutionnaire"; "Actes de la Révolution"; "Gratuité du Crédit"; "La Révolution Sociale Demontrée par le Coup d'État; "De la Justice dans la Révolution et dans l'Église." A complete edition, including posthumous writings, was published at Paris in 1875. Sainte-Beuve gave us in 1875 "P. J. Proudhon: La Vie et la Correspondance." In 1876 Mr. B. R. Tucker published a translation of the work on property. (See ANARCHISM.)

PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS: The movement for public employment bureaus, which under different forms are now being started in almost all progressive countries, has been occasioned mainly by the evils attendant so frequently upon private bureaus. These evils have developed, and upon the same general lines, in all countries, evils of charging somewhat heavy registration fees from those seeking work, holding out hopes and promises, and then sending them here and there with all sorts of baseless stories, without doing anything for them, except get their money; evils to employers of recommending employees or servants of whom they really know nothing; evils to girls of sending them to places of whose moral character they do not know, and not seldom of deliberately alluring them into houses of ill repute.

Public employment bureaus have grown out of these evils, by a natural evolution, through various grades. It is therefore necessary to exactly understand the different kinds of employment bureaus. These may be said to be six:

In the first place we put the labor bureau connected with some trade-union. These in all countries do a large and important work, but of course only for the members of the trade-union with which they are connected.

Akin to these, but in most countries slightly developed, are labor bureaus established by working men, but not in connection with any one trade-union.

A third class consists of labor bureaus established by employers. In some countries these play a somewhat large part and are able to find work for many men.

A fourth and more important class is the regular commercial employment bureaus, altho in almost all countries these seem to be mainly for domestic servants, waiters, and the like.

A fifth class of employment bureau which in some places has developed a large activity is the bureau established by some form or other of charitable or philanthropic association.

The last kind of employment bureau is the bureau established by the municipality or state, which in Europe at least has been frequently very successful and seems on the increase and will demand careful study.

I. Europe

We commence with France, not because the French bureaus are the most important or the most successful, but because France first attempted public efforts in this line, and upon her experience to some extent has been based the action of other countries.

In France as early as 1848 the French provisional government of the day voted to establish a free information bureau in each of the mayoralties of Paris. These were by no means successful owing to political considerations and their want of success long discounted the idea of municipal bureaus.

Employment bureaus carried on for gain have as a result been by far the most numerous and at least until recently the most successful of the agencies for securing situations in France. The number of situations obtained by them runs over a million every year. But these are very largely limited to obtaining situations in domestic service or for waiters in hotels and restaurants, and many complaints against them are made so that there is a movement for their suppression by law.

A small class of French bureaus has at present little influence—the old Gild Registries, over fifteen of which still remain from the old French gild system.

France

Much more important in France are the trade-union employment bureaus. In 1903 1,017 trade-unions maintained labor bureaus or registries out of a total of 3,934 trade-unions existing in France. These, however, tend to become connected with the labor exchange, or "Bourse du Travail," an institution somewhat peculiar to France, altho to an extent copied in Italy and other countries. The first labor exchange was that created by the municipality of Paris in 1887, of which an employment bureau was to have been from the start one of the important features. (See LABOR EXCHANGE.)

Somewhat similar labor exchanges were started in Nîmes the same year, in Marseilles and Saint Étienne in 1888, Toulon in 1889, Bordeaux and Toulouse in 1890. In 1903 the total number of labor exchanges in France was 94 to which there were affiliated 1,871 trade-unions with a membership of 288,036.

In that year sixty-six of these exchanges made returns reporting finding employment for 75,175 persons, not two thirds of which were permanent.

French municipal employment bureaus have been more successful. They were, however, slow in development, because of the want of success attending the 1848 experiments. The attempt, however, was revived in 1886, and by 1900 there were 52 municipal employment bureaus in France. In 1902 30 of these reported finding situations for 58,752 people, of which over 50 were permanent.

German Public Employment Bureaus are undoubtedly the best of any country in the world, but were not the first kind to be developed.

The ordinary commercial employment bureaus of Germany, as in other countries, occupy themselves mainly in placing domestic servants. They are much criticized, and some of them, as in other countries, for immoralities connected with them. This is one of the reasons why Germany is turning to the Public Bureaus. For the bureaus in connection with the Relief Stations, see RELIEF STATIONS.

Germany

The trade-unions of Germany, as elsewhere, maintain in many instances employment bureaus. Several employment bureaus are maintained in Germany in connection with the Chambers of Agriculture.

The characteristic employment bureau of Germany is, however, as we have said, the Public Bureau, often commenced by some private voluntary association and occasionally so continued, but almost always at least subsidized by the municipality (sometimes by the commune), and, in most cases, coming to be a Municipal Bureau,

managed by the municipality (sometimes the commune).

The first employment bureau of this kind in Germany was founded in Stuttgart, in 1865, by a workman's improvement society. It was later joined by other societies, and in 1895 became the Stuttgart Municipal Employment Bureau. The example of Stuttgart was followed by Cologne in 1874; by Berlin, 1883; Hanover, 1889; Düsseldorf in 1890; Carlsruhe, 1891; Freiburg, 1892. They then became common; 5 such public or municipal bureaus were established in 1893; 8 in 1894; 23 in 1895; 12 in 1896 (all the largest cities already having them); 8 in 1898; 9 in 1899; 11 in 1900; 5 in 1901; 2 in 1902. By 1904 there were 136 bureaus. In 1898 an association of such bureaus was established for the empire. This association has an organ, the *Arbeitsmarkt*, a bimonthly edited by Dr. Flesch, and first published in 1887. Many conferences on the subject have been held. The Berlin bureau is a type of many. It found places in 1904 for 67,000 persons. It is conducted by various united societies, but receives a subsidy of $5,000 from the municipality and is under its strict supervision. It is free to all employees. Workmen who register pay a fee of 20 pfennig (five cents). Several of the skilled labor-unions use the bureau instead of maintaining bureaus of their own. Employers and employees are equally represented in the management. Such is the type. But Berlin is not generally supposed to have the best public employment bureau. This honor is usually given to Stuttgart or Cologne.

Characteristic of all of them, however, is the fact that they are managed by committees on which employers and employees are equally represented. The Germans consider this fact so vital that they have coined a word to express it —*paritat*, or the equal representation of employer and employed. Second, however, only in importance to this is the importance they give to the bureaus by having at the head of the committees the foremost citizens.

In Frankfort the burgomaster or mayor nominates the president of the employment bureau Committee. In Elberfeld a committee of the "Arbitration Court" also manages the bureau. In Munich the president of the "Arbitration Court" is also president of the bureau. In Nuremberg the bureau is under the superintendence of the city magistracy. In Breslau a member of the magistracy is the head of the bureau. Upon the Berlin committee are an official from the Imperial Ministry of the Interior, well-known professors and publicists, as well as employers and employees. In Cologne the municipality bears all the costs, but, while keeping a general control, leaves the actual management to a committee of various unions, including the trade-unions, the union of Independent Handicrafts, the gilds, and a number of religious and labor societies.

In Bavaria the decisive step has been taken of making the communes by law responsible for the labor bureau. In Bavaria, too, the system of distinctive municipal bureaus has been most developed into a complete system. There are seven central employment bureaus in the eight largest Bavarian cities, and these have forty-five outlying bureaus connected with them. This systematization of course enormously increases the value of each bureau in hearing of situations and therefore in supplying them to applicants. The constitution of these bureaus is usually similar. No fees are charged; the entire cost is defrayed by the municipality (assisted by grants from the Bavarian Government).

That these municipal bureaus have succeeded is seen in the increase of the work done. In Munich the bureau filled 25,586 situations in 1896, 51,664 in 1903. In 1896 47,008 people applied for situations, and 79,505 in 1903. In 1896 30,057 positions were offered by employers, and in 1903, 67,429. Indeed, the municipal bureau at Munich exceeds the work done by all other employment bureaus in the city taken together. Of every 100 applications for work it receives, 65 per cent are successful, a much higher percentage than any other form of employment bureau. The expenses of the municipal bureau in 1903 amounted to $8,705, of which $5,820 went in salaries. There was a grant from the Bavarian Government of $1,025 and not including the grant the cost of each situation procured was fourteen cents per situation. Indeed, one of the marked characteristics of the German public bureaus is this cheapness of operation. In Carlsruhe, in 1903, it was 13 cents for each of 11,496 positions filled; in Mannheim, 11 cents for each of 10,939 positions filled; in Cologne, in 1904, it was 9 cents for each of the 28,200 positions filled.

At first the labor-unions were suspicious of these bureaus, but being public and managed equally by employers and employees, this suspicion has given way to confidence.

II. Other Countries

Other European countries have little new to offer. Belgium and Italy have developed some labor exchanges like the French bourses de travail, and with employment bureaus attached, yet with little success. They are therefore turning now to the German type. Austria and Denmark have followed the lead of Germany directly, notably at Vienna, Basel, Bern, Zurich, and Copenhagen. Switzerland is developing a federal system of employment bureaus. In England, out of the recent agitation of the question of unemployment has come the recent establishment of a system of public employment bureaus called labor bureaux, too recent, however, yet to show results either favorable or unfavorable.

(For the interesting work of the New Zealand Government in obtaining work for the unemployed through the cooperation of the police, see New Zealand.)

From a study of the German bureaus Dr. Varlez, of Ghent (Belgium), an authority on the subject, lays down the following principles for their management:[1]

III. Principles

1. The employers and the employees should have an equal right in the management of the bureaus. They should also have equal rights in the administration of the bureaus.
2. The presidency should be in the hands of men not interested in industrial conflicts.
3. A purely bureaucratic management is irreconcilable with an effective management of the bureaus.
4. The management should not be placed exclusively in the hands of philanthropic institutions.
5. The expenses of the organization and administration of bureaus, in which employers and employees are equally interested, should fall upon the public authorities; principally upon the local community.
6. The placing of laborers outside of the community should be in charge of a central bureau rather than in that of the district bureau.
7. The procuring of work should be free of charge.

[1] Report on the Reorganization of the Ghent Labor Exchange, Ghent, 1906.

8. The placing of laborers should not be purely a local matter; it should extend to the surrounding district.

9. The bureau should try to keep in touch and, if possible, to cooperate with all agencies which undertake to find employment.

10. The public authorities should control all employment bureaus so as to prevent commercialism on their part and hostile action toward the public bureau.

11. The statistics of the bureaus should be kept with the greatest care.

12. The public bureaus should be for both sexes.

13. The public bureaus should endeavor to place both working men and domestics.

14. Women clerks should be used in placing women applicants.

15. Direct contact between employers and employees, and also between persons of different sexes, should be avoided in the office of the bureau.

16. Strikes and lockouts should be reported immediately to the employment bureau, and should be announced there, but it should not be necessary to close the office to the trades implicated.

17. All the transactions of placing people should be carried on within the office of the bureau.

18. Managers of offices should try to satisfy their clients, both employers and working men, without following the strict order of application, which is more or less a matter of chance.

19. Officers should energetically combat the practise of working men in applying directly to employers who are patrons of the bureau, for positions.

20. To make known their work the public employment bureaus should use all the different methods of advertising which are used by commercial institutions.

21. The labor bureau should be interested in placing of apprentices and in the form of their contract, because the future of the labor market depends upon the proper management of apprenticeships.

22. Employment bureaus of neighboring villages should as far as possible cooperate with each other.

23. Bureaus in villages should try to interest themselves in the question of the depopulation of the country districts and the poverty of farm-laborers.

IV. The United States

We abridge here the account of free public employment offices in the U. S., by J. E. Conner, Ph.D., in the *U. S. Bulletin of Labor* (Jan., 1907):

1890. Ohio, 5 offices, Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati, Dayton, and Toledo; salaries paid by cities at first, now by state.

1893. Los Angeles, Cal., a municipal office, founded and maintained by labor-unions, later assumed by municipality and county, now by municipality.

1894. Seattle, Wash., a municipal office, founded by an amendment to the city charter.

1895. Montana, first legislative attempt at a mail-order system. Changed by a substitute act of March 6, 1897, to a law permitting municipalities to act for themselves. Butte office, 1902; Great Falls, 1905; both founded by city ordinances and virtually municipal offices.

1896. New York, 1 office, New York City; act repealed and office discontinued, 1906.

1897. Nebraska, mail-order system, only 1 office, state capitol at Lincoln.

1899. Illinois, 4 offices, 3 in Chicago and 1 in Peoria; original act declared unconstitutional, present one passed May 11, 1903.

1899. Missouri, 3 offices, St. Louis, Kansas City, and St. Joseph.

1901. Connecticut, 5 offices, Bridgeport, Hartford, New Haven, Norwich, and Waterbury.

1901. Kansas, mail-order system; only 1 office, state capitol at Topeka.

1901. West Virginia, 1 office, Wheeling.

1901. Wisconsin, 4 offices, La Crosse, Milwaukee, Oshkosh, Superior.

1901. Duluth, Minn., municipal office; founded by city ordinance.

1902. Maryland, 1 office, Baltimore.

1902. Sacramento, Cal., municipal office; founded by city ordinance.

1904. Tacoma, Wash., municipal office; founded by city ordinance.

1905. Minnesota, 1 office, Minneapolis; municipal office at Duluth continues as organized.

1905. Michigan, 2 offices, Detroit and Grand Rapids.

1905. Spokane, Wash., municipal office; founded by city ordinance.

The conclusion to which Dr. Conners comes concerning these bureaus is as follows:

The free public employment office must be regarded thus far as an experiment with some failures, many mistakes, and several successes to be recorded as its briefest summary. The failures have not been upon fundamental points and the mistakes are believed to be preventable. The history of this movement has been one of progression and not retrogression, tho the progress must be looked for as a whole rather than within any one of the several states. The individual states have shown but little inclination to modify their earlier enactments or to profit by the experience of others.

The offices have not uniformly followed the practise of giving their services without the payment of a fee. The experience where a fee has been charged indicates that perhaps the best results would be obtained from a small fee which each applicant for employment should pay for each position he secures, following the principle of making the service pay its own expenses. This fee could be collected subsequent to employment.

The offices should be located whenever practicable in the city hall or the court-house. This is desirable for two reasons: First, that the burden of the support of the office may be distributed between the state and the locality, the latter accounting at least for the item of rent, the former assuming responsibility for all remaining expenses; second, in order that the office may be as closely as possible associated with other social services, and be placed incidentally on an equal footing with other public offices.

That those seeking employment should be protected from the schemes of the unscrupulous has been urged more than any other motive as a reason for the establishment of free public employment offices. The experience of the various states does not justify the belief that free competition by the state can be relied upon alone to drive out the unscrupulous private agencies or correct their abuses. To accomplish this object the first requisite is a law covering the specific abuses. Following the system developed in Illinois, the free public employment office may be used as a valuable adjunct in the administration of such a law.

A second motive advanced is the need of a public agency to furnish all possible assistance to the unemployed seeking employment. Private initiative cannot be relied upon to do this for the reason that it must make merchandise of men's necessities to an extent that is socially harmful, even when conducted as a legitimate business and entirely free from extortionate practises.

The economic motive is a third reason advanced in justification of the free public employment office. This may be analyzed into the saving of money to those for whom it is needful that money should be saved, and the bringing together the laborer in search of work and the employer seeking help, thus with the least possible expense reducing unemployment to a minimum and supplying the demand for workers to the fullest extent.

The private employment offices in large cities have become highly differentiated and, while the cost is sometimes excessive and exorbitant, in many cases they render a higher grade of service than the public office. As a rule it is safer to trust the public offices for the lower grades of employment, but in the higher grades it is possible in many cases to get better service through the private offices.

Conclusions

Specialization of the free employment office is theoretically possible, but by reason of the expense to the state it is impracticable save in an elementary degree, namely, the separation of the skilled from the unskilled labor market by the establishment of two corresponding grades of offices. Whether the state offices, if on a self-supporting basis, could equal the private agencies in efficiency is altogether problematic.

There is often a large unsatisfied demand for unskilled labor. On the other hand there is at times a large supply of this grade of labor outside of the larger industrial centers, in the towns and small cities where there is no great industrial activity. Bringing these two factors of the labor market together would be a great economic gain and much more desirable than the encouragement of immigration to satisfy the labor demand.

The "mail-order" system of free employment offices has furnished most of the instances of failure. This system is simply a labor registry for employer and employee and necessitates a correspondence bureau at the state capital, where the real work of fitting the man to the job is essayed by correspondence. In the light of American experience this system is successful only in the supplying of harvest hands in the wheat belt.

It is evident from the above how far the American free public employment bureaus fall below the German. No such bureaus can expect to make a large success. Until public bureaus be given the importance and standing and size of the German, failure must follow. Nor until they are managed as in Germany by employers and employees equally will they have the confidence of the labor-unions necessary to their success. Con-

cerning the New York public employment bureau which was discontinued, Dr. Conners says:

The New York statute of 1896, creating the one free employment office in New York City, while not primarily designed upon the mail-order plan, was scarcely less parsimonious in relation to the field it occupied. In the light of experience in New York City and elsewhere, the attempt to counteract the abuses of the private agencies by the competition of one state office set down in the midst of the city without sufficient advertising, assistance, or anything else, could hardly be expected to succeed.

REFERENCES: See UNEMPLOYMENT.

PUBLIC LANDS: The public domain of the United States—lying principally in the western half of the country—now amounts, in round numbers, to a little less than half a billion acres. Uncle Sam is yet by far our largest landowner.

The first landed operations in America consisted, in the early colonial days, in the granting, by the British, French, and Spanish crowns, of immense tracts of land in the provinces to titled and influential individuals. With the formation of the republic, the principle prevailed of the government selling its public land to the highest bidder. Later, the preemption law was enacted by which the nominal price was fixt at $1.25 an acre, and under this fairly beneficent act of Congress great home-making areas were carved out of the middle-western states, the intent of the law being that settlement and residence should accompany and follow purchase. Subsequent to this, various other land-acquiring laws were enacted, the principal one being the homestead law, which enabled a man to take up 160 acres of public land and, by residing upon and improving it for five years, to acquire title without other cost than a small fee.

The general sentiment of the nation has always favored a liberal land policy, but the underlying motive has been to induce and require settlement to the end that the country might become rapidly peopled. From the very beginning, however, practises and modifications crept in under which land could be obtained without actual settlement, but for speculative purposes, usually, however, under the guise of promoting instead of defeating settlement. Thus, shortly after the passage of the homestead law, what is known as the "commutation clause" was enacted. This provides that after a residence upon a homestead claim of fourteen months the entryman may, by the payment of $1.25 an acre, secure immediate title to his land. Under this law hundreds of thousands of acres of the best of the government lands of the West have been entered with but a mere semblance of improvement and settlement, commuted to cash, and transferred to speculators and syndicates, the entryman receiving a small bonus for the exercise of his right.

Homestead Law

Then also was enacted the desert land law, supposed to be in the interest of the settlement of desert lands. Under it a man could enter 640 acres of "desert land," and upon irrigating a portion of it and paying $1.25 an acre, secure title thereto. This law has likewise been flagrantly abused and vast areas of rich lands, many of them absolutely non-desert, have been entered, patent secured from the government and immediately transferred by the entryman to some live-stock syndicate or speculative corporation. In several of the grazing states tracts can be seen to-day of 10,000 or 20,000 acres, or even greater areas of contiguous land, acquired from the government under the desert land law, but which have never been settled upon, and never been irrigated. This law also is still in force, except that its unit has been reduced from 640 to 320 acres. The great defect in the law is that it does not require actual settlement.

In the "seventies" the timber and stone law was passed by Congress. It was supposed to be for the benefit of the individual homesteader or settler, in that it allowed him to buy from the government for his own use 160 acres of timber land at $2.50 an acre. This law has probably been even more flagrantly abused than any of the public-land-acquiring laws. Under it, entire train-loads of people—Eastern school-teachers—have been transported by lumber syndicates into the finest timber regions of the West, and furnished the money to buy, each his 160 acres, and then immediately transfer it to the syndicate. Vast tracts of land worth, according to government agents, $100 an acre, have thus been sold by the government for $2.50 an acre.

Recent investigations of the General Land Office have shown that almost equally great frauds have crept into the disposal of government coal lands, through the manipulation of dummy entrymen and the acquirement of the land under other than their rightful classification.

Various other laws have been enacted from time to time, in the main detrimental to the nation, and through which the great public domain has gradually, in large measure, passed into the hands of speculators and syndicates—at least not into the hands of bona-fide settlers. At the present time there are four principal land-acquiring laws which are conceded to be a detriment to the actual development of the country—the commutation clause of the homestead law, the desert land law, the timber and stone law, and the coal land law. During the past five or six years a considerable agitation has arisen looking to land law reform or repeal by Congress, and in 1903 President Roosevelt appointed a special public lands commission, consisting of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, the chief engineer of the Reclamation Service, and the chief of the Forest Service, to personally investigate the land question and present proper recommendations. The two succeeding annual reports of the commission brought to light a condition of unparalleled fraud and non-compliance with existing laws. At the same time the Secretary of the Interior was unearthing gigantic land frauds, involving men in high official positions. The report of the commission was called to the attention of Congress by the president in several unusually forceful messages. The repeal of the timber and stone law was recommended by him, and such amendment of the desert land law, the commutation clause of the homestead law, and the coal land law as to entirely nullify their bad features. Congress unfortunately turned a deaf ear, and in Dec., 1906, the president sent to that body a still more urgent recommendation along the same lines, and in a later message urged the retention of the vast body of coal lands of the West which he asserted were being fraudulently entered and transferred to coal monopolies. It is a most regrettable circumstance that Congress has paid no heed whatever to these suggestions of the executive.

Present Laws

No better statement of the present public land

situation can be made than to quote from these messages of the president, briefly as follows:

[1] The timber and stone act has demonstrated conclusively that its effect is to turn over the public timber lands to great corporations. It has done enormous harm, it is no longer needed, and it should be repealed. The desert land act results so frequently in fraud and so comparatively seldom in making homes on the land that it demands radical amendment. That provision which permits assignment before patent should be repealed, and the entryman should be required to live for not less than two years at home on the land before patent issues. Otherwise the desert land law will continue to assist speculators and other large holders to get control of land and water on the public domain by indefensible means.

The commutation clause of the homestead act serves, in a majority of cases, to defeat the purpose of the homestead act itself, which is to facilitate settlement and create homes. In theory the commutation clause should assist the honest settler, and doubtless in some cases it does so. Far more often it supplies the means by which speculators and loan and mortgage companies secure possession of the land. Actual—not constructive—living at home on the land for three years should be required before commutation, unless it should appear wiser to repeal the commutation clause altogether. . . . The present coal law, limiting the individual entry to 160 acres, puts a premium on fraud by making it impossible to develop certain types of coal-fields and yet comply with the law. It is a scandal to maintain laws which sound well, but which make fraud the key without which great natural resources must remain closed. . . . Mineral fuels, like the forests and navigable streams, should be treated as public utilities. This is generally recognized abroad. In some foreign countries practical control of a large portion of the fuel resources was allowed years ago to pass into private hands, but the existing governments are endeavoring to regain this control in order that the diminishing fuel supply may be safeguarded for the common good, instead of being disposed of for the benefit of the few—tho the mistake of the preceding generation in disposing of these fuels for a nominal return cannot always be corrected by the present generation, as the cost may be so enormous as to be prohibitory. . . . Already probably one half of the total area of the high-grade coals in the West has passed under private control. Including both the lignite and the coal areas, these private holdings probably aggregate not less than 30,000,000 acres of coal-fields. With the remainder of the lands containing mineral fuels reserved and leased by the government, there will be ample opportunity to determine, in the near future, which of the two systems—private ownership or the leasing system with general government supervision—will best protect the interests of the people and thus promote the permanent development of the West. . . . I wish to express my utter and complete dissent from the statements that have been made as to there being but a minimum of fraud in the actual working of our present land laws. I am exceedingly anxious to protect the interests of bona-fide settlers and to prevent hardship being inflicted upon them. But surely we are working in their interests when we try to prevent the land which should be reserved for them and for those like them from being taken possession of for speculative purposes or obtained in any fraudulent fashion.

GUY ELLIOTT MITCHELL.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP (for the facts of public ownership, see articles LIGHTING; RAILROADS; STREET-RAILROADS; TELEGRAPH; TELEPHONE, and WATER-WORKS. For public ownership in Great Britain, see MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP and MUNICIPAL TRADING. For public ownership on the Continent, see the separate subjects, also MUNICIPALITIES, German):

We present in this article the arguments for and against public ownership, largely made up of quotations from representative authorities on both sides, and close the article with the final report of the Public Ownership Commission of the National Civic Federation, which investigated both private and public plants and systems in the United States and Great Britain and has presented the most recent and undoubtedly up to date the most authoritative statement of final conclusions.

[1] For complete report of the Public Lands Commission and the president's message, see Senate document No. 154, 58th Congress, 3d session; also president's messages to Congress on public land matters of Dec. 17, 1906, and Feb. 13, 1907.

I. Advantages of Public Ownership

In this section we largely quote from Prof. Frank Parsons's "The City for the People," as generally considered the best general authority in favor of public ownership. Professor Parsons finds the following arguments for public ownership:

I. It lowers rates to the community. The main reasons for this are as follows:

1. A public plant does not have to pay dividends on watered stock.
2. It does not have to pay dividends even on the actual investment.
3. It does not have to retain lawyers or lobbyists, or provide for the entertainment of councilmen, or subscribe to campaign funds, or bear the expenses of pushing the nomination and election of men to protect its interests or give it new privileges, or pay blackmail to ward off the raids of cunning legislators and officials, or buy up its rivals, etc.
4. It does not have to advertise or solicit business.
5. It is able to save a great deal by combination with other departments of public service. Speaking of the low cost of electric light in Dunkirk, the mayor of the city says: "Our city owns its water plant, and the great saving comes from the city's owning and operating both plants. No extra labor is required but a lineman. The same engineers, firemen, and superintendents operate both plants, and the same boiler-power is used." So in Bangor, Marshalltown, and a number of other places, the municipal lighting system is run in connection with the public water plant. In Wheeling the gas and electric plants are operated together. In La Salle the fire, water, and light departments are consolidated. A great saving in the cost of labor and superintendence results.
6. Public ownership has no interest to pay.
7. Even where public ownership is incomplete, the people not owning the plant free of debt, they still have an advantage in respect to interest, because they can borrow at lower rates than the private companies have to pay.
8. As cities usually act as their own insurers, public ownership is free of tribute to the profits and agency commissions of private insurance companies.
9. There is often a large saving in salaries. A public plant pays its chief well, but does not pay the extravagant salaries awarded by millionaire monopolists to themselves or their substitutes in office.
10. Public plants frequently gain through the higher efficiency of better treated and more contented labor, still further energized in many cases by the noble motives and sentiments that go with public service in the minds of patriotic men.
11. The losses occasioned by costly strikes and lockouts do not burden the ledgers of public works.
12. Damages and costs of litigation are likely to be less with public than with private works. Accidents are fewer in a system that aims at good service and safety, and treats its employees well. When they do occur, the claims are often compromised or settled fairly and amicably without suit.
13. The civic interest of the people leads to other economies through the increase of patronage and the lessening of waste. The larger the output, the lower the cost of production per unit of service, other things equal, and the tendency to waste electricity, water, etc., is much less when the people know that the service is a public one, the profits of which belong to them and the loss in which, if any, must be paid by them, than when they know that the service is rendered by a private corporation charging monopoly rates and making big profits for a few stockholders. These economies are intensified as education and experience with public ownership develop the understanding and the civic patriotism of the people.
14. The diffusion of wealth and elevation of labor accompanying public ownership tend to diminish the extent and the cost of the criminal and defective classes.
15. The cost of numerous regulative commissions and interminable legislative investigations into the secrets of private monopolies would be saved by the extension of public ownership.
16. The elimination of conflict and antagonism carries with it the cost of all the useless activities prompted by that antagonism. Legislation would cost us less, for example, were it not for the private monopolies. For a large part of the time and attention of our legislatures is given to them.

Illustrations of the lowering of rates are as follows:

Street Cars.—When Glasgow took over the tramways, fares were reduced one third at once, and reductions have been continued till now the average fare is less than half the average fare collected by the private company.

Telegraph and Telephone. — When England bought out the private telegraph companies, in 1870, and made the telegraph part of the postal service, she reduced the rates one third to one half.

experienced by the cities, amounting to practical impossibility of securing a reasonable regard to the public interest, or even the fulfilment of actual contracts. He gives the following table in the report of the Public Ownership Commission:

EXTENSION OF LINE BEFORE AND AFTER MUNICIPALIZATION

CITY[1]	No. of years	Period before municipalization. Miles of line increased—		Date of municipalization	Period since municipalization. Miles of line increased—		No. of years	Per cent of increase for period—		Annual average per cent increase	
		From	To		From	To		Before	After	Company period	City period
Glasgow	12	22.2	30	'94	30	80.5	12	35	168	2.7	14
Leeds	12	13.7	14.2	'94	18	54.2	12	3.7	201	.3	16.3
Liverpool	9	41	43.7	'97	43.7	63.4	9	6.7	45	.7	5
Sheffield	10	9.4	9.4	'96	9.4	35.5	10	....	275	....	27.5
Manchester	4	80.5	87.5	'01	55.7	87	4	8.7	56	2.2	14
Municipalities— Group averages										1.2	15.8
				Dividing date						Earlier period	Later period
Dublin	12	31.3	33.3	'94	33.3	49.5	12	6	48	.5	4
Edinburgh	12	13.3	18.4	'94	11.7	22.7	12	38	94	3.1	7.8
Belfast	10	15.1	23	'96	23	39.1	19	52	79	5.2	7
Bristol	9	11.2	19.6	'97	19.6	28.2	9	75	44	8.3	4.8
Norwich	...	....	....	'01	18.8	14.5	5	....	6	....	1.2
Companies— Group averages										4.0	5.5

[1] The first five cities, Glasgow, Leeds, Liverpool, Sheffield, and Manchester, changed from private to public operation at dates ranging from 1894 to 1901, and the rate of extension in the period of company management is compared with the rate under public management. The last five cities, Dublin, Edinburgh, Belfast, Bristol, and Norwich, have had company operation during both the earlier and later periods, except that the last two or three years in Belfast the city has been taking over the lines, completing the process Dec. 31, 1904. The London United Tramways Company was not organized till 1901, and made no returns for 1902. Moreover, the data available do not enable us to distinguish between extensions and the increase of mileage by consolidations of companies, so the company has not been included in this table.

In the U. S. the story is the same.

ELECTRIC LIGHTING

CITIES	MUNICIPALIZATION	
	Before	After
Aurora, Ill.	$325	$72
Elgin, Ill.	228	62
Fairfield, Iowa	375	95
Marshalltown, Iowa	125	40
Bay City, Mich.	100	67
Detroit, Mich.	132	83
Allegheny, Pa.	180	86
Bangor, Me.	150	58
Lewiston, Me.	182	58
Peabody, Mass.	185	73

II. Public ownership gives a fuller service. Private companies supply only those services which pay, public ownership supplies services which are needed. This is eminently so as between the Western Union Telegraph and the U. S. Post-office. It has been so in Great Britain. Indeed dissatisfaction with the growth of the private systems has been one of the main causes of the extension of municipal ownership in Great Britain.

As to street-cars, the principal reasons, according to Professor Parsons, were poor service by the companies; their ill treatment of employees; their refusal to assent to the adoption of electric traction, extension to suburban districts, and other vital improvements; the constant difficulty

III. Public ownership treats the public impartially. Secret rebates and discriminations have been one of the main evils of the privately owned railways of the U. S. (For a discussion of this, see RAILWAYS.)

IV. Public ownership favors safety to life (see RAILWAYS), showing that it is six times as safe to travel on the State-owned railroads of Germany as on the privately owned railroads of the U. S.

V. Public ownership tends to diminish fraud and the corruption of government. (See Mr. Steffens's testimony, article CORRUPTION.) Professor Parsons's "City for the People," pp. 154–155, gives the following testimony:

Professor Commons says: "I maintain that nine tenths of the existing municipal corruption and inefficiency result from the policy of leaving municipal functions to private parties; and that an essential part of the present unparalleled awakening of civic conscience on the part of all classes of the people is the desire for municipal ownership of franchises. As the people become aroused to the degradation of their politics and to the need of reform, their attention is concentrated on the chief source of that degradation, the underhanded and often high-handed domination of city officials and machine politics by the corporations whose life is maintained by city franchises."

Professor Ely says: "Our terrible corruption in cities dates from the rise of private corporations in control of natural monopolies, and when we abolish them we do away with the chief cause of corruption. 'But,' it is said, 'we must take natural monopolies out of politics.' It never has been done, and it is an impossible thing to do—absolutely impossible. No gas-works, no water-works, no street-car lines, no steam-railways, are so thoroughly in politics as those in the United States. Our American railroads are incomparably more 'in politics' than the German railroads. Not only this; those

German railroads which have been bought by the State, I believe, are less 'in politics' than they were when they were private property. . . . I unhesitatingly advocate public ownership and management for gas-works, and I challenge any one to instance a single American city—or, for that matter, any city, wheresoever situated—which has gone over to public ownership and which regrets it; which, indeed, has not found that a corrupt political influence was thereby removed and political life purified."

Dr. Albert Shaw says: "The pressure that would be brought to bear on the government to produce corruption under municipal ownership of monopolies like gas, electric light, transit, etc., would be incomparably less than the pressure which is now brought to bear by the corporations."

Governor Pingree says: "The corporations are responsible for nearly all the thieving and boodling with which our cities suffer. . . . Good municipal government is an impossibility while valuable franchises are to be had and can be obtained by corrupt use of money in bribing public servants."

Say the defenders of public ownership in the report of the Civic Federation Commission:

We were told by leading men in England that the abolition of the old régime of corruption in British cities was largely due to the development of municipal ownership; that the companies behave well now, because they know their works will be municipalized if they do not and because the growth of municipal ownership has evolved a public sentiment and a type of character that will not tolerate civic abuses; that public spirit and civic patriotism have grown as the increase of public business enlarged and intensified the demand for them; and that the way for America to secure the civic honor and devotion that underlie the clean management of both public and private plants in Great Britain is to develop public ownership of public utilities.

For example, the Right Hon. John Burns, the famous progressive leader in the London County Council and in Parliament, and now president of the Local Government Board, and one of the highest authorities in the world on questions of municipal policy, said to the commission:

"Some of you may be asking yourselves the question whether you can do in America what has been done in England. I have been in America several times and am somewhat familiar with your political and municipal conditions, and if some of you are thinking, 'Can America do what England has done?' let me say that if you want to develop a public spirit (of which I think you possess more than your detractors would have us believe), you cannot do better than to develop a new school of civic statesmanship through municipal undertakings. In the laboratory of public ownership, from the social crucible there will emerge a new statesmanship that may solve your problems of government in the best way.

"If you are ever going to have such a public spirit as we have in England, you must make a beginning, and you cannot make a better beginning than by undertaking those forms of municipal trading which are so successful here. In their administration will be developed a new sphere of public activity for your young men. In that work scope will be found for their activities in adding to public comfort, profit, and elevation."

VI. *Better treatment of labor* is one of the chief recommendations of public ownership. The tendency shows itself in shorter hours and longer wages, better provision for safety and comfort, larger liberty, and care for accident and old age. Public ownership puts labor above capital. Private ownership puts capital above labor.

Says Professor Parsons, "City for the People," p. 160:

"The Brooklyn Bridge record of $2.75 for trainmen for an eight-hour day on the public cars (while it was under public management), while the private companies, running over the same bridge, pay $1.50 to $2.30, or an average of less than $2 for ten hours, shows the tendency of public ownership in this regard.

"Years of careful study of the attitude of public and private corporations toward laboring people led me, in a series of articles on street-railways in 1897, to make the following comparative statement of

Labor's Interest in Public Ownership

Private Ownership Means

Long hours and low wages for workers.
Short hours and big salaries for managers.
Denial of the rights of organization and petition.
Oppressive regulations for private interest and caprice.
Insecurity of employment—arbitrary discharge at the whim of a petty boss.
Strikes, boycotts, blacklists.
Carelessness of the conditions of labor, men bought as commodities at the lowest market price and thrown away like old clothes when the value is worn out of them; no protection from cold and storm; no provision for the worker in case of sickness and old age, nor for his family in case of his death; no sympathetic treatment of the workers as partners and brothers or even as valuable live stock, but merely as money-making tools that can be replaced at little if any cost.
High fares, curtailing the use of the roads by the working people, and compelling them to live in crowded tenements near their work.
Large profits to a few, adding to the disturbance of wealth diffusion which constitutes the main grievance of labor today.
Mastership and moneyed aristocracy.

Public Ownership Means

Short hours and high wages for workers.
Reasonable hours and moderate salaries for managers.
Full recognition of the rights of organization and petition.
Moderate regulations for the public good.
Greater security of employment and a growing movement toward making it absolutely secure.
Petition, investigation, redress, with the ballot as the final resort.
A definite and persistent policy of improving the conditions of labor, appointing and promoting for merit and service, protecting employees from storm and injury, providing for sickness, old age, and death; recognizing that a contented, well-fed citizenship is of the first importance; that men are worth more than money; that 4,000 happy homes in moderate circumstances are better than twenty luxurious palaces and 3,980 tenements pinched by poverty.
Low fares, enabling the working people to live at a distance and relieving the pressure in the tenement districts.
Profits for the people—no overgrown fortunes for the few; tendency to wealth diffusion and removal of the greatest danger of present industrial conditions.
Partnership, democracy, fraternity."

The Public Ownership Commission report (see above) gives the following statement of Professor Parsons:

Next to the wish to obtain a better service at lower fares, the predominant motive in the municipalization of British tramways has been the desire to improve the condition of labor. The companies worked the men eleven to fourteen hours a day for seven days, while the cities have made the hours of labor from nine to ten per day, with one day's rest in seven. Increases in wages were made also, amounting to 50 per cent in Liverpool, from 43 to 63 per cent in Manchester, and to 42 per cent in London. Notwithstanding these benefits to labor the reductions in fares were considerable, and the total savings from reduced rates for the twelve years under municipal management at Glasgow are estimated at $23,000,000, as compared with the old company basis. The benefits to labor under city management at Glasgow are computed at $515,000.

Says Professor Commons in the report:

In none of the American enterprises investigated were the common laborers organized. In the municipal undertakings they are paid higher wages and given shorter hours than in the case of private employees of the same locality. They are also in all cases citizens of the U. S., and residents of the locality. The common laborer of the private companies, except in Indianapolis and the Southern cities, where they are colored, is composed largely of immigrants and no attention is paid as to whether they have secured citizenship papers or not. . . .

The policy of all the British municipalities is to place the minimum wages of common labor at the level paid by the best private employers for similar work. This is about 15 per cent to 40 per cent higher than other private wages for the same class of labor in the same locality.

In the U. S. the minimum paid for common labor by the private companies is, in all cases, except Atlanta, lower than that of the municipality, and the minimum paid for common labor by municipal undertakings is higher than that of private companies of the same locality.

Arguments Against Public Ownership Answered

It is said that public ownership fails to develop the great public services which require large investment of capital which can only be attracted by the possibility of large returns and long franchises. It is shown how in every public utility the U. S., where capital has had this inducement,

has developed very much larger and fuller public service than has Europe under public ownership.

The answer to this is that it is not public ownership which lacks progress, but Europe. Say the defenders of public ownership in the Public Ownership report, speaking of the U. S. in comparison with Europe:

> Our buildings, telephones, factories, farms, commercial enterprises, etc., also show a decided superiority, altho these things are subject to private ownership in both countries. The per capita use of typewriters, sewing-machines, automobiles, elevators, and telephones is greater in the U. S. than in Great Britain, as well as the per capita use of electricity and mileage of tramways. The habits of the people and their economic conditions are widely different in the two countries. The best method of arriving at a conclusion in regard to the effect of the form of management upon the service is to compare public and private plants in the same city or in the same country under similar conditions otherwise than as to ownership.

Making this comparison we find in the U. S. (see Postal Service) the Western Union Telegraph Company much less progressive than the Post-office Department, and in Europe all publicly owned services (see above) to have been almost universally more progressive than private ownership.

Similarly so with the argument that labor is better paid and better off under private ownership in the U. S. than under public ownership in Europe. This is true, but it is still more true that labor is better paid and better off under public ownership in the U. S. than under private ownership in Europe. The only fair comparison is between the two systems in the same country.

II. Advantages of Private Ownership

I. A strong argument for private ownership is its economic as well as its productive efficiency compared with public ownership.

There is little about municipal trading to attract men of the first class. Mr. Edgar and Mr. Clark unite in saying: "We have not found evidence in the U. S. that the personnel of the city government of Chicago (referring to Mayor Dunne's administration) or Wheeling is superior to that of Atlanta or Norfolk, or that the introduction of municipal water and electric plants in Detroit has brought a higher type of citizenship into the governing body than we find in New Haven, which has neither."

Illustrations of the truth of this argument are abundant. Illustrating how far the development of public utilities in the U. S. under private ownership have outstripped those in Great Britain under public ownership, the defenders of private ownership in the Public Ownership report (see above), Mr. Charles L. Edgar (president of the Edison Electric Illuminating Company of Boston, Mass.) and Walton Clark (vice-president of the United Gas Improvement Company of Philadelphia, Pa.), give the following table:

Electric Lighting Development in the United Kingdom and the United States

	United Kingdom, 1905	United States, 1903
Total cities of 8,000 population and over	586	545
Total population of such cities	26,780,531	25,947,404
Total public arc lights in such cities	24,368	166,313
Average population per arc light	1,099	150
Number of cities having no public arc lighting	351	7
Number of cities having central lighting stations	333	545
Cities having a population of 300,000 or over	11	14
Total population of such cities	9,577,373	11,449,463
Total public arc lights in such cities	9,128	54,859
Average population per arc light	1,049	208
Number of such cities having no public arc lighting	1	None
Number of such cities having central lighting stations	11	14
Cities having a population of 100,000 to 300,000	34	25
Population of such cities	5,320,184	3,920,346
Total public arc lights in such cities	4,653	27,552
Average population per arc light	1,143	142
Number of such cities having no public arc lighting	5	None
Number of such cities having central lighting stations	32	25
Cities having population of 50,000 to 100,000	57	43
Total population of such cities	3,998,226	2,058,710
Public arc lights in such cities	4,118	13,651
Average population per arc light	971	150
Number of such cities having no public arc lighting	11	None
Number of such cities having central lighting stations	55	43
Cities having population of 25,000 to 50,000	112	94
Total population of such cities	3,838,814	3,252,371
Public arc lights in such cities	3,663	26,053
Average population per arc light	1,048	122
Number of such cities having no public arc lighting	38	None
Number of such cities having central lighting stations	94	94
Cities having population of 8,000 to 25,000	372	369
Total population of such cities	4,045,934	5,266,514
Public arc lights in such cities	2,806	43,598
Average population per arc light	1,798	121
Number of such cities having no public arc lighting	296	7
Number of such cities having central lighting stations	141	362

Three American gas-plants were examined by the Public Ownership investigating committee experts. These were at Wheeling, where the plant is operated by the city, and Atlanta and Norfolk, where there is private ownership and operation. In addition the committee visited the Philadelphia gas-works and the labor investigators visited the Richmond, Va., gas-works. As to the price charged the consumers, it was found to be seventy-five cents per thousand feet net at Wheeling, $1 net at Atlanta, and $1 net at Norfolk, the municipal plant thus selling at the lowest price. To offset this, however, Messrs. Edgar and Clark point out that in Atlanta there is free installation of service, at Norfolk partially free installation, while at Wheeling charge is made for the service pipe from

the curb to the meter and for the setting of the meter.

In comparing the public and private gas service, the writers against public ownership in the commission say:

If we consider together the price the Wheeling consumer pays for gas and the character of the service rendered, we may not doubt that he gets less of net result per dollar expended than does the gas consumer in Atlanta or Norfolk. Low and varying pressure, uncertain candle-power, influenced at times by a dash of natural gas (at Wheeling), will bring troubles to studying children that, while not factors in financial calculations, have a proper place in this inquiry. Wheeling's gas-plant is not an important factor in the well-being of Wheeling's citizens. What with fast meters, charges for service and meter-setting, absence of any gratuitous work, the admixture of 15-cent, eight candle-power natural gas, insufficient and irregular pressure, and general inefficiency in the complaint department, Wheeling gas is a dear commodity at any price. Our experts found nothing to praise in Wheeling's service and little to criticize in the service of the companies at Norfolk and Atlanta.

In general, it may be said, so far as condition of plant and operating efficiency are concerned, there could not well be a worse condition of affairs than the engineers report as existing at Wheeling. In the other two cities the record regarding condition of plant, and regarding the various points of practise mentioned above in the case of Wheeling, while it contains a few points of criticism, is on the whole satisfactory. In both cases the plant is pronounced to be modern and kept in an orderly condition.

II. One of the strongest arguments against public ownership, especially as applied to the U. S., is the corruption and inefficiency of our city governments, which are notoriously below the level of those in Europe, so that if public ownership has not been a success there, it would be a far worse failure here. The Philadelphia gas-works are an example.

Referring to the Philadelphia gas-works as an instructive comparison of the results of municipal and private operation, Dr. L. S. Rowe is authority for the statement that the quality of the gas supplied has been improved by the company now operating the service, and that through the rental paid the city has received for eight years an average profit of $491,674 annually, while for the last few years under city operation there was a loss of $245,398 per year. The private company, however, charges no more than did the city, but supplies better gas. "The commission's records," say Mr. Edgar and Mr. Clark, "indicate a high degree of efficiency in the company operation of the Philadelphia gas-works, and kindly and liberal treatment of employees."

III. Private ownership being financially so much more successful than public ownership, it can and often does pay more in taxes to the government than public-owned plants bring in to the city. Messrs. Edgar and Clark say (see above):

We venture to believe that the loss to the communities whose municipal industries we have investigated from bad management and lack of enterprise, resulting in restricted service of modern utilities, is many times the profit these cities claim to have realized from their Rip Van Winkle methods of serving the public.

It is not worth while to discuss the effect on the finances of American cities of the municipal operations of the industries that we have here investigated. Properly audited, they have, with one or two exceptions, lost money, and their plants are all inadequate to good service and have, with the exception of the water plants, little more than a scrap value in view of the present state of the arts. What effect could such poor efforts as we have witnessed have on public wealth or public comfort? It cannot fail to be bad.

Objections to Private Ownership Answered

In his review in the report of the National Civic Federation Commission on Public Ownership Mr. Clark compares the tramways of Great Britain with the private enterprises of the U. S. He declares that the American traction systems under private ownership are far more progressive than those of England, Scotland, and Ireland; that they give far better suburban service, that cars are less crowded, and that lines are being extended with far greater rapidity. This he attributes to the absence of restrictions in the U. S. as compared with Great Britain, where, he says, private traction enterprises are given franchises only on almost prohibitive terms. The difference of rate of fare in the two countries, Mr. Clark says, is more than offset by the greater number of free transfers given by the American systems. He says that while on the fact of reports it would appear that municipal operation of lines in some of the cities of Great Britain had been a success, that as a matter of fact just the opposite is true. He says the private companies in the United Kingdom give a superior service as compared with the municipally operated lines.

Mr. Clark points out that no American street-railroads were investigated by the commission, and the only tramway installations directly investigated in Great Britain were those owned by the municipalities of Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, and the London County Council and those owned by the following private companies: London United Tramways, Dublin United Tramways, and the Norwich Electric Tramways. The writer calls attention to the fact that the entire development of street-railways in the U. S. has been accomplished by private enterprise and that this has permitted the construction of extensive systems serving entire communities and linking them together irrespective of municipal boundary lines. On the other hand, since 1894, at least, municipally controlled traction systems have been confined, to a great extent, within the narrow limits of their respective municipalities. Mr. Clark here enters into a statistical statement of the facilities enjoyed by the urban inhabitants of Great Britain as compared with the town and city population of the U. S. In 1902 the town and city population to each mile of tramway track was 12,476, while in the U. S. there was a mile of track to each 1,516 of town and city population. In Great Britain there was one car for each 3,760 of population, while in the U..S. there was one car to 574 city residents. Thus, the urban resident of the U. S. had comparatively more than six and a half times the number of cars available for his use than were available to the British inhabitant. The British systems carried 1,394,452,983 passengers and the American 5,521,509,521, and of these 1,062,403,392, or practically 90 per cent of the British total, were transported free on transfers.

Mr. Clark takes up the charge that the traction cars in the U. S. are overcrowded and declares that the figures given above show that on the basis of passengers carried per car per year, the American car averages only 93,585 passengers per year, as against 182,463 per year carried by the average car in the United Kingdom. While the Briton paid an average of 2.26 cents, against an average of 3.76 cents in the U. S., the writer points out that the former's facilities for travel were from 12 to 15 per cent of those enjoyed by the American passenger. In 1902 there were two British cities of more than 100,000 population, seven with populations of from 50,000 to 100,000, and thirty-nine with from 25,000 to 50,000 inhabitants, without street-railways, but in the

U. S. there was no city of more than 25,000 people without traction service.

From 1890 to 1902 the length of tramway line (not track) in the United Kingdom increased 536 miles, or from 948 to 1,484 miles, while in the U. S. in the same period there was an increase of 10,755 miles, or from 5,783 to 16,538 miles.

A point of great advantage in American street-railways, according to Mr. Clark, is that they are operated on the average eighteen hours per day, with all-night service in the larger cities, while in Great Britain the average is fifteen hours and there is no all-night service.

Financial

Mr. Clark estimates that the British municipalities and local governments enjoy a total of possible financial benefits from tramway operations of about $8,679,176, but that American traction enterprises and their stockholders pay a total of $43,054,433, constituting a government revenue more than $34,000,000 per year greater than the return to the State from similar traction systems in Great Britain. The writer here takes up what he terms the inaccuracies of British municipal accounting. According to the Parliamentary Report on Tramways for 1906 the allowance for depreciation on the municipally owned tramways of the United Kingdom was 1.83 per cent. It is Mr. Clark's contention that every practical man realizes that at least 5 per cent should be allowed for depreciation, and if this had been done it would have meant a reduction of $5,565,963 in the $8,679,176 shown as the returns to the local and municipal governments of the United Kingdom from tramways, leaving net only $3,113,213. Evidence that serious risks exist from municipal enterprises is found in the fact that forty British cities, according to the Parliamentary Return for 1906, show direct loss from operation of tramways, or an actual deficit when sinking-fund payments and reserves for depreciation are considered.

The British municipalities omit from the capital account of their tramways large sums which should be charged thereto and cause these expenditures to be "unjustly carried into the general accounts of the cities."

Labor

A comparison of rates of wages per hour paid by British municipal traction systems and by certain companies in New York State is made by Mr. Clark, showing a range of from 7.2 to 15 cents per hour for conductors and from 8.4 to 15 cents per hour for motormen in Great Britain, against 20 to 25 cents per hour for conductors and motormen in the State of New York. "So it is seen," declares Mr. Clark, "that American street-railways pay practically double the rate for salaries and wages that are paid in the United Kingdom. In the State of New York a decrease of wages to British standard would reduce the operating expenses of local transportation lines about $14,000,000 per annum, an amount equivalent to about 38 per cent of their gross receipts."

Political

Few Americans realize the obstacles which British private companies meet in attempting to obtain franchise rights, says Mr. Clark. The fact that the consent of local authorities is required is used by the local authorities to force the companies, to make excessive payments, and even when a franchise is obtained, it is for a brief term of years, scarcely long enough to warrant the heavy expenditures required for modern electric-railway construction. Against this the municipalities at comparatively slight expense, obtain their parliamentary rights to perpetual and monopolistic franchises.

III. Conclusions

We give here, as the latest word thus far said upon the questions, the final conclusions of the Report of the Committee on Investigation of Public Ownership of the National Civic Federation. It is worthy of note that of the committeemen all but one, Walton Clark, of Philadelphia, who presented a separate paper, signed the report.

The members of the committee who signed the report are:

Melville E. Ingalls, chairman; Dr. Albert Shaw, editor of the *Review of Reviews*, vice-chairman; Edward A. Moffett, secretary; Edward W. Bemis, superintendent of Water-Works, Cleveland, Ohio; William J. Clark, general manager of the Foreign Department of the General Electric Company; Prof. John R. Commons, of Wisconsin University; Charles L. Edgar, president of the Edison Electric and Illuminating Company, of Boston; Walter L. Fisher, president of the Municipal Voters' League, of Chicago; Prof. Frank J. Goodnow, of Columbia University; Prof. John H. Gray, of Northwestern University, Illinois; Timothy Healy, president of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen; Daniel J. Keefe, president of the International Longshoremen's Association; Milo R. Maltbie, member of the new Public Service Commission for the Greater New York; H. B. F. Macfarland, president of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia; Frank J. McNulty, president of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Springfield, Ill.; Prof. Frank Parsons, president of the National Public Ownership League, Boston; J. W. Sullivan, editor *Clothing Trades Bulletin*, New York; Talcott Williams, editorial writer of the *Press*, Philadelphia; and Albert E. Winchester, superintendent of the South Norwalk, Conn., Electric Works.

The Report

"It is difficult to give positive answers of universal application to the questions arising as to the success or failure of municipal ownership as compared with private ownership. The local conditions affecting particular plants are in many cases so peculiar as to make a satisfactory comparison impossible, and it is very difficult to estimate the allowance that should be made for these local conditions. For instance, in making deductions from the financial conditions of Wheeling, as affected by its gas-plant, as compared with those of Atlanta and Norfolk with their private plants, allowance must be made for the presence of natural gas in Wheeling. Again, in comparing the public water-works of Syracuse with the private water-works of Indianapolis from the point of view of the success or failure of municipal operation, geographical conditions must be taken into consideration. The situation at Syracuse is extremely favorable to the establishment of an efficient plant with comparatively little effort on the part of its management. At Indianapolis the conditions are unfavorable. In Syracuse the water flows to the city by gravity; in Indianapolis it must be pumped. So we might go through the various cities here and abroad that have been visited and show that the results were affected favorably or unfavorably by special conditions applicable to each city.

"Further, the difficulty of reaching satisfactory results by the comparative method is not con-

fined to special or local conditions. It is true, as well, of much broader questions. Thus any attempt to compare municipal with private electric-light plants in the United States would be fruitless if allowance were not made for the fact that in most cases such municipal plants are confined to street lighting and may not do commercial business. Allowance must be made also for the fact that many municipal plants have had a struggle to exist in the face of unsympathetic public opinion. Again, in England consideration must be given to the fact that the municipal electric-light and street-railway plants have permanent rights, while the rights of the private companies operating these particular utilities are limited as to the length of their existence, many street-railway franchises expiring twenty-one years after they were granted.

"Finally, not only must it be borne in mind that the social and political conditions which characterize the two countries find expression in their private and public systems, but we must consider the difference in the nature of the two peoples which causes them to adopt different ideas and views as to the expediency of certain things. In other words, a measure of success in the municipal management of public utilities in England should not be regarded as necessarily indicating that the municipal management of the same utilities in this country would be followed by a like measure of success. Conditions are quite different in the two countries.

"There are some general principles which we wish to present as practically the unanimous sentiment of our committee.

"First, we wish to emphasize the fact that the public utilities studied are so constituted that it is impossible for them to be regulated by competition. Therefore, they must be controlled and regulated by the government; or they must be left to do as they please; or they must be operated by the public. There is no other course. None of us is in favor of leaving them to their own will, and the question is whether it is better to regulate or to operate.

General Principles

"There are no particular reasons why the financial results from private or public operation should be different if the conditions are the same. In each case it is a question of the proper man in charge of the business and of local conditions.

"We are of the opinion that a public utility which concerns the health of the citizens should not be left to individuals, where the temptation of profit might produce disastrous results, and therefore it is our judgment that undertakings in which the sanitary motive largely enters should be operated by the public.

"We have come to the conclusion that municipal ownership of public utilities should not be extended to revenue-producing industries which do not involve the public health, the public safety, public transportation, or the permanent occupation of public streets or grounds, and that municipal operation should not be undertaken solely for profit.

"We are also of the opinion that all future grants to private companies for the construction and operation of public utilities should be terminable after a certain fixt period, and that meanwhile cities should have the right to purchase the property for operation, lease, or sale, paying its fair value.

"To carry out these recommendations effectively and to protect the rights of the people, we recommend that the various states should give to their municipalities the authority, upon popular vote under reasonable regulations, to build and operate public utilities, or to build and lease the same, or to take over works already constructed. In no other way can the people be put upon a fair trading basis and obtain from the individual companies such rights as they ought to have. We believe that this provision will tend to make it to the enlightened self-interest of the public utility companies to furnish adequate service upon fair terms, and to this extent will tend to render it unnecessary for the public to take over the existing utilities or to acquire new ones.

"Furthermore, we recommend that provision be made for a competent public authority, with power to require for all public utilities a uniform system of records and accounts, giving all financial data and all information concerning the quality of service and the cost thereof, which data shall be published and distributed to the public like other official reports; and also that no stock or bonds for public utilities shall be issued without the approval of some competent public authority.

"We also recommend the consideration of 'the sliding scale,' which has proved successful in some cases in England with reference to gas and has been adopted in Boston. By this plan the authorized capitalization is settled by official investigation, and a standard rate of dividend is fixt, which may be increased only when the price of gas has been reduced. The subway contracts and their operation in Boston and New York are also entitled to full consideration.

"In case the management of public utilities is left with private companies, the public should retain in all cases an interest in the growth and profits of the future, either by a share of the profits or a reduction of the charges, the latter being preferable as it inures to the benefit of those who use the utilities, while a share of the profits benefits the taxpayers.

"Our investigations teach us that no municipal operation is likely to be highly successful that does not provide for:

"First. An executive manager with full responsibility, holding his position during good behavior.

"Second. Exclusion of political influence and personal favoritism from the management of the undertaking.

"Third. Separation of the finances of the undertaking from those of the rest of the city.

"Fourth. Exemption from the debt limit of the necessary bond issues for revenue-producing utilities, which shall be a first charge upon the property and revenues of such undertaking.

"We wish to bring to your consideration the danger here in the U. S. of turning over these public utilities to the present government of some of our cities. Some, we know, are well governed and the situation on the whole seems to be improving, but they are not up to the government of British cities. We found in England and Scotland a high type of municipal government, which is the result of many years of struggle and improvement. Business men seem to take a pride in serving as city councilors or aldermen, and the government of such cities as Glasgow, Manchester, Birmingham, and others includes many of the best citizens of the city. These

conditions are distinctly favorable to municipal operation.

"In the U. S., as is well known, there are many cities not in such a favorable condition. It is charged that the political activity of public-service corporations has in many instances been responsible for the unwillingness or inability of American cities to secure a higher type of public service. This charge we believe to be true. However, there seems to be an idea with many people that the mere taking by the city of all its public utilities for municipal operation will at once result in ideal municipal government through the very necessity of putting honest and competent citizens in charge. While an increase in the number and importance of municipal functions may have a tendency to induce men of a higher type to become public officials, we do not believe that this of itself will accomplish municipal reform. We are unable to recommend municipal ownership as a political panacea.

"In many cases in the U. S. the people have heedlessly given away their rights and reserved no sufficient power of control or regulation, and we believe that corruption of public servants has sprung, in large measure, from this condition of things. With the regulations that we have advised, with the publication of accounts and records and systematic control, the danger of the corruption of public officials is very much reduced."

The committee sums up its more important conclusions as follows:

"Public utilities, whether in public or private hands, are best conducted under a system of legalized and regulated monopoly.

"Public utilities in which the sanitary motive largely enters should be operated by the public.

"The success of municipal operation of public utilities depends upon the existence in the city of a high capacity for municipal government.

"Franchise grants to private corporations should be terminable after a fixt period and meanwhile subject to purchase at a fair value.

"Municipalities should have the power to enter the field of municipal ownership upon popular vote under reasonable regulation.

"Private companies operating public utilities should be subject to public regulation and examination under a system of uniform records and accounts and of full publicity."

On the general broad subject of municipalization, the committee reports that the general expediency of either private or public ownership is a question that must be determined by each municipality in the light of local conditions. "What may be possible in one locality may not be in another. In some cities the companies may so serve the public as to create no dissatisfaction, and nothing might be gained by experimenting with municipal ownership. Again, the government of one city may be good and capable of taking charge of these public utilities, while in another it may be the reverse. In either case the people must remember that it requires a large class of able men as city officials to look after these matters. They must also remember that municipal ownership will create a large class of employees who may have more or less political influence."

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PUBLIC OWNERSHIP, PHILOSOPHY OF: If it is a good thing for ten or fifteen hundred people constituting a private company to own a street-railway or lighting system, why is it not a good thing for 10,000 or 15,000 or 100,000 people constituting a city or town—if it is a good thing for a private corporation, why is it not a good thing for a public corporation?

Under public ownership the public gets the profits and control and other benefits that under private ownership go to a few stockholders.

By "public ownership" I mean real public ownership, not the sham variety or make-believe public ownership. Government ownership is often confused with public ownership.

Public Ownership Definition

Government ownership is not public ownership, unless the people own the government. For instance, Russia has government ownership of railroads, but not public ownership of railroads, because the government itself is a private monopoly. So, if a boss or ring controls a city, the government is in fact a private monopoly, and if a street-railway or lighting plant is put in the hands of such a government, you would not get real public ownership, but one of the worst forms of private ownership—ownership by political grafters, corporation tools and corruptionists, masquerading as public servants. Municipal ownership has not as yet had a fair chance in the United States. Adverse laws, the prevalence of the spoils system, and the political influence of private corporations have handicapped the movement in this country. More than a thousand towns and cities own and operate electric-lighting plants, but very few of them are allowed to do commercial lighting, which, if permitted, would very greatly reduce the cost of the service. Only twenty-nine gas plants of any size are operated by municipalities, and in a number of cases the fullest success is prevented by the interference of partizanship politics and the spoils system. Only one street-railway in this country, that of Munroe, La., is operated by the public. In water-supply alone have our cities and towns been able to overcome the obstacles placed by law, politics, and the corporations in the way of municipal ownership. If the companies are allowed to water their stock, they are willing that the municipalities should water their streets. Municipal owner-

In the United States

ship of water-works in the U. S. grew from 6 per cent in 1800 to more than 60 per cent in 1900. Of our fifty largest cities, twenty-one originally built and now own their water-works, twenty have changed from private to public ownership, and only nine are now dependent on private companies for their water-supply.

In Great Britain

In Great Britain the laws have been far more favorable to municipal ownership, and the political influence of the private corporations far less. The result has been a marvelous development of public ownership. More than half the gas-supply outside of London is in public hands. Nearly two thirds of the electric-lighting plants belong to the municipalities, and about half the street-railway undertakings are owned and operated by municipalities, with nearly 60 per cent of the total track mileage.

English Public Sentiment

After long experience with both public and private ownership, public sentiment in Great Britain is overwhelmingly in favor of the public operation of street-railways and lighting-plants. There is still some opposition, of course, chiefly from those who are, directly or indirectly, connected with public-service corporations. It is not easy for a man who holds stock in a street-railway, gas or electric-lighting company, to see the benefits of public ownership.

Careful and disinterested investigation shows public ownership of public utilities, under fair conditions, to be far superior to private ownership, both on principle and on the facts. The facts fall into six groups: The economic group, including service and finance; the labor group; the political group; the social group; the ethical group; and the civilization group.

Economic Facts

Looking first at the economic facts we find that public ownership makes lower rates than private ownership in the same country and operating under similar conditions. In 1895 Detroit was paying $132 a year for a standard arc lamp of 2,000 candle-power, burning all night and every night, and Boston was paying $126 per arc. Detroit, under Mayor Pingree's lead, established a municipal street-lighting system which cut the cost at once to $83 and has now reduced the cost to $52.87, including interest depreciation and lost taxes, according to the report for 1907. The lowest bid a company would make for a ten-year contract was $102. The city made its light at an average total cost of $65 per arc for the ten years and made a saving which is estimated by the department at about a million dollars, and amounts to at least $500,000 on the basis of estimate least favorable to the city. Boston did not establish municipal ownership and is still paying almost as much for street arcs as she paid twelve years ago—$124 per standard arc; while Detroit is getting her light for $52.87, or a great deal less than half the Boston rate.

On the average, water rentals per family served are 43 per cent more for private works in the United States than for the public systems.

When the government took over the telephones in France, the price was cut from $120 to $80 in Paris and from $80 to $40 in other cities. The government returns for electric-lighting works in Great Britain show average charges of 4.88 cents per unit for the public plants, against 6.24 cents for the companies, or 30 per cent more than for the public works, and the gas returns for the United Kingdom show a charge of sixty cents per thousand for the public plants and sixty-six cents per thousand for the private plants, or 10 per cent in favor of the municipalities. The municipalization of street-railways in Great Britain has resulted in a great reduction of fares—50 per cent in Glasgow and Manchester, 40 per cent in Leeds, 60 per cent in Sheffield, 50 to 60 per cent in Liverpool, etc.

The savings to the public through reduction of fares in Liverpool are estimated at $1,600,000 a year, and in Glasgow at $4,000,000 a year; the total savings and net profits for twelve years of municipal ownership in Glasgow are estimated at $29,000,000.

The extension of lines and increase of facilities are among the marked characteristics of the change from private to public operation. In Glasgow, for instance, during twenty-three years of company management of street-railways the lines were extended in suburban areas only 1.8 miles, while during twelve years of municipal management the suburban extensions amount to 27.9 miles.

Evils of Private Capitalization

Municipal plants aim at fair capitalization, while private companies are prone to water stock and inflate their capital. The investigation by the Public Utilities Commission now in progress in New York has furnished some excellent examples of the methods of our public-service corporations. The Fulton Street line, a double-track horse-car road, is capitalized at $2,553,000 a mile, or more than ten times its actual cost. The Twenty-eighth and Twenty-ninth Street single-track horse-car lines are capitalized at $1,214,000 a mile, or again substantially ten times the cost of duplication. The Thirty-fourth Street cross-town double-track electric underground is capitalized at $6,472,000 a mile, or 150 times fair value, judging by the capitalization of the Ninth Avenue Railroad, which is also underground electric double-track and is capitalized at $43,920 a mile. The Fulton, Wall & Cortlandt Street Ferries Railroad is capitalized at $965,607, tho the road was sold in 1898 for $25,000 and not a car has ever been run nor a rail laid—a phantom road with its capital all in the air.

Municipal systems pay higher wages as a rule and work employees shorter hours than private systems. Glasgow's tramways, for example, have raised wages 65 to 100 per cent above the former company level. Manchester has increased wages 43 to 63 per cent. Sheffield doubled the hourly wage; and Liverpool lifted wages 50 per cent.

The following table shows how great a reduction in the hours of labor of conductors, drivers, motormen, pointsmen, and inspectors has been accomplished by the change from private to public ownership of street-railways in Great Britain.

HOURS OF LABOR—BEFORE AND AFTER

CITIES	Company management	Municipal management
London	77 to 91	60
Liverpool	91 to 105	60
Manchester	70	54
Glasgow	77 to 98	54
Leeds	81	60
Sheffield	102	60
Birmingham	90 to 100	60

In spite of high wages and reduced charges public plants in many cases are able to realize large profits for the people; the State railways of Prussia, for example, and the tramways of Glasgow, Manchester, Liverpool, and other British cities. The Glasgow tramways alone make a profit of $2,000,000 a year (1907 report) above the cost of operation, and $1,125,000 net above interest, depreciation, and all other costs.

Large Profits in Public Plants

Some public plants do not make or expect to make a profit, any more than a profit is expected from public roads, parks, schools, etc. Many electric-lighting plants, for instance, have only power to light the streets, and can of course obtain no profit. Many public lighting and transit systems also are in small places where no profit can be made and where private companies would not establish a service at all.

Public ownership not only tends to make low rates—rates closer to cost than private companies are likely to make—but public operation under fair political conditions tends also to reduce the cost, the normal public plant being able to secure considerable economies in production.

1. A public plant does not have to pay dividends on watered stock.

2. It does not have to pay dividends even on the actual investment.

3. It does not have to retain lobbyists, or provide for the entertainment of councilmen or legislators, or subscribe to campaign funds, or bear the expenses of pushing the nomination and election of men to protect its interests or give it new privileges, or pay blackmail to ward off the raids of cunning legislators and officials, etc.

4. It does not have to advertise or solicit business.

5. Public plants are able to save expense through coordination with other departments of public service.

6. Municipalities can borrow money at lower rates of interest than the private companies have to pay.

7. There is often a large saving in salaries. A public plant pays its chief well, but does not pay the extravagant salaries awarded by millionaire monopolists to themselves or their substitutes in office.

8. Public plants frequently gain through the higher efficiency of better treated and more contented labor.

9. The losses occasioned by costly strikes and lockouts do not burden the ledgers of public works.

10. Damages and costs of litigation are likely to be less with public than with private works. Accidents are fewer in a system that aims at good service and safety, and treats its employees well.

11. The civic interest of the people leads to other economies through the increase of patronage and the lessening of waste.

12. The cost of numerous regulative commissions and interminable legislative investigations into the secrets of private monopolies would be saved by the extension of public ownership. And legislation itself would cost us less were it not for the private monopolies. For a large part of the time and attention of our legislatures is given to them.

Private ownership may claim an advantage through the payment of lower wages, but on broad grounds of public policy this is a very dubious advantage. It is like saving money by wearing paper clothes, or eating only one meal a day.

Even on economic grounds the evidence is that in many lines of business the efficiency of well-paid labor is so great that the cost per unit of product is less than with poorly paid labor.

Moreover, it would be fair in many cases to compare municipal ownership with private ownership on the basis of the private wage, subtracting from the operating expenses of the municipal plant the excess of the public wage above the company wage for the same work, on the ground that the increase of pay under public ownership is not really a payment for gas or electric light or transportation, but an investment in manhood and civilization.

But whether this is done or not, the experience of Glasgow, Liverpool, and other English and German cities with municipal and private tramways in the same localities, and the experience of hundreds of cities and towns in this country and in Europe with municipal water-works, gas and electric plants, etc., abundantly confirms the conclusion pointed to by the above considerations as to the superior economy of public ownership wherever it is tried under reasonable conditions that permit it to work out its natural and legitimate results.

Public ownership of public utilities widens the sphere for civic activity and develops a higher type of citizenship, whereby political conditions have been much improved in communities sufficiently advanced to respond to the impulse of the increased weight and importance of public business. The public-ownership movement in Great Britain has formed a very important part of the causes that have abolished the corruption and inefficiency which formerly marked municipal government in that country.

In the United States the political argument is one of the most powerful reasons for public ownership. It removes one of the principal causes of corruption in our larger cities. It transfers to the side of good government the financial interest of rich and influential men who, as stockholders in public-service corporations, are led to aid and abet, or at least wink at the election of men who can be controlled by the corporations.

The social argument for public ownership rests upon its tendency to improve the conditions of labor, secure a better diffusion of wealth and power, and develop finer relationships among men. The interests of the stockholders and managers of public-service companies are, in large measure, opposed to the public interest under private ownership, while under public ownership they are in harmony, for the owners and the public are one and the same.

The ethical argument for public ownership is already foreshadowed in what precedes. A system which develops thought and action antagonistic to the public interest is not in accord with ethical principles.

See articles MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP and PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

FRANK PARSONS.

PULLMAN STRIKE, THE: This strike, sometimes also called the Chicago strike because, tho it began in Pullman, it extended very widely and centered mainly in Chicago, is declared by Mr. Carroll D. Wright ("Industrial Evolution of the United States," p. 313) to be "probably the most expensive and far-reaching labor controversy which can properly be classed among the historic controversies of this generation."

This account of the strike is based upon the findings of the report of the commission appointed by the president July 26, 1894, to investigate the strike.

It began May 11, 1894, and grew out of a demand of certain employees of the Pullman Company for a restoration of the wages paid during the previous year. During 1893 the wages of the employees had been considerably reduced. How much is a matter of dispute. According to the statement before the commission of Mr. T. H. Wickes, the second vice-president of the company:

Cause of Strike

> The average reduction of wages between April, 1893, and April, 1894, for journeymen mechanics was 22$\frac{1}{10}$ per cent, and the average reduction for all other shop employees, excluding all the superintendents, foremen, and shop-office force, was 11$\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The average reduction for all shop employees, excluding all the superintendents, foremen, and shop-office force, was 19 per cent.

According to the finding of the commission the cut in wages averaged 25 per cent on an average pay for the year ending July 1, 1893, of $613.86 for 4,497 employees. At the company's figures the reduction was a very serious one. Says the report: "Some witnesses swear that at times

for the work done in two weeks the employees received in checks from four cents to $1 over and above their rent. The company has not produced its checks in rebuttal."

The cause for the cut-down assigned by the company was the deprest state of business. Said Mr. Wickes before the commission:

From Aug. 1, 1893, to May 1, 1894, our net loss on accepted bids was $52,069.03, and the net estimated loss on unaccepted bids was $18,303.56. We had tried to get work for our employees by bidding for work the estimated shop cost of which was $2,775,481.81, and we only got contracts for work the estimated shop cost of which is $1,421,205.75. We had been underbid on work the estimated shop cost of which was $1,354,276.06, notwithstanding that our bids on $1,057,355.97 of that amount not only excluded all profit, but showed a loss, based as they were on the reduced scale of wages.

Says the commission's report:

Some reduction of wages in all departments was of course proper under the circumstances, but a uniform reduction as between departments so differently situated in reference to revenue as the car-building and repair departments was not relatively just and fair toward the repair-shop employees. . . .

During all of this reduction and its attendant suffering none of the salaries of the officers, managers, or superintendents were reduced. Reductions in these would not have been so severely felt, would have shown good faith, would have relieved the harshness of the situation, and would have evinced genuine sympathy with labor in the disasters of the times. . . . While reducing wages the company made no reduction in rents. Its position is that the two matters are distinct, and that none of the reasons urged as justifying wage reduction by it as an employer can be considered by the company as a landlord.

The company claims that it is simply legitimate business to use its position and resources to hire in the labor market as cheaply as possible, and at the same time to keep rents up regardless of what wages are paid to its tenants or what similar tenements rent for elsewhere; to avail itself to the full extent of business depression and competition in reducing wages and to disregard these same conditions as to rents. No valid reason is assigned for this position except simply that the company had the power and the legal right to do it.

The company, as a whole, was prosperous. The commission's report says the corporation was

organized in 1867, with a capital of $1,000,000. It has grown until its present paid-up capital is $36,000,000. Its prosperity has enabled the company for over twenty years to pay 2 per cent quarterly dividends, and, in addition, to lay up a surplus of nearly $25,000,000 of undivided profits. From 1867 to 1871 dividends ranging from 9½ to 12 per cent per annum were paid. For the year ending July 31, 1893, the dividends were $2,520,000, and the wages $7,223,719.51. For the year ending July 31, 1894, the dividends were $2,880,000, and the wages $4,471,701.39.

The reply of the company was that it did allow rents to accumulate in arrears, and that as to the business depression and loss it did bear

its full share by eliminating from its estimates the use of capital and machinery, and in many cases going even below that and taking work at considerable loss, notably the fifty-five Long Island cars, which was the first large order of passenger-cars let since the great depression, and which was sought for by practically all the leading car-builders in the country (statement of Mr. Pullman, Chicago *Herald*, June 26, 1894).

This leads us, however, to consider the relation of the strikers at Pullman to the American Railway Union and the general railway strike that resulted.

The American Railway Union (*q. v.*)

This is an association of railroad employees, organized at Chicago on June 20, 1893, for the purpose of including all railway employees born of white parents in one great brotherhood. Under the leadership of Mr. Eugene V. Debs, it had grown very strong, particularly by winning a strike on the Great Northern. In March, 1894, the Pullman employees voted to join the American Railway Union. The commission report says this was not wise, but adds:

It is undoubtedly true that the officers and directors of the American Railway Union did not want a strike at Pullman, and that they advised against it, but the exaggerated idea of the power of the union, which induced the workmen at Pullman to join the order, led to their striking against this advice. Having struck, the union could do nothing less, upon the theory at its base, than support them.

There was, however, to say the least, some excuse for the American Railway Union to secure the Pullman men. The railways around Chicago were banded together. Wages were being systematically reduced. If all railroad employers were to band together, it seemed necessary for all railway employees to band together. To the Pullman employees, to join the American Railway Union seemed their one chance of victory. Alone they were helpless and hopeless. Wages were being steadily reduced, below the level of existence. Those who criticize the general strike must remember that it was a battle for life, and the one hope of success. A mere local strike was absolutely without hope, and therefore more foolish than a general strike. The General Managers' Association, representing twenty-four roads centering or terminating in Chicago, was organized in 1886, long before the American Railway Union.

Beginning its "active life" in 1886, its main business was to determine a common policy toward the public as to freight rates, etc., but it dealt incidentally with wages.

Strengthened thus by mutual aid, various roads made reductions of wages here and there.

Thus, to say the least, there was some excuse for the railroad employees of the country banding together. It was not a question of Pullman alone. The strike affected the interests of every railroad man in the country. Without the general resistance they made, wages everywhere, under the deprest condition of business, would have been lowered much more than they were.

The Pullman Car Company, however, refused to recognize the American Railway Union.

Between June 9th and June 26th a regular convention of the American Railway Union was held with open doors at Chicago, representing 465 local unions and about 150,000 members, as claimed. The Pullman matter was publicly discust at these meetings before and after its committees above mentioned reported their interviews with the Pullman Company. On June 21st the delegates, under instructions from their local unions, unanimously voted that the members of the union should stop handling Pullman cars on June 26th unless the Pullman Company would consent to arbitration. On June 26th the boycott and strike began. The strike on the part of the railroad employees was a sympathetic one. No grievances against the railroads had been presented by their employees, nor did the American Railway Union declare any such grievances to be any cause whatever of the strike. To simply boycott Pullman cars would have been an incongruous step for the remedy of complaints of railroad employees. Throughout the strike the strife was simply over handling Pullman cars, the men being ready to do their duty otherwise. . . .

The General Strike

After June 26th the officers and agents of the union managed and urged on the strike at every available point upon the railroads centering at Chicago, until it reached proportions far in excess of their original anticipations, and led to disorders beyond even their control. Urgent solicitations and appeals to strike and to stand firm continued in the many public meetings held each day in and about Chicago, and appeared in the telegrams sent about the country. . . .

Bradstreet's estimated the losses to the country at large to be about $80,000,000. The city police, the county sheriffs, the state militia, United States deputy marshals, and regulars from the

U. S. army were all brought into the controversy. The U. S. troops were sent to Chicago to protect federal property and to prevent destruction in the carrying of the mails, to prevent interference with interstate commerce, and to enforce the decrees and mandates of the federal courts. They took no part in any attempt to suppress the strike, nor could they, as such matters belong to the city and state authorities. The police of the city were used to suppress riots and protect the property of citizens, and the state militia was called in for the same service. The total of these forces employed during the continuance of the strike was 14,186. It was claimed by some that the calling out of the federal troops was unnecessary and an invasion of state rights; they being called out simply to please the corporations and intimidate the strikers.

Another element that entered into the matter was the issue of injunctions (*q. v.*). Says the report:

> On July 7th the principal officers of the American Railway Union were indicted, arrested, and held under $10,000 bail. Upon July 13th they were attached for contempt of the U. S. Court in disobeying an injunction issued on July 2d and served on the 3d and 4th, enjoining them, among other things, from compelling or inducing by threats, intimidation, persuasion, force, or violence, railroad employees to refuse or fail to perform their duties. It is seriously questioned, and with much force, whether courts have jurisdiction to enjoin citizens from "persuading" each other in industrial or other matters of common interest. However, it is generally recognized among good citizens that a mandate of a court is to be obeyed until it is modified and corrected by the court that issued it.

As a result, Debs and his comrades were convicted of contempt of court, and, without jury trial, imprisoned (see DEBS); the friends of the railroads believing that it "served the strikers right"; others believing it a dastardly and dangerous attack on the right of every man to trial before jury.

July 26, 1894, the president appointed a commission consisting of Carroll D. Wright, John D. Keenan of New York, and Nicholas E. Worthington of Illinois, who heard evidence and testimony as to the causes, facts, and lessons of the strike. The report so favored the strikers that it was described in *Harper's Weekly*, Nov. 24, 1894, as "Revolutionary Statesmanship." As a result a bill for arbitration in railway strikes was laid before Congress, for an account of which, see STRIKES.

REFERENCES: *Report on the Chicago Strike of June and July*, 1894, by the U. S. Strike Commission, 1895; *The Pullman Company's Statement* (1894). Both of these, and an analysis by Prof. W. J. Ashley of Harvard, with a complete bibliography of the strike, were collected and published by the Church Social Union in 1895.

(See also STRIKES; RAILROADS; INJUNCTIONS; LABOR LEGISLATION, etc.)

Q

QUELCH, HENRY: English Socialist; editor of *Justice*; born 1858, Hungerford, Berkshire. He went to London in 1872. Worked in various occupations. In connection with the great dock strike of 1889, he organized and was the first secretary of the South Side Labor Protection League, resigning the secretaryship in 1892 in order to take the position he at present occupies. Has several times been unsuccessful candidate for Parliament. He has been arrested and prosecuted for his connection with strikes and labor agitation. Has been a member of every International Socialist Congress since 1889. Mr. Quelch is a Social Democrat and Marxist, and from its formation in 1881 has been a member of the Social Democratic Federation in England. Author: Various pamphlets, "Trades-Unionism, Cooperation, and Social Democracy"; "Economics of Labor"; "Social Democracy and the Armed Nation," etc. *Address*: 37A Clerkenwell Green, London, E. C., England.

QUESNAY, FRANÇOIS: Political economist; born Mérey, France, 1694. Studying medicine at Paris, became first physician to Louis XV.; was even more famous as an economic thinker, and one of the principal founders of the school of the physiocrats (*q. v.*) and coiner of the term political economy. He died at Versailles in 1774. Dr. Ingram says of Quesnay in his "History of Political Economy":

> The publications in which Quesnay expounded his system were the following: Two articles on "Fermiers" and on "Grains" in the "Encyclopédie" of Diderot and D'Alembert (1756, 1757); a discourse on the law of nature in the "Physiocratie" of Dupont de Nemours (1768); "Maximes Générales de Gouvernement Économique d'un Royaume Agricole (1758), and the simultaneously published "Tableau Économique avec son Explication, ou Extrait des Économies Royales de Sully" (with the celebrated motto, "pauvres paysans, pauvre royaume; pauvre royaume, pauvre roi"); "Dialogue sur le Commerce et les Travaux des Artisans"; and other minor pieces. The "Tableau Économique," tho on account of its dryness and abstract form it met with little general favor, may be considered the principal manifesto of the school. It was regarded by the followers of Quesnay as entitled to a place among the foremost products of human wisdom, and is named by the elder Mirabeau, in a passage quoted by Adam Smith, as one of the three great inventions which have contributed most to the stability of political societies, the other two being those of writing and of money. Its object was to exhibit by means of certain formulas the way in which the products of agriculture, which is the only source of wealth, would in a state of perfect liberty be distributed among the several classes of the community (namely, the productive classes of the proprietors and cultivators of land, and the unproductive class composed of manufacturers and merchants), and to represent by other formula the modes of distribution which take place under systems of governmental restraint and regulation, with the evil results arising to the whole society from different degrees of such violations of the natural order. It follows from Quesnay's theoretic views that the one thing deserving the solicitude of the practical economist and the statesman is the increase of the net product; and he infers also, what Smith afterward affirmed on not quite the same ground, that the interest of the landowner is "strictly and inseparably connected with the general interest of the society."

R

RAIFFEISEN, FRIEDRICH WILHELM: Founder of cooperative savings and loan associations in the country districts of Germany. (See COOPERATION.) Born 1818 in Hamin, he chose the military career, but entered the civil service, and became successively mayor in several small towns. In 1846–47 he established a *Konsum-Verein* in Weyerbusch. In 1865 he was pensioned, and devoted himself entirely to the expansion of savings and loan associations. He established the first one in 1849 at Flammersfeld to free the peasants from the tyranny of usurers. During the "sixties" he established many new societies, and coordinated them in a central bureau at Neuwied. Under his management the institution spread rapidly over Germany. (See COOPERATION.) In 1879 he founded a paper for the furtherance of his plans, which still exists. He died March 11, 1888, at Heddesdorf. Author of several works on savings and loan associations, e. g., "Die Darlehnskassenvereine als Mittel zur Abhilfe der Not der Ländlichen Bevölkerung," 1866.

RAILWAY ACCIDENTS. See RAILWAYS, page 1091; also AMERICAN RAILWAYS VS. THE PUBLIC, page 1054.

RAILWAY LABOR LEGISLATION (see also RAILWAYS and RAILWAY PROBLEMS).

THE UNITED STATES

The railway labor laws enacted by the various states and by the federal government have, with few exceptions, the object of protecting the health and safety and the rights of employees, and of reducing to a minimum the liability of the traveling public to accidents and inconvenience on account of acts of employees. They may be considered under five groups, namely: Laws (1) regulating the employment of certain classes of persons, (2) prohibiting certain acts of railway employees, (3) protecting the rights of railway employees, (4) requiring certain mechanical equipment on railways for the protection of the health and safety of employees, (5) concerning the reporting and investigating of accidents to employees.

Some of the laws included in the third, fourth, and fifth groups have received the attention of the federal Congress, and apply to all railways engaged in interstate commerce. In all other cases the laws apply only to railway labor within the borders of those states in which the laws have been enacted.

Most of the railway labor laws apply only to steam-railways, but there are others which apply, or may be construed as applying, also to street-railways. Others apply only to street-railways. In this outline these laws are considered together.

The laws concerning employment are enacted to secure the appointment of proper persons in positions of responsibility and to prevent them from becoming incapacitated from overwork while on duty.

To this end the law of Alabama requires the examination and licensing of train dispatchers, conductors, firemen, flagmen, brakemen, trackmen, and switchmen. In Massachusetts and Ohio employees in positions which require them to distinguish form or color signals must be examined for color-blindness or defective sight, and be supplied with certificates of qualification. In Georgia telegraph operators must be examined and obtain certificates of competency. In Ohio conductors of trains must have had at least two years' experience as conductors or brakemen, locomotive engineers three years' experience as locomotive firemen, and flagmen two years' experience as brakemen. In New York persons employed as motormen or gripmen must be examined and thoroughly instructed, and in Washington they must have at least three days' instruction before being permitted to take charge of cars. In Minnesota and New York illiterates are prohibited from being employed or from accepting employment as locomotive engineers. In Colorado, Georgia, and New York telegraph operators who are entrusted with the transmission of orders for the movement of trains must be at least eighteen years of age and have one year's experience as telegraph operators.

Hours of Labor

Statutes limiting the hours of labor of railway employees have been enacted in twenty-three states. The states of Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New York, Ohio, and Texas, and the Territory of Arizona have laws limiting the hours of labor on steam-railways. These laws take the form of prescribing the number of hours of rest that must be allowed conductors, engineers, firemen, and other trainmen on railroads, exceptions being generally made in cases of extraordinary emergencies. In Colorado and Georgia 10 hours' rest must be permitted after 16 and 13 hours of continuous service, respectively. In Arizona and Minnesota the period of rest is 9 hours. In all the other states it is 8 hours. In Florida the prescribed period of rest must be granted after 13 hours of continuous service; in Minnesota after 14 hours; in Ohio after 15 hours; in Arizona, Arkansas, Indiana, Kansas, Missouri, and Texas after 16 hours; in Nebraska after 18 hours, and in Michigan and New York after 24 hours.

In New York 10 hours constitute a legal day's labor in the operation of steam-railways, extra compensation being required for overtime. This provision does not apply where the mileage system of running trains is in operation.

The second group consists of laws passed for the purpose of protecting the railroad companies and the public from such acts of carelessness, violence, or inattention to duty on the part of employees as might endanger life or property or cause inconvenience to the public. The penalties in these cases are usually severe, the offenses being sometimes regarded as felonies.

Acts of Railway Employees

Twenty-three states and territories have passed laws providing penalties of from a few months' to fifteen years' imprisonment, or fines ranging from $50 to $5,000, for acts of negligence, carelessness, want of skill, disobedience of orders, etc., on the part of engineers, conductors, brakemen, switch-tenders, train dispatchers, telegraph operators, motormen on street-railways, or other persons in the railway service, resulting in death or injury to persons or property. In Illinois a penalty is provided for negligently injuring or frightening horses, etc., or destroying or injuring trunks and other baggage by baggage-masters, express agents, stage-drivers, etc.

Of the various subjects considered under this head that of intoxication of railway employees has received the most attention by the different legislatures, twenty-seven states and territories having passed laws on this subject. In most of these states the laws provide that locomotive engineers, conductors, switch-tenders, train dispatchers, or other persons in charge of locomotives, trains, cars, or switches who are intoxicated while on duty are guilty of a misdemeanor. In Mississippi and Vermont this act is made a felony. In California and Missouri it is a felony if an accident results or life or property is endangered. In Illinois, Michigan, and Vermont the employment as conductors, engineers, etc., of persons addicted to drinking intoxicating beverages is prohibited. In a number of states the laws concerning intoxication also apply to motormen and drivers on street-cars.

The remaining laws coming within this group are directed against acts of employees in furtherance of strikes or other labor disputes which might result in injury to property or danger or inconvenience to the public. In seven states it is a misdemeanor for persons in charge of locomotives, cars, or trains to abandon them at any point other than their destination. In nine states it is a misdemeanor to obstruct, injure, or delay transportation by violence, intimidation, or other interference with employees. In four states it is a misdemeanor for employees in furtherance of strikes or other

disputes on other roads to refuse to move the locomotives or cars of those roads.

A number of states have enacted special laws for the safeguarding of the interests of employees. Twelve states make the railroad companies liable for the wage debts of contractors.

Rights of Railway Employees

The statutes concerning the wages of railway employees are considered in the chapter on wages.

A federal statute of June 1, 1898, relating to the arbitration of labor disputes between common carriers engaged in interstate commerce and their employees, has the following provisions concerning the rights of employees:

SEC. 9. Whenever receivers appointed by federal courts are in the possession and control of railroads, the employees upon such railroads shall have the right to be heard in such courts upon all questions affecting the terms and conditions of their employment, through the officers and representatives of their associations, whether incorporated or unincorporated, and no reduction of wages shall be made by such receivers without the authority of the court therefor upon notice to such employees, said notice to be not less than twenty days before the hearing upon the receivers' petition or application, and to be posted upon all customary bulletin boards along or upon the railway operated by such receiver or receivers.

SEC. 10. Any employer subject to the provisions of this act, and any officer, agent, or receiver of such employer who shall require any employee, or any person seeking employment, as a condition of such employment, to enter into an agreement, either written or verbal, not to become or remain a member of any labor corporation, association, or organization; or shall threaten any employee with loss of employment, or shall unjustly discriminate against any employee because of his membership in such a labor corporation, association, or organization; or who shall require any employee or any person seeking employment, as a condition of such employment, to enter into a contract whereby such employee or applicant for employment shall agree to contribute to any fund for charitable, social, or beneficial purposes, to release such employer from legal liability for any personal injury by reason of any benefit received from such fund beyond the proportion of the benefit arising from the employer's contribution to such fund; or who shall, after having discharged an employee, attempt or conspire to prevent such employee from obtaining employment; or who shall, after the quitting of an employee, attempt or conspire to prevent such employee from obtaining employment, is hereby declared to be guilty of a misdemeanor, and, upon conviction thereof in any court of the United States of competent jurisdiction in the district in which such offense was committed, shall be punished for each offense by a fine of not less than $100 and not more than $1,000.

In Arkansas and Missouri it is a misdemeanor for any person to make false charges against a railway employee with regard to the receipt of money for fare, etc.

The State of Kansas has a statute making special provision by which railway employees may be enabled to vote in any part of the state when absent from the legal residence on railway business on election day.

In Massachusetts it is unlawful to divulge the names of railway employees who make complaints concerning safety appliances, etc.

The statutes coming within the fourth group are intended for the protection of the health and safety of railway employees. The dangerous character of their employment calls for legislation requiring such mechanical appliances as will reduce their liability to injury to a minimum. For this reason considerable attention has been given to this kind of legislation both by the federal Congress and by the different state legislatures.

Health and Safety

The federal government has a law requiring all common carriers engaged in interstate commerce to supply their trains with automatic couplers and power brakes and certain other safety appliances, for minimizing danger.

In addition to the federal statute which governs common carriers engaged in interstate commerce, ten states have laws requiring automatic couplers on railway trains, fourteen states have laws requiring air or power brakes on locomotives and cars, three states have laws requiring grab-irons on sides of box cars, and one state has a law regulating the height of draw-bars on cars. These laws apply in some cases only to passenger trains, in some only to freight trains, and in others to all trains.

Thirteen states require the blocking of frogs, switches, and guard rails; eleven states require bridge guards or telltales at approaches to bridges, tunnels, etc.; ten states regulate the height of bridges and wires over railway tracks or trolley wires over street-car tracks; New York requires safety switches on main line tracks, and prohibits the use of "coal jimmies," and Vermont requires ladders or steps to be placed at the end or inside of cars. In Ohio full crews are required on freight and passenger trains, and in South Carolina there must be at least one brakeman to every two cars on passenger trains, except when power brakes are used, and one brakeman on the last car of every freight train. In Arizona, on grades of over ninety-five feet to the mile on mountain divisions, there must be at least one brakeman for every 600 tons. In Michigan printed copies of rules and regulations must be furnished to employees, and in New York and Ohio railroad companies are required to make reports to the railroad commissioners showing the number of safety appliances with which their roads have been equipped. Ohio prohibits the erection of any crane, chute, etc., within eighteen inches of the nearest point of contact with the cab of any locomotive. Arkansas requires the construction of shelters for workmen at division points.

Twenty-seven states have laws requiring street-railway companies to have enclosed platforms on the front of cars for the protection of motormen, gripmen, or drivers.

A federal law requires common carriers engaged in interstate commerce to make regular reports of accidents to the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Accidents

In Alabama, Connecticut, Michigan, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Vermont accidents must be reported to the railroad commissioners. In Mississippi accidents causing delay or injuries must be telegraphed and a written report made afterward to the railway commission. In South Carolina accidents causing injury to persons must be reported immediately to an accessible physician and notice given in writing to the railway commissioners within twenty-four hours.

Four states have laws requiring railroad commissioners to investigate accidents to railway employees. Massachusetts has a law requiring railroad companies to run workmen's trains at specified hours of the day.

Great Britain

In Great Britain the conduct of railway employees while on duty is regulated by an act passed in 1840 which provides that any engine-driver, guard, porter, or other employee of a railway company is liable to arrest for intoxication while on duty, or for committing any offense against the regulations, or for wilfully, maliciously, or negligently doing or omitting to do

any act whereby life, limb, or the works of the railway are endangered. The penalty may be imprisonment, either with or without hard labor, for a term not exceeding two months, or a fine of not more than £2 ($9.73).

The hours of labor of railway employees are not fixt by law, but an act passed July 27, 1893, provides that the Board of Trade is authorized to investigate representations that the employees of any railway company are required to work for an excessive number of hours, or that sufficient intervals of rest are not allowed, or that insufficient relief is afforded in the matter of Sunday labor. If the investigation discloses reasonable grounds for complaint, the Board of Trade may direct the company to submit a schedule of service such as will bring the actual hours of labor within reasonable limits, regard being had for all the circumstances of the traffic and the nature of the work.

The German Empire

With regard to the conditions of employment on railways the German Empire has from time to time promulgated special decrees and ordinances. The following regulations fixing the minimum requirements for applicants for positions in the State railway service were promulgated by the imperial chancellor, March 8, 1906:

Employees entering service for the first time must be not less than twenty-one nor more than forty years of age. Males more than forty years old who are partially incapacitated may be employed as watchmen, porters, platform attendants, and gatemen; and females more than forty years of age may serve as gatekeepers and station attendants. Technically skilled machinists may act as locomotive firemen before completing their twenty-first year. Other exceptions are allowable only on action by the local authorities.

The general requirements for employment include physical capacity, good hearing and sight, ability to distinguish colors, and satisfactory character. Officials must be able to read German and Roman print and script, to write legibly in German, and, where necessary in their employment, to compute in the four elementary operations. Detailed provision is made in the case of each class of employees, as watchmen, porters, brakemen, engineers, etc., giving the specific requirements as to knowledge of particular duties and of the appliances with which each must work; and for the higher classes of employment, the length of preliminary employment in the lower grades, and the periods of training and of probationary service that must precede permanent appointments. The restrictions as to probationary employment and age limits do not apply in the case of those officials and employees who are connected with the military branch of the railway service.

On the State railways of Prussia and Hesse, as prescribed by a law of April 1, 1902, the personnel is classed either as officials of the State or as employees for wages. Nominations are, in general, for a probationary period, followed by a revocable contract, and subsequently, in proper cases, by a permanent appointment. Until permanent appointment, unless in exceptional cases, all engagements are made under conditions of monthly wage payments.

Applicants for positions definitely provided for in the budgets must meet the required conditions, especially those as to prescribed examinations. Ticket stampers and other station employees, locomotive and train employees, switchmen, watchmen, road employees, and the like are not enumerated in the budgets, and are employed under revocable contracts. Agents of the lower and middle grades employed in budget positions may take permanent appointments after they have served satisfactorily for at least five years.

A law of July 14, 1888, contains the provision that employees on Prussian State railways must have no affiliation with societies opposed to law and order.

A decree of the Prussian Minister of Public Works issued Dec. 17, 1894, and subsequently amended in various points, forbids workmen employed in the State railway service to engage in their leisure time in work in the private interests of railway officials, and especially of those to whom are entrusted the employment and discharge of workmen or the inspection and management of the service. Written permission is required for specific persons and occasions, if exceptions are at all allowed.

Provisions as to the termination of the labor contract of railway employees in Prussia were made in the law of July 14, 1888, which provide that such contract may, in the absence of special agreements to the contrary, be terminated by either party without notice within the first four weeks of service, and after this time, but without preventing an earlier release in cases of mutual agreement, on notice by either party given fourteen days in advance. If any other than the prescribed term of notice is agreed upon, it must be the same for both parties.

Dismissal without this notice of fourteen days may take place when an employee has used deception in the matter of the labor contract; if he is guilty of theft, embezzlement, immorality, etc.; if he leaves work without authority, or persistently neglects his duty; if he is careless with lights or fire in the face of warnings; if he is guilty of violence or gross acts of injury to his superiors, their deputies, or members of their families, or of deliberate and illegal acts which cause injury to the management or to his fellow workmen. Such discharge is not allowable after the facts have been known to a superior for more than one week. Before the discharge takes effect the employee is to have opportunity to make a statement and to establish the facts in the case at a hearing. Witnesses may be brought in where needful, and proofs may be submitted in writing.

Employment

A workman may leave the service without notice if he becomes unable to work; if his wages are not paid when due, or if his superior defrauds him; if the work exposes life or health to discovered dangers not known at the time of entering into the contract; if his superiors or members of their families are guilty of acts or attempts of an illegal or immoral nature against him or his family, or if they or their deputies commit acts of violence or gross injury to him or members of his family. For the last-named cause action must be taken within one week after the facts come to the employee's knowledge, in order to justify withdrawal without notice.

Damages for unwarranted discharge without notice may be allowed only in so far as actual injury results, and only to the amount of the consequent loss in wages for the period of notice. This will not be allowed where other employment was immediately secured.

With regard to the hours of labor on railways in Germany, a law of the Confederated States, enacted in 1899, prescribes for locomotive employees (engineers and firemen) a workday of not more than ten hours' length on a monthly average.

If the service is light, however, as on secondary roads, it may be 11 hours long. No single day of work may exceed 16 hours in length. In case of such length, service must be broken by rest periods and followed by a prolonged rest, to be passed at home and to be at night if possible. The time of route service may in no case exceed 10 hours, including stops at stations where employees cannot leave their posts, and including also the time for taking up and turning over their work and for coming from their homes and returning. If the work is continuous or exhausting, the average day is reduced to 8 hours and the maximum to 10.

The provisions as to train employees are practically identical with the above, except that the average workday is given a length of 11 hours.

Where station service is exacting and continuous, 8 hours constitute the average day's work, with a maximum of 10 hours. In other cases the average may be 12 hours, with a maximum of 14; or, if the service is light and broken by long rests, it may be extended by way of exception to as long as 16 hours. Gatekeepers and guards at minor stopping places may be employed for not more than 14 hours daily, unless where the service is light, when the day may be fixt at 16 hours. If gatekeepers can reside only at a distance from their posts, the time required to go to and from work is included in the work-time.

Hours

The rest periods include only the time when employees are exempt from duty and from preparation therefor, and must continue without interruption, in order to be counted as such within the meaning of the law, for at least 8 hours in the case of station employees and gatekeepers, and for 8 hours for train and locomotive employees, if the time is spent at home, or 6 hours if away from home. For these latter classes, however, the 6- or 8-hour period will be counted as rest only when falling between periods of service which are preceded or followed by a rest of at least 10 hours' length at home. Shorter periods than those designated above are to be included in the account of the time spent in service.

Every active employee in regular service is entitled to two holidays per month; or, if service is light, to one holiday. These days must be not less than 24 hours in length.

Night-work may be engaged in for not more than 7 nights consecutively.

In Prussia it is provided that employees whose duties require labor on Sundays and feast-days must be given opportunity to attend worship every second, or at most every third, Sunday. If the semimonthly holidays prescribed by the general law cannot be so arranged as to suffice for such attendance, other time is to be allowed therefor without being counted as absence from service or as rest-time.

As regards the wages to be paid railway employees, a Prussian regulation of July 14, 1888, lays down the general rule that wages of State railway employees will be paid for only the time actually worked. In cases of temporary cessation from work, however, without fault of the employee, he may, if married or having a dependent family, receive two thirds pay for not more than fourteen days, after the manner of a military furlough, provided he has been in the service for at least one year. Workmen absent on account of the performance of military or civic duties receive wages for the period of necessary absence. In cases where personal concerns cause absence the allowance of wages rests with the management. Time lost without excuse may be adjusted for by deductions from pay, the management retaining the control of such matters entirely in their own hands, as well as that of adjustments for overtime work. Workmen regularly entrusted with the duties of subordinate officials receive pay for lost rest-days. Pay for the allowed rest periods and for the time granted for attendance at church is also given to such employees as are regularly employed in duties requiring them to work on Sundays and feast-days.

Wage Payments

Railway employees in Germany do not have the right of making agreements or combinations among themselves for the purpose of procuring better wages or conditions of work, as are enjoyed by other classes of workmen by virtue of section 152 of the imperial industrial code. Section 182 of the Prussian industrial code prohibits railway employees from making agreements for the purpose of stopping or delaying work.

France

In France the employment of engineers and firemen is restricted by a decree of March 1, 1901, to such persons as have procured certificates of capacity in a form determined by the minister of public works.

The hours of labor and rest of engineers, firemen, and employees engaged in train service were fixt by decrees bearing date of Nov. 4, 1899, amended May 20, 1902, and May 9, 1906. An order applying to station employees was issued on Nov. 23, 1899, while the hours of labor of those engaged in the supervision and maintenance of way are regulated by an order of Oct. 10, 1901. All the above were issued by the minister of public works and are applicable to the railroads controlled by the State and by the companies operating the principal systems of the country. The enforcement of the regulations as to the hours of labor of engineers, firemen, and train and station employees on State railways is entrusted, by an order of Feb. 13, 1901, to "committees of labor," made up of the heads of the various departments concerned and of representative employees.

From 1883 to the dates named above the hours of labor of engineers, firemen, conductors, and brakemen had been fixt at not more than 12 hours daily, including the time of their obligatory presence at duty points before and after actual employment, while the hours of labor of switchmen had been fixt at 12 per day as early as 1864.

According to the later provisions the hours of labor of engineers and firemen must not exceed an average of 10 per day in actual employment. On no day may they exceed 12, nor may the total on 9 consecutive days, counting from midnight to midnight, exceed 90 hours of actual work. This period must also include principal rest periods to an amount of 90 hours. Each period of labor is to be preceded and followed by principal rest periods, which may be separated from each other by intervals of not more than 17 hours.

Principal rest periods are only those that have an unbroken duration of at least 10 hours if passed at the home of the employee or of not less than 7 hours if away from home. The reduction of two consecutive rest periods to less than 10 hours each is forbidden and the sum of two consecutive periods must amount to at least 17 hours. A rest of not less than 30 hours' length is to be allowed all engineers and firemen engaged in road service once in 10 days, on an average. Where the engineer or fireman is not required to sleep away from home at any time the 30-hour rest periods may be reduced in number to one per fortnight. Such rests are to be reckoned at their length, less 20 hours, in making up the 9-day average mentioned above. Employees will be regarded as not having to sleep away from home only in case their daily duties allow them an unbroken rest of 10 consecutive hours at home between 6 P.M. and 12 M.

For locomotive employees in yard service, a rest of at least 30 hours is to be allowed every 15 days on an average; out of 24 hours every 10 hours and the principal rest period be reduced to 9 hours. Only such employment is regarded as not requiring employees to sleep away from home as permits unbroken rest at home of at least 9 hours, between 6 P.M. and 12 M.

Rest periods must be at least 9 hours in length if spent at home, and 7 hours if away from home. No two consecutive rest periods may be of less than 9 hours' length, nor make a total of less than 16 hours. A holiday of at least 24 hours is to be granted every 15 days on an average, and not more than 30 days may elapse between two such holidays. These holidays are to be reckoned at their actual length, less 14 hours, in making up the 14-day average.

The schedule time of through freight and passenger trains is to be diminished by 10 per cent in making up the total of the working-time. In other respects the regulations are the same for the trainmen as for locomotive employees, except that in the case of trainmen no mention is made of reserve periods spent at home.

Depot and station employees may be required to work 12 hours per day with periods of unbroken rest of at least 9 hours' duration, tho these may be reduced to 8 hours where the employee is lodged on the premises. Shorter rest periods are to be allowed for the taking of meals near the middle and toward the close of the day. One holiday or 2 half-holidays per month must be allowed employees of this class. The holidays for 2 months may be allowed to accumulate, but not more than 2 months may pass without a holiday. Such a day includes the entire interval between 2 consecutive nights of rest. A half-holiday begins or ends at the middle of a customary day of labor, and must be immediately preceded or followed by a night of rest. These days and half-days are entirely at the disposal of the employees, and may be spent away from home if they so desire.

Employees

At stations having both night and day service night service shall not be required of any employee for more than 14 consecutive nights. When the change is made from day or night service to the other shift, an unbroken rest period of at least 24 hours must be allowed. Employees enjoying this privilege are not granted the monthly holidays or half-holidays mentioned above. Where night service is especially heavy, the minister of public works may require the alternation of shifts after 7 nights of duty, or such other number up to 14, as he may approve. Employees at small stations and stopping-places requiring the attendance of but a single person and at which there are not more than three trains daily in each direction may be required to serve for more than 12 hours, but their principal rest periods may not be reduced below 8 hours.

Watchmen, signal- and gatekeepers, and employees charged with the inspection and maintenance of ways may be required to work not more than 12 hours per day, with an unbroken rest of at least 9 hours, or of 8 hours where they lodge on the premises. Ten hours is the minimum, however, for employees where a female gatekeeper is employed, and the male employee is required to rise at night at the call of the public. A rest of about one hour for meals is to be allowed in the middle of the day; and if the work period exceeds 11 hours in length, there must be an additional interval of rest, about one half hour in length, either in the morning or afternoon. Suitable warmed shelters must be furnished at posts of duty where employees may eat.

At points requiring night as well as day service, where males alone are employed, the same provisions are applicable to consecutive night employment and rest periods at change of shifts as in the case of station employees. The positions of permanent attendants at gates and semaphores may be filled by females for the day service and by males at night without alternation. Such employees are entitled to an uninterrupted holiday of 36 hours' length each month. Where the employees concerned are husband and wife, they may, if they desire, enjoy the holiday simultaneously for the term of 24 hours.

With regard to railway employees abandoning their employment the railway law of France, dated July 15, 1845, directs that engineers or brakemen who abandon their posts during a run shall be punished by imprisonment, the term not to be less than six months nor more than two years in length.

Gustavus A. Weber, LL.B.

References: Gustavus A. Weber, *Labor Legislation in the U. S.*, in the Bulletins of the Bureau of Labor; Lindley A. Clark, *Laws of Foreign Countries Relating to Employees on Railroads.*

RAILWAY MILEAGE: The table below gives the mileage of the different countries of the world according to the latest obtainable statistics.

RAILWAY MILEAGE OF THE WORLD

Country	Length of railways		Railroads	
	Date	Miles	Per 10,000 inhabitants	Per 10,000 sq. m.
			Miles	*Miles*
Argentina	1906	12,230	21.5	10.8
Australasia:				
Commonwealth of Australia	1906	14,988	37.0	5.0
New Zealand	1906	2,520	28.3	24.0
Austria-Hungary:				
Austria, including Bosnia-Herzegovina	1905	24,338	5.1	101.0
Hungary				
Belgium	1905	4,375	6.1	397.7
Bolivia	1905	701	3.2	1.0
Brazil	1905	10,600	7.4	3.3
Bulgaria	1905	972	2.4	25.6
Canada	1905	21,280	33.0	7.0
Central America:				
Costa Rica	1906	294	9.2	12.8
Guatemala	1905	400	2.2	8.5
Honduras	1905	57	.8	1.2
Nicaragua	1904	171	3.4	3.5
Salvador	1905	104	1.0	14.9
Chile	1906	2,939	9.1	10.5
China	1905	3,435	.08	.8
Colombia	1904	411	1.0	.8
Cuba	1905	1,583	10.1	36.8
Denmark	1905	2,043	7.9	132.7
Ecuador	1905	186	1.3	1.6
Egypt	1905	3,233	3.3	8.4
France	1906	29,018	7.4	140.2
Algeria	1905	3,041	4.3	12.9
Tunis				
French East Indies	1905	1,549	.8	3.4
French colonies, n. e. s.	1905	998	.4	.3
German Empire	1905	34,526	5.7	165.2
German colonies	1905	552	.4	.5
Greece	1905	695	2.9	27.8
Haiti	1905	140	1.0	14.0
India, British	1906	28,221	1.0	16.0
Italy, including Eritrea	1905	10,120	3.0	62.9
Japan	1905	4,693	1.0	31.7
Formosa	1905	231	.8	17.8
Kongo Free State	.....	297	.2	.3
Korea	1905	536	.4	6.4
Luxemburg [1]	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mexico	1905	12,227	9.0	15.9
Netherlands	1905	2,133	3.8	164.1
Dutch East Indies	1905	1,430	.4	1.9
Dutch possessions in America	1905	37	2.5	.7
Norway	1905	1,515	6.6	12.2
Paraguay	1905	157	2.5	1.0
Persia	1905	34	.04	.1
Peru	1905	1,299	2.9	1.8
Portugal	1905	1,550	3.0	43.1
Portuguese colonies	1905	667	.9	.8
Rumania	1905	1,975	3.0	38.7
Russia	1906	39,591	2.8	4.6
Finland	1906	2,069	7.2	14.4
Santo Domingo	1905	117	1.9	6.5
Servia	1905	439	1.6	23.6
Siam	1905	446	.9	1.9
Spain	1905	8,782	4.7	45.0
Sweden	1905	7,815	14.9	45.2
Switzerland	1905	2,640	7.6	16.5
Turkey	1905	3,110	1.2	2.8
United Kingdom	1906	22,907	5.3	188.7
British colonies, n. e. s.	1906	11,121	7.4	11.7
United States [2]	1905–6	218,291	25.9	60.2
Philippine Islands	1906	200	.3	1.7
Porto Rico	1906	200	2.0	58.8
Uruguay	1905	1,210	11.6	16.8
Venezuela	1905	634	2.4	1.1
Total	.....	564,073		

[1] Railway mileage of Luxemburg included in that of Netherlands.

[2] Including railway mileage in Alaska (62 miles) and Hawaii (128 miles).

RAILWAYS AND RAILWAY PROBLEMS: We consider this subject under the following heads: (I.) The United States; (II.) Foreign Countries; (III.) Railway Problems; (IV.) Remedies Proposed.

I. The United States

A. HISTORY

On July 4, 1828, Charles Carroll, last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, laid the first rail of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad; the first railroad of this country to assume a comprehensive scale. Mr. Carroll said he considered the event "second only to that of signing the Declaration of Independence, if even second to that." The first tram-road in America was the Quincy road (1827) for hauling stone for the Bunker Hill monument. The first locomotive in America was imported from England in 1829, for use on the Carbondale & Honesdale Railroad, built by the Delaware & Hudson Canal Company. On the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, chartered in 1827 and opened 1830, steam was not definitely chosen for the motive power till 1831, horse-power, and even sails, having been tried first. The West Point foundry works built the first American locomotive in 1830, for use on the South Carolina Railroad then being constructed. The panic of 1837 temporarily checked railroad building, but the whole line of the Boston & Albany was complete by 1842, the first road operated as a through route. New York and Philadelphia were connected by rail in 1840; New York and Boston in 1849; New York and Lake Erie, by the Erie road, in 1851; New York and Albany the same year; New York and Chicago in 1853. The first line to reach the Mississippi was the Chicago & Rock Island in 1854.

Beginnings

The rapid growth of the roads in the United States will be best appreciated by giving the figures. In 1828 there were 3 miles of railroad in the country; in 1830, 41 miles; in 1840, 2,800 miles; in 1850, 9,000 miles; in 1860, 9,800 miles; in 1870, 50,000 miles; in 1880, 82,000 miles; in 1890, 163,420 miles; in 1905, 218,101 miles.

The first roads were very moderately successful. Legislatures were suspicious of them. The Illinois Central received the first land grant in 1851, tho, after that, land grants were given freely. (See PUBLIC DOMAIN.) The first charters were very cautious, and there were no general bills for condemning property to give railroads the right of way, but in 1850 the New York Legislature granted railroad corporations the right to run their lines wherever they saw fit, subject only to certain conditions in the cities. This was a complete surrender on the part of the state of every attempt to supervise, regulate, and control the operations of railroad corporations, but it seemed productive of such immediate benefits that state after state followed the example.

No evil results of this lack of state supervision were apparent until 1857, when a financial crisis brought bankruptcy to many of the roads. To prevent the insolvent roads being closed to satisfy the bondholders or first mortgagees, the lawyers for the second mortgagees and the stockholders devised a plan of "reorganization." Under this policy of reorganization the first mortgage holders were given bonds representing a first lien on the roads and bonds representing accrued interest. The junior mortgagees were recognized by pre-

ferred stock, and the former stockholders, after paying something to defray the expenses of the readjustment, were given common stock to represent their former interest in the roads. This accumulated debt was called "increased capital," but in latter-day parlance has developed stock-watering. (See WATERED STOCK.)

The crisis of 1857 put an effective stop to railroad and land grants, and this was followed by the Civil War. The war, however, gave land grants a wider scope. A railroad to California was a political necessity. (See PACIFIC RAILROADS.) The first effective bill for the Union Pacific was passed in 1864, and the last rail laid in 1869. It led to railroad favoritism, upon the part of government, in colossal proportions.

Land Grants

From 1835 to June 30, 1892, railroad corporations received from Congress, directly and through the states, grants of land aggregating 56,483,804 acres, or an average of 9,600 acres for every mile of road constructed under the terms of the granting acts. In addition to these gifts of land the roads received subsidies of money from Congress, the states, counties, townships, cities, and villages. The five Pacific railroads (the Northern Pacific, the Union Pacific, the Atlantic & Pacific, the Southern Pacific, and the Texas Pacific) alone received subsidies of U. S. bonds amounting to $64,623,512, and the interest paid on the same by the U. S. Government amounted up to June 30, 1891, to $90,241,379.22. (See article PUBLIC DOMAIN.)

According to *Poor's Manual* for 1884, the average cost per mile of the railroads in the U. S. did not exceed $30,000. The early railroads were purely local, chartered and built by local communities. The New York Central was consolidated from eleven different railroads in 1853. Vanderbilt, till then one of the foremost steamboat owners in the world, did not go into railroads to any extent till 1864. Mr. Scott entered the service of the Pennsylvania Railroad in 1850. As a result of his management the Pennsylvania Railroad owns to-day thousands of miles of the most valuable railway property in the U. S. Next to these great systems were developed the Grand Trunk in the north, the Erie in the middle, and the Baltimore & Ohio in the south, they being hindered respectively by disadvantage of situation, by speculation, and by the Civil War.

Combinations

The next development of combination was the development of sleeping-car companies, express companies, and freight transportation companies, which ran through cars over many roads. The first railroad pools were probably developed in a small way in New England. The first to have important public history was the Chicago-Omaha pool, in 1870, between three roads. The first great inter-railway association was the Southern Railway & Steamship Association, begun under the lead of Albert Fink, in 1873. The first great railway war began in 1869, when rates from Chicago to New York fell to twenty-five cents per hundred pounds. The first trunk-line pool on West-bound traffic was formed in 1877, and on East-bound in 1879.

Railroad legislation was all in favor of railroads. The only fear was that roads would not be built fast enough. Railroads were variously taxed, and liabilities only slightly enforced. The first popular feeling of any force against railroads was the Granger movement (1870–77). Nowhere had railroad subsidies been more recklessly voted than in the upper Mississippi valley. Between 1865 and 1871 $500,000,000 had been invested in Western railways. The price of wheat began to fall. With transportation charges at former figures, the farmers could not pay their debts; with charges reduced, the roads could not pay theirs. Roads under competition cut down rates to nearly nothing between competing points, and, where there was no competition, charged what they would. The feeling among the farmers ran high. The first tangible results were reached in Illinois. The constitutional convention of 1870 made an important declaration concerning state control of rates, on the basis of which a law was passed in 1871 establishing a system of maxima. Judge Laurence pronounced the bill unconstitutional. At the next election he was defeated. The law of 1873 avoided the issues raised by Judge Laurence. Similar laws were immediately passed by Iowa and Minnesota, and a much more stringent law, the so-called Potter law, which the railroads favored because so stringent, hoping thus to kill it. The roads appealed to the courts, but were defeated. Finally in 1877 the Supreme Court of the U. S. sustained the constitutionality of the Granger laws. But the laws defeated themselves. Railroad construction came to a standstill. In Wisconsin some existing roads could not be kept up. The men who passed the Potter law in 1874 hurriedly repealed it after two years' trial. Since then, however, the hostility to railroads has grown more general.

Granger Movement

The Hepburn committee was appointed in New York "to investigate alleged abuses in railroad management," the hearings before which form the most important evidence in the railway question. In 1877 the strikes called universal attention to the subject. Railway commissions were everywhere established, that of Massachusetts—perhaps the most successful—as early as 1869. The commission of Iowa, perhaps the next most successful, dates from 1878. California gave its commission almost unlimited power. As a result the railroads found it necessary to get control of the commission.

Railway Commissions

In 1885 the U. S. Senate appointed a committee to investigate railroad abuses. As a result of that report Congress enacted a law which went into effect in April, 1887, and the Interstate Commerce Commission has been a public institution ever since. During the debates on that bill the railroad lobby was energetic and active. The intent of the framer of the bill was that the law should give control of the railroads to the commission to be appointed; but the combined railroad interests of the country went to work to change the bill, and it received the signature of the president in such a form as to be almost worthless.

The courts decided that the law did not give the commission power to fix rates, and the procedure and penalties of the act proved to be comparatively ineffective in relation to the worst railroad abuses. Multitudinous discriminations of the most grievous sort continued year after year. The commission recognized and clearly stated the inadequacy of the law and asked Congress for amendments to make the law effective. But Congress did nothing until 1903, when the Elkins Bill was passed for the purpose of abolishing re-

bates and other forms of favoritism and discrimination. This also proved to be insufficient, and in 1906, as the result of two vigorous messages from President Roosevelt and strenuous efforts on his part, Congress passed the Hepburn Rate Bill, which greatly increases the powers of the commission, and will, it is hoped, enable it to put an effective check on the worst forms of discrimination and abuses of the rate-making power.

Rate Bill

The bill provides that when the commission, upon complaint and hearing, has adjudged a rate fixt by a common carrier to be unjust or unreasonable, or unjustly discriminatory, or unduly preferential or prejudicial, it may determine and prescribe what will be the just and reasonable rate in such case, which shall thereafter be the maximum rate, and may order the carrier to desist from charging the unjust rate. This order is to take effect within a reasonable time, not less than thirty days, and to continue for a period not exceeding two years, unless modified by the commission or set aside by the courts. Appeals must be taken within thirty days and have precedence. The commission may also prescribe what regulation or practise in respect to such transportation is fair and reasonable and require it to be thereafter followed. Enforcement of the orders of the commission may be had by injunction or other mandatory order.

It is provided that any company or officer who knowingly fails or neglects to obey any such order of the commission is liable to a penalty of $5,000 for each offense, and in case of a continued violation, each day is to be deemed a separate offense.

Rebates and discriminations of all kinds are again prohibited; every person or corporation, whether common carrier or shipper, agent or trustee, guilty of giving, receiving, or soliciting discriminations or rebates may be fined from $1,000 to $20,000 and imprisoned for not more than two years: shippers found guilty may be fined three times the amount of the rebates and three times the value of any other consideration received.

The commission may, at its discretion, prescribe the forms of all accounts, reports, and memoranda to be kept by the railways, and provision is made for the inspection of these by the commission at any time. It is unlawful for a carrier or its officers or agents to keep any other records, accounts, or memoranda except those prescribed by the commission, and penalties are provided for false entries in railway bookkeeping.

No change is to be made by the railways in any rate except after thirty days' notice to the commission, unless the commission, for good cause shown, allows changes upon shorter notice.

The express companies and sleeping-car lines are made common carriers; the private-car lines are included in the term "transportation" and brought within the jurisdiction of the commission. After May 1, 1908, no railroad shall engage in the transportation of commodities of its own in competition with shippers over its lines. This is intended to prevent the mining of coal, the production of coke, etc.—the railroad control of the coal-mining industry.

The law contains a qualified prohibition of free passes. It says that "no common carrier subject to the provisions of this act shall, directly or indirectly, issue or give any interstate free ticket, free pass, or free transportation for passengers, except to its employees and their families, its officers, agents, surgeons," etc.

It increases the number of Interstate Commerce Commissioners to seven, their term of office to be seven years and their salaries to be $10,000 per annum, and permits four of them to be of one political party.

While there are some good features in the law, it certainly does not amount to much as a rate-regulative measure. It gives the commission the formal power to fix the maximum rate, but it gives the railroads the power to take the commission's orders into court and obstruct and largely nullify the commission's efforts to secure just and equal treatment. Even if the bill had passed in its original form, it would have been quite inadequate, as the power to fix and enforce a maximum rate is not the power to secure equal rates. The commission has no authority to revise rates on its own motion nor to control classification by which railroads can readily change rates. No provision is made for the valuation of railroad property, which is essential to the fixing of fair rates. Nothing is done about the basing-point system. No adequate provision is made to meet the trick of withholding testimony and concealing facts.

The coal roads are reported to have already projected a billion-dollar corporation for the purpose of merging and holding the anthracite properties and so circumventing the law.

The law does not touch overcapitalization, nor stock-gambling, nor the political relations of the railroads, but rather tends to intensify their political relations.

B. STATISTICS FOR THE UNITED STATES

The following data are from the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission for the years ending June 30, 1905, and June 30, 1906:

The total single-track mileage of railways in the U. S. June 30, 1905, was 218,101 miles, or 4,196 miles more than at the end of the previous year. The preliminary report for the year ending June 30, 1906, includes the returns from 852 railway companies, representing an operated mileage of 220,028 miles, "or approximately 99 per cent of the mileage that will be covered by the complete report for the year," indicating theretore a total mileage of about 222,000 miles.

On June 30, 1905, there were in the service of the carriers 48,357 locomotives. These locomotives, excepting 947, were classified as: Passenger, 11,618; freight, 27,869; and switching, 7,923.

The total number of cars of all classes was 1,842,871, or 44,310 more than for the year 1904. This rolling stock was thus assigned: Passenger service, 40,713 cars; freight service, 1,731,409 cars, and company service, 70,749 cars. These figures do not include cars owned by private commercial firms or corporations.

Equipment

The number of locomotives and cars in the service of the railways aggregated 1,891,228, of which 1,641,395 were fitted with train brakes, or an increase for the year of 86,623, and 1,871,590 were fitted with automatic couplers, or an increase of 48,560. Nearly all the locomotives and cars in the passenger service had train brakes and all but 82 locomotives in the same service were fitted with automatic couplers. Only 1.63 per cent of cars in the passenger service were without automatic couplers. Substantially all the freight locomotives had train brakes and automatic couplers. Of 1,731,409 cars in the freight service on June 30, 1905, the number fitted with train brakes was 1,515,354 and with automatic couplers 1,715,854.

The reported number of persons on the pay rolls of the railways in the U. S. on June 30, 1905, was 1,382,196, which is equivalent to an average of 637 employees per 100 miles of line. These figures show an increase in the number of employees as compared with the year 1904 of 86,075, or 26 per 100 miles of line. Of the employees 54,817 were enginemen, 57,892 firemen, 41,061 conductors, and 111,405 were other trainmen. There were 45,532 switch-tenders, crossing-tenders, and watchmen. Railway employees, disregarding a small number, were thus assigned among the four general divisions of railway employment: For general administration, 54,141; for maintenance of ways and structures, 448,370; for maintenance of equipment, 281,000; and for conducting transportation, 595,456.

The total amount of wages and salaries reported as paid to employees during the year ending June 30, 1905, was $839,944,680.

On June 30, 1905, the par value of the amount of railway capital outstanding was $13,805,258,121, which is equivalent to a capitalization of $65,926 per mile for the railways in the U. S. Of this capital there existed as stock $6,554,557,051, of which $5,180,933,907 was common and $1,373,623,144 preferred; the remaining part, $7,250,701,070, represented funded debt.

Capitalization

Of the total capital stock outstanding, $2,435,470,337, or 37.16 per cent, paid no dividends. The amount of dividends declared during the year was $237,964,482, being equivalent to 5.78 per cent on dividend-paying stock.

The total amount of funded debt (omitting equipment, trust obligations) that paid no interest was $449,100,396, or 6.36 per cent.

Of the total amount of railway stock outstanding, $2,070,052,108 were reported as owned by railway corporations, and of railway bonds, $568,100,021 were so reported.

The number of passengers reported as carried by the railways in the year ending June 30, 1905, was 738,834,667, this item being 23,414,985 more than for the year ending June 30, 1904. The passenger mileage, or the number of passengers carried one mile, was 23,800,149,436, the increase being 1,876,935,900 passenger-miles.

The number of tons of freight reported as carried (including freight received from connections) was 1,427,731,905,

which exceeds the tonnage of the year 1904 by 117,832,740 tons. The ton mileage, or the number of tons carried one mile, was 186,463,109,510, the increase being 11,941,019,933 ton-miles. The number of tons carried one mile per mile of line was 861,396, indicating an increase in the density of freight traffic of 31,920 ton-miles per mile of line.

Public Service

The average revenue per passenger per mile for the year ending June 30, 1905, was 1.962 cents. For the preceding year the average was 2.006 cents. The average revenue per ton per mile was .766 cent; the like average for the year 1904 was .78 cent. The ratio of operating expenses to earnings for the year 1905 was 66.78 per cent. For 1904 this ratio was 67.79 per cent.

The gross earnings of the railways in the U. S. from the operation of 216,973.61 miles of line were, for the year ending June 30, 1905, $2,082,482,406, being $107,308,315 greater than for the year 1904, and for the first time exceeding the two-billion mark. Their operating expenses were $1,390,602,152, or $51,705,899 more than in 1904.

The preliminary report for 1906 shows that the gross earnings of the 852 roads above referred to were $2,319,760,030. This amount included as earnings from passenger service $618,555,934, or 26.66 per cent; from the freight service, $1,640,942,862, or 70.74 per cent, and miscellaneous earnings, $60,261,234, or 2.6 per cent. The gross earnings for 1906 averaged $10,543 per mile. This average is much higher than the like average for any previous year since the organization of the commission. (This is the 20th annual report.) The gross earnings of the railways, as shown in the final report for the year ending June 30, 1905, represented an average of $9,598 on 216,973.61 miles of line operated. For 1906, as shown by the preliminary report, the operating expenses of the railways were $1,532,163,153, or $6,963 per mile. The ratio of operating expenses to earnings was 66.05 per cent. The same average in the final report for the year 1905 was 66.78 per cent. This advance report shows that the net earnings of the same roads for the year ending June 30, 1906, were $787,596,877, or $3,580 per mile, and for the year 1905, $690,691,151.

Earnings and Expenses

The amount reported by the carriers as income from sources other than operation was $132,624,982, which amount includes a few duplications due to the method of accounting followed by certain of the reporting carriers. The total net income of the operating roads covered by this report was $920,221,859. Against this amount was charged for interest, rents, betterments, taxes, and miscellaneous items the sum of $590,386,554, and as dividends the sum of $229,406,598, leaving a surplus for the year of $100,428,707. The taxes charged to income during the year were $68,903,288. The final report for the year ending June 30, 1905, showed a surplus of $89,043,490. The amount of dividends declared in 1906 was $34,248,605 more than that shown for the dividends of practically the same roads in 1905. This preliminary report, as already stated, relates to operating roads only, and does not include the statement of any dividends by leased lines from the income they received as rent. The dividends declared by subsidiary leased lines for the year 1905 were about $35,750,000.

The total number of casualties to persons on the railways for the year ending June 30, 1905, was 95,711, of which 9,703 represented the number of persons killed and 86,008 the number injured. Casualties occurred among three general classes of railway employees, as follows: Trainmen, 1,990 killed and 29,853 injured; switch-tenders, crossing-tenders, and watchmen, 136 killed, 883 injured; other employees, 1,235 killed, 36,097 injured.

Accidents

The number of passengers killed in the course of the year 1905 was 537 and the number injured 10,457. In the previous year 441 passengers were killed and 9,111 injured. The total number of persons other than employees and passengers killed was 5,805; injured, 8,718. The total number of casualties to persons other than employees from being struck by trains, locomotives, or cars was 4,569 killed and 4,163 injured. The ratios of casualties indicate that 1 employee in every 411 was killed and 1 employee in every 21 was injured. With regard to trainmen—that is, enginemen, firemen, conductors, and other trainmen—it appears that 1 trainman was killed for every 133 employed and 1 was injured for every 9 employed.

In 1905 1 passenger was killed for every 1,375,856 carried, and 1 injured for every 70,655 carried. For 1904 the figures show that 1,622,267 passengers were carried for 1 killed, and 78,523 passengers were carried for 1 injured. For 1895 1 passenger was killed for every 2,984,832 carried, and 1 injured for every 213,651 carried.

II. Foreign Countries

A. GREAT BRITAIN

England is the birthplace of the iron horse. Steam transportation began about 1825. The profits of the early lines were so large that railway stocks went to a premium of 100 per cent. And in consequence of this a mania for building railroads broke out in 1835, resulting in overconstruction, panic, and collapse.

No national plan of railway location was adopted. The English theory was private railways with competition and parliamentary regulation.

In 1844 a select committee, with Mr. Gladstone as its chairman and guiding spirit, went over the whole railway question and reported that rates were too high; that "competition between railway companies is likely to do more injury to them than good to the public"; that, on the other hand, monopoly in private hands was to be dreaded and guarded against, and that the government should reserve power to purchase the lines at reasonable cost after a given time. The next year the Gladstone bill known as the Cheap Trains Act was passed, providing: (1) for fares not exceeding two cents a mile at least on one train a day; (2) revision of the maximum rates; (3) certain powers for the Board of Trade in order to hold the railways to the law; and (4) the compulsory acquisition of the railways by the State, in the discretion of Parliament, at any time after twenty-one years from that date (1844) upon payment of "twenty-five times the annual divisible profits estimated on the average of the three then next preceding years."

Before the stated time arrived, however, railway earnings had grown so large, and railway influence had become so great, that the option of purchase was not exercised, tho the possible ultimate possession of the railways by the State has been kept steadily in view, every railway act since 1844 being made subject to the Gladstone law of that year and the option therein contained.

The English railway rates are on the whole far higher than on the Continent or in the U. S., the average ton-mile rate being estimated at two cents and a half and the average passenger rate at about two cents and one-quarter. Considering actual rates instead of averages, taking the charges for similar services over the same distances, Acworth says "the English rates are the highest in Europe, but are not so high on local traffic as the rates in the U. S."

The English freight rate includes collection and delivery, loading and unloading, and to a large extent insurance also. Moreover, the traffic on the English roads is in small consignments and is carried and delivered with promptness, so that it is no wonder their ton-mile rate is higher than ours, especially when we remember that our average haul is very much greater, and that cut rates and secret rebates, bringing the receipts below the published tariff, do not exist in England to anything like the extent they are practised here. These things help to explain why the English ton-mile rate is more than three times the American average of .78 of a cent, which is largely due to our discriminations and enormous wholesale shipments of cheap goods for immense distances.

Rates

As compared with rates in Germany and Belgium, English rates are very high, and there has been for many years a constant agitation for reduction. In passenger rates some concessions have been made, but in freight rates on the whole no reduction has been made for over thirty-five years. The roads unite and agree upon railway rates and regulations, which are not departed from except on notice to the other roads. Some

managers say there has been no competition as to rates for forty or fifty years, with the exception of a rate war now and then of limited duration and extent, when some new line was opened. There is competition in service, but no competition in rates, and the effort to secure fair rates by legislation has not been successful.

The joint committee of 1872, one of the ablest committees that ever sat in England, reviewed the forty years' effort at legislative regulation of railroads, and concluded that aside from some moderate success in securing safety, English railroad legislation had never accomplished anything it had sought to bring about, nor prevented anything it had sought to hinder.

The cost of the practically useless mass of 3,300 enactments had amounted to nearly $400,000,000—an enormous price to pay for the discovery that regulation did not regulate. In 1873 another law was passed establishing a railway commission with power to fix through rates, enjoin discriminations, and give damages to persons injured by railway violation of law. In 1881 a new committee investigated the workings of this act, and found that rates were still too high and discriminations still prevailed. In 1888 another law was enacted strengthening the power of State control and ordering a revision of the rates. Millions of railroad rates were put into the crucible of reduction. The inquiry lasted 130 days, and the official minutes occupied 3,926 pages, and in the end the railroads got the best of it, for in return for every rate that was reduced they succeeded in lifting the legal level of one and a half rates above the former tariff, and a little later advanced their rates so that their total charges were lifted considerably above the totals before the revision of 1888. In consequence of this another law was passed in 1894 giving the commission power, on proof of the unreasonableness of any increase since 1892, to order a return to former rates.

Complaints of extortion and discrimination still pour in upon the Board of Trade, which has only conciliatory powers, and upon the commission, which has power of injunction, fine, and imprisonment. The Board of Trade has received over 3,200 complaints since 1888, nearly all of them involving some element of discrimination either directly or indirectly. And the secretary of the Traders' Association asserts that numerous as are the complaints made to the Board of Trade, their association gets ten complaints to one that goes to the board. Shippers as a rule are afraid to fight the railways. And besides this the great bulk of discriminations are not known to any one whose interest it would be to make complaint.

The morals of English railways are by no means so lofty as their rates. The absence of conscience was noted very early in their history, and the condition has become chronic. The railways have always had great influence in Parliament. The landowners who owe so much to the railways and are so largely interested in them constitute a large portion of both Houses.

The railways still have a large number of their directors in Parliament and others who are large shareholders. They cannot, of course, control legislation completely, but have sufficient influence to keep Parliament from passing any drastic legislation, and to secure such modification or amendment of anti-railroad bills as may make them comparatively innocuous.

The British railway capitalization stands at $326,000 a mile for England and Wales, and $270,000 a mile for the whole United Kingdom, the highest national average in the world.

The secrecy of English accounts is such that less is known about the inside workings of the roads than in any other country. In many ways, except on the best through routes, the service is not up to the standard of the railways in our northern and western states, nor to the service on the German roads.

The principal lesson of English railway history is that powerful railroad interests left in private control cannot be satisfactorily regulated by law. No government in the world has tried harder to control a private railway system in the public interest. For over sixty years the English Parliament has striven to secure safety, to stamp out discrimination, prevent excessive charges, and control the exercise of railway power. The result is a degree of safety superior indeed to ours, but by no means equal to that attained by the State railways of Germany and Belgium; discriminations and excessive rates are still in abundant evidence, and a general dissatisfaction so great that Acworth, the classical English writer on railway subjects from the railway standpoint, corresponding to Professor Hadley in this country, told the writer a few months ago that "nine out of ten people in Great Britain would vote for public ownership of railways if the question were submitted to a vote to-morrow." This testimony is especially weighty from the fact that Acworth himself is not a believer in public ownership, but on the contrary is practically identified with the best corporation view of things in England.

Among the difficulties in legislative control of railways that are often overlooked are: (1) That, as Acworth says, "For every shilling cut by an expeditious tribunal off a rate it is easy for the railway companies to withdraw two shillings' worth of facilities. (2) For a merchant or farmer to undertake to fight trained railway experts with a lifetime's experience and with every fact and figure at their fingers' ends is only to court defeat. (3) Even when a decision goes against a road it is easy for it to retaliate by measures which no control can prevent unless it were prepared to take upon itself the entire responsibility of the detailed management of the line."

"We do not like to quarrel with a railway company," said a large manufacturer, "and this very fact goes far to nullify any legislation that may be advanced for the protection of the public against the companies."

B. BELGIUM

The railroad history of Belgium is in vivid contrast with that of England. The first railways were built by the State, beginning in 1833 and opening the first line in 1835. The government laid out the roads on the broad lines of a carefully considered national system of transportation on plans drawn up by George Stephenson, who was employed by the government as being the greatest railway engineer of the age. After the principal routes had been occupied by the State railways, concessions were granted to private companies for branch and connecting lines and later for lines that came naturally into competition with the government roads.

For twenty years, from 1850 to 1870, the

government pursued the policy of a State system in competition with private railways, the only kind of competition that does not lead to combination against the public. The companies consolidated into powerful systems and the competition between the public and private roads was very earnest. The government began the main battle in 1856 by making great reductions in rates. A system of special rates was introduced, with the result that both traffic and receipts increased in an astonishing ratio. In 1861 the reductions were extended, and a regular sliding scale of charges, decreasing according to distance, was put in force, being applied at first to the lowest and roughest class of goods. The result was an immediate increase of 72.4 per cent in the tonnage of the goods on which the reductions applied, and the entire traffic rose 11.6 per cent. The increase of traffic in the half year was equivalent to the average increase of three years preceding.

The next year the low sliding rates were extended to all goods of the third class and a reduced scale was put in operation for the second class. The increase of tonnage in the eighth year of the experiment was 106 per cent. This increase was practically on the same mileage, as only about thirty miles had been added to the State lines.

In 1870, after twenty years' experience with public and private roads, side by side, the government decided to take over the private lines. Large purchases were made in 1871–73, and by 1874 the government had one half the railways in the country; in 1880 it had two thirds; in 1885 it had three fourths; and in 1905 it had over seven eighths of all the railways, and the only remaining line of any great importance will be taken over as soon as the franchise expires.

The financial results were unsatisfactory at the start. For the first fifteen years there was a deficit. After that the roads began to make a profit, and by 1872 the profit on the State lines was 6 per cent on the total expenditure to date. In 1882 the profit on the State lines was 5.62 per cent, and 5 per cent on private lines. The profits now are $4\frac{3}{5}$ per cent. The total expenditure on the roads operated by the State has been $429,000,000, the receipts $1,042,690,000, and the profits $251,000,000.

The direct financial gains constitute the smallest part of the benefits the State railways have conferred upon the country. The government has always treated the question of earning a profit as entirely secondary to the development of industry, the promotion of prosperity, and the service of the public. The policy has been to use the surpluses for reducing rates, extending the lines, and increasing facilities. If the indirect financial benefits and contributions to the general prosperity due to the wise policy of the government roads could be calculated and added to the direct financial gains, it would be found that the State railways had returned to the people in money values many times their cost, to say nothing of the moral, political, social, and civilizing values of an honest, open, enlightened, public-spirited management of the public highways.

Discrimination between individuals is unknown. Complete publicity is secured under State ownership and secret rebates or other unfair practises are impossible. No serious trouble with the "patronage" or other political difficulties have been experienced. There have been complaints at times about the lack of cars, the running of trains, etc., but "nothing which will compare with those constantly made both in Great Britain and in America."

President Hadley, of Yale University, who is opposed to government ownership, says: "In judging the railroad policy of Belgium by its results, all must unite in admitting that they are in many respects extraordinarily good. What their averages are, we have already seen. The passenger rates are lower than anywhere else in the world, except, perhaps, on some East Indian railroads. The freight rates are much lower than anywhere else in Europe. Nominally they are about the same as in the United States."

C. FRANCE

France did not adopt either the competitive theory of England or the State system of Belgium, but a sort of quasi-partnership between private companies owning and operating the roads, and the government contributing funds, guaranteeing dividends, exercising extensive supervision and control, providing for State participation in surplus profits, and reserving rights of purchase and revision on terms generally regarded as advantageous to the public.

The development of the French system was very slow. While England and Belgium, Germany and the United States were building railways, France was trying to overcome the inertia of private capital and reason out a proper plan of procedure in a long series of debates, 1833 to 1842, especially in the last six years of that period.

Nothing was settled till 1842, almost a decade after Belgium began to build her State lines. Then the government took the lead. A plan proposed by Thiers was adopted. A national railway system was to be built, the State undertaking the earthworks, masonry, and stations, and providing one third of the land. The departments (corresponding to our states) were bound to pay by instalments the other two thirds of the land cost, and the companies were to lay down the rails, maintain the permanent way, and find and work the rolling-stock. After forty years the whole was to revert to the State.

Nine great lines (seven radiating from Paris and two provincial) were laid out by first-class engineers on a carefully considered national plan, avoiding parallel lines and waste of capital. Public confidence was won. Roads were built, shares rose to 50 per cent premium, and by 1848 a total of 1,092 miles had been opened. The crisis of 1847–48 compelled the government to assume the operation of several of these roads in order to prevent the complete cessation of traffic.

Under Napoleon III. the railways were consolidated into six great systems, each with a distinct territory; their charters were prolonged to ninety-nine years from the date of the extension, and a complete system of government regulation and audit was provided. The amalgamation policy, extension of franchises, etc., stimulated railway building, and from 1851 to 1857 the railway mileage rose from 2,124 to 4,475 miles, or more than doubled. The building had been too rapid, and the panic of 1857, known as "the railway crisis of 1857," was the result. Construction practically ceased, and it did not revive even after the panic had passed. The companies had built the lines that gave promise of large profits. Each had a monopoly in its own district and did

not feel called upon to put out branch lines to develop outlying business, which must prove less profitable than the through traffic or the local business of the more populous routes their railways followed. This district monopoly is the main characteristic of the French railway system. England represents the theory of private competition and government regulation. The French idea is private monopoly and government regulation.

In 1883 new conventions with the big companies were made. The companies agreed to build 6,900 miles of new lines. The State agreed to pay for the new roads by annual instalments of about thirteen millions each for seventy-four years, or about the middle of the twentieth century, when the whole system reverts to the State. The distinction between old lines and new was given up; the State guaranteed each company a minimum dividend equal to the amount it had paid in preceding years; and the State's share in the profits was advanced from one half to two thirds of the amount available for dividends beyond certain high percentages fixt in the agreements. The minimum dividends guaranteed and the quasi-maxima beyond which the State comes in for a share are as follows:

	Guaranteed minimum per cent	High line beyond which State shares excess
Northern Railroad	13.5	22.1
Mediterranean Railroad	11.	15.
Orleans Railroad	11.1	14.4
Southern Railroad	10.	12.
Western Railroad	7.7	10.
Eastern Railroad	7.1	10.

At every step the railroads compelled the government to accord them some great advantage in return for the development of railway facilities required in the interest of the public. In 1842 they exacted a subsidy, in 1852 an extension of franchise, in 1859 a guaranty of interest on bonds, in 1883 a guaranty of dividends on stock.

Yet the companies are not happy, because the government keeps such a strict watch over them and insists on "prying into their private affairs." Every time-table and every tariff has to be approved by the minister of public works before it can go into effect. The government fixes maximum rates subject to the approval of the minister and the companies make whatever rates they please up to the maxima, which are very high—considerably above the actual rates the companies care to make in most cases. The minister must approve or reject a tariff as a whole. He has no initiative as to rates nor any detailed power of modification. He can recommend the changing of specified rates in any tariff proposed by a company, but cannot require the company to adopt his suggestions. If he refuses to accept a new tariff the old one continues in force.

The minister controls the location of new lines. He must approve all plans and may modify them at pleasure, and construction is not accepted till passed upon by the State engineers.

In no other country has so complete a system of public control and supervision of railways been developed, and yet the public is very much dissatisfied with the railways. No country, except Italy, is so full of railway complaints and of agitation for State ownership.

The International Company, corresponding to our Pullman Company, pays the railways 1.6 cents a mile for hauling its sleepers. It is the other way round with us, for our railways pay the Pullman Company 2½ to 3 cents a mile for the privilege of hauling the sleepers.

Another curious fact is that the French railways not only carry the mails free, but haul the government postal cars for .6 of a cent a mile while charging the Sleeper Trust 1.6 cents a mile. With us the railways pay the Sleeper Trust 2½ or 3 cents a mile and charge the government in many cases as high as 5 to 7 cents a mile for hauling railway postal cars in addition to excessive charges on the mail itself.

The French rates are very high, and, except on the best through trains, the service is very poor, according to our standards. In spite of the monopoly each road possesses in its district, all the big companies have agreed on passenger rates. The average passenger-mile rate is 34 per cent higher than in Germany, altho the average haul in France is about 30 per cent longer, so that the rate ought to be lower instead of higher. Large numbers of working people in Germany, nearly half the low-rate travel, go on fares to which 60 per cent must be added to get the lowest French rate, that for third-class travel.

Freights are also higher in France. The average haul is 30 per cent greater in France than Germany, and yet the average rate per ton-mile is 10 per cent higher.

Opinions differ about the extent of discrimination. One railway manager says: "There is no such thing in France. The criminal law is very severe, and it would mean imprisonment. There were complaints of favoritism a dozen years ago, but there have been none in recent years." But very different ideas are exprest by representatives of shipping interests and others. Here are some of their statements: "The railroads hold manufacturers and merchants at their mercy. They favor the great, and put the burdens on the little fellows. The tariffs are full of special rates, and 80 or 85 per cent of these rates are made simply for some favored merchant or manufacturer. It is true that complaints are not made. The danger is great. Where is the merchant who dare undertake a campaign against the great companies?" The statement of M. Cawes (vol. iv., p. 136, of the "Cours d'Économique Politique") is said to be still true: "The benefit of reduced tariffs is accorded upon secret approaches and solicitations; the companies dispense at their will industrial prosperity and ruin."

Results

The history of the State lines in France illustrates the excellent results that government management has achieved with roads wholly unsuccessful in private hands. The French Government undertook an exceedingly difficult task when it nationalized the Southern lines. The roads were bankrupt. They were badly located, in a poor region left by the Orleans and the Western roads because regarded as undesirable. For a long time the State system did not have any line to Paris. The State system lacks the big interests, the mines, the wine trade, etc., that so materially aid the income of the companies. And it has no great artery, national or interurban, between great cities. Yet, with all these difficulties,

the State lines have made a wonderfully good record. Both freight and passenger rates are considerably lower on the State lines than on the private roads for similar distances and traffic. Even the average rates per ton-mile and passenger-mile have been lower than the company average nearly all the time since the government took the roads. The State adopted from the start the policy of reducing rates as fast as possible, while the companies for many years maintained their rates substantially unchanged. In the first dozen years the government reduced freight rates 25 per cent and passenger rates 36 per cent, and the same policy has been continued to the present time. Yet the State has made a good profit because the business has developed greatly with the lowering of rates. The receipts per mile on the State lines rose 40 per cent in the first ten years, while the company's receipts per mile remained practically stationary. From 1884 to 1900 the receipts per mile rose 49 per cent on the State system and less than 8 per cent on the company lines, while the net earnings rose 139 per cent for the State road and only 10 per cent for the companies. (*Journal Official*, 1901, Ch. Annexes, Session Extraordinaire, p. 1125.)

The State put in more comfortable cars, was the first to heat cars of the third class, and the first to use steam from the locomotive for this purpose. This method was still an experiment in France in 1902, tho it had already been successfully used in Germany for a long time. The State roads are more democratic than most of the companies, carrying all classes on its express trains and giving third-class passengers better accommodations in every way. Care and safety are greater also on the government roads, as statistics abundantly prove. If brilliant and massive results are desired, the State system must be enlarged. But in the difficult sphere to which it has been confined, hedged about with limitations by nature and convention, it has done all and more than could have been expected of it, with its enlightened rate policy, its progressive initiative, its amelioration of the conditions of labor, and its fine record as to safety.

It is beyond question that the sentiment in favor of State operation is growing in France; that it is now regarded by many as the principal question before the country; and that action is probable at no very distant date if a way can be found that does not involve too much financial risk.

D. GERMANY

The first railways in Germany were private. In Prussia, whose history is of the most importance to us, railway building was left to private enterprise till 1848, the government assisting in some cases by investing in stock or guaranteeing a minimum of interest on the stock.

The period 1848 to 1862 was characterized by the building of State roads. Then came an era of speculation, 1863–77, during which many private roads were constructed. In 1878–79, after long experience with both public and private railways, a definite and final decision was reached in favor of State roads, and from that time on, by purchase and construction, the government has added to its railway system till now it has about nineteen twentieths of the total mileage, and it is only a question of time when it will have the other twentieth. In every one of the twenty-six states of the German nation the railways are either wholly, or almost wholly, in the hands of the government—30,520 miles out of a total of 33,070 being public roads and only 2,456 miles operated by private companies.

Commercial interests favored public operation of railways. In 1872, four years before Bismarck formed his national railway policy, the German Handelstag, representing the united chambers of commerce, petitioned for government management of all the railways to secure greater unity and efficiency and to stop the abuses of the private railways.

History

As in America so in Germany, overconstruction of railways on speculative ventures was a main cause of the crisis of 1873. It was substantially a railroad panic. The same year Lasker, a member of the Prussian Parliament, made serious charges in relation to the private railways. An investigation was ordered. The commission held fifty-six sittings, and the evidence and conclusions fill a thousand big quarto pages. The moral rottenness of the private railroads was fully exposed—the political pressure they used to get their franchises; the conscienceless discriminations they practised between persons and places; the arbitrary use of industrial power to build up one and tear down another; the absence of any effort to make rates either absolutely or relatively reasonable, except so far as public control may intervene; the abuse of power for private purposes; the utter disregard of the public interest wherever it conflicted with the private interest of the railways—all these tendencies or laws of action were revealed and masses of facts in relation to them brought to light. The commission reported in favor of an exclusive system of State railways, saying that it could not be realized at once, but "on economic considerations" and other grounds "such a system is the final goal to be striven for."

In 1874 Albert von Maybach became the head of the Government Railway Department. He was a man of great energy and resource, and thoroughly convinced that the unification and socialization of the railways was industrially and politically wise. He and Bismarck, the chambers of commerce, and other business interests worked together for this end. Political and commercial forces joined in the movement. The railway question in the seventies was the principal question in Germany, as it was till 1906 in Italy, and for a number of years preceding the referendum of 1898 in Switzerland, and is to-day in France and America.

State ownership was advocated mainly on economic and political grounds, military considerations being advanced also, but with nothing like the stress laid on the economic arguments.

It was urged that the railways should be managed solely in the public interest, and as a unit; that railways are frequently needed where they will not pay and where private enterprise will not build them; that, on the other hand, private enterprise wastes capital and labor, building unnecessary roads and running unnecessary trains; that the irregularity of private railway construction causes serious injury to industry, helping to bring on industrial and financial disturbance and ceasing just when its continuance is most needed for industrial relief; that the government alone can draw up a consistent plan of railway building, to extend through many years and to be executed gradually with due regard to the public

well-being, and find it even more profitable to push construction in times of depression.

The opposition was powerful. Objections were vigorously urged—substantially the same objections that are made in America to-day—that so great an extension of government employment would be dangerous; that political abuses would result; that sectional strife would paralyze the railroad system; that in the absence of competition the State roads would become non-progressive and inefficient; that private initiative and individual liberty were essential (meaning private initiative for private profit as distinguished from private initiative in public service), etc., etc.

In his great speeches in the Prussian Parliament Bismarck bore down all objections by appealing to experience with State railways in Prussia and other German states (some of which owned practically all their railways), and emphasizing the fact that State railways "served the public interest," and, "as a secondary consideration, aid the public treasury," while "it is the misfortune of private railways" that public highways and public functions "are exploited in behalf of private interests and private pockets."

The argument for State ownership submitted to the Prussian Parliament in 1879 by the cabinet, along with bills granting the power and means necessary for the purchase of four important railway systems and the extension of the State lines, is one of the most important railroad documents in the world.

Parliament gave the administration authority to purchase the principal private railways, passing the bill by a vote of 226 to 155, and the roads were bought. The government had a right to take the roads at twenty-five times the average net earnings for the preceding five years, but it preferred to come to an agreement satisfactory to the owners rather than to take the railways by compulsory process. Before negotiations were entered into with the companies, however, they were given to understand that it was for their own interest not to make exorbitant demands, as in that case the government would apply to them some of that competition they so much admired.

State Roads

The companies got full value plus, and the State made an excellent bargain; for the economies effected under State management "enabled the government to make a net profit of 1 per cent on the purchase" above the interest paid on the consols exchanged for the stock and on the 4½ per cent bonds of the companies which were transferred to the government.

Some of the principal results of public ownership and operation are as follows:

1. The abuses so much complained of under the private system do not exist in Germany. Unjust discrimination has ceased. There is absolutely no favoritism in the German railroads. Shippers are treated with perfect impartiality.

There are no free passes except for employees on railway business. Even the minister pays his fare, and the emperor, too. There are no secret rebates or open concessions, by commissions, elevator allowances, or mileage graft in private cars, no midnight tariffs, terminal railroad abuses, or expense-bill tricks, no underbilling frauds or classification favors, no fostering of trusts and monopolies, no long- and short-haul injustices, no basing-point system, no watered securities or gambling in railway stocks, no railway wars, no wasteful construction of competitive railways, no refusal to construct needed lines in rural districts, no disregard of safety nor postponement of public interest to private profit in any way, no excessive transportation charges on the postal service, no railroad rulers levying their private taxes on the commerce of the country, no railway nullification, evasion, or defiance of law, no railroad lobbyists either inside or outside of legislative bodies at the national capital or the state capitals seeking to corrupt or pervert legislation, no railway battles in the courts, no railroad senators.

2. Political influence does not enter into the administration nor into the employment of the men. The spoils system is unknown in Germany. No member of Parliament can get a friend or constituent work on the State railways through political influence. The man must be thoroughly fit and must prove his fitness by undergoing the civil-service tests, like any other candidate for employment. Even the minister cannot override the civil-service rules, nor can the emperor himself disturb the impartiality and efficiency of railway organization by the infusion of political influence into appointments.

President Hadley says that political difficulties have not been experienced in the administration of the Prussian railways, which he thinks "is chiefly due to the superb organization of the Prussian civil service." Prof. B. H. Meyer, one of the highest railroad authorities, especially in matters relating to foreign railways, and head of the Transportation Department in Wisconsin University School of Economics till 1905, when Governor La Follette called him to the Railway Commission of Wisconsin, says: "In the invidious American sense of the word, the Prussian railways are most emphatically not in politics. There are no paid lobbyists, no subsidized newspapers, no partizan publication bureaus, no 'rake-offs.'"

3. The German railway management is the most enlightened and efficient in Europe. This is the opinion of the large majority of all railway authorities in Europe, and many think the German management is the best in the world.

The safety attained on the German roads is one of their strongest titles to respect. We kill more people on our roads every week than are killed on the German roads in a year. Taking the averages per million for our railroads and those of Prussia, we find that the railways of the United States kill over six times as many and injure twenty-five times as many passengers as the Prussian roads, while our rate of employees killed is more than three times and of injured twenty times that of Prussia.

The management of the German roads is very progressive. Nowhere in the world is technical education carried to a higher point than in Germany, and nowhere else is technical training so insisted upon as a condition of entering the railway service. Expert engineers are constantly at work devising improvements, and commissioners are sent all over the world in the search for new ideas and methods.

Results

Altho a large profit is realized on the State railways, this is not the first aim of the management, but is regarded as subordinate to the efficient service of the public and the development of industry. And so well has this primary

purpose been fulfilled that the railway policy has been a very large factor in the astonishing industrial development of modern Germany, which has won the admiration of the world.

The profits of the German railways are very large, amounting to one third of the total receipts, and the net annual profits for the last ten years, after covering interest, depreciation, extensions, improvements, and sinking funds, have averaged between 5 and 6 per cent on the total cost.

The German railways treat their employees well; take every reasonable precaution against killing or maiming them; carefully avoid overworking them; pay them excellent wages according to the general wage level in Germany; pension them when their working-days are over, and make provision for their widows and orphans, and give them a share in the management of the roads through their right to help elect the representatives who finally determine the policy of the railways and the conditions of the railway service.

The crowning glory of the Prussian railway management in the employment department is a civil-service system. The higher employees must have a university education or graduate from a technical school before they take the State examinations for the railway service. Construction men, engineers, etc., must take a thorough technical course and then pass two State examinations, and before they take the second of these examinations they must have been in practise a number of years, eight to ten years' successful practise in private employment being the ordinary basis for the second examination. So the State railways get the cream of the technical skill of the country.

The Germans believe that whoever owns and operates a country's transportation system virtually owns the country; and that the public highway should be managed for the public benefit and not for private profit. This is the keynote of their railroad philosophy.

E. SWITZERLAND

Until the twentieth century the railways of Switzerland were in private hands. Now all the principal lines are owned and operated by the government except the St. Gothard, which is to be taken over in a few years when the franchise conditions permit.

The question of State purchase was first submitted to the people on a referendum vote in Dec., 1891, with the following result: For purchase, 130,500; against purchase, 290,000. In Feb., 1898, the question of national ownership of railroads was again submitted, a referendum being taken on an act providing for government purchase of the five main railroad lines of Switzerland (the Jura-Simplon, the Northeast, the Central, the Union, and the Gothard), with nearly four fifths of the total mileage of the country, or 1,758 miles, against 480 miles for all the rest of the roads ("secondary railways") combined. The question had been long and bitterly discust. The arguments pro and con had been thoroughly considered. This second vote was as follows: For national purchase, 384,382; against purchase, 176,511.

The most vital railroad abuses we suffer from were practically unknown in Switzerland. There was no fraudulent stock, no rebate system, no railroad lobby at the national capital. The best informed authorities in the universities, and even Dr. Zemp, the minister of railways, never heard of a case of discrimination; and political corruption had been very rare.

The battle was fought on the broad principle of the superior social, economic, and political value of public ownership of public utilities as compared with private ownership even when honest and efficient.

The opposition was very strong, but it did not spend its strength wholly in argument, by any means. Tremendous pressure was brought to bear wherever possible to prevent men from signing the petition for the referendum. It was even charged that foreign money was used to defeat both the petition and the affirmative vote at the polls, and that paid agents were employed to propagate the opposition. In some states or cantons even the influence of the State government was thrown against the measure.

The railway referendum petition was signed in a short time by 85,000 voters, 55,000 more than were necessary, or nearly three times the needful number.

Under the provisions adopted by government resolution in 1852 and substantially incorporated in the railway charters of that and subsequent years, the Federation might take the railways at stated times (the thirtieth, forty-fifth, sixtieth, etc., years of the franchise) on giving three years' notice, and paying twenty-five times the average net profits for the ten years preceding the announcement of purchase, or the construction value, whichever rule produced the larger sum in any case, deduction being made for any sum necessary to bring the road up to standard condition.

An agreement was reached with the Central in 1900, with the Northeast and Union in 1901, and with the Jura-Simplon in 1903. When the State took the control as little change as possible was made in the staff or the ranks of employees. The four railway systems were coordinated, including nearly the whole of the primary railways, in a one-government system. The Gothard is not to be taken over until 1909. Notice of purchase was given the road in 1904, and negotiations were opened with the subsidizing countries—Germany and Italy—to secure an agreement with them.

The service on the Swiss railways will not compare favorably with ours. Neither will their stores and factories for the most part, but the government railway service is better than the company service was in Switzerland.

The third-class cars, in which the bulk of the people ride, are cleaner and the speed is better than in many parts of France, and they are heated from the engine instead of using the hot-water bottles so common in third-class French and English cars.

Local conditions account for the fact that rates are high in Switzerland, not so high as they were under the company régime, but still higher than those in use in most other countries.

Results

The average ton-mile rate on goods traffic was 2.84 cents under the companies just before the transfer, and 2.64 cents in 1903, the first year of complete public management. These rates are high, but it must be remembered that they include the express; that Switzerland is a nest of mountains; and that the soil is poor, the resources small, and the traffic light. Remember, too, that there are no rebates or secret rates in Switzerland to cut down the average rate.

The average passenger rate was 1.54 cents a mile under company management and 1.35 cents

under public management. The third-class rates, on which about nine tenths of the people ride, average only a shade over a cent a mile (1.12 cents). Commutation tickets are sold for ⅝ of a cent a mile third class, and tickets for working men and school children are ½ of a cent a mile (1 cent a mile second class and 1¼ cents if you want to go first class, which is entirely unnecessary, as the other cars are very comfortable). Circular tickets are sold at low rates for touring the country. Monthly tickets can be had allowing you to travel without limit on any of the railways of Switzerland at $11 third class, $15 second, and $22 first. For a six months' ticket you pay $45, $59, or $104, according to class.

F. ITALY

Italy transferred her railways from private to public management July 1, 1905.

In the earlier years of railway development Italy tried various plans. The State built some roads and bought others. It tried State management, but on a small scale and under bad conditions. Down to the eighties most of the roads were owned and operated by private companies. Then came a period of State ownership with private operation under contracts reserving to the government more than a quarter of the gross receipts and providing for the annual payment of specified amounts per mile to reserve funds for renewal of track and rolling-stock.

From 1859 to 1870 the principal railways of Italy consolidated into four main systems—the Upper Italian, the Roman, the Eastern, and the Sicilian. The latter becoming bankrupt, the government had to choose between giving up the development of that part of the country or taking the railroads. In 1870 it chose the latter alternative, adopting State ownership of these lines with operation by a company receiving a percentage of gross receipts, the State paying all expenses and realizing a handsome deficit each year. In the seventies the government entered into contracts for the purchase of the Roman, Eastern, and Upper Italian systems, with the idea of State operation, but financial difficulties prevented the completion of the purchases until 1882. In 1876 the parliamentary idea turned toward private operation either by companies, paid by the government, it also paying the expenses and taking the risk and the profit (if there should happen to be one), or by companies paying the State for the use of the lines and taking what might be left for themselves, or by companies operating under some sort of expense-dividing, sliding-scale, profit-sharing arrangement.

In 1878 the whole question was referred to a commission which reported in 1881 in favor of leasing the roads on a sliding-scale division of gross receipts between the government and the companies. It opposed State management for Italy for several reasons: (1) The necessary funds were not available. The government had not been able to complete its purchases. The Eastern road was still unpaid for. Some 3,000 miles of new road in addition to the 5,000 miles then open were required and had been voted in 1879, but the work was languishing for lack of funds. (2) Political conditions were not adapted to State management. Politics would corrupt the railways; changes in rates would be made to influence elections. Political difficulties had been already experienced with the State roads in Italy. (3) State management appeared to be more costly than private, the percentage of expenses to receipts on the State railways of Belgium, Austria, etc., being higher than on the private systems.

The result was that contracts were made with two operating companies. The companies bought the rolling-stock owned by the State, and agreed to pay for ordinary repairs. For extraordinary repairs and renewals reserve funds were established. The State was to have about 28 per cent of the gross receipts and the companies 63 per cent or less if the receipts rose above a specified minimum. The contracts provided for low rates for agricultural products and for working men and school children, and stipulated that the railways should carry the mails free of charge. The term of contract was sixty years, with the right of termination by either party at the end of twenty years (1905) or forty years (1925).

The arrangement did not work well, and it worked worse and worse as time went on. The companies would not interpret the contracts liberally in the public interest, but insisted on the letter, and evaded even that. They disputed every point, and tedious litigation seemed to be specially delightful to them.

In 1906, the earliest date the government had a right to take the roads, Italy adopted State management, paying the companies for the rolling-stock and other movables. Recent witnesses state that the immediate or substantially immediate effects of the change were a decided improvement of the service, the running of trains more nearly on time than under the chronic and extravagant delays of the company régime, the raising of wages somewhat, the better treatment of employees generally, and the relief of commercial interests and of the public in general from the fear of railway strikes, which was a disturbing element under the company system.

G. AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

In Austria railways were not encouraged until 1838. Then the government authorized railway construction, guaranteeing each railway a monopoly in its district for its charter term. The State also proceeded to build lines of its own on a large scale. The revolution of 1848 put the government in financial straits, and it sold most of the State railways to help the treasury. After 1866 the growth of the private railways was very rapid, owing to speculative building. The usual collapse followed. "The railway speculation which ended in the crisis of 1873," says a high authority, "was perhaps more recklessly carried on in Austria than anywhere else in the world, and resulted in very great distress."

In 1877 the government returned to the State-ownership policy, and by purchase and construction built up a considerable system of public roads. In 1885 Austria had 2,000 miles and the companies 6,000; and Hungary had 2,000 miles of State railway and 3,000 miles of private road—a total of 4,000 miles of State roads and 9,000 miles of private. The statements of 1905 (for the year 1903) show 7,297 miles operated by the government in Austria against 4,985 in the hands of companies, and 9,207 miles operated by the government in Hungary against 1,861 miles operated by companies—16,504 miles for the State and 6,846 for the companies.

It has been the policy of the government to reduce rates, especially passenger rates, in order

to stimulate intercourse and also to scatter the people of the capitals into the suburbs. The zone system, which produced such a wonderful increase of traffic that it has become world-famous and well deserves its celebrity, was first introduced in Hungary in 1889, and attained its highest success there.

Zone System

Tickets are sold by zones, and are good for all stations within the same zone. The first zone runs from 1 to 15 miles, the next from 16 to 25 miles, and so on, the steps in making the bigger zones being longer, and beyond 140 miles all stations are included in the same zone. The rates are 10 cents third class on ordinary trains and 12 cents on express trains for each zone. If your journey takes you over 2 zones, as, from a station in zone 1 to a station in zone 3, you pay 20 cents (or 24 cents express). If you cover five zones you pay 50 cents (or 60 cents express), and you can go any distance for $1.60 (or $1.92 express). For local traffic special rates are made, 4 cents to the next station from where you are in the same zone and 6 cents to the second station.

For short distances the rate is about 1 cent a mile or less; for long distances it runs down to about ⅓ of a cent a mile. If we had the same rate here one could go from New York to Chicago for $3 instead of $20, and from New York to Philadelphia for 32 cents instead of $2.50. We cannot expect so much reduction, of course, because costs are greater here, but that difference does not require six to eight times higher rates.

The zone rates, as compared with the previous rates in Hungary, caused a reduction in fares of 82 per cent on the longest distances and 50 per cent on the medium distances, 60 to 200 miles. The average reduction in the charges per passenger was about 50 per cent on the whole traffic, and the stimulus to travel was so great that the business much more than doubled the first year, as is shown in the table:

	Passengers	Passenger receipts
Aug., 1888, to July 31, 1889.....	5,684,845	$3,800,000
Aug., 1889, to July, 1890.....	13,456,712	4,620,000

The simplification of the tariff was immense. Tickets are sold like postage-stamps at the post-office, hotels, etc.

In Austria also the zone system was an admirable success, but the rates were set too low at the start and some increase was necessary. The principal companies have also adopted the zone system under "soft pressure" from the government.

In addition to the zone tariff there is a system of excursion tickets and season tickets in books of 30 and 60 tickets each, at very low rates, amounting to about ⅓ to ½ of a cent a mile in many cases third class, and 1.2 cents first class—600 miles of travel for example for $2.68 third class and $5.36 first class, 1,200 miles for $4.80 third class and $10 first class, etc. Large discounts are made on weekly tickets for working men.

The zone idea is not applied as a complete system to freight traffic, but the principle of tapering rates, or lower mileage charges for long distances, is in use, and special rates are made as in Germany and Belgium; and agriculture, education, etc., are encouraged by very low rates. The farmers can buy transportation stamps and bill their goods at home by a very simple system.

There are no free passes or rebates or unjust discriminations on the State roads, and the government control over the private railways is so strong and the inspection so thorough that there is little chance for favoritism in their management either. The efficiency of the railway management does not appear to be interfered with by political influence. Premiums are given to engine-drivers, etc., for economy in fuel, etc., and to officers for getting locomotives out of repair shops quickly, so as to have them in service as continuously as possible.

The most interesting thing about the State roads is the purpose the management keeps in view. The Austrian minister of railways, in answer to a question as to purpose, said that they did "not aim at profit, but at the best possible service at reasonable cost." The Hungarian minister at the time the zone system was introduced with its great reductions in rates stated that the main reasons were "the economic and civilizing effects of such a reform." The government desired "the removal of the disadvantages attending long-distance travel because of its high cost, and the elimination of the element of distance so far as possible." The government aimed "to establish methods which would place the reduction within the reach of all and adapt them to the requirements of all classes of the entire population," and to adopt "a system that should contribute effectually to the development of traffic, and compensate, indirectly, for the sacrifice which the large reductions in the tariff would involve."

As it turned out, the anticipated financial sacrifice did not occur, but the fact that the motive was social, not financial, is none the less clear. The government policy is to use the railways as a means of civilization and unification. The civic and social benefits of such a policy can hardly be overestimated.

H. NEW ZEALAND

New Zealand nationalized her railways in 1870, and between $60,000,000 and $70,000,000 in land and money were appropriated for railway expansion and improvement in the next ten years. This for a community of 250,000 was a bold bid for development; equivalent in fact to an appropriation of $18,000,000,000 or $20,000,000,000 for public improvements in the United States to-day.

In 1887 a Conservative government, headed by Sir Harry Atkinson, put the railways in control of a commission or trust consisting of three members appointed by the governor for a five-year term and not removable except for misconduct. It was a commercial system, and its managers, during their five-year terms, were almost as much beyond the reach of the people as the managers of our private roads. The divorce between the people and their Parliament on the one hand and the railways on the other was complete.

The result was that the roads were run for profit; the rights of shippers and of labor were disregarded; even the public safety was poorly cared for, all for the sake of a pretty balance sheet. The commissioners were honest; there was no corruption, no secret rate-making or favoritism among shippers, no effort to make money for the managers themselves; but they looked at the roads from the standpoint of private business and the class interest of the big taxpayers so far as the making of a profit and the disregard of the people's wishes were concerned.

The Conservatives went out of power in 1890, and in 1893 the abolition of the commission was made an issue in the campaign, and the people, by an overwhelming majority, elected representatives pledged to put the roads under direct control of the minister of railways and the Parliament.

In 1894 this change was accomplished, and

since then New Zealand has had real public ownership and operation of her railways. Subject to excellent civil service regulations, and appeal boards that settle all difficulties between officers and employees, the roads are in the hands of the minister of railways and the general manager appointed by him, with the ultimate control in the elective government, which, in fact as well as in name, represents the whole people. The result is that the roads are no longer run for profit but for service.

The determination to give rate concessions as fast as the profits rise above 3 per cent has resulted in reductions of passenger fares and freight rates amounting, during the period of rising wages and general prosperity, from 1895 (when the roads came into public control) to 1902 (the last report at hand), to a sum equal to nearly half the total receipts in 1895, equivalent to $500,000,000 of railway reductions in the U. S., where, in these same years of prosperity, the private railways have been raising their rates instead of lowering them. While reducing passenger fares and freight rates by what the minister justly calls "a stupendous amount to have been given away in concessions by way of (voluntary) reductions to the users of the State railways," reductions amounting in some cases to as much as 20 or even 40 per cent in a single year on large classes of traffic; while seeking thus to develop the industries of the country to the utmost, the management has greatly improved the service, and carefully adjusted the railways to industrial and social needs. Railway construction is arranged so as to be most vigorous in dull seasons, taking up the disengaged labor that might otherwise be unemployed, helping to balance and steady the market, and enabling the State to build its roads at lower cost than if construction were mainly carried on at times of industrial pressure and high prices. In the farmer's busy season work on the railways is slackened so that men can go to the farms in the harvest time when extra hands are needed there. The roads are used at cost or less to redistribute the unemployed and to settle the people on the land. The Railway Department works in harmony with the Labor Department in securing work for the workers, and men are carried to points where their labor is needed, and, if necessary, their fares are advanced, and they may pay them back to the government from their earnings when they are able. A definite effort is made to relieve the congested quarters of the cities and attract the tenement dwellers to suburban homes.

Working men's tickets in and out from the principal points are sold at two shillings a week, or twelve rides for forty-eight cents, within any ordinary reasonable distance. Working men going ten or twelve miles out, as many do, travel about three miles for a cent, or a four-cent fare each way.

The railways are used to aid the cause of education. Children in the primary grades are carried free to school. Older children pay $2.50 to $5, according to age, for a three months' season ticket up to sixty miles. This gives them a possible 120 miles a day for three to six cents, in round numbers, or twenty to forty miles for a cent. If a child goes in and out six miles each day, he rides twelve miles for three cents. Excursions for school children are arranged in vacation time at the rate of fifty cents for a hundred miles out and back—200 miles for fifty cents, or four miles for a cent. For teachers and pupils above fifteen years of age the charge is $1 for the same distance. The minister figures that the department loses on these trips at four miles for a cent, but he justifies the low rates for school and factory excursions on the ground that "from an educational point of view very marked and beneficial results must follow," thus subordinating the lower forms of wealth to the higher.

This New Zealand record is of great interest, not only for the admirable illustrations of railway usefulness under the rule of enlightened public spirit in the last few years, but also for the experience of former years under the commission management, showing that abnormal or fictitious public control, or control by officers representing a class interest and beyond the reach of the people, may lead to results in many respects quite similar to those attained by private ownership and operation, and directly contrary to the effects of public control representing the whole people.

For other countries, see those countries.

III. Railway Problems

The principal railway problems cluster about the ideas and principles represented by the following terms: Combination, Discrimination, Monopoly, Overcapitalization, Stock-Gambling, Railway Politics, Safety, Service, and Employees.

1. COMBINATION

The tendency of combination in the railway world is strong. There have been about 5,000 railway companies in the United States. More than half of them have disappeared; a few of the roads being abandoned and some reorganized with change of name, but most of them merged, consolidated, leased, or otherwise absorbed and made a part of some other system. There are now a little more than 2,000 companies, between 800 and 900 of which are reported by the Interstate Commerce Commission as "independent companies." Most of these "independent roads," however, are banded together in six great groups or families—the railways of each group being dominated by one little knot of capitalists. These groups are known as the Vanderbilt, the Morgan-Hill, the Gould-Rockefeller, the Pennsylvania, the Harriman, and the Moore groups. The Pennsylvania group includes 280 companies, with 19,300 miles of road. The Vanderbilt system extends from Boston to the Missouri River and the Dakotas, including 132 companies and 22,000 miles of line, equal to the entire railway system of Great Britain and Ireland. The Morgan-Hill group covers the continent from New York to the Pacific, with 240 operating companies and over 50,000 miles of road, or more than the whole of the railways of Germany, and more than the entire mileage of the United Kingdom and France together.

The six giant railway systems dominate together over 90 per cent of the vital railway mileage of the U. S. And these six vast aggregations are themselves by no means independent, but are intertwined, affiliated, and coordinated with each other by the interlocking interests of their owners, common holdings, and overlapping ownership of shares, interrelations of boards of direction, and various agreements and understandings.

The Vanderbilts have an interest and control in the Reading jointly with the Pennsylvania, and the Morgan people also retain some interest in it,

tho they no longer dominate it. On the other hand the Lehigh Valley is part of the Morgan cluster, but both the Pennsylvania and the Vanderbilts have an interest in it. Four Baltimore & Ohio directors represent the Pennsylvania road, four represent the Harriman group, and two are appointed to represent the State of Maryland. The Chicago & Northwestern, which is a Vanderbilt road, has on its board one of the leading Harriman men of the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific boards. J. P. Morgan, head of the Morgan group, is a director in the New York Central, the controlling company of the Vanderbilt system. William Rockefeller, representing still another group, is also a director in the New York Central. George J. Gould, head of the Gould system, is a director in the Union Pacific and in the Southern Pacific, both of which belong to the Harriman group. E. H. Harriman, president of the Union Pacific & Southern Pacific, is on the board of directors of the Northern Pacific and of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy, which are Morgan-Hill lines.

Mr. Moody, our highest Wall Street authority on trusts and combinations, says in his book, "The Truth About the Trusts":

> The Pennsylvania Railroad interests are on the one hand allied with the Vanderbilts, and on the other with the Rockefellers. The Vanderbilts are closely allied with the Morgan group, and both the Pennsylvania and Vanderbilt interests have recently become the dominating factors in the Reading system, a former Morgan road, and the most important part of the anthracite coal combine, which has always been dominated by the Morgan people. Furthermore, the Goulds, who are closely allied with the Rockefellers, are on most harmonious terms with the Moores of the Rock Island system, and the latter are allied in interest quite closely with both the Harriman and the Morgan groups. . . . The dominating men in the Morgan group are also important factors in the Gould, Pennsylvania, and Moore groups; and the Rockefeller-Gould interests are represented to a greater or less degree in every group, and also in most of the "independent" allied lines. The whole aggregation thus makes up a gigantic "community of interest" or Railroad Trust, being allied together by most remarkable and intricate ties of interdependence and mutual advantage. While nominally controlled by 2,000 corporations, the steam-railroads of the country really make up a mammoth transportation trust, which is dominated by a handful of far-seeing and masterful financiers. . . . Not only do these financiers dominate their respective groups, but, as stated above, the most important of them, such as Rockefeller, Morgan, Harriman, Gould, and Vanderbilt, are interested in and more or less dominate all the groups, and in this way knit together the entire railroad system of the country into this greater "community" or "trust." The superior dominating influence of Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Morgan is felt in greater or less degree in all the groups.

In the great railway groups and the stupendous Railroad Trust they are developing, the tendency is toward the concentration of control in fewer and fewer hands. Not only are railways absorbed by the wholesale, consumed more rapidly than they are produced, and the resulting systems gathered into enormous groups, but inside these systems and groups the movement is toward one-man power.

Already, as I am informed by a leading member of the U. S. Interstate Commerce Commission, half a dozen men can meet and practically determine the transportation rates for the country. And the forces of integration and industrial gravitation that have operated so powerfully in the past are not likely to stop even with this high degree of centralization.

"In Chicago," says Spearman, "the five men who in authority that is absolute are traffic directors of two thirds of the U. S. may be found almost every day within a few moments' walk of each other." [1]

[1] "Strategy of Great Railroads," p. 163.

If these movements, the merging of railways into great systems, the gathering of these systems into giant groups, the interlocking and coalescence of these groups, and the progressive narrowing of control in each constellation of capitalists, continue to the limit, there will be in time a railway empire in this country dominated by a single man. The Railroad Trust may never reach this degree of concentration, but the most strenuous devotee of decentralization and compulsory competition must admit that the coming of such an aggregation, viewed from the standpoint of existing conditions and tendencies, cannot be deemed so unlikely as the present concentration would have seemed to railway men, statesmen, or economists fifty years ago.

Government consolidation does not bring these dangers. The consolidated railways are managed, as we have seen above, by men who are trustees for the people and responsible to them. In America the tendency is to weld the roads into an empire, a consolidation under a management responsible to a few gigantic stockholders, dominated at last perhaps by a single autocrat, a czar of all the railways.

The motives that impel men to build these giant combines by consolidation or coordination relate partly to the economies and transportation benefits of union, and partly to the personal profit and power of those who control the combines. The first motive and its consequences are in line with the public good. In so far as combination eliminates the wastes of conflict and secures the benefits of harmonious cooperation in the railway service, it is a gain to the community. But in so far as it conduces to the financial ascendency of Wall Street and intensifies the commercial supremacy and industrial dominion of a few great capitalists, it is a political, industrial, and social danger. The railways united form a much more extensive interest than the government from an economic point of view; already they outrank our state governments and dominate the political affairs of sovereign commonwealths, and as a unit in the hands of a gigantic trust they might even overshadow and control the national government itself.

2. DISCRIMINATION

More than sixty different forms of railway favoritism are on record in the evidence brought out by various suits in our state and federal courts, and in hearings before the Interstate Commerce Commission.

For a full account of these various forms of discrimination the reader must be referred to "The Heart of the Railroad Problem," published by Little, Brown & Co., of Boston. Only a few of the many kinds of railroad discrimination can be illustrated here.

One of the most prevalent discriminations is the charging of higher rates for a short haul than for a longer distance. A few cases will make the subject clear:

> From Pittsburg to Colorado the rate on rails was found to be $1.60, while the rate all the way through to San Francisco was only 66 cents. From Pueblo to San Francisco, 1,559 miles, the rate on bar iron and on rails was $1.60 per hundred, while from Chicago to San Francisco, 2,418 miles, the rates were 50 cents on bar iron and 60 cents on rails; and even from New York to San Francisco the same rate of 60 cents was made for rails.
>
> The Denver merchant pays $2.24 per hundred on goods from Boston, while the same trains carry the same sort of goods all the way from Boston to San Francisco, a thousand miles farther west than Denver, for $1 per hundred. In

other words, Denver pays over twice as much as San Francisco for two thirds of the distance.

Mr. Kindel has been driven out of the manufacture of upholstering goods and of spring beds in Denver because of similar differences. He also wished to manufacture albums in Denver, but was forced to locate in Chicago because the freight rate on books from Chicago to San Francisco was $1.75 per hundred, and from Denver to San Francisco $3, while the Denver manufacturer had to pay 97 cents freight on his raw material (paper, etc.) from Chicago to Denver—$3.97 total against $1.75 for the manufacturer located at Chicago.

Spokane supplies another illustration of place discrimination. For example, the dealer in paints and oils at Spokane must pay $1.21 a hundred from Chicago against 90 cents from Chicago to Seattle, 250 miles farther west. The Spokane dealer pays $93 more freight per car than the Seattle dealer pays for 250 miles more transportation.

The rate on bar iron from Chicago to Spokane is $2.07 a hundred against $1.25 to Seattle; iron pipe $1 to Spokane, 50 cents to Seattle; lamps $2.35 to Spokane, $1.10 to Seattle; belting $3.13 to Spokane and $1.65 to Seattle; mining-car wheels $1.26 to Spokane and 85 cents to Seattle; cottons $1.75 to Spokane, 90 cents to the coast; soap (toilet) $1.23 to Spokane, 75 cents to coast cities; wire and wire goods $2.35 to Spokane, $1.50 to the coast; sewing-machines $2.25 to Spokane, $1.40 to the coast; typewriters $5.96 to Spokane, $3 to the cities of the coast.

In general the rates from the East to Spokane are the through rates to the coast plus the local rates from the coast back to Spokane.

The preference which Tacoma, Seattle, etc., have over Spokane is about 80 per cent, which has proved quite sufficient to enable dealers on the coast to ruin some important business interests of Spokane.

Iowa supplies another excellent illustration of the grievous place discriminations practised by the railroads. Iowa's farmers are asking why they should have to pay 50 to 100 per cent more for shipping their products than the Nebraska farmers who live several hundred miles farther west.

In the South many complaints have been made of a railroad method called the "basing-point system," which rests on the same principle of discrimination in favor of competitive railway points that is in vigorous use in all sections of the country. The railroads name certain towns as distributing centers and competing points, fix the rates to and from these points, and make rates to and from other localities by adding to such through rates the local charges in force between the distributing centers, or "basing points," and said other localities.

The commission says, "Our annual reports to Congress and reported decisions in cases have uniformly condemned this distributing-center theory of rate-making, but the Southern carriers have resisted our efforts to correct the practise," and the courts have refused to compel them to obey the orders of the commission, holding that differences of condition created by the railroads themselves are insufficient to take the case out of the law, a ruling that practically destroys all the strength of the long-haul clause.

Rebates constitute another of the principal forms of railway discrimination. The word is used in railway literature in two different meanings. In the narrow sense it means a sum of money paid back to a favorite shipper as a refund upon his freight rate. In the broad sense it means any sort of favoritism—any concession or preference that accomplishes the same purpose as a refund on freight rate—any unjust discrimination that gives one shipper or certain shippers an unfair advantage over others.

Years ago, A. J. Cassatt, of the Pennsylvania Railroad, testified that in eighteen months the Standard Oil had received $10,000,000 in rebates, and recently Secretary Garfield has reported to President Roosevelt that the Oil Trust is still receiving from the railroads large amounts in rebates.

Investigations by the Interstate Commerce Commission, Dec., 1901, and Jan., 1902, took the lid off of the drest-meat business sufficiently to show that the Pennsylvania and Vanderbilt lines and other roads were giving the big packers discounts of five to seven cents a hundred from the published rates. These rebates of 15 to 30 per cent amounted to $200,000 or $240,000 a year on the Michigan Central, according to the traffic manager of that road, and Paul Morton, of the Santa Fé, when asked by Commissioner Clements, "Can you tell how much you paid in a year on this business? Have you any idea whether it is $50,000 or $100,000?" replied, "I think there was a great deal more than any sum you name paid out."

A Massachusetts legislative investigation of the Boston & Albany in 1900 revealed the fact that favored shippers were getting reductions of 10 to 73 per cent from the published rates, while others, some of them doing considerable business, got no discounts at all but paid the full tariff. The reductions from published rates averaged 40 per cent. The receipts per ton-mile on all classes of freight were less than one half the average of the published rates to the various stations on the road for the cheapest class of freight, viz., coal. And the lowest published local rate on coal was higher than the average rate on all commodities.

From time to time the railroads have declared that they had stopped rebates and discriminations. They said so in 1887 when the Interstate Commerce Act went into force; they told the commission the same thing in 1898 and at other times of special investigation; they took their oaths to it again in 1905; railroad presidents and managers by the car-load going to Washington to testify that since the Elkins Law took effect (Feb. 19, 1903) rebates and discriminations had ceased.

But James J. Hill and Victor Morawetz and other leading railroad men declared that rebates and discriminations had not ceased and never would cease. The Elkins Law did not even pretend to touch the multitudinous and grievous discriminations between places, a few examples of which have been given above; the great mass of discriminations by expense bill, classification, commissions, underbilling, fictitious claims, terminal tracks, icing charges, etc., went merrily on, and even the direct cash rebate remained in vigorous use, the testimony of railroad men to the contrary notwithstanding.

Governor La Follette unearthed more than $7,000,000 of rebates in Wisconsin, a large part of which were of later date than the Elkins Law. In fact the total rebates paid the year after the Elkins Law went into effect were greater than the total for the year before. For example, the Northwestern Railroad jumped from $212,075 rebates in 1902 to $410,476 in 1903, mostly after the Elkins Law took effect (Feb. 19th). The officials of this road, like those of many other roads, had affirmed that rebates had ceased, but when the lid was taken off the facts did not agree with their statements.

The fact is that a much larger number of complaints of discrimination have been made to the Interstate Commerce Commission in the last few years, since the Elkins Law was passed, than in any equal period before.

The average number of complaints per year from 1887 to 1902 inclusive was 186, while the yearly average for 1903–5 is 534—more than double, nearly threefold in fact—and five sixths of the suits entered charge facts that constitute discrimination of serious character, and nearly all the rest involve discrimination in some form.

Private cars owned by shippers or car-line companies constitute another favorite means of discrimination. The railways pay the Standard Oil, the Armour Car Trust, and other owners of private cars mileage rates on their cars, which serve the same purpose as a rebate.

The earnings of an Armour refrigerator-car range from $1 to $2 a day from mileage alone, and the mileage payments even at $1 a day are sufficient to pay the whole cost of the car in three years and its maintenance in the meantime.

A railroad pays twenty cents a day for every day it uses a car belonging to another railroad, but for a private stock car the railroad pays on an average sixty cents a day, and for a private fruit or dairy car it pays $1 or more. Private stock cars in some cases net their owners 50 per cent a year on the invested capital, repaying the cost of the cars in two years, above operating expenses.

In addition to the mileage, the railroads pay the car-line commissions of 10 and 12½ per cent in some cases, repair the cars, bill shipments 25 to 30 per cent or more below their real weight, and issue annual passes to the owners and their agents.

With these advantages the owners of private cars are able to control a vast amount of business besides their own by offering a share of the mileage receipts and other inducements to large shippers. Having gained control of the refrigerator business the Armour car lines advanced the icing charges to ordinary shippers from 50 to 100 per cent, thus still further emphasizing the discrimination between big and little shippers.

Another method of preference without departing from published rates is the division of rates

with private terminal companies or mere switching roads, or roads existing only on paper.

Take for example the Hutchinson salt case (1903). There are sixteen salt-mills in Hutchinson, Kan., nine of which are combined in what is known as the Salt Trust. The rest are independent. The president of the Salt Trust was Joy Morton, brother of Paul Morton, who was head of the traffic department of the Santa Fé Railroad. The Salt Trust owns some switch tracks around the mills amounting in all to less than a mile of track. They incorporated this as a railroad company and asked for a division of rates. The Santa Fé gave the trust railroad 25 per cent of the through rates, equivalent to a rebate of fifty cents a ton on shipments to Missouri River points, so that the trust was enabled to drive the independents out of those markets and take their packing-house contracts away from them.

The Harvester Trust's works in Chicago have some Lilliputian switching railroads to which the big roads gave a 20 per cent division of rates so that the vest-pocket trust roads get about $12 on an ordinary car for a switching service which, till the end of 1903, they performed at a charge of $1 to $3.50 per car.

The Illinois Steel Company, now owned by the Steel Trust, also has one of those railways which has a division of 10 per cent on business to New York and other seaboard points, 15 per cent to Pittsburg, Buffalo, and other middle points, and 20 per cent on traffic to the Missouri River. These divisions amount to $6 to $12 a car for the switching service performed by the private road. Besides this, certain special divisions are made. On coke from the Connellsville region, for example, a division of 70 cents per ton is allowed. This gives the little switch road $700 to $1,000 for hauling a train of coke seven miles from Indiana Harbor to its plant in South Chicago, while the actual cost would not exceed one tenth of this sum.

The trust railroad in this case makes a net profit of 150 per cent a year upon its capital stock of $650,000. How much the Steel Trust as a whole gets in this way through all the private railroads connected with its various plants is not known; but the commission says it is certainly a "sum sufficient to pay dividends on several millions of dollars of capitalization."

Other terminal railroad cases showing similar favoritisms are recorded by the commission. The fact appears to be that almost any shipper big enough to have a few hundred yards of switch track can get a rebate in the form of a division of rates. But some big shippers can get a much larger division than others, and some have not been able to get any division. Even the giants are not all treated with equal favor by any means.

Besides the kinds of discrimination above described, there are a great many other methods in vigorous use upon our railways, such as gifts of stock, tips on the market, elevator commissions, and compress fees; commissions to favored shippers as tho they were agents of the company to secure for it their own freight; salaries to favored persons as nominal employees, or fees for fictitious services; high salaries or commissions to a real traffic agent who will divide with the favored shipper; free cartage for certain shippers; free storage; unfair distribution of cars; delay of shipments; refusal of facilities or privileges accorded to others; special switches; extra speed; milling in transit rates; credit on payment of freight at destination; arbitrary routing of shipments; refusal to deliver at a convenient point; refusal to receive shipments from or to certain persons or places; false billing; underbilling weight; billing wrong number; false description; false destination; fictitious entries in the prepaid column of the freight bill; payment of fictitious claims for damage or overcharge; intentional mistakes in printing tariffs, a few copies being run off for favored shippers after which the "mistakes" are discovered and corrected for the ordinary shipper and the Interstate Commission; the "straw-man" fraud, or billing to a fictitious consignee in whose name the drawback is arranged when the goods are rebilled to the true consignee; the "expense-bill" system, or billing at reduced rates on the fiction of uniting the present shipment out with some former shipment in to get the benefit of a through rate; unfair classification and unreasonable differences in the rates on different commodities; loans to dealers in consideration of shipments; guaranty by the railroad against loss upon shipments; excessive difference in the rates for large and small shipments, or for shipments in different form—barrels and tanks for example; favoritism in switching charges, demurrage, storage, etc.; direct overcharges; annoying and expensive litigation; carrying goods without any charge at all or any record of the transit. Mr. Davis, representing seventy fruit associations of Chicago, told the Senate committee (1905) that large amounts of freight are systematically shipped without any billing or paying of freight, and Commissioner Prouty says: "I knew some years ago that a whole train-load of wheat was transported from Minneapolis to Chicago for nothing. There was simply no record of that shipment on the books of the railroad."

Secrecy

Secrecy is the main defense of the rebate system. The motives for discrimination are strong, the power to discriminate is great, the methods are legion, and secrecy foils the commission and the law. Neither the railroads nor favored shippers will tell the truth as a rule even on the witness stand, and other shippers for the most part dare not testify against the railroads even when they chance to have definite evidence of violations of law.

There is nothing like our railway favoritism in any other country. Everywhere in Germany, Denmark, Belgium, Austria-Hungary, etc., I found the government railroads absolutely free from unjust discriminations. The same is true of the government roads in the Anglo-Saxon colonies of Australasia and South Africa. The reasons are that the main motives to discrimination are eliminated, that much fuller publicity is possible, and that railway managers are employed by an authority that is opposed to discrimination and will discharge them if they are found to be breaking the law, instead of being engaged by an employer that asks only for profit and will approve and promote the manager if he wins that, whether through discrimination and breach of the law or not.

Government roads are not in the hands of men whose economic interests and business ethics command secret discrimination and evasion of law, but in the hands of public managers who would be traitors to the business ethics of their position as well as to the law if they broke the law or tried to defeat or evade inspection and publicity.

3. FOSTERING MONOPOLY

Our railways foster monopoly directly and indirectly. By consolidation and combination they are building up numerous monopolies in the railroad field, and by concessions to favored trusts and combines like the Standard Oil, the Beef Trust, the Sugar Trust, etc., they help to build up vast monopolies in manufactures and commerce. The Standard Oil monopoly was directly created by railroad rebate. The Beef Trust is another excellent illustration of a giant monopoly that owes its creation to the fostering care of railway discrimination.

A distinguished railway officer writing in the *Outlook* says:

It is estimated that $500,000,000 have been converted into the treasuries of various trusts since 1887 by means of rebates and other forms of favoritism, and that "present conditions

promise not an abatement but an expansion of the methods by which this diversion may continue."

The formation of vast industrial trusts began in 1872, when the anthracite coal combination was formed by an alliance of producers and carriers and when the interests which compose the Standard Oil Trust first began to work in harmony with each other and use the power of their railroad allies to clear the field of competitors. To-day there are 450 to 500 trusts, with an aggregate capitalization, including the railroad and other franchise trusts, of something like $20,000,000,000. And still more trusts are forming and the limits of existing trusts are being extended and their interlocking interests increased and intensified. They are reaching out after the land, and the control of market, labor, and raw materials. They are establishing international relationships aiming to monopolize the globe in their lines of business. And they are joining hands with each other.

On the whole the situation seems to be this: The railways and other big franchise monopolies are coordinating with the great commercial combines into a gigantic machine controlled by a few financiers and created to manufacture or capture profit for them. Events are moving toward a consolidation of interests that will give a handful of capitalists practically imperial power through the vastness of their industrial dominions. There may be breaks in the movement, probably will be, but the integration of industry seems likely to continue in spite of strenuous efforts to prevent it by statutes and decisions. The Sherman Law and the antipool and anti-trust decisions have done nothing but change the forms and methods of union. So long as men are free to buy stocks and properties, and may consult with each other and act upon their conclusions, combinations will go on.

And the railways are generally regarded as forming the basis of the structure, or a large part of it. I have met with this opinion all over the U. S. and in some other countries.

The problem of private monopoly is one of the most serious questions before the American people, but in its relation to the railways it is rather a derivative than a primary problem, since it is the result of combination and discrimination.

4. OVERCAPITALIZATION

To railroad men from Germany, Denmark, Belgium, and other countries where the railroads are public property, nothing in our railway system is more astonishing—not even our railway favoritism and railroad politics—than the exhaustless freedom with which we allow our railroad manipulators to water and inflate the capitalization on which the people must pay dividends and interest. Here are some examples:

About 200 per cent of water was early injected into the stock of the New York Central and 177 per cent into the Hudson River Railway shares in a few years, altho there was already what many would regard as a sufficient quantity of water in the roads before turning on the hose.

By means of successive stock dividends and consolidation premiums as high as 80 and even 85 per cent at a single stroke of the syringe, the stock of the two roads trebled from 1867 to 1870, and the total capitalization shot up from $54,000,000 of stock and indebtedness in 1866 to more than $103,000,000 in 1870. Even this does not tell the whole story. The evidence is that the book value of the roads in 1870 was only $60,000,000 and their real value less than $40,000,000, while the actual amount paid into the treasuries of the companies for the whole mass of the stocks and bonds was probably below $16,000,000, the rest of the construction value having been got out of the public, in addition to the interest and dividends, by means of excessive rates. So the bonds nearly covered the value paid in and the $90,000,000 stock was practically all water.

A great railroad man said many years ago that "the Vanderbilt stock-waterings between New York and Buffalo annually cost the American people not less than $3,000,000 in excess of all remuneration which even under any construction of right belonged to the owners of the lines."

Other railroads have surpassed this. The New York Central in 1869 reported a cost of $63,306 per mile (and this included the bonuses, premiums, commissions, and fictitious equalization values of the transfers, etc.), while the main stem of the Erie Railway, extending 460 miles, from New York to Dunkirk, reported a capitalization of $237,000 per mile in the same year. The actual cost, it is said, did not probably exceed one fifth of this amount. In other words, about 80 per cent of the capital was water, and the commerce of the country was taxed to pay dividends on over $80,000,000 of fictitious values.

In the first four months after Gould and Fisk came into control of Erie (July to Oct., 1868) the stock was increased $23,500,000, lifting the total to $57,766,300. In these four months and the four months preceding them, under a vote of the board of directors in practical evasion of the law, through the issue of bonds convertible into stock upon demand, the stock was increased $33,536,300, or 138 per cent, in eight months. "Such a process of inflation," says the historian of Erie, "may, perhaps, be justly considered the most extraordinary feat of financial legerdemain which history has yet recorded."

In the eight years from 1863 to 1871 Erie stocks were jacked up from $11,569,500 to $86,535,700, mainly for the purpose of manipulating Wall Street.

The stock was sold below par, a good deal of it for twenty to forty cents on the dollar, and the larger part of the money went into the pockets of the directors or was used for corrupt purposes in New York and Albany.

In 1880, when the capitalization was $135,000,000, a New York legislative committee, from the testimony of experts, estimated the value of the Erie road at $65,000,000.

There are other sorts of inflation which find ample illustration in some of our best systems. The Pennsylvania Railroad, for example, claims $193,000,000 as the cost of its 1,085 miles of road with all its equipment and the full value of its terminals and real estate, Jan. 1, 1905, while the total capitalization of the Pennsylvania road is $418,000,000. What is the meaning of this great difference of $225,000,000 between cost and capitalization? It means simply that the Pennsylvania Railroad has issued about $220,000,000 of its own securities for the purchase of the stocks and bonds of other corporations, mostly railroads, the cost of these securities being reported at $219,581,161. This method of purchasing the securities of one company or a group of companies by the issues of the stocks and bonds of another company results in counting a vast mass of railroad securities twice in the total capitalization of a railway system. The real values represented are counted once in the capitalization of the purchasing road and again in the capitalization of the roads in whose securities it has made investments.

This duplication is not by any means the end of the process. The Pennsylvania Railroad, for example, owns a large amount of stock in the Reading Company, and that company, in its turn, holds $197,000,000 of value in the stock and bonds of other companies: $40,000,000 in the Philadelphia & Reading Railway, $87,000,000 in the Philadelphia & Reading Coal & Iron Company, and $70,000,000 in stock and bonds of some fifty-three railroad companies and a few other companies, including practically the whole capital stock of the Reading Iron Company. The Philadelphia & Reading Railway Company with its $90,000,000 of capital controls many subsidiary companies. The Reading Iron Company, of whose board of directors George F. Baer, president of the Reading system, is chairman, is to some extent an enigma. Poor says: "No official information can be obtained respecting this company; all requests therefor having been refused." But the fifty-three railroad companies above referred to have clear relations in respect to the matter under consideration. All or nearly all of them own stock in still other lines and carry the overlapping of securities still farther. For example, the Central Railroad of New Jersey (of whose stock the Reading Company owns 53 per cent) has altogether $78,000,000 of capitalization and owns $30,000,000 of the stocks and bonds of other companies, and "so on down." If anybody could take a year off for the purpose he might find out how much duplication, triplication, quadruplication, etc., there is hidden under the serene surface of the Pennsylvania Railroad capitalization. All the roads named in this paragraph are operating companies with separate boards of directors, and their stocks and bonds are counted in the general summaries of railroad capitalization in the U. S.

The Illinois Central Railway illustrates another method of inflation. The cost of the road as reported by the company in 1873 was $48,331 per mile. Of this $4,930 per mile is all that was contributed by the owners above their receipts; the receipts from land grant sales amounting to $35,211 per mile, and stock-waterings amounting to $8,189 per mile. The unsold land grant amounted to 344,368 acres, worth probably over $5,000,000, so that those to whom the securities of the company were issued had obtained the road at a bonus of nearly $2,000,000 above all they paid in.

The recent reorganization of the Chicago & Alton (1899) is a forcible illustration of one of the commonest methods of inflation. The old management had been extremely conservative and had never watered the stock. The road was capitalized at about $30,000,000, or a little more than $30,000 per mile. In the year just named the road was bought by a syndicate which paid $175 a share for the common stock and $200 a share for the preferred stock, making a total cost of $40,000,000 for the $22,000,000 of stock, while the bonds became $54,000,000 in place of $8,000,000, the reorganization lifting the capitalization at once from $30,000,000 to $94,000,000.

In the testimony before the U. S. Industrial Commission an effort was made to justify this vast infusion of water, $46,000,000 beyond all the syndicate paid, doubling market values and tripling total face values, on the ground that the company had been earning over $3,000 a mile and paying regular dividends of 7 and 8 per cent, and that it would not have to earn any more than it did before in order to pay interest and dividends on the new capital. The commission, however, did not agree with this view, saying: "It seems clear that the doubling of the capital stock and the increasing of the bonded debt nearly sevenfold must impose a burden upon rates that will tend to prevent any reduction which might otherwise naturally take place, and afford a convenient reason for refusing to advance wages."

Some of the worst cases of inflation have been due to construction frauds, or excessive payments to construction companies controlled by the same men who controlled the railways contracting with the construction rings for the building of the roads. The Pacific railways furnish some of the most famous instances of this sort. The Union Pacific paid $94,000,000 for construction which cost $51,000,000; the construction ring of the Central Pacific made a profit of $62,000,000; and the promoters of the Northern Pacific, through unfair construction contracts and other frauds, made the capitalization of the 600 miles of that line constructed down to 1874 amount to $143,000,000 on an actual expenditure of $22,000,000.

The whole capitalization piled on the Union and Central roads was $240,000,000, so that, taking the three roads together, a capitalization of more than $383,000,000 was created on lines costing less than $132,000,000, about $250,000,000, or nearly two thirds of the capitalization, being fictitious.

Another way in which railway capital becomes inflated is the failure to eliminate dead capital from the system. Like other monopolies and semimonopolies, our railroads appear to think that capital has a claim to immortal life; and they are very much averse to writing off depreciation so as to keep capitalization down to the cost of duplication, as a manufacturer or producer in the competitive field is obliged to do. Each time a railroad system is rebuilt, the cost of the new system is added to the former cost, and the public has to pay dividends not only on the value of the existing road, but also on the old roads that have gone out of existence. If this process is continued, the railroads of the thirtieth century will be drawing interest and dividends on railroad capital that died in the twentieth century or the nineteenth century, and the men who own the railways may take the U. S. in part payment and sue for the rest of their interest claims. If it had not been for panic years and the intervention of insolvency proceedings in respect to many railways, we should have had a sky-scraping capitalization already from this one cause without any help from stock dividends, consolidation, etc.

In its final report, 1902, the U. S. Industrial Commission states that out of $457,000,000 increase in railroad capitalization in 1900, only $120,000,000 could be explained by new construction, the other $337,000,000, or nearly four fifths of the whole, being due almost entirely to sudden expansions in securities, in processes of reorganization and consolidation. The commission further notes that the new issues for the first half of the following year to the end of the time covered by the evidence before them amounted to $300,000,000, largely explainable in the same way.

Inflation of capital is regarded by many as a species of robbery. It is one of the most seductive methods of getting something for nothing which has yet been invented. The corporations and monopolies of America are greater sinners in this line than are to be found in any other country, and so far in most of our states little has been accomplished in the way of checking this evil.

5. STOCK-GAMBLING

Railway stocks constitute the backbone of speculation in Wall Street and corresponding centers of speculation in other cities. Panic after panic has been precipitated in Wall Street by the struggles of rival buyers to control the stock of some railroad. In 1901, for example, the stock of the Northern Pacific was forced up to $1,000 a share, and one of the worst panics of recent years was the result. Those in control of railroads can easily make large sums by manipulating stocks so as to affect their values.

Railroad magnates are under great temptations to use their power for speculative purposes. By passing a dividend or paying small dividends or suddenly flushing the market with stocks, diverting earnings in commissions to favored concerns or otherwise, or beginning a rate war, or by other means, they can depress quotations. By paying large dividends out of capital if need be, or having their brokers buy for each other at advanced prices, or booming the stock in other ways, they can lift quotations. They know in advance of the public important facts that will depress or elevate values as soon as they are published, such as railway consolidations, leases or other agreements, additional franchises, good or bad showing of earnings, legislative action, and even foreign complications. If they control two or more lines between competing points, they can, by changing rates or otherwise, divert large amounts of traffic at will to either route, and so affect stock values. They can buy large blocks of stock at low rates, force the stock up, and sell at top prices. They can have many brokers, acting for them, take contracts for the future delivery of vast quantities of stocks they control or concerning which they have inside information so that they know the stocks will rise, and when the delivery is called for the persons who agreed to deliver must pay over the difference between the market quotations at the dates of agreement and the quotations at the time fixt for delivery. Or they can have their brokers sell short, knowing that the stocks will fall either because of their intended manipulations or because of facts not known to the purchasers.

Our railway system as a whole must not be deemed fraudulently speculative. Stock-jobbing is not the main purpose with most of our roads, tho it is an element more or less strongly developed or else an incident in all. But our system leaves the door open to such practises and intensifies the prevalent longing for unearned gain by the prospect of the prodigious sums to be realized, and by the facilities afforded by the possession of irresponsible power.

From the standpoint of ethics and the effects upon character and society, it is difficult to distinguish between the winning of millions by betting on railway stocks, and winning thousands by betting in the Louisiana Lottery. It is a question whether the winning of money by the manipulation of stocks is not on a still lower plane than the buying of lottery tickets. It has more resemblance to playing with loaded dice or fixt cards.

6. RAILWAY POLITICS

From Maine to California for many years our railways have done their best to control the governments of our states and cities so far as they came in contact with transportation interests, and for the most part they have succeeded. Now and then a wave of popular sentiment has overcome their influence in legislative bodies, as during the Granger movement in the '70's, and the Roosevelt movement of 1906–7, but in the long run the railroads have been able to control in large measure the nomination and election of members of legislatures, and of the national Congress. (See CORRUPTION.)

"The railroads will buy up a legislature just as they buy a car-load of mules," said the governor of a great state in answer to my question about railroad influence in politics. "And they will buy elections, too, if need be. But as a rule they do not have to resort to bribery or corruption. Unless they get to fighting among themselves, or there is strong opposition on the part of the public, they can carry their purposes by milder methods."

"What methods do you refer to?"

"Well, they retain leading lawyers and politicians as counsel, or make them stockholders, and not infrequently directors or officers. They pack caucuses and conventions, subsidize the press, influence merchants and manufacturers by the grant of special favors or the fear of their withdrawal, make large contributions to party funds to stand in with the state and national committees and the machine, etc., etc. By these and other means they usually contrive to control nominations so as to put many men who are in railroad pay, or otherwise affected with a railroad interest, in the legislature or in office, and at the least they can generally prevent the nomination of men likely to be antagonistic to the railroads or too independent of them."

Where it is necessary the railroads do not hesitate to use money to buy the votes of legislators, either to secure the passage of measures favorable to the roads, or prevent the passage of measures likely to do them injury.

Railroad officers defend these practises as absolutely necessary under existing conditions. Said the president of a Western railroad:

We've got to control the legislatures or they will control us. Rates, service, investment, capitalization, terminal facilities, labor conditions, combination—everything in fact about the railroad business is subject to the legislative pull. If we control the legislature the pull is our way; if not, it is likely to be the other way. In any session of Congress or the legislature of any state in which our lines are located, a bill may be introduced that threatens our business in some way. It may be a bill in the interest of a rival system, giving them an advantage that will mean great gain for them and great loss perhaps for us. Or it may be a bill to fix rates, or subject us to inconvenient surveillance, or abolish grade crossings, or compel us to put in automatic appliances, couplers, switches, etc., or some other scheme that will cost us a lot of money. Or the bill may be simply some d—— grafter's bid for blackmail under cover of an apparent public purpose, introduced by some scamp member on purpose to be bought off. We've got to be ready to defend ourselves along the whole line. We must be able to stop adverse bills and put our own bills through. And to do this at reasonable cost is often very difficult, for the grafters have got so used to lumps of railroad money that they won't vote for a railroad bill without the dough, even when we show them that the act is in perfect harmony with the public interest. The only thing for us to do is to put some more money in a legislative investment to protect our railroad investment and keep it in our control.

7. RATE-MAKING

How to make rates that will be both just and practical is one of the most difficult questions that can confront a railroad management. Our railroads as a rule act on the principle of charging all that the traffic will bear, while the public railroads of Europe and Australasia act in general on the principle of making the lowest rates that will yield a reasonable margin above expenses. The accompanying table shows the average rates in various public and private systems:

AVERAGE TON-MILE AND PASSENGER-MILE RATES IN CENTS

COUNTRY	Average ton-mile rate	Average freight haul	Average passenger rate	Average passenger haul
United States (private)	.78	244	2.02	30
Germany (state)	1.40	78	1.2	15
Austria-Hungary (mostly state)	1.50	65	1.	25
Belgium (state)	1.25	45	.75	14
Switzerland (state)	2.56	43	1.3	13
France (private)	1.55	102	1.34	21
Great Britain (private)	2.50	....	2.25	12
Norway (state)	2.	....	1.16	..
Norway (private)	2.6	....	1.16	..
Denmark (state)	1.44	....	.76	..

The average ton-mile rate in the U. S. is lower than anywhere else in the world. But under this general average freight rate of our railways lie hidden many things which deprive it of all right to be used in comparison with European rates. There are many personal and unjust discriminations which bring down the average, and low rates between competitive points, with very high rates between local points, in many cases almost as high as the rates in the old stage-coach days—rates just low enough to keep business from being done by team instead of the railway.

German railway commissioners recently in this country, after studying our rates declared that they were in many cases four or five times as high as the German rates on the same goods for the same distances. This conclusion was based on specific comparison of the published rates, and did not take into account any rebates or concessions which so seriously affect average rates. The researches of the German commissioners lead to some comparisons of German and American rates that may be of interest here.

The average passenger rate in Prussia is .98 of a cent per mile, against 2.02 cents in the U. S. The average merchandise rate in Prussia is 1.36 cents per ton-mile, against .78 of a cent in this country. But the American rate does not include express, which pays very high rates, while the German rate does include express. It also includes large amounts of traffic which in this country is handled by fast freight and private car lines, the earnings of which are not included in the reported railroad revenues. The American rate is cut down by including large amounts of freight carried for the companies themselves, for which no charge is made, while the German figure includes only freight actually paid for. The German roads carry an immense amount of mail and packages for the parcels post, for which they get no pay, while American roads receive large sums for carrying the mails, and the packages for the most part go by express with us. The proportion of bulky, heavy, low-rate freight, such as coal, iron, ore, timber, etc., is very much larger here (where coal alone constitutes one third of the total tonnage) than in Europe, where the bulk of such traffic is carried by water. The average haul in Germany is seventy-eight miles, against 244 miles in the U. S., over three times the German haul, and this cuts down the average mile rate tremendously, so that on two roads run with equal efficiency and charging the same rates for equal service involving the same amount of labor and capital the road with the long average haul will show a much lower ton-mile rate. Our low ton-mile rate is partly due to carriage on circuitous routes and other unnecessary competitive transportation representing a waste of industrial force. And worse yet, our average tells the story of the special rates and secret concessions to favored shippers. Our ton-mile rate does not represent the rates the public has to pay, but is brought below the actual public rate level by the rebates and concessions granted the trusts and combines and other big shippers. The German average represents the rates that all the people pay.

Making allowance for express and mail, company freight and private car line traffic, the German commissioners conclude that a proper figure for our average freight rate would be 1.44 cents per ton-mile, while the figure for the Prussian roads would be .95 of a cent. It may be that the pendulum has gone a little beyond the vertical and that this comparison is a little more than fair to Prussia, but the evidence indicates that it is much nearer the truth than the ordinary comparison our railroad people are so fond of making, that ignores all the differences in respect to express, company freight, etc. If we could accurately allow for the freight carried by our roads at rates below the published tariffs in violation of law, it is quite probable that the contrast would be much stronger in favor of Prussia than the figures just quoted indicate.

The tendency both in public and private railway systems is more and more toward the equalization of rates over considerable areas and zones. If these zones continue to expand as they have in the past two decades, it would seem that we may ultimately have a system of practically uniform rates on each commodity throughout the country, with little or no regard for distance. Already blanket rates are made from the Pacific coast to all points east of the Missouri River, and from Eastern markets to all points in larger areas of the West and South. No such post-office system

of charges can be immediately established without violent dislocation of the values of real estate in different parts of the country, and wide-spread ruin to industries brought into competition on equal transportation terms with rival industries in other parts of the country possessing marked advantages in respect to wages, cost of coal, materials, etc. At the same time it must be recognized that equalization is the only solution of the rate-making problem so far proposed which avoids in any large degree the fundamental difficulty of leaving to the judgment of individuals or boards the fixing of the relative advantages of different cities, states, and regions in reference to distance and cost of transportation.

8. SAFETY

The following table shows the proportion of passengers killed and injured to the total number carried, and the proportion of employees killed and injured to the total number employed in different countries as given in the reports for 1902–4:

Country	Passengers		Employees	
	Killed, 1 in	Injured, 1 in	Killed, 1 in	Injured 1 in
United States[1]	1,957,441	84,424	364	22
Great Britain[2]	8,073,000	445,000	736	88
Germany	11,701,354	2,113,471	1,199	451
Belgium[3]	33,151,173	431,937	2,266	98
Austria-Hungary	9,432,303	1,328,551	1,908	363
France	5,260,000	1,052,000	954	355
Switzerland	12,237,515	849,820	1,070	42
Denmark	18,935,151	9,467,000	....	....
Norway	7,690,000	4,350,000	....	....
Sweden	6,667,000	3,450,000	....	....
Russia	1,080,000	250,000	....	....
Spain	2,000,000	308,000	....	....
Canada	1,120,000	158,000	....	....
Victoria	20,000,000	208,000	....	....
Tasmania	.....	271,000	....	....
New South Wales	5,000,000	589,000	....	....
South Australia	6,667,000	2,500,000	....	....

[1] The returns of accidents in the U. S. are confessedly incomplete, while those of the other countries given are unquestionably correct. A complete report of accidents in this country would make all our comparisons even less favorable to our railway management.

[2] The 618,000 holders of annual tickets are not included. Estimated on the same basis as are the commuters in this country these would make a showing about 35 per cent better for Great Britain's treatment of passengers.

[3] Drunks and suicides eliminated. The Belgian management keeps a strict account of these, but not all other managements do.

The figures vary from year to year. For example, Denmark's railways killed no passengers in 1903–4, but did kill one for 1904–5. Tasmania killed none in 1903 and Victoria only 1 to 20,000,000 journeys.

It appears from these figures that railway travel is safest in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, Austria-Hungary, and Australia; that it is more dangerous in Great Britain than in any of the above-named countries, and that in the U. S. it is most dangerous of all; about six times as dangerous as in Germany, seventeen times as dangerous as in Belgium, three times as dangerous as in France, and four times as dangerous as in Britain. In the U. S. and Great Britain the railways are owned and operated by private companies. In France the roads are mostly operated by private companies under a high degree of government control, and a good degree of safety is secured, but it is an interesting fact that it is four times as safe to ride on the railroads operated by the government in France as it is on the French railways operated by the companies under government control.[1] In the other countries named they are owned and operated by the government. Belgium, Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Switzerland killed considerably smaller proportions of their employees than did France, Great Britain, and U. S. France and England have secured their safety at the cost of a rigid government control over the operation of the private railways, which has in large part taken the life and spirit out of the railways at the same time that it has checked their tendency to disregard safety and avoid the expense required to secure it. In the U. S. the control by the law is not effective, and we see the real tendency of private ownership of railways in relation to safety—the tendency to look first, last, and all the time at the cost, and avoid the expenditure necessary to abolish grade crossings, etc., if they think it will be cheaper to pay damages. In Belgium and Germany the operation of the railways by the State permits the attainment of safety without the sacrifice of freedom, life, and progressiveness.

[1] "Industrial Commission," vol. ix., p. 154.

Our American data for 1904 and 1905 show even a worse state of affairs than the figures for 1903, which were used in the table as nearest the average data of the foreign facts. In 1904 we find: Passengers, 1 killed for every 1,622,267 carried, and 1 injured for every 78,523 carried; employees, 1 killed in every 357 and 1 in every 19 injured. In 1905 1 passenger was killed for every 1,375,856 carried, and 1 injured for every 70,655 carried; employees, 1 killed in every 411, and 1 injured in every 21; trainmen, 1 killed in 133, and 1 injured in every 9 employed. During the last three months of the year 1905 there were 2,077 collisions and 1,645 derailments on our American roads; 101 passengers were killed and 2,868 injured; 1,008 employees killed and 14,250 injured.

A passenger is about six times as likely to be killed in the U. S. as in Germany and twenty-five times as likely to be injured, while a railway employee is over three times as likely to be killed by our private railways and over twenty times as likely to be injured.

9. SERVICE

The best railway service in the world is to be found in the U. S. and in Germany. The New York Central and the Pennsylvania supply a service that is in many ways the admiration of all observers. At the same time, the service on some of our Southern roads is as bad as can be found in any country that can lay claim to high rank in civilization and mechanical development.

In writing the above we have had in mind the speed and comfort of railway travel, but when we take all the elements of service into account, including safety and impartial treatment of shippers, the verdict may not be so clearly in our favor.

Good service requires safety, speed, promptitude, adequate facilities fairly distributed, convenient methods, and impartial treatment. In respect to the first and last items, which are the most vital of all, our railways are at the bottom of the list in a tabulation of the principal systems of the world. Even as to speed, while we have on a few special routes the fastest trains in existence, our average speed, according to high authority, does not compare favorably with averages from over the sea.[1]

In respect to promptitude the German service is far ahead of ours. Careful selection and training of railway men and the premiums given for keeping schedule time have produced astonishing results. Even on our best systems there is far less regard for promptitude than in Germany, and on many of our railroads the delinquencies in time are as bad as they are in any country I have visited. Even in Italy, where it was a common thing for the principal trains to be three or four hours, or even half a day late, and to have an express train from Milan or Naples coming into Rome on time would cause more comment than if it came in one to three hours late as usual—even these exasperating derelictions, so common in Italy before the government took the railway management, are no worse than the conditions which exist on some of our Southern routes. Even such important trains as those that run from Florida to Washington are frequently several hours late, and sometimes passengers are delayed twelve and even twenty-four hours on the way.

[1] Franklin B. Locke, in the *Century Magazine*, May, 1898, p. 105; Theodore Voorhees, general superintendent, New York Central & Hudson River Railroad, in *The Independent*, Oct. 6, 1892.

Inadequacy of facilities at times of such need is another count in the indictment of our transportation service, private railways preferring to risk some loss to shippers and themselves rather than to invest in equipments large enough to fully meet the demands of periods of such pressure and unusual rush.

In 1905 over half a million dollars' worth of strawberries rotted in North Carolina because of the failure of the railroads and the Armour Refrigerator Company to furnish a sufficient number of cars. A report from Chadbourn, N. C., March 7th, says: "More than $200,000 worth of strawberries have rotted at the depot here since Monday morning. The railroad company is hauling car-load after car-load of spoiled berries to the river and dumping them like so much garbage. The loss to the truck-growers of this immediate section, according to figures said to be reliable, will be at least $600,000."

In its "Twentieth Annual Report," dated Dec. 19, 1906, the Interstate Commission says:

> The inability of shippers to procure cars for the movement of their traffic is the subject of numerous and grievous complaints, which come to the commission from all parts of the country. A car famine prevails which brings distress in almost every section, and in some localities amounts to a calamity. The extraordinary prosperity which everywhere abounds, with the high prices obtainable for all classes of commodities, have so stimulated production as to yield a volume of transportation business which far exceeds in the aggregate the carrying capacity of the railroads. In a word, the development of private industry has of late been much more rapid than the increase of railway equipment. The conditions now existing in the Northwest, where large quantities of grain require immediate shipment, and in the Southwest and trans-Missouri region, where thousands and tens of thousands of live animals are denied movement to the consuming markets, may justly be regarded as alarming, while throughout the middle West and Atlantic seaboard the shortage of cars for manufactured articles and miscellaneous merchandise has become a matter of serious concern. In some cases it is simply a lack of cars, in others insufficient tracks and motive power, in still others wholly inadequate freight yards and terminal facilities.

Private railway service is also subject to interruptions and even practical annihilation for days and even weeks or months at a time in consequence of strikes and lockouts—difficulties which almost never occur on public railways and are quickly remedied when they do occur.

Our railway methods are in some important respects far less convenient than those in use in Europe. We pride ourselves on our baggage check system, but European travelers complain that our baggage system is far less convenient than theirs. At the International Railway Congress, held in Washington, May, 1905, vigorous objections were raised by many prominent delegates to our methods of handling baggage. They declared that in Europe the baggage is collected and delivered by the railways, or is taken with the passenger by means of cabs and porters, etc., and carried either in the same car with him or in the baggage-car on the same train, and is delivered at the hotel or residence at the same time the passenger arrives at destination, or very soon after; whereas in this country the traveler has to secure the services of some separate transportation company or pay excessive rates for express, and in any case is liable to have the delivery of his baggage delayed for two or three hours or more after his arrival, depriving him, perhaps, of the opportunity to change his clothing, and keeping the ladies of the party from making their accustomed toilets for the evening, etc., etc.

We have no cheap trains for working men such as those which carry working people in and out of the large cities in Germany and England, for example, for twenty-five and fifty cents a week. We have no such cheap excursions and admirable tourist arrangements as they have in Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, and New Zealand; no concessions to school children such as State railways in some countries make; no special rates for libraries or for the development of agriculture. The special rates our railways make go to the Beef Trust and the Standard Oil.

10. EMPLOYEES

One of the most emphatic differences between public and private railway managements is to be found in the treatment of employees. Our railways pay the lower classes of railroad men very poorly, while the upper classes of officials are paid extravagant sums. The pay on the public systems is much more equal. The overworking of employees as to time is a still more serious complaint against the private roads. Many cases are on record in this country and Great Britain in which engineers, firemen, switchmen, telegraph operators, and other employees have been kept on duty continuously from sixteen to twenty-four hours, and in a few cases thirty-six to forty hours and even forty-eight hours without intermission for meals or rest.[1]

> In Prussia the law requires that the daily average of the hours of labor of station agents and assistants, telegraphers, switching foremen, overseers of stopping-places, and switchmen shall not exceed 8 hours, and the duration of a single task shall in no case exceed 10 hours. The average for trainmen is limited to 11 hours with 14 and 16 hours fixt as emergency limits. Engineers and firemen must not average more than 10 hours, and may never under any circumstances be on duty for more than 11 consecutive hours. Every employee must be given at least 2 rest-days per month, and trainmen must be permitted to rest at their homes not less than 10 consecutive hours daily.

Our railways exercise much less care for the safety of employees than is exercised by the European railways. It is six times as dangerous to work on American railroads as it is to work on the Belgian State railways. The danger to the lives of our railway employees is over 100 per cent greater than to those of Great Britain. The railway employees of France and Switzerland have three chances of escape to the American's one, while the German and Austrian systems are respectively 230 per cent and 420 per cent more merciful to their employees than our railways are.

Trade-unions among railway men are strongly encouraged by the best public systems, and vigorously opposed by private railroads. Public railways are much more considerate and equitable in their dealings with employees, and the best systems have definite provisions for the arbitration or impartial judicial decision of disputes between the workers and the authorities over them. Our railroads refuse to arbitrate. They buy their labor, like a commodity, at the lowest market price, just as they buy their coal and iron at competitive rates. They overwork their men, adjust their duties and their pay with little regard to equity, and exercise the power of arbitrary discharge; and if the workers strike in order to get justice or a fair consideration of their demands, the railroads use the injunction and the black list, and even the federal troops if need be, to enable them to retain their mastery, and persist in their refusal to give the men any voice in the control of

[1] See evidence collected on pp. 466–470 of "The Railways, the Trusts, and the People." Equity Series, 1520 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.

the great industry into which they put their lives, or even in most cases so much as an opportunity for frank and friendly discussion of grievances.

The opposition to trade-unions and the primitive methods or absence of any reasonable methods for the settlement of grievances, are among the most important criticisms to be made upon our railways in behalf of labor. German railway employees are carefully selected with reference to their fitness for the work they are to do, and they are secure in their employment so long as they do their work well.

IV. Remedies Proposed

(1) **Pooling.**—The legalization of pooling has been advocated by many railroad managers as a cure for discrimination and the wastes of competition.

It is the favorite railroad remedy. "Give us liberty of contract, let us combine," say the railroads, "and the abuses you complain of will disappear." The public, however, is afraid that if railways are allowed to pool they will "combine to keep rates up, and the benefits of competition will be lost." Railroads do combine to keep rates up anyway. Competition in rates is spasmodic and abortive. The steady competition that insures fair play in the buying and selling of commodities in the open market has proved impossible of attainment in transportation, because of the large monopoly element involved; and in case of combination, secret or open, mutual understanding cannot be prevented; so that the real question is, whether railways shall have a right to combine openly as well as in secret, and whether this right will accomplish what is claimed.

Railroad managers say that if pooling were lawful, the traffic associations could use the power of the courts to check rate-cutting, secret rebates, etc., on the part of roads that had agreed to maintain rates. They point to the fact that in one year, under the traffic agreements in force before the Interstate Act forbade pooling, 135,000 cases of misdescription of goods were detailed at three seaboard cities in the west-bound through freight alone; and they declare that if the prohibitions of statute and common law against pooling were removed, they could stop the discriminations that result from competition among the railroads.

This is probably true, and we believe that railways should have the right to combine. There is nothing in our law more foolish and futile than the attempt to protect the people from railroad extortion by fostering competition. It means a war of rates now and then disturbing business and values and doing more harm than good, with long stretches of high charges in between—charges that are all the higher often because of the wastes entailed by abortive competition for which the railroads make the people pay.

But grant all that can be said in favor of pooling; grant that the right to form working agreements accorded to the railroads by the law of England has not done harm, but good; still the chief question remains: Can pooling stop the abuses of our railway system? Clearly it cannot stop the legislative free pass nor the favoritism due to the ownership and control of railroads by oil kings, steel kings, and others, who unite railroad ownership with business interests in other lines. It cannot stop discrimination arising from any of the five causes that are independent of competition. In the days before the Interstate Act when pooling was in full bloom it did not stop even the discriminations due to competition; for railroads gave rebates and concessions on the sly to increase their tonnage and so base a claim for a larger share of the pool. Pooling cannot make the railways honest or public-spirited. It cannot take the railways out of politics, nor prevent overcapitalization, nor secure reasonable rates or fair treatment of employees.

(2) **Consolidation.**—The union of the railways under one great company has been earnestly advocated by Mr. Cook; C. P. Huntington, president for many years of the Southern Pacific; Mr. G. H. Lewis, and many others. Consolidation would eliminate the wastes of competition and the discriminations due to competition, but would intensify enormously all the evils due to the monopoly element in the problem.

The power to charge excessive rates, to disturb the fair distribution of wealth, to control the destinies of individual cities and states, to build the fortunes of railroad owners and favored persons, to establish and perpetuate an aristocracy of wealth far beyond what has yet been inflicted upon us to control the government in corporate interest, and to defy law and conscience—the power to do all this would be multiplied a thousand-fold.

Even the plan of G. H. Lewis, which calls for limitation of the amount of stock to be owned or voted for by any one man or corporation, and for representatives of the United States on the board of directors of the consolidated company, along with the directors elected by the stockholders—even this would not change the aim from private profit to public service, nor prevent the use of the enormous power of the consolidated railroads for the upbuilding of private interests, unless the public representatives were numerous enough and strong enough to dominate the representatives of private capital, in which the plan would constitute a form of public ownership, with the capital provided by private individuals on interest-bearing securities. The history of the Pacific roads shows how much good it does to have government directors on the railroad boards where the public representatives are not in control. And the history of railroad frauds and evasions of law leaves no doubt that giant capitalists would find some way of overcoming the limitation of stock holdings. Every employee of the Standard Oil could hold railroad stock for Rockefeller, and every man in the Steel Trust could use his holding power in aid of Morgan. If you admit private capital to power it will dominate if possible. It is not satisfied with an equal partnership. The public interest is not safe unless it is dominant. The Lewis plan is the best attempt I know of to devise a balance scheme or partnership in which public and private interests should work in harmony. But there is strong reason to believe that the balance could not be kept; the company would gravitate to the Huntington idea—a railroad empire in private hands—or to the public-ownership system under a non-partizan board (to be discust presently).

(3) **Regulation.**—For many years the states and the nation have been trying to regulate the railroads. It is easy to regulate railroad rates and service on paper, but experience shows that it is very difficult to transform the paper regulations into actual fact according either to their letter or their spirit.

In no state of the union has the government succeeded by regulative measures in abolishing unjust discrimination or securing fair rates or reasonable safety and convenience of service.

For twenty years the federal government has done its best to stamp out discrimination and regulate rates, but with little better success than has attended the efforts of the states. Discriminations have changed their form, and for brief periods now and then have been to a considerable extent discontinued, but no way has yet been discovered through regulative measures of securing equal treatment for all shippers under private railway management. So long as men who are owners or part owners of coal-mines, steel-works, packing-houses, oil-refineries, etc., are also large stockholders in railroad companies, the railway managers they help to employ and pay will under their instructions find ways of favoring their shipments above the shipments of their business competitors. Even a little favor in the distribution of cars or the speeding of transit would be enough to give them the market without any rebates or cash concessions whatever. It is easy to side-track for a few hours or days the goods of rival firms, or obstruct shipments by lack of promptitude in the delivery of the full number of cars necessary to transact the business of the said rival firms or companies, and no regulative power short of an omnipresent, all-pervading, and all-powerful commission could prevent the abuse of railroad power in this and other similar ways.

For half a century regulation has been tried in England and France with very indifferent success. Railroad history in all the regulative countries is one long story of struggle with railroad abuses, and entire failure to secure immunity from the most vital evils of private railway management.

Even President Roosevelt's vigorous measures embodied in the Hepburn Law can at best reach only a small part of the trouble.

No fixing of rates can stop the free-pass evil, or secret rebates, or fake commissions, or fictitious damages, or underbilling, or false description, or numerous other forms of favoritism. Such a regulative measure as the Hepburn bill does not touch at all nine tenths of the methods of discrimination. We have seen that between sixty and seventy different methods of unjust discrimination between persons and places are in use in our railway business to-day. The fixing of a maximum rate can prevent neither secret rate-cutting, nor favoritism in facilities and services, nor even open discrimination in the arrangement of classifications and in the adjustment of rates between different localities.

The fixing of rates cannot even secure reasonable charges in the matters to which the adjudications relate, for upon every reduction the railways can always withdraw sufficient accommodations to more than balance the slice taken off the rate, and they can retaliate by delays and persecutions that will sicken shippers of making complaints.

Publicity

Real publicity is the thing that private monopoly fears more than anything else. It is the strongest weapon the people have under a régime of private monopoly. But the railroads can easily refrain from keeping any records of transactions contrary to law, as indeed they do already to a large extent. It is very difficult to secure full publicity when the man who does not want publicity keeps the accounts and manages the business. Even if full and continuous publicity could be attained, however, it would not stop railway wrongdoing. Some of the worst abuses have been perfectly well known for many years—for example, the tariff arrangements which give the Standard Oil and the Beef Trust such generous advantages over their competitors; so with the free-pass system, stock-watering, stock-gambling, railroad control of elections and legislatures—all perfectly well known and exposed in detail in many cases. But what effect does it have upon railway morals? Practically none. And it is doubtful if we can expect to obtain a complete or radical reform so long as we neglect the tap-root of railroad immorality, which is the antagonism of interests between the owners and the public, united with the tremendous power that goes with the possession and management of these vast interests.

The president and the attorney-general are doing all they can to compel the railroads to obey the law, but the trusts are on the other side, in the dark, trying to compel the railroads to break the law, and using means infinitely more powerful than the fines imposed now and then by the law when a few of the tricks happen to come to light.

From the Hepburn report of 1879 to the Garfield report and the interstate investigations of 1906, we have had publicity in large masses, and the Standard Oil, the Beef Combine, the Sugar Trust, Grain Trust, Coal Trust, Steel Trust, etc., have grown meantime in spite of all the flash-lights and spasms of popular indignation. If publicity is to do much good it must be continuous as well as searching. And even then it is doubtful if the problem can be solved by any regulative measures. Our best railroad men do not believe it. James J. Hill, for example, says that discriminations cannot be stopt; and Stuyvesant Fish, ex-president of the Illinois Central and also of the American Railway Association, and one of the ablest and most conscientious of our railroad kings, said in answer to my question (in 1905) that he did not think any regulative measures could stop discrimination. "Tell me how to enforce the Ten Commandments," he said, "and I'll tell you how to stop discrimination."

The inherent difficulty of regulating this vital monopoly, which must of course be either regulated or owned by the public, has never been more clearly and forcefully stated than by the Massachusetts Railroad Commission in the early days when Charles Francis Adams was a member of the board.

"The final difficulty with all legislation of this class," said the commission, speaking particularly of rate regulation, "is its excessively dangerous and politically corrupting tendency. It forces the corporations, whether they will or will not, into the lobby of the legislature and the rooms of the committees and commissions; they are forced there for the protection of their interests, for the essence of the system is that certain persons, whether the legislature itself or officials designated by it, have devolved upon them the responsibility of establishing the revenues of property belonging to others. The commissioners have grave doubts as to the success of any effort which practically effects a separation between the ownership and its management."

(4) **Public Ownership.**—Some of the principal reasons that have been urged in favor of public ownership of railroads are as follows:

1. Public railways tend to the diffusion of wealth and power, while private railways tend to the concentration of wealth and power. It is the nature of monopoly in private hands to absorb an unfair proportion of the national wealth product. Not only do private roads absorb more than their share of wealth, but they tend to concentrate in few hands the control over vast properties, both in the railway world and throughout the field of industry; for the secret rates, rebates, and concessions granted to large shippers and favored persons build up trusts and combines and giant monopolies which disturb the fair diffusion of wealth in industries of every class. Public railways, on the other hand, do not enable any class to absorb an unjust share of national wealth, nor concentrate profit or control in few hands, nor build up private monopoly or an aristocracy of wealth and industrial dominion, either in the railroad field or outside of it.

2. Railroad experience throughout the world indicates that impartial treatment of shippers can only be secured under public operation. When left to themselves, private railway managements are honeycombed with favoritism, and even the strongest governments have been unable to exert sufficient regulative pressure to extinguish the effects of this innate tendency. Public railways naturally tend to the impartiality which public interest so emphatically demands.

3. Private railways tend to confine facilities to paying routes, building up big cities and neglecting country districts, which are left without a fair share of transportation facilities; while public systems, aiming at the good of the whole country rather than at profit, extend their lines more widely, and distribute their facilities with regard to need and ultimate benefit to the public as well as with regard to the present traffic.

4. Private railways constitute one of the chief causes of political corruption. The question of public ownership of railroads is at bottom a choice between government ownership of railroads and railroad ownership of the government. The extinguishment of private control over railways removes the chief cause of political corruption under democratic institutions. How inherent and persistent is the tendency of private railroads to fill the halls of legislation with their agents and lobbyists and to use every available means of dominating the government in their interest, will be apparent to any one who is familiar with the history of private roads in the U. S., England, France, Germany, Italy, and other countries. Just so far as private railways have been left free to show their true nature, that is, just so far as they have been permitted to be really private, they have manifested this fundamental characteristic, which expresses itself in the effort to control government in the private interest of the railways and their allies.

5. The history of railroads shows that private railways, by systematic favoritism, stock-watering, political influence, etc., etc., tend to separate success from merit; while public roads do not disturb the normal union between merit and success. So far as construction frauds, overcapitalization, manipulation of stock, perversion of accounts, and other methods of deceit and cunning enable men to capture wealth produced by others, so far is a premium put on fraud and cunning, while true labor is discounted and men are drawn away from honest industry and productive effort to devote themselves to mere commercial conquest.

6. Public railways tend to make lower rates than private roads in the same country and under similar conditions otherwise than in respect to ownership. Public railways aim primarily at service, while private railways aim at profit, and the rate level which yields the highest profit is above the rate level that secures the largest service at a reasonable margin above the cost.

7. National ownership and operation of railroads under good political conditions would be able to secure large economies through the abolition of unnecessary offices and staffs, especially in the larger cities; the systematic use of the shortest routes; the curtailment of the overgrown salaries of the upper class of railroad officials; a saving in lobby and legislative funds, campaign expenses, litigation costs, excessive construction profits, etc.; the abolition of secret concessions to favored shippers, and the economies of consolidation under a single management in the public interest. C. P. Huntington, the former president of the Southern Pacific Railroad, estimated the railroad wastes in New York City alone at $100,000,000 a year, and the total wastes incident to the private railroad system in this country amount to several hundreds of millions every year.

8. Private railways foster monopoly in manufactures and commerce, while public railways put all on an equal footing and tend to prevent and break down all kinds of industrial monopoly.

9. Public railroads are superior to private roads in respect to their social effects. Private railroads intensify the tendency of this age of aggregation to mass population in giant cities. Public roads tend to mollify and soften this tendency, and sometimes definitely oppose it. Big cities are the danger spots of modern civilization. We may fairly designate as railroad slums not only the slums that gather in the railroad districts of big cities, but all the slums of our cities, which exist in large measure because of a false railroad policy—a policy of making rates for private profit instead of the public good; a policy which intensifies instead of relieving the congestion of population modern industry tends to produce. When private railways do something to relieve congestion, as in the case of working men's trains, it is not a part of their own policy, not a result of private ownership of railways, but a result of the compulsory adoption of a policy natural to good business.

Social Effects

Inequalities of social condition are greatly aggravated by private railroads, while public roads as a rule maintain an even balance or else make a definite effort to help the needy and aid the beginnings of wealth. Our private roads give the wealthy every advantage. The common people pay for their own freight and for a great part of the freight carried for Armour, Rockefeller, Morgan, and other owners of "infant" industries. A large proportion of our millionaires and multimillionaires owe their fortunes to railroad methods and policies which are wholly foreign to public roads and would be impossible of adoption on any civilized governmental system.

10. Private railways buy labor at the lowest market rates just as they buy coal and iron. Public railways recognize that in dealing with labor they are dealing, not with a commodity to be purchased for the use of the railroads and con-

sumed in providing transportation, but with human beings who form a part of the very society for the use of which the railroads themselves exist—shareholders in the roads and members of the cooperative associations on behalf of which the government itself is acting. Private railroads as a rule see only the economic side, the dollar-and-cent, profit-and-loss side, of the labor question. Public managements see the human side, the ethical side, and the civilization side, as well as the economic side, and pay higher wages, work the men shorter hours, and provide better conditions than private roads in the same country. The humane and enlightened policy of public roads toward the working classes both in their relation to their own employees and to the working people in other occupations, is one of the chief titles of the public railroads to our respect and admiration.

11. The character product or type of manhood produced by public railways is superior to that produced by private railways. The elements of character that make for good citizenship and moral living—respect for law and justice, habits of honesty and fair dealing, love of country, habitual action with reference to public interest rather than for selfish private ends—are much more strongly favored by public railways than by private systems.

12. Railways are public highways and perform public functions. This is the doctrine of the U. S. Supreme Court, and the courts of last resort in New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, and many other states. Public functions, services, rights, or properties should be used for the public benefit, not for private profit. It is the nature of private ownership and management to subordinate the public benefit to private profit wherever the two conflict. Therefore, public affairs, including the public highways, should not be entrusted to private management.

13. The construction and operation of railroads involve the exercise of the sovereign powers of taxation, eminent domain, and the determination of the distribution of wealth, and in many cases also the sovereign power of legislation. Only the sovereign people have a right to sovereign power; therefore only the people have a right to own and operate the highways with which the exercise of sovereign power is indissolubly linked. It is an economic blunder and an abuse of governmental powers to put in the hands of a small portion of the people to be managed by them for their profit and advantage sovereign powers and functions which belong to the whole people and should be used for the benefit of the whole people, and not for the interest of a part of the community against the rest. What could be more unwise than to hand over to a few individuals public rights and powers which enable them to tax the whole people for their own benefit?

14. Private monopoly of railroads involves a far larger case of taxation without representation than resulted from the efforts of King George and the English Parliament which precipitated the American Revolution.

The principal objections raised against public ownership and operation of railroads in this country relate to the cost, the sphere of government, and the political difficulties that would be encountered in this country.

If the government bought the railroads at their present capitalization, the cost would certainly be very large, but the wind and water may be squeezed out of railroad capitalization either by exercise of the power to reduce rates, or by building or buying one or two competing routes. If progressive income and inheritance taxes were established, as advocated by President Roosevelt, the monopolists could be made to pay into the public treasury in a few years enough to pay for all the railroads the government would need to buy, above the structural cost of duplication less depreciation.

Objections Answered

It is possible that, as pointed out by Senator Newlands, the most feasible plan, the one that could be adopted with the least opposition and the minimum of friction, would be to issue 3 per cent government bonds for the fair value of the securities of the railways taken for public use, and provide that the hundreds of millions saved each year by the difference between the 3 per cent or less at which the government can borrow and the rate of interest and dividends paid by the railroads, should be used to pay off the railway capital, which could be accomplished in this way probably in thirty or forty years.

Some excellent people declare that the railroad business is outside the proper sphere of government. It is to be regretted that the railroads do not regard the government business as outside the sphere of the railroads, but there is rather more logic in the inclusion of government in the railroad field than in the exclusion of the railroads from the government field. The clear, common sense of the situation is that the government is simply the agent of the people to attend to any business they see fit to entrust to it.

The fact is that in every civilized land the government has two functions, restraint and service. It keeps order and it performs services—exercises industrial activities. No government on earth is limited to keeping order. The sole questions in practical statesmanship relate to the extent of the two functions and the methods to be adopted. And the movement of history is in the direction of diminishing restraint and increasing service.

The political difficulties in the way of municipal ownership of railways in the U. S. at the present time are undoubtedly very great, if not prohibitive. But it must not be inferred that public railways are wrong for America because present political conditions are not adapted to that system. If public railways, honestly managed in the public interest, are better than private railways, then it is our duty to establish as rapidly as possible the political conditions necessary to secure honest management in the public interest. The elimination of private railway corporations will remove one of the chief causes, if not the chief cause, of political corruption in city, state, and nation; but it is equally clear that the operation of the railways by a ring of political monopolists and grafters in their private interest would be a disaster so great that public ownership cannot be asked or assented to by fair-minded citizens until there is a reasonable prospect of escaping this danger. There are important safeguards, however, that we can adopt and that will go far in assuring political purity.

Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, Denmark, New Zealand, and Australia have valuable lessons for us in this regard. From Germany we should take the thorough organization of the civil service based on technical training and careful testing, and the system of advisory railway councils representing various interests, industrial and social; from Switzerland, the initiative and referendum,

that the people may have actual and continuous control of the government and graft become a lost art; from Belgium, proportional representation, that every important interest may be fairly represented and have a voice in the deliberations of our legislative bodies; from Denmark, the railway profit-sharing plan; from New Zealand, the railway appeal boards, high wages, short hours, and liberal pension system; from Australia, perhaps, a modified form of the bipartizan commission as a further means of checking any attempt at using the system for party purposes or political pressure to secure extensions or improvements on sectional lines; and back of it all we must have a sufficient development of civic interest and intelligence in the body of the people to make it certain that the laws would be enforced and that evasion of them would not be tolerated. The magnificent response our people have given to Roosevelt, Folk, La Follette, Johnson, Weaver, Fagan, and other civic heroes indicates that under proper leaders it would not take long to evolve either the laws or the enlightened public spirit needful to make public ownership of the railways a success.

In answer to the objection that government ownership would put the railroads in politics, we may ask: "Where are they now?" It is doubtful whether they could be in politics in any worse form than they are to-day, and it may be further remarked that it is not necessary that the railroads should be in politics at all in the objectionable sense, under a common-sense system of public ownership with a non-partizan commission, railway courts, and solid civil-service organization.

Prof. Richard T. Ely says: "Our American railroads are incomparably more 'in politics' than the German railroads. Not only this; those German railroads which have been bought by the State, I believe, are less 'in politics' than they were when they were private property.

"Our terrible corruption in cities dates from the rise of private corporations in control of natural monopolies, and when we abolish them we do away with the chief cause of corruption."

As high as 20 per cent of the railroads of the U. S. have been operated at the same time by government agents called receivers, and the success and honesty with which these public managers, responsible to the federal courts, performed the duties of their calling under infinite difficulties, bringing the roads back to prosperity after they had been wrecked by private enterprise, shows the possibilities of public management of railroads under reasonable safeguards.

Political influence in rate-making and in the establishment of new lines, abuse of patronage, and use of the railroads for party purposes, are possibilities that have to be guarded against in the case of public railways. And the railroad lobby, caucuses and conventions packed with railroad adherents, use of the railroad vote for private corporation purposes, election of men really representing the railways and their allies under the mask and pretense of representing the people, direct and indirect bribery of legislators and officials, use of the power of discrimination and favoritism and the fear of reprisals to swing influential shippers into line and compel them to use their influence with legislators and the government for railroad purposes, secret contamination of the sources of public information, perversion of the press and manufacture of erroneous public sentiment by fraudulent methods—all these and many other means of corrupting and controlling government in the interest of the railways and their allies, must be guarded against under the private system.

A few of the important differences are as follows:

1. Under the private system the railways themselves are the active cause of political corruption, while under the public system the railways are not the active cause, but merely the field of operation. If there is corruption under the public system it is because the government is bad. The railways enlarge the field, and if a government is tainted with the virus of the spoils system or the poison of excessive partizanship or political rottenness of any sort, it will manifest itself in the railways as well as in the halls of legislation, the ordinary administrative departments, and even the courts, if the canker goes deep enough. But given a good government and public railways, the public railways will not go to work to corrupt the government. Given a good government and private railways, and the private railways *will* go to work to corrupt the government and control it in their interest, and the government must be very, very good and very, very strong or they will succeed in large measure, except in times of popular uprising, and even then they have far more than an even chance of molding, dominating, or defying the law.

2. The political evils that may attend public railways under a bad government are much less vital than those created by private railways. The former affect chiefly the cost of running the roads and the government, the latter undermine the very nature of free institutions, overturn popular government, and establish a corporate aristocracy in place of a republic. Governor Folk's splendid battle-cry in Missouri is that the domination of our governments by the railroads and their allies through bribery and fraud is treason. A legislator who holds allegiance to a railway or other private interest and votes for it against the public is giving aid and comfort to the enemies of the republic. The federal constitution guarantees to every state a republican form of government. The railways and their allies defy this provision as they do many other constitutional and statutory enactments, and transform our state and national governments from governments by and for the people to governments by and for the corporations wherever corporate interests are involved.

Political Evils

3. The political ills of public railways are open, clearly visible, known of all men, while the political evils arising from private railways are largely hidden from the public view.

4. The political ills of public railways are more easily removed than those of private railroads, not only because they are less hidden and less radical, but because under the private system a large mass of wealthy and influential people, as shareholders in private railways or recipients of their favors, have a financial interest in aiding or permitting the election of men who can be controlled by the railroads, while under the public system the financial interest of these important classes is transferred to the side of good citizenship and they stand with the great body of the people for honest and efficient administration.

5. Finally, public roads are to-day in nearly all civilized countries substantially free from any serious form of political difficulty. In a number

of countries no serious political trouble has ever been experienced in connection with the State railways, and in others where difficulty has been experienced it has in nearly every case been wholly or almost wholly overcome.

FRANK PARSONS.

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AMERICAN RAILWAYS VS. THE PUBLIC

[American railway corporations finding themselves growing unpopular, because of their watered stock, discriminations, carelessness of human life, etc., have raised the cry of persecution and have organized "literary bureaus" to prepare free articles for the magazines and daily press, to try and defend themselves before the public and show how the railways have been abused. We give below one of these railway statements, prepared in 1903 for submission to the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, by Slason Thompson, secretary of the General Managers' Association, representing twenty-four railroads in Chicago. We give it in the railways' own words, side by side with what we believe to be the facts upon each point.—ED.]

THE RAILWAYS' OWN STATEMENT

(*a*) *Freight Rates*

That freight rates on American railways are the lowest in the world, and had steadily tended downward until the recent advance in wages and material, is proved by the following statements:

Average revenue per ton per mile				Pay of trackmen	
Year	Rate, cents	Year	Rate, cents	Year	Wages, per day
1870....	1.990	1895....	.839	1895....	$1.17
1882....	1.240	1896....	.806	1896....	1.17
1887....	1.030	1897....	.798	1897....	1.16
1888....	1.001	1898....	.753	1898....	1.16
1889....	.922	1899....	.724	1899....	1.18
1890....	.941	1900....	.729	1900....	1.22
1891....	.895	1901....	.750	1901....	1.23
1892....	.898	1902....	.757	1902....	1.25
1893....	.879	1903....	.763	1903....	1.31
1894....	.860				

It costs twenty-five cents a mile to move a ton of freight from the farm or the factory to the station; it costs less than three fourths of a cent a mile to transport it thence to its destination.

(*b*) *Passenger Rates*

The average revenue of the railways for carrying passengers one mile since the organization of the Interstate Commerce Commission has been as follows:

	Cents		Cents		Cents
1888.....	2.35	1893.....	2.11	1898.....	1.97
1889.....	2.17	1894.....	1.99	1899.....	1.98
1890.....	2.17	1895.....	2.04	1900.....	2.00
1891.....	2.14	1896.....	2.02	1901.....	2.01
1892.....	2.13	1897.....	2.02	1902.....	1.99
				1903.....	2.01

Where passenger rates have declined nearly 6 per cent since 1892 the average daily wages of the men most directly employed in train service have increased as follows:

	P. C.		P. C.
Enginemen.....	9	Conductors.....	10
Firemen.....	10	Other trainmen.....	14

A STATEMENT OF THE PUBLIC'S INTEREST

(*a*) *Freight Rates*

It is not proved that American freight rates are the cheapest. Many elements have to be taken into consideration which the railroads' statement conveniently omits. In Great Britain, taking the railroads' own figures, the published rates include charges for collection and delivery, loading and unloading, and, to a large extent, also insurance. According to the railroads' own statement, the corresponding expenses in America are very high, yet are not included in American rates. President A. T. Hadley of Yale (by no means a believer in public ownership) says distinctly (in his "American Transportation") that it is impossible to compare English and American freight rates. As for rates in other countries, some classes of rates are undoubtedly higher, but some classes of rates are also lower than in America. It must be remembered, too, that such rates are general averages, and, in case of America especially, are largely made up of long-haul rates for grain, coal, iron, and the cheapest classes of freight. Such rates are cheaper than in continental Europe. But when it comes to short-distance rates for general commodities, and especially between non-competing points, American rates tell a very different story. German commissioners recently in the U. S. estimated that for *small* shippers rates in Germany and the U. S. were about the same. American rates are low for the few big shippers. European rates, especially on the government-owned lines, serve the general public.

(*b*) *Passenger Rates*

Here comparison is more fair, and here we find that *for the average traveler*, American passenger rates are probably the highest of the civilized world. This is not true for the few rich. Rich people in America can travel cheaper than in Europe; European first-class rates are high. They believe in Europe that if rich people want special comforts they should pay for them. But the true comparison is between rates for the ordinary public. This means in Europe third class.

THE RAILWAYS' OWN STATEMENT

The recent increase in receipts per passenger mile is due to losing the cheapest passenger traffic, which is traveling by trolley, and not to an increase in rates.

The cost of passenger service is constantly increasing to meet the demand for more trains and greater speed.

(c) Foreign Passenger Rates

In England, the North Eastern Railway, the only British road giving intelligible statistics, shows the following average receipts per ton mile in 1903:

On minerals	1.93 cents
On merchandise and live stock	2.94 cents
On all commodities	2.32 cents
Pennsylvania Railroad on much the same class	0.58 cents
In Germany, average revenue per ton mile	1.42 cents
In France, average revenue per ton mile	1.55 cents
In Austria, average revenue per ton mile	1.16 cents
In Hungary, average revenue per ton mile	1.30 cents

England—First class, 4 cents; second, 2.5 cents; third, 2 cents. Average receipts per passenger mile, about 2 cents.

Germany—Fast trains: First class, 3.45 cents; second, 2.55; third, 1.79. Ordinary trains: First, 3.06 cents; second, 2.3; third, 1.53, and fourth, 0.77 (not allowed on fast trains). Average receipts per passenger mile, about 1.07 cents, due to 90 per cent of travel being third and fourth class, on cars little better than American box cars.

If the American railway freight rates were in proportion to American wages in comparison with foreign wages, they would be from four to eight times what they are, as the following figures, from official sources, prove:

(d) Pay of Railway Labor

Average pay of railway laborers in various countries whose freight rates are more than double American rates:

	Per day
United States[1]	$1.31
United Kingdom	.71
Germany (State railways)	.57
France (State railways)	.52
Belgium (State railways)	.48
Italy (State railways)	.42
Russia (State railways)	.29
India (State railways)	.08

[1] The lowest paid class of railway employees.

Average pay of several classes of railway employees in the U. S., Great Britain, and Belgium, 1903:

	United States, per day	Great Britain, per day	Belgium[1] per day
Enginemen	$4.01	$1.62	$1.01
Firemen	2.28	.91	.72
Conductors	3.38	1.22	1.08
Other trainmen	2.17	.85	.72
General office clerks	2.21	....	1.11
Station agents	1.87	1.01	1.38
Machinists	2.50	1.50	.85
Carpenters	2.19	1.22	.84
Switch and crossing tenders and watchmen—Men	1.76	.91	.48
Women	....	....	.16

[1] Belgium is chosen for the comparison because the pay of railway labor there is less complicated with premiums and allowances than elsewhere on the Continent. See *Bulletin, Department of Labor, No. 20*, and *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor.*

A STATEMENT OF THE PUBLIC'S INTEREST

(c) Foreign Passenger Rates

In Great Britain, according to the railroads' own statement, the average receipts per passenger per mile is about two cents, and this, as the statement says, is the third-class rate, showing how most people travel. In Germany, again, as the railways' own statement shows, 90 per cent of the people go third or even fourth class, and the average receipts per passenger mile are only scarcely one half the American rate, or 1.07 cents, compared with the American 2.01 cents. The railways' statement tries to get around this by stating that the German third- and fourth-class cars are "little better than box cars." Are we to believe that 90 per cent of German travel goes in box cars? Either those who assert this are utterly ignorant of modern Germany, or are willing to deceive the American people. The writer has recently traveled in all parts of the German Empire, has tried all classes, and knows that German third-class cars are comfortable, well-lit cars, quite as clean and well-ventilated as many American ordinary cars. Ninety per cent of Germans do not go in "box cars." In Belgium and Denmark the average is 0.75; Austria, 1.00; Switzerland, 1.30; Norway and Sweden, 1.16. American rates (except on a very few roads) only average two cents by *including* commuters, etc. This can be seen from the fact that in most states the railroads consider themselves persecuted if asked to charge only two cents a mile. American railroads favor the rich, but charge 90 per cent of the people about double the European rates.

(d) Pay of Railway Labor

It is undoubtedly true that American railway labor is more highly paid than in Europe. American wages are higher than European wages in most pursuits. They are, however, not so much higher as at first appears, and especially as appears from the railways' statement. It picks out Belgium for comparison on the Continent of Europe, perhaps because wages are generally lower in Belgium than in any European country except in the extreme east and south. When it was a question of low passenger rates, Belgium is not mentioned by American railways. European wages generally are materially higher than in Belgium. It must be remembered too that wages are measured by the cost of living, and that the necessities of life, particularly rent, are much cheaper in Europe. In Europe, too, the governments almost always see to it that the men on the State railways have good houses at very cheap rates, old-age pensions, accident and sickness insurance, and many other advantages. This is particularly the case in Germany and Belgium. The German Government distributed in 1903 $109,000,000 in various forms of insurance relief. The Prussian Railway Department alone in 1903 owned 8,860 houses for its employees, and besides loaned over $1,000,000 to workmen's building societies. The little done by a few American roads out of dues paid by their employees is as nothing in comparison. There is more than one side to the question of wages. The Labor reports to which the railways' statement refers for comparative wages are at least eight years old. Europe has made large progress in those years in its treatment of labor.

The Railways' Own Statement

(e) *Capitalization*

In 1903 the Interstate Commerce Commission summarized their capitalization thus:

Stock	$6,155,559,062
Funded debt	6,444,431,226
Total railway capital	$12,599,990,258
Owned by railroads	2,318,391,953
Net railway capital	$10,281,598,305

COST OF RAILWAYS AND EQUIPMENT

The Interstate Commerce Commission in 1903 reported as follows:

Cost of road (193,823 miles)	$10,273,837,190
Cost of equipment	[1] 699,767,723
Total cost	$10,973,504,903

[1] During the last four years new locomotives, passenger and freight cars cost upward of $874,000,000.

It is the large cost of sidings, yard tracks, elevating tracks, and other facilities at terminals rather than the construction of new road that has caused recent additions to railway capital.

For twelve years—1888–99, inclusive—an average of 63.94 per cent of American railway stocks paid no dividends—the lowest amount paying being 29.83 per cent, in 1896, and the highest 40.61, in 1899. Not until 1901 did a majority of railway stocks pay any dividends whatever. Even last year 43.94 per cent paid nothing. During all these years the water in railway stock was gradually absorbed by millions diverted from stockholders to vast extensions, betterments, and improvements. On June 30, 1895, there were 37,855 miles of operated railways representing $2,439,144,503 of capital, in the hands of the receivers. Before they got out, the water was effectually squeezed out of them. At last accounts there were only 1,185 miles under receivers' orders.

AMERICAN VERSUS FOREIGN CAPITALIZATION

Thetest of comparison with foreign railway capitalization furnishes the following demonstration:

	Miles	Capitalization or cost of construction	Capitalization per mile
United Kingdom	22,435	$6,225,144,585	$277,474
Germany (State)	[1]32,125	3,364,290,000	104,725
France (State)	[1]23,938	3,415,400,000	143,053
Russia (State)	[1]35,482	2,700,000,000	76,095
Austria (State)	[1]12,402	1,370,109,725	110,475
Hungary (State)	[1]10,813	701,640,865	64,888
Belgium (State)	[1]2,498	419,410,490	167,898
Holland (State)	[1]1,064	145,885,000	137,103
Switzerland (State)	[1]2,468	257,305,470	104,256
Norway (State)	[1]1,274	50,175,000	39,384
Sweden (State)	[1]2,416	106,419,875	44,048
Denmark (State)	[1]1,112	46,800,000	41,900
Total foreign railways	148,027	$18,925,810,010	$127,696
United States—			
Gross (1903)	205,313	$12,599,990,258	$61,369
Net (1903)	205,313	10,281,598,305	50,077
Cost of construction	205,313	12,794,806,023	62,313

[1] Cost of construction.

NOTE.—Altho American railways are capitalized at less than one half foreign railways, they were constructed by labor costing from two to four times as much. (See WAGES IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES.)

A Statement of the Public's Interest

(e) *Capitalization*

The railways' statement argues that American railways are not overcapitalized because the United States capitalization averages only $61,369 and foreign capitalization $127,696 per mile. *But the question is, What is capitalized?* Large portions of the American railway mileage do not begin to compare with the construction of most European roads. England, for example, allows no grade crossings, compels the best safety devices, etc., while all European roads are supervised by governments which insist on many costly details. European roads are very much more watched than American roads. The result is that European roads are more costly but can attain higher speed and operate with more safety. As to speed, the writer has calculated the speed of the 30 fastest trains running 100 miles or over, leaving London, Paris, Berlin, and New York. (For details, see his tables in the *Review of Reviews* for Nov., 1907.) He finds that the 30 fastest trains leaving New York average 45.23 miles per hour; those leaving Berlin average 45.78 miles per hour; those leaving Paris average 47.49 miles per hour, and those leaving London attain the remarkable average of 52.86 per hour. In other words, American express trains, even when on time (and usually they are behind time), run on the average slower than those of England, France, or Germany. Even our boasted Twentieth Century Limited on the New York Central runs as far as Rochester (372 miles) only 52.76 miles per hour—not so fast as the average English express train. There were in the United Kingdom in the summer of 1907, including long and short runs, 61 trains whose schedule time was 56 miles per hour. Now such speed is only possible with the best track, a perfect system of signals, the latest improvements, and, above all, absence of grade crossings. Naturally this requires more capitalization than our cheaply constructed, poorly graded American roads. Before our railroads can say that they are not overcapitalized we must know how much actual money was paid in, and it is notorious that no railroads in the world have as much water in proportion to money actually paid in. For some details as to the stock-watering of American roads, see article RAILWAYS, p. 1038. See there, too, how the final report of the United States Industrial Commission found that the improvements, of which the railroads make so much, could account for $120,000,000 in 1900, while in that year alone the railroads watered their stock $457,000,000.

STOCK-WATERING

It is this stock-watering, with the resultant striving to earn money on a capital never paid in, that prevents the railroads from giving a satisfactory service, from introducing improvements, from making necessary provisions for human life; it is stock-watering, in a word, that makes the American railway system, once undoubtedly the best in the world, at present, on the important points of track construction, speed, and, above all, safety, distinctly below the systems of Great Britain, France, and Germany. Another important point is that in Europe generally the railroads have had to pay dearly for land. American railroads have bought land cheap and had a vast mileage given them for nothing.

THE RAILWAYS' OWN STATEMENT

(f) Distribution of Railway Capital

The bogy that railway ownership is being dangerously concentrated was refuted by the Report of the Interstate Commerce Commission, Feb. 24, 1905, "that the number of stockholders reported by the carriers in their annual reports for the year ending June 30, 1904, was 327,851." As the holding of railway bonds is even more general, owing to their character as approved securities in estates and trusteeships, the total of those directly interested in railway stocks and bonds must approach 700,000.

A still further distribution of interest in railway securities comes through the large holdings of trustees, administrators, and executors of estates; of bankers and brokers for long lists of customers, and of insurance companies, banks, savings-banks, and other corporations.

How great is this last distribution may be judged from the following statement of railway stocks and bonds held by various corporate bodies:

Insurance companies licensed in Massachusetts	$845,889,038
Savings-banks in six states	442,354,086
Security from educational institutions	47,468,327
Total	$1,335,711,451

An illustration of these holdings of railway securities is afforded by the reports of the following companies:

New York Life Insurance Company (bonds)	$207,334,800
Mutual Life Insurance Company (bonds)	94,982,000
Mutual Life Insurance Company (stocks)	18,860,000
Prudential Life Insurance Company (bonds)	25,977,230
Travelers' Insurance Company (stocks and bonds)	21,823,000

The fire risks in force in the U. S. amount to over $27,000,000,000. More than half the assets of the companies writing this insurance is invested in railway securities.

The significance of these figures is emphasized by the further fact that in the whole U. S. there are over 17,000,000 life-insurance policies in force, covering $10,508,478,776, and 7,305,228 depositors in savings-banks, whose deposits aggregate $2,935,204,845. These millions are all indirectly interested in the present conservative and progressive management of American railways.

(g) As to Discrimination

As for rebates, private-car lines, industrial tracks, and terminal privileges or any other device whereby unjust discriminations are given, the present laws, if enforced, would seem to be sufficient to put a stop to them. If they are not, Congress should immediately strengthen the hands of the Interstate Commerce Commission for the detection and prosecution of the offenders. Because there are black sheep in railway circles, it is not a "square deal" to hamstring this most complex and vital of American industries. A wise surgeon would not attempt to cure a man who squints by cutting off his legs. What legs are to a man, rates are to the railways. None of the railway abuses of which the people complain is going to be cured by substituting mile-posts for brains in the adjustment of rates.

A STATEMENT OF THE PUBLIC'S INTEREST

(f) Concentration of Capital

The railways' statement considers the danger of concentration in railway ownership a "bogy" idea. The reason it gives for this assertion is the distribution of railway shares. But the point is not who owns the railway shares and bonds, but *who controls them.* This is the real danger and this is not a "bogy" idea. The tendency to combination of control is the patent railway fact of the U. S. There have been 5,000 railway companies in the U. S.; there are now only between 800 and 900 reported as independent by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Of these, six giant systems control 90 per cent of the vital railway mileage of the country, and even these six systems have their combinations, with their common holdings overlapping ownership of shares, interrelations of directors, etc. A member of the Interstate Commerce Commission (see article RAILWAYS) is quoted as saying that half a dozen men can meet and practically control the transportation rates of the U. S. Is this no danger? Is it not notorious that railway corporations have largely controlled legislatures of states as widely apart as New Hampshire, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, California, and indeed most of the states of the union? Is it not the plain truth that these gigantic railway corporations exert more power than most states and that they have their representatives and senators in Congress more truly than have the people of the states? As far back as 1871 Charles Francis Adams, himself a railway president, wrote ("Chapters on Erie"):

> The belief is common in America that the day is at hand when corporations far greater than ever—swaying such power as has never in the world's history been trusted in the hands of mere private citizens, controlled by single men, like Vanderbilt, or by combinations of men, like Fisk, Gould, and Sage—after having created a system of quiet but irrepressible corruption, will ultimately succeed in directing government itself.

Later a writer so favorable to America as Mr. Bryce comes to the conclusion (in his "American Commonwealth") that all congressional legislation affecting corporations is systematically managed or at least influenced by corruption. The railroads can no longer lull the American people by calling this fear "bogy." A steadily increasing number of people see that the government must either control the railroads (as in Europe), or the railroads control government, as they do for the most part in the U. S.

(g) As to Discrimination

To this important subject, which is filling today the minds and ears of the people, which is in all the papers, and getting into the courts and legislatures, the railways' statement devotes a paragraph. It goes into no details, but says that abuses are not "to be cured by substituting mile-posts for brains in the adjustment of rates." The railroads misunderstand the public. No man asks such substitution. What the American people ask and mean to have is the substitution of honest service of the public's needs in fixing rates, to a dishonest subserviency to the interests of interallied corporations.

The Railways' Own Statement

(*h*) *Railway Accidents*

As invidious comparisons are often made between the accidents on American and British railways, the following facts should have a corrective effect:

	Passengers carried one mile	Freight tons carried one mile
British railways	9,660,000,000	15,572,000,000
American railways	20,915,763,881	173,221,278,993

Proportion Killed to Passengers Carried One Mile

Great Britain	1 in 61,923,000
United States	1 in 65,168,143

The following tables show the proportion of fatalities to traffic in Europe and the U. S.:

	Europe[1]	United States
Passengers carried one mile	44,080,000,000	20,915,763,881
Passengers killed per billion carried one mile	12.16	15.35
Freight tons carried one mile	76,209,092,720	193,221,278,993
Employees killed per billion tons carried one mile	29.65	18.66

[1] Including United Kingdom.

Relatively to passenger and freight traffic, fatalities to passengers and employees are less on American than foreign railways, as the following table shows:

Year	Country	Mileage	Passengers killed	Employees killed
1901	Russian Europe	28,982	93	458
1902–3	Norway	1,430	1	4
1902	Sweden	7,421	6	21
1902–3	Denmark	1,879	.....	27
1903	Germany	34,014	73	505
1902	Holland	2,023	3	23
1902	Belgium	2,827	6	36
1900	France	23,938	[1]94	314
1902	Switzerland	2,469	5	28
1896	Spain	7,994	19	31
1900	Italy	9,879	33	63
1902	Austria	12,402	11	87
1902	Hungary	10,813	11	66
1903	United Kingdom	22,435	156	497
	Rest of Europe	8,937	25	100
	Totals	177,363	536	2,259
1903	United States	207,977	321	3,233

[1] Since 1900, French reports cover only accidents to trains.

GENERAL LIABILITY TO ACCIDENT

That undue prominence is given to railway accidents is shown by the following statement of "accidents resulting from causes to which all men are exposed without regard to their employment," taken from the Year Book of the Travelers' Insurance Company for 1905:

	Per cent
Accidents to pedestrians	24.14
At house (indoors)	18.80
Horses and vehicles	18.16
At house (outside)	15.98
Recreation	6.15

A Statement of the Public's Interest

(*h*) *Railway Accidents*

It is difficult to coolly characterize the railroads' statement upon this point. To manipulate capital and stocks is bad enough, but it is another thing when one comes to human life. According to such a sober authority as the *Journal* of the American Statistical Association (March, 1906), based upon the reports of the U. S. Interstate Commerce Commission, it is nearly four times as dangerous to be a railroad employee in the U. S. as in the United Kingdom, and more than four times as dangerous as to be employed on most of the government-owned roads of Europe. Yet the railways' astonishing statement is that statistics show that it is safer to be a railway employee in the U. S. How does the railways' statement arrive at this astonishing assertion? It says so because our American trains carry more freight per number of employees, and *in proportion to the number of freight tons carried one mile*, fewer railway employees are, therefore, killed in this country than in Europe! But freight or lives? Of what are we talking? When per number of men employed nearly four times as many are killed in the U. S. as in the United Kingdom, it is pretty poor comfort to the widow and the orphan, to be told that the husband and father's death helped carry more freight per ton-mile, than he could have done if living in England. If the railways desired to show how our railway men are overworked, their statistics might answer, but statisticians, other than railway men, do not measure life by amount of freight carried per ton-mile. All statisticians except these railway officials are unanimous that our railways recklessly kill more people than any other railways in the world.

Another point: Who would imagine from reading the railway statement that *besides* the 321 passengers and 3,233 employees killed by the railways in 1903, there were also 5,879 other persons killed, who were neither passengers nor employees, but killed on the railways mainly at grade crossings? Of them the railways' statement gives no hint. But fortunately the Interstate Commerce Commission does speak of them. Most statisticians cannot ignore 5,879 persons killed. Yet in Europe there are few such accidents because of the absence of grade crossings and the careful guarding of the roads. Still for our railways to be so careful would require filling our capitalization with something more than water, or we should have to increase the number of our employees measured by the amount of freight carried per ton-mile. As for injuries, the railroads' statement is again wholly silent. Yet one would think that 60,481 employees, 8,231 passengers, and 76,553 others injured on railways in the U. S., in 1903, sufficient to be reported by the Interstate Commerce Commission, deserved some statement from the railways.

One point the railways' statement does try to make. It considers that the public gives "undue prominence" to such a little matter as killing 9,480 people and injuring 145,255 in one year, because the Travelers' Insurance Company reports 24.14 per cent of accidents to pedestrians and only 4.77 per cent to accidents on trains. But have the railroads asked themselves what proportion of time the average man spends a year

THE RAILWAYS' OWN STATEMENT

Railroad travel	4.77
Bicycle accidents	4.06
Street-car travel	2.74
Use of firearms	1.73
Animal bites	1.52
Assaults	1.20
Steamship travel	.70
Miscellaneous	.05
	100.00

NOTE.—Only 1 in 10 of the accidents in railroad travel were to passengers.

These figures prove that American railways are not less careful of human life than foreign roads, but that the difference lies in the extent and volume of their traffic.

A STATEMENT OF THE PUBLIC'S INTEREST

on trains (including the large number who rarely if ever go on trains at all), compared with the time spent afoot? The percentage of accidents on trains occurs wholly in the comparatively small proportion of time per year the average man spends on trains. The "undue prominence" given, however, to needless and cruel accidents to brakemen and others on American railways is probably due to the inability of the American public to appreciate the number of tons of freight per ton mile carried by each overworked employee.

A few other points NOT covered by the railways' statement:

The purchase of legislation by American railways. (See article CORRUPTION.)

The violation of existent laws.

The persistent disregard of the public.

The robbery of the public purse by overcharges for carrying the U. S. mails.

RAILWAY RELIEF DEPARTMENTS (for Germany, see INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE): These began in England, 1850; Canada, 1873; and the United States, 1880. The object is to create savings funds, to which the employees can contribute in dues, for their relief in case of sickness or accident and for their families in case of death. Several of the larger railroads of the U. S. have such departments, the first to do so being the Baltimore & Ohio, in 1880. Sometimes insurance in them is made compulsory for the employees and sometimes not. The Baltimore & Ohio made it compulsory for new employees. Each such employee receiving $50 per month was compelled to pay into the fund $1.50 per month and was entitled to $1 per week (for 52 weeks) in case of sickness or disablement; $1,000 in case of death from accident; $500 in case of death from sickness. The employee, however, forfeited his right to sue for damages. In twenty years the Baltimore & Ohio paid out $6,010,199 to employees and $1,447,232 for expenses, its income being from dues and interest on cash on hand. The Pennsylvania established a similar system in 1885, and paid out $7,797,532 in five years. The Reading, Plant, Burlington, and Atlantic Coast Line followed suit, tho all of the systems were not made compulsory.

In 1884 the Baltimore & Ohio established also an old-age pension, and the Pennsylvania, a large fund in 1890. The latter paid out $244,619 in the first year to persons over sixty-five and thirty years or more on the company's pay-roll.

RAILWAY UNIONS, AMERICAN: The railway employees of the United States number more than 1,000,000 persons, of whom 300,000 are organized in the so-called railway unions. The principal organizations are: the Grand Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Order of Railway Conductors, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, the Order of Railway Telegraphers, the Switchmen's Union of North America, and the International Brotherhood of Maintenance-of-Way Employees.

Originally the engineers admitted firemen and machinists, but after six months membership was restricted to locomotive engineers; the membership of the Trainmen consists of conductors, brakemen, train baggagemen, train flagmen, yardmasters, yard foremen, and switchmen; the Telegraphers receive telegraphers, line repairers, levermen, or interlockers, including all employees connected with the operation of signal towers and interlocking plants; the Maintenance-of-Way Employees admits all persons employed in the track, bridge and building, water and fuel department, and signal and interlocking service.

Benefit Features

The most significant feature of the railroad unions is the extent to which they have developed their systems of insurance against death and disability. The insurance departments have occupied a chief place in their systems of organization and are today comparable in benefits paid to any of the fraternal insurance societies. These unions furnish insurance to their members in amounts varying from $1,500 to $4,500 in the Engineers; from $1,000 to $3,000 in the Conductors; from $1,500 to $3,000 in the Firemen; from $500 to $1,350 in the Trainmen; from $300 to $1,000 in the Telegraphers; from $600 to $1,200 in the Switchmen, and $500 to $1,000 in the Maintenance-of-Way Employees. The insurance is compulsory upon all members who can pass a satisfactory physical examination and is furnished at actual cost, which varies from $7.20 per $1,000 in the Telegraphers to $20 in the Switchmen.

Since the organization of the insurance department in 1867 the Engineers, up to May, 1900, had paid $8,562,447 in death and disability claims, and on Jan. 1, 1906, had $87,679,000 in outstanding insurance. The Conductors, on Jan. 1, 1906, after paying insurance since Oct., 1870, showed a total of $7,989,567 paid for death and disability. The Firemen, from 1874 to June 30, 1905, have paid $8,751,315 insurance, and on June 30, 1904, had outstanding insurance to the amount of $75,559,000. The Trainmen during 1889–1905 inclusive paid $11,725,059.83, and on Jan. 1, 1905, showed $77,330,600 insurance in force. The Telegraphers, the Switchmen, and the Maintenance-of-Way Employees are younger organizations. Since Jan. 1, 1898, the Telegraphers have paid about $200,000 in death benefits. The Switchmen, up to Jan. 1, 1906, paid $511,350 in death and disability claims. The Maintenance-of-Way Employees since organization in 1887 paid, up to Sept. 30, 1904, about $150,000.

The most distinctive characteristic of the insurance features of these organizations has been the placing of disability insurance on an equality with death insurance. The fact that railway em-

ployees are especially exposed to the risk of disabling accidents has been the chief influence in this direction. The large number of claims paid for disability in the Conductors' and the Firemen's and the Trainmen's beneficiary departments during recent years shows the high importance of disability insurance to the men engaged in the most hazardous occupations. The Firemen for eleven years, from 1894 to 1904, paid disability claims equal to 24.5 per cent of the whole number of claims paid, about one third of the number of death claims. Among the Conductors the disability claims for the same period amounted to one seventh of the death claims paid. The Trainmen, during a period of twenty years, 1884–1904, paid disability claims equal to 32⅓ per cent of all claims. Owing to greater efficiency in administration of disability laws and the improved conditions under which the work of conductors, firemen, and trainmen are performed, the number of disability claims shows a decrease. During 1893–94 and 1903–4 the disability claims paid by the Conductors were respectively 3.8 and 3 per 1,000 of the total membership. In the Firemen during the biennial terms 1894–96 and 1902–4 they were respectively 6 and 4.3 per 1,000. In the Trainmen for the years 1886, 1890, 1896, 1900, and 1904 they were respectively 4.6, 8.6, 7.2, 4.9, and 5.2.

The primary purpose of the insurance features is to obtain for the members and their families a higher degree of economic security. They have undertaken to insure against two great economic contingencies, first, the loss to a family of an income-earning member, and second, the economic hardship of shifting from one industry to another made necessary by certain severe physical accidents. The present system represents a compromise between the original idea of purely charitable relief and the modern idea of business protection. Furthermore, the insurance features have been the means of securing and retaining members and thus increasing the strength of the organizations as factors in collective bargaining.

The railway unions are among the oldest of existing American national trade organizations. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers was formed at Detroit, Mich., Aug. 17, 1863, as the "Brotherhood of the Footboard," and was reorganized at Indianapolis, Ind., Aug. 17, 1864, under the present name. The organization was prosperous from the outset, and at the twenty-first convention in 1884 Grand Chief Arthur reported 258 subordinate divisions with 16,000 members; and at the sixth biennial session in May, 1904, Grand Chief Stone reported 652 divisions with 46,400 members. The Order of Railway Conductors was organized at Mendota, Ill., July 6, 1868, as the "Conductors' Brotherhood," and reorganized at Columbus, Ohio, on Dec. 15, 1868, under its present name. On Jan. 1, 1890, the Order had 249 subordinate divisions and 13,720 members; on Jan. 1, 1904, there were 446 divisions with 31,288 members. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen was organized at Port Jervis, N. Y., on Dec. 1, 1873, as a benevolent association. In 1885 it became a labor organization with a protective policy. Its early growth was retarded by the great strike of 1877, by the opposition of the International Firemen's Union, by the difficulties with the Knights of Labor in 1885, and by the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy strike of 1888. In spite of these temporary checks the Brotherhood has grown rapidly and showed by the close of 1893 510 lodges with 28,681 members. During the next two years these fell off to 484 lodges with 21,408 members; since 1895 the growth has been more rapid than ever, and at present the membership numbers about 55,000. The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen was founded at Oneonta, N. Y., Sept. 23, 1883, under the name "Brotherhood of Railroad Brakemen," which it retained until Jan. 1, 1890, when, because many of its members had been promoted in the service, the more appropriate name of "Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen" was adopted. On Aug. 31, 1893, the membership was 28,540, but on Dec. 31, 1894, it had fallen to 22,359, and at the close of 1896 to 22,326. Since 1896 the increase has been rapid, and on Dec. 31, 1903, there were 699 lodges with 68,158 members. The Order of Railroad Telegraphers was instituted at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, June 9, 1886. By April 30, 1893, the membership numbered 17,780. Then followed a rapid decline to 10,114 on April 30, 1894, 6,684 on Dec. 31, 1894, and finally to 4,976 on Dec. 31, 1895. On Aug. 31, 1904, the members had increased to 37,700. The switchmen had a local organization as early as Aug., 1877, but a national union was not formed until Feb. 22, 1886, when the Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association was inaugurated. This association was forced by the defalcation of its treasurer to disband in 1894, and a new organization, the Switchmen's Union, was formed in 1897. Since then the union has grown rapidly and on Jan. 1, 1903, had a membership of 14,000. The present International Brotherhood of Maintenance-of-Way Employees has suffered many vicissitudes in its development. In 1887 it was organized as the "Order of Railway Trackmen." In Oct., 1891, this organization, with a membership of 600, united with the "Brotherhood of Railway Section Firemen," an organization of 400 members. The new union took the name of "Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen of North America." In 1903 the organization became the Brotherhood of Maintenance-of-Way Employees. During recent years the brotherhood has shown considerable increase. In 1903 over 15,000 members were added, making a total of over 40,000 on Jan. 1, 1904.

Dates of Organization

JAMES BOYD KENNEDY.

REFERENCES: Johnson, Emory R., *Brotherhood Relief and Insurance of Railway Employees*, in Bulletin of Department of Labor (Washington, 1898), vol. iii., p. 556; Kennedy, James B., *Disability Insurance in the Railway Brotherhood*, in The Johns Hopkins University Circular, New Series, 1905, No. 6, whole number 179; Kennedy, James B., *The Beneficiary Features of American Railway Unions*, in *Studies in American Trade-Unionism*, ed. by Hollender and Barnett, 1906 (New York, 1906), p. 322.

RAILWAY UNIONS (ENGLISH): *The Amalgamated Association of Railway Servants*, the main English union of railway employees, was organized in 1871, and having in 1904 616 branches with 53,407 members. It had in 1904 an income of £69,118, and expended £42,470, mainly in grants and benefits. *The Associated Locomotive Engineers and Firemen* were organized in 1880, with 12,100 members in 1904, and the *General Railway Workers* in 1889, with 3,617 members in 1904.

RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE: Founded in New York City in 1906, for the teaching of political and social science from the standpoint of socialism.

The resources of the Rand School are made up: From the income of an endowment bequeathed by Mrs. Carrie A. Rand; from tuition; from the sale of books and pamphlets; from dues and contributions of members of the Rand School Society, and from other voluntary contributions.

The officers of the society are Algernon Lee, president; Morris Hillquit, treasurer; and W. J. Ghent, secretary. *Address*: 112 East Ninteenth Street.

RAPP, GEORGE: Founder of the German Harmonist Colony in the United States (see HARMONISTS); born, 1757, at Iptingen Württemberg. He was very religious, but soon developed ideas of his own as to the Church and State. He began preaching in 1787, but being persecuted, gathered his possessions and followers and emigrated to the U. S. in 1803. The colony of Harmony was established in 1804 in Butler County, Pa., from whence it was removed to Posey County, Ind., in 1814–15. In 1824 the colonists sold out to Robert Owen, and returned to the neighborhood of Pittsburg, where they established *Economy*. Rapp was the spiritual and temporal director as prophet, priest, and king, and every matter of importance was referred to him. He governed wisely until his death in 1847.

RAU, KARL HEINRICH: Political economist; born Erlangen, 1792. In 1818 he became professor at Erlangen, and in 1832 at Heidelberg. From 1837 to 1840 was in the First Chamber of the Grand Duchy of Baden, and later a counselor of the duchy. Died in 1870.

His "Lehrbuch der Politischen Oekonomie" was long recognized in Germany as almost an encyclopedia in economic studies.

RECALL, THE (or Imperative Mandate): A piece of governmental machinery by which, whenever any of the constituents of a public officer do not like his actions, they can, by signing and filing a petition for his recall, suspend him from office. If he is an elective officer, a new election is held for the balance of his term, and at this election the old officer is a candidate for reelection unless he expressly declines, and others are nominated in the regular way. If he is an appointive officer, the appointing power must appoint some other man. The percentage for the petitions is 50 per cent in the case of appointive officers and sometimes 50 in the case of elective officers, tho in some instances it goes as low as 25 per cent or 20 per cent.

The recall recognizes that the people are the supreme power. It gives them the right to discharge their own servants whenever they wish, a right that is exercised by every private employer.

It distinctly recognizes that the people rule, not one day in the year, but every day; that their officers are not rulers of the people, but the people's servants. It means a more complete and constant control by the people over their own government, and as such it is, of course, in the completest harmony with the fundamental aims of our government.

This view was distinctly sustained by the courts in the Los Angeles case in the summer of 1905. An alderman who was ousted from his office by petition and subsequent vote of the people, applied for reinstatement, and one of his grounds was that the people had made a contract with him for a definite period and that it could not be abrogated except by mutual consent. The court explicitly denied this contention and said the officer did not have a vested or property right in his office.

The agitation for the recall in Switzerland began about the same time as that for direct legislation proper, or the initiative and referendum, and it was incorporated into their law in some places; but after the Swiss people secured the initiative and referendum so generally, the need for the recall lessened and to-day the agitation for it in Switzerland has almost subsided.

From 1895 and on Hon. J. Warner Mills, of Denver, headed an active but unsuccessful agitation for its insertion in the Denver city charter.

It was adopted two or three years ago in Los Angeles, Cal., and used with telling effect on a recreant alderman. Petitions are now out for a second use of it against an alderman with whom many of his constituents are much dissatisfied. No one could possibly persuade the people of Los Angeles to abandon it now. It has recently been incorporated into the charters of four or five other California cities and into that of Seattle, Wash., where the vote stood 9,312 in favor to 1,271 against, or a majority of over 8,000.

That it is greatly needed in the United States is shown by the franchises given away, the bad laws passed, the jobbery, etc., of our city councils and state legislatures; by the non-administration and bad administration of the laws that we have, by executive officers; by the not infrequent inattention, insolence, and even open defiance of the people by elected officers who feel absolutely sure of their office during its term.

Its effect will be to make legislators far more responsive to the wishes of their constituents, to make executive officers seek to really enforce the laws, and, most important of all, to make the people feel that they are responsible for the men they choose to office and more really interested in their government. If embodied into law it will not often be used, because the fact that it can be used at any time will make officers do their duty.

It is not a part of direct legislation as it has nothing whatever to do with legislation, tho it has with legislators; but the principle behind it, that of bringing the government under the more constant and direct control of the people, is the same as that behind direct legislation, and hence there are few if any advocates of direct legislation but what are also advocates of the recall.

ELTWEED POMEROY.

RECIPROCITY in trade is an agreement made between two countries, whereby they agree to make reciprocal or equivalent reductions in the duties on certain articles. This policy has been considerably advocated in several countries, first prominently in the United States by James G. Blaine. By the third section of the act of Congress of 1890, called the McKinley Act, it was provided that, "with a view to secure reciprocal trade," sugars not above 16 Dutch standard, molasses, coffee, and hides should be admitted into the U. S. free of duty, unless the president should become satisfied that reciprocal favors will not be granted to the products of the U. S. Arrangements of this character were concluded with Brazil, Honduras, Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Austria-Hungary, Germany, Spain (for Cuba and Porto Rico), and Great Britain (as to British Guiana and certain of the British West Indies).

These arrangements were superseded by the tariff act of Aug., 1894.

Reciprocity treaties have, however, since been signed as follows, under the Wilson Act of 1894, and especially under section 3 of the Dingley Tariff of 1897:

Reciprocity Treaties and Agreements Since 1850

(Prepared by the Bureau of Statistics of the Department of Commerce and Labor)

Countries with which Reciprocity Treaties and Agreements Have Been Made	Signed	Took effect	Terminated
British North American Possessions (treaty)	June 5, 1854	March 16, 1855	March 17, 1866
Hawaiian Islands (treaty)	Jan. 30, 1875	Sept. 9, 1876	April 30, 1900
Brazil (agreement)	Jan. 31, 1891	April 1, 1891	
Santo Domingo (agreement)	June 4, 1891	Sept. 1, 1891	
Great Britain:			
Barbardos (agreement)	Feb. 1, 1892	Feb. 1, 1892	
Jamaica (agreement)	Feb. 1, 1892	Feb. 1, 1892	
Leeward Islands (agreement)	Feb. 1, 1892	Feb. 1, 1892	
Trinidad (including Tobago) (agreement)	Feb. 1, 1892	Feb. 1, 1892	
Windward Islands, excepting Grenada (agreement)	Feb. 1, 1892	Feb. 1, 1892	Aug. 27, 1894
British Guiana (agreement)	Feb. 1, 1892	April 1, 1892	
Salvador (agreement)	Dec. 30, 1891	Feb. 1, 1892 (provisional)	
Nicaragua (agreement)	March, 11, 1892	March 12, 1892	
Honduras (agreement)	April 29, 1892	May 25, 1892 (provisional)	
Guatemala (agreement)	Dec. 30, 1891	May 30, 1892	
Spain for Cuba and Porto Rico (agreement)	June 16, 1891	Sept. 1, 1891 (provisional)	
Austria-Hungary (agreement)	May 25, 1892	May 26, 1892	
France (agreement)	May 28, 1898	June 1, 1898	Still in force
Germany (agreement)	Jan. 30, 1892	Feb. 1, 1892	Aug. 24, 1894
	July 10, 1900	July 13, 1900	Still in force
Portugal and Azores and Madeira Islands (agreement)	May 22, 1900	June 12, 1900	Still in force
Italy (agreement)	Feb. 8, 1900	July 18, 1900	Still in force
Switzerland (treaty of 1850)		June 1, 1898	March 23, 1900
Switzerland		Jan. 1, 1906	Still in force
Cuba (agreement)	Dec. 17, 1903	Dec. 27, 1903	Still in force

Reciprocity treaties or agreements were also negotiated and signed under authority of section 4 of the Act of 1897, with the following governments: United Kingdom, for Jamaica, Turks and Caicos Islands, Barbados, Bermuda, and British Guiana; Dominican Republic; Nicaragua; Ecuador; Argentina; France—but the U. S. Senate has not acted upon them.

The treaty with Cuba, which went into operation Dec. 27, 1903, gives a reduction of 20 per cent duty on all dutiable articles from Cuba entering the U. S., and a reduction ranging from 20 to 40 per cent on articles from the U. S. entering Cuba.

Feb. 28, 1906, the president, by proclamation, extended to Germany the benefits of reductions of duty allowed under section 3 of the Dingley Tariff Act. On Sept. 1, 1906, a reciprocal arrangement embracing the same articles went into effect between the U. S. and Spain.

RECLAMATION OF LAND: See Irrigation; Swamp Lands.

RÉCLUS, JACQUES ÉLISEÉ: French Socialist and anarchist communist; born at Sainte Foy la Grande, 1830; studied in Rhenish Prussia and at Berlin. Coming to Paris, his extreme republican views caused him to leave the country after the *coup d'état* of Dec. 2, 1851. Till 1857 he traveled in England, Ireland, the United States, and New Granada. In 1857 he returned to Paris and published his geographical researches. He wrote various scientific works, contributing as well to anarchist and radical journals. Taking part with the Paris Communards in 1871, he was arrested, and, tho defended by eminent scientists, was sentenced to transportation for life, a sentence afterward changed to one of banishment. Going to Switzerland, he was admitted to the benefits of amnesty in 1879. In 1882 he initiated the anti-marriage movement, his two daughters marrying without religious or civil ceremony; appointed, in 1892, professor of comparative geography at the University of Brussels. Died in 1905. Author: "Geographie Universelle"; "Anarchy by an Anarchist"; "Evolution and Revolution." In 1878 he wrote to a congress of anarchists at Freiberg: "We are revolutionaries because we desire justice. . . . Progress has never resulted from mere peaceful evolution. . . . We are anarchists who recognize no one as our master. . . . There is no such thing as morality without liberty. . . . We are also international collectivists, for we are aware that the very existence of human beings necessarily implies a certain social grouping."

RECREATION CENTERS: Public provision of recreation for adults as well as children is increasingly recognized as essential, especially in the modern city. The playground movement sprang from a public awakenment to the pitiful lack of opportunity for play afforded to the child in congested city areas. Children's playgrounds have become accepted necessities in city after city throughout America and Europe. We are now awakening to the need for recreation facilities which will serve not only the children but the whole family and every member of the community, young and old.

The most complete system of public recreation centers has recently been worked out in Chicago, but it was preceded by earlier and partial provision in Boston and New York.

Boston, the first American city to establish playgrounds, was also the first to establish free public indoor gymnasiums. The first of these was opened in 1897, and from this the idea was developed that each ward or section of the city should have "ward buildings" containing baths, gymnasiums, and assembly halls. The scheme has only partially been carried out. New York has made the best progress in opening its public school buildings for social and recreative purposes. The Chicago system of recreation centers in small parks involves, however, practically every essential feature of the earlier enterprises and in addition makes a great advance beyond anything hitherto attempted in this country or abroad.

The Boston plan was developed and its outworking still remains under the direction of the Department of Baths. Other cities insist that

the Board of Education is the only proper authority under which to place not only playgrounds but all public provision of gymnasiums and recreative facilities. The Chicago development, however, has been accomplished by the South Park Commission of that city.

In 1900 one of the foremost park experts of our country, George A. Parker, of Hartford, Conn., made an investigation of the lack of parks in industrial communities. In his report he described his ideal of the socialized park:

> I would have playgrounds for the children, lots of shade, and, if possible, grass where the workingman's wife and children could sit during the summer afternoons. I would have lots of seats and tables and a superabundance of light, so that the man after a hard day's work would find a pleasant place during the evening hours, one in which, if he so desires, he could take his evening meal. I would have bright flowers, as circumstances would permit, but none or few shrubs. I would have a stadium where contests could take place, and an outdoor and indoor gymnasium. I would have a shelter with an abundance of room, light, and heat for rainy evenings and winter. I would have band concerts and parties. I believe that the park which is needed in industrial cities has not yet been built.

Mr. Parker's prophecy has been fulfilled to the smallest detail in the Chicago enterprise which was carried through by the South Park Commission under the leadership of President Henry G. Foreman and Superintendent J. Frank Foster.

Enthusiastically backed by the people of the South Side, who voted with large majorities in favor of the various bond issues, these commissioners expended between the years 1904 and 1907 $6,500,000 in securing the land and erecting ten superb neighborhood club-houses in as many parks. The cost of buildings and improvements, exclusive of land, averaged no less than $90,000, and the average annual cost of maintenance is from $25,000 to $30,000 for each center—this including all expense, indoor and out. On the West Side of Chicago the people voted in 1906 to authorize the Park Commission of that section to issue $1,000,000 in bonds. This amount has created three recreation centers similar to those on the South Side. And in April, 1907, the North Side voted $500,000, while the South Side at the same election voted $3,000,000 to extend the superb system of ten already established. These ten recreation centers in small parks are all located in neighborhoods of working people, several being placed to serve the needs of the hundred thousand or more whose wage-earners are employed in the stock-yards and packing-plants.

The areas of these small parks vary, the five smallest being ten acres each in extent while the largest is sixty acres. Each one of the ten includes a generous ball field, which in the winter is turned into a skating-rink, a toboggan-slide being erected at one end. There is an outdoor gymnasium for men and boys and another for women and girls, both having competent gymnasium instructors. A large swimming-pool is provided—suits, towels, and use of dressing-rooms being absolutely free. The sand piles and wading-pools for children have seats surrounding them so that the mother can sit comfortably under an awning and watch her children at play, perhaps bringing sewing or other work that needs to be done. The playground is divided into different parts for younger and older children so that each group may have just the sort of apparatus and games adapted to its particular age.

The most progressive feature of the recreation center is the people's club-house with its indoor gymnasiums and locker rooms, its assembly hall for meetings and social gatherings, its small club rooms for the use of small gatherings of societies, its restaurant, providing simple articles of food at little cost, and its reading-room, maintained as a branch of the public library. For none of these facilities except the restaurant is there the slightest charge. The boy or girl enrolls in a gymnasium class in the autumn when the outdoor gymnasiums can no longer be used. If he is regular in attendance and has a gymnasium suit, he is given the use of a locker for the year. A neighborhood mandolin club or debating society has but to apply in order to secure a fine club room for meeting-place once a week throughout the winter. Similarly a group of young people wishing to have a party is given the use of the beautiful assembly hall, palm and flower decoration being supplied by the Park Commissioners at no cost. The same hall may be used by men's or women's clubs for series of lectures on topics of interest and value to the neighborhood. Banquets have been held by local organizations. In fact the space and facilities are at the disposal of the people of the neighborhood for any reasonable use except political and religious meetings.

The pessimists who doubt whether the people take advantage of opportunities will be astonished by the use of these playgrounds and community club-houses. The total attendance on the ten recreation centers for the year ending Nov. 30, 1906, the second year of their existence, was 5,473,695, and this figure does not include visitors or onlookers, but only those who made actual use of the facilities. The indoor gymnasiums had 31,276 different individuals enrolled in gymnasium classes, while the attendance for the year mounted up to 371,158. Of the twenty gymnasiums thus provided, there are four classes a day: just after school is the time for the younger school children; the latter part of the afternoon is for the older school children; in the early evening the classes are designed for working boys and girls, while the latter half of the evening is given over to adults. The shower-baths had an attendance of 806,032; swimming-pools, 756,299; reading-rooms, 608,274; social gatherings and lectures in the assembly halls, 186,534; use of smaller club rooms by 28,239; the lunch rooms had 429,312 customers at five cents or more each; the outdoor gymnasiums, 2,278,847. In the playgrounds and gymnasiums the greatest vigilance is exercised to prevent accidents, and with the enormous attendance it is marvelous that during 1906 there were only thirty-five outdoors, twenty-six in the indoor gymnasiums, and three in the swimming-pools.

Other cities have begun to take notice of this extraordinary civic enterprise, and it has stirred President Roosevelt to express his admiration for Chicago's forward step. Just before the convention of the Playground Association of America in Chicago, in June, 1907, he called public attention to them in the following words: "I trust that all our larger municipalities will send representatives to see the magnificent system that Chicago has erected in its South Park section, one of the most notable civic achievements of any American city."

GRAHAM ROMEYN TAYLOR.

RED CROSS SOCIETY, THE: Was organized at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1866; in the United States in 1884. The name comes from its flag, a red cross on a white field.

"It is a confederation of relief societies in different countries, the aim of which is to ameliorate the condition of sick and wounded soldiers in time of war; and its operations extend over nearly the entire civilized world." This is from the original constitution of the society in Europe. Its organization in Switzerland was due to the efforts of Mr. Henri Dunant and Florence Nightingale, who had done most efficient service during the campaign in the Crimea (1854–56).

In the United States, comparatively exempt from the danger of war, the scope of the society is enlarged. Its constitution says "that the society shall have for one of its objects aid to the suffering in times of great national calamities, such as floods and cyclones—visitations to which we are peculiarly liable—great fires, pestilence, earthquake, local famines." Its organization was due to Miss Clara Barton, until 1904 its active president. During the Civil War Miss Barton did efficient service in alleviating the suffering of the sick and wounded. In the Franco-Prussian War she was connected with the European Red Cross Society, and after her return to this country she finally got the Red Cross Society recognized by the U. S. Government. The organization acts under the Geneva Treaty, the provisions for which were made in international convention at Geneva, Switzerland, Aug. 22, 1864, and have since been signed by nearly all civilized nations.

Many great national calamities have claimed the services of the Red Cross in the U. S. After the great forest fires of Michigan came the floods in Ohio and Mississippi in 1882; the Mississippi cyclone; the floods of 1884; the Virginia epidemic; the Texas drought; the Charleston earthquake; the Mount Vernon (Ill.) cyclone; and the great Johnstown disaster. The society also ministered to the peasants of Russia during the great famine there, and is in Turkey aiding the tortured Armenians. More recently in Cuba. Philippine typhoon (1905), Japanese famine (1905–6), Vesuvian disaster (1906), San Francisco earthquake (1906), Valparaiso earthquake (1906), Gulf storm (1906), Chinese famine (1906–7), Russian famine (1906–7).

In 1905 the American National Red Cross was re-incorporated by Act of Congress, and is now under government supervision. *Secretary*, Charles L. Magee, Room 341, War Dept., Washington, D. C.

REDMOND, JOHN E.: Member British Parliament for Waterford, Ireland; born 1856; was educated at Clongowes College, Kildare, and Dublin colleges. He entered the civil service, and was for a time clerk in the vote office, House of Commons. In 1886 he was elected to the bar at Gray's Inn. He sat in Parliament for New Ross, 1881–85; Wexford, North, 1885–91; Waterford, 1892 to the present. In 1900 he was elected chairman of the Irish Parliamentary Party, and led it with great ability, always ready to ally himself with any English party which would assist the Irish to reach their coveted goal —an independent Ireland with home rule. In this behalf he visited the United States in 1904. *Address*: Upper Fitzwilliam Street, Dublin, Ireland.

REEVES, HON. WILLIAM PEMBER: The first Minister of Labor in New Zealand and since 1896 Agent-General for New Zealand in London; born in Christchurch, New Zealand, 1857. Winning academic honors in New Zealand, he was sent to Oxford to be educated for the English bar, but returned and entered the New Zealand bar, which, however, he soon relinquished for journalism on his father's paper. In 1887 he entered Parliament and became a leader in the legislative reforms that swept the country in 1890. In 1891 he entered the cabinet as Minister of Labor, where his great work has been the establishment of industrial arbitration, adopted almost without opposition in 1894. In 1896 he went to London as Agent-General for New Zealand. He is author of various books and articles on New Zealand.

REFERENDUM (for definitions and the principles involved, see DIRECT LEGISLATION, p. 384–387): The immediate origin of the referendum is in the famous Swiss *landsgemeinden* (see below), tho precursors may be found in the ancient *Ecclesia* of Athens, or the general assembly instituted by Solon, in the sixth century B.C., where the citizens had the right of voting on war and peace and questions of general policy. Somewhat akin, too, was the Roman *Comitia Tribula*, or meetings of the people by tribes, which was made in the republic a lawmaking assembly. Compare, too, the gathering of the *ceorls* (churls) in the German mark, where every freeman had a right, by the clash of his shield, to signify assent to the proposition of the earls, or, by refusing to do so, to withhold assent, and this vote being a final decision. (See MARK.) (For the American town meeting, see DIRECT LEGISLATION.) Similarly in Switzerland, from times immemorial the people of at least some of her cantons, notoriously of Uri and Appenzell and the two Unterwalds, have met, in assemblies, or *landsgemeinden*, in the open, and decided laws by a direct popular vote. As, however, the cantons (see SWITZERLAND) grew in population, and the confederation took in towns and cities, this was not always possible, tho the custom still obtains in Uri, Appenzell, Glarus, and the two Unterwalds. Yet even in the cities at various times all the citizens were asked to vote on certain measures, as in Bern and Zurich at the time of the Reformation, to see how many were Protestants. Bern, from 1469 to 1524 is said to have taken sixty referendums. The referendum appears, too, in a rudimentary form as early as the sixteenth century in the cantons of Graubünden or Grisons and Valais, before those districts had become full-fledged members of the Swiss confederation, and while they were still known as *Zugewandte Orte*, or Associated States. Delegates from their several communes met periodically, but were always obliged to refer their decisions to the communes themselves for final approval. In the same manner the delegates from the various cantons to the old Federal Diet, or assembly of the Swiss confederation, referred their votes to these states. In 1802 the constitution of the Helvetic Republic was referred to a popular vote. Most of the Swiss cantonal constitutional changes have been made by the referendum, and their constitutions now usually require that all such changes be thus made. St. Gall gave the people the right to prevent a law coming into force in 1831; the commune of Basel, in 1832; Valais, 1839; Lucerne, 1841. Valais in 1842 passed a measure referring all laws to the people, but the people voted against the law. Vaud in 1845, and Bern in 1846, adopted the optional referendum. In 1868, after an agitation largely led by the Socialist, Karl Bürkli (*q. v.*), the com-

History in Switzerland

pulsory referendum was adopted and the initiative, if one third of the members of the Great Council, or 3,000 citizens, demanded it. Thurgau, Bern, Schaffhausen, soon followed, till the compulsory referendum exists to-day in all the Swiss cantons except Freiburg.

The federal referendum was established in 1874. It is compulsory for an amendment of the constitution, if called for by 30,000 citizens or eight cantons. The initiative (see DIRECT LEGISLATION) if supported by 50,000 voters also exists in the federal government; tho nominally admissible only on constitutional amendments, it is in practise applied to any measure by giving it the form of a change in the constitution. Between April, 1874, and Oct., 1896, no less than thirty-eight referendums were taken.

As to the results, however, in Switzerland, authorities somewhat differ, tho it is probable, too, that it is a privilege now so deeply rooted that it could not be taken from the law books. Generally speaking, democratic and progressive students believe it to be a great success, and advocate its adoption in every country. If at times it has prevented the adoption of progressive measures, they argue that this, too, is well, since it shows that the people were not ready for such measures, and the will of the people should be enacted even against progress. Not all, however, hold this view. Says a resolution printed in the (English) *Fabian News* for April, 1896, to be presented to the Socialist Congress of that year:

Resolved, That this congress warns associations of the working classes throughout the world to scrutinize with great care all proposals for transferring direct legislative and administrative power, including the appointment of public officials, from representative bodies to the mass of the electors. The people can only judge political measures by their effect when they have come into operation; they cannot plan measures themselves, or foresee what their effect will be, or give precise instructions to their representatives; nor can any honest representative tell, until he has heard a measure thoroughly discust by representatives of all other sections of the working class, what form the measure should take so as to keep the interests of his constituents in due subordination to those of the community. It is to be considered, further, that intelligent reformers, especially workmen who have grasped the principles of socialism, are always in a minority; they may address themselves with success to the sympathies of the masses and gain their confidence; but the dry detail of the legislative and administrative steps by which they move toward their goal can never be made interesting or intelligible to the ordinary voter. For these reasons the referendum, in theory the most democratic of popular institutions, is in practise the most reactionary, and is actually being strenuously advocated in England by noted leaders of anti-Socialist opinion with the openly declared intention of using it to stop all further progress toward social democracy.

Nevertheless, the belief in and adoption of the referendum and initiative are spreading through all progressive countries (see DIRECT LEGISLATION), notably in the Western United States upon all questions and in all portions of the U. S. on questions of license.

REFERENCES: S. Deploige, *The Referendum in Switzerland* (tr. by C. P. Trevelyan, 1898); E. P. Oberholtzer, *Referendum in America* (1900); J. W. Sullivan, *Direct Legislation*, (1892). For recent results, see NATIONAL DIRECT LEGISLATION LEAGUE, care of Eltweed Pomeroy, Milburn, N. J.

REFORMATORIES: The very name now applied to intermediate prisons is significant, for the word reformatory indicates a modern theory of social treatment of criminals. Punishment must fit the crime; reformation makes the offender fit to survive. This idea is not absolutely new or modern, but it is only during recent years, and most distinctively in the United States, that it has been introduced in a consistent system of discipline.

In France there are penal institutions for young men, and the administrators of these prisons avail themselves of the aid of philanthropic societies (*patronage des jeunes détenus*) which are found in all parts of the country. Legislation and administrative measures are developing in the same direction as in America. The tendency is to treat all youthful offenders who are not absolutely vicious as acting without complete moral discernment and as capable of improvement by disciplinary education. In England private and public schools for delinquents under sixteen years have rendered valuable service in preventing the growth of crime. The judges exercise discretionary power by warning, fining, suspending sentence, and sending to a reform school. Young men past the sixteenth year are sent to Borstal Reformatory Prison, an institution that seems to be administered in the spirit of our best American reformatories. In some European countries the young offenders are kept separate from older offenders by being placed in isolated cells or in special departments of ordinary penitentiaries.

Very interesting is the movement in Hungary to establish reformatories for young offenders. Those under twenty years of age may be sent by the court to a house of correction or to a separate cell. There are four houses of correction for boys and young men, and one for girls and young women, with accommodations for 700 males and 240 females. It is claimed that after release 65 per cent show good-conduct records, 11 per cent variable, 10 per cent bad, 8 per cent unknown, and 6 per cent are reported as dead. The younger inmates are kept in family-like groups, and are taught handicrafts, ordinary school branches, and religion. There are no institutions exactly corresponding to American reformatories. ("La lutte contre la criminalité des mineurs en Hongrie," par Béla Kun et E. Láday, 1905; "Les institutions pénitentiaires de l'Hongrie," par E. de Megyory, 1905.)

No definition of an American reformatory has yet been universally accepted, nor are all institutions which carry this title conducted on precisely the same basis. For the purpose of this article, "reformatory" means an institution of correction for young men or women convicted of serious misdemeanors and crimes. Excluded from the present discussion are: (*a*) children under sixteen, who are considered in the articles REFORM SCHOOLS, INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS, JUVENILE COURTS, CHILD-HELPING; (*b*) abnormal offenders (see under FEEBLE-MINDED; EPILEPTICS; INSANE); (*c*) habitual criminals over thirty years of age; (*d*) confirmed inebriates, vagabonds, degenerates. All these require separate treatment on special principles.

The most famous and influential of all institutions of this class is that at Elmira, N. Y., where Mr. Z. R. Brockway organized in a consistent system a method of correction based on modern principles developed by practical experience in all civilized countries. This he did with a courage, boldness, and originality that have made his work the center of observation for the whole world and a stimulus for experiment everywhere. Other states of the union have established institutions of the same general type. A list of these institutions is given in the "Proceedings of the National Prison Association for 1905."

Some of the essential principles of the American reformatory may be thus briefly formulated:

(1) The "indeterminate" sentence law must be at the foundation. Progressive educational methods are impossible under a sentence fixt in advance, and in no way modified by the conduct of the prisoner. The revolutionary character of the Elmira Reformatory was made possible by the Law of 1877, chapter 173, section 2, which reads: "Every sentence to the reformatory of a person hereafter convicted of a felony or other crime shall be a general sentence to imprisonment in the New York State Reformatory at Elmira, and the courts of this state imposing such sentence shall not fix or limit the duration thereof. The term of imprisonment of any person so convicted and sentenced shall be terminated by the managers of the reformatory, as authorized by this act, but such imprisonment shall not exceed the maximum term provided by law for the crime for which the prisoner was convicted or sentenced." (2) There must be individual study of each inmate by the administrative officers, preliminary to classification and prescription of the educational process. (3) Provisional and conditional classification, usually in three or four grades, promotion or degradation being dependent on the conduct of the individual. (4) The marking system. Each inmate is furnished with the regulations of the institution, and his conduct is marked day by day so that he can see the record which he is making. (5) Education—physical, industrial, literary, moral, and spiritual—with disciplinary measures necessary for control. The idea of retribution being abandoned, that of education for life as the only means of social protection rules all the orders and methods of the establishment. (6) Conditional liberation, after a period of preparation and discipline, on parole and under supervision, and recall by the managers without tedious process in case of violation of parole. This last stage is preparation for free life in that free life itself. The architecture of the buildings, the program of each day, the regulations, the choice of officials, the diet, the occupations, the school and worship, all are made to conform to the principle of education for a free life of voluntary activity and conformity to law.

Principles

United States

The following states have special intermediate prisons or reformatories for offenders who are not considered confirmed criminals: Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin ("Proceedings National Prison Association," 1905, pp. 347–350). Baernreither mentions an institution at Gatesville, Texas. The institution at Pontiac, Ill., has two departments, one for boys of ten to sixteen years of age, and one for young men of sixteen to twenty-one. The reformatory at Jeffersonville, Ind., is for young men of sixteen to thirty. The Kansas reformatory at Hutchinson is for young men of sixteen to twenty-five who have not been previously convicted of felony. The Michigan reformatory is at Ionia. In Minnesota the reformatory for young men sixteen to thirty years of age is at St. Cloud; as in Indiana, the agent secures employment and watches over the conditionally released prisoners until they are finally discharged as reformed. The New Jersey reformatory is at Rahway. The Ohio institution, at Mansfield, is for offenders of from sixteen to thirty years of age. The Wisconsin reformatory, at Green Bay, cares for young men of from sixteen to twenty-five who are first offenders. The Pennsylvania reformatory, at Huntington, receives first offenders of the ages fifteen to twenty-five. In the main all the reformatories follow the essential principles which govern the famous institution at Elmira, but some differences in methods and devices are due to local conditions, state laws, inventiveness, and peculiarities of directors and superintendents. For example, at Mansfield, Ohio, some very bold experiments have been made with the permission given prisoners to work in the open fields without guards, and very few have escaped. Baernreither noticed at Concord, Mass., that the indeterminate sentence was used there within narrow restrictions; that the supervising agent is an officer of the prison commission, and not, as at Elmira, an officer of the reformatory directors. Concord has a farm of about three hundred acres, as well as schools, trades, and shops. There is no military drill as at Elmira. Corporal punishment (whipping) is not permitted. Societies for social and educational purposes are encouraged and self-government is thus promoted.

Typical reformatories for women are found at Sherburn, Mass., at Bedford, N. Y., and at Indianapolis, Ind. Sherburn prison was remarkably fortunate in having for its superintendent during its formative period the strong personality of the late Mrs. Ellen C. Johnson, whose influence is felt throughout the nation.

What results have we obtained? Friendly foreign observers, such as Baernreither and Freudenthal, have declared that our statistics are very imperfect and unreliable. The records simply tell us of the conduct of the released persons up to the time of their final discharge; they are not followed farther. Some begin a new criminal career under a new alias. We need a more thorough registration by the Bertillon and finger-print methods, and a system of correspondence and reports covering several years. The imperfect statistics, supported by the opinions of superintendents and directors, indicate that a very high percentage of the discharged prisoners do well after their lesson. There is no reasonable ground for doubt that the reformatory methods above described yield vastly better results than any others. C. R. Henderson.

References: J. M. Baernreither, *Jugendfuersorge und Strafrecht* (1905); S. J. Barrows, *The Reformatory System in the U. S.*; C. R. Henderson, *Introduction to the Study of the Dependent, Defective, and Delinquent Classes* (2d ed., 1904, contains bibliography); W. D. Morrison, *Juvenile Offenders*; E. C. Wines, *Prisons and Child-saving Institutions*; F. H. Wines, *Punishment and Reformation*; *Proceedings of the National Prison Congress*, and of the *National Conference of Charities and Correction*; C. R. Henderson, *Modern Prison Systems*; P. Herr, *Das Verbesserungssystem in den Vereinigten Staaten.*

RELIEF STATIONS AND HOME SHELTERS

(*Verpflegungsstationen und Herbergen zur Heimath*): German institutions for the benefit of needy or unemployed working men. The relief stations are communal establishments, and provide food and shelter for twenty-four hours, or forty-eight including Sundays; the home shelters are supported by philanthropically inclined persons, and give food and shelter for a week or over. The purpose of both is to prevent vagrancy, mendicity, and pauperism; and to help every self-respecting workingman to get work, or be tided over a period of unemployment without having to resort to begging.

Relief stations are supported at public charge, and are intended chiefly to assist destitute and unemployed men with temporary shelter and help in obtaining work. They are in walking distance of each other and in communication by telephone or in other ways, so that they can hear of chances for work and men may be told in which way to look for work. All is, however, under strict discipline.

When a man arrives at a station, he must show his passport and his "labor book" (*Arbeitsbuch*) in order to legitimize himself both as to his character in regard to the authorities and to his industrious habits. These papers are stamped and retained by the superintendent. A simple meal, consisting of soup or potatoes and herring (cost about twenty pfennige), is served at night, and the men are supposed to be in bed by ten. In the morning they must be ready for the simple breakfast by seven, since work begins at eight. The latter consists of stone-breaking, wood-

chopping, or other duties requiring physical exertion, but not exhaustion, and lasts for four hours. The man is then given a plate of food, his passport is signed and stamped, and sent on his way. If the next station should be too far to be reached during the afternoon, he receives, if pennyless, a ticket to a by-station (*Nebenstation*), where he receives food and shelter. By-stations may be had in any number, since they are not special buildings, but approved lodging-houses or inns. A clergyman or other person of good reputation sees to it that they are properly conducted. The cost of feeding and housing a man per day at these stations, including all expenses of management, is about sixty-five to seventy-five pfg., and is charged to the rates.

The motto of these stations is that a man must work for what he gets; work in the morning, walk in the afternoon. If he refuses to do that he is turned over to the police as a vagrant, or left to shift for himself. The latter course brings him into touch with the police, since in many towns and villages maintaining stations private almsgiving is forbidden and punished by law. The man must, consequently, either work or go hungry. This system, comprizing at present about 1,000 stations, has put a stop to mendicity and vagrancy in all provinces of Germany, where they are sufficiently near together. The only complaint which people interested in this problem make, is that their number is too small; under the leadership of Pastor Bodelschwingh they are seeking for legislation to the effect that relief stations should be planted everywhere in the German Empire, so as to help every poor and destitute laborer, and still allow him to move on in search of work.

This is generally provided at the *Herberge zur Heimath* or *Home Shelter*. The home is usually located in a larger town, and is always provided with an employment bureau. Owing to the *Wanderer*, the paper of these institutions, they keep in touch with each other and know fairly well where workmen are needed, so that they can readily supply employment to those who are willing to take it. The procedure on the arrival of a workingman at the home is similar to that at the station, with the exception that if a man has lost his passport the superintendent will procure it for him on payment of fifty pfg. or four hours' work in the relief station adjoining. The home is, furthermore, intended to be, as far as possible, a home for the time being to all working men who come under its shelter. It must be kept clean and orderly; furnish cheap but wholesome food; provide religious influences by means of daily services, and banish all harmful practises from its premises, e. g., gambling. In order to have this program carried out, every home is under the supervision of a responsible committee, whose members must be reputable persons, and, if possible, include the local clergy.

The home is usually supplied with a good map of the circuit and country, showing the country roads in every direction, so that the superintendent may advise those who depart as to the quickest way of reaching a certain point. A man may stay in a home for a whole week, provided he pays the moderate charges, about seventy-five cents per day for meals and room. A young pastor or candidate looks after the inmates spiritually both week-days and Sundays.

The increase of the homes has been phenomenal. Professor Clemens Theodor Perthes, of the University of Bonn, established the first one in that city in 1854; in 1863 there were 19; in 1873, 101; 1886, 252; 1890, 370; 1900, 457; 1904, 462, with over 20,000 beds. In 1903 the homes lodged 1,966,357 paying guests and 683,586 free guests; the latter at a cost of about fifty pfg. per day, or about 368,600 marks.

The various homes have formed an organization, *Deutscher Herberge Verein*, with *Der Wanderer* as their organ; the whole German Empire is subdivided into fifteen unions or subdivisions for the sake of better control and greater efficiency. It was, for instance, largely owing to the efforts of this organization that the relief stations were established by the towns and villages.

RELIGION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS (for special articles on this subject in Great Britain from the Church of England and from the non-conformist point of view, see SCHOOL QUESTION IN GREAT BRITAIN. For the situation in France, see FRANCE): In the United States there has developed, however, a solution which if not satisfactory to all religious people does seem to satisfy the great majority of people with little prospect of its being changed in any important respect. It must be remembered, however, that there are at least four distinct ways of looking at the question: (1) Radicals usually hold that the public schools should have nothing to do with religion; (2) many Christians contend that the State is lost unless it teach morality, and that morality cannot be taught unless it teach religion; while (3) the majority of Roman Catholics, many Anglicans, and a few of other religious communions go still further and say that morality cannot be taught except by giving the definite religious teaching which they hold true. To each of these three factors (radicals not excepted) it is to a large extent a matter of faith or of principle to carry out their view. Nevertheless, there is a fourth method, and this view, altho perhaps a compromise, is the view generally adopted in the U. S., at present in France, and which appears to be the solution of the question. According to this method the public school does not explicitly teach religion at all, yet does implicitly or indirectly, using the Bible more or less as literature and the spiritual as a part of the universe to be studied as truly as the material.

Examples of the different claims are as follows:

The platform of the Liberal League of the U. S. contains the following:

> We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government be abolished, and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

This is the view held by almost all Socialists and by radicals of almost every description. They hold that religion is a personal matter, to be taught in the family or the home. They do not admit that this prevents ethical and moral teaching in the schools.

Roman Catholic View

The view of Roman Catholics, and other believers in parochial or denominational schools, is that morals cannot be taught without religion; that religion cannot be taught in public schools, since it is unjust to tax a Jew to support the teachings of Christianity or vice versa, and that therefore the only way out is to have parochial schools where morals and religion can be taught. Such advocates

usually claim that money should be raised for education by the school authorities and then that in some way it should be divided among the various denominational or secular schools in proportion to the pupils in each.

Said Archbishop Ireland, in his address to the National Educational Association (St. Paul, July, 1890):

> There is and there can be no positive religious teaching where the principle of non-sectarianism rules.

Says the *Catholic Review* of Aug. 31, 1889:

> The parochial school is necessary because Catholic children cannot be brought up Catholic and attend the public school. This is a recognized fact. . . . At the present moment the Catholic Church in America depends more on the faith of the Catholic immigrant than on the faith of the generation which has received its education in the public schools. . . . We see no way of making them (young Americans) Catholics than by the parochial school. Our conscience forces us to take up the work.

In the U. S. various ways of compromise with the Roman Catholic view have been tried. As early as 1823 in New York a conflict arose about the division of public funds. In 1831 a grant of $1,500 was made for a Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum. In 1868 in New Haven, Conn., a Roman Catholic school taught by Sisters of Charity was sustained by public funds. Roman Catholic schools have been sustained in the same way in Waterbury, Conn., Manchester, N. H., notably in Poughkeepsie, N. Y., and since then such contributions have grown very large in more than one American city.

More recent has been the so-called Faribault experiment, deriving its name from the town in Minnesota where the event took place. Under the auspices and with the approval of Archbishop Ireland, a parochial school belonging to the Church of the Immaculate Conception was handed over (1891) to the school authorities of the state for a rental of $1; all the teachers, all the text-books, all the work of the school to be carried on under the authority of the state without any agreement that teachers or teaching should be Roman Catholic, depending only on the authorities to do what was fair. This, however, raised a storm of protest in the Roman Catholic Church and almost equally outside it.

Representative of those who hold that the public schools should teach undenominational religion, Dr. Josiah Strong says ("Our Country," p. 101):

> When the fathers added to the Constitution the principle of strict separation of Church and State, they did not intend to divorce the State from all religion. Says Judge Story, speaking of the time when the Constitution was adopted, "The attempt to level all religions, and make it a matter of State policy to hold all in utter indifference, would have created universal disapprobation if not universal indignation." The principle of the separation of Church and State undoubtedly forbids sectarian instruction in the State schools; but we have the highest legal and judicial authority for saying that it does not forbid undenominational religious teaching. . . . Why does the State take money from your pocket to educate my child? Not on the ground that education is a good thing for him, but on the ground that his ignorance would be dangerous to the State. . . . In like manner the State must teach in its schools fundamental religious truths, not because the child should know them in preparation for a future existence—the State is not concerned with the eternal welfare of its citizens—but because immorality is perilous to the State, and popular morality cannot be secured without the sanctions of religion.
>
> The philosopher Cousin, in a report upon public instruction in Germany, referring to the fact that it is based on the Bible, says: "Every wise man will rejoice in this; for, with three fourths of the population, morality can be instilled only through the medium of religion."

Daniel Webster in a Fourth-of-July oration said:

> To preserve the government we must also preserve morals. Morality rests on religion. If you destroy the foundation, the superstructure must fall. When the public mind becomes vitiated and corrupt, laws are a nullity and constitutions are waste paper. . . .
>
> Of course parents and the Church may give as much added instruction as they wish, but for the State to go beyond the inculcation of the fundamental truths common to all monotheistic religions would probably lead to the division of the school fund, which would be a great calamity. On the other hand, to secularize the schools is to invite the corruption of popular morals and thus endanger the very foundations of our free institutions.

For a sample of the last and prevailing view we quote an article by Walter L. Hervey (*The Outlook*, Feb. 10, 1906). He says:

> Even if it were possible to make the schools more formally religious and less untheological than they now are, it would not be necessary to do so. First, because such instruction can be given outside of the schools without loss, and even with positive gain. And, secondly, because the public schools can meet every legitimate and reasonable demand for religious teaching without such instruction. It is an abuse of language to say that because the public schools do not explicitly teach the existence of a God they are therefore "godless," and to affirm that because they do not teach anything about Christ and the Church they are therefore unchristian, and to imply that if they do not teach ethics they are therefore immoral. . . .
>
> In reply, then, to the question, What is the content of formal religious instruction in the elementary public school? we answer, Nothing. But in answer to the question, What is the real content of religious teaching? we answer, Everything. There is no subject in the curriculum, there is no relation in the life of the school, which is not packed with potential divinity and may not make for morality. Each study and each experience has its roots in the infinite, and this basic fact may be felt, may be seen, may be lived, without formal instruction therein. The essential principles of Christianity—the fatherhood of God, human brotherhood, the infinite worth of a man, loving service, the abundant life—all these can in every schoolroom be lived, felt, and with increasing clearness known, without claims, without formal credit, and without the inevitable controversies that spring therefrom.

This view appears to be embodied in the "Syllabus on Ethics" which has been adopted for the public schools in the City of New York. Parts of this syllabus are here given as indicating the lines on which, by many thousands of teachers, the problems of moral education are being worked out in the class rooms of a great city system:

> It should be the aim of every teacher to make each part of the life of the school count for moral education. This aim should be present not only in formal instruction and training, but also in the general atmosphere and spirit of the class room and of the school. In working toward this aim the following suggestions, based on the experience of practical teachers, will be found helpful:
>
> 1. The personality of the teacher is at the root of all moral education in the school. The teacher's ideals, sincerity, poise, self-control, courtesy, voice, manner, dress, and general attitude toward life are potent forces for character-building.
>
> 2. Reverence is vital to morality. Whatever quickens in children the feeling of dependence on a Higher Power, whatever leads them devoutly to wonder at the order, beauty, or mystery of the universe, whatever arouses in them the sentiment of worship or fills them with admiration of true greatness, promotes reverence. There is no subject studied in school which, reverently taught, may not yield its contribution to this feeling.
>
> 3. Self-respect, which is also fundamental to moral development, is engendered in a child when he does his best at tasks that are worth while and within his power to do well, with proper recognition by teacher and schoolfellows of work well done.
>
> 4. The corner-stone of a self-respecting character is principle—the will to be true to the right because it is right, whatever the consequences, to act "with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right." The essential difference between principle and mere self-interest should be vividly brought home to each child.
>
> **New York Syllabus on Ethics**
>
> 5. The spirit of the class room and of the school—the spirit that makes children say with pride "my class" and "our school"—is one of the strongest of moral forces. Where there exists a proper *esprit du corps*, the problem of discipline is largely

solved. Public opinion as a moral force should be molded and utilized in every school.

6. The child should early gain the idea of social membership. The truth that cooperation and unselfishness are essential to true social living should be made real and vital. This truth is brought home through "group work," where the work of each is necessary to the work of all; and through the feeling in a school or class that the honor of all is in the keeping of each.

The child should also learn that he is a member, not only of the school, but of the family, of the neighborhood, of the city, and of the state and nation. The meaning of loyal membership of these social institutions should be made clear. The naturalness and the necessity of obedience and helpfulness should be shown. The moral aspect of home tasks and of working with and not against the departments of health, street-cleaning, police, and education should be enforced by concrete applications. In general, the truth should be imprest that without loyal and effective social membership no individual can wholly live.

7. No person has a fully developed moral character until there has been a transfer of the seat of authority from without to within himself: a moral man obeys himself. Each child in every grade should be steadily helped toward self-direction and self-government. Effective means to this end are: appeals to initiative and resourcefulness; the development of such a sense of honor as will preserve order without surveillance; and some form of organization designed to quicken and exercise the sense of responsibility. The "school city," when wisely applied and shorn of unnecessary machinery, has been found effective in many schools. But the form of the organization is immaterial. The essential point is that the teacher, himself a member of the community, should make his pupils sharers to a certain extent in the problems arising out of their community life; and that he should entrust to them, as members in their own right of the social body, the performance of certain functions.

. . . . . .

9. In connection with the regular studies of the school, certain aspects of contemporary civilization which are of value for developing the social spirit should receive attention. Hospitals, societies for the prevention of cruelty to children and to animals, homes for orphans and for the aged and infirm, fresh-air funds, and similar agencies for social service should be brought within the child's comprehension at the proper stage. Deeds of heroism and self-sacrifice done by firemen, policemen, soldiers, inventors, and persons in the ordinary walks of life should be presented and dwelt on. The truth that success in life means more than mere money-getting can thus be brought home again and again. The contemplation of deeds of cruelty, dishonor, and shame has a necessary, tho subordinate, place in molding moral taste.

. . . . . .

11. In all such moral instruction and guidance the following principles should be observed:

(*a*) The course of moral training is a development. . . .

(*b*) The culture of the imagination is a powerful aid in moral instruction: first, as the power vividly to picture consequences—to put yourself in your own place later on (foresight); secondly, as the power to "put yourself in his place" (social imagination, sympathy).

(*c*) In using literature and similar material for purposes of moral education, the teacher should not violate the law of self-activity. The child properly resents having a moral drawn for him which he could draw for himself, and he is the more likely to follow the principle which he himself discovers or formulates, because it is his own.

(*d*) The most effective method in moral education is positive rather than negative. A mind filled with good interests, high ideals, and helpful activities has no room for evil. Love is a stronger and a better motive than fear.

RENT (Fr. *rente*; It. *rendita*, income; Latin *rendare*, to return) is used, in political economy, specifically for "that portion of the produce of the earth which is paid to the landlord for the use of the original and indestructible powers of the soil" (Ricardo, "Political Economy," chap. ii.). The word is sometimes used, even in political economy, in other senses, but in that case the use is explained by the author as something different from the ordinary use, as when one speaks of the rent of ability, the rent of money, the rent of a piano, etc. The word "soil," however, includes that which is beneath or within the soil, all the "natural" advantages of the earth, unimproved by labor. It includes, therefore, mines, streams, water-power, harbors (so far as they are natural), and what is often of greatest importance, it includes the natural advantages of situation, as land, for example, in the heart of a great city, or at the corner of two great thoroughfares.

Such being the economic use of the word, we pass on to consider the laws and principles which affect rent, and how these are variously conceived by representative writers.

Rent appears on the pages of Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations" almost incidentally, and not always consistently treated. It is considered as "naturally a monopoly price" (bk. i., chap. xi., pp. 66–67a) to be taken as a matter of course rather than to be explained. Adam Smith says elsewhere, "as soon as the land of any country has all become private property, the landlords, like all other men, love to reap where they never sowed, and demand a rent even for its natural production" (bk. i., chap. vi., p. 23a). Rent, he argues, depends on prices; the fact that the rent of land varies with its fertility and situation he treats as an obvious commonplace, needing little consideration. We have here some of the elements of the Ricardian doctrine of rent, but wholly undeveloped. Beginning, however, with Anderson and continuing through Buchanan, Malthus, and Ricardo, we have the development of that theory of rent which is usually associated with Ricardo's name and has played so large a part in economic science (see RICARDO).

Adam Smith

It is this theory which has entered into all modern discussions and affected the theory of wages and profits and lies at the basis, not only of the *laissez-faire* economics, but of Henry George's single tax and most modern socialism. John Stuart Mill says of this theory:

> It is one of the cardinal doctrines of political economy; and until it was understood, no consistent explanation could be given of many of the more complicated industrial phenomena.

Of the critics of the theory, Mills says:

> A remark is often made, which must not be omitted here, tho, I think, more importance has been attached to it than it merits. Under the name of rent, many payments are commonly included which are not a remuneration for the original powers of the land itself, but for capital expended on it. The additional rent which land yields in consequence of this outlay of capital should, in the opinion of some writers, be regarded as profit, not rent. But before this can be admitted, a distinction must be made. The annual payment by a tenant almost always includes a consideration for the use of the buildings on the farm; not only barns, stables, and other outhouses, but a house to live in, not to speak of fences and the like. The landlord will ask, and the tenant will give, for these whatever is considered sufficient to yield the ordinary profit, or rather (risk and trouble being here out of the question) the ordinary interest, on the value of the buildings; that is, not on what it has cost to erect them, but on what it would now cost to erect others as good; the tenant being bound, in addition, to leave them in as good repair as he found them, for otherwise a much larger payment than simple interest would of course be required from him. These buildings are as distinct a thing from the farm as the stock or the timber on it; and what is paid for them can no more be called rent of land than a payment for cattle would be, if it were the custom that the landlord should stock the farm for the tenant. The buildings, like the cattle, are not land but capital, regularly consumed and reproduced; and all payments made in consideration of them are properly interest.
>
> But with regard to capital actually sunk in improvements, and not requiring periodical renewal, but spent once for all in giving the land a permanent increase of productiveness, it appears to me that the return made to such capital loses altogether the character of profits, and is governed by the principles of rent.
>
> Some writers, in particular Mr. H. C. Carey, take away still more completely than I have attempted to do the distinction between these two sources of rent, by rejecting one of them altogether and considering all rent as the effect of capital expended. In proof of this Mr. Carey contends that the whole pecuniary value of all the land in any country, in England, for instance, or in the United States, does not amount to anything approaching to the sum which has been laid out, or

Carey's Views

which it would even now be necessary to lay out, in order to bring the country to its present condition from a state of primeval forest. This startling statement has been seized on by M. Bastiat and others as a means of making out a stronger case than could otherwise be made in defense of property in land. Mr. Carey's proposition, in its most obvious meaning, is equivalent to saying that if there were suddenly added to the lands of England an unreclaimed territory of equal natural fertility, it would not be worth the while of the inhabitants of England to reclaim it; because the profits of the operation would not be equal to the ordinary interest on the capital expended. To which assertion, if any answer could be supposed to be required, it would suffice to remark that land not of equal but of greatly inferior quality to that previously cultivated is continually reclaimed in England, at an expense which the subsequently accruing rent is sufficient to replace completely in a small number of years.

Professor Marshall, representing the later political economy, accepts the Ricardian theory in the main, but with some qualifications. He states his view thus ("Economics of Industry," bk. ii., chap. iii.):

Suppose a farmer to have £500 which he is thinking of applying in extra cultivation of his farm, and to have calculated that it will only just answer his purpose to do so. He has calculated, that is, that if he applies this extra £500 he will, after paying for labor, seed, taxes, etc., get an extra net produce of the value of £40; i. e., at the rate of 8 per cent on the extra outlay. This is, we suppose, just sufficient to remunerate him; so that if he expected to get less, the chance of the improvement turning out unsuccessful, and the prospect of additional trouble in working it, would induce him to invest the money in railroad stock or some other securities.

He hears at this time that a small adjacent farm of 50 acres is to let, and he is asked what rent he would be willing to pay for it. His £500 would be just enough for working this farm, and he could work it with the same trouble that it would give him to apply the extra £500 to the farm he already has. He calculates that taking one year with another he may expect to get from it £100 worth of net profit after paying for labor, seed, taxes, etc.

So he will pay just £60 rent for the use of this land. If he can get the land for this he will take it; but he will not give any more for it, and it will not be likely to be worth any one else's while to offer more. So the landlord cannot get more than this for it. If he puts up the farm to competition and plays off one farmer against another, he may just get £60; and this is then the competition rent, or, as it is sometimes called, the economic rent of the farm. Many disturbing circumstances, such as custom, the absence of an active spirit of competition on the part of the farmers, generosity or sluggishness on the part of the landlord may cause the actual rent to be less than this. But £60 is the rent that will be obtained if there is a perfectly good market for the hire of the land; that is, if on the one hand the landlord exerts himself to get the best rent he can for the land, and, on the other hand, there are competent men in the neighborhood who are ready to rent farms.

This illustration shows us that the economic rent of a piece of land is found by subtracting from the value of its annual produce an amount sufficient to return the farmer's outlay with profits.

Economic Rent

Of course allowance must be made for the risk of bad harvests. This is done by assuming that the harvest is an average one. It must also be supposed that the farmer has neither more nor less skill and enterprise than most others in his neighborhood, or, as we may say, that he is an average farmer. The rent, then, is the surplus return which the land gives in an average harvest, after repaying the average farmer's outlay with profits, provided he has applied so much capital to it as to make this surplus return as large as he can. If he has applied less than this amount of capital some one else who intends to apply more than he has done, and thus obtain a larger surplus return, may offer to pay a higher rent.

Further, the above illustration shows that the amount of produce which a farmer must retain, in order to be remunerated for his outlay, can be discovered by observing what amount of additional return is just sufficient to induce him, or another farmer in the same neighborhood, to apply extra capital to his land. . . .

It may happen that there is in the neighborhood land for which no rent can be obtained, because the return to the capital applied to this land remunerates, but only just remunerates, the farmer. In this case we may say that the amount of produce which a farmer must retain, in order to be remunerated for his outlay, is equal to the produce that could be raised by the same amount of capital from an adjacent piece of land that pays no rent, but yet is cultivated.

The law of rent may therefore be stated thus: The rent of a piece of land is the excess of its produce over the produce of an adjacent piece of land which is cultivated with an equal amount of capital, and which would not be cultivated at all if rent was demanded for it.

Of one important deduction from the Ricardian law of rent Professor Fawcett has made a clear explanation. He says ("Manual of Political Economy," bk. ii. chap. iii.):

From Ricardo's theory of rent there can be deduced the very important proposition, that rent is not an element of the cost of obtaining agricultural produce. A no less eminent writer than the late Mr. Buckle has assured his readers that the proposition just stated can only be grasped by a comprehensive thinker; we, however, believe that it may be made very intelligible by a simple exposition. If rent is not an element of cost of production, food would be no cheaper if all land were arbitrarily made rent free. Let us, therefore, inquire if this would be the case. It has been frequently stated in this chapter that there is always some land in cultivation so poor that it can only afford to pay a nominal rent; the produce it yields being no more than sufficient to reimburse the expenses of cultivation.

Let us now suppose that all land is made rent-free by an arbitrary edict of the government. Such an act of spoliation, altho it would unjustly interfere with property, would not cause any diminution in the consumption of food; the same quantity of agricultural produce would be required as before; the same area of land would, therefore, have to be cultivated. That land would still require to be tilled which previously only paid a nominal rent; but if food was rendered cheaper, by making land rent-free, this land, which before only paid nominal rent, would be cultivated at a loss. No person, however, will continue to apply his labor and capital if he does not obtain in return the ordinary rate of profit, and, therefore, if food became cheaper, such land as we have just described would cease to be cultivated; but this cannot be, because the demand of the country for food is such that the produce which this land yields cannot be dispensed with. It is therefore manifest that food would not become cheaper even if land were made rent-free. Rent consequently is not an element in the cost of production. The value of food is, *cæteris paribus*, determined by the demand for it, because the demand for food regulates the margin of cultivation. Altho the payment of rent does not influence the cost of producing food, yet the amount of rent paid indicates the position of the margin of cultivation, and the value of food must rise as this margin of cultivation descends.

(For the facts of modern rent and the important part played by rent in commercial and industrial life, and for land reforms, see articles EXPENDITURE; LAND; and SINGLE TAX.)

REPUBLICAN PARTY AND SOCIAL REFORM: A statement abridged from Mr. Roosevelt's principal messages to Congress, on social and industrial questions (Dec. 3, 1901, and Jan. 31, 1908), as coming from the accredited representative of the party, tho opposed on many points by not a few in his party.

As a nation we still continue to enjoy a literally unprecedented prosperity; and it is probable that only reckless speculation and disregard of legitimate business methods on the part of the business world can materially mar this prosperity.

Capital and Labor

In dealing with both labor and capital, with the questions affecting both corporations and trade-unions, there is one matter more important to remember than aught else, and that is the infinite harm done by preachers of mere discontent. These are the men who seek to excite a violent class hatred against all men of wealth. They seek to turn wise and proper movements for the better control of corporations and for doing away with the abuses connected with wealth, into a campaign of hysterical excitement and falsehood in which the aim is to inflame to madness the brutal passions of mankind. In reality they are the worst enemies of the cause they profess to advocate, just as the purveyors of sensational slander in newspaper or magazine are the worst enemies of all men who are engaged in an honest effort to better what is bad in our social and governmental conditions. The one hope for success for our people lies in a resolute and fearless, but sane and cool-headed, advance along the path marked out last year by this very Congress.

So far as it is in our power, it should be our aim steadily to reduce the number of hours of labor, with as a goal the general introduction of an eight-hour day. There are industries in which it is not possible that the hours of labor should be reduced; just as there are communities not far enough advanced for such a movement to be for their good, or, if in the tropics, so situated that there is no analogy between their needs and ours in this matter. But the wage-workers of the United States are of so high a grade that alike from the merely industrial standpoint and from the civic standpoint it should be our object to do what we can in the direction of securing the general observance of an eight-hour day. Half-holidays during summer should be established for government employees; it is as desirable for wage-workers who toil with their hands as for salaried officials whose labor is mental that there should be a reasonable amount of holiday.

More and more our people are growing to recognize the fact that the questions which are not merely of industrial but of social importance outweigh all others; and these two questions most emphatically come in the category of those which affect in the most far-reaching way the home life of the nation. The horrors incident to the employment of young children in factories or at work anywhere are a blot on our civilization. It is true that each state must ultimately settle the question in its own way; but a thorough official investigation of the matter, with the results published broadcast, would greatly help toward arousing the public conscience and securing unity of state action in the matter.

Industrial Legislation

The commission appointed by the president Oct. 16, 1902, at the request of both the anthracite coal operators and miners, to inquire into, consider, and pass upon the questions in controversy in connection with the strike in the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania and the causes out of which the controversy arose, in their report, findings, and award, exprest the belief "that the state and federal governments should provide the machinery for what may be called the compulsory investigation of controversies between employers and employees when they arise." This expression of belief is deserving of the favorable consideration of the Congress and the enactment of its provisions into law. A bill has already been introduced to this end.

It is not wise that the nation should alienate its remaining coal lands. I have temporarily withdrawn from settlement all the lands which the Geological Survey has indicated as containing, or in all probability containing, coal. The question, however, can be properly settled only by legislation, which in my judgment should provide for the withdrawal of these lands from sale or from entry, save in certain especial circumstances. The ownership would then remain in the U. S., which should not, however, attempt to work them, but permit them to be worked by private individuals under a royalty system, the government keeping such control as to permit it to see that no excessive price was charged consumers. It would, of course, be as necessary to supervise the rates charged by the common carriers to transport the product as the rates charged by those who mine it; and the supervision must extend to the conduct of the common carriers, so that they shall in no way favor one competitor at the expense of another. The withdrawal of these coal lands would constitute a policy analogous to that which has been followed in withdrawing the forest lands from ordinary settlement. The coal, like the forests, should be treated as the property of the public and its disposal should be under conditions which would inure to the benefit of the public as a whole.

Coal Lands

It cannot too often be repeated that experience has conclusively shown the impossibility of securing by the actions of nearly half a hundred different state legislatures anything but ineffective chaos in the way of dealing with the great corporations which do not operate exclusively within the limits of any one state. In some method, whether by a national license law or in other fashion, we must exercise, and that at an early date, a far more complete control than at present over these great corporations—a control that will among other things prevent the evils of excessive overcapitalization, and that will compel the disclosure by each big corporation of its stockholders and of its properties and business, whether owned directly or through subsidiary or affiliated corporations. The best way to avert the very undesirable move for the governmental ownership of railways is to secure by the government on behalf of the people as a whole such adequate control and regulation of the great interstate common carriers as will do away with the evils which give rise to the agitation against them.

The actual working of our laws has shown that the effort to prohibit all combination, good or bad, is noxious where it is not ineffective. Combination of capital like combination of labor is a necessary element of our present industrial system. It is not possible completely to prevent it; and if it were possible, such complete prevention would do damage to the body politic. What we need is not vainly to try to prevent all combination, but to secure such rigorous and adequate control and supervision of the combinations as to prevent their injuring the public, or existing in such form as inevitably to threaten injury—for the mere fact that a combination has secured practically complete control of a necessary of life would under any circumstances show that such combination was to be presumed to be adverse to the public interest.

The question of taxation is difficult in any country, but it is especially difficult in ours with its federal system of government. Some taxes should on every ground be levied in a small district for use in that district. Thus the taxation of real estate is peculiarly one for the immediate locality in which the real estate is found. Again, there is no more legitimate tax for any state than a tax on the franchises conferred by that state upon street-railroads and similar corporations which operate wholly within the state boundaries, sometimes in one and sometimes in several municipalities or other minor divisions of the state. But there are many kinds of taxes which can only be levied by the general government so as to produce the best results, because, among other reasons, the attempt to impose them in one particular state too often results merely in driving the corporation or individual affected to some other locality or other state. The national government has long derived its chief revenue from a tariff on imports and from an internal or excise tax. In addition to these, there is every reason why, when next our

Inheritance and Income Tax

system of taxation is revised, the national government should impose a graduated inheritance tax, and, if possible, a graduated income tax. The man of great wealth owes a peculiar obligation to the State, because he derives special advantages from the mere existence of government. Not only should he recognize this obligation in the way he leads his daily life and in the way he earns and spends his money, but it should also be recognized by the way in which he pays for the protection the State gives him.

It would be impossible to overstate (tho it is of course difficult quantitatively to measure) the effect upon a nation's growth to greatness of what may be called organized patriotism, which necessarily includes the substitution of a national feeling for mere local pride; with as a resultant a high ambition for the whole country. No country can develop its full strength so long as the parts which make up the whole each put a feeling of loyalty to the part above the feeling of loyalty to the whole. It is probable that a thoroughly efficient system of education comes next to the influence of patriotism in bringing about national success of this kind. Our federal form of government, so fruitful of advantage to our people in certain ways, in other ways undoubtedly limits our national effectiveness. It is not possible, for instance, for the national government to take the lead in technical industrial education, to see that the public-school system of this country develops on all its technical, industrial, scientific, and commercial sides. This must be left primarily to the several states. Our industrial development depends largely upon technical education, including in this term all industrial education, from that which fits a man to be a good mechanic, a good carpenter, or blacksmith, to that which fits a man to do the greatest engineering feat. The skilled mechanic, the skilled workman, can best become such by technical industrial education.

In every possible way we should help the wage-worker who toils with his hands and who must (we hope in a constantly increasing measure) also toil with his brain.

Agriculture

The only other persons whose welfare is as vital to the welfare of the whole country as is the welfare of the wage-workers are the tillers of the soil, the farmers. It is a mere truism to say that no growth of cities, no growth of wealth, no industrial development can atone for any falling off in the character and standing of the farming population. During the last few decades this fact has been recognized with ever-increasing clearness. There is no longer any failure to realize that farming, at least in certain branches, must become a technical and scientific profession. This means that there must be open to farmers the chance for technical and scientific training, not theoretical merely but of the most severely practical type. The farmer represents a peculiarly high type of American citizenship, and he must have the same chance to rise and develop as other American citizens have.

Organization has become necessary in the business world; and it has accomplished much for good in the world of labor. It is no less necessary for farmers. Such a movement as the Grange movement is good in itself and is capable of a well-nigh infinite further extension for good so long as it is kept to its own legitimate business. The benefits to be derived by the association of farmers for mutual advantage are partly economic and partly sociological.

Moreover, while in the long run voluntary effort will prove more efficacious than government assistance, while the farmers must primarily do most for themselves, yet the government can also do much. The Department of Agriculture has broken new ground in many directions, and year by year it finds how it can improve its methods and develop fresh usefulness. Its constant effort is to give the governmental assistance in the most effective way; that is, through associations of farmers rather than to or through individual farmers.

Much is now being done for the states of the Rocky Mountains and great plains through the development of the national policy of irrigation and forest preservation; no government policy for the betterment of our internal conditions has been more fruitful of good than this. The forests of the White Mountains and southern Appalachian regions should also be preserved; and they cannot be unless the people of the states in which they lie, through their representatives in the Congress, secure vigorous action by the national government.

I am well aware of how difficult it is to pass a constitutional amendment. Nevertheless, in my judgment the whole question of marriage and divorce should be relegated to the authority of the national Congress. At present the wide differences in the laws of the different states on this subject result in scandals and abuses; and surely there is nothing so vitally essential to the welfare of the nation, nothing around which the nation should so bend itself to throw every safeguard, as the home life of the average citizen. The change would be good from every standpoint. In particular it would be good because it would confer on the Congress the power at once to deal radically and efficiently with polygamy; and this should be done whether or not marriage and divorce are dealt with. It is neither safe nor proper to leave the question of polygamy to be dealt with by the several states. Power to deal with it should be conferred on the national government.

Marriage and Divorce

Let me once again call the attention of the Congress to two subjects concerning which I have frequently before communicated with them. One is the question of developing American shipping. I trust that a law embodying in substance the views, or a major part of the views, exprest in the report on this subject laid before the House at its last session will be passed. I am well aware that in former years objectionable measures have been proposed in reference to the encouragement of American shipping; but it seems to me that the proposed measure is as nearly unobjectionable as any can be. It will, of course, benefit primarily our seaboard states, such as Maine, Louisiana, and Washington; but what benefits part of our people in the end benefits all; just as government aid to irrigation and forestry in the West is really of benefit, not only to the Rocky Mountain states, but to all our country.

American Shipping

I especially call your attention to the second subject, the condition of our currency laws. The national bank act has ably served a great purpose in aiding the enormous business development of the country; and within ten years there has been an increase in circulation per capita from $21.41 to $33.08. For several years evi-

Currency Reform

dence has been accumulating that additional legislation is needed. The recurrence of each crop season emphasizes the defects of the present laws. There must soon be a revision of them, because to leave them as they are means to incur liability of business disaster.

I most earnestly hope that the bill to provide a lower tariff for or else absolute free trade in Philippine products will become a law. No harm will come to any American industry; and while there will be some small but real material benefit to the Filipinos, the main benefit will come by the showing made as to our purpose to do all in our power for their welfare. So far our action in the Philippines has been abundantly justified, not mainly and indeed not primarily because of the added dignity it has given us as a nation by proving that we are capable honorably and efficiently to bear the international burdens which a mighty people should bear, but even more because of the immense benefit that has come to the people of the Philippine Islands. In these islands we are steadily introducing both liberty and order, to a greater degree than their people have ever before known.

American citizenship should be conferred on the citizens of Porto Rico.

We should as a nation do everything in our power for the cause of honorable peace. It is morally as indefensible for a nation to commit a wrong upon another nation, strong or weak, as for an individual thus to wrong his fellows. We should do all in our power to hasten the day when there shall be peace among the nations—a peace based upon justice and not upon cowardly submission to wrong.

Dec. 3, 1906.

The recent decision of the Supreme Court in regard to the employers' liability act, the experience of the Interstate Commerce Commission and of the Department of Justice in enforcing the interstate commerce and antitrust laws, and the gravely significant attitude toward the law and its administration recently adopted by certain heads of great corporations, render it desirable that there should be additional legislation as regards certain of the relations between labor and capital, and between the great corporations and the public.

The Supreme Court has decided the employers' liability law to be unconstitutional because its terms apply to employees engaged wholly in intrastate commerce as well as to employees engaged in interstate commerce. By a substantial majority the court holds that the Congress has power to deal with the question in so far as interstate commerce is concerned.

As regards the employers' liability law, I advocate its immediate reenactment, limiting its scope so that it shall apply only to the class of cases as to which the court says it can constitutionally apply, but strengthening its provisions within this scope. Interstate employment being thus covered by an adequate national law, the field of intrastate employment will be left to the action of the several states. With this clear definition of responsibility the states will undoubtedly give to the performance of their duty within their field the consideration the importance of the subject demands.

I also very urgently advise that a comprehensive act be passed providing for compensation by the government to all employees injured in the government service. Under the present law an injured workman in the employment of the government has no remedy, and the entire burden of the accident falls on the helpless man, his wife, and his young children. This is an outrage. It is a matter of humiliation to the nation that there should not be on our statute-books provision to meet and partially atone for cruel misfortune when it comes upon a man through no fault of his own while faithfully serving the public.

The same broad principle which should apply to the government should ultimately be made applicable to all private employers.

I again call your attention to the need of some action in connection with the abuse of injunctions in labor cases. As regards the rights and wrongs of labor and capital, from blacklisting to boycotting, the whole subject is covered in admirable fashion by the report of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission, which report should serve as a chart for the guidance of both legislative and executive officers. As regards injunctions, I can do little but repeat what I have said in my last message to the Congress. Even tho it were possible, I should consider it most unwise to abolish the use of the process of injunction. It is necessary in order that the courts may maintain their own dignity and in order that they may in effective manner check disorder and violence. The judge who uses it cautiously and conservatively, but who, when the need arises, uses it fearlessly, confers the greatest service upon our people, and his preeminent usefulness as a public servant should be heartily recognized. But there is no question in my mind that it has sometimes been used heedlessly and unjustly, and that some of the injunctions issued inflict grave and occasionally irreparable wrong upon those enjoined.

It is all wrong to use the injunction to prevent the entirely proper and legitimate actions of labor organizations in their struggle for industrial betterment, or under the guise of protecting property rights unwarrantably to invade the fundamental rights of the individual. It is futile to concede, as we all do, the right and the necessity of organized effort on the part of wage-earners and yet by injunctive process to forbid peaceable action to accomplish the lawful objects for which they are organized and upon which their success depends.

Not only should there be action on certain laws affecting wage-earners; there should also be such action on laws better to secure control over the great business concerns engaged in interstate commerce, and especially over the great common carriers. The Interstate Commerce Commission should be empowered to pass upon any rate or practise on its own initiative. Moreover, it should be provided that whenever the commission has reason to believe that a proposed advance in a rate ought not to be made without investigation, it should have authority to issue an order prohibiting the advance pending examination by the commission.

I would not be understood as expressing an opinion that any or even a majority of these advances are improper. Many of the rates in this country have been abnormally low. The operating expenses of our railroads, notably the wages paid railroad employees, have greatly increased. These and other causes may in any given case justify an advance in rates, and if so the advances should be permitted and approved. But there may be, and doubtless are, cases where this is not true; and our law should be so framed

that the government, as the representative of the whole people, can protect the individual against unlawful exaction for the use of these public highways. The Interstate Commerce Commission should be provided with the means to make a physical valuation of any road as to which it deems this valuation necessary. In some form the federal government should exercise supervision over the financial operations of our interstate railroads. In no other way can justice be done between the private owners of those properties and the public which pay their charges.

I think that the federal government must also assume a certain measure of control over the physical operation of railways in the handling of interstate traffic. The commission now has authority to establish through routes and joint rates. In order to make this provision effective and in order to promote in times of necessity the proper movement of traffic, I think it must also have authority to determine the conditions upon which cars shall be interchanged between different interstate railways. It is also probable that the commission should have authority, in particular instances, to determine the schedule upon which perishable commodities shall be moved.

In this connection I desire to repeat my recommendation that railways be permitted to form traffic associations for the purpose of conferring about and agreeing upon rates, regulations, and practises affecting interstate business in which the members of the association are mutually interested. This does not mean that they should be given the right to pool their earnings or their traffic. The law requires that rates shall be so adjusted as not to discriminate between individuals, localities, or different species of traffic. Ordinarily, rates by all competing lines must be the same. As applied to practical conditions, the railway operations of this country cannot be conducted according to law without what is equivalent to conference and agreement. The articles under which such associations operate should be approved by the commission; all their operations should be open to public inspection; and the rates, regulations, and practises upon which they agree should be subject to disapproval by the commission.

I urge this last provision with the same earnestness that I do the others. This country provides its railway facilities by private capital. Those facilities will not be adequate unless the capital employed is assured of just treatment and an adequate return. In fixing the charges of our railroads, I believe that, considering the interests of the public alone, it is better to allow too liberal rather than too scanty earnings, for, otherwise, there is grave danger that our railway development may not keep pace with the demand for transportation. But the fundamental idea that these railways are public highways must be recognized, and they must be open to the whole public upon equal terms and upon reasonable terms.

Jan. 31, 1908. THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

REVENUE: For the principles involved in problems of revenue, see FINANCE; TAXATION; FREE TRADE; PROTECTION; SOCIALISM; STATE.

REVIVAL OF HANDICRAFTS: Varied efforts are being made to-day to revive the production of articles of a more or less artistic nature by hand instead of by machinery. Manufacture was almost entirely by hand, supplemented by tools, until the introduction of steam. The latter made possible the replacing of the hand as the principal tool and propelling power by machinery. Manufacture became machinofacture. Production became immensely prolific and enabled many people to enjoy comforts which had been denied to them before. But it also repressed the individuality of the maker, who really became merely a machine to watch and operate another machine. The pride, the satisfaction, and the creative sense in one's own product was largely gone. In order to reintroduce the personal element into the making of semi-artistic articles, a movement has been started in nearly every civilized country for teaching, fostering, and encouraging handicrafts along numerous lines.

The crafts which are taken up are chiefly those in which machinery cannot compete successfully, e. g., rug- and carpet-weaving, lace-making, basketry, ceramics, wood and metal work, sloyd, printing and binding of books in *éditions de luxe*, cabinet-making, decorating, house-painting, etc.

The movement in England was started chiefly through the influence of John Ruskin and William Morris. The latter says: "To give people pleasure in the things they must perforce use, that is one great office of decoration; to give people pleasure in the things they must perforce make, that is the other use of it." Ruskin held that a man should use his brains as well as his hands in whatsoever he produced, which implies in crafts the ability to design and create new models, and thus to impress one's individuality upon the product and express one's personality in it. Only in that way can the mechanical operation of the hand be raised into the realm of the spiritual, and personality developed instead of disintegrated. Ruskin (*q. v.*) started the Society of St. George with the promotion of handicrafts as one of its objects. The trade-schools (*q. v.*) have now taken up this matter to a large extent. The Sloyd Association of Great Britain and Ireland (131 Percy Road, Shepherd's Bush, London, W.) has similar aims.

The most conspicuous attempt in reviving handicrafts has, however, been made in Ireland, and partly in England, for the Irish. The Gaelic League, founded in 1893, has made this endeavor one of its objects. By reviving the crafts and the house industries, particularly in the country districts, the league hopes to give congenial employment to boys and men during the winter and to women all the year round. If successful, this arrangement will operate reciprocally—in diminishing idleness in the country districts, and in providing a market for farm products. Thus both consumption and production will be affected advantageously. In order to create a market for these products, particularly the lace and linen, the league has arranged an annual exhibition of Irish goods in London with a permanent center at 26 Ludgate Hill. Ever since, there has been a ready market for these goods, and many formerly poor families now make a comfortable living. Beside this economic advantage has been a political advantage. The revival of craftsmanship has taught the north and the south of Ireland that their problem is ultimately the same.

On the Continent the movement finds expression chiefly in the *Gewerbe- und Kunstschulen* of Germany, which have been taken as models by other countries, and by permanent exhibits, e. g., in Nuremberg and in Vienna. In the latter city

Dr. Vetter has succeeded in creating a very excellent trade and crafts museum, while the products of the different crown lands, peculiar to each, are exhibited and find ready purchasers. This ready market, again, stimulates the craftsmen and women to higher and nobler efforts, and thus a signal service is rendered to numerous people, not only economically but artistically, especially since some artists of note have taken a lively interest in the matter by giving instruction in drawing and designing, and furnishing samples of superior workmanship.

The French Chamber in 1906 set aside the sum of 10,000 francs for an investigation concerning ways and means by which the house industries in country districts may be saved from ruin, how new ones may be created, and thus idleness and poverty be obviated. This is in addition to what is being done in the trade-schools. Belgium is trying her best to foster lace-making and other house industries which require skill and originality.

In the United States a strong tendency has been shown in recent years toward reviving and fostering craftsmanship. Perhaps most prominent in this respect is the domestic weaving and rug-making, in villages and countrysides both in New England and the Appalachian Mountains, where some women have preserved their secret of weaving and dyeing rugs of exceptional beauty. Among the Scandinavians of the West there are also some women who have not forgotten their skill in this line. The revival has been due in the southern mountains chiefly to philanthropic efforts; in New England to summer boarders of artistic taste and lovers of the unconventional. Hardly more than the principal places can be mentioned in this article. The Acadians in the Attakapas region of southern Louisiana make blankets and cottonade suitings. The Log Cabin settlement near Asheville, N. C., has encouraged chiefly the weaving of coverlets. The Allanstand Cottage Industries in Madison, N. C., have revived an industry among the mountaineers which provides a comfortable living for them. The Berea Fireside Industries in Kentucky have rehabilitated the art of dyeing and weaving in that neighborhood. Similar industries exist now in Russellville, Tenn., Proctor, Ky., Hindman, Ky., Rome, Ga. In New England rug-making was revived first at Pequaket, N. H., by Mrs. Helen R. Albee, a designer. The Sabatos rugs of Center Lovell, Me., have found favor with artists in New York City. The Cranberry Isles, Me., Belchertown, Mass., Plainfield, N. H., have also experienced a revival of their house industry of rug-making. The Charity Society of New York City and Grace Church Hospital for old people have given employment to people at rug-making. There are a large number of other places where successful attempts have been made in this direction. Among these the Roycroft Shop, at East Aurora, N. Y., is, perhaps, the most prominent.

An interesting innovation in this line has been introduced at Hull House, Chicago, in 1900. A museum showing various handicrafts in their process of evolution was established, and the various nationalities in the neighborhood were asked to bring their distaffs, spinning-wheels, looms, etc., in order to furnish an opportunity for comparisons both as to implements and processes of spinning, weaving, etc. Thus a number of fabrics and rugs were produced representing Greeks, Irish, Italians, Syrians.

Weaving on hand-looms has been introduced into the curricula of several industrial schools, e. g., at Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va., for rugs, table-covers, portières, etc. A class in dyeing from vegetable dyes has also been introduced. The Teachers' College, New York City, Newcomb College, New Orleans, the Home Industrial School, Asheville, N. C., are also giving classes in rug-weaving. Even two elementary schools, the Dewey School at Chicago, and the Motley School, Minneapolis, are giving courses in textile handicrafts.

Rug-weaving is only a part of a larger movement. There has been a tendency since 1875 in the direction of hand-made goods. Wood-carving, overglaze china painting, pottery, were the first crafts to attract attention, particularly in Cincinnati, where several clubs were started with good results, and where the Art Academy is doing excellent work. Chicago followed this example in the "nineties" with various clubs devoting themselves to the acquirement of skill and dexterity in numerous lines. Since 1900 Boston, New York City, Syracuse, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Dayton, Ohio, Indianapolis, and many smaller places have formed clubs for giving men and women opportunities to perfect themselves in one or more crafts. Byrdcliffe, Woodstock, N. Y., deserves special mention. It is a summer art school for various crafts, but the intention of Mr. Ralph Radcliffe-Whitehead, the founder, is to establish a permanent art village. Even stock companies have been formed for the promotion of crafts, e. g., at Glen Eirie, Saugerties, N. Y.

Hand in hand with this movement has gone that for the preservation of handicrafts among the Indians, and among the natives of Porto Rico. Basketry, bead-work, blanket-weaving among the Indians is receiving special attention at several reservations and from a number of associations, e. g., the Mohonk Lodge, Sequoia League, Basket Fraternity, etc.

The movement is now in full swing, and is benefiting a large number of people economically, artistically, and socially. If it is to succeed, the crafts must give scope to native genius and esthetic sense. What militates against it is the disappearance of national costumes through the leveling influence of modern fashions, which consider only him or her as being within the pale of civilization who is dressed more or less in some imitation of Paris models. America is the greatest sinner in this respect; it is, consequently, a hopeful sign that she has taken up the movement so vigorously.

A list of the more important arts and crafts clubs and societies in the U. S. follows:

Chicago Arts and Crafts Society, 1301 Woman's Temple, Chicago.
Society of Arts and Crafts, 9 Park Street, Boston, Mass.
Arts and Crafts Society, Deerfield, Mass.
Hingham Society of Arts and Crafts, Hingham, Mass.
Greenfield Arts and Crafts Society, Greenfield, Mass.
New Clairvaux Arts and Crafts Society, Montague, Mass.
Guild of Arts and Crafts, 109 East Twenty-third Street, New York.
Society of Arts and Crafts, 323 North Charles Street, Baltimore, Md.
Malden Arts and Crafts Society, Malden, Mass.
Brewster Guild of Arts and Crafts, Brewster, Mass.
Southampton Arts and Crafts, Southampton, Mass.
Dorchester Arts and Crafts Society, Dorchester, Mass.
Society of Arts and Crafts, Grand Rapids, Mich.
Arts and Crafts Club of St. Louis, Mo., 33 Linmar Building.
Arts and Crafts Society, Dayton, Ohio, 500 East Second Street.
Center Lovell Handicraft Society, Center Lovell, Me.

Arts and Crafts Society, Minneapolis, Minn., 1521 Laurel Avenue.
Arts and Crafts Club, Fargo, N. Dak.
Arts and Crafts Club, Hartford, Conn., 105 Trumbull Street.
Arts and Crafts Club of Bradley Polytechnic Institute, Peoria, Ill.
Society of Arts and Crafts, Exeter, N. H.
Arts and Crafts Society of St. Joseph, Mo.
Guild of Arts and Crafts of California, 639 Kearny Street, San Francisco.
Arts and Crafts Association, Fitchburg, Mass.
Hamilton Arts and Crafts Club, Hamilton, N. Y.

RUDOLPH M. BINDER.

REFERENCES: *The Revival of Handicrafts in America*, by Max West, Ph.D., *Bulletin of Bureau of Labor*, No. 55.

REVISIONISTS, THE: The constructive wing of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. It comprizes a brilliant array of writers, political representatives, and trade-union leaders. Besides Eduard Bernstein and George von Vollmar, we find Carl Legien, Adolph von Elm, Ignatz Auer (the party secretary), A. Hue, Wolfgang Heine, Paul Kampfmeyer, and many others.

The Revisionists accept the doctrines of Marx as the basis of their economic and political activity. But they also hold that the theories of Marx need revision in many vital respects.

They declare that, especially in the field of agriculture, Marx's prediction of the concentration of wealth and the wiping out of the middle class has not been verified by the economic development. They also find fault with Marx's theory of value in some points, and furthermore contend that while the old middle class is disappearing, a new middle class, made up of well-paid foremen, superintendents, bookkeepers, managers, etc., is taking its place.

They deny the "catastrophe" theory that socialism will be introduced some day at one bound by a "coup de force" and contend that socialism is simply a matter of *evolution*—a contention which they can easily prove from the writings of Marx, Engels, and some of their successors.

The Revisionists, therefore, while they in no way try to hide their ultimate aim of establishing the so-called Socialist Republic, lay the main stress on practical and immediate ameliorative work. And while they do not reject the revolution—or as many revolutions, for that matter, as the evolution of economic and political conditions may bring about—yet they claim that the work in the trade-unions, in the cooperative societies, and in the political field is of *paramount importance* for the working class at the present time. Their theory was formulated by Eduard Bernstein.

In reality, the difference between them and the other wing of the Social-Democratic Party is simply a struggle between the evolutionary principle in its widest sense and the revolutionary principle in its narrowest meaning.

That struggle has been apparent in Germany from the very beginning of the movement.

The German Social Democracy was originally formed of two divided and hostile camps—the Lassalleans and the Eisenachers (Marxists). The Lassalleans were the more fanatic and more "radical" in their ways, but less scientific and less radical in their theories. As a matter of fact, the Lassalleans were rather national than international. After many bitter fights and squabbles with each other, the two great groups were united by political persecutions and welded together by the anti-Socialist laws. At the time of this union the Lassalleans were far stronger in numbers, but they succumbed to the theoretic basis of the Marxists. To-day the German Social-Democratic Party is Marxist and international.

Marxism in itself is revolutionary and evolutionary. Or more correctly exprest, it is based on the economic evolution, which is essentially revolutionary and is revolutionizing the world before our eyes.

Now, when the German Socialist movement was young, that is, in the sixties and seventies of the nineteenth century, the matter was understood quite differently. German proletarian leaders had seen and experienced the betrayal of the revolution and of political freedom by the bourgeois in France and Germany in 1848.

The proletarian idea then was that the awakened proletariat must complete the unfinished work of the bourgeois. The proletariat must finally win democracy, freedom, and equality for Germany. But at the same time it also must take a great step forward, and to the political add the economic emancipation—that is, besides a democratic constitution, it must also create the Socialist Republic.

All this must be attained by one single political revolutionary stroke—by winning one great battle, possibly on the barricades. The Socialists of that day scoffed at parliamentarism.

John Most and Wilhelm Hasselmann were the logical exponents of this view. Yet even Liebknecht profest it at one time.

This idea changed perceptibly at the time of the anti-Socialist laws. The twelve years of persecution gave the Socialists an idea of the tremendous power of the ruling classes and of the strength of capitalist society. The thinking people in the party came to see that the present economic system was still far too strong to be overthrown by one single revolutionary eruption. They found that it was impossible with one blow to bring the economic and the political revolution.

The leaders of the party, therefore, took very good care to warn the masses against revolutionary outbreaks, in order not to give the ruling class the desired opportunity to make use of their power. Under no consideration must the unarmed masses be brought before the "magazine rifles," by which the dearest wish of the reactionists would be fulfilled.

Thus under the anti-Socialist law the *evolutionary* principle naturally came more and more into favor. The party very wisely trusted to the development of economic affairs.

After the abolition of the anti-Socialist laws a small portion of the party, especially students and so-called "intellectuals" were ready to return to the "old revolutionary tactics." This was the faction of the so-called "Young Men" (*Die Jungen*), led by Wildberger and Werner.

Another group with George von Vollmar, a former ultra-revolutionist, represented the evolutionary principle. While the "final aim"—the abolition of wage-labor—was not to be denied, *main stress* must be laid upon *present* political and social reforms.

The third and strongest group took a middle ground, and was led at that time by Liebknecht, Bebel, and Singer.

The clash came at the conventions at Halle in 1890 and at Erfurt in 1891. Liebknecht and Bebel conquered. Wildberger, Werner, and some other "revolutionists," who were unwilling to submit, withdrew from the party and became anarchists. Vollmar and his evolutionary

group remained in the ascendency and were very active.

Yet the two tendencies continued to clash in the German Social Democracy. This has been noticeable at every convention. And since Bernstein wrote his famous book, they have also had a theoretical standard around which to rally.

The issues have been various. Sometimes labor-unions were discust, sometimes an agrarian program, or participation in the Prussian Landtag elections. Then again purely theoretic questions were raised by Eduard Bernstein—theories overthrown as to the progress of misery and its relation to the Socialist movement. Exceptions were also taken to the Marxian theory of concentration as far as agriculture was concerned. Of late the question of the general strike has been discust. The Revisionists favored it under certain conditions, but not to the exclusion of all other tactical means.

The key-note was always the evolutionary principle in its widest sense against the revolutionary principle in a narrow conception.

At first the representatives of the constructive tendency, except Bernstein, Auer, and Legien, were young men with a university education, many of whom have paid positions in the party and therefore had to take pains not to offend party traditions and party prejudices. And the reproach was made that they were "intellectuals," not real proletarians with a "callous fist," and this was given by their opponents as the reason why they were not "revolutionary." It was also unfortunate that Eduard Bernstein, the man who in 1898 took up the theoretic side of the question in the *Neue Zeit*, and from whom the faction very incorrectly has received its name, is anything but a practical statesman and still less a leader of the masses. But since most of the trade-union leaders and the adherents of the cooperative societies have accepted Bernstein's theories, this has changed the situation.

The struggle between the two principles will continue in future. But a split in the great German Social Democracy is out of the question. The sound sense and fine discipline of the German organized working men will prevent this, and so will the conduct of their opponents. Moreover, a victory of the evolutionary principle will not mean any weakening, but rather a strengthening, of the position of the working class. It will make the gradual but steady development of the German working class its main business, without giving up the idea of the revolution.

The result of the last election in Germany has shown that the Social-Democratic Party can no longer keep up its mainly negative program and make headway. Compared with the Socialists of France, of England, and even of Italy, the German Social Democracy, in spite of its grand organization and discipline, has played a small rôle. What it has achieved for the working class was done rather in a negative way, the ruling class fearing the ascendency of the revolution, than by any positive program. An absolute change of attitude may be more difficult in Germany than in any other country, on account of the personality of the kaiser, who is very antidemocratic. But a way will have to be found to utilize the genius of the Social Democracy for the people now and in the future. We do not want to postpone its usefulness until some indefinite time.

The Revisionists were beaten by a good majority at the Social-Democratic convention in Lübeck (1901) and were censured and forbidden to promulgate their theories. They were beaten again at the Dresden convention in 1903. But *ideas* cannot be suppress in such a crude way, otherwise socialism would have been crusht long ago. And especially the idea of the Revisionists ("Bernsteinism"), which represents a principle that has striven for the supremacy in the German Socialist movement since its very inception, cannot be suppress by a simple majority vote of a party congress. It has taken deep roots among the trade-unionists of Germany. The work in the municipalities helps it along. It brings the party in close touch with the people. In short, the economic-revolutionary principle—which, by the way, does not exclude so-called revolutionary exploits, but rather includes them—is the best legacy of Carl Marx to his followers. Therefore it is bound to win.

Victor L. Berger.

REYBAUD, MARIE ROCHE LOUIS: Historian; born Marseilles, 1799. He went to Paris in 1829, and became the leading historian of the Socialist school. Novelist as well as historian, in 1850 he was elected a member of the Academy. His "Études sur les réformateurs ou socialistes modernes" (2 vols., 1840–47) was the first work to bring the word socialism into general use. Died 1879.

REYNOLDS, JAMES BRONSON: Social reform worker; born 1861, Kiantone, N. Y.; educated at North Haven and New Haven; graduated from Yale University, 1884; Yale Divinity School, 1888; afterward did postgraduate work in Paris and Berlin; was fellow in sociology at Columbia University; law student at New York University. As official representative of the College Young Men's Christian Association, he visited Great Britain and the Continent from 1889–92, studying at the same time social problems. Member Committee of Seventy, 1893. In 1894 he became head worker of the University Settlement in New York. In that position he was member of a number of committees, e. g., City Club's committee to prepare for campaign of 1897; chairman of executive committee of Citizens' Union, etc. In 1900 Governor Roosevelt appointed him a member of the State Tenement House Commission; 1902–3 he was secretary to Mayor Low of New York; afterward went to Washington, D. C., as special adviser to President Roosevelt on municipal affairs of Washington; 1906 he was a member of the presidential commission to investigate the Chicago stock-yards. Member of numerous clubs: *Address*: The Century Association, 7 West Forty-third Street, New York City, U. S. A.

RICARDO, DAVID: Political economist; born in London, 1772, the son of a Jewish member of the Stock Exchange. At the age of fourteen he entered his father's office; but, when twenty-one, he separated from his father's family and entered the Church of England. Commencing business for himself, he was a man of wealth at twenty-five. In 1799 became interested in Adam Smith's great work, and henceforth devoted himself mainly to economic studies. In 1809 he wrote a series of articles on monetary questions to the *Morning Chronicle*, which led to considerable controversy. In 1815 he published an essay on the influence of

the "Low Price of Corn, or the Profit of Stock," in which he first stated the views as to rent afterward connected with his name, but which he explicitly states he derived mainly from Malthus (see RENT). In 1817 appeared Ricardo's great work, his "Principles of Political Economy and Taxation." In 1819 he entered Parliament, and was soon recognized as an authority in economics, and a strong supporter of the battle for free trade. In 1822 he published a tract on "Protection to Agriculture," and in 1824 was published, after his death, his "Plan for the Establishment of a National Bank." Ricardo died Sept. 11, 1823, James Mill saying of him that he knew not a better man.

Professor Ingram ("History of Political Economy), says of Ricardo's views:

> The principle which he puts first in order, and which is indeed the key to the whole, is this—that the exchange value of any commodity, the supply of which can be increased at will, is regulated, under a régime of free competition, by the labor necessary for its production. Similar propositions are to be found in the "Wealth of Nations," not to speak of earlier English writings. On this basis Ricardo goes on to explain the laws according to which the produce of the land and the labor of the country is distributed among the several classes which take part in production. [Professor Ingram shows where Ricardo got his theory of rent, and then says:]
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> The essence of the theory is that rent, being the price paid by the cultivator to the owner of land for the use of its productive powers, is equal to the excess of the price of the produce of the land over the cost of production on that land. With the increase of population, and therefore of demand for food, inferior soils will be taken into cultivation; and the price of the entire supply necessary for the community will be regulated by the cost of production of that portion of the supply which is produced at the greatest expense. But for the land which will barely repay the cost of cultivation, no rent will be paid. Hence, the rent of any quality of land will be equal to the difference between the cost of production on that land and the cost of production of that produce which is raised at the greatest expense. . . .
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> The great importance of the theory of rent in Ricardo's system arises from the fact that he makes the general economic condition of society to depend altogether on the position in which agricultural exploitation stands. This will be seen from the following statement of his theory of wages and profits. The produce of every expenditure of labor and capital being divided between the laborer and the capitalist, in proportion as one obtains more the other will necessarily obtain less. The productiveness of labor being given, nothing can diminish profit but a rise of wages, or increase it but a fall of wages. Now, the price of labor, being the same as its cost of production, is determined by the price of the commodities necessary for the support of the laborer. The price of such manufactured articles as he requires has a constant tendency to fall, principally by reason of the progressive application of the division of labor to their production. But the cost of his maintenance essentially depends not on the price of those articles, but on that of his food; and, as the production of food will in the progress of society and of population require the sacrifice of more and more labor, its price will rise; money wages will constantly rise, and with the rise of wages profits will fall. Thus it is to the necessary gradual descent to inferior soils, or less productive expenditure on the same soil, that the decrease in the rate of profit which has historically taken place is to be attributed (Smith ascribed this decrease to the competition of capitalists, tho in one place, book i., chap. ix., he had a glimpse of the Ricardian view). This gravitation of profits toward a minimum is happily checked at times by improvements of the machinery employed in the production of necessaries, and especially by such discoveries in agriculture and other causes as reduce the cost of the prime necessary of the laborer; but here again the tendency is constant. While the capitalist thus loses the laborer does not gain: his increased money wages only enable him to pay the increased price of his necessaries, of which he will have no greater and probably a less share than he had before. In fact, the laborer can never for any considerable time earn more than what is required to enable the class to subsist in such a degree of comfort as custom has made indispensable to them, and to perpetuate their race without either increase or diminution. That is the "natural" price of labor; and if the market-rate temporarily rises above it, population will be stimulated, and the rate of wages will again fall. Thus, while rent has a constant tendency to rise and profit to fall, the rise or fall of wages will depend on the rate of increase of the working classes. For the improvement of their condition, Ricardo thus has to fall back on the Malthusian remedy, of the effective application of which he does not, however, seem to have much expectation. The securities against a superabundant population to which he inclines are the gradual abolition of the poor-laws—for their amendment would not content him—and the development among the working classes of a taste for greater comforts and enjoyments.
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> It will be seen that the Socialists have somewhat exaggerated in announcing, as Ricardo's "iron law" of wages, their absolute identity with the amount necessary to sustain the existence of the laborer and enable him to continue the race. He recognizes the influence of a "standard of living" as limiting the increase of the numbers of the working classes, and so keeping their wages above the lowest point. But he also holds that, in long-settled countries, in the ordinary course of human affairs, and in the absence of special efforts restricting the growth of population, the condition of the laborer will decline as surely, and from the same causes, as that of the landlord will be improved.

Ricardian Law of Rent

Wages and Profit

RICHARDS, T.: Member British Parliament, of Labor Party for West Monmouthshire; born 1859 at Beaufort, Monmouthshire. Worked in a mine and became agent of the Ebbw Vale Company's Workmen in 1888. He is general secretary for South Wales and Monmouth of the Miners' Federation, and a member of the County Council for Monmouthshire; was chairman of the Ebbw Vale District Council in 1895. He was elected to Parliament in 1904, and returned in 1906 Breconshire unopposed. *Address*: Tycendl, Beaufort, Monmouthshire, England.

RICHARDS, THOMAS FREDERICK: Member British Parliament, of Labor Party for Wolverhampton, West; born 1863 at Wednesbury; received but a scanty education since he had to go to work at the age of twelve, owing to his father's death; worked in various trades until 1882, when he was apprenticed to a boot- and shoemaker at Leicester. He was elected successively vice-president, 1894, and president, 1897, of the Leicester No. 1 Branch. He was delegate to the Cooperative Congress at Birmingham in 1906 from the Trade-Union Congress at Leeds. His party elected him town councilor in 1894 and successively for nine years. In his party he took an active interest in the Federation of Trade-Unions, and was a member of the management committee. He has been an active Socialist since 1887. Elected to Parliament 1906. *Address*: 115 Knollys Road, Streatham, S. W., London.

RICHARDSON, ARTHUR: Labor member British Parliament for Nottingham, South; born 1860; educated at the national school at East Bridford and the grammar school at Newark-on-Trent. He was apprenticed to a grocer in 1877, and later bought the business of E. Swan & Co., Nottingham. He was elected to Parliament by the Labor vote in 1906. *Address*: 6 Friar Yard, Nottingham, England.

RICHTER, J., DR.: Privy Councilor of the Imperial German Home Office; born 1856, at Königsberg, Germany. He devoted himself to the study of the law; became a referendar in 1879 and in 1886 was appointed assessor. In this capacity he entered the government of the Province of Posen. During his five official years in Posen he engaged in all the branches of administrative business, particularly with social-political questions. Called in 1891 to the Imperial Home Office, he was made Government Councilor in 1892, a reporting privy councilor in 1895, and in 1898 became a chief privy councilor. Dr. Richter is employed in the most varied business of the Home Office at Berlin, but to the public he is chiefly known by his connection with the great

expositions. He was Representative Commissioner of Germany at the Chicago Columbian Exposition. Imperial Commissioner for the Paris International Exposition in 1896. Since his return from Paris he has been principally occupied in the field of social politics, having been entrusted with the task of organizing into practical efficiency the various agencies, methods, and endeavors which are seeking to provide healthy and suitable dwellings at moderate prices for workmen and clerks with small salaries. *Address*: The Imperial Home Office, Berlin, Germany.

RIGHT RELATIONSHIP LEAGUE, THE: Organized in Chicago, Ill., 1898, largely through the efforts of E. P. Keyes. Its aim, as stated in its charter, is "to study, teach, and promote cooperation," but it uses cooperation in the largest sense and believes that this is only the first step in introducing right relationship in all matters—the "coming kingdom" of justice and equality in ownership, responsibility, authority, and privilege. It is organized without capital, not for profit, but for service.

It works on an especial form of cooperation which it considers "true cooperation": the equal ownership of stock (with shares at $100); stockholders to vote without proxies, "one man one vote"; all business on a cash basis or product of labor; goods sold at market prices; net profits to be divided annually "among the members according to the amount of their individual patronage," after 8 per cent has been paid on shares and a fixt percentage for a reserve fund, education, and depreciation. Under its auspices some fifty stores have been established or have joined the league, mainly in Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Ohio, and Minnesota, and the president reports them to be prospering in 1907. Also under its auspices a cooperative merchants' company has been formed, the purpose of which is stated by Miss Helen L. Sumner ("Labor Problems," p. 406) to be: "To form county organizations, which shall buy out already existing stores and shall employ as manager the former owner, consolidating different kinds of stores into departments under one general management and obtaining branches in other towns of the county as rapidly as possible. The stores bought are to be paid for in shares of the cooperative company, but all shares above $100 are to be deposited and held in trust until purchased by non-members."

This company now supplies goods as a wholesale house to some 200 cooperative merchants. The present membership in the league is about 150, tho the president states that the league is not very active at present through the difficulty of securing the right workers. He reports the plan, however, to bring work, and to be slowly making headway. *President*, J. Burnett Swett; *secretary*, Clara J. Biddell, 427 Reaper Block, Chicago, Ill.

RIIS, JACOB AUGUST: Sociological writer and reformer; born in Ribe, Denmark, 1849. Coming to New York, he became a reporter on the New York *Sun*, and through this acquainted with the conditions on the East Side, which he has tellingly described, and which he has done so much to reform in the books which have given him his fame. Interested especially in housing and tenement reform, he was (1897) secretary of the New York Small Parks Commission, and 1896–97 executive officer of the Good Government Clubs. Since then he has mainly confined his efforts to the pen. Mr. Riis has said that he professes no other political or social economy than this—to so better the housing, the schools, and the whole environment of the tenement house population, whose influences make for unrighteousness, that the generation to come shall be able to choose their own political economy intelligently and righteously. Among Mr. Riis's best known books are: "How the Other Half Lives" (1890); "The Children of the Poor" (1892); "The Making of an American" (1901); "The Battle with the Slum" (1902); "The Peril and the Preservation of the Home" (1903); "Theodore Roosevelt, the Citizen" (1904). *Address*: 524 North Beech Street, Richmond Hill, N. Y.

RITCHIE, DAVID G.: Born Jedburgh, Scotland, 1853, and received his school education there. Graduated with honors from the University of Edinburgh, 1874, he entered Balliol College, at Oxford, attending, among other lectures, those of Prof. T. H. Green. He was elected to an open fellowship in Jesus College, and since 1879 has been college lecturer and tutor in logic.

In politics Professer Ritchie was a radical, largely favoring State socialism.

Author: "Darwinism and Politics"; "Essays on Human Evolution"; "The Principles of State Interference"; "Four Essays on the Political Philosophy of Mr. Herbert Spencer, J. S. Mill, and T. H. Green"; "Darwin and Hegel"; with other philosophical studies and many review articles and essays. Died in 1903.

ROADS: The importance of good roads to a community is evident, tho not always remembered. Traffic, industry, communication, are dependent upon them.

The roads of the Roman Empire were expensive and have endured, but can be improved upon by modern engineering. Twenty-nine military roads centered at Rome, and had, according to Antoninus, a total length of 52,964 Roman miles. Ancient Peru and Mexico had good roads. In the Middle Ages roads were neglected. In 1350, in England, certain roads were given to private companies, to repair and collect tolls. In the eighteenth century, in the United States, turnpikes were maintained by private companies, and this custom still remains in some places, tho with poor results. In 1796 an act of Congress authorized a road from Baltimore westward, which was completed for 650 miles. Roads, however, in the U. S. created by local authorities with little or no scientific engineering have been for the most part poor. In 1889 New Jersey commenced the policy of state commission of and grants for good roads, and was soon followed by Massachusetts and other states, with the result that large improvement has been made. A National Good Roads Association was formed in 1900 (*secretary*, Arthur E. Jackson, Damariscotta, Me.), and much interest in the subject developed.

Where the roads are cared for by the farmers their time and money are often wasted. Civil engineering, at first expensive, is in the long run cheaper, and the results far better. The cost of macadamized roads varies from $3,000 to $9,000 per mile.

In Europe generally roads are far better than in the U. S., and built and kept under strict government supervision.

ROBERTS, GEORGE HENRY: Member British Parliament of Independent Labor Party from Norwich; born 1869 at Chedgrove, Norfolk. He was educated in the national schools and the technical institute at Norwich, whither his parents had removed in 1874. In 1883 he was apprenticed to the printing trade, and later went to London, where he came in touch with trade-unionists. On his return to Norwich he organized the Typographical Association, was its president, later secretary, and became organizer in 1894, having joined the Independent Labor Party in 1886. He has served as a member of the Norwich School Board since 1889. He was defeated in 1903 for Parliament as Labor candidate, but elected in 1906 on the same platform with a good majority. He is a hard worker, capable organizer, and a fair writer. *Address*: 34 Cardiff Road, Norwich, England.

ROCHDALE PIONEERS: The name given to the weavers of Rochdale (England), who started the great Rochdale cooperative movement. A rainy night in Nov., 1843, twelve men met in the back room of a mean inn and commenced this cooperative movement by organizing themselves as "The Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers." They agreed to pay twenty pence a week into a common fund, tho only a few of the twelve were able to pay their pence that evening.

They began by buying a little tea and sugar at wholesale prices, which they sold to their members at little more than cost. In a year their number had grown to twenty-eight, and they had collected £28, with which they rented a little store, and stocked it with £15 worth of flour. For their after history, and the success of the cooperative movement which has grown out of this beginning, see COOPERATION.

RODBERTUS, KARL JOHANN (Rodbertus-Jagetzow he is sometimes called): Socialist economist; born 1805 at Greifswald; educated at Berlin, Göttingen, and Heidelberg. After practising law, and traveling, he bought, in 1836, the estate of Jagetzow in Pomerania. Here he devoted himself to economic and other studies, and became prominent in Prussian politics. In June, 1848, he was for a fortnight Cabinet Minister for Public Worship and Education; but differences in opinion caused him to resign. He was elected in 1849, once for the First Chamber, and twice for the Second. Defeated as a candidate for the first North German Diet, he retired from politics, and Lassalle, who wrote him, could not induce him to combine his socialism with a political agitation. His first great work, published in 1842, "Zur Kenntniss unserer staatswirthschaftlichen Zustände," outlines his position. He was a Ricardian, and from this position, before Marx, deduced socialistic economics. Many modern economists call him a greater Socialist economist than Marx. He died on his estates, Dec. 8, 1875. Professor Wagner calls Rodbertus "the first, the most original, and the boldest representative of scientific socialism in Germany," and "the most distinguished theorist of the purely economic side of scientific socialism."

Rodbertus speaks of his economic theories as a "logical development of the proposition introduced into science by Smith, and established more firmly by Ricardo's school, that all commodities can only be considered economically as the product of labor, and cost nothing but labor." This proposition he places at the beginning. He argues that, however the productivity may increase, the laborers are ever thrown back by the force of trade upon a rate of wages which does not exceed the necessary subsistence. He defines rent as that income which is derived by virtue of a possession, and without labor, and he divides rent into rent from land and rent from capital. The food and means of subsistence paid to the laborers from the produce of the land are their wages, and the rest of the commodities produced are the rent retained by the owner of the land; this is land-rent. Similarly, capital-rent is all the income which remains to the capitalist after deduction of wages paid to his laborers. But all produce is the produce of labor, and with free competition the value of every commodity gravitates toward the value of the labor expended upon it; so that the relationship between the values of the raw and manufactured products is, on the whole, only regulated by the amount of labor expended upon each. Rodbertus points out that a change in the sum of a nation's productive force—in other words, a change in the number of laborers (apart, of course, from an alteration in productivity, or in the division of the produce)—only changes the sum of the national produce and the amounts (not the proportions) which fall to rent and wages. According as the sum of the productive forces employed increases or decreases, will more or less rent be received by the landowners, and more or less profit by the capitalists. Wages will not be higher with increased production, because, productivity and division being supposed the same, the increased produce falling to the laborers will be shared by the larger population. There can be no rent, then, first, unless the labor produce more than is necessary in order that the laborer may continue his labor; and second, unless institutions exist for depriving the laborer of this surplus, wholly or in part, and giving it to others, who do not themselves work, since the laborer is primarily in possession of the produce of his labor. This is especially seen in the case of slave-labor, where the laborer is allowed just as much of the produce as is necessary to the continuation of his labor. In modern times the arbitrary measures of the slave owner have been replaced by the wage system or contract; but, says Rodbertus, "this contract is only formally and not actually free, and hunger fully takes the place of the whip. What used to be called food is now called wages. . . . A very large part of the people is no longer able to live upon its own means, but is in some way or other thrown on the support of the other part of society. . . . This fact runs parallel with another equally indubitable, and making the first still more striking; the national wealth has simultaneously increased. Not only has the national income become greater, because the population has increased, and the increased population has therefore produced more; but if the increased national wealth be divided between the increased population there is a larger sum per head. These remarkable facts go together: (1) the impoverishment in a nation increases out of proportion to the growth of population, while simultaneously (2) the national income increases at greater ratio than the population, and the national wealth also tends to grow. This phenomenon Rodbertus holds to be unique in history. The social condition of the working classes should be raised to the level of their political condition; but all that has been done so far has been to press it lower down. Rodbertus has no patience with the egotism which, "clothing itself too often in the garb of morality," says that the vices of the working classes are the causes of their misery and of pauperism. People call out to the laborer, *Ora et labora*, and enjoin upon him the duty of temperance and providence; but the fact is, says Rodbertus, that thrift is an impossibility, and to preach thrift where there is no chance of saving is pure cant and cruelty. Not, indeed, that morality is not to be enjoined on the working classes. Morality should never cease to enforce its categorical imperative everywhere, powerless as the human will is to attain to perfection; but the policy of merely reiterating the duty of morality is useless. He who gives bread to the hungry man, he remarks, protects him far more surely from stealing than he who repeats the command, "Thou shalt not steal." Nor has he much more respect for the *laissez-faire* school of economists. He sneers at the argument of "natural laws." Only in nature do natural laws act of themselves intelligently. For society, which is not natural, laws must be made.

Economic Analysis

The Present

Rodbertus proposes to abolish the present wage-contract and to introduce in its place a normal workday with a normal form of wages; then to introduce labor-note money, the issue of which should be entirely in the hands of the State; and finally to establish a system of warehouses for commodities to be paid as wages. These contrivances would provisionally leave property in land and capital as at present, except that for the future the laboring classes would share in the increasing productivity; but the ultimate goal is the replacement of this form of property by a property of income alone, which would inaugurate a new and a higher State order than any that has gone before. But Rodbertus's workday does not mean with him what it means with most Socialists—a legally determined number of hours' work daily. He expressly says in one place that the expectation that such a normal workday will protect the

Socialist Views

laborers from the greed of their employers, and secure them fair wages, is entirely without foundation. Nor does he regard the legal limitation of the period of labor in the case of adult males as tenable on practical grounds, or defensible when regarded from the standpoint of personal right, though he makes an exception with females and children. "As much as I am for the subordination of the individual to the State," he says, "I still maintain that the State has no right to say to a free man, 'You shall work no more than so and so many hours.'" The proper thing is to increase wages, and then, if the workman finds that he can earn in four hours enough to keep him for the day, there will be little fear of his working twelve. Even if the State were to restrict the hours of labor to eight, and to decree that wages should not be reduced, the material position of the working classes would not be improved. "Legislation which only restricts the hours of labor merely lops the branches of a poison tree. Legislation which at once fixes a definite amount of labor, or rather a definite performance (*Leistungsquantum*), lays the ax at its roots, plants in its place a healthy, fruitful tree, which it can then allow to shoot and blossom as freely as it will." "The way is long," he remarks in one of his letters, but for that reason it is desirable that the journey shall be begun without delay. Justice and prudence alike urge the necessity for movement, since the social question is fast taking this form: "Are the proprietors of the soil to be driven out, as in a migration of the nations, by those who are without property?" But the cost! "Certainly, the solution of the social problem will cost more than the printer's ink of a police order, simply because it is the social problem." He is confident that this problem will never be settled "in the street by means of strikes, paving-stones, or petroleum"; that social ills will not be "relieved, much less healed, by camomile tea." Permanent social peace, a strong executive power, enjoying the confidence and attachment of the working classes, and extensive preparations made in quiet and order, are all necessary preliminaries to the final settlement of a difficulty which becomes more dangerous the longer it is ignored.

Rodbertus's most important works, besides the above named, are "Soziale Briefe an v. Kirchmann" (1850–51); "Zür Erklärung und Abhülfe der heutigen Kreditnoth des Grundbesitzes" (1868–69); "Der normale Arbeitstag" (1871).

The best English account of Rodbertus is to be found in W. H. Dawson's "Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle," from which our account is abridged.

ROGERS, JAMES EDWIN THOROLD: Historian, economist; born in Hampshire, England, 1823. He matriculated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in 1842; was graduated in 1846. He took holy orders, but later renounced them; In 1862 he was elected professor of political economy at Oxford, but failed of reelection in 1868, owing to his radical views. From 1880 to 1886 he sat in Parliament, and was reinstated professor at Oxford in 1888, where he died in 1890. Commencing an economist of the orthodox economic school, he devoted himself to economic historical research, and investigation soon convinced him that orthodoxy in this case was very radically wrong; this conviction grew still more upon him, and was stated with still greater force, as years went on.

With the conclusions that he drew from his labors in social and industrial history, later economists have felt themselves often compelled to disagree, but his learning and capacity for research none can question.

Twenty years of patient investigation he put into his "History of Agriculture and Prices." He collected thousands and thousands of records of prices actually paid for different commodities, or for various kinds of labor; put together the records of the different kinds belonging to the same year; averaged these, then averaged these averages for decades, and these decade averages for period averages; and has thus obtained results it is impossible to question, because based on statements written with no thought of the use to which they would be put.

Professor Rogers found these records in old exchequer bills, college records, manor rolls, farm accounts, preserved, as it were, by accident, in the State, university, and municipal archives of English libraries. It was almost by accident that Professor Rogers discovered them and saw their unique value.

Author: "Six Centuries of Work and Wages"; "History of Agriculture and Prices," 6 vols.; "The Economic Interpretation of History"; "The Industrial and Commercial History of England."

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM, THE: In this exposition social reform is understood as including specific activity directed toward the relations of labor and capital in the industrial process: the function of the State; the social constitution of the laboring class; the theory of property; the rights of the individual and of the family as invaded by actual economic conditions. Attention is not directed to the administration of charity, to measures or methods of temporary relief, or to the historical rôle of the Church in caring for the poor. As the reform activity of Catholics is adjusted to national, political and social conditions, one finds various degrees of intensity of effort and more or less divergent policies in different countries. In the United States and England the Catholic movement is not developed; in Italy it is governed by extraordinary local conditions. On the Continent it has reached splendid proportions. To this last attention is mainly directed.

The Church conceives her mission to be primarily spiritual and supernatural. She holds that she is divinely commissioned as teacher and sanctifier, that her constitution is divine, and that she alone is its qualified interpreter. She sees all life, truth, action in their organic unity, drawing inspiration and law for present life from the life to come. She sees spiritual in relation to material, temporal in relation to eternal, social in relation to individual. Hence the Church's judgment of social processes, institutions, problems, and reform is part of a comprehensive spiritual view of life.

Basis

Within the content of the Church's normal teaching are views on human rights and personality, justice, property, family; on social relations, the constitution of society, the sanction and function of authority, of law, of virtue, derived from revelation and from her understanding of the natural law. Social questions present themselves to the Church's mind primarily in the form of error or sin, to be met and conquered by truth and virtue. Hence her first impulse to social reform directs her, not so much to social institutions as to correction of minds by true teaching and reforming hearts by instilling virtue. When, however, erroneous teaching disturbs human relations and is incorporated into the customs, constitutions, and laws of a time; when injustice and oppression are due to these erroneous views, the Church will enter directly the field of reform to protect "morality, justice, human dignity, and the family." As modern society presents just such a condition of comprehensive error and widespread injustice, the social reform movement in the Church is aggressive, powerful, with a developed program of reform, an able and dignified press, and with a high type of leadership.

In all such effort the Church is conservative. A strong historical sense leads her to recognize the slow working of social laws; she is inclined to

recognize an established order as sanctioned, since all ethical relations are exprest in its terms, and she fears the disorder of unstable institutions; she believes in the reform value of truth and virtue, hence she is slow to advance against institutions as such. The thoughtful observer who is imprest by seeming paradoxes in the Church's social activity may find explanation of them by considerations such as these.

History

The founder and teacher of the Catholic social reform movement was Bishop von Kettler of Mayence (1811–77). A contemporary of Lassalle (*q. v.*), he witnessed the political and industrial awakening of German democracy. He brought talent, energy, sympathy, and rare courage to the work, and by the year 1864 he had formulated a definite social program. He found the cause of suffering, degradation, and oppression in the supremacy of capital which was due to liberalism; he found that wages were regulated by supply and demand, with a tendency to fall to the level of subsistence. He rejected Lassalle's plans of reform, though sympathetic with much in his activity; he rejected likewise all proposals of the liberal party, and offered a definite plan of reform instead. He placed his main hope in Christianity's spirit of love, self-denial, and self-control. He advocated homes for disabled laborers, the restoration of the family through Christian teaching, higher wages based on the value of labor, shorter workday, protection of Sunday rest, exclusion of children, married women, and girls from factories, and the formation of productive associations.

The character of Bishop von Kettler, the definiteness of his teaching, and its break with accepted political philosophy, attracted wide attention and roused Continental Catholics to action. Germany and Austria accepted the program and organized. The Kulturkampf gave German Catholics a party, the Centrum, through which they had opportunity to give legislative expression of their thought. Laity, clergy, episcopate were quickly organized; Catholics became a political power; literature, organizations, methods developed and the social reform platform became one of the striking features of the Church's activity. In Austria Prince von Lichtenstein and Baron von Vogelsang, in Switzerland Cardinal Mermillod and Mr. Decurtins, appeared early as leaders, and national Catholic movements arose in close sympathy with Bishop von Kettler's in Germany. In France the new movement was engrafted on the already existing circles of Catholic laborers in 1870, and Count de Mun soon exerted great influence on them. De la Memnais and Le Play had remotely influenced the awakening in France, but it took its newer form under the able leadership of De Mun. Italy and Belgium also awakened, the latter somewhat slowly, but by the eighties Catholic Europe was organized, active, conscious. Principles had been formulated, policies were adopted, methods were developed. Institutions, temperament of peoples, political conditions affected the growth of the movement variously in the nations. Some differences appeared among leaders, tho the parties in the different countries exercised great influence in favor of advanced social reform legislation. The movement, sprung as it was from bishops, priests, and laymen, reached its doctrinal culmination in the encyclical of Leo XIII. on the condition of laborers in 1891. In this great action Pope Leo formally sanctioned the main principles of the movement, threw the weight of his authority into it, and marked a new epoch in its history. With great generosity, he called Bishop von Kettler his predecessor in the work. Since the encyclical, the whole Catholic movement is based on it, as in fact the encyclical itself was based on the movement before.

Remotely the social question is due to desertion of Christianity; immediately it is due to false absolute theories of State, individual, property, liberty. Individualism has disintegrated the natural ethical constitution of society. Error in politics, in economics, in ethics, misleads the nations, exposes the weak to exploitation by the strong. Correct understanding of the ethical constitution of society, in which human rights and obligations are coordinated in harmony with moral law, must be the basis of any successful reform.

Doctrine

a. The Individual.—The individual is a person with dignity and rights antecedent to institutions. He has a natural right to decent livelihood. An income sufficient to protect that right should be assured in social organization. The movement, therefore, favors a legal guaranty of a minimum wage and increase beyond that by forms of profit-sharing, joint ownership, participation by organized labor in administration of the factory. Protection of health, of morals, of Sunday rest by law is earnestly advocated in the name of individual rights.

b. The Family.—The family is divinely constituted, its form, authority, and sanction being of revelation. While the zone of its action is more or less elastic, from the days of von Kettler to the present, the reconstruction and protection of the Christian family has been one of the chief concerns of the Catholic movement. Work of married women, of girls and children has been uniformly opposed and the majority of writers have drifted to the position that the average adult male wage-earner has a natural right to a family wage. The demand for shorter work-day and Sunday rest is made in the interest of family life as well as in the name of the individual.

c. The Laboring Class.—The laborers constitute a distinct social class on an economic basis. The movement has aimed uniformly to recognize and organize the class and give it definite political, social, and industrial functions. Influenced by the history of the old gilds, the Catholic leaders have hoped and still hope to see the laboring class organized and uplifted, allowing in their plans for the changes caused by machinery in modern industry and for differences of religion, in which features modern industry and life are unlike the Middle Ages. This ideal of reform accepts the solidarity of the laboring class, abandons individualism, proposes sweeping changes in constitution of government and in administration of industry, since the economic classes, organized, become political and social units. An outline of the plan is given in a document quoted below.

d. State Intervention.—In earlier days differences appeared among the leaders regarding State intervention, Germans being less opposed to it than French. But the encyclical of Leo XIII. formally committed the church to the principle of limited intervention, since which time only differences of detail appear. In the main, legislation is favored to secure minimum wage, to restrict work of women and children, to protect the Sunday, and to organize all forms of

working men's insurance. From early days in the history of the movement international labor legislation was favored. Possibly the Catholics have been the most persistent in organizing the international conferences which have been held to promote it.

e. Private Property.—Private property as an institution is uniformly defended. While the excesses of capitalism are denounced with significant emphasis, at no time does one find any wavering in the persistent defense by the movement of property and of methods to extend and protect private ownership. The duties of property are insisted on as strongly as the rights and various methods are advocated to curb speculation, hinder monopoly, and modify systems of credit. The mind of the movement sees and advocates moralized property, property fully conscious of its moral relations, moral mission and sanction. The liberal theory of property caused the social question: the Christian theory alone can settle it.

Spirit of the Movement.—One finds a strong spiritual element in the atmosphere of the movement. No reform will succeed except it be Christian at heart. Every practical measure proposed is in a direct way related to virtue, duty, faith, and charity for its effectiveness. Throughout the movement sin is recognized as the final social question. Patient acceptance of the limitations of life and of inequalities of fortune is advocated, tho brave effort is encouraged to reduce these to the smallest possible limits. The movement is skeptical of liberty, if not convinced of its failure. It hopes for and works for union of class and class in the bond of Christian charity, discourages the preaching of class antagonism, and centers hope of progress on the reconstruction of religion, property, and the family.

Differences of Opinion.—Many differences of policy and method as well as unlike understandings of principles have appeared. The Germans have been more inclined to State intervention than the French, the latter, influenced by Le Play, favoring non-legal social action. The encyclical of Leo XIII. officially sanctions intervention. Since its appearance the family wage is generally favored, tho on different grounds, some basing it on charity, some on justice. A doctorati dissertation recently accepted at the Catholic University in Washington advocated the family wage as due the average adult male wage-earner in justice. Differences have existed concerning the organization of the laboring class. Optional or obligatory incorporation, exclusion or inclusion of employers, political representation of labor corporations, self-help by the laboring class or action and assistance from upper classes, are points concerning which different views are held.

Organization

a. The Catholic parties in Europe are represented in the legislative bodies and they stand aggressively for the Catholic reform principles. They have worked earnestly for progressive reform legislation and have made an honorable record in it.

b. A picturesque and powerful manifestation of the social Catholic consciousness is found in the many pilgrimages of French laborers to the Vatican. The first was held in 1887. They have occurred frequently since, as many as 15,000 making the journey in one year. The pilgrimages were occasions of addresses and appeals to the pope and of declarations by him. It is scarcely to be doubted that they had an influence in shaping the thought of the encyclical in the Holy Father's mind. *c.* Congresses of Christian Catholic laborers, notably in France; meetings of Catholic editors interested in reform, from all of which have emanated declarations of principle and policy which serve well to clear the consciousness of the Catholics on reform matters. *d.* Creation of mutual benefit associations, insurance and cooperative purchasing societies. *e.* Practical efforts to reconstruct the family of the laborer on a small property-holding basis by facilitating ownership of homes, cultivation of small gardens, and securing exemption laws. *f.* Encouragement of incorporation of bodies of laborers with a view to the acquisition and holding of property for common advantage. *g.* Organization of the Third Order of St. Francis to teach social truths and to combat injustice.

Relations.—Although the name socialism is frequently applied to this Catholic movement, there is, strictly speaking, no socialism in it. In theology, ethics, philosophy; in spirit, method, aim, organized socialism is the antithesis of the Catholic movement. The Church has formally condemned organized socialism and organized socialists have strongly condemned the Church. That both should feel a common impulse to uplift man does not justify one in attempting to identify them. Nor is the name Christian socialism properly to be applied to the Catholic movement. The aim, method, and theology of Christian socialism as developed in England are quite unlike those of the movement fostered in Catholic Europe. There is much sympathy with the claims and institutions of organized labor; in many points the two movements are identical. The Church is more given to personal idealism than to institutional idealism. This trait seems to govern her relations with reform movements, and it marks her place as unique among the reform forces of the time.

Literature.—The literature created by the Catholic reform movement in Europe is enormous, and much of it shows a very high order of ability and insight. First in the order of authority come the encyclicals of Leo XIII. and the Motu Proprio of Pius X. printed herewith, since it contains the latest official summary of principles to guide the Catholic movement. Numberless weekly and monthly publications are issued; many treatises on the fundamental principles of property, justice; on the family, the State, on the social question, social ethics, are to be found. Reports of congresses, declarations of principles, addresses by leaders exist in abundance. Every phase of the whole situation is thus lighted up and the movement is equipped admirably.

United States

The Catholic reform movement has not reached great proportions in the United States or England, owing to the circumstances of national and religious life. Cardinal Manning in England did much to throw the weight of Catholic sanction toward organized labor, minimum wage, and reform activity in general. In the U. S. Cardinal Gibbons, by defense of the Knights of Labor against suspicion in Rome, paved the way for a literature and sympathy with organized labor, which have developed to fair proportions. One meets declarations of principles on social reform in meetings of many Catholic societies, and of the American Federation of Catholic Societies. In Catholic congresses, such as those held in Baltimore in 1889 and in Chicago in 1903,

resolutions are adopted but they rarely lead to definite action. Whatever the theoretical, literary, or local features of reform be in the U. S., the movement is not a national power nor even a vital element in the national life of the Catholic Church in this country. There is no whole plan of social reconstruction advocated as is the case in Europe. Expressions of view are usually confined to definite repudiation of socialism and general appeals to the sense of Christian duty.

DOCUMENTS.—The authoritative principles which are formally stated for the guidance of the Catholic reform movement are found in the Motu Proprio of Pius X. issued Dec. 18, 1903. Omitting a few paragraphs which have reference to Italy, it is printed herewith, the translation being taken from *The Dolphin*, Feb., 1904:

Our illustrious predecessor, Leo XIII., of holy memory, traced out luminously the rules that must be followed in the Christian movement among the people in the great encyclicals *Quod Apostolici Muneris* of Dec. 28, 1878; *Rerum Novarum* of May 15, 1891; and *Graves de Communi* of Jan. 18, 1901; and further in a particular Instruction emanating from the Sacred Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs of Jan. 27, 1902.

And we, realizing, as did our predecessor, the great need that the Christian movement among the people be rightly governed and conducted, desire to have those most prudent rules exactly and completely fulfilled, and to provide that nobody may dare depart from them in the smallest particulars. Hence, to keep them more vividly present before people's minds, we have deemed it well to summarize them in the following articles, which will constitute the fundamental plan of Catholic popular movement.

Fundamental Regulations

I. Human society, as established by God, is composed of unequal elements, just as the different parts of the human body are unequal; to make them all equal is impossible, and would mean the destruction of human society. (Encyclical, *Quod Apostolici Muneris*.)

II. The equality existing among the various social members consists only in this: that all men have their origin in God the Creator, have been redeemed by Jesus Christ, and are to be judged and rewarded or punished by God exactly according to their merits or demerits. (Encyclical, *Quod Apostolici Muneris*.)

III. Hence it follows that there are, according to the ordinance of God, in human society princes and subjects, masters and proletariat, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, nobles and plebeians, all of whom, united in the bonds of love, are to help one another to attain their last end in heaven, and their material and moral welfare here on earth. (Encyclical, *Quod Apostolici Muneris*.)

IV. Of the goods of the earth man has not merely the use like the brute creation, but he has also the right of permanent proprietorship—and not merely of those things which are consumed by use, but also of those things which are not consumed by use. (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*.)

V. The right of private property, the fruit of labor or industry, or of concession or donation by others, is an incontrovertible natural right; and everybody can dispose reasonably of such property as he thinks fit. (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*.)

VI. To heal the breach between rich and poor, it is necessary to distinguish between justice and charity. There can be no claim for redress except when justice is violated. (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*.)

OBLIGATIONS OF JUSTICE

VII. The following are obligations of justice binding on the proletariat and the workingman: To perform fully and faithfully the work which has been freely and, according to equity, agreed upon; not to injure the property or outrage the person of masters; even in the defense of their own rights to abstain from acts of violence, and never to make mutiny of their defense. (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*.)

VIII. The following are obligations of justice binding on capitalists: To pay just wages to their working men; not to injure their just savings by violence or fraud, or by overt or covert usuries; not to expose them to corrupting seductions and danger of scandal; not to alienate them from the spirit of family life and from love of economy; not to impose on them labor beyond their strength, or unsuitable for their age or sex. (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*.)

IX. It is an obligation for the rich and those who own property to succor the poor and the indigent, according to the precepts of the Gospel. This obligation is so grave that on the day of judgment special account will be demanded of its fulfilment, as Christ Himself has said (Matthew 25). (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*.)

X. The poor should not be ashamed of their poverty, nor disdain the charity of the rich, for they should have especially in view Jesus the Redeemer, who, tho He might have been born in riches, made Himself poor in order that He might ennoble poverty and enrich it with merits beyond price for heaven. (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*.)

XI. For the settlement of the social question much can be done by the capitalists and workers themselves, by means of institutions designed to provide timely aid for the needy and to bring together and unite mutually the two classes. Among these institutions are mutual aid societies, various kinds of private insurance societies, orphanages for the young, and, above all, associations among the different trades and professions. (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*.)

Christian Democracy

XII. This end is especially aimed at by the movement of Christian popular action of Christian Democracy in its many and varied branches. But Christian Democracy must be taken in the sense already authoritatively defined. Totally different from the movement known as *Social Democracy*, it has for its basis the principles of Catholic faith and morals—especially of not injuring in any way the inviolable right of private property. (Encyclical, *Graves de Communi*.)

XIII. Moreover, Christian Democracy must have nothing to do with politics, and never be able to serve political ends or parties; this is not its field; but it must be a beneficent movement for the people, and founded on the law of nature and the precepts of the Gospel. (Encyclical, *Graves de Communi*, Instructions of the S. Cong. for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs.) Christian Democrats in Italy must abstain from participating in any political action—this is under present circumstances forbidden to every Catholic *for reasons of the highest order*. (Instructions as cited.)

XIV. In performing its functions, Christian Democracy is bound most strictly to depend upon ecclesiastical authority, and to offer full submission and obedience to the bishops and those who represent them. There is no meritorious zeal or sincere piety in enterprises, however beautiful and good in themselves, when they are not approved by the pastor. (Encyclical, *Graves de Communi*.)

XV. In order that the Christian Democratic movement in Italy may be united in its efforts, it must be under the direction of the Association of Catholic Congresses and Committees which during many years of fruitful labor has deserved so well of Holy Church, and to which Pius IX. and Leo XIII., of holy memory, entrusted the charge of directing the whole Catholic movement, always, of course, under the auspices and guidance of the bishops. (Encyclical, *Graves de Communi*.)

Catholic Writers

XVI. Catholic writers must, in all that touches religious interests and the action of the Church in society, subject themselves entirely in intellect and will, like the rest of the faithful, to their bishops and to the Roman Pontiff. They must, above all, take care not to anticipate the judgments of the Holy See in this important matter. (Instruction as cited.)

XVII. Christian Democratic writers must, like all other Catholic writers, submit to the previous examination of the Ordinary all writings which concern religion, Christian morals, and natural ethics, by virtue of the Constitution *Officiorum et Munerum* (Art. 41). By the same constitution ecclesiastics must obtain the previous consent of the Ordinary for publication of writings of a merely technical character. (Instruction.)

XVIII. They must, moreover, make every effort and every sacrifice to insure that charity and harmony may reign among them. When causes of disagreement arise, they should, instead of printing anything on the matter in the papers, refer it to the ecclesiastical authority, which will then act with justice. And when taken to task by the ecclesiastical authority, let them obey promptly without evasion or public complaints—the right to appeal to a higher authority being understood when the case requires it; and it should be made in the right way. (Instruction.)

XIX. Finally, let Catholic writers take care, when defending the cause of the proletariat and the poor, not to use language calculated to inspire aversion among the people of the upper classes of society. Let them refrain from speaking of redress and justice when the matter comes within the domain of charity only, as has been explained above. Let them remember that Jesus Christ endeavored to unite all men in the bond of mutual love, which is the perfection of justice and which carries with it the obligation of working for the welfare of one another. (Instruction.)

The foregoing fundamental rules we of our own initiative and with certain knowledge do renew by our apostolic authority in all their parts, and we ordain that they be transmitted to all Catholic committees, societies, and unions of every kind. All these societies are to keep them exposed in their rooms and to have them read frequently at their meetings. We ordain, moreover, that Catholic papers publish them in their entirety and make declaration of their observance of them—and, in fact, observe them religiously; failing to do this they are to be gravely admonished, and if they do not then amend, let them be interdicted by ecclesiastical authority.

But as words and energetic action are of no avail unless preceded, accompanied, and followed constantly by example, the necessary characteristic which should shine forth in all

the members of every Catholic association is that of openly manifesting their faith by the holiness of their lives, by the spotlessness of their morals, and by the scrupulous observance of the laws of God and of the Church. And this because it is the duty of every Christian, and also in order that he *who stands against us may blush, having nothing evil to say of us.* (Tit. 2 : 8.) From this solicitude of ours for the common good of Catholic action, especially in Italy, we hope, through the blessing of God, to reap abundant and happy fruits.

The following declaration, made a few years since in Germany, is indorsed by the best known and ablest Catholic students and writers on social reform. It states the ultimate ideal as well as the actual reforms favored. It may be taken as fairly representative:

The anti-Christian ideas of liberalism on the unlimited liberty of man and the unrestricted right of property have caused serious disturbance in the actual social and economic order. These principles worked into legislation have resulted in the domination of the economically stronger and in the misunderstanding of the dignity and rights of labor which they have abandoned to the caprice of capital. They have almost entirely destroyed the stability of the middle class; they have caused an accumulation of wealth in the hands of a small number and the impoverishment of the great majority, making almost impossible the material well-being of the laboring classes.

Catholic sociologists regard that situation as unhealthy, untenable, threatening society with ruin, and they hold that it urgently demands a remedy.

They reject the ideas and principles of liberalism which have caused the situation. They reject as well the tendencies of socialism, which would take away private ownership of the means of production and transfer it to society, because they are in contradiction with the natural right of man to acquire property for himself, because they dishonor man and make impossible the peace and prosperity of society. They believe that the social evils of the present day can be remedied only by the application of the principles of Christianity to economic life, as exposed in the encyclicals of the sovereign pontiff on the Christian constitution of states and the condition of the laboring class. They hold it to be one of the most important missions of well-regulated civil society to protect the material interests of all in a way to favor the inherent desire of human nature for liberty and independence. To accomplish that purpose they recommend a more equitable distribution of profits and of private property for the advantage of a middle class comprizing the largest possible number of citizens. As one of the most efficacious means for the reconstruction and preservation of an independent middle class, they propose the organization of professional interests into different states (*états*) for the protection and development of common and of particular interests.

All Catholic sociologists set up as the end of their social reform efforts a professional organization of society on the basis of Christian principle, adapted to actual economic and social conditions, with rights guaranteed by the constitution to the states; autonomy of administration and representation of their interests in the legislative body.

To facilitate the gradual accomplishment of this desideratum, the undersigned demand that the State protect and favor all efforts based on principles of justice and Christian charity—to organize into corporations the agricultural, industrial, commercial, and liberal professions.

The document then summarizes the actual demands made to meet present abuses. In the interests of *agriculture*, demand is made for corporate organizations of farmers, thorough regulation of credit, inheritance, landholdings, speculation. For protection of *industry*, the signers favor obligatory incorporation of trades, legal regulation of proof of skill, of apprentices, legal demarcation of trades. As regards greater industrial enterprises, demand is made for guaranty of capacity and character of those in charge, of sanitary conditions, and of rights of surrounding population. Laws for general protection of laborers, to secure just wages, stable occupation, reduction of hours of labor, suppression of work of married women, and restriction of work of girls and children; regulation and inspection of domestic labor when done for commerce; guaranty of the right of laborers to organize; creation of organizations including employers and employed. In the interests of *commerce*, the document favors measures to guarantee the moral character and ability of those engaging in business; suppression of unfair competitive methods; rigid control of speculation. Among measures of a general character favored are these: efficient protection of the Sunday; suppression of vagrancy and of usury; income tax; municipal employment bureaus; creation of associations to build working men's homes. The document concludes: "May the world be convinced of the urgent need of organization of society on a professional Christian basis. May the State take in hand at once the accomplishment of effective reform to obviate an imminent catastrophe, to promote the welfare of the laboring class, for the glory and blessing of the country."

Measures Advocated

The Count de Mun, best known of French Catholic leaders, summarizes the Catholic position as follows:

The ensemble of our demands should tend to assure to the people the enjoyment of essential rights misunderstood by individualism; legal representation of their interests and necessities in place of pure numerical representation; the preservation of the home and family life; a wage which will support the worker's family; protection against insecurity due to accident, illness, unemployment, and old age; insurance against inevitable helplessness; profit-sharing and joint ownership of capital; protection against speculation and stock-jobbing. . . . Two agencies should unite to realize this program: professional organization and legislation.

These reforms would be vain, inefficient, or impossible if they were not founded on Christian education, which is the basis of morality; on the teaching of the catechism, which leads one to know and respect the rights of God; single guaranty of the rights of man; on the doctrine of the Gospel which teaches the practise of reciprocal duties as well as respect for natural rights, which commands men to love one another and makes of charity a duty as well as justice, which shows to the poor as to the rich, above and beyond the legitimate pursuit of material things, their immortal destiny as the supreme end of life, and shows them voluntary sacrifice as the means to attain it; if they are not founded, last of all, on the liberty of the Church, a condition essential to its apostolate, to its work of enlightenment and mercy, to its entire moral and material influence.

WILLIAM J. KERBY.

REFERENCES: Papal documents referred to; Turman, *Le Catholicisme Sociale*, an excellent summary of doctrines, bibliography and documents, used freely in this exposition; Hitze, *Kapital und Arbeit* (in French translation also), an able critique and plan of social reconstruction; von Kettler, *Die Grossen Sozialen Fragen der Gegenwart und Die Arbeiter Frage und das Christenthum*, containing the best expression of the author's views; De Mun, *Discourses*, 5 vols.

ROME: Rome, in political science, may be said in a large degree to stand in philosophical antithesis to Athens. As in Greek political thought, the individual is conceived as springing from the State, in Rome, to a large extent, so far as its foundation was philosophically analyzed at all, the State is considered to spring from the individual. Philosophically Rome was individualistic where Athens was socialistic. Undoubtedly this distinction must not be prest too far; neither city consistently developed its basic thought into either socialism or individualism. Rome especially was practical and utilitarian rather than theoretic. Nevertheless, it is to Rome rather than to Greece that we go to find the beginnings of the modern individualistic theory of natural rights developed by Locke, Hobbes, Rousseau, Jefferson, and all individualists which conceives of the State as a compact or creation in some form of individual wills, so that we say that governments only derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. It was Rome that first developed the distinction between the *jus gentium* and the *jus civile*. (See NATURAL RIGHTS.) It is to the Roman jurisconsults that we mainly

go for the foundation principles of modern jurisprudence.

It works out continually in Roman history. Roman history may be said to be one long struggle of individuals or groups of individuals contesting for their rights. Families, tribes, gentes, plebeians, patricians, each struggle for their own. Having thrown off their kings, out of this individualistic political competition, the strongest survive. A steadily lessening number of individuals wield the power as their rivals go down in the struggle. Thus we have the plebiscite, the comitia centuriata, tribunes, quæstors, decemvirs, censors, curules, consuls, triumvirs—finally Cæsar, the one man—a tumultous stream, with many windings but one general course. Out of the individualistic basis, the struggle for rights, came at last the strong man and the death of freedom, even as in Athens, while she held to her State basis, came the greatest amount of individuality the world has ever known. (See ATHENS.)

Yet even the Cæsar ruled and issued edicts and built his monuments in the name of the Senate and people of Rome (S. P. 2 R.). The forms of individualistic freedom were preserved long after the actuality had departed. "The various offices of the republic were not annihilated but gradually concentrated in a single man" (Lecky, "History of European Worlds," vol. i, chap. ii.).

Yet Rome very slightly developed her politics in conscious thought. She adopted Greek ideas and gave them a twist and a development they had never known. Her genius was practical constructive military rather than philosophic. Polybius in his analysis of the Roman Constitution and Cicero in his presentations of Greek thought are almost the only Roman writers on political science. In political economy they did even less.

Economics

In spite of their practical views of life and utilitarianism, they produced no highly developed system of manufacture or exchange. The agricultural habits of the first Romans soon gave place, through the increase of militarism, to an extensive system of slave-labor. Large estates took the place of small holdings, and drove the peasant proprietor to the city streets. Commerce and industry were regarded by the free citizen with contempt, and even the noblest Romans were not free from this disdain of manual labor. Some signs of economic thought are to be found in the writings of the philosophers and jurists; but most of their ideas were taken from the Greeks, and none of their original conceptions are of much scientific value. The philosophic writers express the general feeling of industrial decay, and the increasing tendency toward luxury and immorality. To be sure the virtues and pleasures of rural life and agriculture are much dwelt upon, but chiefly with no higher purpose than to glorify the hardihood of the early Romans. As to the social evils which surrounded them they were very largely indifferent and short-sighted. Pliny, "The Elder" (23–79), who is not so much an independent thinker as an Encyclopedist, in his "Natural History" favors agriculture on the large scale, but protests against the slave-tilled *latifundia*. He expresses a preference for barter rather than for a money exchange, and deplores the use of gold. Varro and Columella are to be credited with having perceived the superiority of free labor to that of slaves; and, together with Cato, they advocate a return to agriculture as the best means to avert the flood of corruption and immorality which was then felt to be approaching the empire. Cicero translated Xenophon's "Economics" and also praised agriculture.

As to the general principles of industrial progress they have little to say. In general, the Roman theorists agreed with the Grecians in disapproving of interest, Cato going so far as to liken it to murder. In B.C. 341 the taking of interest was entirely forbidden by the Genucian Law.

Both Greeks and Romans approached social problems from the political rather than the economic side. Political economy is necessarily a modern science.

REFERENCES: *Development of the Roman Constitution*, by Ambrose Tighe; *History of the Roman People*, by C. Seignobes; *History of Rome* (Fr.), by J. V. Duruy; *The City-State*, by W. W. Fowler; *History of European Morals*, by Lecky (vol. i.).

ROOSEVELT, THEODORE: Twenty-sixth President of the United States; born in New York City, 1858. From private schools in New York he went to Harvard University and graduated in 1880. Traveling in Europe and making hunting expeditions in the West, he returned to New York and took part in the politics of his own ward. He was sent to the Assembly in 1883, 1884, and 1885, where he made a record as an independent Republican and a relentless foe of political jobbery and corruption. He procured the Roosevelt investigation and some administrative reforms. In 1886 he was unsuccessful Republican candidate for mayor against Abram S. Hewitt and Henry George. In 1889 he was appointed Civil Service Commissioner and threw himself actively into the work, which he continued till 1895, when he became president of the New York City Police Board, thinking that the "storm center" was there. By his vigorous enforcement of Sunday-closing laws he made many friends and bitter enemies. In 1897 he was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy, which position he resigned in 1898 to help organize the First U. S. Cavalry Volunteers (Rough Riders), which distinguished itself for gallantry in the Spanish War. The same year he was elected Governor of New York State, Jan., 1899, to Dec., 1900. In 1900 he was nominated vice-president by the Republican Party and elected. On the death of McKinley, Sept. 14, 1901, he became president, and was reelected to a second term in 1904. He has been aggressive for the reforms he believes necessary, in the controlling of the monopolies by the federal government and in giving "a square deal" to all. (For his views, see REPUBLICAN PARTY.) Besides writing upon the West and hunting trips, his main works have been "Naval War of 1812" (1881); "The Winning of the West" (4 vols., 1889–95); "History of New York" (1890); "Essays on Practical Politics" (1892); "American Ideals and Other Essays" (1897); "The Strenuous Life" (1900). *Address*: The White House, Washington. Summer residence, Oyster Bay, Long Island, N. Y.

ROSCHER, WILHELM GEORG FRIEDRICH: Philosopher; economist; born 1817, in Hanover; studied at Göttingen and Berlin. In 1838 took the degree of doctor of philosophy at Göttingen, where, in 1840, he became privat-docent for history and economics. In 1843 he was appointed extraordinary, and 1844, ordinary professor. In 1848 he was called to Leipsic, where he remained, tho repeated calls came from other universities—Munich, Vienna, and Berlin—till his death in 1894.

Dr. Roscher achieved a lasting fame as the founder of the historical school of political economy, and many learned associations have delighted to do him honor. Professor Cohn says of him:

In the foremost rank we must place a man, who shortly before had acquired a reputation by a philological-historical work, and then turned to political economy, Wilhelm Roscher. His "Vorlesungen über Staatswirthschaft nach geschichtlicher Methode" (Lectures on State Economy on Historical Method) were only the outlines of his lectures . . . but the one happy analogy by which Roscher applied the results of the historical school to political economy was a scientific achievement. The conclusions which he drew from this analogy, in regard to the mission of the historical school of political economy, are the same which the historical school of law had drawn for their science a generation previous—even his quotations from Justus Möser and Bacon are borrowed from Savigny; nevertheless, the service he rendered to our science is a great and lasting one.

Roscher's conclusions as to the mission of political economy were as follows:
(1) The study of the economy of the State is a political science, whose mission is to understand men, and control men. . . . (2) We need an investigation of the earlier stages of civilization in order to understand the nature of modern civilization; and further of (3) the economic development of different nations, with especial reference to the nations of classic antiquity, whose development lies before us in its totality. (4) Out of all this arises the practical demand which the science makes upon us, viz.: the task of constructing modern measures of economic policy on an historical basis, or, in other words, learning what is suited for the present time by studying the historical growth of individual institutions.

Author: "Grundriss zu Vorlesungen über die Staatswirthschaft nach geschichtlicher Methode"; "System der Volkswirthschaft," vol. i.; "Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomik," vol. ii.; "Nationalökonomie des Akerbaues und der verwandten Urproduktionszweige," vol. iii., "Nationalökonomie des Handels und Gewerbefleisses," vol. iv.; "System der Finanzwissenschaft"; "Ansichten der Volkswirthschaft aus dem geschichtlichen Standpunkte."

ROSS, EDWARD ALSWORTH: American sociologist and publicist; born Virden, Ill., 1866. Graduate Coe College, 1886; taught at Fort Dodge, Iowa, 1886–88; University of Berlin, 1888–1890. Ph.D., Johns Hopkins University, 1891; professor economics and social science, Indiana University, 1891–92; University associate, Cornell University, 1892–93; professor Stanford University, 1893–1900; studied abroad, 1898–99; professor University of Nebraska, 1901–6; professor of sociology at University of Wisconsin, 1906. Professor Ross holds neither to individualism nor to collectivism, but avows as his creed social energism of which the cardinal points are: minimization of wasteful conflict, maximization of cooperation, unleashing of human energy, diffusion of security, socialization of the higher goods of civilization, and conscious acceleration of progress. Author of "Sinking Funds"; "Honest Dollars"; "Social Control"; "The Foundations of Sociology." *Address*: University, Madison, Wis.

ROUSSEAU, JEAN JACQUES: Philosopher of the naturalistic school; born of French parentage, Geneva, Switzerland, 1712. His mother dying when he was very young, his dissipated father abandoned him and he was taken charge of by a relative and placed under the tutorship of a clergyman at Bossey. In his twelfth year he was apprenticed to a notary, and a year later to an engraver; in 1728 he ran away, and in Savoy came under the protection of Mme. de Warens, but soon left and went through a variety of experiences, for a short time footman to Mme. de Vercellis in Turin. Later he returned to Mme. de Warens and became her lover as well as her protégé. His tendency to wander took him away from her; returning to find her gone, he resumed his wanderings and adventures; in 1732 he went to Paris and secured a position in the service of Sardinia, but found Mme. de Warens again and was installed in her household, and when his health failed he went with her to Chambray, passing the time with music and reading. In 1741 he returned to Paris, read a paper on the theory of music before the Academy of Sciences, but being unfavorably received he became for a year and a half secretary to M. de Montagne, French ambassador at Venice. He came back to Paris, still a wanderer, now and again led into immorality, yet making friends and earning a precarious living by copying music and acting as secretary to Mme. Dapin. At this time he married a servant girl, Thérèse Levasseur. Five children were born to them; all were committed to the foundling hospital. He now gained some literary notoriety. Diderot accepted him as a contributor to his "Encyclopédie." In 1749 he won the prize offered by the Academy of Dijon for an essay on the effect of the progress of civilization, arguing the superiority of the state of nature. Its publication in 1750 made him famous.

He embraced the Catholic faith in 1754; he returned to Protestantism and went to Geneva as a free citizen; in 1756 returned to Paris and occupied the "Hermitage" for a year, during which time he wrote "La Nouvelle Héloïse." He quarreled with his friends and left, going to Montmorency. Here he wrote against the drama, attacking also Voltaire and Diderot. In 1762 he produced at Amsterdam "Le Contrat Social," for which he received 1,000 louis, and the same year "Émile," a treatise on education, for which he received 6,000 louis. He was now generally attacked, by the Conservatives for his "Le Contrat Social," by the moralists for his "Nouvelle Héloïse," by the Church for his "Émile." In 1762 he fled from a threatened arrest and escaped to Switzerland and then to Prussia, where Frederick II. seemed willing to protect him, and whence he wrote letters denouncing his enemies. Here he was attacked by the populace and he fled to Isle St. Pierre in the Lake of Burme till ordered to leave by the Swiss Government. He eventually went, invited by David Hume, to England, which he reached in 1766. Partly lionized, partly condemned in London, he went to Derbyshire, where he wrote most of his "Confessions." He quarreled with Hume and other English friends, and made to believe that he was being plotted against by the King of Prussia he fled to France in 1767, where he wandered from place to place, finishing his "Confessions," at last going to Paris and earning a living by copying music. He was welcomed and aided by the Marquis de Mirabeau and others, but quarreled with all friends and was thought by some to be at this time half insane; he died in a fit of apoplexy, July 2, 1778, leaving many smaller writings besides the above-mentioned works and a mass of correspondence.

(For a review of his social teachings, see article Natural Rights.)

ROWNTREE, BENJAMIN SEEBOHM: Manufacturer; writer; born 1871, York, England; educated at the Friends' School, York; studied chemistry at Owen's College. Actively engaged in business, as well as in social and political work, Mr. Rowntree's sympathies are with the advanced radical section in English politics. He firmly believes that a deepening of the spiritual life of the nation is an absolutely necessary and essential condition to any permanently effective social reform. Author: "Poverty"; "A Study of Town Life"; "Betting and Gambling: a National Evil." *Address*: The Homestead, Clifton, York, England.

ROWLANDS, JAMES: Member British Parliament, of the Labor Party for Dartford, Kent; born 1851; had an elementary education; became a watch-case maker, and a freeman of the Goldsmiths' Company. He was the pioneer and later

the secretary of the Leasehold Enfranchisement Association; an honorary secretary of the Land Law Reform Association. He is a member of the National Liberal Club. He was returned to Parliament in 1906 chiefly by the Labor vote, assisted by the Liberals. *Address*: 119, Mercer's Road, Tufnell Park, N. London, England.

ROYCROFTERS: An industrial community at East Aurora, N. Y., organized in 1895 by Elbert Hubbard (*q. v.*). The community has a capital stock of $300,000, fully paid in, and a membership of 500 people, 100 of whom are stockholders in the institution. The rest enjoy the various privileges that the community affords, such as admission to lectures, classes, musicals, and the use of the library and art gallery.

The Roycrofters manufacture artistic books, terra-cotta, ornamental iron-work, and furniture. The community also raises most that it needs for food. (For its profit-sharing plan, see HUBBARD, ELBERT).

RUGE, ARNOLD: Professor; revolutionist; born Bergen, island of Rügen, 1802. He studied philology and philosophy at Halle, Jena, and Heidelberg; in 1824 he was imprisoned for five years at Colberg, for membership in a secret political society; 1831 he was appointed professor of esthetics at Halle, and attracted much attention as a philosophical critic; 1843 he joined Karl Marx (*q. v.*) in Paris, and they published the "Deutsch-französische Jahrbücher." He was elected to the German Parliament in 1848, and the same year founded the paper *Reform* at Berlin. This was soon suppressed, and after attempts at revolutionary intrigue in Dresden and Carlsruhe he went to London in 1849 and formed a European Democratic committee with Ledru-Rollin and Mazzini in London. He died at Brighton, 1880. Besides the above-mentioned works he published "Zwei Jahre in Paris"; "Poetische Bilder" and "Politische Bilder"; "Unser System"; "Ausfrüherer Zeit"; "Manifest an das deutsche Volk."

RUSH, BENJAMIN: Abolitionist; born Byberry, near Philadelphia, 1746. He studied medicine in Philadelphia, Edinburgh, London, and Paris; began practise in Philadelphia in 1769, and made professor of chemistry in the medical college there. In the provincial conference in Pennsylvania he moved the resolution to formulate its sentiments for a Declaration of Independence; chosen to the Continental Congress; became one of the signers to the Declaration of Independence. Dr. Rush was made surgeon-general of the middle department of the army, and soon after physician-general.

In 1778 he resigned his position because of wrongs done to the soldiers in regard to the hospital stores, and resumed practise in Philadelphia. About 1785 he planned there the first dispensary in the United States.

In the state convention he was a stanch supporter of the federal constitution. He was a member of the convention of Pennsylvania to form a state constitution.

While the yellow fever prevailed in 1793, Dr. Rush was estimated by Dr. Ramsay to have saved 6,000 persons in Philadelphia from death by that disease. He received many honors therefor from Europe as well as America. He was president of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery and of many other moral and religious societies, and a frequent writer on reform themes. Treasurer of the U. S. Mint from 1799 till his death in 1813.

RUSKIN, JOHN: Born in London, 1819, the son of a wealthy wine merchant. He was educated at home and at Christ Church, Oxford. He then devoted himself to painting, under J. D. Harding and Copley Fielding. In 1843 he published the first volume of "Modern Painters," the noted defense of Turner's art. He published the second volume in 1846, and the remaining volumes in 1856 and 1860, after a residence in Italy and a careful study of Italian art. In 1849 appeared the "Seven Lamps of Architecture," and from 1851 to 1853 the three volumes of the "Stones of Venice." In 1869 he was elected Slade professor of fine arts at Oxford, and reelected in 1876 and 1883; failing health compelled him to resign in 1884, since when he lived in retirement at Brantwood, Coniston. His first writing on economic subjects was "Unto this Last," essays republished from the *Cornhill Magazine* in 1862. This, with "Munera Pulveris" (1862–63), "The Crown of Wild Olive" (1866), and the letters to working men, "Fors Clavigera" (1871–84), embody his economic teachings. He and Carlyle may be said to be the prophets of the modern English Socialist movement.

The essence of his social teaching may, perhaps, be put in one of his own phrases: "There is no wealth but life; life including all its powers of love, of joy, and of admiration."

From this teaching springs all else. Because noble life is wealth it follows, with Ruskin, that that country is richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings; that that man is wealthiest who, having perfected the functions of his own life to the utmost, has also the widest helpful influence, both personal and by means of his possessions, over the lives of others.

Moreover, because life is wealth, it follows that only that which contributes life has a right to return in wealth; hence interest, the return of money for the use of dead money, is wrong—only those have a right to share in the products of industry who have put into the operation some industry themselves, some outgo of their own life.

These two conceptions, the law of wealth and the law of service, run through all of Ruskin's works. He teaches that wealth is "the possession of the valuable by the valiant"; that service bids English men and women to become "Soldiers of the Plowshare as well as Soldiers of the Sword."

Ruskin taught from these principles, first, the law of "Property to whom proper"—or that land and tools belong to those who can use them; secondly, that he who can, should use his tools—use his tools to develop life, the highest life in himself and others; thirdly, that this highest life can only be by cooperation instead of by competition, the thought of what we can give rather than of what we can get, the thought of what we are rather than of what we have. This, added to Ruskin's teaching as regards art, constitutes Ruskin's social system. His theory of art and his theory of society he never divorces, because they are both part of his one theory of life. Of art he taught, first, that the life of art is in religion; secondly, that its food is in the ocular and passionate love of nature; thirdly, that its health is in the humility of its artists. Applying this to his social teaching, his outcome was that society should be a cooperation

or communism of artists, submitting themselves humbly to the law of love, and in the joy of beauty working to produce the highest and the noblest that is in them.

Ruskin calls himself a communist—in his own phrase, "the reddest of the red." Yet, in equality of property he did not believe. In creating his St. George's Guild he distinctly says that there should be "no equality upon it, but recognition of every betterness, and reprobation of every worseness." He believed in government, in the State; in the cooperation of workers in the State; in award for worth; he did not believe in interest; he did not believe in the capitalist; he was the bitterest foe of the wage system and of the *laissez-faire* political economy.

Ruskin was not, however, a Socialist in all things. Politically, he was conservative. His socialism was paternal, not fraternal. He would not seek for reform through political action. He shrank from the rough and prosaic machinery of politics. The gospel of art has rarely been married to the gospel of the ballot box. Politically, Ruskin became reactionary.

Yet Ruskin attempted the concrete, altho this not so much for the value of the concrete itself as because, in trying to carry out his ideas, he could alone be consistent. His St. George's Guild was an inevitable consequence of his teaching.

"The more I see of writing," he says, "the less I care for it; one may do more with a man by getting ten words spoken to him, face to face, than by the black-lettering of a whole life's thought."

A valuable account of the Guild may be found in Edward Cook's "Studies in Ruskin":

> "It was in May, 1871," says Mr. Cook, "that the scheme was first made public. In the *Fors* for that month Mr. Ruskin called on any landlords to come and help him who would like better to be served by men than by iron devils, and any tenants, and any workmen, who could vow to work and live faithfully for the sake of the joy of their home. All who joined St. George's standard were to do as Mr. Ruskin undertook to do; to give the tenth of what they had and what they earned, not to emigrate with, but to stay in England with, and to make a happy England of her once more."
>
> The Guild had an agricultural, an industrial, and an artistic character. On land bought by the Guild, to which Ruskin himself largely contributed, an attempt was made to carry on an agricultural community according to Ruskin's "Laws of Life." Mr. Cook says of this:
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> "The agricultural experiments of the St. George's Guild have not been a brilliant success. Perhaps they have not been given a fair chance. Perhaps the times and seasons have been unpropitious. But whatever explanations or excuses there may be, the fact remains that the St. George's farms have produced very little except a plentiful crop of disappointments. Mr. Ruskin has drawn many charming pictures of his ideal settlements; but the realities have for the most part been either grim or grotesque, or (more often) both. The Guild is, however, the owner of several acres of land in different parts of the country, and there is some reason to hope that past failures will lead to future successes."
>
> Other industrial experiments of Mr. Ruskin have been in the way of fostering village industries. He writes: "Whatever may be the destiny of London, or Paris, or Rome in the future, I have always taught that the problem of right organization of country life was wholly independent of them."
>
> Mr. Ruskin's aim was not to organize industrial villages, but to revive, in existing villages, village industry.
>
> Foremost in work in this direction stands Mr. Albert Flemming's attempt, under Ruskin's influence, to bring back the old industry of the spinning-wheel to the homes and villages of Westmoreland. In a measure it has succeeded, as one can see by reading Mr. Flemming's own account of it, printed in "Studies in Ruskin."
>
> Another experiment was the making of "St. George's cloth" in the Isle of Man, undertaken with Ruskin's help by Mr. Egbert Rydings. The mill was built in romantic architecture by the St. George's Guild, the motive power being water and not steam. This still exists, tho it has passed into other hands than those of the Guild.
>
> The main concrete result of the St. George's Guild has, however, not unnaturally, been artistic, in the creation and maintenance of the unique and beautiful Ruskin Museum at Meresbrook Hall Sheffield.

Besides these industrial experiments Ruskin largely used his inheritance of some £200,000, by aiding Miss Octavia Hill (see TENEMENTS) in her model tenement experiments, in making loans without interest, and in other philanthropic ways.

REFERENCE: *The Life and Work of John Ruskin*, by W. G. Collingwood (2 vols., 1893).

RUSKIN COLLEGE (Oxford, England): A workingman's college, founded 1899, as the result of agitation by Walter Vrooman, but soon passing out of his hands. Tho started with the aid of funds of friends, it has been largely sustained by the contributions of working men themselves. Says a report of 1904:

> Ninety-five thousand members of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers have raised £1,350 by means of four levies of one penny each, and with the amount of their last levy are maintaining nine of their members at the college for a year; the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants have devoted £300 to the building fund and established three scholarships; the Northern Counties Weavers have sent sums amounting to £90, and have established two scholarships; the London Society of Compositors, the Scottish Cooperative Wholesale Society, and many working-class organizations have sent contributions; many of the students who have been in residence at Ruskin College were sent and paid for by their fellow working men, and there have even been cases in which men have undertaken to provide for the wife and children of a comrade during his absence at college.

The college is intended for working men who are desirous of taking part in public and social work, and the subjects taught bear principally upon social and industrial questions—viz., political economy, industrial history, history of social movements, citizenship, local government, sociology, and logic. The work is carried on in two ways: (1) by residence at the college, and (2) by means of a correspondence school, which enables those who cannot leave their work to learn the same subjects through the post. The fees for residence at Ruskin College are £52 per annum, including board, lodging, and tuition. The fees for membership of the correspondence school are 1*s.* entrance fee and 1*s.* per month. The movement is under the control of a council.

One distinctive feature of the life at Ruskin college is that the men themselves do most of the housework, taking their turns at scrubbing floors, washing up crockery, etc. There are no servants except a cook.

That the students are genuine working men may be seen from the following list of the occupations of the thirty-four in residence in 1904: engineers, 9; miners, 9; weavers, 4; chain maker, bricklayer, dock laborer, railway workers, 3; clerk, blacksmith, carpenter, boiler-maker, mason, cloth-looker, 1 each. Nearly all are members of trade organizations, and several hold representative positions in their societies.

At first laughed at in Oxford, the best minds in the university soon recognized Ruskin College. Men like Dr. Caird, the Master of Balliol; Dr. Goudy, the regius professor of civil law, and the late Prof. F. York Powell, became members of the council of the college, and several of the professors threw open their lectures to the young workmen.

The correspondence department of the Ruskin College is quite as remarkable in its way as the work among the resident students. By its means men and women in all parts of Great Britain and in many of the colonies are studying from week to week. Printed outlines of the month's course of study are sent to every member, and in addition to the text-book, which all study, parallel

readings are suggested for those who are able to read more widely.

Principal of Ruskin College, Dennis Hird, M.A.; vice-principal, H. B. Lees Smith, M.A.; general secretary, Bertram Wilson.

RUSKIN COOPERATIVE COLONY: In 1893 Mr. J. A. Wayland, editor of *The Coming Nation*, then published at Greensburg, Ind., with a circulation of 17,000, conceived the idea of establishing a cooperative colony to be operated as nearly upon the plans laid down in Bellamy's "Looking Backward" as the present competitive system would permit. He proposed to make *The Coming Nation* the organ and basis of the movement. If the workers, who had pushed the circulation so far, would increase it to 100,000, the profits would amount to $23,000 a year. This he would turn over to an association to buy land and to found a cooperative village, to which he would transfer the printing plant. Each member, man or woman, was to have an equal voice, whether contributing much or little. No one would be obliged to work for the community. Every one was to be free to do as he or she willed, so long as in so doing the equal rights of others were not infringed.

This proposition met with favor. The circulation of the paper grew rapidly. Steps were taken to select a site, and by July 25, 1894, when the printing plant was moved to Tennessee City, Tenn., the subscription list had reached 60,000, and a Ruskin cooperative association was formed under the laws of Tennessee, with Mr. Wayland as president. But dissensions rose almost from the start; anarchistic and socialistic elements could not combine. Mr. Wayland was criticized for selecting the site despite the adverse report of his own agent. It certainly was not favorable. The circulation of the paper, however, grew, and the colonists had to some extent to change their ideals. A stock company was organized under a mining and manufacturing charter, the stock limited to $500,000. The actual capital was $17,050.40. This included 1,000 acres of land, the plant of *The Coming Nation*, and contributions from the members. Shares were sold to the members at $500 each. Wives of charter members were given shares to put them on an equal footing with their husbands. Not adopting communism, it became necessary to fix a wage scale, that all might be able to purchase supplies, and dissension arose over this. The colony also began to purchase produce of the neighboring farmers and sell this at a profit, a proceeding much criticized by many in the community. Dissensions with Mr. Wayland were more serious. Mr. Wayland was determined to have full control of the printing plant and *The Coming Nation* or sever his connection with the body; so he made a proposition to lease the plant and paper on terms which he named, and gave the stockholders just fifteen minutes to decide. Fearing disaster to the colony should President Wayland quit the management of the paper, his proposition was accepted by a vote of 35 to 2. But the vote was a reluctant one, made under pressure and afterward regretted. Resignations followed thick and fast. Timid members withdrew, receiving in all cases the full amount paid for their stock. This practise on the part of the colony, while indicating a strong desire to avoid injustice, was undoubtedly a source of weakness, as many members withdrew who would otherwise have remained and become peculiarly useful. But, despite withdrawals, the colony seemed to be making progress when Mr. Wayland made a demand for the ownership of a new perfecting press which had cost the association $5,000. This was regarded as unjust, and refused.

Mr. Wayland left the colony (1895) and started *The Appeal to Reason*, at Girard, Kan., and later the colony itself removed to a better site at Cave Mills, Tenn., six miles from Tennessee City.

In less than a year the work of building the new homes had been accomplished. But the colonists were hardly established in their new quarters before fresh troubles began. New members had come in, and the old charter members began to fear that they were to lose control. So they did some scheming to retain their places. They refused to issue stock to the wives of the new members on the same conditions as it was issued to their own.

Feeling became intense and bitter. Finally, the "charters," as they were called, resigned in a body and helped to elect the most turbulent of their opponents, thinking that a short experience under the new management would result in a return to the old. But this did not happen. *The Coming Nation*, entirely controlled by the editor, had for some time been favoring the anarchistic policy. Individuals, it taught, should be free to do as they pleased, independent of the collectivity. Articles were published scathing religion and expressing contempt for the marriage bond. When a petition, signed by twenty-two members, was presented to the board of directors, now controlled by the charter members, asking that *The Coming Nation* declare itself for socialism and opposed to anarchy, it was promptly tabled. This was the beginning of a bitter and relentless conflict between the socialistic and anarchistic elements which ended in a series of injunctions, most of which failed to hold, but one of which (based on the claim that the building of houses and the running of schools, a lyceum, and a dining-hall were inconsistent with the charter of a mining and manufacturing company) resulted in throwing the colony into the hands of a receiver, and stripping it of property valued at $100,000, tho the corporation did not owe a dollar. The disappointed colonists met and organized anew. They were able to retain their printing plant and some of their personal effects, but "their land, springs, caves, communal house, dwellings, college building, and other appurtenances, valued at over $100,000, were sold to a company which, it is said, included court officers and attorneys who figured in the legal proceedings."

Over 250 of the colonists, however, unconquerable in spirit, determined to try again. At great expense they moved to Duke, Ga., in Ware County, and with great energy successfully started anew, calling it the Ruskin Commonwealth, and still publishing *The Coming Nation*. All the members were pledged to the principles of the community, which were socialistic, and to an obedience to the Golden Rule in word and deed. Strenuous endeavor brought considerable success, but gradually members resigned till at last the colony was ended.

RUSSELL, HOWARD H.: Founder of the Anti-Saloon League and present state superintendent of the league in New York State; born 1855 at Stillwater, Minn. A lawyer in Iowa

from 1878–84, he prepared for the ministry, and was a Congregational clergyman at Kansas City and Chicago until May, 1893, when he originated and started the Anti-Saloon League in Ohio. He has since devoted all his time and talents to the spreading of the league throughout the country. A federation of the churches against saloons has thus been formed in forty-four states and territories, with nearly 400 persons employed, and the league now raises and expends about $400,000 per year. Dr. Russell is an optimistic opportunist who believes in omnipartizan methods for attaining political results, and he firmly trusts the power of the Gospel and the churches to reform and transform untoward social conditions. He received the degree of D.D. in 1897.

Dr. Russell is author of "A Lawyer's Examination of the Bible" and many articles on the temperance reform. *Address*: 110 East 125th Street, New York City.

RUSSIA (see also RUSSIAN REVOLUTION): An autocracy; the present czar, Nicholas II., emperor since 1894, is descended in the female line from Michael Romanof, elected czar in 1613, after the extinction of the house of Rurih. Peter I. first adopted the title of emperor 1721.

I. Statistics

Area in Europe, 2,122,527 sq. m.—including Poland, Finland, and Ciscaucasia—with 125,161,000 population in 1905; possessions in Asia—exclusive of the southern part of Sakharlin, Manchuria, and Mongolia—6,207,662 sq. m., with 19,125,000 estimated population in 1897. Total area of Russian Empire, including inland waters, 8,647,657 sq. m.; population, 144,286,000. The population consists chiefly of Aryan stock—about 100,000,000; 92,000,000 Slavs; there are over 5,000,000 Jews; 17,669,000 Uralo-Altayans, e. g., Finns, Samojeds, Tatars, and Tunguz; 33,600 Hyperboreans, e. g., Eskimos, Chukchis, Kamchadals, Ainns, Korikas, etc. The principal cities are: St. Petersburg, 1,429,000; Moscow, 1,092,360; Warsaw, 756,426; Odessa, 449,673; Lodz, 351,570; Kiev, 319,000; Riga, 282,230; Kishinev, 125,787; Kronstadt, 59,525; Nizhnij-Novgorod, 90,053; Helsingfors, 106,067; Baku, 106,133; Vladivostok, 38,000.

Vital

There were in 1901 in *European Russia*: 4,801,190 births; 3,218,501 deaths; a surplus of births, 1,582,689; and 862,408 marriages. The proportion of illegitimate births was 2.6 per cent in 1901. The increase of population according to religious confessions per 1,000 was: Mohammedans, 19.8; Orthodox, 15.9; Jews, 14.5; Roman Catholics, 12.0; Protestants, 10.0. Averages per 1,000 population: births, 47.9; deaths, 32.1; increase, 15.8. With the exception of European Russia, where there are 102.9 women to 100 men, the male population preponderates largely over the female, there being, e. g., in Turkestan only 83 women to 100 men.

In the whole *Russian Empire* there were in 1900: births, 6,142,423; deaths, 3,830,210; surplus, 2,312,213. There were in the total population 71,909,300 males and 72,070,800 females.

In 1905 Russia gained by immigration 390,417, and lost by emigration 473,710; the emigrants were mostly Jews going to the United States (136,093 in 1903).

Religion and Education

The Orthodox-Catholic (Greek Church) is the established religion and is supported by the State. The emperor is theoretically the *Summus Episcopus* of the church, altho he exercises that right only in regard to appointments and never concerning ritual and doctrine. Nominally, all religions are tolerated; practically, all but the Orthodox are persecuted, particularly the Jewish. In 1897 the Orthodox and Uniate churches had 87,123,604 members; the Roman Catholic, 11,467,994; the Lutheran, 3,572,653; the Mohammedan, 13,906,972; the Buddhists, 433,863. The Dissidents (Stundists, etc.) from the Orthodox Church numbered 2,204,596; the Armenian Gregorians, 1,179,241. The Orthodox Church is governed by the Holy Synod. There are 3 metropolitans, 14 archbishops, and 50 bishops. In 1902 there were 49,703 churches—private and public—and 18,946 chapels; 46,827 priests and deacons; and 58,529 cantors. The monasteries numbered 862 with 8,455 monks and 10,000 nuns, besides numerous aspirants of each sex. The expenditure of the Holy Synod in 1906 was: 29,126,155 rubles from the imperial budget, and 1,752,146 from that of the Ministry of the Interior.

Russia has made vast strides in education during the last twenty-five years, both in regard to higher and elementary instruction. In 1873 there were 6,145 students in the universities; in 1904, 19,394. There was one school for 2,665 and one pupil for 48 inhabitants in 1885; in 1903 the proportions had changed to 1,533 and 26 respectively. The percentage of the school population was 3.3 of the total, against 21.6 in the U. S. Nevertheless, the percentage of illiterates for the empire is 73 for the population over nine years of age. It is smallest in Esthonia, 20.1; largest in the Steppes, 94. In 1903 there were 90,942 elementary schools with 209,394 teachers and 5,344,747 pupils—3,793 male and 1,551,739 female. The middle schools of various kinds for both sexes number 15.86 with about 413,500 pupils. Higher education is fostered by nine universities and a number of technical and special schools, among which a medical school for women deserves special mention. The State granted in 1906 through its various agencies 76,691,499 rubles for education.

Finland needs separate treatment in regard to education, since its system of instruction is entirely independent of and vastly superior to that of the other parts of Russia. Its percentage of illiteracy is among the smallest in Europe. It has a university at Helsingfors with 1,921 students, among them 328 women in 1904. The school-age lasts from the seventh to the fifteenth year; attendance is compulsory, and strictly enforced.

Industry

The great majority of the population of Russia is occupied in agriculture. About 125,613,300 people lived in the country or in villages, and 18,366,800 in cities. The State and the imperial family owned (1905) in Russia proper: 393,968,000 acres, or 34.0 per cent; the peasants, 374,634,000, or 32.3 per cent; private owners and towns, 298,307,000, or 25.7 per cent; the remainder, 92,455,000, or 8 per cent, is unfit for culture. In 1899 the State and the crown owned in Poland: 1,808,000 acres, or 5.9 per cent; the peasants, 13,584,000, or 44.5 per cent; private owners, towns, etc., 15,106,000, or 45.0 per cent; unfit for culture, 1,389,000, or 4.6 per cent. In 1904 the areas under crops in the empire were: cereals, 224,730,000 acres; potatoes, 10,318,000; meadows, 92,404,000; total under cultivation, 327,452,000 acres. The crop of cereals of the empire in 1905 amounted to 3,783,810,000 poods—each equal to thirty-six pounds; that of potatoes, 1,747,446,800; of hay, 2,972,008,800. Transcaucasia produced 17,043,000 gallons of wine in 1899 on 250,675 acres of vineyards; tea planting is also extending in this province. In the whole empire the tobacco crop yielded 99,459 tons in 1903 from 175,720 acres.

The cotton crop is becoming important, chiefly in *Turkestan*; the yield in 1888 was 325,148 *cwt.* from 214,115 acres; in 1902, 950,320 *cwt.* from 531,037 acres. Transcaucasia produced (1902) 240,000 *cwt.* of raw cotton; Khiva and Bokhara, 628,000. Turkestan produced 2,670,000 *cwt.* of rice and 77,380 *cwt.* of cocoon silk in 1903.

The live stock of the empire in 1904 numbered 29,539,000 horses; 40,564,000 cattle; 64,394,000 sheep and goats; 13,668,000 swine; the number of these animals in European Russia was: 24,051,000; 33,208,000; 47,496,000; 12,197,000, respectively.

Forestry

A large area of the empire is covered by forests, but only that of European Russia can be estimated with any approach to certainty. Russia proper has 474,000,000 acres of woodland, or 39 per cent; Finland, 50,500,000, or 63 per cent; Poland, 6,700,000, or 23 per cent; the Caucasus, 18,700,000, or 17 per cent. The total for this region is 550,000,000 acres, or 39 per cent of the total area. The State is the largest owner of forests, possessing 64 per cent in European Russia; private owners with 23 per cent come next; peasants with 9 per cent follow; the crown owns 3 per cent, and 1 per cent is divided among municipalities, villages, etc. The total area of the State forests in the empire, including the Amur region, covered 948,073,763 acres; the revenue in 1904 amounted to 60,452,000 rubles; expenses, 11,142,000; surplus, 49,310,000.

Russia is rich in minerals. The output in 1904 was: Gold (unrefined), 37,502 *kilograms*; platinum, 4,933; silver, 1,032; lead, 326 *tons*; zinc, 10,445; copper, 8,480; pig iron, 2,900,000; iron and steel, 2,408,000; coal, 18,620,000; naphtha, 9,942,000; salt, 1,844,000. About 500,000 people were engaged in various mining concerns. In 1903 Russia had 16,713 manufacturing establishments with 1,711,755 employees—1,111,717 men, 399,388 women, 180,881 children, and 19,769 people whose sex and age were not stated. Textile industries employed 708,186; articles of food, 303,213; metal working, ex-

clusive of mining, 252,215; pottery, 150,809. In 1905 Russia worked 16,280,100 poods of cotton with 6,554,597 spindles and 154,577 looms; 2,431 distilleries produced 96,788,000 gallons of alcohol; 276 sugar works had an output of 55,596,000 poods of beet-sugar from 1,391,746 acres under beet-root. In 1903 tobacco plantations covered 175,720 acres, producing 99,459 tons of tobacco, cigars, cigarettes, etc. The manufacturing and financial corporations of various kinds numbered (1903) 1,455 with an estimated capital of 2,015,595,082 rubles in shares—about 20 per cent of which was foreign capital.

Commerce

Exports in 1905, 1,047,017,000 rubles; imports, 582,086,000. Both exports and imports are made chiefly through Russia's European frontier and the Black Sea. Only 9.2 per cent of the customs duties are from the Asiatic frontier. The exports consisted chiefly of articles of food, 685,189,000 rubles; raw and half-manufactured articles—chiefly lumber and hides—292,381,000. The imports, chiefly raw and half-manufactured articles, 305,344,000 rubles; and manufactured goods, 155,128,000. Trade was principally with Germany; imports, 232,937,000 rubles; exports, 254,940,000; United Kingdom, 95,471,000 *and* 249,239,000.

Russia had 3,351 vessels with 666,415 tons in the mercantile marine in 1904—821 steamers with 382,866 tons, and 2,533 sailing vessels with 283,549 tons. The Baltic ports had 5,920 ships *entered* with 3,850,000 tons; the Black Sea ports, 4,919 with 6,942,000; in the former ports 5,968 ships *cleared* with 3,920,000 tons; in the latter, 4,866 with 6,902,000. European Russia has 76,500 miles of rivers, canals, and lakes —16,680 navigable for steamers, 8,105 for sailing vessels, 26,800 for rafts. In 1900 about 26,154 vessels with 138,872 men carried 2,402,000,000 poods of freight on the rivers and canals. The naphtha flotilla of the Caspian Sea numbers 57 steamers and 263 sailing vessels which carried over 30,000,000 *cwt.* of naphtha.

In 1906 Russia had 40,748 miles of railroads; 32,743 in Europe and 8,005 in Asia. Of this railway net 26,816 miles were owned and operated by the State. In 1897 the railway net amounted in all only to 25,626 miles. The railroads carried in 1905 about 109,166,000 passengers, 7,858,000 poods of freight, and received 564,800,000 rubles in European Russia exclusive of Finland. The railroads in Asiatic Russia carried 3,605,000 passengers, 254,000,000 poods, and received 41,694,000 rubles.

The posts are extending with the railways. In 1904 Russia had 100,096 miles of telegraph lines with 256,020 miles of wire, and 87,746 miles of telephone wire. The revenue from these three services was 66,876,037 rubles; expenditure, 40,545,845; surplus, 26,330,192. The figures in 1899 stood: revenue, 29,440,717; expenses, 33,156,423; deficit, 3,715,706. Previous to 1901 these services had always deficits, since that time surpluses.

Finance

The ordinary revenue amounted to 2,024,558,452 rubles in 1905; ordinary expenditures, 1,925,176,047; surplus, 99,382,405. *Extraordinary* revenues, 793,515,197; expenditures, 1,279,576,862. The principal sources of the ordinary revenue were: taxes direct, 126,896,225 rubles; indirect, 408,653,541; duties, 99,995,401; State monopolies, 685,767,651; State domains, 553,049,567; redemption of land, 55,425,756; miscellaneous, etc., 77,729,696. The extraordinary revenue came chiefly from State loans. The ordinary expenditures were chiefly for: war, 378,077,115 rubles; Ministry of Finance, 339,055,502; interest on loans, 306,556,193; navy, 116,694,465. The extraordinary expenditures were chiefly for the war with Japan, 1,137,298,614. The total national debt on Jan. 1, 1907, was 8,375,645,948 rubles, or over 58 rubles per capita.

The army and navy of Russia are being reorganized since the Japanese war in 1904 and 1905, and are at present in a transitive stage. The peace strength of the army is about 1,200,000 men; the war footing, 4,000,000; that of the navy, 69,000 and 100,000 respectively.

Owing to the recent political upheaval in Russia everything is in a state of chaos, and the percentage of offenders is large. In 1901 the total number of persons in prisons was 709,807—631,699 men, 78,108 women; 20,894 of this number were voluntarily following parents or husbands into exile—9,801 men and 11,093 women. The number of persons condemned during 1904 was 58,931; acquitted, 28,620; discharged, 21,354.

II. Constitution

The government is an autocracy, under the czar, Nicholas II. Apart from the Duma (for which see RUSSIAN REVOLUTION), the czar has four chief councils: (1) the Council of the Empire, the members of which he appoints; (2) the Ruling Senate, partly deliberative and partly executive, which promulgates all laws and is the high court of justice; (3) the Holy Synod, which superintends religious matters; (4) a Committee of Ministers, reorganized in 1905. The empire is divided into 9 general governments, Finland, Poland, Wilna, Kieff, Moscow, the Caucasus, Turkestan, the Steppes, and Irkutsk, each with a governor-general, having full civil and military powers. The governments are divided into 815 districts, with their own administrative institutions, and with special governors over the larger towns. In European Russia the country is divided into communes, groups of which form cantons. The districts are ruled by zemstvos, in some governments made elective, and in which the landowning nobility have the main power. District zemstvos have 60 to 65 members, about half being nobles and half peasantry. Provincial zemstvos are limited to the nobility.

The empire, however, is in a state of transition and details are continually changing. Finland, Poland, and the Baltic provinces are separately governed, and are granted special rights.

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, THE PRESENT: The causes that have made Russia revolutionary are as profound as those that have governed the social transformation of any people. The race belongs to one of the highest of the white types, the country is rich and vast, the harmful traditions of many other European nations have been absent. The system of immemorial little republics has been spread over the land. The peasants have always governed their village affairs through the most thoroughgoing and democratic of institutions. There has been no vestige of class distinction among them. The property both of the family and of the village has been owned, and to a moderate extent also operated, on social principles rather than on the competitive principles of private property. Along with a rather moderate amount of superstition there is a somewhat pure and sound form of primitive Christianity—a type of religion and morality, if not the highest, at least much higher than that which has during the same period governed in neighboring European countries. The great curse of the land has been not the native institutions, but the barbaric government left by the Tatar invasions and the hard and inflexible bureaucratic conception of government brought in by Peter the Great from Germany in her worst absolutist period. It is, however, impossible in this place to even suggest all the fundamental qualities of the Russian character and the general conditions that have created a nation ready for revolutionary ideas. We must be satisfied with tracing the specific origin of the present revolutionary movement. For this purpose we may divide the history of the revolution into five parts: (1) The Revolution of Ideas; (2) The Revolutionizing of the People; (3) The Revolution in Action; (4) The Revolution of Institutions; (5) The Revolution in the Individual and Society.

Causes

Under Peter the Great Russia secured a considerable contact with the ideas of the rest of Europe; but they were imported by Peter himself and forced on the court and officials by autocratic will. Catherine II. pursued an entirely different policy. In bringing to her court Diderot and other leaders of European thought, she did not force her own ideas on the upper classes, but allowed them to see its advantages by personal contact with some of the leaders of European civilization. Again, the Napo-

1. The Revolution in Ideas

leonic wars sent young Russian officers all over Europe, and some of these became so deeply affected as to organize (in 1825) a conspiracy to overthrow czarism. These were the *Decembrists*, and they are still known among educated Russians as the forefathers of the revolution.

About the same time Russian literature began to take a more distinct form, and writers of every kind, from historians and publicists to poets and novelists, were filled with the idea of regenerating Russian institutions. Autocratic Russia, with perfect justification, considered all these ideas to be revolutionary. Even before the emancipation of the serfs (1861) nearly all Russia, which took a pride in its education or culture, was tinged with liberal, radical, and revolutionary ideas. With the emancipation came the effort of tens of thousands of the Russian youth to secure a real knowledge and leadership of the peasantry by living among them. The very act of the emancipation centered the attention of all Russians on the broadest political, economic, and social problems. The brutal treatment by the government of the participants in this movement made martyrs of the best of the Russian youth. Since that time, and for a whole generation, the Russian universities have been centers of revolutionary sentiment, until to-day more than nine tenths of the students of the higher educational institutions are both Socialists and revolutionists, not only in theory but in fact. Tens of thousands have gone to prison or exile for the cause; thousands have been put to death.

The revolution of ideas, however, is by no means restricted to the youth. The educated people of Russia are known as a single class by the name of the "intelligence." The whole intelligence—professors, school-teachers, doctors, scientists, journalists, writers, and artists—is permeated with revolutionary ideas. Many of the leaders of the merely liberal parties have for years been members of the Socialist organizations. Russian literature is revolutionary; the Russian press is revolutionary; Russian art is revolutionary. For a century advanced Russians have been expecting sooner or later a complete and fundamental revolution of their institutions. They have looked forward to the time when every person of character, intelligence, and practical capacity should take a part in reshaping Russian society. All Russians of any considerable quality of mind or heart have dedicated a large part of their energy and aspirations toward preparing themselves for the coming change. Russian writers, philosophers, and publicists have realized that they were dealing with a nation whose traditions—whether of religion, politics, or education—have been forced on it from above; and that some day that nation would wish to get rid of those traditions and that there would be created a new type of human society. Like Count Tolstoy, they have not only been studying Russian history and modern ideas in general, but they have given a large measure of their thought and feeling toward the most fundamental, universal, and permanent of human problems: what is the *desirable* evolution of the human type and what is the *desirable* form of society? Perhaps never before in the history of the human race has such an army of gifted and emancipated individuals been given over to the conscious consideration of the development of a new type of man and society.

The Intelligence

The results of the work of the intellectuals early began to tell among the people. After the emancipation there were a thousand peasant revolts that had to be suppress by force of arms. These revolts were not aimed at the overturning of czarism, but at changing the conditions of ownership of land. They were, however, inspired with a spirit of active rebellion against the local and visible arms of the government, and the spirit which was then rife made a very fruitful soil for more fundamental revolutionary ideas. In some Russian villages the revolutionary idea has predominated for more than a generation. Of course such villages are few. The idea of self-government was spreading slowly among the villages when Russia began a sudden industrial development. Soon after the emancipation Russia's financiers discovered the advantage of a high tariff to promote home industry. With the increase of this tariff several industries rapidly grew up during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. In the early "nineties" a second and more important way to develop industrial Russia was discovered. Count Witte began his policy of obtaining enormous loans from France and other countries for the development of Russian railways and other enterprises. Under the stimulus of an immense amount of railway construction, many other industries flourished, and Russia's working class rapidly increased in numbers. The working class was drawn from the villages; but as every peasant has a permanent right to a share in the village property, these working people often return to their villages where they spread the opinions and ideas they obtained in town.

2. The Revolutionizing of the People

In the late "eighties," and again shortly after the coming of Nicholas II. to the throne, eras of strikes broke out, and the world-wide trouble between employers and employed was introduced in the Russian Empire. With the rise of industry rose also the socialistic ideas, first among the students, and then among the working men themselves. By the time of Father Gapon's petition to the czar (Jan. 22, 1905), which resulted in the St. Petersburg massacre, a very large part of the working men had been reached by the Socialist doctrines carried to them principally by the students long since imbued with the German Marxist ideas. A year after the massacre, at the time of the great general strike, it was evident to the whole world that Russia's industrial working class was fairly permeated with revolutionary ideas.

The Workers

This spread of socialistic and revolutionary ideas among the city laborers has doubtless been the principal cause for the present revolutionary attitude of the great mass of the Russian peasants. There are few villages that do not have in the midst of them working men who have lived long in the cities, have seen something of the industrial conditions of our times, have taken part in strikes, joined revolutionary organizations, and, finally, participated in revolutionary violence. When the present period of revolutionary violence began, a very large part of the Russian peasants were already converted to an attitude of rebellious hostility toward the government.

Since the war with Japan, the revolutionary ideas gradually called forth action. The beginning of this revolution, and perhaps the beginning

of the peasant revolutionary movement, may be dated from an act of violence. In July, 1904, when the war was at its height, the minister of the interior, Von Plehve, was killed by a member of the social revolutionary party. Von Plehve had embodied in himself every principle of despotism, and had taken into his own hands a large part of the State power. He was a master of the arts of tyranny and had succeeded fairly well in bottling up the revolutionary opinions and movements that were at that time ripening. Russia heaved a sigh of relief at Von Plehve's death.

3. The Revolution in Action

Von Plehve had not been long dead before a leader of liberal opinion, Prince Sviatopolsk Mirsky, came into power. His advent to the ministry of the interior marked an entirely new period in Russian history. For several months there was a moderate freedom of press and assembly. All Russia took advantage of this freedom to give the spirit of revolution a voice, and protest against the terrible war that had been waged against its will. The reign of comparative freedom did not last long, but it brought the whole of Russia to a condition of extreme excitement. The liberals exprest their desire for a constitutional government mainly through the congress of the *Zemstvos*, a sort of local government board elected by landlords, which had fallen into the hands of a liberal minority through the inertia of the majority of conservative proprietors. This body was so bold as to ask for a constitution in so many words, naming for the first time in many years a word—*Duma*—that is itself considered revolutionary by servants of the czar. They were soon followed by other public congresses, such as those of the physicians, the professors and school-teachers, the engineers, the journalists and writers. But the aspirations of the merely intellectual classes did not lead directly to any action.

When, however, these ideas of a constitution and a representative assembly for the Russian people, fostered by the revolutionary organizations, came to the ears of the working classes, they quickly made up their minds to act. Since the war, both the economic conditions and the police régime in the factories had become harder than ever. Strikes had become more frequent, and the working people were very rapidly joining the most active revolutionary organizations. Father Gapon preached to them the possibility of presenting their wishes directly to the czar with some chances of a favorable hearing. He knew in the first instance that the attempt to present the petition might lead to violence on the part of the troops. The Socialists had made the petition still stronger with the full expectation that it might lead to a violent crisis. The massacre of Jan. 22, 1905, marked the transition of the revolution from a stage of mere conviction and feeling into action. After the massacre the whole situation was changed. All the organizations took on a more distinctly revolutionary tone. They no longer petitioned but demanded, and the language of all the demands clearly suggested the ultimate appeal to force in case of necessity. The labor organizations definitely abandoned the idea of asking anything from the government, and have ever since relied solely on revolutionary means. They are interested in the first and second *Dumas*, and only want to use them as a means for overturning the government. The organizations of the professions were soon banded together in the Union of Unions which declared for a constitutional assembly. The congress of the *Zemstvos* was held in spite of the government prohibition, and also passed over into a form of action. All the members of the congress pledged themselves to take no part in the functions for the St. Petersburg government.

Father Gapon

As to the revolutionary organizations themselves, which had formerly been busy with the general propaganda among the peasants and working men, they now began to turn the larger part of their attention toward the army and navy. The result was hundreds of "strikes" among the soldiers, the mutiny of a large majority of the total personnel of the army at Sebastopol, Reval, and Kronstadt, and the sporadic mutinies in many parts of Siberia, at Kiev, and in many points in the center of Russia. This was a period of some of the most dramatic events of the revolution—the successful capture by the revolutionists and the holding for several weeks of the cruiser *Kmiez Potemkin*, and the partial destruction of Kronstadt and Sebastopol. However, the government soon mastered the military situation.

Mutinies

In October, 1905, the situation underwent a sudden and fairly complete change. The Union of Unions and the leading labor organizations, especially the railway union, succeeded in spreading the ideas of a general strike. The strike was precipitated by the attempt of the government to arrest the congress of the railway union and destroy the organization. The temper of all the city population and working classes was ready for a trial of strength. The railway union declared and succeeded in effecting a general strike on all the important railway lines. A large majority of the factory population followed; the postal and telegraph employees joined in the strike, the street-cars stopt, and even the drug stores were closed. The administration was so complete and effective that the czar and the court party were sufficiently alarmed to listen to the relatively liberal opinion of some of the higher government officials, such as Count Witte, and the czar issued the manifesto of Oct. 17, 1905.

Universal Strike

The October manifesto was hailed by a certain rather moderate section of Russian opinion as a real constitution; but it proved to consist of mere promises like many former liberal ukases issued by the czar. The principle of autocracy remained as before, and the czar preserved in fact, if not in principle also, the right to withdraw his promises or to interpret them to suit himself.

4. The Revolution of Institutions

Immediately after the sudden forcing of the manifesto in the fall of 1905, when, after the great general strike, the czar became alarmed and promised some sort of a parliament and some sort of individual freedom, some of the more educated and thoughtful members of the bureaucracy endeavored to form an organization which might have a chance of obtaining a measure of popular support. They even hoped, as did the czar and his chief advisers, that this organization might secure a majority in the elections. There could be no better or more stupen-

Party of Legal Order

dous example of the total ignorance of the czar and his advisers of their own people. This organization, the Party of Legal Order, together with the League of Pure Russian Men and a third reactionary organization composed largely of military officers, obtained altogether not more than half a dozen representatives in the Duma, with all the coercion and police measures of the government to aid them.

The Party of Legal Order secured its more active help among the bureaucracy itself. It is a most conservative organization, but it is after all a political party, and not a semimilitary organization, like the League of Pure Russian Men.

League of October the Seventeenth

The League of the Seventeenth of October demands something more than law and order. Its ideal government is that of the Prussian state, where not only order and legality exist within the bureaucracy, but where the rights of the individual are adequately protected and where every person has his place in society. This party, moreover, demands a share for the people in the government. Autocracy, the party claims, is to be preserved, but the control of the government finances is to be shared with a popular assembly. This popular assembly is not, and in fact should not be, entirely elected on a basis of universal suffrage, and the suffrage should certainly not be either equal or direct. These things the czar seemed to have promised in his manifesto of the 17th of October.

All the other parties of importance in Russia are revolutionary. It is a sufficient recognition of their revolutionary character that the government has declared them all "illegal," and that it does not allow them to hold meetings, or to make public or even private propaganda of any kind. The great liberal party in Russia, and the most powerful party in the last Duma under the restricted suffrage, that allowed the peasants and working people only a fraction of the influence of the propertied and professional classes, were the Constitutional Democrats, who later changed their name to that of the Party of the Freedom of the People.

The Constitutional Democratic Party can be easily understood in the light of its leading demand, which is this: that the ministers of the czar should be responsible to the Duma and subject to its control. It follows that the finances would be in the hands of the popular assembly. Another phase of the program equally important, if perhaps a little less sincere, is the demand for universal suffrage. The bulk of the Constitutional Democratic Party comes from the propertied middle classes of the towns and the relatively prosperous professions. The elections have shown almost certainly that the party can rely on scarcely any support from the working people, and that the majority of the peasants are bent on an even more radical and revolutionary program. The Constitutional Democratic Party has played the most brilliant rôle so far in the political phase of the revolution. By the radical nature of its program, including universal suffrage and the expropriation of the landlords, it was able to demand the cooperation of the still more radical parties in the Duma. By the careful moderation and wisdom of its immediate demands, it was also able to secure the support, in nearly all of its parliamentary action, of the more conservative elements. It was the leaders of this party that framed the policy of the Duma and drew up the address to the throne—the Magna Charta of the Russian Revolution.

Constitutional Democrats

This Russian Magna Charta, it will be remembered, secured the almost unanimous support of the Duma—a most astounding feat and a death-blow to czarism. To-day, on the eve of the second elections, it remains a unifying platform on which all the revolutionary and opposition parties really stand. Of course, other demands are urged before the people, but the leaders are perfectly aware that the fight is most likely to come on the Duma's address to the throne. This address stood for a responsible ministry, universal suffrage, expropriation of the landlords, and last, but not least, complete amnesty of all the revolutionists of every description in prison or exile. For one of the most marked characters of the Constitutional Democratic Party is that, while it has never in any way openly encouraged violence, it has always encouraged the revolutionary attitude of mind, and the individual members have always aided the revolutionists to avoid the clutches of the government both before and after arrest. The Constitutional Democrats are never weary of asserting that the government is so brutal that it has never listened to any argument except that of violence. They are honest and realistic enough to confess their gratitude to the organized violence of the revolutionary parties.

Address to the Throne

The government was right in calling the Constitutional Democratic Party a revolutionary organization. Immediately after the dissolution of the Duma, it was this party that was largely responsible for the manifesto at Viburg that was signed or indorsed by nearly all its members as well as by practically every one of the members of the extreme left. In that manifesto the government was declared to have broken the terms of the constitution which had already been granted to the people; the refusal of taxes and recruits was advised, and all future foreign loans were declared without legal sanction in the name of the people. The measures of passive resistance, having proved entirely impractical and inadequate as a means for overturning the government, were withdrawn from the party program in the party's congress a few weeks later, but the denunciation of foreign loans remained, and the leading political party in Russia denies to the government the right to secure the means absolutely necessary for its existence, and announces to foreign money-lenders that the future government of Russia will refuse to honor any contract made by the present government in the name of the Russian people. This may not be revolutionary violence, but it is certainly revolution.

All the other parties in Russia, somewhat less important in the first Duma on account of unequal representation, but which have the support of the overwhelming majority of the people, are not only revolutionary in the sense of disobedience to the present orders of the government, but in the sense of open violence against the government and all its tools.

Labor Group

The party which has the best claim to represent the people in the first Russian Duma was undoubtedly the so-called Labor Group. The twenty millions of Russian peasant voters had never participated in an election before. A large majority of about two hundred rep-

resentatives sent by the peasantry came uninstructed to the Duma. Over such a vast empire and under the system of police coercion, no organized peasant party had been possible during the elections even if the peasants had conceived a sufficiently clear political idea. But a large majority of the peasants' delegates were radical to the very verge of violent rebellion. Practically the only conservatives among them were those whom the government was able to influence by threats or promises after the elections. The majority, however, unaccustomed to organization, came together shortly after the convocation of the Duma, and formed the Labor Group, which had the adherence perhaps of one fourth or one fifth of the total members of the body. Under a system of universal suffrage they would undoubtedly have controlled it. The Constitutional Democrats, who actually did control it, are demanding universal suffrage, and therefore very wisely and modestly gave more weight to the "group of toil" than its actual numbers demanded. The leaders of this group were consulted in everything the Duma did from the address to the throne to the Viburg manifesto.

The guiding principle of the Labor Group is that of the most extreme democracy. They consider themselves as representing the pauperized peasants and the working people.

Demands of Labor Group

They demanded a universal suffrage, not in some future Duma, but as a condition of the continued existence of the first popular assembly. They demanded not only expropriation of the landlords, but also that the terms of this expropriation should be decided by the people of the eighty-nine governments under the direction of the central Duma. They went so far as to demand that the local governments should have the right to declare the land common property and to distribute the landlords' estates on this basis. As is well known, the peasants of nine tenths of the villages of the central districts of Russia, that part which is called Great Russia, own their land on the communal basis. Great Russia contains nearly half the population of the empire, and by its central situation and purely Russian character, has more influence than all the rest. And continued communal ownership of land in this enormous section, as well as in other provinces where the system is more or less in vogue, would very much limit the institution of private property as a basis of the new Russian State.

This party, which claims to represent more than all others the Russian peasants, has been, of course, the center of intelligent interest in Russian affairs the world over. Count Tolstoy express recently in private conversation the most natural question concerning it. Wishing to know whether it was composed primarily of peasants or of educated idealists who are using it as an embodiment of a great social idea, Count Tolstoy asked: "Are the Labor Group working men? Are their hands callous?" The answer was given that a large part of the group, perhaps a third or fourth of the total, do have callous hands. Another still larger part were born peasants and raised as peasants, later receiving the education of a pauper priest's son, of a starving village school-teacher, or of a miserable village official. Another, but much smaller part, have perhaps spent a considerable part of their lives among educated people as newspaper men, writers, employees of progressive local government boards, or high-school teachers. Still they have lived nearly all their lives in provincial towns and a large part of their lives in the villages, are known to the leading peasants, and they were elected because they were known to understand and represent the peasants' leading ideas. The leaders of the group were Anikine, a born peasant and a village school-teacher; Jhilkin, a St. Petersburg newspaper man, originally from a small town; and Aladyin, likewise from a poor family of a small provincial town, and in turn a university student, an exile, and a professional agitator among the peasants.

Labor Group's Constituents

The last action of the Labor Group before the government managed to arrest and exile a large part of its members and drive others abroad, was to declare before the people that the government, in closing the Duma, had betrayed the people and was guilty of high treason; that therefore the people owed no allegiance to such a government; that it was the duty of the army and navy to revolt, and of the peasants as quickly as possible to form local self-governments of their own, and to refuse to obey orders from St. Petersburg. This proclamation was premature and did not have much influence in the army or among the peasantry. However, it finally reached a large part of the Russian villages, and was nearly everywhere warmly and sympathetically received. The peasants were rejoiced that there was a body of men speaking so courageously in their name. But the favorable moment had not yet arrived. The peasants' party—the Labor Group—declared open war on the government, and of course it at once became the object of the oppression of the enormous governmental machine. Its organization was more or less destroyed. Nevertheless, at the time of the second elections, it is still the dominating factor in peasant opinion, and with fair elections and universal suffrage, there can be little question that it would control the Duma. As it is, it is sure to be a powerful influence.

Government Guilty of High Treason

The Labor Group proposed to apply the principles of socialism to the ownership of the land. The Social-Democratic Party proposes to apply them to all private property and capital. It recognizes, however, that it is first necessary to establish a democratic republic. The Labor Group centered its attention very largely on an economic question—that of the land. The Social-Democratic Party is centering all its energies on obtaining a democratic republic, and for that end it considers necessary only the calling of a constituent assembly on the basis of universal, equal, and direct suffrage. This party, which has taken its political and economic philosophy almost entirely from a German social-democratic party, has secured the following of a very large proportion of the city working men as well as of the students, and a considerable part of the professional classes. The more influential part of the party does not expect to achieve any socialistic ends during the present revolution; but it hopes that Russia may go so far in the direction of democracy that the political basis for socialism may be more favorable than in any other land. Another part of the party, also important numerically, hopes that the present revolutionary impulse may last until the revolutionary and socialistic tendencies in

Social Democrats

other European countries have also reached a point of fruition. This might create a favorable condition for the foundation of a Socialist state without waiting for a long industrial revolution.

A democratic working men's party in the Russian cities would seem to be an anomaly. Nevertheless, the following of this party among the educated classes, which in truth have dominated it up to the present moment, makes it a center of discussion in Russian politics. In the present elections the question everywhere is how far there may or may not be cooperation between this confessedly revolutionary and socialistic party, striving for a democratic republic, and the Constitutional Democrats, who still hope to proceed by an orderly and peaceful evolution to a democratic and constitutional monarchy of the English type. A cooperation of the two parties has been secured in many places, another sign of the revolutionary attitude of the mass of the Russians, for the Social-Democratic Party not only participated in the revolutionary proclamation of the Labor Group, but took part as the most active and often organizing factor in many of the insurrections and all the general strikes. Its fighting organization is ever busy spreading the spirit of rebellion in the army. Its leaders, whenever recognized, are exiled, and members of its fighting organizations are hanged or shot every day, as are those of the other revolutionary parties.

The Socialist Revolutionary Party is the most typically Russian of the revolutionary organizations. It took its origin from the movement of the aristocratic and educated youth toward the people a generation ago, immediately after the emancipation of the serfs. The hopes of all Russia had been stirred by this great and important act. But it was found that the serfs, freed from personal bondage, had become the practical slaves of the police state, and were suffering as much from petty officials as they had been suffering from the landlords. It was also found that they were on the whole in the actual possession of considerably less land than they had before the emancipation act. Their rights over this land were greater, but they were in possession of a lesser part of the fruits of their toil than they had been before. All the great hopes of the Russian youth for a nation to be regenerated from the bottom up, were dashed to the ground, and a great idealistic impulse swept over the land. The youth decided to go and live among the people, to study them, and then to demand a new regeneration of Russia from the basis of actual experience and real fellowship. Of course czarism scented the danger of this movement and it failed. However, the government was so barbarous in uprooting this entirely peaceful revolutionary idea that it pushed a large part of the young people of Russia very far in the direction of violence.

Socialist Revolutionists

Russia's most typical revolutionary organization owes its importance largely to the fact that it is considered that Russia must in the end be saved by the peasants. It has therefore largely directed its attention to the peasantry. In the governments of Saratof, Kazan, Chernigof, and others, its agitators have succeeded in arousing a large part of the peasantry to the necessity of overthrowing czarism by violence. The memory of the young students who devoted themselves with such entire sacrifice to an ideal of the popular regeneration of Russia, and the impression of party's power given by its successful act of retaliation on those generals and chiefs of police and other officials who dealt most brutally with the revolutionists, have succeeded in impressing the peasantry with the sincerity and promise of the Socialist Revolutionary Party. In the past two years tens of thousands have gone to prison or exile for the organization, and it is no longer an association of the most radical section of educated Russians, but is also a thoroughly democratic movement.

The Peasantry

The Social-Democratic Party regards the first two Dumas largely as a means of preparing for a violent revolution, tho there is some opinion in the party that this may possibly prove to be unnecessary.

There are still other and still more radical revolutionary tendencies in the country. Some of the younger and more determined members of the socialist revolutionary parties went off from the main organization to form the revolutionary group called the Maximalists. This organization, however, has nothing to do directly with the elections. Its brilliantly executed series of robberies of large banks, however, have had an indirect effect. The robbery of government institutions is under certain conditions approved by both the large revolutionary organizations. But this does not apply to private institutions. The Maximalists have, however, secured several million rubles in this way, and they have actually succeeded in turning over a considerable part of this money into revolutionary agitation. The dangers of this form of revolutionism even to the movement itself are obvious. A large part of the leaders of the Maximalists have already been executed by the government; the central organization is very loose; and already a part of the expropriated money is leaking into private hands. Nevertheless, Maximalism is an important factor in the revolution, and shows few signs of abatement. It is important as showing at once the limit to which the revolutionary parties are willing to go, and the extremes to which parts of the people are driven by the government. Maximalism, both as regards expropriation of private property and the free killing of lower and irresponsible officials which it involves, has been sweepingly denounced by both revolutionary organizations.

Maximalism

Perhaps one other tendency of revolutionary opinion should be mentioned as it seems a direct result and counterpart of the League of Pure Russian Men, and is equally without real roots in the nation. The league stands for absolute autocracy and for every governmental violence. The small, isolated groups of communist anarchists seem to be most flourishing in Odessa and in the neighboring cities, where the league is most powerful. They also announce themselves in favor of every form of violence, even the least organized—but *against* the government. Against autocracy they oppose the idea of no government whatever, and they claim to hope that the respect for private property will so far decay before the end of the present revolution that it will altogether cease to exist. Maximalism has proved the cloak for a number of scoundrels, and communist anarchism seems to be principally used

Communist Anarchists

for this purpose. It is well worthy of observation in an effort to understand the revolution, precisely because it has such a limited and scattered following. None of the powerful revolutionary organizations has any relations with it whatever.

The great economic question now and for many years to come will be that of the land. Russia is still an agricultural state, four fifths of the people and a large part of the national wealth being engaged in agriculture. All the advanced and popular parties are agreed that all the land is to be declared the property of the nation, and that it is either to be handed over to the local governments and villages to be leased for short terms to individuals or organizations, or to be let out to individuals by the national government itself for longer terms.

The form of the government in Russia has been largely foreign. Based for a long time either on foreign arms or on foreign mercenaries within Russia, it was later sustained largely to afford an effective obstacle to terrible Tatar or Turkish invasions. At present it is solely by virtue of a flood of foreign gold that the government is able to sustain itself at all. The true Russian nation is as yet unborn, because neither Russian society nor any single individual in Russia has been able to ignore for a moment the terrible pressure of this almost wholly external régime. The Russian nation has yet to be created, but we can vaguely feel what some of its characteristics must be. The leading Russians in public life to-day are men of a new type, imbued with new ideas of the organization of society.

5. Revolution in the Individual and Society

II. The Second Duma and Its Dissolution

Since the election of the Second Duma, its brief session, and dissolution by the czar, Mr. English has written the editor of the Encyclopedia, from Russia, in brief as follows:

"At last the wishes of the Russian people are known, and at last the Russian people know they have nothing to hope from the present government. Revolution only is left, and is now being prepared for.

"The Russian Moderate Party, that of the Constitutional Democrats, were credited abroad with a large part of the success in the elections to the Second Duma on account of their sweeping victories in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and other cities—where the impossible election law allowed the middle classes ten electors to the working men's one. But to have seen in the elections a victory only of the Moderates, was to fail entirely to grasp the import of the Second Russian Parliament.

"Surely Prof. Paul Melyukov, leader of the Constitutional Democrats, was fitted to speak finally on the question—whatever may have been the perversions of the governmental press, and on Feb. 22d, after some five hundred members of the Duma had been elected, Professor Melyukov said:

"'We have had a truly unexpected *defeat*. The Extreme Left has triumphed. It is the first example in history of a parliament in which there is an *absolute majority of Socialists*.

"'We are on the verge of a grave crisis,' he continued. 'The Socialist parties have detached themselves from us and are independently pursuing their own way. The majority of the country is following them. For I must confess that without the enormous arbitrariness of the government the Duma would be even more Socialist than it is.'

"The Moderates as well as the government did indeed meet a defeat at the hands of the definitely revolutionary parties. In the First Duma there were 18 Social Democrats and Social Revolutionists; in the Second there were more than 60. In the First there were some 85 peasant Socialists; in the Second nearly twice that number, while the then 160 Constitutional Democrats were reduced to about one half their former strength. The declared Socialists may not have mustered quite a majority, but they have supporters in progressives and independent members of the Left who were elected by Socialist as well as Moderate votes and were often privately known as Socialists.

Composition of Second Duma

"Such a Duma could not last. Between the present Russian Government and the Group of Toil, conscious of having the people back of them, there can be no peace. When the government found what the people of Russia want and that their representatives in the Duma intended to get it, the only thing to do was to dissolve the Duma and not to appeal to the people again. Not to have done so would have been to have abdicated."

III. Postscript, July, 1907

The Second Duma has proved to be the last. The czar's ukase of June 16th amounts to a *coup d'état*, the final abolition of the last guaranty of constitutional government and a return to the traditional absolutism and autocracy of the czarism. The new election law provides for what the government is pleased to call "another Duma," but the new body will be shorn even of that shadow of real representative character and legislative power enjoyed by the former assemblies. It is doubtful if Russia's hundred million peasants or her ten million working people will be able to send a single representative to the new "parliament." This is not even that half-parliamentary body known as a Duma, it is more like the ancient zemsky sobor, in use in autocratic Russia several centuries ago. It is a House of Lords, a body of landlords and rich burghers with whose aid the government hopes to delude the world that its budgets and foreign loans are ratified by a national parliament.

The conclusion from the Dumas then is this: The government made its brief experiment with semiparliamentary methods solely for financial reasons. The revolutionary movement was certainly not strong enough to maintain the institution; it was probably a very minor influence in creating it. The revolution and the government are, broadly speaking, where they were before—the government in supreme control of all the wealth and physical forces of the nation, the revolution supreme mistress of public opinion. But this great and incalculable change has taken place. The government thought it could find support among the peasants and other elements of the people. It now sees that practically the whole population, except the wealthiest classes, are with the revolution, and that it must rely more than ever on the sheer violence by which it

has always maintained its power. The revolutionary nation has seen that there is no hope that the government will soon collapse, as it were, of its own accord; that there is no chance of financial necessity forcing it to give freedom, representative government, or any fundamental reform, and that the nation must, therefore, rely solely on its own necessarily illegal power since the now thoroughly alarmed government has again become the sole arbiter of the law. The Russian people, therefore, see before them a long, bitter, and violent struggle, infinitely more costly than all that has gone before. But they are now certain of their own numerical and moral power, they are united on the end to be attained and in agreement that revolutionary means are necessary to attain it. The revolution continues, ripened by the recent struggle and enlightened by the new experience it has gained.

WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING.

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SAINT-SIMON, CLAUDE HENRI, COMTE DE: Social reformer; born in Paris, 1760, of a noble family, tracing its origin to Charlemagne. He entered the army at sixteen, and a year afterward came to America and fought under Washington. He distinguished himself for bravery. Returning to France he was made colonel, but soon gave up the military career. He visited Mexico and started a project for uniting the Atlantic with the Pacific by a canal, and for a canal from Madrid to the ocean. But the French Revolution drew him to France. In spite of family traditions, he sided with the people, and was elected president of the commune where his property was situated. He renounced his title of count, but this did not prevent his imprisonment for nearly a year on account of his nobility. Acquiring some money by speculation he contracted an unhappy marriage, which was later dissolved. He began scientific studies, and in order to acquire a complete knowledge of life plunged deliberately on occasions into dissipation. When his money was spent and his health broken, he changed his mode of life and became a copying clerk, working nine hours a day for less than $200 a year. It was not till his forty-ninth year that he felt himself fully qualified to appear as a social reformer. He wrote two works—"Sur la Science de l'Homme" and "Sur la Gravitation Universelle." His characteristic Socialist views were first developed in "L'Industrie" (1817), and further developed in "L'Organisation" (1819), "Du Système Industriel" (1821), "Catéchisme des Industrels" (1823), and most important of all, "Nouveau Christianisme" (1825). In the latter work, having previously called in vain upon the pope to head a new crusade of the Church against poverty and suffering, he outlines a new Christianity where with religious fervor the world should be exploited in a scientific way, and society organized for the benefit of the poor and of all classes. His works, however, at first elicited little attention.

At sixty years of age his marvelous tenacity gave way, and, influenced by despondent thoughts, he attempted suicide. This brought dilatory friends to his side, and he rallied and set to work again. In 1825 he died in the midst of his followers. One of them has chronicled his last words. Calling his friends around him, he said:

"You have arrived at a period when, by your combined efforts, you will achieve a great success. The fruit is ripe; you are able to gather it. The last of my labors, the 'New Christianity,' will not be immediately understood. It has been thought that every religious system ought to disappear because men have succeeded in proving the weakness and insufficiency of Catholicism. People are deceived in this. Religion cannot disappear from the world; it can only be changed. . . ."

He paused for a few moments, then, in the final struggle, added: "The Party of Laborers will soon be formed; the future is ours."

Professor Ely says, in speaking of Saint-Simon:

Saint-Simonism is the first example of pure socialism, by which I understand an economic system in which production is entirely carried on in common, and the fruits of labor distributed according to some ideal standard, which appears to the promoters of the scheme just. The Saint-Simonians held that men were by nature unequal, and that it was right to reward superior power, when exerted for the general good. Their idea was that each one should labor according to his capacity and be rewarded according to the services rendered. They wished to organize civil society on the plan of an army. This thought is distinctly exprest by one of their leaders in these words: "In the army gradations in rank and authority are already established, while in civil life that is precisely what is wanting; and in an enterprise conducted upon the principle of association, a central administration is imperiously required." The officers are the directing authority in the scheme, and they decide on the value of the services rendered to society and reward the citizens accordingly. As society consists of priests, savants, and industrials—the industrials comprizing those engaged in manufactures, agriculture, and commerce—so the government consists of the chiefs of the priests, the chiefs of the savants, and the chiefs of the industrials. All property belongs to the Church, i. e., to the State, and every profession or trade is a religious exercise and has its rank in the social hierarchy.

After Saint-Simon's death his followers became numerous, especially about 1830, under the leadership of Enfantin and Bazard (*qq. v.*). The *Globe*, their organ, attracted much attention. Brilliant men like Comte and Thierry belonged for a while to their school. They attempted a community at Menilmontant, but it broke up finally in a split on the subject of marriage (see BAZARD).

The Saint-Simonians regarded all idlers as thieves. They therefore rejected inheritance, and asserted that every man's property at death should become common. All should start with equal advantages. Land, capital, and all the instruments of labor should be held in common. They believed in monogamy, that woman is the equal of man, and that the social unit should not be man, but man and woman. They believed that "the exploitation of man by man" should be replaced by the exploitation of the globe by man associated with man. They would organize society on scientific lines to develop the globe scientifically. Several of the school after its break up became civil engineers and took part in opening the Isthmus of Suez and other works.

SALT, HENRY STEPHENS: Hon. Secretary of the Humanitarian League; born at Nynee Tal, India, 1851; educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, England. Assistant classical

master at Eton College, 1875–84; turned to literary work and questions of social reform. Editor of *The Humanitarian* and *The Humane Review.* Mr. Salt has also written a large number of pamphlets and magazine articles on literary and humanitarian subjects. He is a Socialist, a vegetarian, and freethinker, and believes that the ethics and religion of the future will be based on the recognition of the kinship of all sentient life. Author: "Percy Bysshe Shelley, Poet and Pioneer"; "The Life of Henry D. Thoreau"; "Richard Jefferies, His Life and His Ideals"; "De Quincey"; "The Life of James Thomson" (B.V.); "Animals' Rights"; "The Logic of Vegetarianism." *Address*: 53 Chancery Lane, London.

SALTER, WILLIAM MACINTIRE: Lecturer of the Society for Ethical Culture, Chicago, Ill.; born at Burlington, Iowa, 1853. Graduated from Knox College, 1871; Harvard Divinity School, 1876; studied at Göttingen, 1876–77; School of Political Science, Columbia University, 1881–83. While at Columbia he came under the influence of Felix Adler (*q. v.*) and the ethical movement. He began lecturing on similar topics in Chicago, 1883; agitated for the eight-hour day and against the wholesale sentence of the Chicago anarchists, 1887; and organized the "Economic Conferences between Business Men and Working Men." In 1892 he removed to Philadelphia, where he assisted in the formation of the "Toynbee Club"; espoused the grievances of the street-car employees, and agitated against the Russian Treaty. In 1897 he returned to Chicago and founded the Henry Booth House.

Mr. Salter considers scientific socialism—which means action by society to social ends—and individualism—which means action by individuals for private ends—to be complementary tendencies, and both necessary. He is the author of "Ethical Religion" (1889); "First Steps in Philosophy" (1892); "Anarchy or Government? An Inquiry in Fundamental Politics" (1895). *Address*: The Society for Ethical Culture, Chicago, Ill.

SALVATION ARMY, SOCIAL WORK IN THE UNITED STATES OF THE: The learned writer who referred to the man who could by the alchemy of science produce two blades of grass where only one had hitherto grown as a public benefactor, spoke truly and well, but it will not be thought out of place, at any rate by those who have been generous enough to take more than a cursory glance at the social branch of our many-limbed Salvation Army tree, if I say that with the life-giving sun-rays of the warm, rich blessing of Almighty God ever descending upon it, and the refreshing dews of His power and love nourishing the tender shoots, it is causing moral and spiritual grass to grow in hitherto totally barren spots, and if "the desert" has not as yet altogether been made to "blossom as the rose," beautiful human flowers have been produced in this reclaimed soil in sufficient numbers to prove the possibility of mighty fragrance for future days and to induce within us the twin graces of courage and hope to prosecute the beautiful work of soul-culture with greater zest and vigor than ever.

If it could be brought about that vital Christianity could enter as a leaven into our strenuous twentieth-century life, and society at both ends, and all the way through, adopt it as a life-principle, the problems of sin and suffering would soon be solved. Failing this, we must be content for the time being with the ones and twos and threes and fours—with the individual reformation of the victims of depravity and vice, their rehabilitation and spiritual and moral uplift.

Down in the depths—the inferno of human sin, degradation, misery, and squalor—our forces are persistently, courageously, and hopefully at work. They are thoroughly organized, constant in their endeavor to scatter sunshine in shady places and to carry light into dark corners, and they know neither faltering nor hesitation. Wherever there are poor neighbors, slums or red-light districts, with the sin-stricken and poor, you will find them at work. Our officers do not meddle with metaphysics but deal with world problems. They are neither deterred by summer's heat nor winter's cold. They fear not the pestilence that walketh in darkness or the destruction that wasteth at noonday.

The Salvation Army's system of relief lasts all the year round, and it is impossible to tell whether gaunt Poverty in its greatest hideousness is greater in summer or winter. Certain it is, our hands are kept just as full and our brains just as busy at one season as the other, and, to make the truth complete, there are no gaps between.

Our precious officers, whose training has taught them to become the servants of all men and to minister to the wants of the most needy, never regard their work as finished. There is always the need of ministry as long as the necessity exists, whether it is in the line of finding work for the unemployed, persuading the would-be suicide to make a new trial of life, giving the ex-convict an opportunity to redeem the time that "the locusts have eaten," restoring lost ideals to the fallen girl, endeavoring to raise the orphan to a proper Christian citizenship, paying rent for those in danger of eviction, providing summer camps for slum dwellers and Christmas dinners for the hungry, gathering up the thousand ends of our Salvation life-line and throwing them to those in danger of engulfment in the chill waters of despair—truly if the labors of any can be literally measured up to the scriptural standard of "in season and out of season" it is theirs. They assist humanity from the cradle to the grave. The lives of new-born babes have been saved by our consecrated slum lassies, and it is no less true that the death-beds of the aged have been cheered and the path into eternity smoothed and Christian burial given by them where those less Christlike might have been tempted, more or less justifiably, perhaps, to regard the friendless dead as of little moment—merely a repetition of "Rattle his bones over the stones" to the poor man's Golgotha known as Potter's Field.

That it may be perfectly clear in the reader's mind what I mean by our social work, I will state that it is composed of those branches whose principal duty is not mainly the conducting of religious services and engaging in strictly spiritual ministrations—dealing with the soul of man in contradistinction to his body. While thus stating, I must be just as insistent in placing the two side by side. In fact, the twain are so indissolubly wedded that they cannot be separated. Our social work sprang from the fact that a man's soul could not be well reached and benefited while his body was suffering or his material

Principles

circumstances were such as to preclude the blessing received from becoming permanent.

The strong aiding the weak, and the weak strengthening the strong in numerous subtle ways; out of it comes the perfect Christian whole which Jesus Christ meant when he instructed the righteous, law-abiding but unsatisfied young ruler thus: "If thou wilt be *perfect*, go sell all thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven." It was not enough that he was a model son, a model citizen, an upright and generous neighbor; the personal touch was lacking, the warm, vitalizing, divine love that would gladly spend and be spent for the poor, sinful, wayward brother-man; for it was this sort of a life Jesus invited him to when He added, "And come and follow Me."

Twain are joined together; the social leans against the spiritual, the spiritual supports the social, one against the other. To separate them would mean the collapse of the whole, and out of the union rises that grand, that most magnificent work of God's—man; man made in His own likeness, man risen from the ruins of awful pasts, man degraded, cast out, all image of God obliterated by years of hideous sinning, helped up, propped up, held up by his brother-man, and in his turn bringing forth in his fellow a host of divine graces—pity and sympathy and long-suffering patience and a love second only to that of Jesus Himself.

The social without the spiritual would be as an engine without steam, and the spiritual without the social would be to neglect that part of the whole duty of man that teaches us "to deal bread to the hungry" as well as to keep "unspotted from the world." Thus we believe God meant the combination to be, forming the only perfect and successful federation that comprizes the brotherhood of man.

Our latest social figures (for the year 1906) comprize the following:

STATISTICS

Number of industrial homes	65
Accommodation	1,686
Number of men admitted during the year	8,696
Number of men passed out during the year	8,552
Total number of meals supplied	1,318,044
Total number of beds supplied	463,550
Number of working men's hotels	77
Total accommodation	7,990
Total number of beds supplied	2,114,837
Number of colonies	3
Number of acres	2,569
Total number of persons	428
Number of new cases of missing friends searched for	1,194
Number found	210
Number of rescue homes	22
Accommodation per night	599
Admitted during year	1,701
Number passed out during year	1,724
Number of meals supplied	739,930
Number of children's homes	4
Accommodation	225
Number in home at end of year	180
Number of beds supplied	71,700
Number of meals supplied	197,000
Number of slum posts	20
Number of families visited	26,290
Number of persons temporarily assisted	38,303
Number of tons of coal distributed	275
Number of pounds of ice distributed	836,412
Christmas dinners supplied	302,000
Total number of persons found temporary or permanent employment	66,621

COMMANDER MISS BOOTH.

SALVATION ARMY COLONIES (United States. For England, see LABOR COLONIES).

This enterprise now comprizes three colonies:

1. Fort Amity, in Colorado, in the fertile valley of the River Arkansas.

2. Fort Romie, in California, not far from the famous Hotel del Monte, near the Bay of Monterey.

3. Fort Herrick, in Ohio, about twenty miles from the city of Cleveland.

Fort Amity

Early in April, 1898, a section of land, consisting of 640 acres (since increased to nearly 2,000 acres), was purchased in the neighborhood of Holly, on the line of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé Railroad, 267 miles east of Denver, in the valley of the Arkansas River. An abundant supply of water from the Buffalo Canal is supplemented by a still more abundant subsurface underflow. Hence this colony is the most important we have on hand, with an almost unlimited opportunity for expansion. The soil is rich and the climate superb, the elevation being some 3,500 feet above the level of the sea, thus avoiding the extremes of heat and cold. The mining camps of Colorado afford an excellent market on the one hand, while on the other the colony is on the highway to the principal cattle markets of the mid-Western states, being linked to both by the Santa Fé Railroad.

The principal crops include the famous "netted gem" cantaloup, for which Colorado has gained so great a reputation.

The establishment of a sugar-beet factory by the American Sugar-beet Company in the valley of the Arkansas River, within easy reach of our colony, has brought to our very doors another valuable crop for which good prices can be obtained upon the spot.

A large stone building, hitherto occupied as an orphanage, is now transformed into a sanitarium for consumptives, the children having been transferred to our other orphanages in the East and West. The magnificent climate marks out this colony as peculiarly suitable as a location for a sanitarium.

Two schoolhouses have been erected by the county in the center of our colony. A post- and money-order-office has also been established. The recent erection of a freight depot and siding by the railroad company has further enhanced the value of our colony and improved its prospects, while arrangements have just been completed for the erection of a passenger depot.

There are now about 400 colonists, including men, women, and children, on our Fort Amity Colony.

About twenty small stores have been established on the town site, and an artesian well supplies the settlement with pure drinking water.

Fort Romie

Nestled in the beautiful valley of the Salinas, near the Bay of Monterey, is our California colony. A fine sweep of over 500 acres of rich agricultural land has been purchased. Cottages have been built and the land divided into ten- and twenty-acre tracts, while an irrigation pumping plant has been erected, supplying water from the adjoining river. There is also a gravity canal.

The soil is admirably suited for potatoes and alfalfa, as well as for almost every other variety of agricultural produce.

There are now about 120 colonists, including men, women, and children, upon this colony,

and one of the families has already paid for its land.

Within about twenty miles of the city of Cleveland and close to the childhood home of President Garfield, is a beautiful sweep of level land, fringed with wood and covering some 288 acres.

Fort Herrick

The owners of the land, Hon. Myron T. Herrick, governor of Ohio, and Mr. James Parmelee, have deeded the land to us for colonization purposes. This extremely generous gift has given a splendid start to our Ohio colony, and we fully intend to make it a model institution of the kind. Owing to its location and character this colony has partially assumed an industrial character, which will make it of the utmost importance as a training-ground for future workers.

SALVATION ARMY AND SOCIAL REFORM (International. See also "Salvation Army, Social Work in the United States," by Commander Miss Booth; Salvation Army Colonies).

The Salvation Army, which was organized under that name in 1878 by General Booth as an outgrowth of the Christian Mission he had established in East London in 1865, commenced in 1890 a social reform movement. With the strictly religious portion of the work of the Salvation Army we do not deal in this Encyclopedia, tho it should be recognized that the Army never divorces its social from its more strictly spiritual work, and believes that to do so would be fatal. It believes also, however, that the social work needs the spiritual element, and it was in this thought that in 1890 General Booth wrote and published "In Darkest England," a book which at once arrested attention around the world; partly because of its revelations of the destitution and wretchedness in London and all England, and even more because of the plan for social work that the book proposed in clear, business-like form.

General Booth prefaced his plan by laying down seven propositions, which in his opinion should govern such a plan, which we abridge from his book, as follows:

Principles

The first essential that must be borne in mind as governing every scheme that may be put forward is that it must change the man, when it is his character and conduct which constitute the reasons for his failure in the battle of life. No change in circumstances, no revolution in social conditions, can possibly transform the nature of man. Some of the worst men and women in the world, whose names are chronicled by history with a shudder of horror, were those who had all the advantages that wealth, education, and station could confer, or ambition could attain.

The supreme test of any scheme for benefiting humanity lies in the answer to the question, What does it make of the individual?

Secondly.—The remedy, to be effectual, must change the circumstances of the individual, when they are the cause of his wretched condition and lie beyond his control.

Favorable circumstances will not change a man's heart or transform his nature, but unpropitious circumstances may render it absolutely impossible for him to escape, no matter how he may desire to extricate himself. The first step with these helpless, sunken creatures is to create the desire to escape, and then provide the means for doing so.

Thirdly.—Any remedy worthy of consideration must be on a scale commensurate with the evil with which it proposes to deal. It is no use trying to bail out the ocean with a pint pot. The evil is one whose victims are counted by the million. There must be no more philanthropic tinkering, as if this vast sea of human misery were contained in the limits of a garden pond.

Fourthly.—Not only must the scheme be large enough, but it must be permanent. That is to say, it must not be merely a spasmodic effort, coping with the misery of to-day.

Fifthly.—But while it must be permanent it must also be immediately practicable. Any scheme, to be of use, must be capable of being brought into instant operation with beneficial results.

Sixthly.—The indirect features of the scheme must not be such as to produce injury to the persons whom we seek to benefit. It is no use conferring sixpenny-worth of benefit on a man if, at the same time, we do him a shilling's worth of harm.

Seventhly.—While assisting one class of the community, it must not seriously interfere with the interests of another. In raising one section of the fallen, we must not thereby endanger the safety of those who with difficulty are keeping on their feet.

Of his proposal General Booth said in brief:

The scheme I have to offer consists in the formation of these people into self-helping and self-sustaining communities, each being a kind of cooperative society, or patriarchal family, governed and disciplined on the principles which have already proved so effective in the Salvation Army.

These communities we will call, for want of a better term, colonies. There will be:

(1) The city colony.
(2) The farm colony.
(3) The over-sea colony.

To-day the Army's operations are carried on in 49 countries and colonies, embracing 7,210 posts, under the charge of 16,857 officers and employees, with 45,339 local officers, 17,099 brass bandsmen, and about 50,000 musicians. Sixty-three periodicals are published in 31 languages, with a weekly circulation of about 1,207,223. There are 644 social relief institutions in the world, under the charge of nearly 3,000 officers and employees. About 7,000 fallen women annually pass through the 116 rescue homes, and from 80 to 90 per cent of these are permanently restored to lives of virtue. About 1,500 ex-convicts pass annually through the prison-gate homes. There are 132 slum settlements in the poorest districts of great cities, the worst dives, saloons, and tenements being regularly visited. The number of annual conversions in connection with the spiritual work have averaged from 200,000 to 250,000 during the past 10 years, making a total of over 2,000,000 of whom not less than 200,000 were converted from lives of drunkenness.

The Army's international headquarters are at No. 101, Queen Victoria Street, London.

SANBORN, FRANKLIN BENJAMIN: Journalist and publicist; born at Hampton Falls, N. H., Dec. 15, 1831. Educated at home and Harvard College (B.A., 1855). He took part in the expulsion of slavery from Kansas, 1856–58; favored John Brown in his attack on slavery in Virginia and Missouri. He assisted in the organization of public charities in Massachusetts, 1863–88, and aided in founding the Social Science Association in 1865; of the National Conference of Charities, 1874; of the Concord School of Philosophy, 1879–88; and of the Anti-Imperialist League, 1900. In social reform he favors the gradual improvement of the condition of the poor and the limitation of inordinate wealth in a legal manner. He is the author of lives of Bronson Alcott, Emerson, Thoreau, Dr. S. G. Howe, John Brown, etc. Also editor and writer of numerous reports on charity, prison reform, and history of New Hampshire. *Address*: Concord, Mass.

SANDERS, WILLIAM: Organizing secretary of Fabian Society; born 1871; educated in elementary schools of London. Secretary of the political labor organizations of Battersea, London, until 1900. Elected, 1904, alderman of the London County Council, term expiring 1910. In

1906 he contested Portsmouth as parliamentary Labor candidate. Sanders has written and lectured extensively on labor, social questions, and socialism; he was chairman of the Union of Ethical Societies from 1905–7. *Address*: 3 Clements Inn, Strand, London, W. C., England.

SANGER, SOPHY (MISS): Honorary secretary British Association for Labor Legislation; born 1881, Westcott, near Dorking, Surrey. Educated at Newnham College, Cambridge, where in 1901 she took the Mathematical Tripos, Part I., and in 1903 the Moral Science Tripos, Part II., Economics. Miss Sanger has been honorary secretary, Legal Advice Department of Woman's Trade Union League, since Oct., 1903. She is strongly in favor of free trade, and specially interested in labor legislation and trade-unionism. Author of miscellaneous articles and lectures on labor legislation and trade-unionism. *Address*: Women's Trade-Union League, Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell Road, London, E. C.

SANITARY SCIENCE AND PUBLIC HYGIENE: The division of medical science and hygiene which treats of the preservation of health, prevention of disease, and the prolongation of life, particularly in application to communities. The factors which condition public health are: (1) the environment; (2) proper action by the citizens to prevent disease; (3) the individual care of health so as to enjoy and prolong life.

1. Few individuals are able to live in surroundings chosen by themselves. Economic, social, and climatic factors largely determine the selection of sites for villages, towns, and cities. If these are not healthy, owing to conditions of the soil or drainage, the individual is practically helpless, and it becomes the duty of the public authorities to correct them as far as possible. The correction of conditions dangerous to health requires, however, special study and, in large cities, special departments. Owing to this necessity, various boards and departments have been established, e. g., that of health, whose function lies in the realm of examining foods, supplying pure water, etc., that of street cleaning, tenement-house inspection, regulation of buildings, etc.

Boards of Health

The necessity of passing sanitary laws was recognized in England in the times of Henry VIII. and of Elizabeth. They were, however, not observed, because there was no board to enforce them. The invasion of the Asiatic cholera, causing the death of 70,000 persons in a single year, brought the question to the fore again. Legislation was busy, but the laws were ineffective, and several epidemics were the result. Finally, in 1848, laws were enacted which were effective, because they made provision for special boards to enforce them. France had passed similar legislation in 1832, which has become the model for other Latin countries; in these countries the prefect, mayor, or any other chief official looks after the enforcement of the sanitary laws, which are passed on the recommendation of *councils of health*. In Germany the medical faculties of the universities have taken the initiative, and the government passes and enforces corresponding legislation. In England and America the federal, state, and municipal constitutions usually provide for the creation of boards or bureaus of health, under whose supervision come all endemic, contagious, and epidemic diseases, and other matters pertaining to public health, e. g., sanitary codes, purity of food-supply, water-supply, vital statistics, etc.

Street Cleaning

Efficient street cleaning is one of the most important civic functions. The magnitude of the problem may be inferred from the facts that Greater New York employed in 1906 2,455 sweepers who covered 1,581 miles a day, and 1,316 drivers of carts; over 1,000 tons of refuse is taken to Barren Island each day, and an addition of 233 acres is going to be made to Riker's Island with the balance of about 1,200,000 cubic yards per year. Refuse also must be disposed of so as not to endanger the health of the city. This is no small task, since the waste is enormous in bulk. Various means are used, e. g., incineration, dumping into the deep sea, making new land, etc., or by saving the valuable parts—for which a contractor pays $650,000 in New York City alone. Several English and continental cities carry on profitable municipal farms with the refuse. (For tenement-house inspection and bureaus of buildings, see articles TENEMENT-HOUSE REFORM and HOUSING.)

Teaching

2. The instruction of citizens concerning ways and means how to prevent disease is a new departure in sanitary science. It is, however, becoming more important every day, and involves directions how to dispose of the waste in houses, and the inculcation of sanitary rules into the minds of children. The first is done by directions of the board of health, and requires that they should be plain and simple. The instruction in preventive measures is done chiefly in the schools, in the departments of civics, physiology, and hygiene. Great progress has been made in the art of teaching children the simple tho necessary rules of both private and public rules of health. Colonel Waring, the first street commissioner of New York, gave the school children an opportunity to apply their knowledge to the problems of street cleaning by forming juvenile leagues for this purpose. The leagues were organized in 1896; they had their own constitution, officers, etc., and weekly business meetings, at which they discust means and ways how to keep the city clean. The boys and girls did not confine themselves, however, to discussion, but reported lawbreakers to the department, warned offenders, and tried in every way to keep their own blocks free from garbage and refuse. The league had a monster parade in the latter part of 1896; similar organizations were started in other cities, e. g., Denver, Pittsburg, Utica, Philadelphia.

Another manner in which cities as a whole may be taught preventive measures, is that by inculcating the value of fresh air and outdoor life, and by the creation of parks, and the provision of opportunities for exercise in the open air. (See articles PARKS; PLAYGROUNDS; RECREATION CENTERS.)

Individual Care of Health

3. The individual care of health involves proper food, clothing, exercise, and personal cleanliness. A vast amount of research work has been done concerning the value of various foods in recent years, and their respective costs. Tables and other helps, showing the proportion in which different foods should be partaken, have been compiled, so that

any one may know just what to eat and what to avoid. Dietetics has, consequently, become one of the most important divisions of sanitary science. Similar studies have been made about clothing, as to their ability to keep the body warm in winter, cool in summer, and at all times dry. Exercise is necessary for the development of the muscular system, for the improvement of digestion, and for the more rapid throwing off of waste substances of the body. Sanitary science has made extensive studies in regard to the particular kind of exercise which different individuals need in order to be benefited rather than injured by it. Personal cleanliness is more and more recognized as an important item in the preservation of health and the prolongation of life. Acting on the frequently and urgently made suggestions of public health officers, nearly all large cities have erected public bath-houses at large expense in order to enable those of their population to bathe whose means do not permit them to have baths in their homes. (See article BATH-HOUSES.)

Sanitary science has made vast strides in every direction since the discovery of disease microbes by Louis Pasteur in 1865, and many thousands of lives have been saved from tuberculosis, diphtheria, cholera, and other ravaging diseases.

The supply of water is one of the most pressing needs of large cities. The question is, where to get it? Owing to the density of population in most civilized countries, the amount of sewage is so vast that it is likely to infect drinking-water, even if it be taken five or ten miles away, because microbes are hard to kill. The problem is, consequently, not only to provide for clean and pure water, sometimes from a distance of fifty to 100 miles, but to disinfect sewage, because water will have to be taken from rivers which have received a large amount of sewage. Cleveland, Ohio, solved the problem by removing its water intake pipes about ten miles out into the lake; the result was that the deaths from typhoid fever in 1905 numbered 2 for February, 5 for March, 7 for April, instead of 45, 50, 27, for the corresponding months in 1904. The city of Lawrence, Mass., had to resort to filters, because she had to take her water from the Merrimac River, already polluted with the sewage of three large manufacturing cities farther up-stream. The study of microbes had taught biologists that sand in some way or other was dangerous to the typhoid bacillus. Lawrence constructed huge sand filters, covering 2.5 acres; and when two years later a typhoid epidemic broke out at Lowell—an event which previously had invariably meant a heavier siege for Lawrence—the death-rate in the latter city was only 20 per cent of what it used to be.

In a similar way another dread disease, diphtheria, has been made practically harmless through the study of microbes. In 1890 Dr. Emil Behring announced his discovery of the cure for diphtheria by the antitoxin of the bacillus which produces this disease. Detroit, Mich., New York City, and some other large cities now keep a number of horses for the sole purpose of preparing antitoxin in their blood. The death-rate for diphtheria has been reduced from 40 to 8 per 100. The discovery of other bacilli, e. g., of hydrophobia and of yellow fever, has led to respective preventives in each case. (For the modern treatment of consumption, see article TUBERCULOSIS, and for that of smallpox, VACCINATION.)

RUDOLPH M. BINDER.

REFERENCES: Reid, *Practical Sanitation*, 1901; Sedgwick, *Principles of Sanitary Science and the Public Health*, 1902; Frances Gulick Jewett, *Town and City*, 1906.

SAVINGS-BANKS: The first savings-bank is said to have been founded in Brunswick, Germany, in 1765, and to have been followed by several in Germany and Switzerland. In England Jeremy Bentham (*q. v.*) proposed a well-devised system of "frugality banks" in 1797. Various plans followed his encouraging savings among the poor, but the first savings-bank of the modern type in Great Britain was organized by the Rev. Henry Duncan, of Ruthwell, Scotland, in 1810. In 1817 two acts were passed by Parliament encouraging savings-banks. Since then they have grown rapidly. In 1861 postal savings-banks (*q. v.*) were begun. The savings-banks system of France dates from 1818.

In the United States the first savings-bank was organized in 1816, in New York City, tho a savings-bank seems to have been actually opened in Philadelphia before the New York bank was really under way. The first incorporated savings-bank was opened in Boston the same year. The statistics on the following page are from the "Statistical Abstract of the U. S." (1906).

For the growth of savings-banks in the U. S., see article PROGRESS, U. S. Caution, however, is necessary in using savings-banks as proof of the prosperity of the working classes. The *Outlook* said as far back as Sept. 7, 1895:

> In the last number of the *Yale Review* Professor Farnam follows the same line of argument as did Secretary Carlisle in his Memphis speech, and attempts to show that the public is mistaken in supposing that the interests of the creditor class are the interests of the comparatively rich. In his argument he lends the weight of his authority to Secretary Carlisle's savings-bank statistics. He says:
>
> "The total deposits in 1890 were $1,524,844,506, distributed among 4,258,893 persons, making an average of $358.03 for each depositor. The savings-bank deposits alone represent more than half as much again as the farmers' debt, owned by five times as many persons."
>
> If it is true that there are over 4,000,000 savings-bank depositors among our 12,000,000 families, then it is true that a large portion of our small property owners belong to the creditor class. But the fallacy in this has been repeatedly exposed in official reports. The official reports are for deposits and not depositors. Three millions and a half of the deposits are in New York and New England, where there are only 2,000,000 families altogether, and not to exceed 1,000,000 depositors. But this is not all. The working-class depositors nowhere furnish the bulk of the deposits. The large depositors and the multiple depositors belong to an entirely different class. In Massachusetts, where $\frac{2}{3}$ of the deposits are made in sums less than $100 (and presumably belong to the working classes), the aggregate of these is only a quarter of the total amount deposited. These conclusions from the Massachusetts investigations are strikingly confirmed by the present investigation in Baltimore. In Baltimore, also, there are more savings-bank deposits than families, yet in Baltimore only one family in three possesses personal capital of any description, while the aggregate holdings of $\frac{2}{3}$ of these is but 6 per cent of the total.

This subject was most fully investigated in Massachusetts as early as 1872; by the Massachusetts Bureau of the Statistics of Labor in 1872, 1873, and 1874.

> On returns from 39 banks the report for 1872 (p. 316) found that $\frac{1}{18}$ of the deposits was nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ of the amount in those banks, the remaining $\frac{17}{18}$ depositing only a little over $\frac{3}{4}$. The $\frac{1}{18}$ of the deposits were those of $300 or over, and it was the argument of the report that since, except in the rarest instances, and under the most exceptional circumstances, no ordinary wage-worker could possibly save more than $300 a year from his earnings (see WAGES), the amount deposited by that $\frac{1}{18}$, or nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total amount, could not have been deposited by wage-workers. This conclusion was supported by abundant quotations from various reports of the

SAVINGS-BANKS OF THE WORLD (POSTAL AND OTHERS)

COUNTRY	Population	Date of reports	Number of depositors	Deposits	Average deposit account	Average deposit per inhabitant
				Dollars	*Dollars*	*Dollars*
Australia, Commonwealth of	4,048,000	1904–5 [1]	1,123,284	175,785,416	156.49	43.43
Austria	26,741,000	1903–4 [2]	5,325,062	979,282,787	183.90	36.62
Belgium	7,161,000	Dec. 31, 1905	[3] 2,311,845	[3] 151,640,983	65.59	21.18
Bulgaria	4,075,000	1904	124,007	2,723,180	21.96	.67
Canada	6,441,000	June 30, 1906	[4] 209,563	[4] 61,910,622	295.43	9.61
Chile [5]	3,206,000	Dec. 31, 1903	71,532	2,055,183	28.73	.64
Denmark	2,525,000	March 31, 1904	[6] 1,291,569	[6] 205,723,639	159.28	81.47
Egypt	9,734,000	Dec. 31, 1905	31,411	1,168,624	37.20	.12
France	39,200,000	Dec. 31, 1904	11,767,772	890,398,872	75.66	22.71
Algeria	4,740,000	"	18,128	858,131	47.34	.18
Tunis	1,820,000	Dec. 31, 1903	3,863	703,845	182.20	.38
Germany (including Prussia)	58,569,000	"	16,612,771	2,639,590,400	158.89	45.07
Prussia [7]	[7] 36,713,000	Dec. 31, 1904	[7] 10,211,976	[7] 1,847,339,300	180.90	50.32
Luxemburg	240,000	"	48,972	7,634,029	155.88	31.81
Hungary	20,114,000	"	1,475,764	349,250,375	236.66	17.36
India, British [8]	231,900,000	March 31, 1905	1,058,813	43,496,821	41.08	.19
Italy	32,966,000	Dec. 31, 1904	[9] 7,383,331	[9] 549,556,418	74.44	16.67
Japan	46,732,000	1904–5	10,279,598	54,714,693	5.32	1.17
Formosa	3,080,000	"	63,174	464,926	7.36	.15
Netherlands	5,431,000	Dec. 31, 1903	1,412,881	77,786,900	55.05	14.32
Dutch East Indies	28,747,000	1904–5 [10]	[10] 56,658	[10] 4,921,988	86.87	.17
Dutch Guiana	75,000	1904	4,967	205,876	41.45	2.74
New Zealand	889,000	Dec. 31, 1905	316,350	47,564,947	150.36	53.50
Norway	2,312,000	"	790,307	100,250,602	126.85	43.36
Peru	4,500,000	"	10,914	1,391,863	127.53	.31
Rumania [11]	5,912,000	Sept. 30, 1903	145,507	7,426,031	51.04	1.26
Russia (including Asiatic part) [12]	142,000,000	May 31, 1906	5,306,040	488,825,100	92.12	3.44
Finland	2,816,000	Dec. 31, 1904	246,532	24,464,582	99.23	8.69
Spain	18,900,000	Dec. 31, 1905	415,196	54,799,182	131.98	2.90
Sweden	5,261,000	Dec. 31, 1905	1,915,294	167,155,405	87.27	31.77
Switzerland [13]	3,100,000	1900	1,300,000	193,000,000	148.46	62.26
United Kingdom	43,221,000	Nov.-Dec., 1905 [14]	11,694,918	996,827,464	85.24	23.06
British Colonies, n. e. s.	17,779,000	1904–5	430,666	37,513,427	87.11	2.11
Total	784,235,000		83,246,689	8,319,092,311	99.93	10.61
United States	84,662,000		8,027,192	3,482,137,198	433.79	41.13
Grand total	868,897,000		91,273,881	11,801,229,509	129.29	13.58

[1] Figures for New South Wales and Tasmania relate to Dec. 31; figures for the other states to June 30.

[2] Figures for postal savings-banks relate to the end of the calendar year 1904; figures for the other savings-banks to the end of 1903.

[3] Deposits with the State-controlled Caisse Générale d'Epargne. Includes savings deposits with post-offices. Moreover, accounts are published in the *Annuaire Statistique* of four municipal and five private savings-banks for the year 1904. At the end of that year these nine institutions had 42,279 depositors, credited with $9,379,623 worth of deposits.

[4] Exclusive of data for the "special savings-banks," the total deposits in which, on June 30, 1906, amounted to $27,399,194. The total deposits in all savings-banks amount thus to $89,309,816, making the average deposit per inhabitant $13.87. This total does not include the savings deposits in the chartered banks ("deposits payable after notice or on a fixt day"), which on Dec. 31, 1906, were $398,765,182.

[5] Figures for the two savings-banks in Santiago and Valparaiso.

[6] Includes all savings institutions. Figures for savings-banks proper, exclusive of branches of ordinary banks, were 996,615 (number of depositors) and $160,621,194 (total deposits plus interest due on said deposits at the end of the year).

[7] Not included in the grand total.

[8] Exclusive of population in native states. Data for postal savings-banks only.

[9] Exclusive of 132,009,802 lire of savings deposits with the so-called "Società ordinarie di credito" and 313,407,272 lire with the "Società cooperative di credito" at the end of 1903. No data are given with regard to number of depositors in these institutions.

[10] Data for postal savings-banks and the five principal private savings-banks. Figures for the former are for the calendar year 1905; figures for the latter are for the calendar year 1904.

[11] Figures for the "Casa de economie" only.

[12] Preliminary data for all government savings-banks as published by the *Viestnik Finansov* No. 37, 1906, exclusive of securities held for depositors, the nominal value of which, on Dec. 31, 1905, was $115,431,000.

[13] Estimates of M. Guillaume Fatio in the *Journal de Statistique Suisse*, 1900, No. 4.

[14] Year ended Nov. 20 for trustee savings-banks; year ended Dec. 31 for postal savings-banks.

Bank Commissioners of the state, who say, in 1870: "These institutions are becoming still more the favorite place of deposit, not only for persons of small means, but also for those seeking investment for very considerable amounts." Governor Claflin is quoted as saying in his message for 1871: "It is very evident that a large share of this increase is not the savings of labor. Each year shows more deposits by capitalists." Repeated instances were found of men having in each of many banks deposits to the limit of the law. Still more instances were found of one man or woman having deposits under several accounts, as for himself or herself, and as trustees for children, etc., indicating again depositors not of the wage-working class. One man was reported to have a deposit in each bank of the state; another will deposit for each member of his family and a part of the alphabet. From this, and other similar evidences, the report concluded (p. 332): "It is evident from these returns that the great bulk of depositors is from the wage classes, and it is equally evident that the great sums, generally credited to them, are not the savings of wage labor, but are the results of profits upon labor in some form."

This report made somewhat of a sensation in Boston and in Washington. From the report of 1873 we learn that in Congress, during a discussion of the tariff, certain Western congressmen, opposed to protection, made use of the report before it had been officially presented to the legislature of Massachusetts, to show that Massachusetts wage-workers were not as well off as was claimed by the protectionists. This incensed some Massachusetts capitalists, and the Committee on Banks and Banking of the Massachusetts legislature, the majority of the committee being connected with savings-banks, undertook to disprove the offensive report. A hearing was called. The Bureau of Labor was invited to come before it "in order that it might make suggestions"; but, when the hearing took place, the bureau found itself with little or no warning, confronted with a hired counsel who called witnesses from 11 banks to disprove the bureau's report, based on 39 banks, the counsel arguing that the bureau's report was untrustworthy, because it was based on reports from only 39 banks.

Savings-Banks Not a Proof of Prosperity of the Working Classes

The bureau ably defended its report, and demanded that

if the committee questioned its conclusions, it was only fair, before they condemned it, to have a fuller examination, and not condemn, on picked evidence, from 11 banks, a report carefully based on returns from 39 banks. The committee, however, would not hear, and voted the report a mere "matter of inference," and not reliable. The personnel of the bureau, too, was changed that year. Mr. H. K. Oliver (chief) and G. E. McNeill (*q. v.*), who had formed the bureau publishing the offensive report, were displaced, and Messrs. Carroll D. Wright and George H. Long were put in their places. Before Mr. Oliver and Mr. McNeill, however, were displaced, they obtained evidence from 91 banks and from the Bank Commissioners' reports of 1868, 1869, 1870, and 1871, abundantly sustaining their position. From 91 banks they found and stated (p. 197) that $\frac{1}{12}$ of the deposits were of $300 or under, i. e., might possibly be deposits of working men, but that these $\frac{1}{12}$ of the deposits represented only $\frac{1}{11}$ of the amount deposited. From the Bank Commissioners' reports they found and stated (p. 227) that in 1868 and 1869 $\frac{1}{7}$ of the whole number of deposits amounted to $\frac{2}{3}$ of the whole amount deposited; that in 1870 $\frac{1}{4}$ amounted to $\frac{2}{3}$ of the whole amount, and that in 1871 $\frac{1}{4}$ of the deposits amounted to nearly $\frac{2}{3}$ of the total amount, thus not only abundantly supporting the former report of the bureau, but showing that the proportion of large depositors in the savings-banks was on the increase.

The next year, 1874, Messrs. Wright and Long sign the report. The subject of savings-banks is naturally handled very lightly, but even according to their table (pp. 244–245) we learn that over $\frac{1}{3}$ of the deposits were deposits of $300 or over, showing that the number of large depositors was even greater than the former reports had claimed, and that these large deposits amounted to nearly $\frac{2}{3}$ of the whole amount. Five-sixths of the deposits equaled not much over $\frac{1}{2}$ of the whole sum; an abundant proof that the large amount of money in Massachusetts savings-banks cannot be taken to prove the prosperity of the Massachusetts working people.

(See also Postal Savings-Banks and School Savings-Banks.)

SAVONAROLA, SOCIAL WORK OF: Municipal reform in Florence in the latter part of the fifteenth century was wrought by Savonarola, a monk who had had no experience in affairs of State. But he had utter disregard for rank and authority and a great passion for the poor and opprest. Fearlessly he denounced the greed of the priests and derided the assumptions of the rich.

In the scheme of government which he found in operation in Florence changes were brought about by means of Parlamenti, a spurious pretense of popular government. The people were assembled unarmed in the Piazza which was guarded by the armed attendants of the Signory. Then the Signory appeared on the balcony in front of the palace and asked the right of Balia for themselves or their friends. The Balia really signified *carte blanche* to do as they chose, for it was a species of dictatorship conferred either for months or for years, a concession which, under the conditions, it was not hard to secure. The Medici were expelled, but there were other tyrants ready to exploit the people.

The Prior of St. Mark's secured the abolition of Parlamenti and the establishment of a Great Council on the Venetian plan. This council was not to discuss laws but only to vote them. All citizens were eligible as members provided they had attained the age of twenty-nine years and were *netti di specchio*, i. e., had paid their taxes and were *beneficiati*, which, by the terms of an ancient law, signified those who had been in one of the higher magistracies, or had enjoyed this benefit in the person of their father, grandfather, or great-grandfather. There were other provisions of the new law, but suffice it to say that the council was so restricted as not to make it too democratic.

Savonarola was not an iconoclast, but was constructive and irenical. His passion for the poor did not lead to extremes. His frequent plea to Florentines was: "Forsake pomps and vanities, sell all superfluous things and bestow the money on the poor." He did not advocate poverty nor ask the rich to strip themselves of all they possest, but only of superfluities. After the liberation of the people, Savonarola secured the establishment of a Monte di Pietà to save the poor from the extortion of usurers. Under his passionate appeals women gave their jewelry and precious stones. To cover the expense of administration from 5 to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent interest was charged on loans.

A revision of taxes was also brought about, taxes being levied under the new régime on real property alone. Savonarola insisted on the right of taxation. To the people he said: "Citizens! I would have you stedfast in devotion and help to your commune. The son owes so much to his father that he can never do enough for him. Wherefore I say to you—your commune is your father and thus each one of you is bound to give it assistance. And if thou wouldst say, 'I get no good from it,' know that thou mayest not say this, inasmuch as the commune protects thy property, thy household, and thy children."

In the space of one year the liberty of Florence was established, the people authorized to carry arms, the system of taxation revised, usury extinguished by the Monte di Pietà, a general peace made, justice reorganized, Parlamenti were abolished forever, and the Great Council was constituted; in all which Savonarola was the moving spirit. His motive was brotherhood; his power, preaching. Paul Moore Strayer.

SAY, JEAN BAPTISTE: French political economist; born Lyons, France, 1767. Educated for a commercial career, he spent a part of his youth in England; returning to Paris he worked on Mirabeau's paper, *Courrier de Provence*. Later he was secretary to Clavière, minister of finance; 1794–1800, he edited *La Décade*; he was a member of the Tribunate of 1799. His dissent from Napoleon's policy drove him into private life, and he established a spinning-mill, but after Napoleon's fall was made professor at the École des Arts et Métiers in 1819, and at the Collège de France in 1831. He died in Paris in 1832. Cossa considers him among the first of the continental writers to have appreciated and popularized Adam Smith. Author: "Traité d'Économie Politique"; "Catéchisme d'Économie Politique"; "De l'Angleterre et des Anglais."

SAY, JEAN BAPTISTE LEON: French economist; minister of finance; grandson of Jean Baptiste Say; born in Paris, 1826. He devoted himself to political economy; for many years was contributor to the *Journal des Débats*. Returned to the National Assembly in 1871, he became prefect of the Seine the same year; minister of finance in 1873–75–77, and 1882. In 1880 he was appointed ambassador to London, but returned in a few weeks, having been elected president of the Senate. Author: "Les Solutions Démocratiques de la Question des Impôts"; "Le Socialisme d'État." He edited "Le Dictionnaire des Finances"; and conjointly with Jos. Chailley, "Le Dictionnaire d'Économie Politique."

SCHÄFFLE, ALBERT EBERHARD FRIEDRICH: Austrian political economist; born Nurtengen, Württemberg, 1831. Studied theology at Tübingen, but became professor of political economy there in 1861. Sat in the Württemberg

Landtag from 1862 to 1865; for a short time in 1871 was minister of commerce for Austria. On the fall of the ministry he went to Stuttgart and devoted himself to economics. His "Quintessence of Socialism," translated in 1889, is considered by many one of the ablest presentations of socialism, and is considered by some to show Schäffle a Socialist, which Cossa thinks is scarcely disproved by his latter work, "The Impossibility of Social Democracy." In his "Bau und Leben des Sozialen Körpers," Schäffle, under the influence of Comte and Spencer, outlines a comprehensive plan of an analysis of the social body. He died Dec. 25, 1903, in Stuttgart. Author: "Die Nationalökonomie," third edition of which was published under the title "Das Gesellschaftliche System der Menschlichen Wirthschaft"; "Kapitalismus und Sozialismus"; "Quintessenz des Sozialismus"; "Die Aussichtslosigkeit der Sozial Demokratie." "Memoiren," posthumously, 1904.

SCHIAVI, ALESSANDRO, D.C.L.: Secretary of the Società Umanitaria of Milan; born 1872 at Cesenatico, Province of Forli, Italy. From 1896 to 1903 on the staff of the chief Italian socialistic paper, *Avanti!* Since that time has been secretary of the Società Umanitaria. Signor Schiavi believes that nothing short of an economical transformation wrought through the slow, unceasing effort of associations of workers, trade-unions, cooperative and political organizations can improve the standing of the working classes. They must daily train themselves to bear the full, enlightened responsibility of the collective system of production which is to replace the present individualistic one. As such an education comes more through things than words, every social reformer must aim to directly pervade the people's life in order that it may spontaneously, surely, tho slowly, be raised to a higher level. To give clean, well-ventilated, gay-looking houses with baths to poor and neglected families is worth scores of lectures or pamphlets. Believes that assistance ought to be limited to those who are already striving to better their condition, as being most likely to profit by it. Private and public beneficence come in, at best, but to complete and perfect the help which individuals and associations afford themselves. Author of reports on unemployment in rural and town districts, and papers on strikes and sundry other economical topics contributed to *Critica Sociale* and *Riforma Sociale*. *Address*: Via Alessandro Manzoni, 9 Milan, Italy.

SCHMOLLER, GUSTAVE: Political economist; member of the Berlin Academy of Science, the Prussian House of Peers, etc.; born in Heilbronn 1838; student of political science, philosophy, and history at Tübingen; successively professor at Halle, Strasburg, and Berlin. Perhaps the leading German Socialist of the Chair (*q. v.*), having opened the famous congress at Eisenach in 1872. Since 1881 he was editor of the important *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung Verwaltung und Volkswirthschaft*. Best known as one of the leaders of the historical school (*q. v.*). He began with an essay on economic ideas in the time of the German Reformation, 1860; then approached the modern industrial question in his excellent book, "Zur Geschichte der Deutschen Kleingewerbe im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert" (History of the Smaller Industries of Germany in the Nineteenth Century, 1870); but he soon changed his line of study, centering his efforts upon a history of the Prussian administration. Portions of this history have appeared as a series of articles contributed to the *Preussiche Jahrbücher*, to the *Zeitschrift für preussiche Geschichte*, and recently to his own *Jahrbuch*. Besides these works he has published, as a result of a study of the Middle Ages, "Die Strassburger Tucher- und Weberzunft, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Weberei und des deutschen Gewerberechts vom XIII. bis XVII. Jahrhundert" (The Weavers' and Cloth Makers' Guild of Strasburg; a Contribution to the History of the German Weaving Industry and German Industrial Law, from the Thirteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries). This work, consisting of documents and explanations, together with a glossary and index, appeared in 1879. In close connection with these studies, Schmoller has edited a collection of historical investigations by other writers in the "Staats- und sozialwissenschaftliche Forschungen" (Investigations in Political and Social Science), of which 122 volumes have been issued since 1879.

Author: "Der französische Handelsvertrag und seine Gegner," 1862; "Ueber einige Grundfragen des Rechts und der Volkswirthschaft," 1875; "Strassburg zur Zeit der Zunftkämpfe," 1875; "Ueber einige Grundfragen der Sozialpolitik und der Volkswirthschaftslehre," 1898; "Acta Bornssia," published by the Royal Academy of Science, 1894–1907; "Grundriss der allgemeinen Volkswirthschaftslehre," 2 vols., 1900–4. Also numerous articles in scientific periodicals. *Address*: Berlin, W 62; Wormser Strasse 13; Villa Schmoller.

SCHOOL CHILDREN, PHYSICAL WELFARE OF: In recent years an increasing amount of attention has been paid to this important question, both in this country and Europe. The provision of school meals (see FEEDING SCHOOL CHILDREN) has been attempted much more largely in Europe than in the United States, where, as yet, there have been only a few small experiments of a semiprivate and eleemosynary nature.

Perhaps the most important social work carried on in connection with the public school system is that of medical inspection and supervision. In Europe this has also been carried on to a much greater extent than in the U. S. In Norway and Sweden, for example, children are regularly examined and those needing it provided with medicine and cod-liver oil and other tonics, free of charge. In Belgium medical inspection is regular and thorough in most schools. For example, in Brussels every child in the public elementary schools is medically examined once every ten days. Its eyes, teeth, ears, and general physical condition are overhauled. Medicines and tonics are provided and parents advised as to diet, etc. In France inspection is generally regular and thorough; glasses are provided, often free of charge, for all children needing them.

Until quite recently the medical inspection common to our American public schools was most perfunctory, attention being confined mainly to infectious diseases. Recently, as a result of much agitation, great advance has been made. Now many of the large cities have a much more efficient system of inspection, and visiting nurses attached to the schools visit the homes of the children and care for them. It has been found

that a very large percentage of backward, dull, and refractory children are victims of physical ailments, often unnoticed by the teachers. In one year (1906–7) all the boys sent to the truant schools in New York City were medically examined and physical defects calculated to interfere with a child's capacity to learn or observe school discipline were found in every case.

In several German cities the system of medical inspection is so thorough that, beginning with a child's entrance into the public schools, a record is kept of its physical condition up to the time of leaving. Parents are advised as to dietary and other matters of home care. Children suffering from cardiac weakness, for example, are not permitted to join in violent games, teachers are urged to protect them from violent agitation, they are excluded from the vigorous physical exercises of the school, and parents warned in a similar manner of the dangers which violent games or excessive agitation will expose the children to. Children showing signs of a predisposition to tuberculosis are specially watched, and school sanatoria are maintained in many places for their special benefit.

These school sanatoria are maintained in Norway, Switzerland, France, and a few other countries, the French sanatoria being generally known as *colonies scolaires*, or school colonies. Some of these school colonies are open for all children in certain grades, the children being sent to them for short periods during the summer vacation period. Others are maintained as convalescent homes for school children all the year round, while still others are sanatoria for sick children. The Forest School at Charlottenburg, Germany, is one of the finest in the world and is devoted mainly to caring for children suffering from pulmonary troubles. We have as yet no similar institutions in connection with any of our public schools.

Defective teeth are responsible for a great deal of pain among children of all classes, but especially the very poor. They are frequently the cause, also, of serious digestive troubles which handicap the sufferers through their school life. In a few foreign cities dental clinics have been established in connection with the public schools at which the children are treated free of cost to themselves, teeth being cleaned, stopt, extracted, etc. Strasburg, Germany, has probably carried this work further than any other city. Nothing like it exists in this country, tho there is frequently some agitation in favor of the establishment of such clinics in connection with the schools in our larger cities. In many American cities close attention has been given to the vision of the school children, especially since the publication of some rather startling figures in Minnesota and New York. Glasses are not provided at the expense of the school authorities, however, as is the case in many European cities, tho the proposal to do so has attracted much serious attention in New York and elsewhere.

JOHN SPARGO.

REFERENCES: British Parliamentary *Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration; Physical Efficiency in Children*, by Sir James Crichton-Browne, in *Report of the International Congress for the Welfare and Protection of Children*, 1902; *The Medical Inspection of School Children*, by W. L. Mackenzie, M.A., M.D.; *Report of the Royal Commission on Physical Training, Scotland; Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, issued by the (English) Board of Education; *Poverty*, by Robert Hunter; *The Children of the Nation*, by Sir John Gorst, and *The Bitter Cry of the Children*, by the present writer.

SCHOOL GARDENS are intended to give city children an interest in the raising of flowers and foodstuffs, and to bring them into contact with nature; or, if in the country, to give them an intelligent view of the processes employed by man and nature in raising crops. This problem has been worked out in Europe long ago. Germany, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, France, have had school gardens since 1875; since 1887 they are compulsory in France.

School gardens supply a definite need in schools; they furnish an opportunity for change of mental activity, for exercise in the open air, and for useful if not gainful employment during vacations in the summer. This is especially the case in large cities whose congested population seems to have no useful outlet for the surplus energy of its poorer children than that found in the street. Owing to this fact, a number of cities in the United States have taken up the problem with vigor and intelligence, and have succeeded in getting the city authorities and private citizens interested in the cultivation of vacant lots and other open spaces by children. Boston, New York, Hartford, Philadelphia, Washington, St. Louis, etc., have had considerable success in this field.

Cleveland, Ohio, has taken up the problem through a Home Gardening Association which induced the school council to provide space and proper soil, while they furnish seeds, tools, and expert gardeners. The reports emphasize the mental and moral betterment in backward and untractable children, and the physical improvement in weak ones under the influence of school gardening.

SCHOOL QUESTION IN GREAT BRITAIN: We study this question from two standpoints. (See also RELIGION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS.)

I

(FROM THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND POINT OF VIEW)

There are many subjects deserving of earnest consideration in connection with education in Great Britain at the present time, i. e., since July, 1906; but the one "schools question" which overshadows all others in interest is that of the position and the quality of the religious instruction to be given in the elementary schools of England and Wales in the future.

A brief historical retrospect is necessary in order to explain how this question has arisen. The active intervention of the State on an extensive scale for the furtherance of the education of the people is, in England, of comparatively recent date. In varying degrees that work has always been recognized as part of her duty by the Church of England, both before and since the Reformation. It is enough here to refer to the fact that between 1685 and 1741 nearly 2,000 "charity schools" were established by Churchmen, and conducted, mainly, in connection with the venerable Church Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge which was founded in 1698. In 1785 the Sunday-school Union was founded, consisting of both Churchmen and Dissenters, and exerted itself with such good effect that by 1803 more than 7,000 Sunday schools had been established and were giving instruction in reading and Christian rudiments to nearly 850,000 children. But, of course, schools meeting only one day in the week could not carry

education far, and a very great need existed of educational provision for the rapidly growing population. In 1808 and 1811, respectively, there were founded the British and Foreign Schools Society on undenominational lines, and the National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church. For more than twenty years these societies were the principal agencies working for the education of the masses; but the scholars in church schools very greatly outnumbered those in other schools. In 1833 government recognized the great value of the work then being done by voluntary zeal and began to make building grants in aid of its extension, and in 1846 there began the system of State grants in aid of the maintenance of elementary schools, by whatever voluntary agency established, on condition of their satisfying requirements prescribed by the Education Department for securing the efficiency of the secular education given. This system of what may be called State partnership with the religious denominations in the work of elementary education continued under somewhat varying conditions, into which there is not space to go here, till 1870. At that time there existed in schools under government inspection places for 1,365,080 children provided by the Church of England, 411,948 in undenominational and Non-Conformist, and 101,556 in Roman Catholic schools. The provision was ample in great numbers of rural parishes and fairly adequate in very many town parishes, but not so in the thickly populated and growing urban districts. Parliament, therefore, decided that steps must be taken by the establishment of school boards to make the supply universally sufficient. The emphatically declared object of Mr. Gladstone's cabinet, which passed the Education Act of 1870, was to supplement and complete, not to destroy, the work of the voluntary system, to the supporters of which ministers exprest the greatest sense of obligation, while inviting and encouraging them to continue their efforts. The invitation was accepted. Down to 1870 there had been expended on church school buildings £8,750,000. Since then there has been expended about £14,000,000, making a total of £22,750,000. If from that figure we deduct £1,500,000—the total amount of government grants, the last of which were passed more than twenty-five years ago, toward the erection of these buildings—there remains £21,250,000 as the total of voluntary contributions to the buildings of church schools alone. Toward their maintenance before 1870 £8,500,000 was contributed, and from that year to 1901 £18,145,558. These figures yield an aggregate of voluntary expenditure on church schools of £47,895,558, not counting very large sums contributed for the building and maintenance of church training colleges for teachers.

The above figures show on its material side the obligation of the State to the Church in respect of elementary education. It may be added that in 1902 there was accommodation in church schools for 2,813,978 children. But the cost of education had in the mean time increased enormously, having risen from £1.5.5 in 1870 to £2.13.2 in 1900, and the voluntary schools in many parts of England found it more and more impossible to maintain themselves against the competition of the board schools enjoying free access to the rates. So in 1902 the unionist government determined and Parliament agreed that this unfair competition was bad for education and that the two classes of schools should share equally in the school rate. But the act passed in that year, which made county and borough councils the school authority, placed the secular instruction in the voluntary schools entirely under that authority. Also, while leaving to their managers the right—subject to veto by the council on educational grounds—to appoint teachers, and so to secure that the religious instruction should be carried on in pursuance of the terms of the school trusts, the Act of 1902 attached a representative element to the Board of Managers, and required the managers to continue responsible for keeping the school buildings in good repair.

This act made the state of the law much more just and the provision for education much more satisfactory than before. Its main defects were that it did not make any provision, such as very many churchmen would have been willing to agree to, for Non-Conformist minorities in country districts with only one school; and that on the other hand it left so-called undenominational religion, which satisfies Non-Conformists generally but is very unsatisfactory to very many church people, the one form of religion taught at the public expense in the council schools. These, however, were not new hardships.

The bill recently before Parliament would do new injustice on a great scale and would strike a heavy blow at religion. In order, professedly, to secure more complete control over all schools to the popular authority and to "abolish tests for teachers," it would—subject to exceptions of very doubtful extent and value—take away from church parents the right of having their children brought up in their own faith by the regular teachers of the schools to which they are compelled to send them, and would insist that in the schools built and maintained, as has been shown, at such great cost by church people for the teaching of their faith as an integral part of the education given, undenominational religion shall be the recognized and established form. This would be a gross and scandalous injustice. The Government Bill also proposed that religious teaching of any kind shall be optional with the teachers and that the children need not attend when it is given. It is held that these proposals, involving the degradation of religion from its rightful position, tend obviously toward secularism and threaten England with all the social and moral evils which have notoriously resulted in other countries from the secularization of schools.

The bill which was pressed upon Parliament by the Liberal government in 1906 would, in the name of justice, have inflicted new injustice on a great scale, and would have struck a heavy blow at religion. In order, professedly, to secure more complete control to the local authority over all schools and to abolish "tests for teachers" it would—subject to exceptions of very doubtful extent and value—have insisted that even in schools built and maintained at great cost by church people for the teaching of their faith as an integral part of the education given, undenominational religious teaching should be the recognized and established form. This would have been a gross and scandalous injustice.

There was a wide-spread and emphatic demonstration of public disapproval of the bill of 1906. This demonstration was ignored by the

House of Commons, who passed the bill with no material alterations; but it was so considerably amended by the House of Lords, in the interests of justice to denominational schools and to parents desiring definite religious teaching for their children, that the government invited the Commons to refuse, as they did, to proceed further with it. During the session of 1907 the government made no serious attempt to legislate on the Education Question. But, in the exercise of their administrative powers, they put forth new regulations threatening very grave damage to Church of England and other denominational colleges for the training of teachers, and they promised, for the session of 1908, a bill even more unfavorable to the cause of definite religious teaching in schools than the bill of 1906. In these circumstances the friends of such teaching were preparing themselves, in the winter of 1907–8, for another strenuous struggle, and were pressing upon the consideration of their fellow countrymen, as the principle on which alone a permanent solution of the Education Question could be based, the admission of the right of parents to secure, so far as reasonably practicable, in all elementary schools the types of religious instruction which they respectively desire for their children.

TALBOT BAINES.

Secretary of the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales.

II

(FROM THE NON-CONFORMIST POINT OF VIEW)

The Non-Conformists claim that from rates which all rate-payers are compelled to pay, no matter what their religious or lack of religious view, the government has no right to support schools in which the denominational teaching of any church or churches may be forced upon the children of the State. The Non-Conformists stand (1) for the application of the principle of the total severance of the functions of Parliament and of religious societies to all State education. They stand (2) for the entire control of national education by the people, and the exclusion of churches as churches, and priests as priests, and ministers as ministers, and parents as parents from such control, and for the admission of parents, ministers, and priests as citizens and only as citizens. They stand (3) for the complete exclusion of all theological and ecclesiastical tests for teachers and require only drilled capacity and character.

Resolutions of Dec. 20, 1905, of the General Committees of the National Council of Free Evangelical Churches declare that the aim of State education should be:

(1) To secure a truly national and efficient system of education.
(2) To secure justice to every citizen.
(3) To wound no conscience.
(4) To bring about a lasting educational peace.

The basis of the system should be exclusively civic, exclude preferential treatment for any person or persons, clergy or teachers; and for any institution theological or ecclesiastical. It should cast the entire responsibility for theological and ecclesiastical teaching on the home and the Church.

This means—

(1) That no change in the number of managers—such as substituting two for four, or electing representatives of parents, and the like—will suffice.

(2) That the non-provided schools must either be transferred to the State or be maintained by the denomination as denominational schools; for as State schools they must cease, and no arrangements for sectarian teaching should have any place whatever in the State system.

(3) That it should be the aim of the government to secure the provision of public schools (purely civic schools) at positions convenient for the children all over the land; for it is certain that educational peace will not be secured until the education given by the State is carried on in non-ecclesiastical buildings owned by the public.

(4) That those provided school buildings only should be purchased which are found after careful and competent investigation to be suitable as to structure and condition to become public property for educational purposes and should not be rented for a longer period than five years.

(5) That the utmost care should be given to secure such schools as belong, or in part belong, to the public for the public.

(6) That State education should return to some form of the *ad hoc* system. That cooptation should cease. That women shall be eligible for election on the local education authority on the same terms as men. That the administrative breakdown of the present arrangement should be met by recognizing: (*a*) That the county areas are in most cases far too large. (*b*) That local interest in education is being destroyed. (*c*) That areas of suitable size should be substituted for county areas. (*d*) That such local authorities might have power given them to combine for specific purposes, e. g., secondary education.

Non-Conformists cannot on any account admit the principle that (*a*) the churches have the right to give, or (*b*) the parents a right to demand, any denominational teaching whatever in connection with public school life.

That the entry of sectarian teachers into State schools and training colleges *during the hours allotted for State work* should be absolutely forbidden as fatal to the efficiency of the teaching, disturbing to the order of the school, and productive of religious strife.

That in case public school buildings are used, by permission of local authority, for imparting dogmatic and ecclesiastical teaching to the children attending the school outside school hours, a payment should be made by the denomination so using the buildings to cover the expenses connected therewith.

That no denomination shall be allowed to use the teachers or other officers or machinery of the State for such denominational teaching.

The foregoing provisions also have reference to secondary education as far as they may be applicable.

Not for a very lengthened period has the Free Church mind been so deeply moved as upon this question.

The root of all the evil is to be found in the existence of a Church establishment. There is general agreement among Free Churchmen as to the origin of the two pernicious educational measures which they have so justly denounced. For some years past a section of the supporters of the Established Church have been persistently undermining the Act of 1870. When the time appeared to be ripe for the purpose, the two Anglican convocations formulated their demands and urged them upon the government. These were, with one exception, acceded to, and formed the basis of the Education Bill of 1902. Still further concessions were made to the Church of England during the passage of the bill, and notably as the result of the action of the bishops in the Lords.

Solicitude for religious education has been exprest in justification of this course; but few will doubt that the struggle has been mainly one for the retention and the strengthening of the Church establishment. Had that institution not existed, and had its bishops no seats in Parliament, such bills would never have been introduced.

The force we are fighting, then, is not primarily political. Parliament is only its tool. It is ecclesiastical. "Clericalism is the enemy." The reversal of the broader and more just educational policy initiated in 1870, and the return to the clericalism of the beginning of the last century, is due to the change which has taken place in the Anglican Church, in its ideas and spirit, its temper and aims. It is not the tolerant and inclusive Church of the days of Lord Shaftesbury, but the

bigoted and persecuting Church of the times of Laud and Whitgift. It is a Romanized church; and in and by the English Church Union it is becoming increasingly Romanist. It is that section—the large and dominating section of twentieth-century Anglicanism—that has given us these acts. It is the victory of the High Church party.

It has been said there is taught now in the council schools of London and in the "unsectarian" or "provided" schools of the country, "a new-fangled faith," an "unsectarian religion," which "is only another expression of non-conformity," "a novel form of religion, whose only recommendation is that it pleases Dr. Clifford and his friends," and we are told that what Romanists and Anglicans have secured by their prolonged efforts in the Education Acts of 1902 and 1903 is the opportunity of giving "our poorer brothers a way of escape from the threatened universal domination of modern unsectarianism" or of the Free Churches.

According to the "London syllabus," children are taught at the expense of the State Psalm xxiii., the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Beatitudes, the blessedness of hunger for what is right and just, of making peace between individuals and nations, of purity of thought and spirit—in short, the religion which consists in "doing justly and loving mercy, and walking humbly with God." They are introduced, not to the whole of the Bible, but only to those portions of the Testament best suited to their capacity, and least likely to suggest controversy; to the purest ethic, the most quickening poetry, the most inspiring biography, i. e., to the most potent character-building literature the world contains; and I confess that to me it appears that if Parliament undertakes the education of the children of the nation it ought not to fail to open the doors for them into this all-hallowing temple of truth and justice, liberty and progress.

I know this is not "teaching religion" in the sense of the High Church party; but in my judgment it is all the State is competent to do, and all it can attempt without inflicting injustice upon some portion of its members.

Against being compelled to support schools where principles are taught they cannot in conscience accept, very many Non-Conformists have felt it their duty to refuse to pay their full education rates and inaugurate a policy of "passive resistance to the payment of the sectarian patron."

Over 400 imprisonments have taken place and more than 100,000 distraints of goods have been carried out. The reasons given in court for resistance were:

(1) That the Education Acts of 1902 and 1903 compelled him to pay for teaching on the deepest subjects of the inward and religious life; subjects with which the State, or Parliament, or Borough Council has no right whatever to deal. They are personal, individual, and the State ought to leave them to every man's conscience. Complete freedom in this thing is the right of every British citizen, a right he would enjoy if he dwelt under the British flag in Canada or Australia, and a right he cannot surrender because he lives in England.

(2) That the law attempts to coerce him to pay for teaching children doctrines and practises he holds to be distinctly opposed:

1. To the teaching of Christ;
2. To the well-being of the child; and
3. To the happiness and prosperity of the nation.

(3) That by this law he is compelled to pay, that the children of England may be taught that the doctrines he has held and taught for nearly fifty years are false, and that the Free Churches, to which he is grateful to belong, are heretical and to be avoided as the plague.

Non-Conformists cannot and will not accept any such legislation. Let others teach them if they so believe, but let them not compel me to do so. JOHN CLIFFORD.

SCHOOL SAVINGS-BANKS are simple devices to teach children to save. Any school can start one. There is no association needed. The only thing necessary is the permission of the School Board and the cooperation of some bank to receive weekly deposits. In most school banks the roll-call of the children is made every Monday morning and the amount of each deposit and credit is checked off on a card. It teaches the children thrift, the value of pennies, and saves much careless and often worse than useless expenditure. In Europe they have long been used and are acknowledged and proved to be one of the best practical educational factors.

In France they are under patronage of the government. In many countries they are connected with the postal savings banks and the statistics of postal saving-banks (*q. v.*) and school savings-banks are officially reported together, in several divisions of Europe.

In 1885 Professor Thiry, a French educator, in America for his health, as a school commissioner in Long Island City, introduced the system into the public schools there. Since this date the system has spread widely, and by 1893 325 schools had such savings-banks.

From a statement compiled by Mr. Thiry in 1905, it appears that there were then 4,541 school-banks in operation located in 1,089 schools in 109 cities in the United States. The number of scholars registered in these schools is 347,895, of which 191,009 are depositors in the school banks. The amount collected since the introduction of the system is shown to be $2,782.012, the amount withdrawn $2,165,072, leaving a balance due depositors of $616,940.

Another similar system is the Penny Provident Bank. This was established in New York City in 1889 and has to-day some 60,000 depositors in all portions of the country. Cards are given to depositors, with the rules of the Fund on one side, and thirty-six blank squares on the other. Stamps are then sold to the depositor, to be attached to the squares. The stamps may be of eight different values from one cent to one dollar. When the card is all filled the amount represented is paid to the depositor and he is urged tho not required to open an account in some savings-bank. A second card is then given. No interest is paid on these deposits, the object being to encourage the saving of small sums which can be deposited in a bank where interest is paid. In this way depositors in the Fund saved $480,272.61 in ten years. The system has been used in schools with great success. Central office, Fourth Avenue and Twenty-second Street, New York.

SCHOOLING OF ADULTS, THE (through free evening lectures in schoolhouses), has been developed chiefly in New York City through the Department of Public Lectures of the Board of

Education. It is based on the assumptions that education is never finished, and that large numbers of people who had to leave school early, owing to the stress of making a living, are anxious to get whatever knowledge they can. The purpose of these lectures is accordingly twofold: informative and constructive. Some lectures and lecture courses, e. g., on travel and geography, furnish interesting information, while others, e. g., on physics and electricity, are arranged in a systematic manner and cover those subjects fully.

The lectures started on the former basis and tentatively in 1889, but gradually introduced more serious and better-connected subjects. While 189 lectures were given during the first season to about 20,000 listeners, 4,645 were given in 1904–5 to an attendance of 1,155,000. In all new schoolhouses lecture rooms are provided adapted for adults.

The need of this movement is readily seen from the facts that only about 3 per cent of the school population attend the high schools, and 1.5 the colleges, universities, and professional schools; that New York has a very large percentage of adult foreign-born citizens who need instruction in civics, the uses of liberty, English, etc.; that, finally, lectures in English literature were attended by classes of 300 (chiefly teachers), others on the "Social Significance of European Capitals" by 1,000 in one center and 1,700 in another, others on "Great Masters in Music" by 1,000. (See article EVENING SCHOOLS.)

Dr. Henry M. Leipziger, the Supervisor of Lectures, sums up the results of the free lectures in an article of "Social Service" (July, 1905) thus: (1) Adult education is established as a permanent feature of our educational scheme. (2) Reading and study have been encouraged, a deeper interest in school life developed, and a refining influence spread. (3) Cooperation has been brought about between the lecture, the library, and the museum. (4) The best teachers in our universities have come in contact with the people. (5) The school is becoming the social center of the community. (6) The schoolhouse must be constructed with a view to its use for various educative influences, so as to become not merely a nursery for children, but a place of intelligent resort for adults.

SCHOOLS OF PHILANTHROPY: The need for systematic instruction and training as a preparation for social work in the distribution of public and private charity, in philanthropy, and in many branches of educational activity was felt long before anything so formal as a school for this purpose was contemplated. Many societies like the Charity Organization Societies have long had their training classes, which meet weekly and sometimes oftener, for conference and reading and study under the direction of their chief executive officers, to increase the efficiency of their staff and volunteers. Many colleges and higher educational institutions have recognized this need by establishing special courses for practical workers.

1. *The New York School of Philanthropy* began in 1898, under the title The Summer School in Philanthropic Work, the first systematic effort at highly specialized instruction in this field alone. It is a significant fact that the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York organized this school, which held in the rooms and library of the society a six weeks' session crowded with lectures, class discussions, preparation of papers on special topics, and visits to institutions. It began the latter part of June at the close of the usual collegiate year and drew largely from among the brightest students and graduates of the colleges. Dr. Philip W. Ayres was the first director under whose skilful management, and later under that of Dr. Carl Kelsey, the summer school developed. Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer and Dr. Edw. T. Devine, the first director of the enlarged school, were the pioneers in the work of the winter course. The present writer succeeded Dr. Devine as director, and Prof. R. C. McCrea has been appointed associate director. This summer meeting has been continued as the summer session of the larger school now organized and endowed, still under the direction of the Board of Trustees appointed by the Charity Organization Society, in accordance with the terms of the endowment given by Mr. John S. Kennedy. The first winter session was held in 1903–4 and conducted along the lines of the summer course, but extended through six months with one or two lectures a week and class exercises and visits to institutions in addition. The course was divided into six parts: (1) Introductory, general survey of charitable field; (2) aid for the sick and preventive work in behalf of public health; (3) the care of dependent, neglected, defective, and delinquent children; (4) the care and treatment of needy families in their homes; (5) the care and treatment of needy families in institutions; (6) moral reform, educational advance, social uplift. The lectures were given by a large number of expert workers.

The next three years witnessed a rapid development in the number of lectures and in the serious demands the work made on the time of the students, about half of whom were college graduates, or have had college training, and two-thirds of whom were women. The majority of the men and women students expect to follow social work as a profession, although a goodly number are preparing to give their time in part or whole as volunteer workers, as district and church visitors, managers of societies, and social investigators. The lectures given in the academic year from October to June now number twelve per week or over 350 in the year, and there are twelve hours additional per week given to field work in visiting, inspection, and investigation under trained supervision.

The course is divided into eight groups:

(1) Survey of the field. Principles, theories, and methods of general application.
(2) Racial traits in the population. A study in sociology.
(3) Constructive social work.
(4) The care of families in their homes.
(5) Administration of charitable and educational institutions.
(6) Child-helping agencies.
(7) Treatment of the criminal. Reformatory methods. Probation.
(8) The state in its relation to charity.

The first four groups are required of all students, and at least two of the other four. The tuition fee is $50 for the course, and $10 for the summer session. A limited number of free tuition scholarships are granted and a few scholarships yielding a stipend of $100 in addition to free tuition are awarded as loans where conditions justify it. A Social Research Bureau for advanced work has been organized and some fellowships yielding a stipend sufficient to meet living expenses are offered to experienced investigators who are able to undertake tasks which promise to enrich our literature and knowledge of social conditions. The New York School is affiliated with Columbia University; the students of both institutions have reciprocal advantages in attending lectures given in either, with academic credit for the higher degrees for work done satisfactorily in either place. The school has an excellent special library with 5,000 bound volumes and more than that number of unbound pamphlets, reports of societies, etc.

2. *The Boston School for Social Workers*, organized in 1904–5, is maintained by Simmons College and Harvard University and managed by a joint committee. Men register at the university, women at Simmons College, paying in either case a minimum fee of $100, which covers all charges for the work of the school which follows somewhat similar lines to that in New York. Less emphasis is laid on the lecture method of instruction and more on closer supervision of field, practice, and case work, assigned readings, and class quizzes and discussions. This school from the beginning has been under the direction of Dr. Jeffrey R. Brackett and Miss Zilpha D. Smith, assistant. Ten hours a week are devoted to class instruction. No summer session is held. The course covers one academic year for the satisfactory completion of which, as also in New York, an appropriate certificate or diploma is given. Research work has been organized as a department of the work of the school for trained investigators.

3. *The Chicago Institute of Social Science* was started in 1904 as the "Social Science Center" and later as the "Institute of Social Science and Arts" under the auspices of the University College of the University of Chicago. In Jan., 1906, it was organized as an independent school. Lectures are given in the afternoon after 4.30 o'clock and in the evening, which enables many students to attend who are engaged in other work while taking the courses, while in Boston and New York most of the students must devote their whole time to the work of the school. No field work is required except visits to institutions, but is arranged for

when desired. The courses given are: (1) Principles and Practice of Social Philanthropy, twelve lectures; Introduction to the History and Literature of Philanthropy, four lectures; The Field and Requirements for Social Work, four lectures; (2) Child-Helping Agencies and Institutions, eight lectures; (3) Boys' and Girls' Clubs; Basis, Methods, and Leadership; (4) Causes and Treatment of Dependency, twelve lectures; (5) The Social Aspects of Industrial Organization, twelve lectures; (6) Juvenile Delinquency, twenty-four conferences; (7) Educational and Welfare Work in Factories and Stores, twelve conferences; (8) Industrial and Civic Administration, twelve lectures.

A summer session of six weeks was held in 1906 and is announced for 1908. Tuition charges are $25 for all courses offered during the year and $10 for the summer term.

Research work is organized as in New York and Boston and Miss Julia Lathrop has been added to the staff for its special supervision. Prof. Graham Taylor has had charge of the school from its beginning.

4. *The St. Louis School of Philanthropy* has grown out of courses of lectures by prominent charitable workers, a series of conferences of said workers and visits to institutions which were carried on for four years prior to the organization of regular class work, and the arrangement for the direction of such work made with the University of Missouri in May, 1906. In 1907, two courses of fifteen lectures each were given on Friday afternoons, from two to five o'clock, from Feb. 1st to May 17th; one on Preventive Philanthropy and the other on Remedial Philanthropy. Class discussions and required readings were provided for, and in addition four public evening lectures by specialists and four conferences were held. The announcements for 1908 include three courses similar to the two given in 1907 and six short courses of three lectures each by specialists in different fields, and for 1908–9 a course covering eight months. All the work is of University grade, under the direction of Prof. Thos. J. Riley, and may be credited toward degrees at the University of Missouri. Tuition fees are based on membership in the association, which sustains the school and a moderate charge for courses taken ($5 for each course of fifteen lectures in 1907).

5. *Courses in Social Work at the University of Pennsylvania.* Work, organized along the same lines as the St. Louis School and with some of the variety of the summer session of the New York School, is done in Philadelphia through the courses in Social Work at the University of Pennsylvania, which was one of the first of the larger colleges to adopt the term "Social Work," and to organize in 1899 its courses so as to give a definite course in social work. While this work is not definitely organized as a separate or independent school it is under the direction of a special committee appointed by the university authorities and independent of university restrictions as to admission, etc. Two afternoon lectures each week throughout the college year, many of them given by practical specialists, class exercises, and visits to institutions are provided. Tuition fee is $15 for the entire course.

The planning and supervision of this work was begun by the present writer, and has been continued by Prof. Carl Kelsey.

Many similar schools exist abroad, notably in England, but all are of recent date. The London Charity Organization Society's Committee on Social Education discust the needs of London in securing better observation and more expert knowledge in dealing in a practical way with problems of the city, and the result was the establishment in Oct., 1904, of the School of Sociology and Social Economics. The University of Liverpool established, Jan., 1905, a School of Social Science and Training for social work with both summer and winter sessions and excellently well-planned courses of instruction, practical work, research, and classes extending in some cases beyond one year's work.

England

SAMUEL MCCUNE LINDSAY.

REFERENCES: The Annual Reports, year books, and circulars of the schools mentioned; *Social Work: A New Profession*, by Robert A. Woods; *Charities and the Commons*, Jan. 6, 1906; see also same periodical, vol. xix., pp. 893–895, and article by Graham Taylor in *The Commons* (Chicago), vol. ix., pp. 430–432; Nat. Conf. Charities and Correction, Reports 1905, pp. 436–444; *Charities Review*, vol. viii., pp. 109 and 315–320; Charities, vol. xi., pp. 167–71, and vol. xiii., p. 177; *Economic Review* (English), April, 1907; *Supervision and Education in Charity*, by Jeffrey R. Brackett (N. Y., Macmillan, 1903); *C. O. S. Review* (London), July, 1907.

SCHULZE-DELITZSCH, HERMANN: Founder of Cooperative Agricultural Banks; born 1808 at Delitzsch, Saxony. Educated at Leipsic and at Halle, he was made judge at Naumbourg and then Berlin, and in 1841 entered the royal magistracy. Spending his vacations in travel, he became deeply interested in the working classes. After the revolution of 1848 he was elected deputy by the electors of Delitzsch, and took his seat on the left center with Rodbertus. But seeing the victory of a reactionary opposition, he retired to Delitzsch and there commenced the movement to establish the cooperative agricultural banks with which his name is connected. (See COOPERATIVE BANKS.) Became leader of the individualist policy of cooperation without State aid, and so when Lassalle commenced his Socialist propaganda, Schulze-Delitzsch was invited by the working men of Leipsic to champion his ideas against Lassalle, but declined, and the majority of the working men turned to Lassalle. (See GERMANY AND SOCIAL REFORM.) His cooperative movement, however, went on, and on his death, in 1885, had reached large proportions.

SCHURZ, CARL: Publicist and political reformer; born 1829 near Cologne; was educated at Cologne and University of Bonn. He took an active part in the Revolution of 1848–49, and was compelled to leave Germany. After sojourning in Switzerland, Paris, and London, he came to the United States in 1852 and settled in Watertown, Wis. In 1860 he was a member of the Republican Convention; became U. S. minister to Spain in 1861; resigned to enter the Union Army where he was successively promoted until he became brigadier-general, and served in many engagements. He was editor of and contributor to a number of papers, e. g., New York *Tribune*, *Evening Post*, *Westliche Post*, etc. U. S. Senator for Missouri, 1869–75; presided over convention which nominated Greeley; was appointed Minister of the Interior by President Hayes, 1876. Later supported Cleveland, and became one of the founders of the Independent Party. Died in New York City, May 14, 1906. He published "Speeches"; "Life of Henry Clay"; "Abraham Lincoln, an Essay"; "Memoirs" (1906).

SCOTLAND: Scotland, tho comparatively a small country, has had an important influence on the modern world owing to the intellectual and commercial energy of its people, and to the remarkable colonizing habits of its emigrant population in new lands, notably in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. The fame of Burns, Sir Walter Scott, and many other Scottish writers is world-wide, and science and industry owe a great deal to eminent Scotsmen such as Adam Smith, the founder of the modern science of political economy; Patterson, founder of the Bank of England; James Watt (steam-engine), Murdock (gas illumination), Nasmyth (steam-hammer), Hutton and Sir Charles Lyell (geology), Sir Charles Bell (anatomy), Napier of Merchiston (inventor of logarithms), and Dr. Simpson and Lord Lister (anesthetic and antiseptic treatment in surgery). Many notable Englishmen have been wholly or partly of direct Scottish extraction, as, for example, Byron, Macaulay, J. S. Mill, Ruskin, and Gladstone. Scotland is to a great extent a mountainous country and possesses many fine estuaries, rivers, and inland lakes.

RACE AND EARLY HISTORY

The people of Scotland are of a mixed race. In the north and west (the Highlands) they belong chiefly to the Gaelic-speaking branch of the Celtic race, while in the east and south they are largely of Saxon and Scandinavian origin or admixture. Among the Highlanders the Gaelic or

Erse language (which is held to be allied to the early Latin dialects) was universally spoken until recent years. Among the Lowlanders the Scotch vernacular (really a dialect of the older English speech) was the tongue of all classes down to about fifty years ago. Both the Gaelic and the Scotch are now giving place to the modern English language. The Highlanders remained under the primitive clan system, ruled by chiefs, until the political repression of the clans following upon their rebellion in 1745 in support of the restoration of the Stuart dynasty to the British throne.

Race

Scottish history usually begins with the resistance of the then native inhabitants, the Scots and Picts, to the Roman invasion. The Scots were Gaels (Gaidheal, Celts) who had crossed from Ireland and settled in the western parts of the country, and the Picts are supposed by some to have been an earlier branch of the Celtic people and by others to have been of Iberian or perhaps non-Aryan stock. Unable to subdue the Scottish tribes the Romans fenced them out of their southern dominions in England by building a great wall extending across the base of Scotland from the Solway to the Tyne, and later another wall farther north from the Clyde to the Forth. On the withdrawal of the Romans from Britain, the Saxon kings of England succeeded in obtaining a lordship over the southern part of Scotland, and for several hundred years the Scots endeavored by frequent battles to cast off the English yoke. The independence of Scotland as a kingdom was finally secured by the valorous championship of Sir William Wallace, followed by the memorable victory of King Robert Bruce at Bannockburn (1314). Thereafter until the union of the English and Scottish crowns as a result of the succession on the death of Queen Elizabeth of James VI. of Scotland, as nearest heir, to the English throne, Scotland was kept in a constant state of unrest by internal struggles between the nobles and the various kings and regents of the Stuart dynasty. During the reign of Mary, Queen of Scots, the mother of James VI., Scotland was brought into very close relationship with France, and it was then also that the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland was dissolved and the Presbyterian Church founded in its stead. The Parliaments of England and Scotland were not united until a later period under Queen Anne, in 1707.

History

The modern history and intellectual prominence of Scotland dates from the Protestant Reformation and the institution of the Scottish Presbyterian Church, just mentioned, under the leadership of John Knox and the famous Latin scholar George Buchanan. The Reformed Church adopted at the outset a completely democratic form of government, and in its earliest manifesto, "The First Book of Discipline," the Church laid down an exceedingly enlightened policy with respect to education, the rights of labor, and the treatment of the poor. Schools were established in every parish, and it was enjoined upon parents of every station that their children must have "a virtuous education and godly upbringing," and that all those showing an aptitude for learning should be sent to the university. It is no doubt largely to this national system of education, imperfect as it was, founded 350 years ago, together with the fierce controversies upon religion and politics which the subsequent efforts of Kings Charles I. and II. to force episcopacy upon the nation aroused, that we must ascribe the remarkable mental energy evolved among the Scottish people. Reading and study became common in the houses of the peasants, and shepherd lads, plowboys, and the sons of the artizan class struggled into the universities and became doctors, lawyers, and ministers. The Scottish universities, which were, and still are, four in number—Glasgow, Edinburgh, St. Andrews, and Aberdeen—have always been accessible to poor students owing to the small fees charged, and to their non-resident system which allows students to board outside as frugally as they choose. It is not likely, therefore, that Mr. Carnegie's recent benefaction of $10,000,000 to the universities will have any marked results.

Scotland, tho a democratic nation, and the home of many social pioneers, has not been, until recent years, forward in social reform. Political liberty and individual freedom have been more highly esteemed than social legislation and cooperative enterprise. Altho Robert Owen established his celebrated cooperative community at New Lanark, in the south of Scotland, as far back as 1800, the public mind did not turn to collective or cooperative experiments until within the last thirty or forty years. Nevertheless, industrial cooperative societies are now widely spread and in a flourishing state in all parts of the country except in the west Highlands, and the wholesale cooperative manufacturing works at Shieldhall, near Glasgow; the baking establishments in Glasgow and Leith, and the tweed cloth mills at Galashields and Melrose have become enormously successful enterprises. The land question has, however, always attracted deep interest in Scotland, and the crofter revolt in the Highlands (1880–85), influenced largely by the neighboring Irish Land League agitation, led to the passing of the Crofters Act (1886) by which the poorer Highland tenants have now obtained fixity of tenure, rents fixt by a public commission, and compensation for improvements. A bill extending the principles of the Crofter Act to farms paying rentals as high as £40 all over Scotland is now (1907) before Parliament. Henry George visited Scotland in 1881 and on several occasions afterward, and his teaching was enthusiastically received with the result that a Land Restoration League (now a Single-Tax League) was founded which did much to bring the question of the taxation of land values to the front in British politics.

Social Progress

Housing in Scotland is in a backward state. The tenement system of dwellings—large blocks four "storys," or flats, in height, each flat divided into two or three separate dwellings of two rooms—prevails in the working-class districts of Glasgow and the large towns, while in the smaller towns and villages rows of one-story cottages each consisting of only two apartments ("butt and ben") are common. The census returns of 1901 showed that there were no less than 416,311 families (1,174,000 persons) living in one- or two-room dwellings. The municipalities are making some efforts to remedy this defect.

Until recent years Scotland was the most Sabbatarian country in Europe, but now Sunday observance and churchgoing have waned, and in the larger industrial towns concerts, political meetings, excursions, and secular amusements

have quite displaced the somber religious formalism of former days. So, too, it may be said, religion generally has fallen into a state of decay; the young people are becoming indifferent to religious topics and secularism is rife. The Scottish Presbyterian Church is established by law, but more than half of the Presbyterian communicants adhere to the United Free Church recently formed by the union of two great bodies of secessionists from the parent church. In Glasgow and the mining districts there are a considerable number of Roman Catholics, chiefly Irish immigrants.

Socialism

The first avowedly Socialist organization in Scotland was the Land and Labor League, founded in Edinburgh in 1883. This was followed soon afterward by branches of the Social Democratic Federation and the Socialist League in Glasgow, Edinburgh, and a few other towns. J. Bruce Glasier, William Nairne, and Professor James Mavor (now of Toronto), in Glasgow; and Robert Banner and the Rev. Dr. John Glasse, in Edinburgh, were the pioneers of the new Socialist movement. William Morris, the famous poet and craftsman, frequently visited Scotland in connection with the Socialist League, and greatly influenced the idealism of the young Socialists of the day. Edward Carpenter, H. M. Hyndman, and Prince Kropotkin also made occasional lecturing visits. Later, in 1888, the Scottish Labor Party, which was the forerunner of the now powerful Independent Labor Party (the I. L. P.) of Great Britain, was founded by J. Keir Hardie (then president of the Scottish Miners), R. B. Cunningham Graham, and others. Chiefly owing to Keir Hardie's successful agitation socialism in Scotland, as in England, took a definite "Labor" character and at present the Independent Labor Party is the chief Socialist organization in both countries, altho the Social Democratic Federation has also many branches, and there are one or two small groups of the Socialist Labor Party which adopts the line of the American party of that name.

At the last general election (1906) about a dozen Trade-union and Socialist candidates stood for election, but only two were successful—Mr. George N. Barnes, M.P., the general secretary of the Engineers' Society, who was returned as a Socialist and Trade-union representative for a division in Glasgow, and Alex. Wilkie, M.P., of the Shipwright's Society, who was returned as a Trade-unionist for Dundee. Both are members of the Labor Party group in the House of Commons. There are many Socialists now upon the municipal councils in the larger towns. Socialist propaganda is very active in Scotland and it is noteworthy that Robert Smillie and other miners leaders, as well as the more active trade-unionists generally, are Socialists.

Laws. Government

Notwithstanding the union of the Scottish and English crowns and parliaments, Scotland still preserves many distinctive national habits. Scottish law, for example, is different in many important respects from English law, notably as respects marriage (which can still be effected by a simple declaration between unmarried couples, tho unless it is registered or proven in a law court it is not legally established) and criminal trials (in Scotland the jury may bring in a verdict by a majority and the verdict may be one of "guilty," "not proven," or "not guilty," whereas in England the jury verdict must be unanimous, and be either "guilty" or "not guilty").

Scotland retains a separate judicial bench, but the British House of Lords is the final court of appeal. Many acts of Parliament of the British House of Commons are made applicable to England but not to Scotland, and vice versa. Thus, in Scotland the public houses are since the act of 1851 compelled to keep closed on Sundays, whereas in England they are open for several hours in the afternoon and evening. Scotland sends seventy-two members to the British House of Commons and sixteen representative peers elected by the Scottish peerage to the House of Lords. In addition to the elected peers some fifty other Scottish peers sit in the House of Lords by virtue of being peers of the United Kingdom. Local government is carried on by much the same machinery as in England, namely, by town councils, county councils (1889), and district and parish councils (1893). The franchise in Scotland is, as in England, household suffrage. Women householders are entitled to vote at all elections except for Parliament.

Statistics

The population is now nearly five millions (census 1901 it was 4,472,103, and in 1906 it was estimated at 4,726,070). The total acreage of the country is 19,543,843, of which only some 2,000,000 are under corn and green crops and 3,000,000, exclusive of mountains and moors, under rotation pasture or permanent pasture. In the Highlands the crofters cultivate their small holdings in somewhat primitive fashion and many of them engage in herring fishing during the summer season. There is also extensive sheep farming, but great tracts of moors and valleys have been turned into deer preserves. Aberdeen and Peterhead on the east coast have important granite quarries, in Dundee there are jute and flax mills, and in Paisley the great cotton-thread mills of Messrs. Coats and Clark. In the south of Scotland tweed (woolen) cloth manufacture is the chief industry. Altogether there were in Scotland in 1905 some 750 factories with over two and a half million spindles, 75,000 power looms, and 170,000 work people.

Of chief importance, however, are the coal and iron fields in the lower central basin of Scotland, the engineering and iron-molding works in the neighborhood of Glasgow and Falkirk, and the great shipbuilding yards on the Clyde which in 1905 produced (exclusive of war-ships) 254 ships of a gross tonnage of 515,588 tons, or one third of the total shipbuilding of Great Britain and one fifth of the shipbuilding of the world. There are also numerous whisky distilleries.

Broadly speaking, it may be said that recent industrial developments have adversely affected the character of the Scottish people. Drunkenness is sadly prevalent among the working class, especially in the mining districts and in the large towns. The conditions of factory and town life have diminished the stature and lessened the stamina of the people. Their finer intellectual qualities have been impaired. Football, betting, and a habit of general indifference toward serious matters have displaced the more earnest poetical and thoughtful inclinations of the people. Scotsmen are usually of a somewhat "canny" and shrewd disposition, but are easily roused to intense vivacity and combativeness under excitement. They are fond of argument and a strong sense of critical humor is displayed in their con-

versation. Their great persistency of purpose and working capacity is shown by the many Scotsmen who have achieved high political and economic positions in all parts of the world. Until late years Scotland was preeminently a land of song. No country for its size has produced a greater wealth of dance music and lyrical poetry —the former represented by the Highland strathspeys and reels and the latter by the songs of Robert Burns. J. Bruce Glasier,

Editor *Labour Leader*, Hotspur Press, Manchester, England.

SCOTT, ROSE (MISS): President of Woman's Political Educational League (non-party and non-sectarian) and treasurer of National Council of Women, New South Wales; born Glendon, Hunter River, Oct. 8, 1847. Honorary secretary of Womanhood Suffrage League of New South Wales, from its foundation in 1891. She has traveled and lectured extensively as a champion of woman's political rights. Was vice-president of Early Closing Association and vice-president of Woman's Club, and member of Ladies' Committee for Assistance of Discharged Prisoners. *Address*: Lynton, 294 Jersey Rd., Sydney.

SCOTTISH TEMPERANCE LEGISLATION BOARD, THE (with which is incorporated *The Scottish Alliance for Temperance and Social Reform*), is a large and influential society of earnest practical reformers whose purpose is to secure for the community a more effective control of the liquor traffic, and give powers to each locality to carry practical temperance reforms, by submitting a wide variety of options to the decision of the electorate, under statutory conditions that are consistent with the public welfare. It was formed to endeavor to obtain further temperance legislation on the lines of Lord Peel's minority report of the Royal Commission on Licensing appointed in 1898. Lord Peel, who was chairman of this royal commission, along with several of the other members did not concur in the report signed by the majority of the commission and issued a separate report suggesting (1) a large reduction in the number of licensed houses in Great Britain, (2) compensation to the license holders dispossest by a time notice of seven years for England and Wales and five years for Scotland, and (3) thereafter wide powers of local control, under which the electors might vote either for veto or disinterested management of the traffic if such were continued. *Office*: 208 West George Street, Glasgow, R. X. Bremner, solicitor, secretary, and also at 10 Albyn Place, Edinburgh, G. F. Barbour, secretary.

SCUDDER, VIDA DUTTON: Author and professor at Wellesley College; born 1861 in southern India; graduated from Smith College, 1884; and pursued graduate studies in Oxford and Paris. She took a leading part in the formation of the first college settlements (see Settlements) and has been active in their work since. Her chief interest of this type since 1904 has been social and educational work for immigrant Italians. She has written on various subjects; the writings which have a social bearing are: "Introduction to the Writings of John Ruskin" (1890); "The Life of the Spirit in the Modern English Poets" (1895); "Social Ideals in English Letters" (1898); "Selected Letters of St. Catherine of Siena" (translated and edited) (1905); "The Disciple of a Saint: A Spiritual Romance" (1907). *Address*: 250 Newbury Street, Boston, Mass.

SEDDON, JAMES ANDREW: Member British Parliament of Independent Labor Party for Newton, Lancashire, S. W.; born 1868 at Prescot, near Liverpool; educated at elementary schools at Prescot and Hayton; was a grocer's apprentice, but tired of the monotonous life behind the counter after sixteen years, and became a commercial traveler. He came in close touch with the men of his trade, both at St. Helen's and in the neighborhood; joined the Shop Assistants' Union, became a member of the Executive Committee of the branch at St. Helen's in 1898, and president in 1902. He joined the Independent Labor Party, and was elected to Parliament in 1906. Is much in demand as a speaker; and an uncompromising Socialist. *Address*: 48 Lingholme Road, St. Helen's, England.

SEDDON, HON. RICHARD JOHN: Premier of New Zealand, 1896–1906; born in Lancashire, England, 1845. Becoming a mechanical engineer, he went to Australia in 1863 and to New Zealand in 1867, when the gold fever was at its height. Later, becoming head of a successful mercantile enterprise, he entered public life and was elected to Parliament, 1879. When the Liberal Party came into power Ballance (*q. v.*) made him minister of public works, and on the death of Ballance he became premier, 1896, till his own death, 1906. Called "Digger Dick" in his old mining days, and later "King Dick," he was always a champion of the opprest, tho he loved to call himself "Premier of the Paradise of the British Empire." Uncorruptible and loved, a born leader, he was a good worker, at one time being premier, colonial treasurer, minister of labor, minister of defense, and minister in charge of the public trust and of the government insurance offices.

SEILHAC, LÉON, COMTE DE: Permanent deputy to the Musée Social at Paris, and chief of the Service Industriel et Ouvriers; born Aug. 8, 1861, at Seilhac, in the department of Corrèze. He is a publicist, editor-in-chief of *La France Nouvelle*; editor of the *République Française*—founded by Gambetta—of the *Revue Politique et Parlementaire*, of the *Correspondant*, and of the *Revue Bleue*. Politically he is a Republican, and in economics hostile to the orthodox school and an advocate of the largest possible social reforms. He is opposed, however, to any kind of collectivism, because he believes that private property is the mainspring of human activity, the highest reward of labor, and the greatest source of joy for mankind. Author: "Le Monde Socialiste"; "Syndicats, Federations, et Bourses du Travail"; "Les Longrès Ouvriers"; "Les Grèves." *Address*: 48 Faubourg Poissonnière, Paris, France.

SELIGMAN, EDWIN ROBERT ANDERSON: Professor of political economy; born 1861 in New York City. Educated at Columbia Grammar School and Columbia University. Studied for three years at Universities of Berlin, Heidelberg, Geneva, and Paris. Prize lecturer at Columbia, 1885; adjunct professor there 1888–91. In 1891 appointed to his present professorship; 1902 president of American Economic Association;

president Tenement-House Building Company; president of Bureau of Municipal Research; editor of *Political Science Quarterly*. Author: "Railway Tariffs"; "Finance Statistics of American Commonwealth"; "Shifting and Incidence of Taxation"; "Progressive Taxation in Theory and Practice"; "Essays in Taxation"; "Two Chapters on Mediæval Guilds of England"; "Economic Interpretation of History;" "Principles of Economics." *Address*: Columbia University, New York City.

SENIOR, NASSAU WILLIAM: Political economist; born at Offington, Berkshire, 1790. Educated at Eton and Oxford; commenced the practise of law in 1819. Appointed professor of political economy at Oxford in 1826; was made secretary of the House of Lords in 1836, and was member of various commissions and societies. Interested in Eastern studies. Correspondent of the Institute of France (1843) and author of several reports and articles on industrial questions, mainly published in the *Quarterly Review*, the *Edinburgh* and *London Reviews*. Was the author of the now nearly discarded wage-fund theory (see WAGES). Author: "Lectures on Political Economy"; "An Outline of Political Economy," which first appeared in the "Encyclopédie Métropolitaine (1850). Died, London, 1864.

SETTLEMENTS (SOCIAL, UNIVERSITY, COLLEGE, AND CHURCH): One of the earliest definitions of a settlement and one which still holds good is that given by Miss Ada S. Woolfolk in "Johnson's Encyclopedia." She defines settlements as "homes in the poorer quarters of a city where educated men and women may live in daily personal contact with the working people." Here they may identify themselves as citizens with all the public interests of the neighborhood, may cooperate with their neighbors in every effort for the common good and share with them, in the spirit of friendship, the fruit and inspiration of their wider opportunities.

Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House, puts concisely the social significance of settlements as

"a sustained and democratic effort to apply ethical convictions to social and industrial conditions in those localities where life has become most complicated and difficult." She says further: "The settlement movement is only one manifestation of that wide humanitarian movement which throughout Christendom, but preeminently in England, is endeavoring to embody itself not in a sect but in society itself. Certain it is that spiritual force is found in the settlement movement, and it is also true that this force must be evoked and must be called into play before the success of any settlement is assured. There must be the overmastering belief that all that is noblest in life is common to men as men, in order to accentuate the likeness and ignore the differences which are found among the people the settlement constantly brings into juxtaposition. It aims in a measure to lead whatever of social life its neighborhood may afford, to focus and give form to that life, to bring to bear upon it the results of cultivation and training; but it receives in exchange for the music of isolated voices the volume and strength of the chorus. The settlement, then, is an experimental effort to aid in the solution of the social and industrial problems which are engendered by the modern conditions of life in a great city. It insists that these problems are not confined to any portion of a city. It is an effort to relieve, at the same time, the overaccumulation at one end of society and the destitution at the other; but it assumes that this overaccumulation and destitution is most sorely felt in things that pertain to social and educational advantages" ("Philanthropy and Social Progress," pp. 19–30).

Principles

The development of the settlement idea has been gradual. In 1860 Frederic Denison Maurice founded the Working Men's College, whose classes were taught by young Cambridge graduates in their leisure hours. In 1867 the university extension movement began in Cambridge. Owing to the influence of Rev. John Richards Green, vicar of St. Philip's, Stepney, and better known as the historian of the English people, Edward Denison made his home in 1867 in East London, but his health failed and he came to an early death. In 1875 Arnold Toynbee resolved to spend his summer vacation in Whitechapel in assisting the Rev. S. A. Barnett of St. Jude's. In 1883 Arnold Toynbee died, but two years later, through Canon Barnett, who had already been ten years in Whitechapel, Toynbee Hall, the first university settlement, was founded by Oxford men. In 1887 Dr. Stanton Coit established the Neighborhood Guild in New York. This became later the University Settlement. In 1889, at almost the same time, the College Settlement, with Miss Jean Fine (now Mrs. Spahr) as head worker and with Miss Vida D. Scudder as one of its chief inspirers, was opened in New York, and Miss Jane Addams and Miss Ellen Gates Starr took up their residence at Hull House, Chicago. From that time the growth has been rapid until there are over two hundred reported in the United States. Settlements are to be found in Australia, Japan, the Philippine and Hawaiian Islands, and in Austria, Germany, France, and Holland, as well as the mother country, Great Britain. There are also settlements for rural communities both in New England and the Southern states.

History

Not only are there many houses which bear the name of settlement, but settlement methods have been adopted by missions, churches, and training-schools of various kinds, so that the name has lost much of its original significance. In spite of the looseness in the use of the name and idea, which is perhaps more or less inevitable, so much of what is good has permeated the life and activities of many institutions that it is evident that the indirect influence of settlements is a factor not to be ignored. There are settlements with no residents that have more truly the settlement spirit than many another with a number of resident workers. There are settlements with a definite propaganda which touch the life about them more closely than others that claim to hold themselves open to every desire of the neighborhood, regardless of creed, race, or sex. There seems, however, to be a growing tendency on the part of those longest interested in settlements to go back to the original spirit underlying their beginnings and to deplore the tendency to institutionalism. A happy mean is struck by Canon Barnett in his "Fifteenth Annual Report" (June 30, 1899) when he says:

Toynbee Hall exists that individuals may tell on individuals, that the knowledge accumulated in the universities and the experience accumulated in industry may move public opinion through the friendships formed between university men and the inhabitants of industrial neighborhoods. But such friendships are sure to lead to organizations. When two or three meet together and in the presence of the higher ideal which appears in their midst see the ignorance or the suffering of the sin which is around, they cannot help starting the machinery by which that good-will may become effective.

Mrs. Simkovitch, of Greenwich House, New York, urges that settlement workers do

"not make of the home center a noisy clubhouse filled with various hybrid educational and social activities that will gradually drive out the simple home life, without which a settlement is devoid of that spirit that alone can render it permanently useful in the neighborhood as a stimulus toward

generally improved conditions; for a settlement is primarily a stimulus and only secondarily an institution. Institutional features should be undertaken by a settlement only when it is impossible for the settlement to get anybody else to undertake them" ("Report of Greenwich House," Jan., 1903).

Also: "The essence of settlement work is freedom to meet a new opportunity, and this elasticity is difficult to combine with a highly developed institution. This does not mean that institutional work has not its place and value in settlement activities, but it does mean that the institution ought never to strangle the fresh opportunities that are constantly springing up from the social life of a neighborhood such as ours. The settlement is founded on a belief that the springs of beauty of character and of the best social development are to be found in the lives of our working people, and that, firm in that belief, it is our duty and privilege to work with them, so to change the outer conditions of their lives that those inner springs will have a chance to develop" ("Report of Greenwich House," Oct., 1900).

The number of settlements as now reported is as follows: Asia, 1; Australia, 1; Austria, 1; England and Wales, 56; France, 4; Germany, 2; Holland, 11; Scotland, 10; the U. S., including the Hawaiian and Philippine Islands and representing thirty-one states, 207; a total of 293.

While there are settlements in a number of the smaller cities and towns of England, the movement has settled in London where it began. The chief inspiration has come in many instances from the universities (Oxford and Cambridge) whether shown in the first settlement, Toynbee Hall, in Oxford House, St. Margaret's House, Cambridge House, or in the settlements of the Congregationalists, Mansfield House and Robert Browning Hall. The influence of Canon Barnett, who stands

Other Countries

"for the way of life as distinct from the way of machinery," has been most marked, not alone in London and England, but wherever the settlement idea has taken root.

In Paris the settlements have tended to the educational side. As a rule, the residence plan has not been successfully carried out, but whereas at first sight the Paris settlements might seem to be allied to university extension yet they are "so primarily social and the relation between 'workers' and the people is so natural, wholesome, and mutually helpful," that they are really closely akin to settlements. In Holland there is but one residence worker in the eleven settlements, and those who are carrying them on are apt to protest that they are not really settlements. However, almost all the "people's houses" seem to have drawn their inspiration directly from Toynbee Hall and the teachings of Ruskin.

It is in the U. S., however, that settlements have had their most varied and largest growth. There are many institutions which have assumed the name without having much if any right to it. There are a number of interesting experiments in bringing the settlement ideas into rural communities. In spite of some feeble and unworthy efforts, the strength and wide influence of such settlements as the South End House, Boston; the group of settlements carried on by college women under the College Settlements Association in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia; the University Settlement, Greenwich House, and the Nurses' Settlement in New York City; Whittier House in Jersey City; the University Settlement, the Commons, of Chicago, and many others throughout the country make the name an honorable one. Preeminent above all is Hull House, of Chicago, under the leadership of Miss Jane Addams, "the most successful settlement in the world," according to Canon Barnett (see Hull House). In reality the Hull House is not only one of the most important factors in the higher life of Chicago, but its influence has reached far beyond its own city.

As regards the present status of settlements,

Difficulties

"several difficulties are met with in attempting to realize their ideals: (1) Many of the residents do not come to settle but to spend a limited number of months in the hopes of doing a little and learning much. (2) Nearly every settlement is compelled through periodical statistical reports to justify its existence in the eyes of outside subscribers. (3) From these facts of transient workers and tabulated reports there follows as a necessary evil the wide-spread tendency to employ machinery in order to produce effects. . . . So long as 90 per cent of the residents turn their backs on the colony as soon as they have gained enough experience to be valuable, not very extensive results can be hoped for" (E. J. Ulwick in *Charity Organization Review*, London, Dec., 1903).

From another authority we have this opinion: "Settlements are still experimental. They are far from having reached the clear waters of an assured position, but are a success if only because they have evidenced out the idea and given new form to the practise of neighborliness and have thus made for social solidarity. They do not perhaps necessarily represent so high a personal ideal as that of Edward Denison, who lived alone in a poor street in East London; but they are more practical than isolated effort and in spite of the drawbacks of community life and the artificialities and partial separation from ordinary social life which are involved. They give scope for the very effective concentration of many minds on one general aim. Their stability in the future depends on the amount of personal service they can secure of the kind that is needed" (Charles Booth, "Life and Labor in London," Third Series, vol. vii.).

Caroline Williamson Montgomery.

References: (For fuller list, see *Bibliography of Settlements*, compiled by Caroline Williamson Montgomery, Chicago, Ill., for the College Settlements Association, 1905, 5548 Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago, Ill.; *Essays in Philanthropy and Social Progress*, Jane Addams (1893;) *Democracy and Social Ethics*, Jane Addams (1903); *Practicable Socialism*, Rev. Canon S. A. Barnett; *Neighborhood Guilds*, Stanton Coit (1901); *Letters of Edward Denison*, edited by Sir Baldwin Leighton (1875); *Social Settlements*, Prof. C. R. Henderson, 1899; *University and Social Settlements*, W. Reason (1898); *Social Progress*, a year book, edited by Dr. Strong (1904–5–6); *Arnold Toynbee*, a monography by F. C. Montague (1899); *English Social Movements*, Robert Woods.

Statistics

We print as follows statistics of settlements in the U. S. It is not a complete list, but is a very large proportion of the whole. From statistics gathered for "Social Progress," 1906, it appears that in that year 837 persons were residents in settlements besides those not reporting. Besides these, 3,907 more (977 men and 2,930 women) non-residents aided in settlement work, making 1,188 men and 3,556 women, or 4,744 engaged in settlement work. Of these, 603 (497 women and 106 men) gave all their time to the work. They reported 1,568 clubs and 1,502 classes, reaching some 55,000 different persons, of whom 9,000 were men, 15,000 were boys, and 31,000 girls or women. Of the 170 settlements, 63 (probably the largest) reported property valued at $2,827,000, and 86 settlements reported annual expenditures of $459,000.

Alabama, Calhoun, Lowndes County, Calhoun Colored School Settlement, 1892.
—, Huntsville, Virginia Hall, 1904.
—, Tuskegee Plantation.
California, Los Angeles, 428 Alpine Street, Castelar Settlement, 1894.
—, Oakland, 709 Linden Street, Oakland Social Settlement, 1895.
—, San Francisco, 555 Chestnut Street, The People's Palace.
—, San Francisco, 86 South Park, S. P. Settlement Association, 1894.
—, San Francisco, Telegraph Hill Boys' Club, Stockton Street.
Colorado, Denver, 966 Galapago Street, Neighborhood House, 1902.
Connecticut, Hartford, 15 North Street, Hartford Social Settlement, 1895.
—, New Haven, 153 Franklin Street, Lowell House, 1900.

Connecticut, Simsbury (Weatoque P. O.), Neighborhood House, 1905.
Delaware, Wilmington, 831 Church Street, People's Settlement, 1902.
District of Columbia, Washington, 1243 H Street N. E., Noel House.
—, Washington, 456 and 468 N Street S. W., Neighborhood House, 1901.
—, Washington, 118 M Street S. W., Colored Social Settlement, 1904.
Georgia, Atlanta, 74 South Boulevard, Methodist Settlement Home, 1903.
Illinois, Chicago, 474 West North Avenue, Association House.
—, Chicago, 180 Grand Avenue, The Commons, 1894.
—, Chicago, 80 Elm Street, Eli Bates House.
—, Chicago, 134 Newberry Avenue, Elizabeth E. Marcy Home.
—, Chicago, 869 Thirty-third Place, Fellowship House, 1895.
—, Chicago, 305 West Van Buren Street, Forward Movement, 1894.
—, Chicago, 133 South Morgan Street, Frances E. Willard Settlement, 1894.
—, Chicago, 358 Twenty-second Street, Francis E. Clark Settlement, 1904.
—, Chicago, 3032 Wabash Avenue, Frederick Douglass Center.
—, Chicago, 867 West Twenty-second Street, Gad's Hill Center, 1898.
—, Chicago, 171 West Fourteenth Place, Henry Booth House, 1898.
—, Chicago, 335 South Halsted Street, Hull House, 1889.
—, Chicago, 3825 Dearborn, Institute Church and Social Settlement, 1900.
—, Chicago, 120 East Fullerton Avenue, Christopher House, Miss Mary E. Van der Slice, 1904.
—, Chicago, 485 South Clinton Street, Maxwell Settlement, 1893.
—, Chicago, May Street and West Sixty-seventh Street Neighborhood House, 1896.
—, Chicago, Noble and Augusta, Northwestern University Settlement, 1891.
—, Chicago, 44–46 Vedder Street, Olivet House, 1903.
—, Chicago, 783 Armitage Avenue, Settlement House of Armitage Avenue.
—, Chicago, Oakwood Building and Langley Avenue, Abraham Lincoln Center, Jenkin Lloyd Jones, 1905.
—, Chicago, 4630 Gross Avenue, University of Chicago Settlement, 1894.
—, Chicago, Day Nursery, Forty-eighth Street and Marshfield Avenue.
—, Peoria, 2000 South Washington Street, Neighborhood House.
—, Quincy, 421 Jersey Street, The Cheerful Home, 1901.
Indiana, Indianapolis, 1726 Columbia Avenue, Christamore, The, 1901. College Settlement.
—, Indianapolis, 873 Colton Street, Flanner Guild, 1899.
—, Terre Haute, 24 North First Street, Terre Haute Social Settlement, 1896.
Iowa, Des Moines, Seventh and Scott Streets, Roadside Settlement, 1896.
Kansas, Kansas City, 43 North First Street, Bethel Home Settlement, 1902.
Kentucky, Hindman, Woman's Christian Temperance Union Settlement School.
—, Louisville, 834 East Jefferson Street, Louisville Settlement House, 1903.
—, Louisville, 530 First Street, Neighborhood House, 1896.
Louisiana, New Orleans, 1202 Annunciation Street, Kingsley House, 1899.
Maine, Lewiston and Auburn, 141 Middle Street, Social Settlement, 1899.
—, Portland, 75 Spring Street, Fraternity House, 1889.
Maryland, Baltimore, 816 West Lombard Street, Lawrence House, 1893.
—, Baltimore, 1504 Fort Avenue, Locust Point Social Settlement, 1897.
—, Baltimore, 1204 East Baltimore Street, Maccabean House.
—, Baltimore, corner Cross and Warner Streets, Warner House.
Massachusetts, Boston, 112 Salem Street, Civic Service House, 1901.
—, Boston, 93 Tyler Street, Denison House, 1892.
—, Boston, 87 Poplar Street, Elizabeth Peabody House, 1896.
—, Boston, 12 Carver Street, Ellis Memorial, 1885.
—, Boston, 1900 Washington Street, Emmanuel House.
—, Boston, 36 Hull Street, Medical Mission, 1891.
—, Boston, 38 Chambers Street, Frances E. Willard Settlement, 1897.
—, Boston, 6–8 Garland Street, Hale House, 1899.
—, Boston, 23 Carolina Avenue, Jamaica Plain, Neighborhood House, 1902.
—, Boston, 70–80 Emerald Street, Lincoln House, 1887.
—, Boston, 358 Albany Street, Roxbury Neighborhood House, 1900.
Massachusetts, Boston, 37 North Bennet Street, Social Service House, 1902.
—, Boston, 20 Union Park, South End House, 1892.
—, Boston, 2 Decatur Street, St. Stephen's House, 1897.
—, Boston, 147 Ruggles Street, Ruggles Street Neighborhood House.
—, Cambridge, 71 Cherry Street, Margaret Fuller House.
—, Cambridge, 744 Massachusetts Avenue, Prospect Union.
—, Cambridge, Moon Street, Neighborhood House.
—, Malden, 179 Harvard Street, Stephen Durkee Archer Helping Hand House, 1904.
—, Springfield, Ferry Street Settlement.
Michigan, Detroit, 701 Superior Street, East Side Settlement.
—, Detroit, 519 Franklin Street, Franklin Street Settlement.
—, Detroit, 153 Grand Avenue, Westminster Guild House.
—, Grand Rapids, 425 Ottawa Street, Bissell House.
Minnesota, South Minneapolis, 320 Sixteenth Avenue, South Pillsbury House.
—, Minneapolis, 1616 Washington Avenue, N. Unity House.
—, St. Paul, 379–381 Eighth Street, The Commons.
—, St. Paul, 153 Robertson Street, The Neighborhood House.
Missouri, Kansas City, 1901 McGee Street, Franklin Institute and Social Settlement.
—, St. Louis, 1227 North Broadway, Neighborhood House.
—, St. Louis, 803 Hickory Street, Kingdom House.
—, St. Louis, Sixth and Rutger Streets, St. Stephen's House.
—, St. Louis, Third and Victor Streets, Victor Street Mission.
—, St. Louis, 1101 Locust Street, Welfare Association.
Nebraska, Lincoln, 200 South Twentieth Street, College Settlement, 1896.
New Hampshire, Danbury, Church Settlement Association, C. C. Thurber.
New Jersey, Englewood, 32 Dean Street, Civic League.
—, Jersey City, 174 Grand Street, Whittier House, 1898.
—, Newark, 555 Market Street, Newark Neighborhood House.
—, Newark, 211 Mount Prospect Avenue, Sophia Ricord Neighborhood House.
—, Newark, 108 Montgomery Street, The Jewish Sisterhood.
—, Orange, 24 Valley Street.
—, Orange, 35 Tompkins Street, Orange Valley Social Settlement, 1896.
—, Summit, 511 Morris Avenue, Neighborhood House, 1904.
New York, Albany, 288 Central Avenue, A. C. A. Settlement.
—, Brooklyn, Friendly House, 49 Warren Street.
—, Brooklyn, 52 Sands Street, Asacog House.
—, Brooklyn, 122 Pierrepont Street, Holy Trinity Guild House.
—, Brooklyn, 85 Java Street, Greenpoint Settlement, 1895.
—, Brooklyn, 29 Front Street, Italian Settlement, 1901.
—, Brooklyn, 49 Warren Street, Holy Trinity Guild House.
—, Brooklyn, 146 Union Street, Little Italy Neighborhood House.
—, Brooklyn, Jane Addams House, 109 South Third Street.
—, Brooklyn, 245 Concord Street, Maxwell House, 1890.
—, Brooklyn, 148 Jackson Street, School Settlement Association, 1901.
—, Brooklyn, 95 Lawrence Street, Willoughby House, 1900.
—, Buffalo, 79 Goodell Street, Neighborhood House.
—, Buffalo, 150 Erie Street, Remington Gospel Settlement 1898.
—, Buffalo, 282 Babcock Street, Watson House, Trinity Church Settlement.
—, Buffalo, 456 Jefferson Street, Zion House.
—, Buffalo, 404 Seneca Street, Welcome Hall, 1894.
—, Buffalo, 424 Adams Street, Westminster House, 1894.
—, New York City, 283 Rivington Street, Alfred Corning Clark Neighborhood House, 1899.
—, —, 312 West Fifty-fourth Street, Amity Church Settlement, 1896.
—, —, 161 Avenue A, Boys' Club, 1899.
—, —, 147 Avenue B, Christodora House, 1897.
—, —, 129 Chrystie, Chrystie Street House.
—, —, 95 Rivington Street, College Settlement, 1899.
—, —, 300 Madison Street, Down-Town Ethical Society.
—, —, 540 East Seventy-sixth Street, East Side House Settlement, 1891.
—, —, 321 East 116th Street, East Side House of the Harlem Young Women's Christian Association.
—, —, 197 East Broadway, The Educational Alliance.
—, —, 130 Stanton Street, Epiphany Chapel, 1892.
—, —, 216 East 128th Street, Frank Bottome Memorial, 1900.
—, —, 353 West Seventeenth Street, Gordon House, 1901.
—, —, 211 Clinton Street, Gospel Settlement, 1897.
—, —, 414 East Fourteenth Street, Grace Church Settlement, 1895.
—, —, 26 Jones Street, Greenwich House, 1902.
—, —, 15 Hamilton Street, Hamilton House.
—, —, 413 West Forty-sixth Street, Hartley House, 1897.
—, —, 265 Henry Street, Henry Street Settlement, 1893.

New York, New York City, 48–50 Henry Street, Jacob A. Riis Neighborhood Settlement, 1890.
—, —, 252 West Twenty-sixth Street, Hudson Guild.
—, —, 432 Third Avenue, Madison Square Church House, 1886.
—, —, 55 East Third Street, Music School Settlement.
—, —, 446 East Seventy-second Street, Normal College Alumnæ House, 1894.
—, —, 28 Macdougal Street, Richmond Hill House, 1903.
—, —, 259 West Sixty-ninth Street, Riverside Association, 1892.
—, —, 94 Lawrence Street, Speyer School.
—, —, 244 Spring Street, Spring Street Church Neighborhood House, 1900.
—, —, 257 East Seventy-first Street, St. Rose's Settlement.
—, —, 126 White Street, Sunshine Settlement, 1900.
—, —, 237 East 104th Street, Union Settlement.
—, —, 184 Eldridge Street, University Settlement, 1886.
—, —, 501 West Fiftieth Street, West Side Neighborhood House, 1898.
—, —, 460 West Forty-fourth Street, Young Women's Christian Association, West Side Settlement.
—, —, 92 Cherry Street, Women's Palace.
—, Rochester, 152 Baden Street, Social Settlement.
—, Yonkers, 11 Jefferson Street, Prospect House Settlement.
North Carolina, Ashville, R. F. D. No. 1, Log Cabin Settlement, 1895.
Ohio, Cincinnati, 415 Clinton Street, The Jewish Settlement.
—, —, 308 East Front Street, Union Bethel Settlement, 1901.
—, —, 224 West Liberty, University Settlement, 1899.
—, Cleveland, Mayfield Road, Alta Social Settlement, 1895.
—, —, 300 Woodland Avenue, Council Educational Alliance.
—, —, 68 St. Clair Avenue, Goodrich Social Settlement, 1897.
—, —, 2723 Orange Avenue, Hiram House, 1896.
—, —, 1523 East Fifty-fifth Street, The Eleanor B. Rainey Memorial Institute.
—, Columbus, 468–474 West Goodale Street, First Neighborhood Guild, 1897.
—, —, 24 West First Street, Social Settlement.
—, —, 511 West Broad Street, West Side Settlement.
—, Toledo, 3146 Summit Avenue, North Toledo, Social Center.
Pennsylvania, Allegheny, Petrel Street, Wood's Run Industrial House, 1904.
—, Philadelphia, 429–435 Christian Street and 502 South Front Street, College Settlement, 1892.
—, —, 922 Locust Street, Eighth Ward Settlement, 1894.
—, —, 140 Lehigh Avenue, Lighthouse.
—, —, 618 Addison Street, Neighborhood House, 1893.
—, —, 725 Lombard Street, Starr Center Neighborhood, 1884.
—, —, Front and Ellsworth Streets, Southwark Neighborhood House, 1906.
—, —, Twenty-sixth and Lombard Streets, University Christian Settlement.
—, —, Eighth Street and Snyder Avenue, St. Martha's House, 1901.
—, —, 422 Bainbridge Street, Young Women's Union.
—, Pittsburg, 1835 Center Avenue, Columbian Council School Settlement, 1900.
—, —, 3 Fulton Street, Kingsley House, 1893.
—, —, 2404 Fifth Avenue, Soho Bathe Settlement House.
Texas, Dallas, 125 Cedar Springs Road, Neighborhood House.
Virginia, Hampton, 320 Locust Street, King's Daughters Settlement.
—, Richmond, 108 North Seventh Street, Nurses' Settlement.
Wisconsin, Milwaukee, 499 Fifth Street, "The Settlement," 1900.
—, 861 First Avenue, Wisconsin University Settlement.

Great Britain

(From the *Reformer's Year Book*, 1907)

London, Bermondsey Women's Settlement, 149 Lower Road, Rotherhiteh, S. E., 1889.
—, Bermondsey Settlement, Farncombe Street, S. E., 1891.
—, British Institute of Social Service, 11 Southampton Row, W. C. (Library, etc.).
—, Browning Hall, York Street, Walworth, S. E., 1894.
—, Cambridge House, Camberwell Road, S. E., 1897.
—, Canning Town Women's Settlement, Barking Road, E., 1892.
—, Chalfont House, 20 Queen Square, W. C., 1893.
—, Deptford Fund, 24 Buckingham Palace Road, S. W.
—, Felstead School Mission, Custom House.
—, Conville and Caius College Settlement, Harroway Road.
—, Lady Margaret Hall Settlement, 129 Kennington Road, S. E., 1897.
—, Mansfield House, Canning Town, E., 1890.
—, Maurice Hostel, 64–66 Britannia Street, City Road (men).
London, Maurice Hostel, Women's House, 51–52 Herbert Street, N., 1898.
—, Morley College, 131 Waterloo Road, S. E.
—, North London Ladies Settlement, York House, 37 Hartham Road, Holloway, N., 1893.
—, Oxford House, Snape Street, Bethnal Green, E., 1885.
—, Passmore Edwards Settlement, Tavistock Place, 1897.
—, Presbyterian Women's Settlement, 56 East India Dock Road, E.
—, St. Helen's House, The Grove, Stratford, E.
—, St. Hilda's East, Cheltenham, College Settlement, Old Nicholl Street, Bethnal Green, E., 1889.
—, St. Margaret's House (branch of Oxford House), 21 Old Ford Road, Bethnal Green, E., 1889.
—, St. Mildred's House, Millwall, Isle of Dogs, E., 1897.
—, St. Pancras Ethical Society, 19 Dartmouth Park Hill, N. W.
—, Talbot House Women's Settlement, 48 Addington Square, Camberwell.
—, Toynbee Hall, 28 Commercial Street, E., 1885.
—, United Girls School Settlement, 19 Peckham Road, S. E.
—, Women Workers' College (Grey Ladies), Dartmouth Row, Blackheath, S. E.
—, Women's University Settlement, 45 Nelson Square, Blackfriars Road, 1887.
—, Working Women's College, Fitzroy Square, W.
Birmingham, Women's Settlement, 318 Summer Lane.
Bradford, United College Settlement.
Bristol, Broad Plain House, St. Philip's, 1891.
Cardiff, University Settlement, Walker Road, E. Moor.
Chesterfield, The Settlement, Church Lane.
Darlington, The Ladies' Settlement.
Edinburgh, New College Settlement, Pleasaunce, 1905.
Edinburgh, University Settlement Association, 13 Rutland Street, 1887.
Dundee, Social Union Settlement, Grey Lodge, Wellington Street.
Edinburgh, Town and Gown Association, 21 Rutland Street.
Glasgow, Toynbee House, Cathedral Court, Rotten Row, 1886.
—, University Students' Settlement, 10 Possil Road, 1889.
—, Broomielaw Free Church College Mission, 52 Carrick Street, Anderston.
—, Queen Margaret Settlement, 75 Elliot Street, Anderston.
Ipswich, Social Settlement, 133–135 Fore Street, 1896.
Liverpool, Victoria Women's Settlement, 294 Netherfield Road, N.
Manchester, Lancs. College Settlement, Embden Street, Hulme, 1895.
—, Art Museum and University Settlement, 200 Every Street, Ancoats, 1895.
—, Art Museum and University Settlement (Women's House).
—, Ladies' Church House, 117 Rusholme Road.
Middlesbrough, Congregational Women's Settlement.
Stoke-on-Trent, Women's Settlement, Fenton House.

SHACKLETON, DAVID JAMES: English Labor M. P.; born 1863, in Rosendale. Mr. Shackleton is a weaver and active trade-unionist. He was elected to Parliament for the Clitheroe Division of Lancashire in 1902. He is vice-chairman of the Labor Party in the House of Commons, and president of the Northern Counties Weavers' Amalgamation; and member of the Legislative Council of the Textile Factory Workers' Association. He is chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade-Union Congress. Member also of the Blackburn Chamber of Commerce. *Address:* 51, London Terrace, Darwen, Lancashire, England.

SHAFTESBURY, ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER, SEVENTH EARL OF: "The Workingman's Friend"; born in London, 1801. Educated at Chiswick, Eton, and Oxford, where he took a first class in classics in 1822. Entered Parliament in 1826, representing Woodstock 1826–30, Dorchester 1830–31, Dorset 1833–46, and Bath 1847–51. He supported the administrations of Liverpool and Canning; commissioner of the India Board of Control (1828), Lord of the Admiralty under Peel. He succeeded his father in the peerage in 1851. Altho a Tory, he was independent. Commenced public labors for reform in 1828 by his speech on the barbarous treatment of lunatics, and was mainly influential as chairman of the Lunacy Commission in securing the bill which has been called "the Magna Charta of the liber-

ties of the insane." By 1833 he became, largely through the influence of Oastler (*q. v.*), the acknowledged parliamentary champion of factory legislation (*q. v.*); costing him political preferment, but earning him the title of "The Workingman's Friend." Worked incessantly in the ten-hours movement. Made numerous personal investigations of factories and factory life; and his revelations caused all England to shudder. The Children's Employment Commissions of 1842–43 were mainly due to him. He secured the passage of the Factory Act of 1844 and the famous Ten-Hour Act of 1847. Evangelical of the Evangelicals, he incurred opprobrium, contempt, and misrepresentation, yet was president of numerous Bible societies and head of the so-called Exeter Hall school of Low Churchmen. He was an active opponent of slavery throughout the world till his death in 1885.

SHAKERS is the name commonly given to a religious community of people in the United States. Their official name is United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing. The name Shakers was applied to their forerunners and successors of the French Prophets, under the ministration of James and Jane Wardley, Quakers of Bolton, England, because of the shaking of their bodies by the power of God in their seasons for worship.

It was accepted because appropriate to the work God promised to do in the latter day. "In that day, there shall be a great shaking in the land of Israel. All men upon the face of the earth shall shake in my presence." (Ezek. 38:20; Joel 3:16.) "I will shake all nations and the desire of all nations shall come." (Hag. 2:6.) Also because the Spirit that inspired the prophets, said the shaking of their bodies was a sign that He was now going to do what He had foretold in His word, and what they were sent before to warn of, to wit: "He is coming to shake terribly the earth —to shake not only earth but heaven also, and to make the hearts of sinners fear and tremble more than the bodies of His messengers do now." (London, 1708. Pamphlet 2,516, New York State Library. See Heb. 12:26.)

The founder of this brotherhood and sisterhood, in whom the Shakers believe that Christ has made his second appearing, was an Englishwoman named Ann Lee, a native of Manchester, to whom, after a labor of twelve days and nights, to know how creation was fallen and how the restoration should take place, Christ appeared in His kingdom and glory, and revealed the depth of man's loss, what it was, and the way of redemption. This was in the summer of 1770, ten years after she had joined the Society of the Wardleys, which had already received the name Shakers.

From this time onward Ann became the acknowledged leader of the society. Her testimony cutting off the carnal union between male and female, demanding pure sex relations, reduced, however, their number from about 300 to 30. Ann said she joined that society about the year 1760, at 23 or 24 years of age. She was a married woman, in the vigor and prime of life, had a robust constitution, and had four children (all of whom died in infancy). In her younger days, even while a child, she had an utter hatred of that nature which leads mankind to works of uncleanness. She made this known to her parents, many times, but having the same nature as others, and no one to support her innate principle, after she grew up, she declined and became, for a time, a prey to the Destroyer.

She said further:

> "God created my soul in innocence, but by sinning against His holy commandments, I was defiled and abominable in His sight. While in that state, God was pleased to call my soul by the Gospel. I was wrought upon by the power of the Holy Spirit, to see and feel the depth of my loss, and by the same power, I was enabled to travel out of it." Concerning her interview with the Lord Jesus, she says: "Then I was made able to hear an open testimony against that sin which is the root of all evil, and I felt the power of God flow in my soul like a fountain of living water. From that day to this, I have taken up a full cross against the doleful works of the flesh."

As the first man was not complete till woman was created and placed in her proper order as his chief helper and coworker, so also with Him that was to come. The Lord from heaven, the life-giving Spirit, was not completely revealed, till the new woman was created on the same spiritual plane, in the likeness of the Eternal Mother, and had traveled to her lot to personate the Bride of the Lamb, and reveal the Mother in Deity, as Jesus personated the Bridegroom and revealed the Father. Less than this destroys semblance between type and antitype. God is Father and Mother—and Christ is Father and Mother in Son and Daughter.

Quakers, French Prophets, and the Wardleys all prophesied of the second coming of Christ to set up his everlasting kingdom, as near at hand, and the destruction of the kingdom of Antichrist, and all the corrupt systems of men—and the fulfilment of ancient prophecy concerning the marriage of the Lamb, and descent of the New Jerusalem. Ann of course became imbued with the same thought, but her first travail was for her own redemption and purification from the nature of evil.

Ann was born Feb. 29, 1736. Her father, John Lee, was a blacksmith, and had eight children. One of these united with her, threw up his commission as an officer in the king's guards, and earned support at blacksmithing. He traveled with her and was a strong support till the end of earth's trials. Ann lived in the house with her father, till she embarked for America. She grew up at work, and without schooling in books. She was patient, industrious, neat, and frugal, and taught her followers to practise the same. An instruction of hers, often repeated by her disciples, was: "Put your hands to work and give your heart to God." She did not profess to teach a new doctrine, i. e., a different one from the teachings of Christ as recorded in the New Testament, but directed her hearers to Him as the true guide and enlightener, and example for all to follow.

Altho violently assaulted a number of times in England, and afterward in America, with apparent intent to kill, and tho her followers were roughly handled in both countries, it was not to escape persecution that she came to America. Persecution had ceased in England nearly two years before she came. It was because the people there were not sufficiently disenthralled to receive her testimony. Ann was directed by revelation to come to America, where she saw the future increase of the work, among a people she was told would be prepared to receive her testimony.

Nine persons, including Abraham Stanley, her husband, embarked on a condemned ship, the *Mariah*, in 1774. When told that the vessel was

condemned, Mother Ann said, "God will not condemn it when we are in it." They landed safely in New York Aug. 6th, after being, as they believed, miraculously saved, and immediately sought employment. Ann remained in New York, a man having employed her husband at blacksmithing. Stanley, however, about a year after, began to oppose her views and deserted her in 1775, and we hear no more of him.

John Hocknell was the only man of wealth among her group of followers. It was his means that enabled them to emigrate, and they now leased a tract of land in the wilderness of Watervliet, seven miles northwest of Albany, N. Y., where they settled in 1776. Here they toiled to clear the land, build houses, and lay in stores for the anticipated increase. In the spring of 1780 the news spread among a people prepared in eastern New York and New England, of a strange people having a strange religion, living in the woods, near Albany. Converts were made.

The first public testimony of the everlasting Gospel, preached in America, was on the well-known dark day of May 19, 1780. In 1781 Ann made a missionary tour through New England and elsewhere. In six years' time nearly 3,000 people embraced the testimony and came to judgment, confessing and righting their wrongs. Mother Ann died in 1784, but her successors, Joseph Meacham and Lucy Wright, began, in 1793, to organize the believers into families on a communal basis, after the example of the Primitive Church at Jerusalem, but with increase, giving woman equal place, honors, office, rights and privileges with the man. The work of organizing all the families occupied five or six years, or till 1793.

The earliest census known to the writer is dated 1803. The number of the fraternity at that time was 1,632, in eleven societies—two in Maine, two in New Hampshire, four in Massachusetts, one in Connecticut, and two in New York. In 1805 three missionaries were sent from Mt. Lebanon to the subjects of the Kentucky revival. Later more laborers were sent, both brethren and sisters, perhaps twenty in all, and five new societies were established—two in Ohio, two in Kentucky, and one in Indiana, afterward broken up on account of unhealthy location, the people moving to other societies.

By 1830 believers had increased threefold; two more societies were established in Ohio, and one in New York. In 1896 a family was settled on a tract of land in Osceola County, Florida; a few colonies have since been given up, but there are still fifteen societies or settlements, comprizing twenty-seven family communities, and numbering near 700 people.

Their number when largest, from 1838 to 1845, was about 4,000. From 1837 to 1850 a marvelous spiritual outpouring and visitation of spirits caused a deep and lasting spiritual revival in all the societies. Mother Ann and her colaborers and successors in the ministry and eldership appeared to be the conductors of it fifty-three years after she left the mortal body. They came to awaken the people—to purge out disorder and slackness—to plant faith in the young, of whom there was a large company, and to baptize them with spiritual gifts and power from on high. They did not come to take the lead, but to help the elders, and to reestablish Christian order as it was in the beginning, and prepare for the Gospel to go forth to mankind.

Sept. 21, 1850, one inspired Harriet (Goodwin), in the name of Mother Ann, testified that at that time the power of evil was more bound, and less able to act against the work of God than ever before. That the inhabitants of Zion stood in a more purified and justified state than they did before, and the prevailing feeling was united to keep the Gospel. The declared purpose of the Spirit was in a degree accomplished. Many were baptized with a holy Spirit and became pillars, who but for that work would have remained of the earth, earthy, fulfilling the desires of the natural mind. This was done while many were in the body who received their faith from Mother Ann and her helpers, William, James, and John. She could prove by them, it was her that spoke through the lips of the young who were not born, nor their parents, when Mother Ann passed out of the body. However, a wave of caviling infidelity and disbelief in spiritual gifts followed and swept many from the ranks.

After the close of 1851 those who remained of the first believers passed away very fast, and from that day to this there has been a steady decline in the number forming the visible body.

Elder James Whittaker, her principal preacher, who succeeded her in the ministry, died in 1787, aged 36. He was succeeded by Elder Joseph Meacham, born in Enfield, Conn. He passed on, in 1796, aged 54. All these, and Elder John Hocknell, who passed on in 1799, aged 76, were spirit seers, prophets, and had visions of the heavenly world. After Joseph Meacham, Mother Lucy Wright, who was chosen Leader of the Sisterhood from 1787, guided the people through their great increase till 1821, when she passed on at the age of 61. After that Ebenezer Bishop, Rufus Bishop, Ruth Landon, and Ascenath Clark were the first ministry till 1849. Elder Ebenezer passed on in 1849, Ruth Landon in 1850, and Rufus Bishop in 1852. After some changes, Daniel Boler and Giles Avery, Betsy Bates, and Eliza Ann Taylor, led the people till 1890. Present leaders are Joseph Holden, Harriet Bullard, and Augusta Stone. They divide their time between Mt. Lebanon, Watervliet, Hancock, and Enfield, Conn., Elder Joseph giving most of his time to Shirley and Hancock.

A. G. Hollister,
Mt. Lebanon, Columbia Co., N. Y.

There are now some fifteen societies, located in New York, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Ohio, Kentucky, Connecticut, and Maine. Each society is constituted of several families, each family being a community in itself, having its own lands, buildings, and business. In Mt. Lebanon, N. Y., their largest community, there are several families, made up of 150 persons, including thirty-five boys and girls. This has been the home of Elder Frederick W. Evans, the best known of the Shakers. The other societies are made up in about the same ratio as the one at Mt. Lebanon.

The capital of all the communities is mostly in land. Originally the communities invested their surplus income in land; now they are selling it off as fast as they can find purchasers. For many years broom-making, gardening, seed business, medicines, etc., were profitable industries. One of their number says the income of all the communities does not any more than balance the expenditures in taxes, repairs, living, com-

forts, and improvements; but that having good simple food and hygienic clothing, with useful buildings supplied with modern conveniences in heating, lighting, sanitation, and hygiene, they have a heaven upon earth, and are therewith content.

Their society is recruited mostly by young men and girls, but occasionally married persons with their children come "into union." Husbands and wives, when they have come "into union," become as brothers and sisters. The education of the children attached to the society is the work of the sisters. The brothers and sisters take their meals in a common room, eating at six in the morning, at noon, and at six in the afternoon. Their meals are taken in silence, any direction that has to be given being given by a gesture or in a whisper. In their church service music bears a prominent part, the hymns and chants which are used being all of Shaker origin, communicated to believers in dreams and reveries by the spirits with whom they have communion.

REFERENCES: *The Manifesto*, a paper published by the Shakers at East Canterbury, N. H.; *The Concise History of Shakers* (East Canterbury, N. H., 1894); *Precepts of Mother Ann, Christ's Second Appearing*, Shaker documents.

SHAW, ALBERT: Editor *American Review of Reviews*; lecturer and publicist; born in 1857, at Shandon, Iowa. Educated at Grinnell and Iowa Colleges, Iowa (1879), took postgraduate work at Johns Hopkins University, where he studied history and political science, and received the degree of Ph.D. in 1884, LL.D. University of Wisconsin, 1904. For a time he was editorial writer on *The Minneapolis Tribune* (1883–86), and studied in Europe, 1888–89. In 1891, associated with W. T. Stead, he established and has since edited *The American Review of Reviews*. He has lectured in many universities, colleges, and clubs on political topics, and is a member of numerous scientific societies and clubs—literary and political. He is author of "Icaria" (*q. v.*), 1884; "Cooperation in the Northwest" (1888); "Municipal Government in Great Britain" (1895); "Municipal Government in Continental Europe" (1895); "Political Problems of American Development" (1907); "The Outlook for the Average Man (1907); edited *The National Revenues* (1888), and has written numerous essays on political and economical topics, and on municipal ownership. *Address*: 13 Astor Place, New York City.

SHAW, GEORGE BERNARD: Author, critic, playwright, Socialist; born in Dublin, 1856. In 1876 he settled in London and wrote four novels, "The Irrational Knot," "Love Among the Artists," "Cashel Byron's Confession," and "An Unsocial Socialist." In 1884 he joined the Fabian Society (*q. v.*), one of its earliest members, and has continued active in its management to the present, editing and contributing to "The Fabian Essays," whilst writing criticisms of painting, music, the drama and literature continuously for the press and lecturing in the evenings on socialism. He has since 1892 written fifteen plays, which have been translated into eighteen languages, and performed with success in most of them. "Mrs. Warren's Profession" is perhaps, the best known instance of his method of substituting the collective guilt of society for individual delinquency in motiving his pieces. That he is serious in his socialism and has put much of it into his plays, those who know him best have no question. His religious and political philosophy is to be found in the prefaces of his plays—notably "Man and Superman" and in such essays as "The Quintessence of Ibsenism" (1891) and "The Perfect Wagnerite" (1898). *Address*: 10 Adelphi Terrace, W. C., London, England.

SHEARMAN, THOMAS GASKELL: Lawyer and political economist; born in 1834 at Birmingham, England. He came to the United States in 1843, and was admitted to the bar in 1859, but did not practise until 1868, devoting himself meanwhile to writing on law. In 1874 he defended Henry Ward Beecher against Theodore Tilton. He belonged to the Republican Party except during 1884–96, but was all the time a free trader, opposer of indirect taxation, and believer in the single tax. Died 1900. He was author of (books and articles) "Talks on Free Trade" (1881); "Distribution of Wealth" (1887); "Owners of the U. S." (1889); "The Coming Billionaire" (1890); "Crooked Taxation" (1891); "Taxation of Personal Property" (1895).

SHERWELL, ARTHUR: Author; social reformer; born London, England, 1863. For a few years a minister in the Wesleyan Church, for theological reasons he resigned, and has since devoted himself exclusively to the study of social questions. Has traveled extensively and investigated social conditions in various countries. In recent years, collaborating with Mr. Joseph Rowntree, he has devoted much time to a study of the social and legislative aspects of the temperance question. Mr. Sherwell is an advanced social reformer and in full sympathy with the labor movement, but insists that the social problem is not a mere question of poverty or overcrowding or unemployment, but of the development of man. He holds that social progress can only spring from the release and development of latent forces in human nature and that everything that hinders this release and development is necessarily a fundamental problem of politics. Author: "Life in West London"; "Social Settlements and the Labor Movement." Joint author of "The Taxation of the Liquor Trade"; "Public Control of the Liquor Traffic"; "The Temperance Problem and Social Reform," etc. *Address*: Crossways House, Lower Kingswood, Reigate, England.

SHIBLEY, GEORGE H.: Sociologist; born 1861, Randall, Wis.; studied law in Chicago; admitted to Illinois bar 1887; took special courses at University of Chicago 1893–95; student and writer on monopoly problem, the initiative and referendum; founded Bureau of Economic Research in 1899; and, in 1902, the National Federation for People's Rule. Mr. Shibley believes that the people should seek to terminate "machine rule" by reestablishing a system by which they can vote directly on legislative issues. The people's rule reestablished, they can vote as they choose; as, for example, is being done in Oregon, in Los Angeles, and in other places. Author: "Elements of Law"; "Money Question"; "The Monopoly Question"; "Outline of Social Evolution"; "The University and Social Problems"; "The Trust Problem Solved"; "Guarded Representative Government." *Address*: Bliss Building, Washington, D. C.

SHIPPING: The following table of the merchant marine of the world is taken from the "Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich," 1906:

Countries	Year	Sailing Vessels		Steamships		Total[1]	
		Number	Registered tons	Number	Registered tons	Number	Registered tons
German Empire	1905	2,567	578,503	1,657	1,774,072	4,224	2,352,575
Russia	1902	2,378	272,511	810	391,697	3,188	664,208
Finland	1903	2,365	285,463	322	55,019	2,687	340,482
Sweden	1903	1,983	271,852	987	375,999	2,970	647,851
Norway	1904	5,756	826,744	1,472	656,930	7,228	1,483,674
Denmark	1904	3,456	153,118	592	320,291	4,048	473,409
Great Britain and Ireland	1904	10,037	1,785,387	10,336	8,745,674	20,373	10,531,061
Isle of Man and Channel Islands	1004	173	17,280	34	6,179	207	23,459
British possessions	1904	12,124	926,941	4,351	674,640	16,475	1,601,581
British Empire	1904	22,334	2,729,608	14,721	9,426,493	37,055	12,156,101
Holland	1903	439	57,826	268	337,470	707	395,296
Belgium	1904	4	2,844	65	99,893	69	102,737
France	1904	15,057	653,268	1,457	696,059	16,514	1,349,327
Spain	1900	549	95,187	502	679,392	1,051	774,579
Italy	1902	5,205	570,403	485	448,404	5,690	1,018,807
Austria	1904	1,478	28,365	243	262,358	1,721	290,723
Hungary	1903	101	5,438	90	86,073	191	91,511
United States	1905	15,784	brutto 2,715,049	8,897	brutto 3,741,494	24,681	brutto 6,456,543
Japan[2]	1903	3,934	netto 327,150	1,570	netto 662,462	5,504	netto 989,612

[1] The smaller vessels, sail or steam, are not included; but the difference of "small" varies somewhat, e. g., Belgium and Spain do not report vessels under fifty tons, the U. S. omit those under five tons.
[2] The ships include only those built after European patterns.

SIDGWICK, HENRY: Political economist; born Skipton, Yorkshire, England, 1838; educated at Rugby and at Trinity College, Cambridge. Became a fellow and lecturer of his college in 1859; he resigned the fellowship in 1869 on account of the conditions of religious belief then attached to fellowships; in 1870 was active in establishing academic instruction for women in Cambridge. Appointed professor prelector of moral philosophy at Trinity College in 1875, and Knightsbridge professor of moral philosophy in the University of Cambridge in 1883. He has contributed to periodical literature many articles on philosophical and economical subjects. In his philosophical works he seeks to reconcile lines of thought previously regarded as antagonistic; in ethics to reconcile intuitionism and utilitarianism. In political economy his endeavor was to find the right compromise between, or combination of, the traditional deductive method of English political economy and the views of the men sometimes called Socialists of the Chair, predominant in Germany. Died in 1900. Author: "Methods of Ethics"; the "Principles of Political Economy"; "Outlines of the History of Ethics"; "Elements of Politics."

SIEGFRIED, JULES: Member of the French Chamber of Deputies; born 1837 at Mulhouse, Alsace. Engaged in the cotton business at Mulhouse, then at Bombay and Havre, where he developed a large trade, especially during the American War. During the Franco-German War he entered political life, becoming adjoint to the Mayor of Havre—a position he held from 1871 to 1878. Mayor of Havre from 1878 to 1885, in which office he made a great reputation as an active, energetic administrator and bold reformer. In 1885 appointed deputy to the Lower House, and in the Ribot ministry, 1892, was Minister of Commerce. Elected to the Senate in 1897. In 1902 was again elected to his seat in the Lower House. Mr. Siegfried is one of the prominent social reformers in France. President of the *Musée Social*, and framer of the Law on Cheap Dwellings, often called the "Siegfried Law." A Republican and a supporter of the policy represented by the Left side of the House of Deputies, and, tho a believer in individual effort, M. Siegfried in social matters has in many cases given his support to the intervention of the State. Author of the book "La Misère," which has been crowned by the French Academy; also of numerous pamphlets on social questions. *Address*: 226 Boulevard Saint Germain, Paris, France.

SIMONS, ALGIE MARTIN: Socialist; editor; born 1870, North Freedom, Wis. Graduated from University of Wisconsin, 1895, with honors in economics; 1895–9 was engaged in social settlement and associated charity work. Mr. Simons has been for some years editor of the *International Socialist Review*. He is a professed adherent of the principles of international Marxian socialism. Author: "The American Farmer"; "Class Struggles in America"; "The Man Under the Machine"; "Packington," and many pamphlets and minor articles. *Address*: Gladstone Apartments, Evanston, Ill.

SINCLAIR, UPTON: Socialist; author; born 1878, Baltimore, Md.; educated at College of City of New York and Columbia University. During the years 1905–6 he conducted a personal and thorough investigation into the actual conditions of the packing industry of Chicago and wrote a novel about it, "The Jungle." The book made such a stir that President Roosevelt was moved to institute an investigation into the matter which has resulted in a radical reform in the meat-inspection laws. Mr. Sinclair is a member of the Socialist Party and is in full sympathy with the international revolutionary Socialist movement. Latterly he has founded Helicon Hall (*q. v.*). Author: "The Industrial Republic"; "The Overman"; "The Jungle"; "The Metropolis." *Address*: Box 2064, New York City.

SINGER, PAUL: Socialist and manufacturer; born Jan. 16, 1844, in Berlin; in 1858 he was apprenticed to a merchant; in 1869 he and his brother established a factory for women's cloaks. He left the *Fortschritts Partei* in 1870, and turned Socialist. He has been a member of the Reichstag since 1884 as a Socialist. Since 1887 he has devoted his entire time and means to agitation in behalf of social democracy, and, with Bebel, is one of the chairmen of the central committee of the party. He has also been a member of the municipal board of Berlin since 1884. *Address*: Lindenstrasse, 44, Berlin, S. W., Germany.

SINGLE TAX, THE: A statement of the fundamental principles of the reform bearing the name of the Single Tax, and prepared for the *Financial Reform Almanack* of England, for the year 1891, by the great apostle of the movement, Henry George, is herewith presented. For a necessarily brief exposition, nothing more comprehensive and authoritative has been written. Speaking for himself and his associates, Mr. George says:

"We propose to abolish all taxes save one single tax levied on the value of land, irrespective of the value of improvements in or on it.

"What we propose is not a tax on real estate, for real estate includes improvements. Nor is it a tax on land, for we would not tax all land, but only land having a value irrespective of its improvements, and would tax that in proportion to that value.

"Our tax involves the imposition of no new tax, since we already tax land values in taxing real estate. To carry it out we have only to abolish all taxes save the tax on real estate and to abolish all of that which now falls on buildings or improvements, leaving only that part of it which now falls on the value of the bare land. This we would increase so as to take as nearly as may be the whole of the economic rent, or what is sometimes styled the 'unearned increment of land values.'

"That the value of land alone would suffice to provide all needed public revenues—municipal, county, and national—there is no doubt. To show briefly why we urge this change, let me treat (1) of its expediency and (2) of its justice.

Expediency

"(1) It would dispense with a whole army of tax-gatherers and other officials which present taxes require, and place in the treasury a much larger proportion of what is taken from the people, while, by making government simpler and cheaper, it would make it purer. It would get rid of taxes which necessarily promote fraud, perjury, bribery, and corruption; which lead men into temptation, and which tax what the nation can least afford to spare—honesty and conscience. Since land lies out of doors and cannot be removed, and its value is the most readily ascertained of all values, the tax to which we would resort can be collected with the minimum of cost and the least strain upon public morals.

"It would enormously increase the production of wealth:

"A. By the removal of the burdens that now weigh upon industry and thrift. If we tax houses, there will be fewer and poorer houses; if we tax machinery, there will be less machinery; if we tax trade, there will be less trade; if we tax capital, there will be less capital; if we tax savings, there will be less savings. All the taxes, therefore, that we would abolish are taxes that repress industry and lessen wealth. But if we tax land values, there will be no less land.

"B. On the contrary, the taxation of land values has the effect of making land more easily available by industry, since it makes it more difficult for owners of valuable land, which they themselves do not care to use, to hold it idle for a larger future price. While the abolition of taxes on labor and the products of labor would free the active element of production, the taxing of land values in taxation would free the passive element by destroying speculative land values and preventing the holding out of use of land needed for use. If any one will but look around to-day and see the unused or but half-used land, the idle labor, the unemployed or poorly employed capital, he will get some idea of how enormous would be the production of wealth were all the forces of production free to engage.

"C. The taxation of the processes and products of labor on the one hand, and the insufficient taxation of land values on the other, produces an unjust distribution of wealth which is building up in the hands of a few fortunes more monstrous than the world has ever before seen, while the masses of our people are steadily becoming relatively poorer. These taxes necessarily fall on the poor more heavily than on the rich; by increasing prices, they necessitate larger capital in all businesses, and consequently give an advantage to large capitals; and they give, and in some cases are designed to give, special advantages and monopolies to combinations and trusts. On the other hand, the insufficient taxation of land values enables men to make large fortunes by land speculation and the increase in ground values—fortunes which do not represent any addition by them to the general wealth of the community, but merely the appropriation by some of what the labor of others creates.

"This unjust distribution of wealth develops on the one hand a class idle and wasteful, because they are too rich, and on the other hand a class idle and wasteful, because they are too poor—it deprives men of capital and opportunities which would make them more efficient producers. It thus greatly diminishes production.

"D. The unjust distribution which is giving us the hundredfold millionaire on the one side, and the tramp and the pauper on the other, generates thieves, gamblers, social parasites of all kinds, and requires large expenditure of money and energy in watchmen, policemen, courts, and prisons, and other means of defense and repression. It kindles a greed of gain and a worship of wealth, and produces a bitter struggle for existence which fosters drunkenness, increases insanity, and causes men whose energies ought to be devoted to honest production to spend their time and strength in cheating and grabbing from each other. Besides the moral loss, all this involves an enormous economic loss which the single tax would save.

"E. The taxes we would abolish fall most heavily on the poorer agricultural districts, and thus tend to drive population and wealth from them to the great cities. The tax we would increase would destroy that monopoly of land which is the great cause of that distribution of population which is crowding people too closely together in some places and scattering them too far apart in other places. Families live on top of

one another in cities, because of the enormous speculative prices at which vacant lots are held. In the country they are scattered too far apart for social intercourse and convenience, because, instead of each taking what land he can use, every one who can grabs all he can get, in the hope of profiting by the increase of value, and the next man must pass farther on. Thus we have scores of families living under a single roof, and other families living in dugouts on the prairies afar from neighbors—some living too close to each other for moral, mental, or physical health, and others too far separated for the stimulating and refining influences of society. The waste in health, in mental vigor, and in unnecessary transportation results in great economic losses which the single tax would save.

Justice

"(2) Let us turn to the moral side, and consider the question of justice. The right of property does not rest on human laws; they have often ignored and violated it. It rests on natural laws—that is to say, the law of God. It is clear and absolute, and every violation of it, whether committed by a man or a nation, is a violation of the command, 'Thou shalt not steal.' The man who catches a fish, grows an apple, raises a calf, builds a house, makes a coat, paints a picture, constructs a machine, has, as to any such thing, an exclusive right of ownership, which carries with it the right to give, to sell, or bequeath that thing. But who made the earth that any man can claim such an ownership of it, or any part of it, or the right to give, sell, or bequeath it? Since the earth was not made by us, but is only the temporary dwelling-place on which one generation of men follows another; since we who find ourselves here are manifestly here with the equal permission of the Creator, it is manifest that no one can have any exclusive right of ownership in land, and that the rights of all men to land must be equal and inalienable. There must be an exclusive right to possession of land for one to reap the products of his labor. But this right of possession must be limited by the equal right of all, and should therefore be conditioned on the payment to the community by the possessor of an equivalent for any special valuable privilege thus accorded him.

"When we tax houses, crops, money, furniture, capital, or wealth in any of its forms, we take from individuals what rightfully belongs to them. We violate the right of property, and in the name of the State commit robbery. But when we tax ground values we take from individuals what does not belong to them, but belongs to the community, and which cannot be left to individuals without the robbery of other individuals.

"Think what the value of land is. It has no reference to the cost of production, as has the value of houses, horses, ships, clothes, or other things produced by labor; for land is not produced by man, it has been created by God. The value of land does not come from the exertion of labor on land, for the value thus produced is a value of improvement. That value that attaches to any piece of land means that that piece of land is more desirable than the land which other citizens may obtain, and that people are more willing to pay a premium for permission to use it. Justice, therefore, requires that this premium or value shall be taken for the benefit of all, in order to secure to all their equal rights.

"Consider the difference between the value of a building and the value of land. The value of a building, like the value of goods, or of anything properly styled wealth, is produced by individual exertion, and therefore properly belongs to the individual; but the value of land only arises with the growth and improvement of the community, and therefore properly belongs to the community. It is not because of what its owners have done, but because of the presence of the whole great population, that land in New York is worth millions an acre. This value, therefore, is the proper fund for defraying the common expenses of the whole population; and it must be taken for public use, under penalty of generating land speculation and monopoly, which will bring about artificial scarcity where the Creator has provided in abundance for all whom his providence has called into existence. It is thus a violation of justice to tax labor, or the things produced by labor, and it is also a violation of justice not to tax land values.

"These are the fundamental reasons for which we urge the single tax, believing it to be the greatest and most fundamental of all reforms. We do not think it will change human nature. That man can never do; but it will bring about conditions in which human nature can develop what is best instead of, as now in so many cases, what is worst. It will permit such an enormous production of wealth as we can now hardly conceive. It will secure an equitable distribution. It will solve the labor problem, and dispel the darkening clouds which are now gathering over the horizon of our civilization. It will make undeserved property an unknown thing. It will check the soul-destroying greed of gain. It will enable men to be at least as honest, as true, as considerate, and as high-minded as they would like to be. It will remove temptations to lying, false swearing, bribery, and lawbreaking. It will open to all, even to the poorest, the comforts and refinements and opportunities of an advancing civilization. It will thus, so we reverently believe, clear the way for the coming of that kingdom of right and justice, and consequently of abundance and peace and happiness, for which the Master told his disciples to pray and work. It is not because it is a promising invention or cunning device that we look for the single tax to do all this; it is because it involves a conforming of the most fundamental adjustments of society to the supreme law of justice, because it involves the basing of the most important of our laws on the principle that we should do to others as we would be done by."

Historical Development

Although the present political and social agitation of the land question, now active and increasing in every nation where representative government exists, dates only from the year 1879, when Henry George, the unknown California printer, published his great work, "Progress and Poverty," the primary principles had been already recognized and enunciated by statesmen and thinkers. First among these were the famous physiocrats, to whom Mr. George dedicates his book on "Protection or Free Trade," as follows: "To the memory of those illustrious Frenchmen of a century ago, Quesnay, Turgot, Mirabeau, Condorcet, Dupont, and their fellows, who in the night of despotism foresaw the glories of the coming day."

These economists were far in advance of Adam Smith, desiring the abolition not only of protective duties but all taxes direct or indirect, except a single tax upon land values. In England the true philosophical statement of "The Right to the Use of the Earth" was first popularly presented by Herbert Spencer, in the famous ninth chapter of his work on "Social Statics," published in 1850. At that time the practical applications of the principles enunciated seemed infinitely remote, and were treated as interesting abstract speculations. Since the publication, however, of "Progress and Poverty," which brought the question of land monopoly into a practical relation with politics, making it "a burning question," Mr. Spencer has taken occasion, in his latest volume of "Justice," to modify and apologize for his early utterances. Nevertheless, the original statement stands and will continue to stand as the most complete ethical expression of the subject yet formulated. For a comprehensive consideration of Herbert Spencer's change of attitude, the reader is referred to "A Perplexed Philosopher," by Henry George (1892).

Others also of less note had discerned and enunciated the principle underlying the single tax, but it remained for the author of "Progress and Poverty," by that work of genius, to compel the world's attention to it. For a succinct and orderly idea of the origin and phenomenal growth of the organized single-tax movement, the reader is referred to the files of *The Standard* of New York, whose publication, beginning Jan. 9, 1887, and ending Aug. 31, 1892, covers the pioneer period. Its continuance was not deemed essential, for the reason that the press of the country could no longer avoid the discussion. In its place several journals in different parts of the country now (1894) devote themselves exclusively to the single-tax propaganda.

The ethical statement of the reform seldom meets with objection. It cannot be denied that justice demands equal access to natural opportunity for all human beings who must live upon this earth. It is indisputable that land is a bounty of the Creator and not the product of man; and that all wealth is derived from land by the application of man's labor. This truth once granted, it follows logically that land must be separated from wealth, altho law and custom have mixed the two, confusing private property with natural opportunity. The distinction is clear and simple. What the individual makes is his. What nature supplies is the birthright of all. Hence, land ceases to be rightfully private property. It is for use, not for ownership. The single tax has the distinction of pointing out how, without disturbing existing titles, or weakening possession, or lessening security, justice may be done impartially. Access to land being a common right, private monopoly is a universal wrong, unless the user pays the community for the privilege. As sites vary in desirability, grading from those which are now useless to the New York lot which recently sold at the rate of $15,000,000 per acre, the difference is distinguished as rent, a value created by the growth of the community and the demand for special situations. This preferential difference, or economic rent, made by and belonging to the people, is a natural fund ample to sustain necessary government. By every one who uses land paying a proper rental for the privilege—not to the landlord, who now claims it, but to the government, who dispenses it for the general good—substantial equity is secured.

Objections Answered

The objections urged against the single tax are various, beginning with an expression of doubt concerning its beneficent working, and ending with the charge of confiscation. Granting that exact results are beyond human power of prediction, it may be safely affirmed that if the principles of the reform are correct, the result may be left to take care of itself. Every great movement in behalf of human welfare, like the abolition of the corn-laws or the emancipation of the American slave, has been forced to meet the same prophecies of evil, duly proved to be groundless.

As regards "confiscation," to give that name to the action of society in taking the value which it creates and which belongs to it, altho that value has for generations been misappropriated by individuals, is to misuse terms and confuse sacred rights. The single tax aims only to stop the present confiscation. It does not ask indemnity for the past, but security for the future. All it proposes is to take every year that value which society in its collective sense creates during that year, leaving untaxed everything made or produced by the individual.

The advocates of the single tax, while recognizing the justice and propriety of governmental control of certain natural monopolies, such as franchises belonging to all of the people, and now generally bestowed without compensation on private corporations, are by no means Socialists. They would not substitute paternalism for individual freedom. The single tax aims at equality of opportunity and not of possessions. With fair play and an open field, it would trust results. It does not fear competition, but has no faith in the stability of a society where free competition is denied. It repudiates the game where part of the players use loaded dice. It has more faith in the people than in their rulers, and does not think that any combination, whether it calls itself a trust or a government, can manage private affairs half as well as the people can do it themselves. Rather it demands less government and more freedom.

Since the previous matter was prepared, the spread of the single-tax principle over the globe has been marked. New Zealand presents the best practical illustration thus far obtained, altho the small land-value tax and the exemptions from its operation fail to produce results which a thorough application of the single-tax theory would afford. (All unimproved land values not exceeding £500 are exempt; and those not exceeding a value of £1,500 are allowed a deduction of £500.) In 1897, by this exemption, 92,925 landowners, owning an unimproved value of £11,000,819, were untaxed, and 10,113 others, by the second concession, were relieved of taxation on a value of £5,068,000, in violation of the Henry George plan.

Nevertheless, this partial application of land-value taxation has proved distinctly beneficial in the line prophesied. In response to the telegraphed request of Lord Elgin, Colonial Secretary of Great Britain (April 5, 1906), for information available as to the working of taxation on unimproved land, for municipal and State purposes, especially as to "effects on building trade, on rent, on incidence of taxation on

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house property and vacant sites respectively, and on land speculation," P. Heyes (F.S.A.A., Eng., Commissioner of Taxes, New Zealand) summarizes results as follows:

Building Trade.—The effect has certainly been to greatly stimulate the building trade. The object and tendency of this system of taxation is to compel land being put to its best use, so that the greatest amount of income may be derived from it, and rendering it unprofitable to hold land for prospective increment in value. It has been the direct cause of much valuable suburban land being cut up and placed on the market, and thus rendered more easily available for residential purposes, and of the subdivision of large estates in the country, resulting in closer settlement.

The effect on urban and suburban land has been very marked. It has compelled owners of these to build or sell to those who would; it has thus caused a great impetus to the building trade. An owner of land occupied by buildings of little value finding that he has to pay the same rates and taxes as an owner having his land occupied by a valuable block of buildings must see that his interests lay in putting his land to its best use. The rebuilding of this city (Wellington), which for some years past has been rapidly going on, is largely attributable to the taxation and rating on land values, so that the supply of building materials could not at times keep pace with the demand.

Rent.—The tendency of this system of taxation is not to increase rent but, on the contrary, as the tax becomes heavier it tends to bring into beneficial occupation land not put to its best use and so reduces rent, the improvements being entirely free from all rates and taxes. In some cases, where land suitable for building sites is limited, high rents have been maintained notwithstanding the tendency of the system.

New Zealand

Vacant Sites.—The effect has been to cause vacant sites being put to their best use by expenditure on improvements. On vacant sites the rates and taxes are increased and continue to increase as the adjacent sites which have been improved increase in value. It thus becomes unprofitable to continue to hold land unimproved.

Incidence of Taxation.—The taxation on building property, where the improvements exceed the unimproved value, is decreased; where the unimproved value exceeds the improvements the taxation is increased.

Land Speculation.—The tendency is to discourage speculation as the tax partially or wholly discounts the rise in value, but land speculation has not ceased in some districts where the system has been adopted, because:

(1) The tax has not been sufficient to render speculation profitable in the large cities, though it has been a factor to be reckoned with.

(2) The rapid increase in values has caused speculation in spite of the tax.

Land speculation in this colony of late years has chiefly arisen in the purchase of estates which have not presently been put to their best use by the owners, principally consisting of suburban lands, which, after being acquired and improved by subdivision into residential allotments and by roading, result in the extensive building of residences also, in country lands large blocks of land suitable for subdivision into small farms. The effect of this has been rather beneficial than otherwise, because, in addition to the land being put to its best use, it tends to reduce rents and values of residential sites by the large increase of these made available. The form of speculation in land unused and held for a prospective increment is rarely met with in recent years.

(Parliamentary Blue Book Relative to the Working of the Taxation of the Unimproved Value of Land in New Zealand, New South Wales, and South Australia.)

In Australia, South Africa, Russia—where Tolstoy champions the views of Henry George and the peasants are making the land question of first importance—India, Hungary, Denmark, Canada, and the United States the agitation steadily gains. In Great Britain it has reached the practical stage in politics and the taxation of land values is the pronounced program of the present Liberal government and is earnestly urged by the Premier, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. A large majority of the House of Commons in its favor is confidently expected when the question comes up for vote. Already a Scotch bill providing for the separation of land values from improvements and permission to tax land values alone, at a rate not exceeding two shillings (10 per cent) in the pound, has been offered and is waiting its turn for legislative action. In Germany a large number of municipalities and districts are supported in great part or altogether by revenues derived from lands and utilities publicly owned. Data from fifty-nine districts belonging to fifteen German provinces was obtained in 1892, while others, where the returns from the public lands are said to pay all local rates and taxes, failed to respond.

For illustration, two examples are here given, one rural and one urban. Hagenau (Alsace), a town of about 12,000 inhabitants, obtained £14,256 from its public land. With the addition of the produce of the water system, £1,075, and the gas, £850, sufficient revenue was obtained to make the local rates and taxes practically negligible. Gorlitz (Schlesia) was the most favorable place of all German towns of over 50,000 inhabitants with regard to local rates and taxes. In 1891–92 individual tax came to 8 marks 2 pfennigs; in 1892–93, to 7 mk. 28 pfgs. The details of these and many other places are given by Adolph Damaschke in the August number of *Land and Labor* (London, Eng.). Carried to its ultimate application the system would abolish all taxation, besides enlarging opportunity for labor to employ itself.

A White Paper, giving latest data, issued June 13, 1906, by the German Government, is full of interest. Commenting upon the facts and figures, the *Daily News* (London) of June 14th says: "All the predictions of those who advocate this reform (single tax) are again fulfilled. Before this obvious piece of justice was effected in Germany many owners were paying only a fiftieth of their proper assessment. Since the market-value system was instituted, working-class dwellings have been relieved of from 30 to 40 per cent of their former burdens. Speculation in land has been discouraged, and the supply of land has necessarily become more healthy and useful to builders, tenants, and the community at large."

But more striking than these slow changes of long-fixt custom is the revolution of public sentiment regarding Henry George and his theories. He died at the summit of his career, universally honored and lamented. His ideas have become the common coin of economic thinkers, and orthodox professors of political economy no longer wing their shafts of ridicule or denunciation at his principles. Altho the single tax is still often confounded with socialism, it is in reality the extremity of the poles apart. It has no contention with capital or competition, holding both to be natural and beneficent under conditions free from land monopoly. Yet it agrees with the sentiment of Karl Marx, the typical Socialist, that "the expropriation of the mass of the people from the soil forms the basis of the capitalist mode of production"; in other words, the basis of the system under which capital is able to exploit labor. Only free land can make free men.

For a comprehensive discussion of the single tax, touching all points at issue, the reader is referred to the works of Henry George, notably "Progress and Poverty"; "Social Problems"; "Protection or Free Trade"; "The Land Question"; "The Condition of Labor (An Open Letter to Pope Leo XIII.)"; and "A Perplexed Philosopher." W. L. Garrison.

OBJECTIONS TO THE SINGLE TAX

Objections to the single tax usually come from two opposite standpoints, from conservatives who believe in private property in land,

and from Socialists or other radical thinkers, who consider the single tax an inadequate way of meeting the land problem. The two classes of objections may be briefly summarized as follows:

First, conservatives argue against the single tax as in the first place based on false assumptions in justice. Mr. George bases his argument on the assumption that since, to use his words, "Land values arise from the presence of all . . . the land belongs equally to all." This is, of course, a *non sequitur*. The land does not belong equally to all unless its value is contributed to equally by all, which is notoriously not the case. As Mr. Spahr points out in *The Political Science Quarterly* (vol. vi., No. 4), there are many individuals whose presence on land lowers its value, while there are many more whose presence increases land values very slightly. He instances in America the North American Indians, and the Hungarians and Italians who pour into New York City. It depends on how much land is improved, whether the presence of people gives it value. It is even questionable whether, were it not for improvements, land would have any value. Undoubtedly unimproved lots surrounded by improved lots have often immense value, but remove all improvements and how much value would they have? Therefore it is said to tax land values is as much to tax labor as any other tax, and like any other tax to tax an earned increment. Thus, the foundation in justice of the single tax is overthrown.

Secondly, conservatives argue that the single tax is unjust because it distinguishes between forms of labor. Here is a man who has put all his earnings into land; another has invested his in manufactures. Neither themselves work, yet the single tax would take the whole income of the one and not touch the income of the other.

Thirdly, conservatives argue that the single tax would work ill, because it would weaken at its very vital point the sense of private ownership in the soil, which has been the very keystone of society. (For a discussion of this, see LAND.)

Fourthly, conservatives argue that the single tax would not raise sufficient revenue for the government to enable it to do away with all other taxes, and so the whole theory of the single tax would be upset. Says Mr. Spahr (idem):

> As regards England, we have fortunately at hand the statistics prepared by Mr. Giffen in his paper before the Statistical Society in Dec., 1889, in which he was not considering the subject of the single tax, and is therefore not open to the charge of special pleading. The value of the farm lands of Great Britain in 1885 was $8,400,000,000. The value of the houses was $9,500,000,000. If we assume that 60 per cent of the value of the English houses was the value of the land on which they stood, then the total value of all the land in England was but $14,000,000,000. The taxation of England in 1885 was $750,000,000, of which not to exceed $100,000,000 rests upon land. The question then is, Could the land of England support an additional tax of $650,000,000? The answer is obvious when we remember that Mr. Giffen arrived at the total land value by multiplying rentals by thirty; that is, the average rental of land in England is 3⅓ per cent. Three and one third per cent upon $14,000,000,000 would be but $470,000,000. In other words, the single tax in England, even if the entire rentals of the land inclusive of improvements incorporated within the soil were taken, would produce a deficit of $200,000,000 annually.
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> In America the aggregate deficit is less clear. Yet here we find that in most of our Eastern states the local taxes alone have for years been much greater than the aggregate increase in the values of the land. For example, in Connecticut during the past fifteen years the assessed value of the land has increased $36,000,000. The aggregate taxes paid have been more than $70,000,000. As these taxes have been contributed by the property-owners, the latter have already more than paid for the increment which they have received. The logical application of the single-tax theory would require that the property-owners receive back the taxes they have advanced, and turn over to the public the increment that has arisen. This would leave the public vastly in debt to the property-owners, instead of the property-owners vastly in debt to the public.

Fifthly, it is argued that the single tax rests on a complete misreading of present facts. Mr. Spahr continues in the above article:

> The fundamental mistake of Mr. George and the single-tax advocates is their conception that in the value of the land the community has a vast element of wealth which has somehow come of itself, without the expenditure of labor or capital. A correlative error is their assumption that another amount equally vast may now be created without labor, by adopting their system. Their platform promises that the single tax would make it impossible for speculators and monopolists to hold opportunities unused or only half used, and would throw open to labor the illimitable field of employment which the earth offers to man. It would thus solve the labor problem, doing away with involuntary poverty, raise wages in all occupations, and cause such an enormous production of wealth as would give to all comfort, leisure, and participation in the advantages of an advancing civilization.
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> Here it is assumed that if the taxes now levied upon houses and improvements were repealed, there would at once be an immense addition to the national wealth. All the unimproved farm land would at once be brought under cultivation; all the vacant building lots would at once be covered with houses. This were indeed a consummation devoutly to be wished, but this is the most absurd portion of the entire single-tax program. Houses cannot be built except out of new savings, unless capital can be withdrawn from other enterprises. To withdraw capital from other enterprises where it is more remunerative, and put it into the building of houses which will not be needed by the community for years, or into the improving of farms whose cultivation is not yet demanded, would be the most enormous possible waste of our national wealth. There is no vast fund of wealth in the air which can be brought to earth by the touch of Mr. George's magic wand. The amount of wealth which society can produce is limited by the amount of labor and capital which society has at its disposal. Any plan to turn this investment out of its natural channel involves an economic loss. Except in trivial and exceptional cases, there is no wealth which is not the product of labor, and no wealth can be created except as the product of labor.

Lastly, conservatives argue that rent is not the enormous evil it is considered by land reformers, and that what evil it does do will not be removed by the single tax. Of the inability of the single tax to remove the evils of rent for the city poor, Professor Seligman says (single-tax discussion before the American Social Science Association, Sept. 5, 1890):

> How is the single tax going to relieve the inhabitants of the slums? They will not go to the suburbs, where there is plenty of land, for the same reasons that they do not go there now. Rent in the suburbs or up-town districts is at the present moment vastly less than in the crowded slums, and yet the slums are crowded. The average workman prefers to be near his work, prefers to enjoy the social opportunities of contact with his fellow workman, evenings as well as daytimes. All careful students of the problem of housing the poor have come to the conclusion that it is in the crowded centers where there is no unoccupied land, and not in the suburbs where rents are low, that the problem must be solved. Now, when we look at the thing from a practical standpoint, how is the tenement-house workman to derive any benefit from the single tax? His rent will be just exactly as high as at present; for his rent is a veritable rack-rent, fixt by the stress of competition. The competition for rooms will be not a whit less when the State becomes the landlord. And how are his wages to be increased? Wages can be increased in only one of three ways—through the increase of capital, through the increased efficiency of the laborer, or through the increased standard of living, which will enable the workman to compel higher wages. But the single tax can accomplish none of these three things. To take away economic rent and to turn it over to the State, will not increase capital one whit, will not decrease the monthly rent of the tenement-house population by one iota. Into what does all this fair dream of economic felicity resolve itself? Into mere mist, into mere nothingness. The tenement-house population, no more than the American farmer, will derive no advantage from the single tax.

The Socialist objections to the single tax are different. They agree absolutely with the single-taxers, that the natural values of the soil should belong to no individual. They favor land

nationalization, and many of them believe that the single tax would be a good way to introduce such a measure, but they do not believe in the taxation of land values as a single tax, nor that by itself the single tax would do much good, nor even that it should be favored as a practical first step toward socialism. They favor only the increasing taxation of land values in connection with other reforms, as is being done in Australia as a part of a Socialist program. They object to the single tax by itself or even as a first step, first, because by itself, or even by itself for a while, it would do little good. As Professor Seligman has shown above, it would not lower rent in the cities, but only transfer rent to the government. It might throw suburban land held for speculation on to the market; but only those could buy this land who had capital with which to improve it. Poor men could not get the land. But rich men could hire labor to improve it, and this would employ labor. Yes, but at what prices? Only by withdrawing capital from other investments and attracting laborers from other cities, which would mean a competition changing rather than raising wages. The attracted laborers, too, would have to live somewhere. They could not buy the land, nor live far from their work, hence they would crowd into the already overcrowded slums, and thus raise rents. Landlords could put up cheap tenement-houses, make profits from them, and still pay all the land values to the government.

Socialist Objections

A deeper Socialist objection is that the single tax, unaccompanied by socialism, would simply rivet the chains of the workingman. Single-taxers usually claim that if land values were taxed, land would be thrown open to all, all would have opportunity to labor and could secure the full return of their labor; the smart getting much, and the less able less, but each according to his deserts. This is not at all the case. Taxing land values would not throw land open to all, but only to those with capital, for, according to the theory, those offering most for the land would get it, and capitalists could offer most. Men are not equal in ability. Smart men with land would make better use of it than others. They could afford to buy machinery; other men could not. With that advantage they could undersell and eventually drive out the feebler folk, who would have to toil at wage labor as to-day.

The smart men could leave money to their children, and so children, even tho not smart themselves, could live in idleness, while others toiled for them as to-day. The single-taxers' glorification of competition plus a single tax calls for the competition of equals, to be just. In practise it would be the competition of unequals, which means the rule of smartness, shrewdness, and force, which is not just. Some argue that it is just that the strong should get the good of their strength and that the weak should suffer for their weakness. This possibly would be just, if men wholly made themselves, but men do not. They are largely modified by environment. The well-fed son of a capitalist can get land and live in idleness, hiring the sickly son of a sickly workingman to toil for him. Is this just?

Thirdly, Socialists deny any such distinction between land values and other values as the single tax claims. If individuals alone have not produced the land, they also have not alone produced other things. All production as well as that of land values belongs to all. Says Professor Seligman (idem):

> Individual labor, I venture to say, has never by itself produced anything in civilized society. Let us take the workman fashioning a chair. The wood he certainly has not produced. The tools that he uses are the result of the contribution of others. The house in which he works, the clothes he wears, the food he eats (all of which are necessary to the making of a chair in civilized society), are the result of contributions of the community. His safety from robbery and pillage—nay, his very existence—is dependent on the ceaseless cooperation of the society about him. How can it be said, in the face of all this, that his own individual labor wholly creates anything? If it be answered that it pays for his tools, his clothing, his protection, etc., I say, So does the landowner pay for the land he purchases. Nothing, I repeat, is wholly the result of unaided individual labor. No one has a right to say, This belongs completely and absolutely to me, because I alone have produced it. In truth, this is the groundwork of socialism. The Socialists have been far more logical than Henry George. They deny the existence of any difference, save that in degree, between property in land and property in other capital. That is the reason why the English enthusiasts are leaving land nationalization and enrolling themselves under the banners of socialism. That is the reason why, in this country, the growth of Bellamy's nationalism marks the gradual decadence of the single-tax movement. That is the reason why any one who has to do with laboring men throughout the country is now meeting in every center hundreds who were formerly Georgites, but who now have become converted to the newer forms of socialism.

SISMONDI, JEAN CHARLES LÉONARD SIMONDE DE: Historian; economist; born in Geneva, Switzerland, 1773. Educated in his native town, became a clerk in Lyons, but political disturbances drove him into exile and he lived in England and Italy for some years. Settled in Geneva in 1800, and devoted himself to literature, politics, and economics.

Wrote first a treatise, "De la Richesse Commerciale," in which he followed strictly the principles of Adam Smith. Afterward came to regard these principles as insufficient and requiring modification. Contributed articles on political economy to the "Edinburgh Encyclopædia," in which his new views were partially indicated. They were fully developed in his principal economic work, "Nouveaux Principes d'Économie Politique, ou de la Richesse dans ses Rapports avec la Population," and "Études sur les Sciences Sociales." Became, however, best known as a historian with his "Histoire des Républiques Italiennes du Moyen Âge," his "Histoire des Français," 31 vols., and lesser works. Died in Geneva, 1842.

SLAVERY: Slavery is the first condition in which laborers as a class appear in history. In the hunter period of our human history the conqueror does not enslave his vanquished foe, but slays him at once; in the pastoral period slaves are generally captured only to be sold; but when sedentary life begins, slavery originates. Especially where warlike habits prevail, slaves are procured to provide food for their military masters. Slavery was modified wherever theocratic organizations became established, and only reached its extreme form where the military order dominated the sacerdotal. Slavery was an advance on what went before. It was infinitely better than cannibalism, or the wholesale slaughter of the captives in war. It may be said here that slave was originally a national name; it meant a man of Slavonic race captured and made a bondman by the Germans. Its ultimate derivation is from *slava*, glory.

Wherever slavery has existed, it has meant wrong, injustice, violence, brutality, engendered both in master and slave. Prisoners of war, held

for debt, or self-sold—slaves have had little but cruel treatment until their emancipation by death.

Early Slavery

Hebrew slavery was milder than that of any other nation. The law protected the slave from violence and from permanent bondage. Every slave was to be emancipated at the seventh year. (See JUDAISM.) In Greece we find slavery fully established in the Homeric period. War captives are enslaved, sold, or held at ransom. Sometimes the women only are saved from slaughter. Pirates occasionally kidnaped free persons and sold them for slaves in other regions. Not unfrequently the slave would be of nobler birth than his owner. The men slaves were made to till the ground and tend the cattle, and the women slaves to perform the domestic duties.

It is, however, most interesting and important to study slavery as it appeared later in historic Greece, and especially at Athens. The sources of slavery in Greece were: (1) Birth, the enslavement of slaves' children. This was not a common source, as it was found cheaper to buy a slave than to rear one. (2) Sale of children by their free parents. (3) Through indigence freemen sometimes sold themselves; and at Athens, before Solon, an insolvent debtor became the slave of his creditor. (4) Capture in war. After Thebes was taken by Alexander, 30,000 women and children are said to have been sold. (5) Commerce. There was a systematic slave-trade. The principal slave-markets were Athens, Chios, Cyprus, Samos, and Ephesus. Thrace was the chief source of supply. Servile labor gradually displaced free labor, not only in agriculture but in manufactures and commerce as well. Speculators either directly employed slaves or hired them out for profit. Athenæus gives the number of Athenian slaves as 400,000; Hume, however, says it should be 40,000.

The condition of the slaves at Athens was not as bad as in many other countries. Privileges were allowed them which in Rome would have been termed license. Says Dr. Ingram:

> The slave was introduced with certain customary rites into his position in the family; he was in practise, tho not by law, permitted to accumulate a private fund of his own; his marriage was also recognized by custom; tho in general excluded from sacred ceremonies and public sacrifices, slaves were admissible to religious associations of a private kind; there were some popular festivals in which they were allowed to participate; they had even special ones for themselves, both at Athens and in other Greek centers. Their remains were deposited in the family tomb of their master, who sometimes erected monuments in testimony of his affection and regret.

The Athenian law afforded some protection to the slave. He had an action for outrage, like a freeman; and if killed by a stranger was avenged as a citizen. If a master slew a slave, it was atoned for by exile and religious expiation. Even when the slave struck back and killed his master, he had to be handed over to the magistrate for punishment. There were several ways in which a slave might become a freeman: by buying his freedom, by having his name inscribed in the public registers, by sale or donation to certain temples, by proclamation in the theater, law court, or other public place, or by being freely emancipated by his master. The condition of the Helots of Laconia was peculiar. They were owned by the State, which gave their services to individuals. The domestic servants of Sparta were all Helots, who were generally serfs, living in country villages and cultivating the land of their masters. They had homes, wives, and families; could acquire property, and could not be sold out of the country. They were employed in public works, and also served as light-armed troops in war. They were never trusted by the Spartans, and on one occasion 2,000 Helots, who had distinguished themselves by their courage on the battlefield, were foully massacred.

Classic Period

But it was in Rome that slavery found its most natural and relatively legitimate state—Rome in its later rather than in its earlier days, when the farmer and his slave worked in the field side by side. But the growth of wealth through conquest created a demand for slave-labor, and separated the owners from the necessity to labor. Immense numbers of slaves were sold after every war. Cæsar on one occasion in Gaul sold 63,000; and in Epirus 150,000 were sold by Paulus after his victory. By the Jewish war the Romans acquired 97,000 slaves, besides slaughtering thousands in the arena. The Roman writers speak of some masters who possest 400 slaves, and of one who owned as many as 4,116. Blair fixes the proportion of slaves to freemen as three to one in the Roman world. According to this calculation there would have been in Italy, in the reign of Claudius, 6,944,000 freemen and 20,832,000 slaves. The original Roman law allowed the master the power of life and death over his slaves; he was an absolute and irresponsible despot. The slave could not legally possess property, tho in practise he was often permitted to enjoy and even accumulate chance earnings. Slave marriage was tolerated without being made legal; and thus a slave was not deemed capable of the crime of adultery. By general sanction and custom, however, the marriage relation was strengthened, and the names of husband and wife were commonly used in reference to slaves. For committing any state offense they were punished with death. In law they could not be examined as witnesses, except by torture. An accused slave could not invoke the aid of the tribunes; nor could he accuse his master except on the gravest crimes.

As to their treatment, many Romans favored a certain familiarity and friendliness of intercourse with their bondmen, but not such as to diminish the profit derived from their labor. The wide extent of the rural estates rendered personal knowledge or oversight of the slaves difficult, and by degrees chains came to be used, worn day and night. Even in private houses the porter was chained near the door. The master had his domestic favorites, and sometimes the attachment was one of mutual affection. During the wars slaves showed in noted instances the most noble and devoted fidelity to their owners. The bondmen who were outside the household had, however, the greater freedom of action.

In the mines, where slaves were sent by speculators, men and women worked half naked, in chains, and goaded by the curse and lash of overseers. Cato advised the farm lords to get rid of their old oxen and old slaves, as well as of their sick ones. Sick slaves were commonly exposed on an island in the Tiber. In the arena slaves were exposed to every torture and indignity that the devilish invention of their conquerors could devise. To furnish an hour's amusement to the titled aristocrats and languid idlers of "society," they were torn and mangled into bloody shape-

lessness by wild beasts from Africa, and compelled to stab, hack, strangle, and disembowel each other. No one has fully written, or will ever write, their sufferings. Slaves are not historians, and those whose scanty and unsympathetic chronicles comprize our only information saw little in their system of bondage to deplore. As compared with Greece, Rome provided greater facilities of emancipation. "No Roman slave," says Blair, "needed to despair of becoming both a freeman and a citizen." It was often a pecuniary advantage to the master to liberate his slave; he obtained a payment which enabled him to purchase a substitute, and at the same time gained a client.

But it is not until the second century of the Christian era that we notice a marked change with respect to the institution of slavery, not only in sentiment but in law as well. The victory of moral ideas became apparent. Dio Chrysostom, the adviser of Trajan, is the first Greek writer who has pronounced the principle of slavery to be contrary to the law of nature. When Rome felt that industrial was soon to succeed military activity, it gradually prepared the way for the abolition of slavery by honoring the freedmen, by facilitating manumissions, and by protecting the slave from his master. Diocletian forbade a freeman to sell himself. Man-stealers were punished with death. The insolvent debtor was withdrawn from the power of the creditor. The atrocious mutilation of boys and young men was stopped. Hadrian abolished the underground prisons and took away from the masters the power of life and death. In the reign of Nero magistrates had been instructed to hear the complaint of an ill-treated slave. Marcus Aurelius brought the relations between master and slave more directly under the control of law and public opinion; and while a slave's oath could not be taken, he was allowed to speak.

While the Christian Church did not at once denounce slavery as a social crime; while it recognized the institution, and allowed ecclesiastics to own slaves, it created sentiments favorable to their humane treatment, and planted the seeds from which emancipation finally sprang. (See Church and Social Reform.)

Gradually the slave came to be regarded as merely a servant tied to the soil, i. e., a serf. (See Feudalism.) The early forms of serfdom differed little from mild slavery, but by degrees improved, till at last serfdom itself disappeared. Yet, soon after this, the new system of colonial slavery appears, which was no necessary stage of human development, but a monstrous moral, political, and social aberration, which resulted in nothing but evil. In 1442 the Portuguese began to trade in slaves, fitting out a number of ships, and building forts on the African coast. After the discovery of America, Columbus proposed an exchange of his Carib prisoners for live stock. He urged that by this exchange infidels would be converted, the royal treasury enriched by a duty on Caribs, and the colonists supplied with live stock free of expense. In 1494 he sent home 500 Indian prisoners; but Isabella humanely ordered them to be sent back. The Bishop of Chiapa, to protect the Indians from cruelty, advised the importation of negro slaves into the Spanish colonies, and his advice was unfortunately adopted. Some Genoese merchants bought the right of supplying America with negroes, and thus began that odious commerce between Africa and America, which increased to such an amazing extent.

Modern Times

Captain John Hawkins was the first Englishman who engaged in the hateful traffic, tho for a long time the English traders supplied only the Spanish settlements with slaves. In 1620 slavery began in Jamestown, Va., among the tobacco planters. It increased rapidly until, in 1790, the State of Virginia alone contained 200,000 negroes. For a long time the British slave-trade was in the hands of exclusive companies, but by an act of the first year of William and Mary it became free and open to all. Between 1680 and 1700 about 140,000 negroes were exported by the African Company, and 160,000 more by private adventurers. The total import, from 1680 to 1786, into all British colonies in America, has been estimated at 2,130,000. Shortly before the War of Independence the British slave-trade reached its utmost extension, the number of slave-ships being at least 192. During the war the trade decreased, but revived at its termination. More than half the trade was at this time in British hands. The demand for slaves by European colonies reduced the tribes of the African seacoast to a pitiable condition. All that was shocking in the barbarism of the savage was multiplied and intensified by the horrors of the traffic. There was the utmost recklessness of human life, and indifference to misery and torture. The mode of capturing slaves killed its thousands; and the middle passage its tens of thousands.

Exclusive of the slaves who died before they sailed from Africa, 12½ per cent were lost during their passage to the West Indies; at Jamaica 4½ per cent died while in the harbors or before the sale, and one third more in the "seasoning." Thus, out of every lot of 100 shipped from Africa, 17 died in about nine weeks, and not more than 50 lived to be effective laborers in the islands. The circumstances of their subsequent life on the plantations were not favorable to the increase of their numbers. In Jamaica there were, in 1690, 40,000; from that year till 1820 there were imported 800,000; yet at the latter date there were only 340,000 in the island.

But when, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, the nature of the slave-trade began to be understood, all that was best in Great Britain was shocked at its atrocities.

The honor of taking the first practical action against slavery belongs to the Quakers, and especially to their founder—George Fox.

In 1727 they declared it to be "not a commendable or allowed" practise; in 1761 they excluded from their society all who should be found concerned in it, and issued appeals to their members and the public against the system. In 1783 there was formed among them an association "for the relief and liberation of the negro slaves in the West Indies, and for the discouragement of the slave-trade on the coast of Africa." This was the first society established in England for the purpose. The Quakers in America had taken action on the subject still earlier than those in England. (For America, see Abolitionists.)

In 1787 a committee for the abolition of the slave-trade was formed, with Granville Sharp as president, and after twenty years of persistent labor it met with complete success. On March 25, 1807, a bill was passed which enacted that no vessel should depart for slaves from any port

within the British dominions after May 1, 1807; and that no slaves should be landed in the colonies after March 1, 1808.

As to France, the abolition of its slave-trade was preceded by stormy struggles and deplorable excesses. The French law was, with regard to the treatment of slaves, humane in its general spirit, but was habitually disregarded by the planters. In 1788 a society was formed in Paris under the presidency of Condorcet, which aimed to suppress slavery itself. The motive and impulse of this movement were not avowedly Christian, as in England; but its cause was rather the enthusiasm for humanity which pervaded France during the revolutionary period. In spite of the "Declaration of the Rights of Man" in Aug., 1789, the French system of negro slavery continued. St. Domingo or Hayti was the chief French colony employing slaves. In 1791 there were 480,000 blacks, 24,000 mulattoes, and only 30,000 whites. In August of this year a rebellion of the negroes broke out, marked by brutal excesses on both sides. For years it raged with varying success, until in 1798 the negroes, under Toussaint l'Ouverture, secured entire possession of the government. This African liberator has been called the noblest type ever produced by the negro race. Slavery was abolished, and the whole population began to rise in civilization and comfort. In 1825 the independence of the island was formally recognized by France; and thus the negro race obtained its first independent settlement outside of Africa.

To Denmark belongs the honor of first abolishing the slave-trade, which it did by a royal prohibition on May 16, 1792. In 1794 the United States first forbade American citizens to participate in the foreign trade in slaves; and in 1808 an act came into force which prohibited the importation of slaves. It was provided at the Vienna Congress that the trade should be abolished as soon as possible. As soon as the English slave-trade was stopt, several circumstances combined to greatly increase the traffic and aggravate its evils.

In consequence of the activity of the British cruisers the traders made great efforts to carry as many slaves as possible in every voyage, and practised atrocities to get rid of the slaves when capture was imminent. It was, besides, the interest of the cruisers, who shared the price of the captured slave-ship, rather to allow the slaves to be taken on board than to prevent their being shipped at all. Thrice as great a number of negroes as before, it was said, was exported from Africa, and two thirds of these were murdered on the high seas. It was found also that the abolition of the British slave-trade did not lead to an improved treatment of the negroes in the West Indies. The slaves were overworked now that fresh supplies were stopt, and their numbers rapidly decreased.

Abolition

It became increasingly evident that the evil could be prevented only by total prohibition of the whole traffic. The conscience of the nations began to awaken; and the lawfulness of slavery became a matter of discussion. Buxton, in response to an appeal from Wilberforce, moved, in 1823, that the House should consider the state of slavery in British colonies. His project was one of gradual abolition, by introducing a kind of serfdom, and freeing the children of the slaves. Altho the struggle was continued by many noble and able men, it made little progress until 1828, when free negroes were placed on a footing of legal equality with the whites. Two years later the British public aroused itself at last; and in 1833 Earl Grey carried a motion through the House for complete abolition. This received the royal assent Aug. 28th. A sum of $100,000,000 was voted as compensation to the planters; and a system of apprenticeship for seven years established as a transitional preparation for liberty. All children under six years of age were to be at once free, and provision made for their instruction. Immediate liberation was carried out in Antigua, and public tranquillity was never so unbroken as during the following year. This led to the shortening of the transition period in the other colonies, and gave freedom to all the slaves in Aug., 1838.

The other European states one by one followed this example; France in 1848, and the Dutch in 1863. After this last date there still remained three countries in which the slave system was undisturbed—Brazil, Cuba, and the U. S. The fathers of the American states were by no means defenders of slavery. Washington provided in his will for the emancipation of his slaves, and said to Jefferson that it was among his first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery in his country might be abolished by law. John Adams declared his abhorrence of the system; while Franklin, Madison, Hamilton, and Patrick Henry reprobated the principle of it. Jefferson declared that in the presence of the institution he trembled for his country, when he remembered that God was just. In the Constitution, which was drawn up at Philadelphia, 1787, the sentiments of the framers were against slavery; but through the insistence of Georgia and South Carolina, it was recognized. The words "slave" and "slavery," tho, were excluded from the Constitution, because, as Madison explained, they did not choose to admit the right of property in man, in direct terms. Soon after the union was formed the Northern states, beginning with Vermont, either abolished slavery or adopted measures that led to abolition; but this simply transferred the slaves to the markets of the South. Step by step the slave power for a long time increased in influence.

The acquisition of Louisiana—including the state so named, Arkansas, Missouri, and Kansas—(1803), tho not made in its interest; the Missouri compromise (1820), the annexation of Texas (1845), the Fugitive Slave Law (1850), the Kansas-Nebraska Bill (1854), the Dred Scott decision (1856), the attempts to acquire Cuba (1854) and to reopen the foreign slave-trade (1859–60), were the principal steps—only some of them successful—in its career of aggression. They roused a determined spirit of opposition, founded on deep-seated convictions. The pioneer of the more recent abolitionist movement was Benjamin Lundy. He was followed by William Lloyd Garrison, Elijah P. Lovejoy, Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner, John Brown, all of whom were in their several ways leading apostles or promoters of the cause. The best intellect of America outside the region of practical politics has been on the antislavery side. William E. Channing, R. W. Emerson, the poets Bryant, Longfellow, preeminently Whittier, and more recently Whitman, have spoken on this theme with no uncertain sound. The South, and its partizans in the North, made desperate efforts to prevent the free expression of opinion respecting the institution, and even the Christian churches in the slave states used their influence

in favor of the maintenance of slavery. But in spite of every such effort opinion steadily grew. (See ABOLITIONISTS.)

Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe (*q. v.*), in her "Uncle Tom's Cabin," deeply stirred the public sentiment of the North against slavery. Finally, it became evident that the question could not be settled without an armed conflict. When Abraham Lincoln was made president in Nov., 1860, this was the signal for the rising of the South. While the North took up arms at first simply to maintain the union, it was soon recognized that the real issue of the conflict was the life or death of the slave system. In 1862 the slave system of the territories was abolished by Congress; three years later the war closed; and on Jan. 1, 1863, Lincoln issued his proclamation of freedom. A constitutional amendment was passed in 1865 abolishing and forever prohibiting slavery throughout the U. S.

In Brazil there were, in 1835, 2,100,000 slaves. In 1880 Joachim Nabuco, the leader of the anti-slavery movement, introduced a bill for the more rapid liberation of slaves, and for the final extinction of slavery in Brazil by Jan. 1, 1890. This plan was carried into effect.

In Russia the original rural population consisted of slaves, free agricultural laborers, and peasants proper. Czar Paul (1796–1801) commanded that serfs should work for their masters only three days a week; but no decisive measures were taken until the reign of Alexander II. (1858). That emperor set a plan in motion which resulted in the abolition of serfdom in March, 1861. (See RUSSIA.)

Slavery, as it exists in the Mohammedan East, is not of the field, but of the household. Slaves are treated as members of the family, with tenderness and affection. The Koran teaches kindliness and sympathy, and encourages manumissions. But, standing behind this comparatively mild and humane bondage, is the slave-trade with all its cruelties. Turkey has frequently declared slavery to be illegal, but has been too lax and nerveless to enforce its declarations.

Modern Times

The principal centers from which slaves are now furnished to Egypt, Persia, Turkey, and Arabia are three in number: (1) The Sudan, south of the Great Desert, seems to be yet a vast hunting-ground; 10,000 annually are marched to Fezzan, enduring unimaginable sufferings. The desert highways are white with their bones. The total number of slaves in Morocco is about 50,000. (2) The basin of the Nile, extending toward the great lakes. Sir Samuel Baker and Colonel Gordon checked the traffic here for a while, but since the Sudan revolt slave-capturing has flourished almost unmolested. (3) The Portuguese possessions on the East African coast. The Portuguese appear to be the most determined upholders of the system, and are intensely hated by the natives. In 1880 it was estimated that about 3,000 slaves were exported annually from this region.

Both Clarkson and Buxton realized that the only effectual preventive of slavery would be the establishment in Africa of legitimate commerce. It was hoped that Sierra Leone and Liberia would serve this purpose; but they have not been successes in that line. In Sept., 1876, King Leopold of Belgium called a conference of geographers to consider the question of the exploration and civilization of Africa by means of commerce, and the abolition of the slave-trade. An International African Association was formed, six European nations being represented. Various expeditions have been made through the inland districts, the most notable being that of Stanley along the Kongo. The Kongo Free State was formed. In 1884 an international conference held at Berlin declared that "these regions shall not be used as markets or routes of transit for the trade in slaves, no matter of what race; we bind ourselves to put an end to this trade and punish those engaged in it." The population of the Kongo Free State is estimated at 42,608,000.

At first the new enterprise was conducted along humane and benevolent lines; but about 1903 several investigators reported that the most atrocious cruelties were being practised upon the natives. A strong indictment of the Belgian Government was made. The King of Belgium has denied that these cruelties exist, but no evidence has been given which offsets that of the investigators. The mutilation of the Kongo natives is at present one of the scandals of the world, for which no excuse can be made. (See KONGO QUESTION.)

In 1890 a general act was agreed upon by all parties (including Turkey, Persia, Kongo Free State, and Zanzibar, with the U. S. and all the greater European powers) on the following program:

(1) A civilized protectorate over the administration of the African territories.

(2) The establishment of strong stations by each power in its own territory to repress slave-hunting.

(3, 4, 5) The development of Central Africa by roads, railways, steamboats, with fortified posts and telegraphs.

(6) The organization of expeditions and flying columns to protect them and support repressive action.

(7) The restriction of the importation of modern firearms and ammunition through the slave-trade territory.

On the Indian Ocean and along Madagascar the powers also agreed to put down slave-trading in small vessels.

(See also ABOLITIONISTS; CHRISTIANITY; SOCIAL REFORM.) H. N. CASSON.

REFERENCE: *A History of Slavery and Serfdom* (1895), by J. K. Ingram, an expansion of his article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* on which this article is mainly based.

SLIDING SCALE: Wages are said to be on a "sliding scale" when an agreement is made between an employer and employees that the wages shall rise and fall with selling prices in the trade concerned. This form of wage agreement has been considerably favored by some of the older and stronger trade-unions of England and America, particularly in the mining and iron and steel trades. It was long ago adopted by the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers (*q. v.*), and has often prevented wage disputes. It has not, however, proved itself perfectly satisfactory, because there is nothing to prevent prices going so low as to carry wages below the living point. Hence the agitation for the "minimum wage" (*q. v.*). (See also ARBITRATION.)

SLUMS: A name loosely given to crowded, squalid quarters, or dirty back streets or alleys, occupied by the poor and wretched, and often by

criminals or semicriminals. There is no clear dividing line, however, between slums and poor tenements. (For statistics, see articles TENEMENTS and OVERCROWDING.) We give here a few representative quotations from informed social students and workers. Referring to what is known in New York City as the "*lung block*," because of its numerous cases of consumption—a block bounded by Cherry, Catharine, Hamilton, and Market Streets, yet sufficiently near the East River and an open area to have their fresh air—Ernest Poole says, in "A Handbook on the Prevention of Tuberculosis" (1903):

For a month I went through it with health and tenement inspectors, as a settlement visitor one week, as a "fresh-air man" the next. I used this one block as a center, not to prove but to image what has already been proved all through the civilized world, to image the three great evils we must fight in the tenements. These evils are congestion, dissipation, infection.

That the plague spreads with congestion has long been proved beyond the shadow of a doubt. It spreads even faster than the crowd pours in. So it is in the block we have taken. It stands in one of the most congested wards of the most crowded city in the world, and this Seventh Ward is steadily, swiftly packing closer. Between 1890 and 1900 the density of its already crowded population increased no less than 65 per cent. Now it holds 478 humans to an acre. The lung block alone holds nearly 4,000, not to mention dogs, cats, parrots, and one weakened old monkey. Of the humans some 400 are babies.

It is a block packed close with huge, grimy tenements; these tenements are honeycombed with rooms; these rooms are homes for people. To squeeze in more homes light and air are slowly shut out. Halls, courts, air-shafts, are all left cramped and deep and sunless.

It is a block of a thousand homes. Through halls, in rooms, on stairways, in courts, in shafts, and out on fire-escapes are sprinkled the 400 babies. At the age of two they are found alone in the street, already imbibing its deep, muddy wisdom. So this muddy street overflows into the home. It is hard for the home to keep wholesome and pure. Things and people—good and bad—have only partitions between them.

In a block so congested the plague spreads swiftly. In the past nine years alone this block has reported 265 cases. From doctors, druggists, and all others who know, I gathered that this is but half the true number.

In a block so congested dissipation comes easy. Foul air, darkness, wretched surroundings—these work on the home by day and by night. Here a thousand homes struggle on, while hundreds yield and sink, and so pollute the others. So come squalid homes and wretched meals. So comes the humorous, shattered old chap who told me, "I ain't never sober but whin I gits out of bed." So come hundreds of others, men and women, young and old; drunk, bestial, vile, forever steadily sinking. "Hard drinking triples susceptibility to consumption." This is seen most of all in the Irish; hence among the Irish the death-rate from the plague is twice that of any other white nationality The Jews, with their strict habits, their dietary laws, and a certain standard of cleanliness enforced by a rigid religion, show the lowest death-rate of all, tho this is rising as they become tenementized. At present the lung block has only Jews on the Market Street end, and among them we found hardly a case of consumption. The body of the block is packed with Irish and Italians, and a sprinkling of twelve other peoples. All these image best the dissipation, the shattered vitality which eats into savings, starves the home, then gives the plague easy entrance, and makes it a constant danger to all in the family.

Says Dr. Josiah Strong ("The Challenge of the City," 1907), and basing his statements mainly on the reports of the New York State Tenement-House Commission and "The Tenement-House Problem" (R. W. De Forest and L. Veitler, 1903):

According to the report of the New York State Tenement-House Commission 2,372,079 persons, or two thirds of the city's population, were then living in New York's 82,652 tenement-houses. This is a larger population than can be found in any one of thirty-six of our great states.

Every one of these tenement dwellers is living in an environment more or less unfavorable to a normal life. In these tenement-houses have been found 350,000 dark interior rooms. These rooms depend for light and ventilation on connecting outer rooms or on air-shafts. The so-called "air-shaft" is really a well of stagnant, foul air, about 28 inches wide, 50 or 60 feet long, and extending from the ground to the top of the building, often 60 or 70 feet or more. "The tenants often use the air-shaft as a receptacle for garbage and all sorts of refuse and indescribable filth thrown out of the windows, and this mass of filth is often allowed to remain, rotting at the bottom of the shaft for weeks without being cleaned out." So vile are the resulting odors that many of the fifty or sixty windows opening into the shaft must often be closed and sometimes they are permanently nailed up.

A majority of the hallways are pitch dark, and any one entering from the street must grope his way along the wall as best he can and stumble up the stairs. In these hallways are common sinks and closets, which are sure to become filthy, as no one can see the dirt. Moreover, where there are many to contribute to the dirt, any one disposed to be cleanly soon thinks it is useless to try.

In the ten-foot yard behind the "double-deckers," as we are told by an inspector, "there is a perfect rain of refuse from the windows of the ten or fourteen apartments above," while "many cellars have the floor covered with dirt and rubbish from a small layer upward to 2½ feet, besides sweepings, ashes, and rubbish in heaps."

"They are centers of disease, poverty, vice, and crime. All the conditions which surround childhood, youth, and womanhood in New York's crowded tenement quarters make for unrighteousness. . . . The most terrible of all . . . is the indiscriminate herding of all kinds of people in close contact, the fact that, mingled with the drunken, the dissolute, the improvident, the diseased, dwell the great mass of the respectable working men of the city with their families." There is little wonder that when the Buffalo members of the New York State Commission of 1900 examined into tenement-house conditions in New York after "several days of silent amazement," they exclaimed: "New York should be abolished."

A friend of the writer, a few years ago, went with a city missionary on a midnight tour of exploration, which he thus describes: "A few steps out of Broadway we came to the vilest dens of infamy. In one room, not more than 10 by 12, we came upon eighteen human beings, men and women, black and white, American and foreign-born, who there ate, slept, and lived. In that room we found a woman of the highest refinement and culture with a faded dress of a courtezan upon her dishonored body; a former leader in the Salvation Army, a woman of sweet song, half drunk; a snoring, disgusting negro wench; an opium-eating, licentious Italian, etc.! Out of that den had been rescued a descendant of one of the most illustrious men this country ever produced; and there had been found a daughter of a Brooklyn clergyman who had no knowledge of her whereabouts."

The evils of modern city life are by no means confined to American cities. (See HOUSING IN GREAT BRITAIN, NEED OF.)

Says Professor Huxley ("Social Diseases and Worse Remedies"):

"Any one who is acquainted with the state of the population of all great industrial centers, whether in this or other countries, is aware that, amid a large and increasing body of that population, *la misère* reigns supreme. . . . I have no pretensions to the character of a philanthropist, and I have a special horror of all sorts of sentimental rhetoric; I am merely trying to deal with facts, to some extent within my own knowledge, and further evidenced by abundant testimony, as a naturalist; and I take it to be a mere plain truth that throughout industrial Europe there is not a single large manufacturing city which is free from a vast mass of people whose condition is exactly that described, and from a still greater mass who, living just on the edge of the social swamp, are liable to be precipitated into it by any lack of demand for their produce. And, with every addition to the population, the multitude already sunk in the pit and the number of the host sliding toward it continually increase."

What Professor Huxley means by *la misère* is apparent when he says (idem): "It is a condition in which the food, warmth, and clothing which are necessary for the mere maintenance of the functions of the body in their normal state cannot be obtained; in which men, women, and children are forced to crowd into dens wherein decency is abolished and the most ordinary conditions of healthful existence are impossible of attainment; in which the pleasures within reach are reduced to bestiality and drunkenness; in which the pains accumulate at compound interest, in the shape of starvation, disease, stunted development, and moral degradation; in which the prospect of even steady and honest industry is a life of unsuccessful battling with hunger, rounded by a pauper's grave."

Concerning moral conditions in the tenements, the Rev. J. O. S. Huntington (long resident on the East Side of New York) says:

At all seasons of the year the inhabitants of a tenement-house must meet one another in the entries (sometimes less than 3 feet wide), on the stairs, at the sink (there is but one on each floor); must see into one another's rooms as each person goes in and out; must use the roof, the doorway, the yard in common. But when the summer heats are on, and men

and women crowd together on the top of the house waiting for a breeze to come; when men will sit all night on a seat in the park to escape the closeness of a room where fire has been burning all day (not for cooking, but to heat the irons for the laundry or the tailor's shop); when every window must stand open to let in what little air there is; then it may be seen that privacy in a tenement-house is not much more possible than in an Eastern caravansary or in the steerage of an emigrant vessel. At such a time every loud word spoken reaches the ears of scores of people. From one room come the harsh tones of a husband and wife in the heat of a "family quarrel," oaths and imprecations ringing out on the fetid air; from another window come the shouts and frantic laughter of men and women (God pity them!) trying to drown their misery in liquor from the gin-mill on the corner; while from the roof of a neighboring house come the words of a ribald song flung out shamelessly to all within hearing, whether they choose or not. And, as if this were not debasing enough, in many of these blocks every other house has, on the ground floor, a saloon or rumshop, from which the smell of alcohol issues at all times; where the monotonous click of balls on the pool-table sounds till after midnight, when it gives place to the howls of drunken men turned out on the street; and past the door of which, often open into the entry, every person, every child in the house must pass to and from his room. . . .

But this by no means exhausts the abominations of the system of tenement-house life. There is many a "home" where a boy or girl over fourteen years old would not think of passing an evening unless compelled to do so. Think of coming back after a hard day's work in a shop to find the only sitting-room half filled with wash-tubs, the baby crying, children squabbling on the floor, or perhaps tumbling about on the bed; the walls hung with the soiled clothes and dresses of the family; the whole place reeking with the smell of fat and garlic from the hot stove; the table "set" with coarse, broken china, strewn on a dirty board; a kerosene lamp, without a shade, smoking in the middle; a loaf of bread in the brown paper in which it was wrapped at the bakery, and a coffee-pot of black, bitter coffee. That is the scene which welcomes many a girl or boy, just beginning to realize how differently other people live. Is it strange that they gulp down their sugarless coffee and, at the first chance, slip out into the street beneath?

I am quite aware that much of what I have written will seem overstated. It seems so to me, and yet I know that it is not. Every single fact has been verified and can be verified in thousands of cases. And this is not more than half the truth . . . of the horrors of a state of things where manhood is brutalized, womanhood dishonored, childhood poisoned at its very source.

SMALL, ALBION WOODBURY: Professor of sociology and head of department at the University of Chicago; born 1854 at Buckfield, Me. Educated in public schools and at Colby University, 1876; Newton Theological Seminary, 1879; studied two years at the universities of Berlin and Leipsic; and was appointed professor of history and political economy at Colby University, 1881–88. For one year he was reader in history at Johns Hopkins University, and received the degree of Ph.D., whereupon he was elected president of Colby University, 1889–92. In the latter year he was appointed to his present position by President Harper, and has been editor of *The American Journal of Sociology* since its foundation. Author: "General Sociology," 1905. *Address*: University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

SMITH, ADAM: Political economist; born in Kirkcaldy, 1723; son of Adam Smith, controller of the customs. Studying in the local school he showed a great fondness for books. In 1837 he went to Glasgow University where he attended the lectures of Dr. Hutcheson; in 1740 he went to Balliol College, Oxford, with a view to taking orders in the English Church. Returning to Kirkcaldy for two years, he went to Edinburgh in 1748 and lectured on belles-lettres under the patronage of Lord Kames. There he won the friendship of David Hume; in 1851 he became professor of logic at Glasgow; in 1852 professor of moral philosophy. His first work as an author were two articles in 1755 in the *Edinburgh Review*. In 1759 appeared his "Theory of Moral Sentiments"; in 1762 he was made doctor of laws; in 1763 he took charge of the young Duke of Buccleuch on his travels. He spent nearly two years in south France, and in a short time passed in Paris met the brilliant writers there. In 1766 he returned to England, and for ten years lived at Kirkcaldy with his mother, working on his great work, "An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations," which appeared in 1776. The next two years were spent in London in literary society, but in 1778 he was appointed one of the commissioners of customs in Scotland, and fixt his residence in Edinburgh; in 1787 he was elected lord rector of the University of Glasgow, but his health gradually failing, he died, after a painful illness, in 1790.

SMITH, CHARLES SPRAGUE: Director of The People's Institute, New York City; born Andover, Mass., 1853; graduated Amherst College, 1874; studied in Europe till 1880; 1880–91 professor of modern languages and foreign literature, and was organizer of Modern Language Department in Columbia University. Public lecturer from 1887; in 1896 organized the Comparative Literature Society, and in 1897 founded the People's Institute; member of various civic committees. He believes the time has come for community (municipality, State) to enlarge its control over public-service utilities and all fields of activity where monopoly can establish itself. He is not opposed to socialism—but favors rather the experimental advance toward socialization—without attempting to judge beforehand how far it will be necessary to go in order to safeguard the communal interests. Author of "Barbizon Days"; "Working with the People." *Address*: 318 East Fifteenth Street, New York City.

SNOWDEN, PHILIP: Member British Parliament of Independent Labor Party for Blackburn; born 1864 at Cowling, Yorkshire. He entered the Inland Revenue Department of the Civil Service in 1886; was maimed for life by a bicycle accident, and had to leave. During his convalescence he took up socialistic literature, and became a vigorous adherent of the Independent Labor Party. He was elected four times to the Cowling Parish Council, also three times on the Keighley Town Council and School Board. In 1898 he became a member of the National Administrative Council of the Independent Labor Party, and chairman of the party in 1900, and has since addrest meetings all over England. He is a good speaker, and a clear and logical writer. He stood twice for Parliament, and was elected in 1906. *Address*: 75 Spencer Place, Leeds, England.

SOCIAL CONTRACT: According to J. J. Rousseau (*q. v.*), a State is founded by a "social contract" between its members, whereby they, tho formerly living in a "state of nature" without laws, agree for their mutual good to form themselves into a social body and obey its constituted laws. His theory is a development of the teachings of Hobbes, Locke, and early thinkers, and is therefore best discust in connection with other views. (See articles NATURAL RIGHTS; POLITICAL SCIENCE; ROUSSEAU; STATE.)

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION, THE (English), was founded in London in 1881, under the name of the Democratic Federation, and through the efforts of H. M. Hyndman, Herbert Burrows, Miss Helen Taylor (stepdaughter of

J. S. Mill), and others. In 1884 it became an avowed Socialist body and took its present name. It entered at once upon strenuous agitation, and was prominent in the agitation of 1886, with the so-called Trafalgar Square demonstrations, etc. To-day it has small but energetic branches in all the prominent English cities and centers of trade. William Morris, and a few others at first connected with it, left it, however, in 1885, to form a Socialist League, on the lines of a more communal and less parliamentary conception of socialism. John Burns, Tom Mann, and others also left it because of the policy of the federation in antagonizing all trade-union and political agitation not avowedly connected with and politically supporting Marxist socialism. The federation has thus become the one organization in England standing distinctly for Marxist socialism. Its leading spirit from the first has been H. M. Hyndman. Its organ is *Justice*, long under the editorship of Henry Quelch, and published at 37a Clerkenwell Green, E. C., London. It has of late years nominated many political candidates, but has polled but a small vote, since it stands largely aloof from other labor parties.

It has, however, to-day 194 sections with three in South Africa. It polled, in 1906, 29,810 votes and elected one candidate to Parliament, Will Thorne, in Southwest Ham, London. In 1907 it elected another, Victor Greyson, at a by-election.

In 1905 the Federation ran fifty-six candidates for municipal offices, polled 27,000 votes, and won ten new seats. At twenty-five other local elections since then 9,663 votes were polled and nine seats gained. This brought the total of members of local authorities up to over 100, in addition to ten elected borough auditors. The 1906 elections left matters much as before.

The Twenty-sixth Annual Conference was held at Bradford, eighty-five delegates representing seventy-six branches. The discussion of the question of rejoining the Labor Representation Committee resulted in a resolution, carried by fifty-two to eighteen, that while cordially sympathizing with the Labor Party and its independent action, affiliation was only possible so soon as the committee accepted a definite Socialist program. General secretary, H. W. Lee, 21a Maiden Lane, Strand, W. C.

SOCIAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, THE: Organized as a result of a social education congress held at Boston, Mass. Its objects are to emphasize the fact that the fundamental purpose of education should be to prepare the child for a useful life of social service as an active and creative member of the social organism.

To enlist every good social agency in the work of educating all boys and girls—physically, mentally, industrially, and morally — to be of the highest use to themselves and to society.

To bring parents, teachers, and other citizens together in an intelligent effort to improve public schooling, and to adapt it to the complex needs of modern life.

To persuade the public to support, financially and morally, the highest and most modern type of school.

To publish the proceedings of the congress, to promote other such assemblies, and to serve as a "clearing-house" for the many agencies now working separately toward the above-named general ends. *Secretary*, Dr. Colin A. Scott, 103 Gainsborough Street, Boston, Mass.

SOCIAL INSTITUTES of considerably varying kinds but of one general character are springing up in all the larger cities, the common aim of which may be said to act as exchanges or clearing-houses for sociological or, more strictly, for social reform information. The more important of these we consider in special articles, but at least name them here. The Musée Social (5 Rue las Cases, Paris) was the first (1889) and began as a permanent continuation of the sociological exhibit of the Paris Exposition. The American Institute of Social Service (231 West Thirty-ninth Street, New York City) was organized under that name in 1902. The Milan *Umanitaria* (9 Via Allessandro Manzoni) which, tho acting as a center of information has also a large endowment for varied actual operations, commenced work about 1903. Rome has also a Social Institute. The Belgian Solvay Institute (1901) is more of a sociological college for special investigation. The International Labor Bureau at Basel (1901) is strictly international, but limited to the field of comparative labor legislation. (For all these, see special articles.) The British Institute of Social Service (11 Southhampton Row, London) was organized in 1904, somewhat after the form of the American Institute, and now publishes a valuable monthly, *Social Progress*. A somewhat similar Swedish Central Alliance for Social Work (6 Lastmakaregetan, Stockholm) was begun in 1903. In Denmark a Social Bureau of Information was begun in Copenhagen in 1898. In Holland a Central Bureau for Social Advice (37 Vossiusstraat) was founded at Amsterdam in 1900. Germany has various social institutes of this general nature, a Central Bureau of Social Welfare at Berlin (14 Dessauer Str.), an Institute for Social Welfare at Frankfort-on-the-Main, with an important branch in Berlin (30 Nollendorf Str.), besides social museums (*q. v.*) at Charlottenburg, Munich, Frankfort, Bremen, and smaller institutes elsewhere. In Vienna the important Imperial Museum for Handicrafts and Crafts (founded in 1882), and in Moscow the Imperial Russian Technical Society (1897), largely fill this need. Hungary has a small social museum at Budapest (1901). There are the beginnings of such institutes in Japan, Australia, and elsewhere.

SOCIAL PURITY: Perhaps no movement devoted to the betterment and uplift of humanity has advanced more rapidly within recent years than that known as the Social Purity movement. During the past decade especially there has been an unprecedented growth, both in sentiment favorable to the movement and in the number and strength of the organizations promoting the cause for which it stands. European countries have suffered more from impurity and unjust regulation than other civilized peoples, and here the work has reached its greatest activity, with the United States a close follower; while most successful organized efforts are being put forth in South Africa, New Zealand, Australia, Canada, Mexico, and many of the more largely populated centers of South America and the Orient. The movement everywhere, when wisely guided, has the support of the most influential men and women prominent in reform, philanthropic and religious work, and in the medical and legal professions.

The purpose of this movement may be well un-

derstood and is clearly exprest in words taken from the "Object" of one of the well-known purity associations of the U. S., which are as follows:

The object of this association shall be to promote the cause of purity, by elevating public opinion as regards the nature and claims of morality; advocating a single standard of morals and the better protection and rearing of our young; aiding to foster and build up a more thorough rescue and reform work, and bringing weight and proper influence to bear upon our legislators and those in authority in securing more just laws; the repeal of bad ones, and the strict enforcement of all statutes pertaining to better morals.

It will thus be seen that the real purpose is to promote purity in the life of the individual and in social relations through preventive, educational, reformatory, rescue, law enforcement, legislative, and sanitary lines of effort, and while these divisions may not be advanced as of equal importance by every purity organization, they are recognized by all as the legitimate and necessary lines of activity. Methods differ somewhat, but in general all societies carry on the work by means of periodicals and other printed matter, including books, pamphlets, and tracts; lectures, public meetings, personal workers, conferences, and national and international congresses.

As a result, altho the movement is yet in its pioneer days, a purity literature has been created which will forever fortify against a return to the dense ignorance and prudery which existed on matters of sex and life a few years back. State regulation of vice has been banished from many cities and countries, and has never been permitted to gain a permanent foothold in the U. S. The white slave traffic, whereby girls are trapt and sold into vice, is being so thoroughly investigated and vigorously prosecuted both in Europe and America, that this trade will soon be overthrown. Age of consent laws are being wisely and justly rewritten to protect a girl's virtue until she reaches her majority as completely as they have heretofore defended her property. Necessary information pertaining to venereal infection and the leprous diseases of vice is being disseminated. The single standard of morals is upheld as never before, and shelter extended to the "fallen" girl. Law and order leagues are carrying on a simultaneous crusade in many cities for the purification of morals and enforcement of law against the purveyors of vice. Editors of leading religious and literary journals are giving space to purity truths. But the one result of the purity movement which stands out and above all others, is the decided change in and present high state of public sentiment which makes the work itself possible.

In England and the Continent there are two very strong and representative organizations, with numerous others of national or sectional importance. The International Federation for the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice, with an object clearly stated in its name, is the most widely known of these associations. Headquarters are at Geneva where the official organ is published, and committees are established in each of the countries of Europe and in many other lands. This federation and its affiliated or kindred associations now publish sixteen periodicals, in seven different languages. The British committee, with Mr. Maurice Gregory as secretary, has offices at 17 Tothill Street, Westminster, S. W., London, where they publish *The Shield*.

The International Bureau for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, Mr. William Alexander Coote, secretary, has headquarters at St. Mary's Chambers, 161a Strand, London, W. C. This bureau has a committee, known as the "National Vigilance Committee," established in each of the European countries and the U. S. *The Vigilance Record*, published in London, is the official organ. Dr. O. Edward Janney, of Baltimore, is the chairman of the committee in the U. S.

Other organizations in Great Britain that should be mentioned are:

The Social Purity Alliance, founded in 1873, which conducts general work. Official organ, *The Pioneer*. *Secretary*, Mr. Eric Hammond, 18 Tothill Street, Westminster, S. W., London.

The Alliance of Honour, 5 Beresford Road, London, N., Dr. Harry Grattan Guinness, president, is one of the strongest purity associations for young men in the world.

The Boys' Purity Band, B. McCall Barbour, organizer, 37 Chambers Street, Edinburgh, Scotland, is doing a thorough work for boys and publishing an excellent line of literature.

The White Cross societies and Travelers' Aid are also doing an extensive work in Great Britain and other parts of Europe.

In the U. S., while the movement is not so far advanced as in Europe, and possibly not as progressive, there are a number of organizations of importance. It will be sufficient to mention these by name, with the distinguishing work of each, to give a comprehensive review of the movement in this country:

The New England Watch and Ward Society; secretary, J. Frank Chase, Boston, Mass. The oldest purity society in the U. S. Combats obscene literature, gambling, and vice; of late is entering more into a general work.

The New York Society for the Suppression of Vice; secretary, Anthony Comstock, New York City. Efforts devoted principally against obscene literature and degrading instruments of vice.

The American Purity Alliance; secretary, Percy Russell, New York City. Opposes state regulation of vice. Official organ, *The Philanthropist*.

The National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity; president, Mrs. Elizabeth B. Grannis, New York City. A general work.

The National Purity Association; president, J. B. Caldwell, Chicago. Purity in marital relations. Official organ, *The Purity Journal*.

The American Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis; president, Dr. Prince A. Morrow, New York City. Aim, to limit the spread of diseases which have their origin in the social evil.

The Northwestern Purity Association; secretary, Clara O. Steadwell, La Crosse, Wis. A general work.

The Canadian Purity-Education Association; secretary, Rowena G. D. Hume, Toronto. A general line of purity and educational work.

The International Reform Bureau; superintendent, Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts, Washington, D. C. Legislative and publicity bureau. Issues regular bulletins and pamphlets.

The National Purity Federation; president, B. S. Steadwell, La Crosse, Wis. A federation of leading purity organizations for the purpose of promoting the purity movement in a national sense, through union of effort and the holding of national and international congresses. Official organ, *The Light*.

These organizations are representative of the movement in America, and with the White Cross and White Shield societies, and the departments for purity and moral education in such well-known organizations as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Young Women's and the Young Men's Christian Associations, the King's Daughters, the National Council of Women, the Congress of Mothers, and the numerous Law and Order societies in our principal cities, constitute the chief agencies for the advancement of social purity.

A branch of the general movement operates under the name of "Rescue Work." Homes for the shelter and redemption of erring and betrayed girls and women, and for the rescue of

female inmates from the houses of shame, are established in all the larger cities of the civilized world. These homes are usually under the management of local societies known as "Rescue Leagues." Great Britain and the Continent lead in the number of these institutions. In the U. S. there are more than two hundred of such homes. Over sixty of these are under the supervision of the National Florence Crittenton Mission, Mr. Charles N. Crittenton, president, Washington, D. C. The Door of Hope homes number also more than sixty, Mrs. E. M. Whittemore, of New York City, being the founder. Nearly every city of importance has its Good Shepherd Home under the management of the sisters of the Catholic Church. Connected with each home there are usually from one to several missionaries or personal workers. As an adjunct to this work, homes are established in all large cities where working girls and women may obtain desirable board and lodging at a reasonable price and where their environment is made as homelike and safe as possible, thus sheltering them from many of the temptations of city life. B. S. STEADWELL.

Rescue Work

SOCIAL SECRETARIES: A social secretary in industrial betterment is the name used for a man or woman added to the staff of a business firm whose duty it is to be the point of contact between the firm and its employees and to promote the interests—moral, physical, and industrial—of the employees.

The first social secretary was employed in 1889 in the United States and met with such success that several firms appointed similar secretaries. Four years later it was possible to hold a conference of social secretaries. In Great Britain Messrs. Rowntree & Co., of York, in 1891 engaged a lady social secretary to look after the interests of the women and girls in their employ, and the result was so satisfactory that they now have four social secretaries.

The first duty of a social secretary is to represent the firm in the engagement of employees, and frequently to represent the employers in the settlement of personal grievances. The main duty, however, is to study the welfare of the employees in every way, to suggest improvements in their conditions, to organize them into clubs, social enterprises, and various forms of improvement. At the same time he or she becomes the link between the employer and the employed, preventing friction and removing difficulties. If the secretary has good tact, common sense, and the welfare of the employees at heart, he or she can be of very great service both to the employees and to the firm. This requires naturally the basing of action not on philanthropy but on what is reasonable. The good of the employees is in the long run the good of the firm, and the good of the firm is equally in the long run the good of the employees. Conspicuous among the American firms employing social secretaries are the Westinghouse Air Brake Company, the H. J. Heinz Company, the Ludlow Manufacturing Associates, the International Harvester Company, the National Cash Register Company, Filene's Store of Boston, the Shepard Company (department store) of Providence, R. I., the Curtis Publishing Company of New York, the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, the Proximity Cotton Mills of Greensboro, N. C., Hamilton, Carhart & Co. of Detroit, and the Siegel-Cooper Store in New York. On the Continent of Europe less is done in this line, altho it is being commenced. A social secretary was employed by the Van Marken Works in Holland as early as 1894. Various French firms have such secretaries, altho many firms reach the same results in different ways.

SOCIALISM: See the following articles for different portions of the subject, from different points of view:

"Socialism, Definition of and Arguments for," by W. D. P. Bliss.

"Socialism, History of," by Morris Hillquitt.

"Socialism, International," by William J. Ghent.

"Socialism, Objections to," by Prof. J. E. Le Rossignol.

"Socialist Party, U. S.," by William Mailly.

See also CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM; COLLECTIVIST SOCIETY; FABIAN SOCIETY; LABOR PARTY (English); INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY (English); SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION; REVISIONISTS; SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY (U. S.); SOCIALISTS OF THE CHAIR; COMMUNISM; INTERNATIONAL; NATIONALISM; PUBLIC OWNERSHIP; etc.

I. General Definition

The word socialism (from Latin *socius*, a comrade, an associate) was probably first used in the later agitation of Robert Owen from 1830–40, and first popularized in Reybaud's "Études sur les Réformateurs ou Socialistes Modernes" (1840), to express the general tendency to develop a communal or cooperative organization of society in place of the existing competitive state of society. The word, however, in the evolution of social reform, has come—at least in Germany, England, and the United States—to be limited in general use to that effort for the cooperative organization of society which would work through government (national, State, or local). This is by no means to identify socialism with a mere expansion of the functions of the State. Socialists only believe in a fraternal State. Paternal State socialism all Socialists unanimously oppose, save as paternal governments introduce measures leading toward fraternal cooperation. In Germany, where the government is largely paternal, the phrase State socialism is used for the expansion of its paternal functions, and is strenuously opposed by the Socialists. In the U. S. and England, where the ideal of government is democratic, Socialists usually declare themselves State Socialists. Said a report issued in 1896 by the Fabian Society (*q. v.*):

> The socialism advocated by the Fabian Society is State socialism exclusively. The foreign friends of the Fabian Society must interpret this declaration in view of the fact that since England now possesses an elaborate democratic State machinery, graduated from the parish council or vestry up to the central Parliament, and elected under a franchise which enables the working class vote to overwhelm all others, the opposition which exists in the Continental monarchies between the State and the people does not hamper English Socialists.

By the derivation of the word, by its history, by its use by Socialists themselves, socialism is the very opposite of paternalism. Owen, Fourier, Blanc, Marx, Engels, Lassalle, Bebel, Maurice, Hyndman, Morris, Fabians—where is there a governmental paternalist among Socialists of any school? Socialism is in essence economic comradeship. The State is but the means; a cooperative commonwealth is the end.

Definition

Says John Stuart Mill (*Fortnightly Review*, April, 1879):

What is characteristic of socialism is the joint ownership by all the members of the community of the instruments and means of production, which carries with it the consequence that the division of all the produce among the body of owners must be a public act performed according to the rules laid down by the community.

Says Engels ("Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft"):

The first act in which the State really appears as the representative of society as a whole, namely, the seizure of the means of production in the name of society, is at the same time its last independent act as a State. Interference of the state in social relations gradually becomes superfluous in one department after another, and finally of itself ceases (goes to sleep). The place of government over persons is taken by administration of things and the management of productive processes.

Bebel ("Die Frau und Sozialismus," pp. 312–314) argues that, under socialism, ministers, parliaments, armies, police, courts, attorneys, taxation, will all disappear, their place being taken by administrative colleges or boards. That this is the correct and generally accepted conception of socialism, and that there is no ground for the assertion frequently, nevertheless, made, that Socialists themselves are not agreed on the use of the word, can be seen by the following definitions which, tho using different phraseology, are in almost absolute essential agreement.

Says Friedrich Engels (Marx's lifelong friend and the editor of his literary remains), describing socialism in his "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," translated by E. Aveling:

With the seizing of the means of production by society, production of commodities is done away with, and simultaneously the mastery of the product over the producer. Anarchy in social production is replaced by systematic, definite organization. The struggle for individual existence disappears. . . . The whole sphere of the conditions which environ man, and which have hitherto ruled man, now comes under the dominion and control of man, who now for the first time becomes the real conscious lord of nature, because he has now become master of his own social organization. . . . It is the ascent of man from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom.

Says a manifesto of the joint committee of all English Socialist bodies (1893):

Our aim, one and all, is to obtain for the whole community complete ownership and control of the means of transport, the means of manufacture, the mines, and the land. Thus we look to put an end forever to the wage system, to sweep away all distinctions of class, and eventually to establish national and international communism on a sound basis.

Says Paul Lefargue, a typical French Socialist and son-in-law of Karl Marx (in *Le Figaro*):

Socialism is not the system of any reformer whatever; it is the doctrine of those who believe that the existing system is on the eve of a fatal economic evolution which will establish collective ownership in the hands of organizations of workers, in place of the individual ownership of capital.

Says Professor Schäffle, of Austria ("Quintessenz des Sozialismus"):

The alpha and omega of socialism is the transformation of private and competing capitals into a united collective capital.

Says Prof. R. T. Ely, of the U. S. ("Socialism and Social Reform," p. 19):

The results of the analysis of socialism may be brought together in a definition which would read somewhat as follows: Socialism is that contemplated system of industrial society which proposes the abolition of private property in the great material instruments of production, and the substitution therefor of collective property; and advocates the collective management of production, together with the distribution of social income by society, and private property in the larger proportion of this social income.

So, too, agree the dictionaries and encyclopedias. Says the "Encyclopædia Britannica" (article "Socialism," by Thomas Kirkup):

Whereas industry is at the present carried on by private capitalists served by wage-labor, it must be in the future conducted by associated or cooperating workmen jointly owning the means of production. On grounds both of theory and history this must be accepted as the cardinal principle of socialism.

The Standard Dictionary defines socialism as:

A theory of civil polity that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor, through the public collective ownership of land and capital (as distinguished from property), and the public collective management of all industries.

Says the Century Dictionary:

Socialism is any theory or system of social organization which would abolish entirely or in great part the individual effort and competition on which modern society rests, and substitute for it cooperative action; would introduce a more perfect and equal distribution of the products of labor, and would make land and capital, as the instruments and means of production, the joint possession of the members of the community.

Summing up these definitions, socialism may be said to be *the collective ownership of the means of production by the community democratically organized and their operation cooperatively for the equitable good of all.*

Schools of Socialism

Together, however, with this agreement as to what socialism is, it must be admitted that there is more difference of opinion as to the methods to be used in attaining the end. All Socialists to-day agree in working through the State, and so, both in theory and fact, are wholly differentiated from all forms of anarchism and anarchist communism, from which in the incipiency of the Socialist movement they were not wholly differentiated. (See INTERNATIONAL.) But, beyond this general agreement, considerable differences exist. A large majority of the members of the avowed Socialist political parties believe that socialism will and must come by the organized political and economic efforts of the working classes, including among them those who, tho personally belonging to other classes, nevertheless accept this view and so adopt what is called the "class-conscious" basis, which is international and revolutionary, tho it is recognized by all Socialists that this economic revolution must come in more or less evolutionary way. These Socialists being admittedly, at present, at least, the large majority of the organized political Socialist movement, claim that they have the right to determine the use of the word socialism and to refuse to recognize as Socialists any who do not accept this view, which they consider vital and fundamental. For a statement of their views, see article SOCIALISM, INTERNATIONAL, by W. J. Ghent. This school of Socialists is, however, subdivided into two classes: (1) of those who accept the class-conscious position and work for a more or less catastrophic political uprising to establish socialism (at least in large measure), scorning meanwhile almost all ameliorative measures as reactionary, obscuring the real issue, tending to delay the final end and put people on the wrong track; and (2) of those who, accepting also the class-conscious position, nevertheless believe in working from this standpoint for more or less ameliorative measures to be attained in any way. Such Socialists bear different names in different countries, but in Germany are usually called

Revisionists. (See articles REVISIONISTS and BERNSTEIN, their main leader.) In Germany and most countries they are becoming the majority.

The second main school of Socialists do not accept the class-conscious position and usually do not belong to avowed Socialist parties, tho often voting the Socialist ticket, and are therefore not considered true Socialists by the other school. But since they do accept the general Socialist aim and work for it in the way they consider wisest; and since, too, they are a very large number, and perhaps even a majority of those calling themselves Socialists, they believe that they have a perfect right to the name, altho not of the party. This school is frankly and avowedly opportunist, believing in working for Socialism through any party and in any way that at any given time and place will best promote the common end. They form probably the majority of the working classes of Great Britain and the U. S., the majority of the whole population of New Zealand and Australia, a large number of working men in all countries, and also in all countries a very considerable and rapidly growing number of the so-called intellectual and middle classes. To them, as to all Socialists, socialism is an historic, economic, and fundamentally revolutionary change in the constitution of society. They do not limit the movement, however, to any form, nor to the efforts of any one class, tho they recognize that undoubtedly a large and probably at least a quantitatively leading portion of the movement will be played by the working classes. Most of them believe that in almost all countries there should be and will be developed new independent parties, working for socialism, and perhaps under its name, tho not of necessity so, yet on a wider basis than existing Socialist parties. The most advanced actual carrying out of this view is in New Zealand and in some English municipalities. The best known and most influential group advocating this view is the English Fabian Society (*q. v.*), whence it is often called Fabian Socialism. This general school, too, is subdivided into many varieties of view, for which see the opening paragraph of this article. Such Socialists, however, all deny that the particular economic interpretation of history adopted by Karl Marx, identified with his name, and developed by his followers, is the only scientific view. While they accept much of the Marxist view, they deny emphatically that that view is correctly called "Scientific Socialism." Only gradually, they assert, and by incorporating many views and various elements, are we slowly and partially working out a scientific interpretation of history and of social phenomena.

It belongs also to this view, and is, indeed, admitted by Socialists of the orthodox type, that while the aims of socialism and even general methods may be one, details must differ in different countries. There is no Socialist system for society, because socialism is not a system, but an evolution, a tendency, a principle. It is as flexible in its form as it is definite in the principle. Any system that would carry out its principle is socialistic. In Germany to-day its chief aim is national development. In France it makes less of the nation and more of the commune. In Belgium it comes very near to cooperation, and yet is socialism not cooperation. In England it is municipal, and in a growing degree parliamentary. In the U. S. it will probably follow our political divisions of states, counties, municipalities, townships, and the nation. Socialism, therefore, is not Fourierism, nor Marxism, nor Bellamyism. Says Sidney Webb: "It seems almost impossible to bring people to understand that the abstract word socialism denotes, like radicalism, not an elaborate plan of society, but a principle of social action."

Forms of Socialism

All Socialists, too, are agreed that many elements often identified in the popular mind with socialism have no necessary connections with it. A report of the Fabian Society says:

> The object of the Fabian Society is to persuade the English people to make their political constitution thoroughly democratic and so to socialize their industries as to make the livelihood of the people entirely independent of private capitalism.
>
> The Fabian Society endeavors to pursue its Socialist and democratic objects with complete singleness of aim. For example:
>
> It has no distinctive opinions on the marriage question, religion, art, abstract economics, historic evolution, currency, or any other subject than its own special business of practical democracy and socialism.

Professor Schäffle, in his "Quintessence of Socialism," shows that some Socialists believe in and practise free love—some individualists also do—but that socialism as a system has no necessary connection with loose family relationships. Many Socialists believe that only socialism can save the family. Nor is there more authority for identifying socialism with anarchy. Theoretically, the two are opposites, and practically they are opposed.

Most modern Socialists oppose communism (*q. v.*), ordinary local cooperation, and the establishment of communistic colonies. Some Socialists believe that under certain conditions local experiments in these directions may be wise as temporary means of education or of economic living, and where cooperation has got an established hold, as in England and Belgium, Socialists are learning the wisdom of working with the cooperators (see COOPERATION), but where local cooperation experiments or colonies are put forth as in themselves a sufficient ideal to work for, or where they are attempted, as they often have been in the U. S., under conditions too weak to compete against the competitive civilization with which they are surrounded, Socialists oppose such efforts as reactionary and unwise. It follows once more from the evolutionary idea that Socialists to-day spend little time in dreaming of the future. To the future the future may be left. Content with a firm grasp on their central aim Socialists are learning more and more to concentrate their efforts on the present political battle, and to leave the details of the future to the decision of circumstances. Says Mr. Kidd, speaking of this policy ("Social Evolution," p. 206):

> We have not now to deal with mere abstract and transcendental theories, but with a clearly defined movement in practical politics, appealing to some of the deepest instincts of a large proportion of the voting population, and professing to provide a program likely in the future to stand more on its own merits in opposition to all other programs whatever.

Socialists, however, urge that there is not only an evolution of socialism but an evolution toward socialism. Many Socialists, indeed, believe that this is the most important portion of the development. Such Socialists point to and rejoice in the steady growth of monopolies, trusts, and concentrated wealth on the one hand, coupled, on the other hand, with the steady advance of democratic tendencies among the masses of all coun-

tries. They tell us that the choice lies between private monopoly, which is tyranny, and public monopoly, which is socialism, between the combination of the few and the cooperation of all. They say that the State must own the railroads, or the railroads own the State. Nor is the argument weakened by the fact that, among certain portions of the educated classes, there is a reaction against democracy. This reaction is largely caused by fear of a Socialist democracy, and this rather shows the advance of socialism.

Other Socialists find more evidence of the advance of socialism in the steady expansion of the function of the democratic State. This is admitted by those who most oppose it. Of England Herbert Spencer says:

Evolution Toward Socialism

"The numerous socialistic changes made by act of Parliament, joined with numerous others presently to be made, will by and by be all merged in State socialism; swallowed in the vast wave which they have little by little raised." Of this advance Mr. Sidney Webb writes in the "Fabian Essays":

> Slice after slice has gradually been cut from the profits of capital, and therefore from its selling value, by socially beneficial restrictions on its user's liberty to do as he liked with it. Slice after slice has been cut off the incomes from rent and interest by the gradual shifting of taxation from consumers to persons enjoying incomes above the average of the kingdom. Step by step the political power and political organizations of the country have been used for industrial ends.
>
> Even in the fields still abandoned to private enterprise, its operations are thus every day more closely limited, in order that the anarchic competition of private greed, which at the beginning of the century was set up as the only infallibly beneficent principle of social action, may not utterly destroy the State. All this has been done by "practical" men, ignorant, that is to say, of any scientific sociology; believing socialism to be the most foolish of dreams, and absolutely ignoring, as they thought, all grandiloquent claims for social reconstruction. Such is the irresistible sweep of social tendencies that in their every act they worked to bring about the very socialism they despised.

Evidences of this are in all countries, particularly in Europe and New Zealand. Hundreds of public services formerly carried on by private enterprise are now carried on by government, while very rarely does a service conducted by the State change to private conduct. If evolution means the survival of the fittest, public ownership is rapidly proving itself the coming order. (See MUNICIPALISM; LIGHTING; RAILROADS; etc.) A great change, too, has come over public thought. In the development of avowed socialism there come tidal waves of action and reaction, but the steady advance of general socialistic thought is one of the marked characteristics of the day. The significance and the real socialism of the so-called Socialists of the Chair (*q. v.*) and the confessions of English economists may have been exaggerated by some, but the very reaction shows the extent to which the change has gone. Says Sidney Webb ("Fabian Essays"):

Changes in Thought

> The publication of John Stuart Mill's "Political Economy" in 1848 marks conveniently the boundary of the old, individualist economics. Every edition of Mill's book became more and more socialistic. After his death the world learned the personal history, penned by his own hand, of his development from a mere political democrat to a convinced Socialist.
>
> The change in tone since then has been such that one competent economist, professedly anti-Socialist, publishes regretfully to the world that all the younger men are now Socialists, as well as many of the older professors. It is, indeed, mainly from these that the world has learned how faulty were the earlier economic generalizations, and, above all, how incomplete as guides for social or political action.

Says Professor de Laveleye:

> It was at one time imagined that the means of combating socialism would be found in the teachings of political economy; but, on the contrary, it is precisely this science which has furnished the Socialists of to-day with their most redoubtable weapons. (Introduction to "Socialism of To-day.")

A similar change has come over religious thought. Christian Socialism under some form has appeared in all Christian lands. Says Professor Kirkup, in his article on socialism, in the "Encyclopædia Britannica": "The ethics of socialism are closely akin to the ethics of Christianity, if not identical with them." Says Professor de Laveleye (Introduction to "Socialism of To-day"): "Every Christian who understands and earnestly accepts the teachings of his Master is at heart a Socialist, and every Socialist, whatever may be his hatred against all religion, bears within himself an unconscious Christianity."

At the London Diocesan Conference of May 16, 1906, it was voted, 58 to 13, that the principles of socialism were calculated to promote the general welfare of the community in Church and State.

Professor Schäffle long ago said: "The future belongs to the purified socialism" ("Bau und Leben des Socialen Körpers," vol. ii., p. 120).

II. Arguments for Socialism

1. The fundamental argument for socialism is that it will mean a personal liberty to-day disappearing under the stress of economic competition and the resultant development of private monopolies. A man cannot be said to be free to-day who on penalty of starvation for himself and his family is compelled to work at some manual or machine task, allowing of little creative action, or intellectual interest, and often more strenuously than the slaves of any age, and all for a pittance barely more than will sustain life under modern conditions. Yet such is the present economic condition of vast portions of the human race in all civilized countries. (See WAGES; WEALTH.) Nor can those more economically fortunate and successful be said to be free when almost all branches of trade are dominated by the very few. The ownership of shares in trusts many believe to be spreading, but all admit a marked and startling concentration at least of the control of wealth. This condition limits, too, the freedom of the intellectual classes; the journalist employed by a millionaire (it takes a million dollars to establish a great modern daily), the educator engaged by a university of necessity supported by the donations of the wealthy, the clergyman receiving a salary from the well-to-do, can scarcely be said to be economically free. Socialists believe that under any system of competition, even when the natural values of the soil are unmonopolized, economic power *must* go to the shrewd, the able, and often the unscrupulous; that this power will enable them to secure more power, so that eventually, under any system of economic competition, the many will become, as to-day, economic dependents on the few. How much freedom the average individual has under individualism we see in Mill's declaration that "the restraints of communism would be freedom in comparison with the present condition of the majority of the human race." Socialists urge, therefore, that, exactly as government, through law and the police, protects the man physically weak from

Socialism Necessary to Freedom

aggression at the hands of the physical bully or giant, has so developed, not a perfect but a comparative physical freedom, and made possible a competition higher than physical, so government should protect the economically weak from the hands of economic giants and bullies, should introduce cooperation in place of competition, and so make possible a competition higher than economic. As in Periclean Athens (see ATHENS), socialistic legislation for the free citizens made it possible for them to live without economic competition or stress, it freed the individual to compete in art, beauty, literature, philosophy, and so produced an amount of individuality elsewhere unapproached in the world. In no country in the civilized world is there so little developed socialism as in the U. S., and in no country in the world is there such concentration of economic power and such rule by money over all classes of society. Under socialism, relieved from the necessity of concentrating all energies on getting a living (as is largely necessary to-day in the U. S., even for the well-to-do), a man can be free to think his own thoughts, to live his own life, to do his own deeds, to be free. This is the fundamental claim of socialism.

It is said in answer to this that economic production will thereby be decreased, since it would take away from the worker the spur of self-interest, which is declared to be the main economic spur of the world. The U. S. is adduced as economically the most productive, inventive, and progressive country of the world. It is declared that here wages are the highest, prosperity the most diffused, economic security the greatest, and therefore there is here, in this sense at least, the greatest possible freedom. It is argued that only by our captains of industry being allowed the spur of enormous gains have they developed the great systems of industry which have brought such prosperity to the many. To limit the possible returns of great capitalists, we are told, would be to kill the goose that lays the golden egg for the whole community. In Germany, and to a less extent in Great Britain and other countries where the operations of capitalists are more fettered by legislation, more or less socialistic, we are reminded that there has been no such progressive industrialism and production as in the U. S.

Socialism and Production

To this it is argued by Socialists that it is true the U. S.—commencing her national life on a new continent, and with unlimited natural resources, at a time when economic competition was in its first full swing, and giving away for nothing, to the few who could make use of them, vast privileges and franchises which have become, as population grew, of enormous value—has developed an economic production elsewhere unequaled. It is true that this has brought a substantial prosperity to many. It is true also that unwise legislation and the fettering of industrial initiative would undoubtedly lessen such production. But this does not prove that wise legislation and a gradual socialistic organization of society would lessen production. The modern country which undoubtedly has made the most rapid progress in economic production next to the U. S. is Germany, the large country where there has also been the greatest amount of socialistic legislation. Indeed, while the U. S. has doubtless produced the greatest number of millionaires and material product, it is not proven that, considering prices of both the pleasures and comforts of life, the ordinary workingman has much, if any, more joy of life in the U. S. than in Germany. It must be remembered, too, that the U. S. has had the enormous advantage of a continental domain calling for settlers and for capital to develop transit, etc., for those settlers. Whether the U. S., with these economic advantages, but the development of a strong central government controlling private initiative and operating the public utilities for the good of all, might not have developed a still greater economic production, is at least an open question. For her capitalistic production in any case the U. S. has paid an enormous price, in a government corrupted by gigantic corporations (see CORRUPTION), business demoralized by dealings at which the world stands aghast, adulterations of food, drugs, and materials, from which we are only beginning to be saved by socialistic legislation; purchasers robbed by prices which largely take away the benefit of high wages, charges for public service of transit, light, telegraph, telephone, expressage, the highest in the world, and also in many ways the most reckless of human life and careless of the public good. It is doubtful if the difference between the natural production and the number of millionaires in the U. S. and Germany is worth this frightful cost. In very many important respects Germany is ahead. New Zealand (*q. v.*), again, tho a small country, is making important economic advance under the most socialistic institutions of the world. The country has yet to be found where economic production has been lessened by socialistic legislation.

That the asserted lack of invention and expansion of public conveniences in socialistic countries is not due to their socialism, but to general racial characteristics, is shown, too, by the fact that this lack of progress exists quite as much in realms not at all affected by the socialistic laws, while Public Ownership in these countries has in every case largely produced expansion and improvement. (See PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.)

It is not true that government production is expensive compared with private operations, save in those municipalities and states corrupted by private corporations working through party bosses. (See CORRUPTION.) Public ownership and operation is winning its way around the world on its economic merits. (See PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.)

Public Ownership More Progressive than Private Monopolies

Nor is it true again that public ownership is less progressive than private. In any given country where both systems have been tried, as in street-railways, lighting, etc., the public-owned services have been proven the most progressive. (See PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.) In the U. S. the post-office has been far more progressive than the private Western Union Telegraph Company. (See POSTAL SERVICE.) Our public schools are almost universally superior to private schools, our state universities to private universities, except for a very few very highly endowed beneficiaries of vast private wealth. Patents (*q. v.*) are repeatedly bought up by private companies to prevent their being put on the market.

Socialists, too, deny that hope of economic gain is the greatest spur to inventiveness and action.

The greatest inventions of the world have not been made for gain. Socialists do not propose to abolish competition, only to substitute competi-

tion for honor in place of competition for gain. And in so doing they appeal to one of the deepest human motives. Says Mrs. Besant (in the "Fabian Essays"):

> The desire to excel, the joy in creative work, the longing to improve, the eagerness to win social approval, the instinct of benevolence—all these will start into full life, and will serve at once as the stimulus to labor and the reward of excellence. It is instructive to notice that these very forces may already be seen at work in every case in which subsistence is secured, and they alone supply the stimulus to action. The soldier's subsistence is certain, and does not depend on his exertions. At once he becomes susceptible to appeals to his patriotism, to his *esprit de corps*, to the honor of his flag; he will dare anything for glory, and value a bit of bronze, which is the "reward of valor," far more than a hundred times its weight in gold. Yet many of the private soldiers come from the worst of the population; and military glory and success in murder are but poor objects to aim at. If so much can be done under circumstances so unpromising, what may we not hope from nobler aspirations? Or take the eagerness, self-denial, and strenuous effort thrown by young men into their mere games! The desire to be captain of the Oxford eleven, stroke of the Cambridge boat, victor in the foot-race or the leaping—in a word, the desire to excel—is strong enough to impel the exertions which often ruin physical health. Everywhere we see the multiform desires of humanity assert themselves when once livelihood is secure.

The second main argument is that socialism will purify government. To day it is becoming very generally admitted that the main cause and source of governmental corruption is the great corporation or monopoly, whose need of franchises and favorable legislation is the corrupt politician's stock in trade, and the chance to sell which, under one form or another, is the one thing which attracts him into politics and makes it worth while for him to organize a ring and control elections. Compare article CORRUPTION, p. 326, where Mr. Steffens is quoted as saying, "Not the politician then, not the bribe-taker, but the bribe-giver, the man we are so proud of, our successful business man—he is the source and sustenance of our bad government. The captain of industry is the man to catch." Socialism would do away with these sources of corruption by taking economic power from the few and giving it to the many. Socialism would interest the good man in government. Says Prof. R. T. Ely (*The Christian Union*, Oct. 9, 1890):

Socialism Necessary to Pure Government

> We are reversing the order of nature in planning to reform city government first and then to carry out changes and to make improvements in behalf of the poorer classes. Let any one name a city where this policy has been successfully pursued. I know of none. . . .
>
> When civil-service reformers in New York come before the people with large and generous plans of reform, with a program including adequate school accommodations, strict enforcement of the compulsory education law, better sanitary measures, public ownership and management of gas and electric-light plants, playgrounds for children, public parks in crowded sections, and strict enforcement of laws for the protection of working children, and when leading citizens pledge themselves to these reforms they will arouse an enthusiasm which will sweep the city. . . .
>
> Another fundamental fact is that the program which I propose will, when carried out, arouse municipal pride and self-respect. It will awaken what you may call a self-consciousness. Cities with us do not, as it were, respect themselves. They are like men who have lost their self-respect, while they are despised by private corporations, whose tool they become.

This has been the actual result of public ownership in England and wherever tried. Birmingham, where this phase of the movement largely began, had up to its inception the reputation of being one of the most corrupt boroughs in England. Since that policy has been developed it often has been spoken of as "the best governed city in the world." It is a natural result. When a city or state does large things for its citizens, the citizens naturally take a healthy and proper interest in it. Complete civic purity is not developed in a day; but no one hears much of gross civic scandals where public ownership is highly developed. Corruption breeds almost solely where the ordinary citizen has little interest in the government and private interests have enormous favors to gain from corrupt councilors or officials.

As for the continually asserted argument that socialism would better liberty by putting all life under the control of a bureaucracy, it is to be said that this is based on an utter misunderstanding of what socialism is. Socialism is everywhere, in practice, constructive and positive, not negative. It says you may have cheap postage, transit, higher wages, better homes. It does not forbid private railroads, but introduces nationalized railroads so much cheaper and better that private roads disappear. This is socialism as it is actually evolving. Its bureaucracy is a myth of its opponents, based on some foolish outgrown Socialist Utopias.

The supreme argument for socialism, however, is that it will produce not only freer but a higher type of men and women. Those who argue that we need economic competition because character is so developed forget that competition develops strength primarily in that field of effort only in which the competition takes place. Character tends to be what men strive for. If men concentrate attention on industrial competition, they tend to develop materialism and shrewdness. This is exactly what we have to-day. Artists complain that commercialism is killing art; religionists say we are growing material; the bourgeois middle class boast of our material prosperity. It is the natural result of industrial competition. Under socialism, if men seek to serve the public it will produce a higher character.

Once competition was mainly physical. With naked hand or rudest club men fought for existence; later, with poisoned arrow and hurtling spear they battled for the best fisheries and the richest hunting-grounds. It produced physical individuality, the physical giant, the Nimrods, the Achilles, the Agamemnons, kings of men. Then came a competition a little more intellectual, producing an Alexander, a Richard Cœur de Lion, finally a Napoleon. Next came the modern world where men battle, not with poisoned spears, but with poisoned groceries; not with clubs and spears, but, like bulls and bears, with cornerings of the market and tricks of stock. It has produced the Jay Gould and the Baron Rothschild. Now comes socialism, and says, Let us cooperate in industry, and compete only to see who shall best serve the public. Is it not easy to see what kind of an individuality it will gradually produce? The development of species by environment is one of the commonplaces of science to-day, as brilliantly shown by Mrs. Gilman (*q. v.*) and proven by most careful scientists.

Socialism Productive of a Higher Character

Germany, where government does so much, has produced the best trained and most effective public servants.

The assertion is often made, nevertheless, that Socialists are materialistic, irreligious, free-lovers, disrespecters of property, etc., etc.

Mr. Lecky's "Democracy and Liberty" argues that the sense of right and wrong is the basis of the respect for property and for the obligation of

ORGANIZED SOCIALISM

	Year of election	Socialist votes	Socialists Elected to—			Percentage of—		Socialists elected mayors or to communal or other councils	Socialist journals
			Upper House	Second House	Out of	Second House	Total electorates		
Germany	1907	3,258,960	[1] 0	43	397	13.1	24.3	2,000	158
France	1906	1,120,000	1	[3] 75	584	12.0	[2] 12.0	2,769	70
Austria	1907	1,041,948	0	87	425	20.4	22.6	[2] 526	45
Belgium	1906	469,094	7	30	166	18.0	28.5	741	56
United States	1904	442,402	0	0	386	0	3.2	[2] 50	50
Australia	1904	[5] 421,270	15	[6] 26	75	34.6	34.0	.....	3
Great Britain	1906	[7] 342,196	0	[8] 45	670	6.7	6.7	845	12
Finland	1907	330,000	.....	80	200	40.0	.....	81	19
Italy	1904	320,000	0	25	508	4.9	20.0	1,000	92
New Zealand	1905	[9] 311,844	.....	60	80	75.0	75.0	.....	.....
Russia	1906	[2] 300,000	0	[10] 60	500	12.0	.....	850	.....
Denmark	1906	77,000	4	24	114	21.0	[2] 21.0	.....	25
Switzerland	1905	70,000	0	2	167	1.2	.....	[2] 100	15
Holland	1905	65,743	0	7	100	14.2	12.5	.....	14
Norway	1906	45,000	0	10	123	8.1	19.0	[8] 17	16
Hungary	1907	80,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	[4] 217	13
Argentina	1906	35,000	0	1	120	0.8	.....	25	5
Bulgaria	1902	30,000	0	8	201	4.0	.....	.....	2
Sweden	1905	26,000	0	15	230	6.5	12.0	13	31
Spain	1905	23,000	0	0	406	0	.....	71	7
Chile	1906	10,000	0	3	107	2.8	.....	80	22
Rumania	.....	[11] 8,000	0	0	183	.....	12.4	.....	1
Luxemburg	1906	[12] 4,000	0	5	15	11.1	.....	.....	.....
Servia	1906	3,133	0	1	160	0.6	.....	17	2
Canada	1905	[13] 2,867	0	0	214	0	.....	.....	1
Total	.....	8,803,457	27	607	.....	.....	.....	.....	[14] 646

[1] 0 means none; .... means unknown. [2] Estimated.
[3] Fifty-five Party Socialists and 20 Independent Socialists, besides 136 Socialist Radicals.
[4] 1904.
[5] The portion of the total electorate corresponding to the proportion of Labor members in the Australian federal House of Representatives. The Australian Labor Party is practically a Socialist Party.
[6] Labor members elected to the federal House of Representatives. In the separate Australian state legislatures there are many more Labor representatives—34 in Queensland alone, 25 in New South Wales, 18 in Victoria.
[7] The portion of the total electorate corresponding to the proportion of the Labor group in the House of Commons.
[8] In the Labor group. Of these, only 2 were elected as strict Party Socialists, representing the Social Democratic Federation; but 7 belong to the Independent Labor Party, which is explicitly socialistic, and 13 more belong to the Labor Representation Committee, which is practically socialistic, and 6 more still are Fabian or economic Socialists elected as radicals. Of the remaining 16 in the Labor group, if any are not socialistic they are more than balanced by those who favor Socialist measures among the Liberals, Irish Unionists, and Nationalists. The number in Parliament favoring most Socialist measures is probably nearer 100 than 45.
[9] The portion of the electorate corresponding to the proportion of estimated Socialist members in the House. Almost all parties in New Zealand are more or less socialistic.
[10] Social Democrats and Group of Toil in the Second Duma.
[11] Members of Socialist Party.
[12] The portion of the electorate corresponding to the proportion of Socialist Deputies.
[13] As in England candidates must bear the cost of the election, Socialist candidates were nominated only in five parliamentary districts.
[14] Of these 28 are dailies. The large numbers are in countries where the trade-union papers are also Socialist papers.

THE GROWTH OF THE SOCIALIST VOTE

Estimated approximately from Reports at International Congresses

	Elections Nearest to these Dates						
	1867	1877	1887	1892	1897	1903	1907
Germany	30,000	493,000	763,000	1,876,000	2,107,000	3,010,000	3,259,000
France	.....	.....	47,000	440,000	790,000	895,000	896,000
Austria	.....	.....	.....	.....	750,000	780,000	1,041,000
Belgium	.....	.....	.....	320,000	467,000	464,000	469,000
United States	.....	.....	2,000	21,000	55,000	442,000	.....
Great Britain	.....	.....	.....	.....	55,000	100,000	[1] 342,000
Finland	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10,000	330,000
Italy	.....	.....	22,000	26,000	135,000	300,000	320,000
Denmark	.....	1,000	8,000	20,000	32,000	53,000	77,000
Switzerland	.....	.....	2,000	39,000	40,000	100,000	70,000
Holland	.....	.....	1,500	.....	13,500	38,000	65,000
Norway	.....	.....	.....	.....	7,000	30,000	45,000
Sweden	.....	.....	.....	723	.....	10,000	26,000
Spain	.....	.....	.....	5,000	14,000	29,000	23,000
Total vote [2]	30,000	494,000	931,000	1,798,000	3,896,000	6,285,000	8,803,000

[1] Estimated Labor vote, not from Socialist report. [2] Including other minor countries.

contract, and that it is being subverted by Socialists.

We are told that in England the Fabian Society is committed in its declared principles to the transfer to the community of land and industrial capital "without compensation (tho not without such relief to expropriated individuals as may seem fit to the community)," that the Social Democratic Federation has as a plank in its platform "the repudiation of the national debt," that in the U. S. Henry George ("Social Problems," pp. 213–221) argues it as "a preposterous assumption that one generation should be bound by the debts of its predecessors."

In Germany, Bebel, in his "Woman," argues for "free love." Deville, a French Socialist, is quoted as saying:

Marriage is a regulation of property. . . . When property is transformed, and only after that transformation, marriage will lose its reason for existence, and boys and girls may then freely and without fear of censure listen to the wants and promptings of their nature. . . . The support of the children will no longer depend on the chance of birth. Like their instruction, it will become a charge of society. There will be no room for prostitution or for marriage, which is in sum nothing more than prostitution before the mayor.

Mr. Morris and Mr. Bax, in their "Socialism, in its Growth and Outcome," contend that "marriage should be a voluntary association, dissoluble by either party at pleasure."

It is perfectly true that such quotations and many other similar ones can be found on the pages of Socialist writers. They can also be found to at least the same extent on the pages of individualistic writers. (See FAMILY; CURRENCY; etc.) Socialism per se has no views on these questions. But as to the family, marriage, etc., how many family quarrels and divorces have their root in dissensions over money. This cause of family disruption socialism would largely remove, since all in a socialistic state would inherit equally from the State, at least in proportion to their need. Again, how far economic pressure today is destroying the home is seen in the articles HOMES, OWNERSHIP OF; OVERCROWDING; TENEMENTS. Socialism would make it possible for every man and woman to have a home. It would take the money root out of marriage, and make marriages for love, not for money or home or maintenance. Which system is likely to produce the truest homes and the most permanent marital relations? The wisest State legislation as to marriage is a separate question. (See DIVORCE.)

Socialism and Morals

It is perfectly true, however, that the large majority of avowed Socialists are divorced from recognized religion and the Church, and that this does lead many of them to extreme radicalism on all questions of ethics, money, and the family. But what drives them to this? Unquestionably not the Christianity of the Church, but its lack of Christianity, its real or asserted mammonism, indifference to the demands of the people, and dependence upon and subserviency to wealth. (See THE CHURCH AND THE WORKINGMAN.) However much these things may have been exaggerated or the facts distorted, no one who knows working men denies that these things exist, at least in the belief of the working men, while all those who know them best wonder not at the irreligion and radicalism of the working classes, but at their freedom from radicalism and their acceptance of conventional ideas. It is not socialism which produces the radical and the ethical freethinker. It is materialism, the worship of wealth, the mammonism of existing society. Socialism would at least diminish this. Conversion to socialism has made it possible for many a man to accept a rational religion. Many consider socialism the religious revival of the world. Says Sidney Ball (*International Journal of Ethics*, April, 1896):

At first sight it seems true that character has not been put in the foreground of Socialist discussion; its emphasis appears to be laid almost exclusively on machinery, on a reconstruction of the material conditions and organization of life. But machinery is a means to an end, as much to a Socialist as to any one else; and the end, at any rate as conceived by the Socialist, is the development of human nature in scope, powers of life, and enjoyment. . . . The forces required to work collectivist machinery are nothing if not moral; and so we also hear the complaint that Socialists are too ideal, that they make too great a demand upon human nature and upon the social will and imagination. Of the two complaints this is certainly the most pertinent. A conception, however, which is liable to be dismissed, now as mere mechanism, now as mere morality, may possibly be working toward a higher synthesis. . . . If institutions depend on character, character depends on institutions; it is upon their necessary interaction that the Socialist insists.

As for the argument that under socialism parental responsibility would be weakened, and overpopulation result, John Stuart Mill ("Political Economy," bk. ii., chap. i.) has well said:

Another of the objections to communism is similar to that so often urged against poor-laws: that if every member of the community were assured of subsistence for himself and any number of children, on the sole condition of willingness to work, prudential restraint on the multiplication of mankind would be at an end, and population would start forward at a rate which would reduce the community through successive stages of increasing discomfort to actual starvation. There would certainly be much ground for this apprehension if communism provided no motive to restraint equivalent to those which it would take away. But communism is precisely the state of things in which opinion might be expected to declare itself with greatest intensity against this kind of selfish intemperance. Any augmentation of numbers which diminished the comfort or increased the toil of the mass would then cause (which now it does not) immediate and unmistakable inconvenience to every individual in the association; inconvenience which could not then be imputed to the avarice of employers or the unjust privileges of the rich. In such altered circumstances opinion could not fail to reprobate, and if reprobation did not suffice, to repress by penalties of some description, this or any other culpable self-indulgence at the expense of the community. The communistic scheme, instead of being peculiarly open to the objection drawn from danger of overpopulation, has the recommendation of tending in an especial degree to the prevention of that evil.

Socialism and Biology

As for the biological argument, sometimes made against socialism, that the right of the strongest to survive and to gradually exterminate the weak is necessary to progress and even to the perpetuity of the race, and while socialism would at least check this, so that a country adopting socialism would soon be conquered by a race not adopting socialism, it is to be said that this might occur if socialism be conceived of as a system to be adopted by a country in one great economic upheaval. But no Socialists to-day believe in such an impossible catastrophic Utopianism. Even the most catastrophic Socialist believes in some evolution. Socialism is not the aiding of the weak at the expense of the strong. It is the gradual development of a new strength—the strength of public service to replace the strength of private service and to lift up the economically weak to a plane of increased efficiency where they, too, can compete in the public service, and thus produce a higher biologic progress. Socialism is yet a comparatively new movement, and has naturally made false claims and given rise to many mistakes and errors, both in thought and action; yet no student of socialism will deny that it is as rapidly growing in wise self-control as in numbers. A truly scientific and disciplined evolutionary socialism, and this is what is being evolved through political discussion and actual public ownership, will

make not a weaker but a stronger country. This socialism, not always recognized or acknowledged by all Socialists as socialism, has the future and on its adaptation to and adopting of human nature bases its modern argument.

W. D. P. Bliss.

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Members of Organizations of Juvenile Socialists

(In Great Britain Socialist Sunday-schools)

Sweden	17,000
Belgium	13,000
Germany	6,800
Italy	5,000
Austria	4,200
Bohemia	35,000
Great Britain	3,200
Denmark	1,400
Spain	1,200
Bulgaria	900
Norway	800
Hungary	700
France	500
Netherlands	450
Switzerland	325
Finland	250
Total	59,225

SOCIALISM, DEFINITION OF (from standpoint of the International Socialist movement): To the organized international socialist movement must be granted the right to determine what is and what is not socialism, just as would be granted to the Pope and the College of Cardinals the right to declare what is true Catholicism, and to a Republican national convention the right to declare what is Republicanism. The famous utterance some fifteen years ago of Sir William Vernon Harcourt, "We are all Socialists now!" is merely an instance of a too common looseness of thinking and speaking. Socialism, tho informed and inspired by a spirit common to many men in all ages, holds to a definite doctrine, a definite program, and incarnates itself in a definite movement, international and revolutionary.

Not many men, according to the orthodox school, are as yet real Socialists. Bebel said once —and it was when the German Social Democracy had polled some 1,400,000 votes—that there were probably not more than 200,000 thoroughgoing Socialists in Germany. There is thus a recognizable difference between Socialists and persons who vote or support the Socialist ticket, not to speak of persons who merely hold vague inclinations toward a collectivist order of society.

And yet it is a piece of folly, which every common-sense Socialist recognizes, to make overmuch of this distinction. The man who has now but a mere leaning toward socialism will next year, under the impress of new experiences, or the cumulative force of the totality of his experiences, be quite as ardent a Socialist as one who learned his lessons a decade ago. In the light of these considerations, society resolves itself into Socialists and potential Socialists on the one hand, and on the other those who, out of self-interest or temperamental obstinacy, are anti-Socialists. No more should be claimed for the international Socialist organization than that it is the core, the gravitational center of the greater movement without it.

As a doctrine, modern socialism is founded upon the materialist conception of history, or, as it might better be called, *the economic interpretation of history*. This economic interpretation of history sees the superstructure of society in all times, with all its institutions, its codes of morals and of laws, as a reflex of the prevailing system of production and distribution. It does not, as is often maintained, see in man's every action the spur of an economic impulse. It does not blind itself to countless individual acts of renunciation, of sacrifice, of martyrdom; but it *does* see a coloring and an impress given to all human actions through this material environment. Men gladly give themselves to torture, privation, or death in behalf of a great cause, but the *cause* itself will almost inevitably be found to be a reaction from some form of social or economic oppression.

Principles

As a part of this economic interpretation of history, we have also the theory of a *class struggle*. Human activities, tho fundamentally individual, take on a collective form through the very necessities of social life. Men widely separated from one another, if working at like tasks, under like conditions, or suffering from like modes of oppression, instinctively react in like ways. They see the futility of individual revolt, and spontaneously they act in concert. They may be but barely conscious of their motives in resisting a wrong, or in seeking a political, social, or economic advantage. And yet, conscious or but partly conscious, or even unconscious of their motives, they tend to act in like ways under like conditions. Thus, history resolves itself into a series of struggles between possessing classes and non-possessing classes, attended by varying fortunes and carried on with but slight intermission through all the changes in modes of production. In our day the development of industry reaches a stage wherein we see steadily maintained a contest, however disguised, between a class of owners of the means of production and an increasing class of workers who own none of the means of production, but are employed at wage labor in producing wealth for the owners. It is a situation which, Socialists

say, cannot last. Production has become social. That is, most commodities are produced by masses of men working in gangs or herds in great workshops. But ownership, which in varying degrees has been in past times common and social, has become individual and restricted to but an infinitesimal part of the population.

You may hold either one of two beliefs as to the manner in which the change will come. You may hold, as Marx and others of his time held, what has been called the "theory of increasing misery," which is, that the increasing concentration of wealth makes for a greater disparity of conditions between the owners and the workers—increasing the privation of the workers as it increases the wealth of the owners. And this development will bring about a stage wherein the workers, goaded beyond endurance, and having no other alternative, will put an end forever to the private ownership of the means of production. Or, you may still be a good Socialist and hold that the facts have not borne out this forecast. You may hold rather that with the growth of organization, economic and political, among the workers, they are bettering their lot materially, they are acquainting themselves more and more with the facts of history and of economics, and that by the increase of intelligence and thought, by an increased discipline and mutuality of effort—rather than through the spur of extreme privation—they will bring about this change. But whether you hold one theory or the other, you must, if you would be a good Socialist, hold that the change, when it comes, must be thoroughgoing and revolutionary, an abolition of the private ownership of the means of production.

Program

The *program* of socialism is the securing of the political powers in every nation, the expropriation of capital, the holding of productive property in common—in a word, the cooperative commonwealth. This program is not to be achieved by paltering with compromises, by following the lead of economic Messiahs who constantly arise, and who deal out vast promises of what they intend to do for the benefit of the "dear people." It is to be achieved by the organized, disciplined effort of the class which has most to gain from such a program—the *working class*. This does not mean that all those who take part in the work of carrying forward this program are wage-laborers. As a matter of fact, many of those who have done the greatest work in formulating this program are men who have never done wage-labor. But the *working class* is the basis, because it is by reason of its material needs that it alone, when once aroused, can never be dissuaded from seeking to carry this program to its fulfilment. Men from other classes, through altruistic motives, may voice a hope for a juster order of life. There are periods, indeed, wherein many of those from the more leisurely walks of life have taken enthusiastic and determined part in movements for social regeneration. We have, perhaps, a better example of such endeavor in the great Fourierite movement of the forties than in any other. But these movements are necessarily superficial. They do not grow out of the instinctive demands of the workers, but out of the sentiments of a class not prompted by need. Such sentiments are easily shattered, for the best of men weary in well-doing. Only as those who come from other classes give over, renounce, and repudiate their allegiance to the class from which they sprang; only as they come to see the historic mission of the working class and as they espouse the cause of the workers, making themselves an integral part of the working class, can they render real and lasting service toward the fulfilment of this program.

Finally, we have the organized Socialist movement, which is an embodiment of this spirit, of this doctrine, and this program. This movement, in its modern form, has but a brief history. It would be difficult to state the exact date or incident which might be called its beginning. It may be dated, if you will, from the publication of the Communist Manifesto in February, 1848; or the organization of Ferdinand Lassalle's Universal German Working Men's Association, in May, 1863; or the organization of the International Working Men's Association in September, 1864. But of many materials, heterogeneous, scattered, it has in forty years been aggregated and welded into a compact political body, reaching out into all the civilized parts of the globe. Persecution has for a time obstructed its growth, as, for instance, in Germany. It has had to meet ridicule, misrepresentation, the thunders of ecclesiastical denunciation; but in spite of all opposition, it steadily grows in numbers year by year, it carries its message to remote places, and year by year its menace to the existing order is more clearly recognized.

Socialism, the movement, carries on its work with a sleepless, an untiring energy; everywhere it is educating, organizing, and disciplining the working class and arming it, not with lethal weapons, but with knowledge and argument. Everywhere it opposes unjust wars, the rage of conquest, the oppression of capitalist class rule. It defends from legal persecution its Moyers and Haywoods; it relentlessly exposes the chicanery and pious fraud of those who dwell in high places. And this activity will go on and on, with cumulative force, despite transitory defeats and disheartenments, until the goal of a cooperative commonwealth is won. W. J. Ghent.

SOCIALISM, HISTORY OF (see also articles Socialism; Socialist Party; United States Socialist Labor Party; Social Democratic Federation; Fabian Society; Labor Party [English]; Christian Socialism; Communism; Nationalism; International. For details, see also each leading country and the names of prominent Socialists). Some writers on the subject include in the history of the Socialist movement all ancient and medieval manifestations of communistic thought and institutions. But, as a matter of fact, the modern Socialist movement has nothing in common with the Utopias of Plato, Campanella, and More, or with the prehistoric tribal institutions, early Christian practises, or the various sectarian communities of the Middle Ages.

The political Socialist movement of our days is primarily a movement of the working class, and has for its object the reconstruction of the present-day system of industry on the basis of collective ownership of the tools of production.

The movement thus presupposes the existence of a competitive individualist system of industry and of a wage-earning class. In other words, modern socialism is unthinkable without its antithesis—capitalism. Socialism is the child of the modern or "capitalist" system of production. And more than that, it is the product of that sys-

tem at a certain advanced stage. The Socialist movement is a protest against the present industrial system, hence it presupposes a state of development of that system to a point where it has become oppressive; it involves a criticism of the system, hence it implies a dissatisfaction with it, and finally it offers a substitute for the present system, hence it is predicated on the assumption of a state of senility of the capitalist régime.

Thus, while the beginnings of the present industrial system may be traced back to the fifteenth or sixteenth century of our era, the modern Socialist movement is barely more than a century old.

Socialism, like most other social theories and movements, has passed through several stages of development before it reached its modern aspect.

In its first phases it was primarily a humanitarian movement, and its political rôle was but secondary and incidental.

The early Socialists saw only the evils of the new system of production, but did not penetrate into its historical significance and tendencies. The evils of the system appeared to them as arbitrary deviations from the "eternal principles" of "natural law," justice, and reason, and the social system itself as a clumsy and malicious contrivance of the dominant powers in society.

Utopian Beginnings

To the "unreasonable" and "unjust" social systems of their times they opposed more or less fantastic schemes of social organization of their own invention supposed to be free from the abuses of modern civilization, and thereupon they appealed to humanity at large to test those schemes.

One of the fruits of these theories was the organization of the numerous communistic societies in the early part of the last century.

Another practical application of the utopian Socialist philosophy is to be found in the conspiratory revolutionary societies which accompanied the Socialist agitation of several European countries, notably France, in the thirties and forties of the nineteenth century.

The first gleams of Socialist philosophy appear in the works of the prerevolutionary French philosophers of the school of the "Encyclopedists," notably in those of Jean Jacques Rousseau, who as early as 1754 denounced private property as the cause of all crimes.

But a much more definite and elaborate expression of the Utopian Socialist creed we find in the two works of Morelly, "Naufrage des îles flottantes ou La Basiliade" (The Shipwreck of the Floating Islands or Basiliade), 1753, and "Code de la Nature" (Code of Nature), 1755. The first is a Utopian novel in metric form, and the latter is a philosophic essay. Morelly is a keen and far-seeing critic of the industrial system of individualist competition, and advocates a somewhat loose form of communism.

Next to Morelly, Gabriel Mably (1709–85) must be mentioned among the early French Socialist writers. Like Morelly, Mably advocated a social system based on the community of property, with the difference, however, that the State of Mably is highly centralized, both in the system of production and distribution.

A more realistic note in the literature of the young Socialist speculation is introduced by the French lawyer, François Boissel (1728–1807), whose "Catechisme du genre humain" (Catechism of Mankind), which appeared in 1789, the year of the French Revolution, contains the first attempt at a scientific analysis of the modern mode of production.

The first direct step toward an active revolutionary and Socialist movement was made by François Noel Babeuf (1760–96). Babeuf, himself an active factor in the great French Revolution, was by no means satisfied with its accomplishments. "The Revolution," he argued, "has proclaimed liberty, fraternity, and equality, but equality is a mere sham unless it is social and economic as well as political." With the aim of capturing the government of France and establishing social and economic equality, he organized the famous Conspiracy of Equals. The movement is said to have attained considerable dimensions in Paris when it was detected in 1796, and Babeuf convicted on the charge of treason and beheaded. Years later, Filippo Buonarotti, a friend and disciple of Babeuf, published the history of the conspiracy and the program of the conspirators, and the work played a large part in the movement of the secret Socialist societies of later years.

Revolutionary Beginnings

Babeuf was the last representative of the eighteenth-century socialism. The beginning of the nineteenth century produced a series of Socialist thinkers and workers who have influenced the shaping of the present-day Socialist movement more directly than their predecessors.

Of these, two are always mentioned together —Charles Henri Saint-Simon and Charles Fourier.

Saint-Simon is a teacher rather than a practical social reformer. The keynote to his philosophy is the demand that society be organized not on a political but on an industrial basis. His last work, "Nouveau Christianisme" (New Christianity), is the most complete exposition of his social views, and contains the germs of the theory of economic determinism, which in the hands of Karl Marx has subsequently become one of the most powerful weapons in the arsenal of contemporary Socialist philosophy.

After the death of Saint-Simon his work was continued by a talented coterie of his disciples, prominent among whom were Olinde Rodrigue (1794–1851), Barthelémy P. Enfantin (1796–1864), Amand Bazard (1791–1832), Auguste Compte, the father of positive philosophy, and Ferdinand de Lesseps, of the Suez Canal fame. The Saint-Simonian school at one time gained considerable influence in the intellectual circles of France; its organ, the *Globe*, had a large circulation, and in the Revolution of 1830 the Saint-Simonians played a not unimportant part. But the movement ultimately split, principally on the question of woman's rights.

If Saint-Simon was the preacher of order and system, Fourier may be called the apostle of harmony.

God created the entire universe on a harmonious plan, reasons Fourier, hence there must be harmony between everything in existence.

Saint-Simon emphasizes the rights and importance of society, Fourier dwells principally on the rights of the individual citizens as against organized society. The two great Utopians may be said to be the prototypes of the two dominant tendencies in the Socialist and social theories of our times—collectivism and individualism.

Chief among the French disciples of Fourier is

Victor Considerant, under whose leadership the Fourierist movement attained some importance years after the master's death.

Cabet's Utopian novel "Voyage en Icarie" (Voyage to Icaria), published in 1842, gave rise to a popular movement in favor of communism, which at one time was said to number several hundred thousands of adherents. The movement resulted in the establishment of the "Icarian communities" in the U. S. The first of these communities was established in Texas in 1848, and the last of the series perished in California almost half a century later.

Louis Blanc, who first achieved fame through his work "Organization du Travail" (Organization of Labor), published in 1840, played an important part in the French Revolution of 1848 as a member of the Provisional Committee.

Lamenais is the father of Christian socialism in France. He early advocated the union of the Catholic Church with the growing Socialist movement of the working men. His views were condemned by Pope Gregory XVI., and Lamenais thereafter addrest his appeals directly to the people. His "Paroles d'un Croyant" (Words of a Believer), published in 1834, contains a burning indictment of the selfish rich, and is full of tender sympathy for the disinherited of the world. It was widely read by the working men of his generation, and made a deep and lasting impression on his countrymen.

Proudhon, the author of the famous "Qu'est ce que la propriété?" (What is Property?) and "Contradictions Économiques" (Economic Contradictions), may be said to be the father of modern "communistic anarchism."

This review of early French socialism would not be complete without a brief reference to the secret societies which made their appearance immediately after the Revolution of 1830, and continued with varying degree of strength and success for about ten years. The principal organizations of that cycle are the *Société des Amis du Peuple* (Society of the Friends of the People), *Société des droits de l'homme* (Society of Human Rights), *Société des familles* (Society of Families), and *Société des saisons* (Society of Seasons), and the most prominent leaders of the movement were Louis Blanqui (1805–81), Armand Barbès (1809–70), Voyer d'Argençon (1771–1842), and Filippo Buonarotti, mentioned above.

While the socialism of France during the first half of the last century was thus replete with various movements, schools, and thinkers, the movement in England during the corresponding period is practically represented by one name—Robert Owen.

The socialism of Owen differed from that of his French contemporaries just as much as the political and industrial conditions and national temperament and genius of England differed from those of France.

Owen's early activity in the field of social reform was more of a philanthropic than revolutionary character: it consisted in the long and patient work of improving the conditions of his own employees in the Scotch manufacturing village of New Lanark, and in this he succeeded so well that within one generation (from 1800 to 1824) the former miserable village, with a degenerate and wretched population, had become a model community of healthy, industrious, and happy men and women.

Owenite Period

His revolutionary career may be said to date from 1817, when, upon the invitation of the "Committee of the Association for the Relief of the Manufacturing and Laboring Poor," he unfolded his views on the causes of poverty and the needed social reforms. The gist of his views is that wide-spread pauperism and popular misery are inseparable from an industrial system based on free competition, and that under such a system the increased productivity of labor inevitably leads to the deterioration of the condition of the working class.

He was a great believer in the influence of environment on the formation of human character, and predicted that improved material conditions of the laboring population would result in the physical, intellectual, and moral regeneration of the masses.

His activities as a Socialist propagandist and experimenter extend over forty years, and are as variegated as intense.

Owen's influence was, however, mainly personal; he left no school or movement behind him.

In Germany the first manifestations of Socialist thought and activity are connected with the names of the celebrated philosopher, Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814), who in his "Geschlossener Handelstaat" (Closed Trading State) advocates the State regulation of production and distribution of goods, and the tailor, Wilhelm Weitling (1808–71), who may be considered the connecting link between present-day socialism and its earlier forms.

Weitling seems to have imbibed the theories of French communism in his early traveling days, but he instilled in them the life and faith of the active propagandist and enthusiastic apostle. Like Owen he extended his activity to all spheres of radical social reform known in his day, organizing cooperative enterprises, working men's study clubs, a communistic settlement, trade-union organizations, etc. His main theoretical works are: "Die Welt wie sie ist und sein sollte" (The World as It is and as It Should Be), 1838; "Die Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit" (The Guaranties of Harmony and Freedom), 1842, and "Das Evangelium des Armen Sünders" (Evangel of a Poor Sinner), 1846.

Beginnings in Germany

Weitling is the first Socialist to make a more direct appeal to the working class, altho the modern Socialist conception of class struggle is still foreign to him. Weitling's fields of activity were Switzerland and the U. S., but his influence also extended to Germany, Austria, and the colonies of German emigrants in other countries.

In the mean time the industrial development of Europe had proceeded with giant strides, and with it also the scientific study of the character and tendencies of the existing industrial régime. The fantastic theories and hypotheses of early socialism, like those of so many other young sciences, had to be strongly modified if not entirely discarded. Socialism had to be given a new, more realistic, and sound foundation, and this task was accomplished toward the middle of the last century by the twin fathers of modern socialism, Karl Marx (1818–83) and Frederick Engels (1820–95).

The socialism of the new school, known as Marxian or scientific socialism, proceeds on the theory that the social and political structure of society at any given time and place is not the

result of the free and arbitrary choice of men, but the logical outcome of a definite process of historical development, and that the underlying structure of such foundation is at all times the economic system upon which society is organized.

As a logical sequence from these views it follows that a form of society cannot be changed at any given time unless the economic development has made it ripe for the change, and that the future of mankind must be looked for, not in the ingenious schemes of inventive social philosophers, but in the tendencies of economic development.

The Marxian Socialists base their hopes on the tendency of modern industries toward centralization and socialization, the inadequacy and wastefulness of the individual and competitive system of production, and the growing revolt of the working classes against the iniquities and hardships involved in that system.

Modern Socialists address themselves not so much to the humane sentiments of society at large as to the self-interests of the working class, as a class primarily concerned in the impending social change. They do not indulge in miniature social experiments or in political conspiracies, but direct their efforts toward the education and political and industrial organization of the working class, so as to enable that class to steer the ship of state from individualism into collectivism, when the time is ripe for it, and to hasten that time.

Marxist Socialism

This phase of the Socialist movement may be said to date from the publication of the celebrated "Communist Manifesto." The "Manifesto" is a brief pamphlet written conjointly by Marx and Engels; it has since been translated into almost all modern languages, and has remained to this day the classical exposition of modern evolutionary socialism.

The "Communist Manifesto" appeared in 1848. The great revolutionary movement of that year, and the long period of European reaction following upon its defeat, temporarily paralyzed the young Socialist movement inaugurated by Marx and his comrades. For almost fifteen years the movement was confined to a few scattered circles of "intellectuals" in the different countries of Europe without penetrating into the masses anywhere. The general political and social awakening which marks the beginning of the sixties of the last century in all principal countries of Europe and in the U. S. of America did not pass without affecting the working classes. A strong labor movement grew up in the most advanced countries of Europe, and a large portion of it fell under the spiritual leadership of the Socialists.

The first fruit of these renewed Socialist and labor activities was the organization of the International Working Men's Association (commonly styled The International) in 1864. The International was organized in London by some representative English trade-unionist in conjunction with a number of political refugees of various nationalities with whom the capital of England was fairly teeming just then. Its constitution and declaration of principles were drafted by Karl Marx, and the latter instrument was a concise exposition of the Socialist philosophy winding up with the declaration—"No rights without duties; no duties without rights."

The International

The International extended over England, France, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Switzerland, Poland, Australia, and the U. S. of America, and at one time was considered a great power in European politics. Its active career embraced a period of about eight years, from 1864 to 1872, during which time it held six conventions. These conventions were largely devoted to the discussion of social and labor problems, and served to impress the Socialist movement of the world with a uniform and harmonious character.

The dissolution of the organization was brought about by a number of factors, not the least of which was the fate of the Paris Commune.

The Commune, proclaimed in Paris on March 18, 1871, in its inception had no connection whatever with the International or the Socialist agitation of the time. Its name was not intended to imply any sympathy with the doctrines of communism; it was merely meant to signify the communal or municipal autonomy of Paris. The proclamation of the Commune was a result of the revolt of the Parisians against the excessive centralization of government in France.

But the deciding blow to the life of the International was dealt by the growing spirit of anarchism within its ranks.

Up to about 1869 the International was under the undisputed control of the Marxian wing of socialism, but in the later years of its existence the school of individual anarchism steadily gained ground in the councils of the society under the leadership of the apostle of the new creed, Michael Bakounin (1814–76).

Anarchism threatened to become a power in the International, and Marx and his friends decided to avert the danger by sacrificing the organization. In 1872 the seat of its General Council was transferred to New York, and three years later the International was formally dissolved.

The International, however, had fully accomplished its purpose, and during its activity the Socialist movement of Europe had developed to such dimensions that it became impossible to confine it within the bounds of one central organization. Hereafter we will have to follow the varying fortunes of the movement in the different countries coming under its sway.

Chief among such countries is, of course,

Germany

In Germany the present-day Socialist movement runs in an unbroken chain from the days of the agitation of Ferdinand Lassalle (1825–64). Of extraordinary eloquence, profound learning, and indomitable energy, Lassalle was probably the most powerful popular tribune produced by the nineteenth century.

His active work in the cause of socialism is practically confined to the last two years of his life. But during that short period he succeeded in thoroughly rousing the phlegmatic working class of his country by his ringing speeches and powerful writings. In his social views he was a disciple of Marx, but the principal issues of his agitation were the demands for universal suffrage and the establishment of cooperative workshops with State credit.

In 1863 he organized the General German Working Men's Association, which at the time of its founder's death numbered only 4,610 members,

but grew considerably in later years, notwithstanding one serious schism within its ranks.

In the meanwhile a new Socialist party, more strictly Marxian, was organized in 1869 under the leadership of Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel, and the six years following are marked by a bitter feud between the rival organizations. The feud was terminated in 1875 by the amalgamation of all Socialist organizations at the Gotha Convention; the present Social Democratic Party of Germany was thus born. Since then the progress of the Socialist movement has been rapid and steady. Even the period of the most unrelenting government persecution inaugurated by the Exceptional Laws did not succeed in checking its growth. These laws were designed to suppress all forms of Socialist propaganda, and their enforcement was attended by the imprisonment and exile of large numbers of the most active Socialists. They were enacted in 1878 after two successive attempts by irresponsible individuals on the life of the emperor, and were abandoned in 1890 after their utter futility had been demonstrated in practise. The growth of socialism in Germany can be best seen by studying the steady growth of the Socialist vote in the empire.

Election in	Social Democratic votes	Percentage of votes, total	Elected to the Reichstag
1871	124,655	3.	2
1874	351,952	6.8	9
1877	493,288	9.1	12
1878	437,158	7.6	9
1881	311,961	6.1	12
1884	549,990	9.7	24
1887	763,128	10.1	11
1890	1,427,298	19.7	35
1893	1,876,738	23.3	44
1896	2,007,076	....	57
1903	3,008,000	24.0	81
1907	3,258,968	24.3	43

This table is the best answer to the statement sometimes made that the Socialist Party in Germany lost ground in 1907. It did not lose ground because, in spite of an unprecedented opposition, it increased its vote. It lost seats in the Reichstag not because of weakened strength, but because the elections of 1903 showed the Social Democratic Party to be so strong that in this election the various groups of the Bourgeoisie and Liberal parties largely combined against it. They put forth every effort, led by the government itself. After the election of 1903, a *Reichsverband* (Imperial Union) was formed, the one purpose of which was to work in every way to unite the Bourgeoisie and defeat socialism. The union aided Conservatives here and Liberals there in any way that would mean the defeat of a Socialist candidate. It sent out false statements against socialism and had them published in over 1,000 journals. After the election it reported that it had distributed 10,149,330 pamphlets against socialism. It sent speakers and lecturers into every possible social or literary club. It raised the cry of patriotism, declaring that Germany was attacked. It raised large sums of money from the capitalists and spent it for the election. It roused the small country proprietors who, in Eastern Prussia and the less enlightened districts, terrified the peasants into voting against socialism. The so-called Christian Unions (Evangelical) and the Roman Catholic, so called, Christian Socialists voted against the party. Not a stone was left unturned. As the result thirty-eight Socialist seats were captured by combinations against them. Yet in spite of all this the party increased its vote by a quarter of a million. The real strength of the party was never more shown. It was said in the *Antisozialistische Correspondenz* after the election: "The working classes have stood by and will stand by the Social Democratic Party. . . . The party is now more than ever a class party, the revolutionary party of the proletariat, and from the point of view of the proletariat and the revolutionary, the party in this political baptism of fire has now received revolutionary power, while in the election of 1903 it only stood for a certain movement toward democracy."

It should be remembered, too, that by the constitution of the German Empire, in the union of the various German states, the representation in the Reichstag is so arranged that some of the states and districts with comparatively small populations have very much more representation than others. Particularly have the great cities where the Social Democracy has its strength but small representation in proportion to their population. This largely reduces the Socialist representation in the Reichstag. If each vote counted alike the Social Democrats would have elected not 43 but 116 representatives. They cast 3,258,968 votes and only seated 43 representatives, 73 less than they were entitled to, while the Center (Roman Catholic) cast 2,183,384 votes but seated 108 representatives (30 more than they were entitled to), the Conservatives 1,070,658 votes, seating 60 representatives (22 more than they were entitled to). The Socialist press in Germany is very strong. There are 79 Socialist political organs. The *Vorwärts*, of Berlin, has a circulation of 112,000; the *Hamburger Echo* has 40,000; the *Volkszeitung*, 30,000. There are two comic weeklies and one scientific weekly.

The party is thoroughly united, tho allowing of some differences of opinion. Of late years Edouard Bernstein has led a wing of the party advocating a less doctrinaire and more opportunist policy than his critics in the party; yet it has not produced the split that the enemies of the party predicted; the wise leaders of the party have allowed differences of opinion and yet held the party as a unit in action for whatever view the majority held.

Industrially the party works in the trade-unions, which are said to have gained 913,000 new members in Germany since 1905. In every way the party holds the working classes. The number elected as councilors in German communes is over 2,000.

Austria

The Socialist movement in Austria is closely linked with that of Germany, so much so that in their earlier stages the two movements were hardly differentiated. In the famous Convention of Eisenach, held in 1868, the Austrian Socialists were represented as well as their German comrades. But notwithstanding the common beginnings and intellectual identity of socialism in both countries, the movement in Austria soon fell behind that of Germany. There were many reasons for this phenomenon, chief among them being the industrial backwardness of Austria, and the difficulty of carrying on a systematic and uni-

form propaganda of socialism among the many heterogeneous nationalities constituting the Austrian Empire.

The beginnings of the Socialist movement in Austria appear in 1867, when the Imperial Council granted a partial right of assembly and association to the people of Austria. Two years later the movement was strong enough to force the government to revoke its ban against Socialist propaganda by a most remarkable and unexpected demonstration on the streets of Vienna (Dec. 13, 1869). The succeeding period (1870–1888) is principally noteworthy for the internal dissensions within the movement. The practical disfranchisement of the working class and the brutal government persecution had bred among the more radical working men a spirit of embittered pessimism which made them unusually susceptible to the propaganda of anarchism, then in its prime all over Europe, and the main work of Austrian Social Democracy during that period was to combat the anarchist movement. The turning-point of the Socialist movement in Austria may be considered the Hainsfeld Congress (1888) which marked the final victory of Social Democracy over anarchism in the Austrian labor movement, and created a unified and well-organized party which has since been making rapid and steady progress. Its efforts recently have been mainly directed toward attaining universal suffrage by steady agitation, monster demonstrations, till at last the government has been compelled to yield, and in the parliamentary elections of 1907, for the first time held on the basis of universal suffrage, the Social Democratic Party polled over 1,000,000 votes, electing no less than eighty-seven deputies to the Reichsrat.

Austria has an extensive Socialist press—2 dailies, of which the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, of Vienna, is the most important; 24 periodical journals, and 36 trade-union papers. Besides these Bohemia has 2 dailies, 15 periodical organs, and 19 trade-union journals. Austria in 1904 reported 526 Socialists elected communal councilors. Bohemia in 1907 reported no less than 1,953 local unions with 130,000 members connected with the Socialist Party.

Great Britain

Notwithstanding the fact that England is the most industrial country of Europe, its Socialist movement has been rather tardy in appearing and in growth.

The organized Socialist movement of England may be dated from the formation of the Democratic Federation in 1881. The federation, called into life by H. M. Hyndman, Herbert Burrows, and a few other well-known Socialists, was originally not of outspoken Socialist views, but became so in 1883, when it was reorganized under the name of Social Democratic Federation. The federation has ever since continued a somewhat uneventful existence, and is to-day the orthodox representative of Marxian socialism in England. It has now two members of Parliament, and about 100 in various municipal or county councils and boards. Its organ is *Justice*.

In 1893, however, another political party of socialism was founded principally through the efforts of Keir Hardie. The organization assumed the name of the Independent Labor Party, adopted a somewhat broader platform than the Social Democratic Federation, and laid more stress on the political side of the movement. But contrary to the expectations of its founders, it did not acquire a larger influence among the working classes of England than the older organization, and works to-day with the newly formed Labor Party. (See below.)

Besides these two parties, the Socialist movement of England is also represented by the well-known Fabian Society, founded in 1883, principally for the purpose of educational propaganda along Socialist lines. The society has published a large number of tracts on the main aspects of theoretical socialism and has achieved considerable success in the field of municipal reform, and in influencing the middle classes. The outspoken Socialist organizations in England have been, till recently, a factor of but mediocre importance in the social and political life of the country, but it would be a mistake to measure the strength of the Socialist movement in England only by its organized portions.

The Socialist movement in England largely expresses itself in the radical or "new" trade-unions, many of which are avowedly socialistic in their views. The formation of the Labor Representative Committee, which has recently elected twenty-nine members to Parliament, and has taken the name of "The Labor Party," is principally the work of these unions aided by the Socialist organizations, and it is the masses behind that committee which to-day must be considered as the main factor of English socialism and as the nucleus of a larger and more influential Socialist movement in England.

Not only has the English labor movement 29 representatives to Parliament, but some 800 members of town, county, urban, or rural councils and boards of guardians, etc. The distinctively Socialist press of Great Britain is not large, consisting of only 12 papers, representing the different movements; but there are besides 16 local labor papers and 25 trade-union journals; and socialism is discust largely in many other English papers, and not seldom at least partially favorably.

France

If the Socialist movement of Germany may be considered a model of orderly and methodic growth, that of France has, on the contrary, a most bewildering and stormy career.

With the fall of the Paris Commune the movement in France received a blow from which it recovered but very slowly. For a number of years after 1871 the only manifestation of Socialist activity was to be found in the students' circles organized by Gabriel Deville and Jules Guèsde, and the main efforts of these circles were directed toward the propaganda of socialism among the trade-unions. In these efforts they gained a partial success in 1878, when the general trade-union congress of Lyons pledged its support to some socialist candidates, and several large trade organizations indorsed the entire Socialist program. The arrest of Guèsde and thirty-three other labor leaders in 1879 for participation in a political labor conference, and the brilliant defense of Guèsde on that occasion, largely served to increase the sympathies of the working population for socialism, and the general trade-union congress of Marseilles held in the same year unreservedly declared itself in favor of the movement.

But this declaration made by the delegates

under the influence of the events immediately preceding the convention did not seem to have the unanimous support of their constituents. At the following convention held in Havre in 1880 the discussion was resumed, and resulted in a split. The organized working men divided themselves into two separate organizations distinguished from each other as "collectivists" and "cooperativists" respectively. And the Socialist movement in France has ever thereafter progressed through a process of alternate fusions and divisions. The first schism in the ranks of the Socialist movement proper took place in 1882, when the strict adherents of Marxian socialism led by Jules Guèsde, Paul Lafargne, and Gabriel Deville separated from the "Possibilist" or opportunist Socialists headed by Paul Brousse and Benoit Malon. The former organized the *Parti Ouvrier* (Labor Party), and the latter the *Fédération Française des Travailleurs Socialistes Révolutionnaires* (French Federation of Socialist Revolutionary Working Men). To these must be added the *Parti Révolutionnaire*, founded by the veteran of the French Revolution, Blanqui, upon his release from the last term of imprisonment in 1879, and after his death directed by the well-known communard, Edouard Vaillant.

The number of Socialist parties was further augmented by a split within the ranks of the "Possibilists," the more radical wing of which organized an independent party in 1891 under the name of *Parti Ouvrier Révolutionnaire Socialiste*, and under the leadership of Allemane, and also by the formation of numerous local groups of "Independent Socialists" whose membership included such prominent Socialists as Étienne Millerand and Jean Jaures.

The period between 1898–1901 is marked by efforts to bring about the union of Socialist forces. These efforts were partly realized in 1900, when a national congress of all French Socialist parties and organizations was held in Paris. But in the meanwhile a new issue presented itself to the Socialists of France. The events attending the Dreyfus agitation had forced socialism to the front of national politics, and one Independent Socialist, Étienne Millerand, was given a portfolio in the cabinet of the new premier, Waldeck-Rousseau. Millerand's entry in the "bourgeois" cabinet had the approval of the more liberal or "opportunist" wing of the Socialist movement under the leadership of the eloquent Jaures, but was strongly condemned by the more orthodox faction headed by Jules Guèsde. And on this new issue the Socialist organizations of France now grouped themselves. The "ministerialists" combined into the *Parti Socialist Français* while the "antiministerialists" united into the *Parti Socialist de France*. Both parties continued a separate tho not always antagonistic existence until 1905, when they united into one party largely through the good services of the International Socialist Congress held in Amsterdam in 1904. The new party is the first in France to bring together all of the more important Socialist organizations under one administration, altho a number of minor groups of "independent" Socialists still remain in existence.

This united party, taking the name of *Le Parti Socialiste*, is organized on the following basis (we quote only its most essential points):

1. The Socialist Party is a class party which aims at socializing the means of production and exchange; that is, of transforming the capitalistic organization of society into a collectivist or communal organization. Its means to this end is the industrial and political organization of the proletariat (the working classes). By its aim, its ideals, the means which it adopts, the Socialist Party, while working for the immediate reforms demanded by the working classes, is not a party of reform but a party of the class struggle and of revolution.

2. The parliamentary representatives of the party form a distinct group, opposed to all the political parties and groups of the *bourgeoisie* (middle classes). The Socialist group in Parliament must refuse the government all the means which continue the domination of the *bourgeoisie* and its maintenance in power; it must therefore refuse military appropriations, appropriations for colonial conquest, secret funds, and must not accept the budget as a whole.

Even in exceptional circumstances the representatives of the party cannot speak for the party without its consent. . . . While full liberty of discussion is given to the Socialist press, as to both doctrine and method, when it comes to action they must conform to the decisions of the Congress, interpreted by the Central Committee of the party.

Upon this basis the party is attaining solidification. It has groups in 80 out of 87 departments, organized in 70 federations. It has elected 60 general and 51 district councilors, 149 mayors, 219 assistants, and 2,160 municipal councilors. It has elected 52 *deputies* out of 584. Its central organ is the *Socialiste*, a Paris weekly. The press of the party besides includes 2 dailies, 4 semiweeklies, 37 weeklies, and 2 monthlies. The steady growth of French socialism is, however, best seen in the growth of the French Socialist vote.

The first Socialist campaign in parliamentary elections was made in 1885, when the combined Socialist parties polled about 30,000 votes. The successive growth of the vote is shown by the following round figures:

1887	47,000
1889	120,000
1893	440,000
1898	700,000
1902	805,000
1906	1,000,000

Italy

The Socialist movement in Italy antedates the International, and when the latter split between the adherents of Karl Marx and Michael Bakunin, the Socialists of Italy, like those of almost all southern and economically backward countries, sided with Bakunin.

The first manifestation of Socialist political activity occurred in 1882, when several scattered Socialist groups united for the ensuing parliamentary elections and nominated candidates. The elections gave to the Socialist candidates about 50,000 votes, or 4 per cent of the total vote cast, and secured the return of two of them to Parliament. Encouraged by this success, the Socialists of Italy organized a national Socialist Party in 1885, but the party made but little progress, and between government persecutions and internal dissensions, it led a very precarious existence.

It was only in 1892 when a Socialist Party after the general European model was organized in Italy, and since that time the Socialist movement in Italy has made large and steady gains. In 1903 the party consisted of over 1,200 local groups with a total dues-paying membership of over 42,000; it had 32 representatives in the Chamber of Deputies, and had control of about 100 municipalities, besides having representatives in almost all other of the most important cities and towns of the kingdom. One of the most remarkable features of the Socialist movement in Italy is its strength among the rural popula-

tion of the country, principally the farm-laborers. The membership of the Socialist Party is largely made up of them, and the Socialist Party also took the initiative of organizing these laborers into an independent national organization. In 1900 that organization numbered over 200,000 members. The organized Socialist movement of Italy is divided into several camps on questions of policy and methods, but that does not seem to interfere with its work or progress.

The course of the party, however, has been somewhat tempestuous. Strikes have been numerous, wide-spread, and heated. There is a strong party press—5 dailies, of which *Avanti*, published at Rome, and edited by Enrico Ferri, is the party organ; 65 weeklies, and 23 trade-union journals. Many Socialist communal councilors have been elected, and in over 100 communes they have the majority.

Belgium

It was from Brussels that Marx and Engels issued their "Manifesto" of 1848, and in Belgium the International early took root, but the split of the International in 1872 divided the local movement into two hostile camps, the Marxists and Bakuninists, or Social Democrats and Anarchists, and in this division the movement finally disappeared, so far as that phase was concerned.

The first distinctly Socialist political organization was founded in 1885 under the name of the Socialist Labor Party of Belgium. Notwithstanding the frequent dissensions and heated disputes between the Belgian Socialists, the movement has made rapid progress. In 1903 the party undertook a general agitation for universal suffrage (Belgium still having a plural vote seriously discriminating against the working classes). This, however, did not succeed, and in 1904 the party vote was reduced to 463,967 and its representatives in the Chamber of Deputies reduced to 28. In 1906, however, the vote was 469,094 with 30 representatives. The party besides has elected 7 senators, 91 provincial councilors, 650 councilors in 193 communes, and holds the majority in 22 communes. The party press includes 11 dailies, 20 weeklies, 7 monthlies, and 18 Socialist trade-union journals. The leading weekly is *Le Peuple* of Brussels. The party has also connected with it 252 trade-unions, 229 political societies, 25 artistic, and 180 mutual.

The activity of the Belgian Socialists is principally marked by their repeated and embittered struggles for universal suffrage, as above stated, and by their successful organization of cooperative enterprises. Of these there were in 1903 no less than 1,200 establishments with a membership variously estimated at 130,000 to 200,000, and their combined annual business amounted to 40,000,000 francs. The most important of these cooperatives are the "Vooruit," established in Ghent in 1880, and the "Maison du Peuple," founded in Brussels in 1884.

Holland

The movement in Holland, as in Belgium, began with the International, but developed a still stronger anarchistic tendency, and one from which it more slowly freed itself.

The first political organization of socialism in Holland was the Social Democratic Union, founded in 1878, but it made but little progress until 1893, when the anarchistic elements under the leadership of the eloquent Domela Nieuvenhuis withdrew from it. Since then the party has grown, tho not rapidly. It had in 1906 167 sections with 7,471 members, and cast in 1905 65,743 votes, electing 7 deputies. It is represented also in 30 communal councils. The party press has 1 daily, the *Het Volk*, of Amsterdam, and 7 weeklies. Trade-unionism in Holland also long suffered from its connection with anarchism, but in 1905 a federation of Dutch trade-unions was formed, which is now composed of 18 national organizations, with about 28,400 members, and which works sympathetically with the Social Democratic Party.

The Scandinavian Countries

The Socialist history of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway may be reviewed together. The movement in Denmark is the oldest. It dates back to the days of the International (1870–72), but the present Socialist organization of the country, the Social Democratic Union, was founded in 1878. In 1889 the Danish Socialists elected one deputy to the *Folkething* (Parliament), out of a total of 114; in 1903 the number of their representatives rose to 16, and in 1906 to 24. The Socialist vote was 77,000; 4 representatives were also elected to the *Landsting* (Senate). The party has no less than 25 daily papers and 2 weeklies, the leading daily being the *Sociale Democraten*. In municipal politics the Socialists have elected over 400 municipal councilors in different cities and towns.

The movement in Sweden was initiated under Danish influence in 1881, and grouped itself around three Socialist papers, the *Social Democrat*, published in Stockholm since 1885; the *Arbetet* (Worker), established in Malmo in 1887, and the *Ny Tid* (New Times), founded in Gotheburg in 1889. As in the case of Belgium and Holland, the main activity of the Socialist Party has been for years directed toward the conquest of universal suffrage, and its campaign in that behalf was as picturesque as it was energetic and effective. The party has now elected 15 members to the Second Chamber out of 230. It cast in 1905 30,000 votes.

The Socialist organization of Norway, the Norwegian Labor Party, was organized in 1887, but it constituted itself as a Socialist political party only two years later. In the elections to the Storthing in 1906 the party polled about 45,000 votes and elected 10 deputies; it also has about 330 representatives in the various municipal councils, a number of them being women. The party press includes 4 dailies (the *Social-Demokraten*, of Christiania, the most important), 9 others, two or more times a week, 2 weeklies, and 3 reviews.

The 25,308 members of the united labor-unions of Norway also support the Labor Party. Indeed, the distinguishing feature of the Socialist movement in the three Scandinavian countries is its complete fusion and unity with the trade-union organizations. In fact the organized working men of each of these countries up to a very few years ago constituted but one party, operating simultaneously or alternately on the economic and political fields. The types and methods of the Socialist movement in the three countries are similar to such a point that joint conferences or conventions of the Socialists of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway are quite frequent.

Russia

While the modern Socialist movement in Germany and France, as well as in all other European countries, is primarily economic in its character, and is supported principally by the industrial working classes, the movement in Russia was in its inception preponderatingly political and ethical, and was represented principally by men and women of the better situated and cultured classes. This difference in the character of the movement is accounted for by the difference between the social and economic conditions of that country and the rest of Europe at the period of the birth of socialism in Russia. At a time when the modern industrial régime was fully developed, and the system of representative government firmly established in all principal countries of Europe, Russia was a purely agricultural country with a population of peasants just liberated from serfdom, with no manufacturing class or industrial proletariat worth mentioning, and with an almost Asiatic form of autocratic government. The socialism of Russia was not the direct result of economic development, not a form of class struggle between the classes of capitalists and working men; it was partly an expression of political revolt against absolute czarism, and partly a reflex of the economic Socialist theories with such modifications as the peculiar conditions of Russia comported.

The first expressions of Socialist thought in Russia coincide with the agitation for the emancipation of the serfs, and its best known representatives of that period are a famous coterie of publicists and critics, among whom we must mention Alexander Herzen, an expatriated nobleman of considerable wealth, who conducted an active agitation for Russian freedom from London, principally by means of his magazine, *Kolokol* (Bell), and Nicholas Chernyshefsky, the editor of the influential magazine *Sovremennik* (Contemporary), who was deported to Siberia in the prime of his life, to return thence an old man and a physical and mental wreck.

The next phase of the Socialist movement in Russia is that designated as "Nihilism." The word was coined by the well-known novelist Ivan Turgeniew as a term of ridicule of the new current of Russian thought which developed strongly around 1860–70, and whose main characteristics were a crude materialism and the negation of all established beliefs.

"Nihilism" was an intellectual rather than a political or social movement, but its effect was to promote socialism in two ways: it created a negative attitude toward the old order of things in Russia, and it developed a thirst of positive knowledge among the youth of both sexes, driving large numbers of them into the universities of Western Europe, principally those of Switzerland, since they could not quench that intellectual thirst at home. There young and receptive Russian students were powerfully attracted by the awakening Socialist movement of Western Europe, and also came under the influence of their own exiled countrymen, Michael Bakunin, Alexander Herzen, and Peter Lavroff, the foremost Russian representative of scientific socialism at that time. The Socialist sympathies of these Russian students were so manifest that their government finally took alarm, and in 1873 summarily recalled them to their fatherland under pain of exile. The effect of the order was hardly gratifying to the government; the students returned in large numbers, but they returned as active Socialist propagandists.

At this stage of the movement Russian socialism was perfectly peaceful. The activities of the young propagandists were principally educational: their main effort was to raise the intellectual level of the illiterate peasantry composing the great bulk of the population. They spread in the villages, settled among the peasants, whose habits, language, and even dress they tried to imitate, and conducted the work of Socialist propaganda side by side with that of general education. But their activity provoked severe government reprisals: the "political offenders" were hounded down, executed, imprisoned, or exiled to Siberia frequently without as much as the formality of a trial. Within five years the young movement found itself practically checked: the Socialist propagandists, decimated in numbers and rendered desperate by the relentless and cruel police persecution, abandoned the peaceful methods of propaganda. A seeming accident determined the succeeding phase of Russian socialism.

In 1878 a young woman named Vera Sassulich shot at General Trepoff, the military commandant of St. Petersburg, as an act of revenge for his brutal treatment of a political prisoner. Vera Sassulich was placed on trial for the offense, but was triumphantly acquitted by the jury amid the plaudits of the better part of the population. Encouraged by the success of Sassulich, deprived of all means of peaceful activity, and rendered desperate by the relentless police persecutions, the Socialists turned to methods of force and conspiracy.

A sudden and radical change took place in the Russian revolutionary movement. The old type of peaceful propagandist and dreamer disappeared, and instead of him there arose the sullen and determined terrorist. The Russian Socialists engaged in mortal combat with the autocratic government, and the embodiment of that government, the czar in person. The struggle lasted but a few years, and it was the most unique ever witnessed in history. A mere handful of idealists, without substantial support on the part of any class of the population, was arrayed against the rulers of Russia, supported by a powerful police, a vast army, and unlimited resources, and still the struggle was fierce, just as fierce on the one side as on the other. The "white terror" of the government was fully balanced by the "red terror" of the revolutionists. The enthusiasm, courage, and ingenuity displayed by the Russian Socialists, men and women, during that period, defies comparison. The annals of these few years of the movement are the most romantic in the history of international socialism, and are characterized by numerous political assassinations, and by the imprisonment and execution of the most gifted leaders of Russian socialism. The movement culminated in the assassination of Czar Alexander II., and this triumph of the first period of revolutionary terrorism in Russia was also its end. The Russian revolutionists had expected that the killing of the czar would be the signal for a general revolt, but in this expectation they found themselves sorely disappointed. The population of Russia was not ready for a revolution at that time, and had but little sympathy or understanding for the youthful Socialists.

The "Will of the People," the famous fighting organization of the revolutionary terrorists, survived the assassination of Alexander II. only a few years.

In the meanwhile modern industrial conditions rapidly developed in Russia, and with them developed a new social power, the class of factory workers.

Thus was prepared in Russia the soil for a Socialist movement after the pattern of Western Europe, and the soil rapidly produced a plentiful harvest. Already in the days of revolutionary terrorism a small group of Russian Socialists, headed by George Plekhanoff, Paul Axelrod, and Vera Sassulich, based their hopes for the future of Russian socialism in the nascent class of industrial workers, and their propaganda kept pace with the growth and spread of that class. In the early nineties of the last century official Russia, greatly to its surprize and dismay, found itself confronted in all industrial centers by a well-organized and radical labor movement, which refused to yield to persecution or to be side-tracked by governmental ruses. The organized labor movement gave a new impetus to the political Socialist movement. The Social Democratic Party, originally organized by Russian political exiles in Switzerland, soon had a number of local committees in various parts of Russia, and was reenforced by the organizations of the Jewish, Polish, Lettish, and Armenian Social Democrats. At the beginning of the present century the Social Democratic Party, secret and persecuted as it was, had developed into a power of no mean proportions, and during the most agitated days of the overt outbreak of the Russian revolution, toward the end of 1905 and the beginning of 1906, it was this party that led the movement.

With the revival of the Socialist movement in Russia, revolutionary terrorism, the natural child of unbridled autocracy, gradually reappeared. This movement was at first represented by a number of scattered groups, but in 1901 the large majority of them combined their forces and created the party of Socialist Revolutionists, which is responsible for the numerous political assassinations preceding and accompanying the present war between the government and the people of Russia. It is impossible at this time to estimate the number of Russian subjects enlisted in the ranks of socialism of one shade or another, but the fact that the Second Duma, elected on a restricted suffrage and under government surveillance, had about 100 Socialist members (Social Democrats, Socialist Revolutionists, and representatives of the "Group of Toil"), is eloquent testimony of the immense spread and power of socialism in Russia. The outcome of this power is best studied as Russian rather than distinctively Socialist history. (See Russian Revolution.)

In Finland the Socialists cast 330,000 votes and elected 80 out of 200 delegates to the Diet, according to the report made at the International Socialist Congress of 1907.

United States

In the early part of the last century the United States were the chief theater of communistic experiments. The disciples of Owen, Fourier, Weitling, and Cabet alike sought the realization of their Utopian ideals on American soil, and during the decade of 1840 to 1850 Fourierism in America developed great strength, both as an intellectual movement and as a practical experiment. Among its adherents were many persons of national reputation, such as Horace Greeley, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Charles A. Dana, Albert Brisbane, Margaret Fuller, George Ripley, John S. Dwight, and William E. Channing, and among its experiments the famous Brook Farm and the North American Phalanx each lasted a number of years.

But modern political socialism made its first appearance in the U. S. years after the Fourierist and other Utopian Socialist movements had died out, and there seems to be no direct connection whatever between that movement and its early Utopian precursors. The present Socialist movement in America may be dated from 1868, when the "Social Party of New York and Vicinity" was organized. That party immediately after its formation nominated an independent ticket, but its vote was insignificant, and the organization collapsed. It was succeeded by the "General German Labor Association," which in 1869 became the first local organization or "section" of the "International Working Men's Association." Between 1869 and 1872 a number of additional "sections" of the International were organized in almost all the principal industrial centers from New York to San Francisco. The Socialist movement thus organized seemed so promising that the International transferred its General Council to the U. S.; but after a few years, and especially during the industrial crisis of 1873, the organization rapidly disintegrated.

The first political party on a national scope organized on American soil was the "Social Democratic Working Men's Party," called into life on July 4, 1874, which party, together with several other then existing Socialist organizations, merged into the "Working Men's Party of the U. S." in 1876. It was this party, which had in the meanwhile changed its name to "The Socialist Labor Party of North America," which maintained undisputed hegemony in the Socialist movement during twenty-three years, and was largely instrumental in laying the foundation of the present Socialist movement in this country. In 1892 the Socialists of the U. S. for the first time nominated a presidential ticket, and they have ever since invariably adhered to the policy of independent politics, stedfastly refusing to ally themselves with any other political parties.

But notwithstanding the untiring efforts and persistent propaganda of the Socialist Labor Party, the growth of the Socialist movement in the U. S. was exceedingly slow and entirely out of keeping with that of the movement in other countries. As a matter of fact, the movement was largely confined to foreign working men, principally Germans, and until the end of the last century it did not succeed in acquiring a foothold in the broad masses of the native population. But during the last decade a number of circumstances have combined to insure a more favorable reception to the gospel of socialism in the U. S. The rapid industrial development of the country, accompanied by the growth of gigantic trusts and powerful labor-unions, the growing intensity of the overt struggles between capital and labor, and the collapse of the Populist and other reform movements, all served to prepare the soil for the Socialist seed. Alongside of the Socialist Labor Party, largely built on the narrow lines of a mere propaganda club,

new party, the "Socialist Party," sprang up, absorbing a considerable part of the members of the Socialist Labor Party, and attracting large numbers of new converts, native Americans of all parts of the country, recruited principally from among the working class. The Socialist Party has at this time (1907) about 1,900 local organizations in the different states and territories of the union, with a dues-paying membership of over 35,000. It polled a vote of almost half a million in the presidential elections of 1904, and its press consists of over thirty periodical publications in almost all conceivable languages. The Socialists have no representation in the U. S. Congress, but they have lately conquered a number of seats in several state legislatures and municipal councils.

Other Countries

Socialism has now made organized appearance in practically every civilized country of the world. In Switzerland socialism, early connected with the International, is now organized on Marxist lines, and has identified with it the *Grütlverein*, the oldest Swiss labor organization, as well as other societies and trade-unions. The party cast in 1906 about 70,000 votes and elected 2 representatives to the National Council, besides 4 others, whom it claims to have elected but who were disqualified. In Spain a Socialist Party is now organized in 100 groups with 6,000 members. It has 7 weeklies, the *Socialista*, of Madrid, being the most important. In Hungary since 1903 the Social Democratic Party has grown from a handful more or less under the ban of the police, to a strong political party which the government cannot ignore. As in Austria, the struggle has been for universal suffrage, and the government, as again in Austria, has been compelled to grant this, tho no elections having yet been held under universal suffrage, the number of Hungarian Socialists cannot be given. The membership in Hungarian trade-unions, which are practically Socialist organizations, has grown from 10,000 at the beginning of 1902 to 129,332 in 1906. Farther east Socialism claims over 3,000 in Bulgaria, mainly of the lower middle class, the proletariat not yet being awakened to it.

In 1902 the party polled 30,000 votes and elected 8 deputies. There are 43 unions with a membership of 1,970. In Servia a Social Democratic Party is struggling against the government for universal suffrage. In 1906 it had 23 locals, 1,400 members, and polled 3,133 votes, electing 1 deputy. In Rumania, Greece, and Portugal there are only the beginnings of a movement. Luxemburg, however, has 5 Socialist deputies.

Outside of Europe and the U. S. socialism, too, is spreading. In Australia, as in England, the Labor Party is the main political expression of the working classes; but tho not explicitly Socialist, its program, even more than in England, is socialistic, and a very large number of its leaders and members are avowed Socialists. It has in the Upper Federal Chamber 15 representatives out of 36, and in the Lower Chamber 26 out of 75. In several of the state legislatures they have even more representation. There is, however, also a Social Party organized in Victoria and in New South Wales.

In Canada socialism has not been much developed except in British Columbia, where there is a Socialist weekly, *The Western Clarion*. Two Socialist candidates were elected in this province in 1903. Toronto in the east cast 8,200 votes.

In South America there are Socialist organizations in the Argentine Republic (35 groups, 5 papers, 1 daily, *La Vanguardia*, and polling in 1906 3,500 votes), in Bolivia (with a paper, *L'Aurora*), in Chile (100 groups, 4 dailies, and several other journals, polling 18,000 in 1906 and electing 6 deputies), and beginnings in other countries.

We have thus briefly surveyed the development and present condition of the Socialist movement in the principal countries of Europe and America. At the International Socialist Congress held in Stuttgart in 1907 no less than 23 distinct nationalities were represented by delegates, some of them coming from the countries of the Balkan, Japan, South Africa, and Australia. The number of Socialist voters all over the world is at present estimated at about 10,000,000, and the number of adherents of the Socialist creed, voters and non-voters, all over the world, is probably no less than 30,000,000. The Socialist movement has representation in the parliaments of fifteen nations, and in the senates of four countries (Belgium, Denmark, France, and Australia).

An important fact of the movement is the formation of juvenile Socialist organizations, reporting 59,225 members in all the principal countries of the world; also a very large and important Socialist movement among the women in these countries, with a growing literature.

Morris Hilquitt.

SOCIALISM, OBJECTIONS TO: While it would be absurd to say that the present industrial system will remain forever unchanged, there is reason to think that, in its essential features, it will continue for a long time to come. The vitality of capitalism is habitually underestimated by Socialists, who think of it as a decaying system, whereas it is still full of life and vigor.

The basic principle of business activity is the exchange of commodities and services for one another, the giving of a quid pro quo, so that business life, in spite of the dishonesty connected with it, is essentially ethical, and not a system of legalized robbery and exploitation.

Another of the foundation-stones of capitalism is the principle of egoism, the fact that men work for themselves and their families first of all, and secondarily, if at all, for the good of society. Self-interest is the most powerful of all motives and is the mainspring of industrial activity. And yet, as a rule, a man in business best secures his own good by making himself valuable to society.

Strength of Capitalism

Another element of strength in capitalism is the fact that it affords to the industrially capable free scope for their energies, opportunity of advancement, and great material rewards. In spite of the concentration of industry, or because of it, the laborers' chances of promotion are greater than ever before in the history of the world. By a process of economic selection the natural leaders come to the front, while the rank and file of the industrial army are employed most of the time, and are supported in a degree of comfort unknown to the common people of former times, or to those of non-capitalistic countries of the present day.

Still another strong feature of capitalism is the automatic process of exchange, by which the social value of commodities and the social efficiency of workers are measured. Employers and employees as a rule are paid out of the products of their own industry, and their social efficiency is measured by the profits and wages which they receive. There is thus a mathematical test of efficiency, which is rigorously applied throughout the industrial system, and by which the cost of production is reduced and the product increased, so as to secure a maximum of social utility at a minimum of social cost. Defective as this method of distribution may be, because of imperfect competition, it is more equitable than any artificial system that could be devised, and, tho working hardship to the inefficient, it rewards the efficient, increases the total product of industry, and is good for the majority of the working class.

These and other characteristics make the capitalistic system very strong, but it has the further advantage of possessing the field. It is a working system, which has done great things for the countries that have adopted it, making Western civilization dominant throughout the world, and promising to do as much for Russia, Japan, China, and other non-capitalistic countries, to develop their resources, increase the productivity of their labor, and raise the standard of living.

So the burden of proof rests upon those who would abolish capitalism. They must make it clear that it can be and will be replaced by something radically different and vastly better, or intelligent people will be content to make the best of an imperfect but measurably perfectible system, rather than to commit themselves to a policy of radical experiment and social revolution.

The world is not yet converted to socialism, nor is likely to be for many years to come. The numerical strength of capitalism is very great. Its supporters include manufacturers and merchants, large and small, and it is to be noted that the petty bourgeoisie are not being eliminated as many Socialists contend. Capitalism also commands the adherence of the farmers, with few exceptions; also the vast majority of clerks and officials, the influential professional classes, and the more efficient and highly paid laborers, who have much to lose and nothing to gain by a plunge into democratic collectivism. The proletariat, the propertyless class, who, as Marx says, "have nothing to lose but their chains," are not relatively increasing, nor is their misery increasing, while the new middle class of highly paid workers and professional people is steadily increasing, and forms a bulwark against the realization of socialism.

The laboring class itself, the hope of Socialists, is not united, nor is it likely to unite, upon a program so radical as that of socialism. Probably a majority of those who vote with the Socialists in Germany are not Socialists at all, but republicans, reformers, opportunists, people who protest against monarchism, militarism, and the many evils of capitalism, but who do not look for a social revolution, nor desire the establishment of democratic collectivism. The realization of socialism would not benefit the working class, particularly the more efficient. There would probably be a leveling down, rather than a leveling up, and the laboring class would not be slow to realize the danger of such a process.

The experiments that have been tried in government ownership and management of public utilities have been disappointing, if not discouraging, to the advocates of State socialism. In every country, not excepting Germany, the government official is found to be slow, inefficient, and unprogressive, a slave to routine and red tape, lacking initiative and the stimulus which is necessary to high industrial attainment. The inertia of the public service is notorious, and it is almost an accepted principle that whatever the government does is done in the slowest and most expensive way. The moderate degree of efficiency that is found in public undertakings is largely due to the example of private enterprise, and to the fact that they are managed by people who have been trained in the school of private business. Unless public ownership can show better results in the future than in the past, it is not likely that the people will favor an extension of such activities, even when the government is wholly controlled by the working class.

But in spite of all considerations of prudence, it is possible that the working class in some small country, like Belgium, Switzerland, or New Zealand, may determine to establish collectivism, and thus put their economic theories to a practical test. What would happen in such a case it is impossible to tell.

One may reasonably suppose, however, that production would be carried on by industrial groups, composed of the leading industries with their natural subdivisions. To secure harmony and cooperation it would be necessary to have a governing body at the head of each group, and a central committee representing the industries of the whole nation. There would be a vast and complicated organization, demanding not only faithful industry on the part of the rank and file, but great executive ability and intense application on the part of the officers and the members of the central executive body. But since all the industrial army would be civil servants, working, not chiefly for their own advantage, but for the welfare of society at large; and since it would be necessary to operate by rules, more or less inflexible, with a system of red tape and routine, and, since there would be no scientific measure of industrial efficiency; and since the workers would demand shorter hours and easier conditions in general, there is every reason to think that the working of the system would be characterized by the slow and unprogressive spirit that now marks all governmental undertakings, but in a far greater degree, because of the absence of competition with private enterprise.

There can be little doubt that the cost of production would be greatly increased; that Belgium, for example, would lose her foreign trade to England, Germany, and the United States; that New Zealand would not be able to compete with Australia and the Argentine in the production of mutton; and that all the countries of western Europe, under socialism, would be ruined by the competition of Japan and China.

Results of Socialism

Realizing the possibility of such an outcome, and recognizing the fact that the capitalistic countries of Europe cannot economically produce their own supply of food and raw materials, many Socialists do not approve of national collectivism. They wish to have international collectivism, and thus forever abolish international competition, as well as competition between private persons within the limits of a given

tate. This is surely the extreme of Utopianism, gnoring, as it does, all racial prejudice between Europeans, and completely blind to the impracicability of industrial cooperation between the white race on the one hand and Asiatics and Africans on the other. To think, moreover, that he industries of the world can be combined into single cooperative system on any basis that would be satisfactory to all the nations and all he workers involves a stretch of the imagination nd an exercise of faith quite beyond the bounds f mere unaided reason.

Even within the limits of a single socialistic tate, the causes of disagreement would be such s to threaten the disruption of the new society rom the very first. Socialists generally think f man as tho he were purely a social being, whereas his antisocial instincts, his love of fightng, and his desire to rule are almost if not quite as strong as the impulses that make for unity and peace. The capitalistic system, by giving place o industrial rivalry, as well as cooperation, is well suited to the present state of human nature, nd there is reason to think that, under collectivsm, people would be too closely associated to remain at peace among themselves.

If the productivity of collective industry, within a given state, were reduced, there would be terrible disappointment among the workers, with mutual recriminations and a fierce struggle for shares in the diminished product. But if the national income were abundant, which is not likely, there would still be opportunity for disputes concerning the principle of division. Would the distribution be equal, according to efficiency, or according to needs? If according to needs, who could suggest a measure of needs other than the needs of the most efficient? If according to efficiency, could a satisfactory measure and test of efficiency be found and put into operation, and would the majority of the people, the relatively inefficient, ever consent to reward adequately the efficient services of their natural leaders? If equal distribution should prevail, and this would be most in accord with the traditions of socialism, what motives would operate to stimulate the latent energies of the workers, and prevent society from sinking to the dead level of uniformity and mediocrity? Socialists give no convincing answer to these questions, but express the hope that altruistic motives and the desire for honorable distinction would replace the love of material things which now controls the economic activity of the vast majority of mankind.

Another cause of infinite contention would be the assignment of workers to their proper places in the industrial army, and their promotion, when deserved, to higher or more desirable work. That all drudgery could be abolished, or by any device made as pleasant as other kinds of work, is not to be believed. Nor is it probable that the hours of work could be greatly reduced without a serious falling off in production. The election or appointment of officers, too, would be a source of endless trouble. If they were elected by their associates, it would be impossible to keep politics out of industrial life, and efficiency would be destroyed, while, if they were appointed from above, the way would be open for administrative tyranny and the utter destruction of democracy.

Again, there would be growing discontent among the consumers, as such, since production would not be regulated automatically, as now, but artificially, by a central administration, remote from the individual consumers, and not readily persuaded to produce new commodities, or to improve the old, or to depart in any way from the established and intolerable uniformity.

It would be easy to mention other serious causes of dissatisfaction, which would inevitably result in political factions, class struggles, and a disorderly condition of things, necessitating the establishment of a standing army for the control of the discontented and the maintenance of law and order. From this it would be only a step to a system of compulsory labor, under which the masses of the people would be wage-slaves in a far worse sense than now, toiling for a bare subsistence, and exploited by an aristocracy of parasitic officials.

But it is not at all probable that revolutionary Socialists will ever be able to control the industrial life of more than one or two small nations, for the experience of these will be so disastrous as to deter the rest of the world from following in their footsteps.

Competition, after all, is the best and safest test of industrial efficiency. If governments show themselves able to compete with private enterprise in producing better results at a less cost of capital and labor, and if cooperative societies prove that they can do the same, then governmental and cooperative industries controlled, no doubt, by the laboring class, will possess the field, by virtue of superior efficiency, and the socialistic ideal will be realized by a process of slow and continuous evolution. But if not, capitalism will continue to exist, and the laboring class will find it to their advantage to preserve and foster it, while at the same time doing their utmost to remove abuses and to secure as large a share in the product as they can get without injury to the industrial system of which they form a part.

J. E. Le Rossignol.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY: A political party in the United States, organized in New York in 1876, mainly of Germans, under the name of the Social Democratic Working Men's Party. In 1877 it cast 1,365 votes in New York City, and the same year adopted the name of the Socialist Labor Party. In 1892 it first nominated presidential candidates and polled 21,157 votes. In 1897, however, the Social Democratic Party was formed, largely under the lead of Eugene V. Debs and others who believed in a party more genuinely American than the Socialist Labor Party, and one that could work in and through existing trade-unions, while the Socialist Labor Party believed in trade-unions but only in unions which would declare for socialism. The movement thus became divided. The Socialist Labor Party, however, mainly under the lead of Daniel de Leon, has continued its course, believing that the so-called "broader" policy of the Social Democratic Party (usually called The Socialist Party) would not endure. In 1896 the Socialist Labor Party polled 36,564 votes; in 1900, 34,191, and in 1904, 33,536 (the Social Democrat Party polling 408,230). The Socialist Labor Party is still largely a New York party and still largely German. In carrying out its principles it organized a Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance of a few Socialistic labor-unions opposed to the American Federation of Labor, and in return considered a "scab" organization by the American Federation. The "Alliance," how-

ever, has been virtually merged in "The Industrial Workers of the World" (*q. v.*). The party publishes *The Daily People*, edited by Daniel de Leon. *Secretary* of the party, Frank Bohn, 2 New Reade Street, New York City.

SOCIALIST PARTY, THE (OF THE UNITED STATES) (for the earlier history of socialism in the United States, see SOCIALISM, HISTORY OF): The first Socialist political movement in the U. S. was the Social Party of New York and vicinity, in 1868; in the same year the first sections of the International Working Men's Association were formed. In 1871 the North American Federation of the I. W. A. began its agitation. In May, 1874, the Social Democratic Working Men's Party was organized. In July, 1876, this party and the I. W. A. united in Philadelphia under the name of the Working Men's Party of America, and in Dec., 1877, the name of this party was changed to the Socialist Labor Party of North America. Until 1898 this was practically the only Socialist political party in this country, surviving a number of serious internal controversies as well as adverse political conditions. In June of that year, partly because of dissatisfaction with the vigorous antitrade-union policy which dominated the Socialist Labor Party, partly because of the highly centralized power exercised over the party and its press by a few individuals, and also because it was felt that the methods of agitation of the party were not such as to appeal to the American working class, the Social Democratic Party was organized at Chicago. The organizers of the Social Democratic Party were themselves a bolting faction from the first national convention of the Social Democracy of America, which had been formed in 1897 by Eugene V. Debs at the final convention of the American Railway Union. The Social Democracy had had for its main object the formation of cooperative colonies, but also presented a political platform. In its first convention (June, 1898) a contest over whether the organization should continue as originally planned, or become purely a Socialist political party, resulted in a bolt of those favoring the latter policy and the formation of the Social Democratic Party, with the political organization of the working class for socialism as its one object.

The new party started out with a declaration of sympathy with the trade-union movement, and immediately began active political work. In Nov., 1898, it attracted universal attention by electing two members of the Massachusetts legislature and the Mayor of Haverhill, in the same state. Meanwhile the growing dissatisfaction within the Socialist Labor Party finally resulted in a revolt among its members against the dominant powers that dictated what was believed to be a ruinous policy. This revolt culminated in Aug., 1899, and out of the conflict came what was afterward known as the Rochester Socialist Labor Party, on account of the revolting faction holding a convention in Rochester, N. Y., in Feb., 1900. At this convention the administration of the old party was repudiated and a new line of general policy agreed upon, including an attitude of sympathy with the trade-union movement. A presidential ticket composed of Job Harriman, of California, and Max S. Hayes, of Ohio, was nominated.

In March, 1900, the Social Democratic Party held its first national convention at Indianapolis. To this convention came a delegation from the Rochester Socialist Labor Party, on a mission of unity between that party and the Social Democratic Party. As a result of the movement for unity amalgamation was thought to have been accomplished and a joint ticket was nominated, consisting of Eugene V. Debs, of Indiana, for president, and Job Harriman, of California, for vice-president. Later, however, differences arose which caused the establishment of another national headquarters at Springfield, Mass., in opposition to the one already existing at Chicago. There were, therefore, two separate organizations in the national campaign of 1900, each claiming the name Social Democratic Party, altho both supported the original ticket nominated at Indianapolis. In July, 1901, unity between these two rival bodies was accomplished under the name of the Socialist Party, which is the present organization.

At the present writing (Aug., 1907) the Socialist Party has state organizations in thirty-nine states and territories, and local organizations in the remainder. Its membership is estimated at between 30,000 and 35,000. Its national headquarters, since 1901, have been successively situated at St. Louis, Omaha, and Chicago, and they are now in the last city, in charge of a salaried national secretary. A regular corps of interstate speakers is kept in the field and the agitation and organizing work never stops. The party is known as the Social Democratic Party in Wisconsin and the Public Ownership Party in Minnesota.

Since 1899 the Socialist Party has elected state and local officials in many states, particularly Wisconsin, Illinois, Montana, and Pennsylvania, besides Massachusetts, already mentioned. In 1900 the national ticket polled 97,730 votes, and in 1904, with Eugene V. Debs, of Indiana, and Ben Hanford, of New York, as its candidates for president and vice-president, respectively, 408,230 votes were recorded.

Socialist Press

The press of the party has grown rapidly. The principal periodicals appearing in English are: *The Worker*, New York (weekly); *Chicago Daily Socialist*; *The Socialist*, Seattle, Wash. (weekly); *Montana News*, Helena, Mont. (weekly); *Labor*, St. Louis (weekly); *Social Democratic Herald*, Milwaukee, Wis. (weekly); *International Socialist Review*, Chicago (monthly); *Socialist Review*, Hoboken, N. J. (semi-monthly). Of these *The Worker*, *Montana News*, and *Socialist Review* are owned exclusively by the party organizations where they are published. Among general propaganda papers supporting the Socialist Party are *The Appeal to Reason*, Girard, Kan. (weekly); *Wilshire's Magazine*, New York (monthly); the *Socialist Woman*, Chicago (monthly).

Of the large number of papers in foreign languages the most important are the German New York *Volkszeitung* (daily), established in 1878; the *Vorwarts*, New York (weekly); the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, St. Louis (weekly); *Die Wahrheit*, Milwaukee (weekly); the French *L'Union des Travailleurs*, Charleroi, Pa. (weekly); the Polish *Robotnik*, Brooklyn (weekly); the Bohemian *Spravadlnost*, Chicago (weekly); the Jewish *Forward*, New York (daily). In addition, the party has the open support of many trade-union journals in different languages, including the *Brewers' Journal*, Cincinnati (weekly); *Cleveland Citizen*,

Cleveland, Ohio (weekly); *Miners' Magazine*, Denver, Colorado (weekly).

As a part of the International Socialist movement, accepting the platform and principles of that movement, the Socialist Party is represented at the International Socialist Bureau at Brussels and takes part in the congresses of the International Party of Socialism.

WILLIAM MAILLY.

SOCIALISTS OF THE CHAIR: In 1871, in Germany, Herr Offenheim, in the *National Zeitung*, dubbed those professors of political economy who inclined toward certain socialistic views, *Katheder Sozialisten* (Academic Socialists or Socialists of the Chair). The term was taken up and accepted by Professor Schmoller (*q. v.*) in his opening address at a gathering at Eisenach in 1872 of those who sympathize with the view, and it led to somewhat of a movement in Germany, and the formation in 1873 of the *Verein für Sozial-Politik* (Social Economic Club), an organization to represent their views, holding meetings almost annually and producing considerable literature. The name has passed into other countries, and in England and America is applied to professors (and they are not a few, see SOCIALISM) who incline to certain socialistic propositions. Nevertheless, Socialists of the Chair are not Socialists. In Germany, especially, they stand for little more than an expansion of the paternal State, while Socialists oppose paternalism.

Professor Schmoller, in his opening address at Eisenach, said:

"The marked division of classes in the midst of existing society, the open war between masters and workmen, between owners and proletarians, and the danger, still distant but threatening the future, of a social revolution, have for some years caused doubts to arise as to the truth and definitive triumph of the economic doctrines represented by the congress of economists; and on all sides it is questioned whether absolute freedom of labor and the complete abolition of the antiquated regulations of the Middle Ages will bring about that perfectly happy situation which the believers in *laissez-faire* have so enthusiastically predicted." (While thus separating himself from the old optimism of the Manchester party [*Das Manchesterthum*], Schmoller was careful to show that he did not accept the conclusion of the Socialists.) "Tho by no means satisfied," he said, "with existing social conditions, and convinced of the necessity of reforms, we preach neither the upsetting of science nor the overthrow of the existing social order, and we protest against all socialistic experiments. All the great advances shown in history have been the results of the work of ages. The existing economic legislation, the present methods of production, the psychological conditions of the different classes, ought to be the basis of our reforming energy. We demand neither the abolition of industrial freedom nor the suppression of the wage system; but we do not wish, out of respect for abstract principles, to allow the most crying abuses to become daily worse, and to permit so-called freedom of contract to end in the actual exploitation of the laborer. We do not desire the State to advance money to working men in order that they may make experiments on systems inevitably destined to fail; but we demand that it should concern itself, in an altogether new spirit, with their instruction and training, and should see that labor is not conducted under conditions which must have for their inevitable effect the degradation of the laborer."

SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, THE (English): The Sociological Society was constituted in Nov., 1903, by a combination of representatives of all departments of social investigation, as well as of practical interests, political, educational, philanthropic, religious, etc.

The aims of the society are scientific, educational, and practical. It seeks to promote investigation, and to advance education in the social sciences in their various aspects and applications. It aims at affording a common ground on which workers from all fields and schools concerned with social phenomena may meet. Economist and historian, psychologist and moralist, anthropologist and archeologist, geographer and naturalist, as also physician and alienist, criminologist and jurist, hygienist and educationist, philanthropist and social reformer, politician and cleric.

The Sociological Society prosecutes its work by means customary to an efficiently organized learned society, namely, meetings for papers and discussions, the collection of relevant periodical and book literature, and by publications. For papers and discussions the society holds meetings in its rooms, 24 Buckingham St. The society also publishes a quarterly journal, *The Sociological Review*.

The foreign correspondents of the society include many of the most eminent continental and American sociologists. Membership is open to all interested in sociological studies. *Secretary*, Dr. Slaughter. *Address*: 24 Buckingham St., Strand, London, W. C.

SOCIOLOGY (from Latin *socius*, a comrade, whence *societas*, society, and Greek λόγος, reason) is in general the science of society. Three distinct conceptions of the science have, however, prevailed. It has been conceived (1) as a mere coordination of the various particular social sciences; (2) as itself a particular science dealing with all social relations not considered under other social sciences; (3) as a science of the fundamental laws and general principles underlying all social phenomena. This is the view which obtains to-day with the best thinkers. It is a modern science. Plato, Aristotle, Aquinas, Hobbes, Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Hume, Bentham, Burke, Hegel, Fourier, and others developed many profound and valuable thoughts as to social principles, yet Comte (*q. v.*) in 1838 first used the word sociology for the science of society, or social physics, as he called it, and first developed social principles in a systematic way, based, as he believed, on an induction from facts. He conceived of the social world as a unity, looked at according to his well-known analysis of the history of human thought, first theologically, then metaphysically, and lastly positively, or as a mere study of facts apart from all preconception. But Comte's acquaintance with social facts was limited. Jacques Quetelet in his "Du Système Sociale" (1848) and "Physique Sociale" (1855) laid the foundations and developed the methods of quantitative—that is, of scientifically exact—studies of social phenomena. Herbert Spencer (*q. v.*) introduced the conception of evolution and formulated the great basic propositions of evolutionist sociology. His "Principles of Sociology," as a developed part of his synthetic philosophy, did not begin to appear till 1876, but most of his more important positions are already developed in his earlier works. With wide knowledge he undertakes to explain the genesis of all phenomena, mental and natural, in accordance with a universal law of evolution. Mr. Spencer's social theories, however, have not satisfied those who believe that the State should assume more than the simplest governmental functions. Lester F. Ward ("Dynamic Sociology," vol. i., p. 218) says of Spencer:

No man probably ever wrote as much as he has written without saying more that the average judgment of mankind could not indorse as soon as presented. . . . Paradoxical as it may sound, and whether it be construed as complimentary or otherwise, Mr. Spencer has too much good sense and too much real knowledge to build a perfect system of philosophy.

The biological conception of society is minutely carried out by the German A. Schäffle (*q. v.*) in his "Bau und Leben des socialen Körpers" (1875), and by the Belgian Guillaume de Greef in his "Introduction à la Sociologie" (1886–89). In the United States Lester F. Ward, in his "Dynamic Sociology" (1883), "The Psychic Factors of Civilization" (1893), "Pure Sociology" (1902), and "Applied Sociology" (1906), lays emphasis upon the self-conscious purpose of man as a controlling factor in the advanced stages of social evolution. His works are of special importance in reform because of his argument that at a certain point the natural evolution of society passes over into an artificial and teleological evolution. Mr. Ward's belief that society can consciously determine its own status perhaps contributes to socialism as truly as Mr. Spencer's position opposes socialism. At least mention should be made of an earlier American who, tho not using the term sociology, nevertheless treated sociological subjects with some originality and force—Henry C. Carey (*q. v.*). He published his "Principles of Social Science" in 1858–60, grouping all phenomena round the principle of association, but somewhat forcing facts to suit his own fancies about association. More recent writers have found various principles as the elementary and distinctive principle of society. Gabriel Tarde ("Les Lois de l'Imitation," 1890) finds it in imitation; Ludwig Gumplowicz ("Der Rassenkampf," 1883, and "Grundriss der Sociologie," 1885) finds it in the conflicts, amalgamations, and assimilations of heterogeneous ethnical groups; J. Novicow of Odessa ("Les Luttes entre les Sociétés Humaines," 1893) finds it in the variation of conflict and alliance; Émile Durkheim ("De la Division du Travail Sociale," 1893) finds it in a division of functions creating not only division, but solidarity, ethical and moral as well as economic; John S. Mackenzie ("An Introduction to Social Philosophy," 1870) elaborates the Platonic or moral-organic conception of society; Gustav Ratzenhofer ("Wesen und Zweck der Politik," 1893, and "Die Sociologische Erkenntniss," 1898) and Albion W. Small ("General Sociology," 1905) interpret society in terms of *interests*. Small has given particular attention to the progress of method in sociology which he says has been marked from Spencer to Ratzenhofer "by gradual shifting of effort from analogical representation of social structures to real analysis of social processes." Prof. F. H. Giddings first in numerous articles, and in 1896 in his "Principles of Sociology," held that "the original and elementary subjective fact in society is the consciousness of kind" (p. 17). In later works ("Elements of Sociology," 1898, "Inductive Sociology," 1901, and "Descriptive and Historical Sociology," 1906) he derives the consciousness of kind itself and all other social phenomena, from the varying degrees of like and unlike response, by like and unlike individuals, to a common stimulation. Out of these elements are built up concerted volition and social control, and social organization, the function of which is to create and maintain the social welfare. Such, in brief, is the development of sociology up to the present time. We shall now consider its content and main positions, following, for the most part, the outline of the last-named author. According to him descriptive sociology comes first, a knowledge of the facts being of necessity preliminary to their analysis. Society is not limited to human beings; most animals are social. The associations of the ants, bees, and beavers are well known. Among mammals and birds isolated lives are rare. Some degree of aggregation is necessary usually to preserve life in the struggle for life. In his "The Ascent of Man" Professor Drummond has developed the thought that the struggle for the life of others is a necessary concomitant of the struggle for life of self. Say the authors of "The Evolution of Sex" (p. 279): "The activities of even the lowest organisms are often distinctively referable to either category. . . . Hardly distinguishable at the outset, the primitive hunger and love become the starting points of divergent lines of egoistic and altruistic motion and activity." Kropotkin emphasizes the fact played by the social life in animal evolution in his use of Brehm's "Illustriertes Thierleben." Aggregation is of two kinds: genetic, or by descent from a common ancestor, and congregate, or by the coming together of individuals. The patriarchal theory of the origin of society supposed a genetic basis; the social-contract theory, a congregate basis. Neither is exclusively the case. External physical conditions, as necessity of food and water and protection, compel aggregation. Yet the evidence that close interbreeding is injurious is familiar and is generally accepted as conclusive.

Association

We come next to consider the social mind. This is not an abstract but a concrete thing. It exists only in individual minds, and yet is more than any individual mind; it is the phenomenon of individual minds in interaction. Aggregation is supplemented by various processes of communication, suggestion and imitation, conflict and association, all constituting an interstimulation and responsive mind in relation with mind. In this process resemblances and differences are accentuated, like natures become aware of their similarity, the consciousness of kind arises, and assimilation begins. Like response to common stimulation played upon by the consciousness of kind becomes concerted volition and develops into cooperation. In animals the social mind is instinctive only. In the lowest men and on occasions among more highly developed men it is mainly instinctive and emotional, manifesting itself in panics, fads, crazes, mobs, revivals, revolutions, lynching, etc.

Social Mind

The social mind acquires continuity through the social memory or tradition. Tradition is the integration of the public opinion of many generations. Primary traditions are economic, juridical, political, and are developed in this order. Secondary traditions are personal, esthetic, and religious. Tertiary traditions are theological, metaphysical, and scientific. The highest form of the social mind is attained through investigation and discussion and the evolution of a reasoned public opinion.

The social organization includes the social composition, or groupings in which individuals or minor groups of individuals dwell together, and the social constitution, or groupings in which individuals work or otherwise act together whether they dwell together or not. Social composition begins with the family group. Not much social composition is found below the birds, tho nearly all birds live in families. Brehm declared that genuine marriage could be found only among birds. ("Thierleben," bd. iv., p. 20.)

Groups which are composed of families are

either ethnical, that is, composed of kindred and genetic; or demotic, that is, associate and civil. (See FAMILY.)

The composition of demotic societies into villages, towns, counties, states, nations, is well known (*q. v.*). This social composition is psychological rather than physical. The constitution of society is its organization into specialized associations for various social ends. Examples are municipal governments, churches, schools, industrial corporations, societies, clubs, etc. In the tribal society composition and constitution are substantially identical.

In civilized communities the constitution of society is like a great circle with numberless small circles within it. Socialists are right in saying that the State could do all; individualists are right in saying that society could get on without government; but neither is the normal development. The end of society is the evolution of the rational and spiritual personality of its members. Cultural associations develop this and are religious, educational, scientific, ethical, esthetic, or what is called polite society. Economic, legal, and political associations exist in a functional sense for the sake of cultural organization and activity. Psychologically the social constitution is the exact opposite of the social composition. It is an alliance of the like and the non-toleration of the unlike in each simple association, supplemented by toleration and consideration of the unlike in complex association.

Historical Sociology

Historical sociology Professor Giddings divides into four parts. (1) Zoogenic association (association of animals) long preceded the association of men and deeply affected animal life. Indeed we may say that association or society has been the supreme element in the struggle for existence. It was Mr. Darwin's dictum that "those communities which included the greatest number of the most sympathetic members would flourish best" (quoted in Drummond's "The Ascent of Man," p. 238). Kropotkin says, "Sociability is as much a law of nature as mutual struggle" (*Nineteenth Century*, 1890, p. 340). Herbert Spencer says of the ethical bearings of altruistic principles ("Principles of Ethics," vol. ii., p. 5): "Animal life of all but the lowest kinds has been maintained by virtue of them. Excluding the *Protozoa*, among which their operation is scarcely discernible, we see that, without gratis benefits to offspring and earned benefits to adults, life could not have continued."

"The ant," says Kropotkin, "thrives without having any of the 'protective' features which cannot be dispensed with by animals living an isolated life."

In their societies parrots find infinitely more protection than they possibly might find in any ideal development of beak and claw. Horses, badly organized on the whole for resisting both their numerous enemies and the adverse conditions of climate, would soon have disappeared from the surface of the earth were it not for their sociable spirit. When a beast of prey approaches them several studs unite at once, . . . and when a snowstorm rages in the steppes each stud keeps close together and repairs to a protected ravine. . . . Life in societies enables the feeblest insects, the feeblest birds, and the feeblest mammals to resist or to protect themselves from the most terrible birds and beasts of prey. . . . We maintain that under any circumstances sociability is the greatest advantage in the struggle for life. (Kropotkin, *loc. cit.*, pp. 7–11.)

(2) But after zoogenic comes anthropogenic association. There is here, however, no break. Society produced man rather than man society. The ape-like forerunner of man is social. (See Darwin's "Descent of Man," p. 180.) Language is necessary to human development and society is necessary to language. Most evolutionary thought here has gone astray. Mr. Fiske argues that social development followed from prolonged infancy, but this forgets that association must precede prolonged infancy. The brain is the result of association and man the creature of social life, rather than social life the work of man.

Mr. Lester F. Ward (in *American Anthropologist*, vol. viii., No. 3, July, 1895) also argues that "man's erect posture is chiefly due to brain development," and that his psychologic evolution is to be explained largely by association.

Such is this view of the genesis of the human species, in society, rather than of society from man, tho Mr. Giddings reminds his reader that the conclusions are yet merely hypothetical. Economic ideas, even of tools, political ideas of toleration and obedience and of kinship, have their beginnings in the animal world. Characteristic of the beginnings of human society were the primitive explanations and traditions of life, death, and causation, as animism and the ghost theory.

(3) Coming now to ethnogenic associations, we find that self-consciousness is that which distinguishes human from animal communities. At first, however, the social constitution is not different from the social composition. The first groups were probably formed of family groups. At the same time the relations of the sexes may have been the loosest. The family relation can and probably did coexist with the greatest sexual irregularities, especially at the great gatherings and festivals. The trading and lending of wives was common. It is probable that the domestic group was simply a monogamous family, mainly the result of male jealousy and power, as held by Darwin and Maine; with polyandry and polygyny the exception. (See FAMILY.) The male probably often deserted the female with her children, and they would know only the mother, thus accounting for the matronymic clan. The union of hordes produces the tribe, and the union of tribes an ethnic nation. In horde, clan, or tribe, chieftaincy can become hereditary; the clans are the juridical organization; the phratry is the religious organization guarding the religious tradition. Its secret societies of medicine-men give the germs of the professional class; the sachems elected by clansmen and clanswomen are the first judges. Chieftains become the founders of a nobility. There results a feudalism (*q. v.*) which prepares the way for another system.

Ethnogenic Association

In demogenic associations the social composition is subordinate to a developed social constitution. It has three stages. In the first all the energies of society are concentrated upon political integration and defense, as in Egypt and Babylonia; in the second there is a critical effort to achieve the union of personal liberty with stability through the constructive evolution of municipal constitutional law. Greece failed in construction and Rome sacrificed spontaneity to system. This stage went on through the Middle Ages, the Reformation, the French and American Revolutions. The third stage is industrial. The development of the fundamental social interests thus reverses the order of their genesis.

We found that there were three fundamental social traditions—economic, legal, and political—evolved in this order. But when society, build-

ing on these traditions, reaches the political stage it puts its social energies into perfecting that first, and then works back and perfects its legal and then its economic life. So with the secondary traditions of the personal or animistic, the esthetic and religious. When society has reached the political stage it has by no means perfected its secondary traditions, and therefore, in so far as it busies itself with intangible concerns, it interests itself in religion, then in art, then in personal interests.

Philosophy of History

The tertiary traditions, however, follow a different order. In the religious-political age the human mind is theological; in the critical age it is metaphysical; only in the economic and spiritual age it is scientific. The stages of civilization are then military, religious, and theological; liberal, legal, and metaphysical; finally, economic, ethical, and scientific.

In this philosophy of history will be seen both the basis and the inadequacy of Comte's trilogy of the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive; of Hegel's conception of the evolution of the personality of man, disregarding the stages of society; and Mr. Spencer's evolution of society in terms of differentiation of structures, and finding only two types, the military and the industrial.

Ethnic societies that have reached the age of confederation and kingship become lawless and aggressive. Migration and conquest result. The great historical races are the result of the superposition of races upon races, as in Egypt.

As a result of such conquests society becomes mingled, sovereignty is developed, the social constitution becomes more than the social composition, life and property become more secure than in nomadic days; wealth develops, trade flows to centers, division of labor between city and country grows. Traders come and outdo in wealth the older population. The problem is to incorporate, under political form, congregate societies. The genetic form of society gives place to the civil. Church and State are organized. Ethnic unity, however, is not lost. Territory is more thought of. Political integration goes on. Strong states absorb the weak. The community, too, reacts on the individual. Gradually the military state is outgrown. Natural selection favors those adapted to the dominant social characteristics. Selection, for example, has produced the American spirit, with its desire for change, its love of experiment, and its respect for enterprise. The legal and critical age is born. Voluntary organization, under the authority and protection of law, assumes endless variety. It produces personal liberty. There is much inherent democracy in mere numbers. But the development of liberalism disintegrates the social composition. The religious-proprietary family is weakened. Liberalism substitutes contract for custom. The authority of the parent is weakened. The family becomes romantic and unstable. Liberalism, too, weakens the State, but it increases wealth and introduces the industrial age. Increase of wealth multiplies population, if not by increasing the birth-rates, by decreasing death-rates. The corrected Malthusian formula is: "In any given state of industry and the arts population tends to increase faster than it is possible to raise the general plane of living." This quickens invention and industrial progress begins anew. Invention is rhythmical. Spencer is right ("Principles of Biology," vol. ii., pt. 6), as Professor Lavasseur, M. Dumont, and Miss Brownell have shown that the birth-rate diminishes as individual evolution increases. This is partly the result of physiological changes, but mainly the result of psychological reasons. There is a deliberate prevention of births. The "preventive check" has come into general use, as in France and New England. But this proves not the falsity but the truth of Malthusianism. It gives indubitable proof that population feels the tendency to increase faster than it is possible to raise the general plane of living. Demogenic association develops classes and the class struggle. Disintegration of the social constitution shows itself in the city; savagery threatens the cities, but first private philanthropy, and then communal intelligence, awaken ethical character and effort and check the savagery. Society thus becomes more reflectively self-conscious and studies more the possibilities of both free contract and authority.

Malthusianism

This leads us to the study of explanatory sociology, or the consideration of social law and cause. The initial causes of society are physical, but association furthers survival and happiness, and develops the conscious individual and the conscious society. Relations and activities are valued, choices are made, policies are devised, institutions founded. Natural selection works among these. The further task of sociology is to discover and use the details and laws of these complicated processes. Society is often described as an organism, but it is more. It is essentially psychical. It is more than a multitude of individual minds. Personality is a unity, but it is not indivisible or undecomposable.

Cause of Progress

Undoubtedly the individual will plays a large part in human life, but the question is whence comes the individual will. Sociology, as a science of natural causation and natural law, declares emphatically that the individual is, at least to a very large extent, the product of environment, including the social will. Man is a variable, but not an independent variable. The theory of natural rights is given up to-day by science, but there are norms of rights, socially necessary laws, which science is beginning to discover. Society is a psychological organization rather than a physical organism. Sociology then teaches that the struggle for life brings individual beings into a certain amount of aggregation; that a consciousness of kind begins in the earliest animal life; that the struggle for life is aided in the earliest stages by what Drummond calls the struggle for the life of others; that thus from aggregation there comes a more or less conscious association; that this reacts upon and develops the individual; that a social mind is developed, and eventually exprest in social purposes and control; that there follows a struggle for existence between, and a survival of, the fittest social institutions, and thus we have the persistence and coexistence of the highest personality and the highest social organization.

Society is not a physical organism, but it is a psychological organization of conscious organisms.

Revised by F. H. GIDDINGS.

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Factors of Civilization (1893), *Pure Sociology* (1902), and *Applied Sociology* (1906); Henry Drummond's *The Ascent of Man* (1896); J. S. Mackenzie's *An Introduction to Social Philosophy* (1890); Ross's *Social Control* (1901); Small's *General Sociology* (1905).

SOETBEER, ADOLPH GEORGE: Statistician and political economist; born in Hamburg, 1814; taking his degree at Göttingen, entered the education department of the city of Hamburg, and later the Hamburg Deputation of Commerce, he became an authority on financial questions. Called "the father of German gold coinage," he regrets the decline in value of silver and favors the adoption of one gram of fine gold as an international unit of value, the coinage of gold to be free, on payment of a seniorage, but no gold coin containing less than 5.8065 grams of pure gold to be minted. All nations to coin silver in the ratio of 20 to 1, but its coinage not to be free. In 1872 he became professor of political science at Göttingen. Died Oct. 23, 1892.

Author of numerous works, he is best known for his tables of prices.

SOLVAY, ERNEST, AND THE SOLVAY INSTITUTE: Founder of the Solvay Institute at Brussels, Belgium; born in Brabant, 1838; manufacturer and inventor; he has made a fortune in the manufacturing of soda by a new process, being often spoken of as the Soda King. He has introduced various industrial betterment features into his factories, and founded (1901) and endowed the Solvay Institute, in Brussels, a large and well-equipped institute devoted to all forms of sociological research. He had previously founded an institute of physiology, and has been a large benefactor of the University of Brussels. He has received many honors from the State, and was elected senator, as a Liberal, in 1893 and 1897. *Address*: Solvay Institute, Leopold Park, Brussels, Belgium.

SOMERSET, LADY HENRY: Daughter of Earl Somers of Eastnor Castle, Herefordshire; president of British Woman's Temperance Association; born in London, 1851. She was married in 1872 to Lord Henry Somerset, the second son of the Duke of Beaufort.

For some years Lady Henry was often at court, and a leader in the fashionable society of London, but this position was not congenial to her tastes.

Leaving London in the year 1878 for one of her father's beautiful country places, she remained there for many years in comparative retirement with her son. In 1884 Lord Somers died, leaving Lady Henry Somerset heir to Eastnor Castle, Somers Town (London), and Reigate. The responsibility of administering an estate involving a tenancy of more than one hundred thousand persons deeply imprest the mind of Lady Henry Somerset, and in a crisis hour she seemed to hear a voice saying to her: "Act as tho God were and thou shalt know He is." This was the turning-point of her destiny, for she renounced society, broke away from her former relationships at the cost of criticism and alienation, and went with her son to Eastnor Castle, 100 miles from London, where for five years she lived among her tenantry without comradeship of any kind save as Christian workers, whom she invited, came and went from time to time. She built chapels, hired missionaries, held meetings for the miners in Wales near where she had spent some years of her married life, and in every way improved the condition of those dependent upon her. Mrs. Hannah Whitall Smith, an American lady and a leader in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, came to Eastnor by invitation, and from her Lady Henry Somerset heard the history of the crusade in Ohio, the organized movement which followed it, and the wide sweep of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union. By Mrs. Smith's request, Lady Somerset consented to accept the presidency of the British Woman's Temperance Association, which had been founded as the result of a visit made by Mother Stewart to Great Britain in 1876. This was in 1890. In 1891 Lady Henry, with Mrs. Hannah Whitall Smith, came by invitation to the first convention of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union in Boston, Mass., presided over by Miss Frances E. Willard. She was so deeply imprest by the White Ribbon women and their work that she remained six months in America, being associated with Miss Willard in the editorship of the *Union Signal*, the organ of the women's White Ribbon movement.

In April, 1891, Lady Henry Somerset returned to London. In August of that year Miss Willard lost her mother and went to Eastnor Castle. By their united efforts the British Woman's Temperance Association was reconstructed on the lines of the modern temperance movement as illustrated in the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the central idea of which is to correlate the temperance movement with other reforms such as the enfranchisement of women, the labor movement, the social purity movement, all of which are inextricably intertwined with the temperance reform itself.

In the previous year, 1892, Lady Henry had assumed the editorship of a London paper called *The Woman's Herald*, but in 1894 the name was changed to *The Woman's Signal*. It is now the leading woman's paper of Great Britain in the world of philanthropy and reform.

Lady Somerset is strongly opposed to all organizations and declarations in which "profession mocks performance." She has more and more connected herself with the labor movement and with a practical "Christian socialism."

FRANCES E. WILLARD.

SOUTH AFRICA, including Cape Colony, Natal, Orange River Colony, the Transvaal, Rhodesia, Swaziland, Basutoland, and Bechuanaland, comprizes one of the largest and most important portions, having 1,313,000 sq. m., compared with 1,766,000 in India, 2,972,000 in Australia (commonwealth), 3,653,000 in Canada, and an estimated population of not under 7,000,000 (white, 1,135,016), compared with 294,000,000 in India, 4,000,000 in Australia (commonwealth), and 5,000,000 in Canada.

(For all statistics, dates of acquisition, etc., see BRITISH EMPIRE, p. 131.)

The office of High Commissioner in and for South Africa was created in 1878. He is also governor of Basutoland, administers the protectorates of Bechuanaland, Swaziland, and Rhodesia, and represents the crown in all extra-colonial South African matters. A customs convention of the four colonies met in 1906 and arranged for increase of duties with preferential rates for all portions of the British Empire granting preferential rates to South Africa. South Africa has large industrial possibilities, important mineral resources, and vast undeveloped territo-

ries. It had in 1906 1,789 miles of railway with 644 miles under construction.

It has, however, had serious social problems, primarily those concerning the employment of Chinese labor (for which see CHINESE LABOR IN SOUTH AFRICA), and the political and constitutional troubles growing out of the Boer War. There has been much complaint about the lack of self-government, which is, however, now being gradually granted. The critics of the British Government's policy in the Boer War claimed that it was an unjust and inhuman war, in the interests of grasping British capitalists owning the mines in the Transvaal, who demanded and got the British Government to back up unjust demands from the Boer Government. The defenders of the war argued that the Boer Government had not and would not treat its British subjects with fairness; taxed them without granting them representation; refused them enfranchisement and suffrage; and that a government conducted on such antiquated and narrow ideas as those of the Boers, and which would not listen to reason or equity, must be forced to be just and progressive. To-day in the Transvaal the main parties are the Progressives, which represent the capitalists; the Independents, who oppose Chinese labor and claim to represent "Transvaal liberalism"; the Het Volk, or Boer Party, and the Labor Party. The government has recognized politically no difference between Britons and Boers, with universal male suffrage on the basis of one man one vote. The exports and imports of the Transvaal are greater than all the rest of South Africa combined. If the labor and racial problems be solved as they are now promised to be solved, South Africa is believed to have a very large future.

SOVEREIGNS OF INDUSTRY, THE: This was an order established in New England Jan. 6, 1872, to develop cooperative stores for the working classes similar to the cooperative movement started by the Grange (*q. v.*). Its leaders were William Earle and John Orvis. Many stores were started and much interest was taken, but the stores, which were to sell at cost, were undersold and run out by competition. Later they introduced the Rochdale system advocated from the first by Mr. Orvis, but it was too late, and the order failed about 1879, tho a few stores survived. (See COOPERATION.)

SOVEREIGNTY in political science Professor Burgess ("Political Science and Constitutional Law") defines as "original, absolute, unlimited universal power over the individual subject and over all associations of subjects." Jellink defines it as "obligation through its own will." It is the most essential principle of the State. (For the development of the idea of sovereignty, and the views of it held by different writers, see articles POLITICAL SCIENCE and STATE.) Sovereignty, according to most modern writers, though not all, is based upon force. "The one thing that characterizes the State is coercive power" (Leroy Beaulieu, "The Modern State"). "Force is an absolutely essential element of all laws whatever" (James Fitzjames Stephen, "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity"). "Penal sanction is the essence of law" (John Stuart Mill, "Utilitarianism"). "Let the edifice of law be as moral and effectual as you will, its foundation is the force of the community" (Goldwin Smith, "Essays on Questions of the Day").

Other thinkers, however, deny this. Bluntschli distinguishes between force and power. Woodrow Wilson calls sovereignty "a catalogue of influences." Lieber calls it "the sense and sentiment of the community." Hume says that government is founded on opinion, and "that force is always on the side of the governed." Austin says, "The monarch is superior to the governed . . . to an indefinite tho limited extent." (For the relation of sovereignty to liberty, see STATE.)

SPAHR, CHARLES B.: Editor, economist; born 1860 in Columbus, Ohio; graduated at Amherst College in 1881. During the years 1884–85 he studied in Germany, at Leipsic. On his return to America he became editorial writer on *The Outlook*, a position he held until his death. Besides this, from 1889 to 1891 he was on the editorial staff of the *Commercial Advertiser*. In 1890 was made lecturer on taxation and the distribution of wealth at Columbia University. He wrote various articles and essays on the taxation of labor, the single tax, etc. He died in 1904. Author: "The Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States"; "America's Working People."

SPAIN: A monarchy of Europe. Area, including the Balearic and Canary Islands with smaller possessions on the north coast of Africa, 194,783. Population in 1900, 18,618,086, or 96.7 per square mile. The principal cities are: Madrid, 539,835 inhabitants; Barcelona, 533,000; Valencia, 213,530; Seville, 148,315; Malaga, 130,109; Murcia, 111,539; Cartagena, 99,871.

There were in 1905: Marriages, 136,947; births, 669,765; deaths, 491,372; surplus of births, 178,393. In 1901 there were 56,906 emigrants; 1905, 126,067; chiefly to Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina.

The State and national religion of Spain is the Roman Catholic, to which practically all inhabitants belong with the exception of 6,654 Protestants, 9,645 Rationalists, 402 Jews, and 13,175 not stated. The Church is supported by the State at an annual expense of about 41,000,000 pesetas. There are in all 10,630 monks and 40,000 nuns. Vast amounts of property are in the hands of the Church.

Education is on a low level, altho some progress has been made since 1860 when 75.3 per cent of the population were illiterate; the percentage in 1889 was 68.1 per cent. In 1902 a law was passed for a closer inspection of all schools, and a regular system of supervision was introduced. The annual expenditure for 25,340 public primary and grammar schools and 1,617,314 pupils was in 1901 about 25,000,000 pesetas or francs. There were also 6,181 private schools—mostly belonging to monastic orders—with 344,380 pupils. Each of the 49 provinces is required to have a secondary school or "institution," which prepares for the universities, of which there are 9 with 16,000 students. The government supports also a number of technical and professional schools. Its total expense for educational purposes was 43,122,259 pes. in 1903.

The occupations of Spain are chiefly agricultural, since 79.65 per cent of the total area is classed as productive, divided between farming vineyards, olive culture, meadows, and fruits. The soil is divided among a large number of proprietors, 3,426,083.

Industries

Mining is of considerable importance, since Spain is rich in minerals; 93,375 workmen were employed in 1904 in 1,869 mining concessions. The total value of the mineral output was 170,456,511 pesetas; the principal items were: Iron ores and pyrites, 42,793,335; cuprous iron pyrites, 41,467,289; coal, 28,099,625; argentiferous lead ore, 27,885,347.

Cotton manufactures use about 68,300 looms with 2,614,500 spindles. Silk manufacturers produced (1900–1) 700,000 kilograms of raw silk; 30,000 tons of cork are manufactured annually.

The *commerce* of Spain is not extensive since the loss of her West Indian colonies. In 1905 the imports amounted to 884,808,644 pes., chiefly stone, minerals, glassware, and pottery; drugs, cotton, grain, sugar, and other food products; the *exports* to 1,018,387,334, chiefly minerals, metals, food products, and *wine*—103,008,188 pes. Imports were chiefly from Great Britain, France, and the U. S.; exports chiefly to Great Britain, France, and Cuba.

The *merchant* navy of Spain consisted in 1905 of 449 steamers with 434,846 tons net, and 541 sailing vessels with 85,583 tons net.

Constitution

The *Constitution* of Spain dates from June 30, 1876. It provides for a hereditary king or queen; a parliament called *Cortes*, with a Senate and Congress, equal in authority. In the former there are 360 members; 180 are appointed for life, hereditary, or become members by virtue of wealth; 180 are elected, and must be renewed one half every five years. The Congress is elected, one member to every 50,000 of the population. Their present number is 406; they cannot take offices, pensions, or salaries. The only remuneration members of Parliament receive is free transportation. According to the law of June 26, 1890, all male Spaniards, twenty-five years old, citizens of a municipality for two years, in full civil rights, may vote.

The king with nine cabinet ministers is the executive of the country; his person is inviolable.

Many changes in the ministry have taken place the last few years, owing to an agitation to introduce bills for "civil marriages" and for separation of State and Church.

The *finances* of Spain are in a favorable condition, apart from the public debt.

The revenue is chiefly from direct and indirect taxes, stamp duties, government monopolies, and income from State estates. It amounted in 1906 to 1,010,337,296 pesetas; the expenditure to 968,856,760—chiefly for public debt, army and navy. The public debt in 1906 amounted to 9,478,062,148, the interest for which in 1907 was estimated to be 389,012,752 pes.; that is, about 20 pes. charge per head per annum, and over 500 pes. capital debt per head.

Railways had a length of 9,190 miles in 1906, and are all in private possession. The *postal service* had 3,902 offices; receipts, 25,924,823 pes.; expenses, 8,953,727; surplus, 16,971,096. Telegraph lines had a length of 20,100 miles in 1904 with 47,400 miles of wire, and 1,645 offices.

Army and Navy.—Military service is compulsory, but in the form of conscription rather than of universal service. The army is in a transitive stage, and numbered an effective peace strength of 80,000 in 1903, with about 40,000 men detailed in skeleton formations, fortresses, etc.

The navy numbers 16,700 men of all ranks and 9,000 marines. The Cortes passed bills in 1905 for a greatly enlarged navy.

Social Reform

This has but scarcely begun in Spain. A Socialist agitation began in 1882, but was anarchist rather than true socialism. This element, however, is disappearing, and a somewhat true Socialist Party has been developed. In 1893 it cast 7,000 votes, and in 1905, 23,000, a decrease from the vote of 1904—29,000. The party has no representative in the Cortes, but has elected 50 councilors in 22 towns or cities. The leading Spanish Socialist is a councilor of Madrid. There are 7 Socialist weeklies, the leading one, *El Socialista*, of Madrid. The most powerful Socialist society, however, is the General Federation of Trade-Unions, composed of 253 unions with 34,537 members.

There are reported 140 cooperative societies in Spain, of which 100 are in a national union. Their entire annual trade is $80,000. Most of these are distributive, but there are also cooperative brickmakers, upholsterers, shoemakers, and cotton-spinners.

The revolt against the Vatican has spread to Spain, and the government is promoting an Associations Bill which seeks to define the exact position of the Church in regard to the State.

The Church realizes that it must do something. Led by the Bishop of Madrid, several Spanish bishops are organizing classes and courses of social studies for their priests, so that they can lead a social-reform movement. Unions of working people, under the guidance of the Church, are being formed in the industrial centers, and in some rural sections. Rural and other cooperative societies are being agitated. A Catholic magazine has been started to direct the movement.

References: *Statesman's Year Book; History of Modern Spain*, M. A. S. Hume (new ed., 1906); *Spain's Economic Advance* (articles in *Review of Reviews*, American, Nov., 1905); *Present and Future of Spain* (article in *International*, June, 1903).

SPARGO, JOHN: Socialist and reformer; born in Cornwall, England, in 1876. Starting out as a nonconformist minister, his interest in social questions and the Labor movement led him to leave the ministry; working at first as a granite-cutter, he has been in turn Labor leader, settlement worker, lecturer, and journalist. He was for six or seven years on the executive council of the English Social Democratic Federation. In 1900 he came to this country "to escape having to go to the House of Commons," politics being exceedingly distasteful to him. He was one of the founders and editors of *The Comrade*, an artistic Socialist monthly. He has served on the national committee of the Socialist Party and lectured for it extensively. He is now an editorial contributor to several journals and is a prolific writer on art, socialism, and kindred topics. Among his works are: "The Bitter Cry of the Children"; "The Socialists: Who They Are and What They Stand For"; "Socialism: A Study and Interpretation of Socialist Principles"; "Art, Life, and Freedom"; "Capitalist and Laborer." *Address*: Yonkers, N. Y.

SPARTACUS, by birth a Thracian, perhaps of royal stock, served in the Roman army, but is said to have deserted and to have been captured and made a gladiator. In 73 B.C. he, with a band of fellow gladiators, broke out of a training-school at Capua, and taking refuge on Mt. Vesuvius, rallied round him thousands of slaves. He defeated Claudius, sent against him with 3,000 men, and also Varenius and others, and, last of all, Manlius with 20,000 men. Spartacus tried to lead his forces out of Italy, but they would not go. Division arose, and Crassus finally conquered them. Spartacus fell in battle, and 6,000 of his followers were crucified on the road from Rome to Capua.

SPENCE, CATHARINE HELEN: Authoress and economic writer; president of the Effective Voting League of South Australia, and vice-president of National Council of Women. Born Melrose, Scotland, Oct. 31, 1825; arrived in South Australia 1839. Since 1859 the main interest of her life has been electoral reform on the Hare-Spence system of proportional representation or effective voting, and she has lectured extensively on these themes in Australia and in the United States and Canada. She has also interested herself in children of the State. Member of the State Children's Council; member of the Destitute Board; president of Woman's Cooperative Clothing Factory. Held a commission from the South Australian Government to inquire into educational, constitutional, and electoral laws, the management of benevolent institutions, and question of bimetallic currency. She has written extensively for the South Australian press since 1878, in *The Register*, *Fraser's Magazine*, *Cornhill*, *Harper's*, *Melbourne Review*, *Victorian Review*, *The Centennial*, etc. Authoress of many novels and works, including "The Laws We Live Under," with chapters on elementary political economy and duties of citizens. *Address*: Aveland Avenue, North Norwood, Adelaide, South Australia.

SPENCE, THOMAS: A London bookseller who advocated the "parochializing" of land "so that there shall be no more nor other landlords in the whole country than the parishes." In 1775 he read a paper on land nationalization before the Philosophical Society in Newcastle, and was thereupon expelled from the society; he was also prosecuted by the government for selling seditious literature. Among other reforms he advocated a kind of phonography. His Newcastle paper has been republished by the modern English Socialists.

SPENCE, HON. WILLIAM GUTHRIE: Member of Parliament for Darling, New South Wales, since 1901; president of the Australian Workers' Union since 1886; born Orkney, 1846; elected to Legislature of New South Wales for Cabar, 1898–1901. Secretary and organizer of Amalgamated Miners' Association for sixteen years. *Address*: Parliament House, Melbourne.

SPENCER, HERBERT, was born at Derby, England, in 1820. His father was a schoolmaster of original character and strong views. The boy was delicate and backward in early studies; was placed in 1833 under the care of his uncle, the Rev. Thomas Spencer, of Hinton, a clergyman of the Church of England, but of somewhat radical views, and a vigorous advocate of social reforms. In 1837 Herbert Spencer was articled to a civil engineer, and worked on the London & Birmingham Railway. In 1845, however, he moved to London and began his literary career. In 1842 he had already written, in the *Nonconformist*, a series of papers on "The Proper Sphere of Government." From 1848 to 1852 he wrote on the *Economist*, and in 1850 published his "Social Statics," the radicalism and brilliancy of which gained him friends like Huxley (*q. v.*) and George Eliot. In 1855 appeared his "Principles of Psychology," by many considered his greatest work. Already interested in the unity of sciences and in the evolutionary philosophy, he projected in 1859 an entire system of philosophy, to the development of which, in volumes on different portions of the subject, he has directed his life. "First Principles" appeared in 1862; "The Principles of Biology" (2 vols.); "The Principles of Psychology" (2 vols.); "The Principles of Sociology" (3 vols.); "The Principles of Ethics" (2 vols.) have followed at different periods; the last volume of the "Principles of Sociology" only appeared in 1896. In all these works he argues, with large learning and great ability, that all phenomena of matter and of mind, all motion and all force, proceed on a law of gradual development, from the general to the particular, from a simple homogeneous uniformity to a complex heterogeneous multiformity. This evolution proceeds, he argues, on laws of natural struggle for existence, of natural selection, and the resultant survival of the fittest. The same general principles he has worked out on many detached subjects, in his "The Data of Ethics" a part of his "Principles of Ethics" (1879), "Education" (1861), "The Study of Sociology" (1872), "Descriptive Sociology" (1873–78), "Justice" (1891)—several essays in which he bitterly attacks the Socialist tendencies of the day. "The Coming Slavery," "The Great Political Superstition," "The Sins of Legislators," "The New Toryism," have been collected under the title of "Man *vs.* The State." Died Dec. 8, 1903.

(For a discussion of Mr. Spencer's sociological views, see articles EVOLUTION and SOCIALISM.) Mr. Spencer has advocated his views with such power that he is sometimes called the philosopher of the century; but his influence is to-day distinctly waning in university circles, while his late utterances in "Justice," disowning his former position taken in "Social Statics," chap. viii., 1st ed., that equity does not allow private property in land, has much hurt his influence among the masses. His present view is that, tho absolute equity does not allow private property in land, to nationalize land without compensation would be wrong, since society has allowed private ownership, and that, with compensation, to nationalize land would do no good. In his "Social Statics," however, he asked, How long it took a wrong to grow into a right?

Many writers, like Huxley and Ritchie, have accused Spencer of inconsistency in seeing the necessity of the subordination of the part to the whole in the bodily organism, but not in the social organism (see EVOLUTION); but he remains a stedfast foe of all steps even tending toward socialism. (See INDIVIDUALISM.) The general fundamental proposition of his individualism he has thus stated:

> The sphere of existence into which we are thrown not affording room for the unrestrained activity of all, and yet all possessing, in virtue of their constitutions, similar claims to such unrestrained activity, there is no course but to apportion out the unavoidable restraint equally. Wherefore, we arrive at the general proposition that every man may claim the fullest liberty to exercise his faculties compatible with the possession of like liberty by every other man (H. Spencer, "Social Statics," chap. iv.).

SPOILS SYSTEM: This is the name usually given to the custom of considering the bestowal of public offices, by the party in power, on the partizans of the party as a reward for service to the party in elections, etc. It develops rings, bosses, and corruption. (For further consideration of it, see CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.)

STANDARD OF COMFORT: Many men believe that wages depend on the standard of comfort of the class of men receiving the wages.

They argue that if wages fall materially below what will enable men to maintain their "standard of comfort," they will usually strike or agitate in some way for higher wages; that, on the other hand, if wages are high enough to maintain their standard of living, they will remain usually content; and therefore, that the way to raise wages is to raise the standard of comfort, while all that tends to make living cheaper tends, other things being equal, to lower wages. (For a full discussion of this, see SHORT-HOUR MOVEMENT; also EXPENDITURE; WAGES.)

STANTON, ELIZABETH, née CADY: Woman suffragist and lecturer; born Johnstown, N. Y., 1815. In 1840 she married Henry B. Stanton, reformer, author, and state senator. Attending the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London she met Lucretia Mott. Till 1847 she resided in Boston, Mass., then removed to Seneca Falls, N. Y.; in 1848 she signed with Lucretia Mott the call to the first Woman's Rights Convention, which met July 17, 1848. She devoted her life to this cause, addressing meetings, attending legislative hearings, and circulating petitions in the United States, Great Britain, and France. She canvassed Kansas in 1867, and Michigan in 1874. President of the National Association till 1892, and president of the first International Council of Women, held at Washington in 1888. Died in 1902.

STATE, THE: The State, says Professor Burgess ("Political Science and Constitutional Law," vol. i., p. 51), is "a particular portion of mankind viewed as an organized unit." With this general definition in mind we shall in this article briefly trace the development of the ideal of the State. (For actual historical development of organized society, see articles SOCIOLOGY; PRIMITIVE PROPERTY; and FAMILY.)

The conception of the State which first prevailed in Asia and also in Greece recognized it as a natural part of the world, and, like the world, the gift of the gods. The Asiatic kings claimed to rule by right divine, and usually to be descended from the gods. The Greek city-State was considered of divine origin. The State represented to them the moral order of the world, in which human nature fills its end. The State was not a machine, but an end in itself.

Plato says ("De Rep.," v., p. 462): "The best State is that which approaches most nearly to the condition of the individual. If a part of the body suffers, the whole body feels the hurt and sympathizes altogether with the part affected." Aristotle declares that "man is by nature a political animal," and says ("Pol.," iii., 9, § 14) the State is "the association of clans and village communities in a complete and self-sufficing life." "The State," he says ("Pol.," i., 2, § 8), "comes into being for the sake of mere life, but exists for the sake of the good life." The Greek State is all in all. (See ATHENS.)

The Roman ideal follows Greek models, but with the Roman genius for jurisprudence conceives of law as the creature of the State, and the State as based on the assent of the people. Cicero ("De Rep.," i., 26) says the State is "the people organized." In the Middle Ages we have Greek ideals, Roman jurisprudence, Germanic personal liberty, all blending with Christian teachings. Both Church and State are conceived as coming from God. Which is supreme? This is the problem of the Middle Ages. We have also attempts, characteristically based on the Bible precedent of the covenant of King David with the elders of Israel, to show that the State rests on the consent of the people. We have finally Saxon love of personal liberty, placing the individual as the center and not the State, giving the germs of constitutional government. Feudalism, with its personal element, its homage and service, is the characteristic form. Gradually from this develops the centralized State, and Machiavelli at the beginning of modern times concerns himself with the policy of kings. Bodin sees in the State "a right government, with sovereign power, of several households and their common possessions." Grotius calls the State "the complete union of free men who join themselves together for the purpose of enjoying law and for the sake of public welfare." This is the transition to the contract theory. With Protestantism and the dawn of modern freedom the individual is sovereign. The State is a compact between sovereign individuals. With Hobbes, however, individuals have contracted with each other to give over their rights to some sovereign power, and henceforth, having given over their rights, must absolutely obey the sovereign. He says ("Leviathan," Morley ed., p. 84):

The State is established by a covenant of every man with every man in such manner as if every man should say to every man, "I authorize and give up my right of governing myself to this man or to the assembly of men on this condition, that those give up their right to him and authorize all his actions in like manner." This done, the multitude so united in one person is called a commonwealth, in Latin *civitas*. This is the generation of that great "leviathan," or rather, to speak more reverently, of that "mortal God" to which we owe, under the immortal God, our peace and defense."

With Locke the State is also the result of a contract, but the individuals retain their sovereignty and we have constitutional government, and the people can judge the king. Rousseau carries the doctrine of individual sovereignty, of the social contract, and of natural rights to their logical extremes, and leads us to the French Revolution. (See NATURAL RIGHTS.) In America the same doctrine has led to the various bills of right and the limitation of government to that which the people expressly allow the government to do in their charters and constitution. The result is the tying of the hands of legislation by the dead hand of constitutions framed for other days and only with the greatest difficulty to be changed. (See CONSTITUTION and CONSTITUTIONALISM.)

Revolting from the results of the French Revolution, the historical school denied that the State was in any such sense the result of a contract. Savigny ("System des röm. Richts," i., p. 22) calls the State "the bodily form of the spiritual community of the nations," or "the organic manifestation of the nation." Burke says ("Reflections on the Revolution in France"):

Society is indeed a contract. Subordinate contracts for objects of mere occasional interest may be dissolved at pleasure. But the State ought not to be considered as nothing better than a partnership agreement in a trade of pepper and coffee, calico or tobacco, or some other such low concern, to be taken up for a little temporary interest, and to be dissolved by the fancy of the parties. It is to be looked upon with other reverence, because it is not a partnership in things subservient only to the gross animal existence of a temporary and perishable nature. It is a partnership in all science, a partnership in all art, a partnership in every virtue and in all perfection. As the ends of such partnership cannot be obtained in many generations, it becomes a partnership not only between those who are living but between those who are living, and those who are dead, and those who are to be born. Each contract in each particular state is but a clause in the great primeval contract of eternal society.

Buckle strives to explain the State by a consideration of the forces of nature. The Germans

have developed a more ideal conception of the State. Kant calls it "a collective being" ("Werke, ed. Rosenkranz," vii., 197). Hegel says: "The State is the realization of the moral idea. It is the moral spirit as substantial will." Bluntschli, uniting the German idealism and the modern historical view, says ("The Theory of the State," tr., bk. i., chap. i.): "The State is a combination or association of men, in the form of government and governed on a definite territory, united together into a moral organized masculine personality; or, more shortly, the State is the politically organized national person of a definite country." The present tendency in England and America is to discard all abstract theories of natural rights and to ask what is the actual content of the State idea. Hence Professor Burgess's definition, as quoted above, "A particular portion of mankind viewed as an organized unit."

Bluntschli finds as necessary to the concept of a State (1) a number of men, (2) a fixt territory, (3) unity, mainly developed by history, (4) an organic nature, (5) a moral and spiritual character, (6) a masculine personality. He says, "The highest conception of the State—which, however, has not yet been realized—is humanity organized."

Professor Burgess ("Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law," vol. i.)

considers as "the peculiar characteristics of the organization which we call the State" (1) that it is all-comprehensive. "Its organization embraces all persons, natural or legal, and all associations of persons." (2) It is exclusive. "Political science and public law do not recognize the existence of an *imperium in imperio*." (3) It is permanent. "It does not lie within the power of men to create it to-day and destroy it to-morrow, as caprice may move them." (4) The State is sovereign. "This is its most essential principle."

Concerning sovereignty Professor Burgess says:

I understand by it original, absolute, unlimited, universal power over the individual subject and over all associations of subjects. This is a proposition from which most of the publicists down to the most modern period have labored hard to escape. It has appeared to them to contain the destruction of individual liberty and individual rights. . . . They do not sufficiently distinguish the State from the government. They see the danger to individual liberty of recognizing an unlimited power in the government, and they immediately conclude that the same danger exists if the sovereignty of the State be recognized. . . . The unlimited sovereignty of the State is not hostile to individual liberty, but is its source and support. Deprive the State, either wholly or in part, of the power to determine the elements and the scope of individual liberty, and the results must be that each individual will make such determination, wholly or in part, for himself; that the determinations of different individuals will come into conflict with each other, and that those individuals only who have power to help themselves will remain free, reducing the rest to personal subjection. . . . No State has made liberty so full and general as the modern national popular State. Now the modern national popular State is the most perfectly and undisputedly sovereign organization of the State which the world has yet attained.

Concerning the forms of the State Aristotle found three primitive forms, monarchy, aristocracy, and "polity." He uses democracy only in a bad sense, the three perversions of the State being with him tyranny, oligarchy, and democracy or ochlocracy. Others have added "the mixed State." (See POLITICAL SCIENCE.)

STATE RIGHTS: From 1789 to 1870 the question of state rights, or the question of the rights of the respective states of the United States in reference to the federal government, was a burning question. (For a discussion of the history, see CENTRALIZATION; also CONSTITUTION.) In 1830 occurred the celebrated debate between Mr. Webster and Mr. Hayne upon this question, and South Carolina claimed the right of nullification. This led eventually to secession and the war of 1861–65, which settled the doctrine, in most respects, at least, against the believers in state sovereignty if not in state rights.

Says Mr. James Bryce ("American Commonwealth," 1st ed., chap. xxxvi.):

What, then, do the rights of a state now include? Every right or power of a government except:

The right of secession (not abrogated in terms, but admitted since the war to be no longer claimable. It is expressly negatived in the recent constitutions of several Southern states).

Powers which the constitution withholds from the states (including that of intercourse with foreign governments).

Powers which the constitution expressly confers on the federal government.

STATISTICS: The science of statistics, strictly speaking, has no more place in an encyclopedia of social reform than a discussion of grammar or arithmetic. Yet statistics are not only so continually used in social reform discussion, but so frequently misused, that a brief statement of the generally accredited correct use of statistics seems practically necessary. So important indeed are statistics in social study that Professor Marshall has called statistics the straw out of which the economist has to make his bricks. ("Evidence to the Committee on the Census," 1890.) Yet half-baked bricks weaken a large proportion of economic structures. In this article we only, however, give general principles, since the history and details of the science are not our field. We abridge these principles from a recent statement of one of the highest modern authorities in the science, Prof. A. L. Bonley (in the Introduction to his "National Progress in Wealth and Trade"). He says in brief:

Principles

(*a*) Statistics must cover the whole field of inquiry. If statistics cannot be made complete, or at least if we cannot be sure that the part neglected is unimportant, we can establish no positive assertion; partial statistics are suitable only for party purposes.

(*b*) All statistics used must be closely related to the quantity whose change we wish to examine. Trade prosperity is not sufficiently tested by the traffic on railways or by clearing-house returns; the stress of poverty is not measured by the returns of pauperism. Such estimates are only enough to indicate the probable course of change, and to throw the burden of proof on those who allege that the tests are insufficient.

(*c*) When dealing with a quantity which fluctuates year by year, no judgment can be formed without examination of the records of a long series of years. Thus prices of wheat and of other commodities fluctuate violently, and it is only after a long period that it can be ascertained whether there is a permanent change of level. Most statistics relating to trade are subject to alternate expansion and contraction, and it is only by looking at the figures year by year for a long period that the rate of progress can be estimated.

(*d*) The purchasing power of gold is continually changing and it is always necessary to examine statistics relating to the value of goods to tell whether an argument will be affected if we express the facts in quantities instead of in value. Thus statements as regards money wages are of little utility till we know how retail prices are changing. Apparent increases of exports or imports are often attributable to the inflated price of particular commodities. The apparent relative growth of the trades of two nations often has quite a different aspect when we look at their quantities instead of their values.

(*e*) Before the change in a total is used as significant, it must be considered whether the various groups which compose it are of the same nature, or whether a change in one part has masked a change in the opposite direction in the other. The degree of similarity requisite depends entirely on the problem considered. The question should always be put: Is the total (or average) computed from items whose dissimilarity in any respect can affect the problem in hand?

The result often is that it is found that no definite conclusion can be drawn. It is humiliating to have to admit that our positive knowledge is so limited, and it is natural to ask whether more cannot be done in the way of official inquiry or private investigation. There is doubtless a wide field for the latter, but the unofficial student is constantly handicapped by the absence of essential data which the government only can collect.

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R. Mayo-Smith, *Statistics and Sociology*; A. Ninshorne, *Elements of Vital Statistics* (1899); M. G. Mulhall, *Dictionary of Statistics* (latest ed., 1898); Annuals: *Statistical Abstract of the U. S.*; *Statistical Abstracts* (various Boards of Trade, Great Britain); *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*; *Annuaire statistique de la France*. (All of these print valuable international statistics.) For separate countries and subject, see each country and subject.

STEAD, WILLIAM THOMAS: Editor of English *Review of Reviews*; born 1849, at Embleton, Northumberland; son of a Congregational minister; left school at fourteen; in 1871 was editor of *Northern Echo*, Darlington, the first halfpenny morning paper in England; 1880–83 was assistant editor of *Pall Mall Gazette*, becoming its editor in 1883. Left the *Gazette* in 1890 to found the *Review of Reviews*. Three months in jail for technical breach of the law committed in securing the raising of the age of consent for girls from thirteen to sixteen years. A reform in this regard was secured by the publication of "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon." Took prominent part in the Conference at The Hague in 1889. Traveled extensively in the United States. For four years edited *Borderland*; issued "Penny Poets" and "Books for the Bairns." Mr. Stead confesses himself a free trader, and as much of an imperialist and Socialist as is compatible with a due regard to common sense and the Ten Commandments. Author: "Truth About the Navy"; "Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon"; "The Truth About Russia"; "The Pope and the New Era"; "If Christ Came to Chicago"; "The United States of Europe"; "The Americanization of the World"; "The Best or Worst of Empires, Which Shall It Be?" He edited the *Courier de la Conference*, a daily for four months during The Hague Conference in 1907. *Address*: Mowbray House, Norfolk Street, Strand, London.

STEADMAN, WILLIAM CHARLES: English Labor M. P.; born 1869; apprenticed as a lad to the barge-building trade, he pursued that calling until 1892 when he was elected a member of the London County Council. Secretary of Barge Builders' Union since 1882. In 1890 he successfully managed a strike for better conditions. In 1898 he was elected to Parliament for Central Finsbury, and again in 1906 (Liberal and Labor). He was president of the Trade-Union Congress 1902, and secretary, and in 1905 president National Housing Council. *Address*: 49 Rectory Square, Stepney, London, E.

STEIN, HEINRICH FRIEDRICH KARL, BARON VON: Prussian statesman; born in Nassau, 1757. Studying at Göttingen, from 1773 to 1777, in 1780 he entered the service of Prussia as an official in the mining department. Rising in office, was made in 1804 Minister of State. Abolished serfdom and internal custom duties in Prussia, and introduced other reforms which largely paved the way to German unity. Frederick William III. dismissed him in 1807 on account of his criticism of the royal policy, but was obliged to recall him to office six months later, till Napoleon compelled the king to finally dismiss him. In Russia and in Germany, however, Stein worked against Napoleon, and after Napoleon's downfall Stein became president of a central commission to administer the lands occupied by the allied armies. After this he refused an office and lived in retirement in Frankfort and Westphalia till his death in Westphalia in 1831.

STEIN, LORENZ VON: Political economist; born Eckernförde in 1815. Raised in orphanage, but was enabled by Frederick VI. to study at Kiel and Jena. Traveling in France, he met in Paris Cabet, Louis Blanc, Reybaud, and other Fourierist Socialists; published in 1844 "Der Sozialismus und Kommunismus des heutigen Frankreich." In 1846 he became professor at Kiel, and published various books, among others his "System der Staatwissenschaft." In 1852 he lost his position, but in 1855 became professor of political economy at Vienna. Here he published, among other writings, "Lehrbuch der Volkswirtschaft," "Lehrbuch der Finanzwissenschaft," and above all his great "Die Verwaltungslehre" (7 vols.), which were long an authority in administrative science. He died in Vienna in 1890.

STELZLE, CHARLES: Presbyterian clergyman; superintendent of the Department of Church and Labor in the Presbyterian Church; born 1869 in New York City. Attended schools of the city, but began to be breadwinner at eight years of age. In his eleventh year gave up school altogether and worked at various occupations. Apprenticed at fifteen years to learn the machinist's trade with the firm of R. Hoe & Co. Employed at this work for eight years. During that time, at evening schools of the city and under private tutors, gained what was practically a college education. Convinced by his experience among the 2,000 men in the machine-shops of the slight hold the Church had on the working men, resolved to enter ministry for the express purpose of winning such men for Christ and the Church. Studied for a year at the Moody Bible Institute, Chicago; became pastor of a church among working men in Minneapolis. Had pastorates afterward in New York City and in St. Louis. Then called to his present work as superintendent of the Department of Church and Labor of the Board of Home Missions in the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Mr. Stelzle, as a trade-unionist, calls himself an opportunist. He is convinced that the social problem will never be settled except upon a moral and religious basis; believes that the Church has an important part in the solution of this question, and that it should have a clear, clean-cut message concerning the every-day needs of the common people. He writes regularly a syndicate article for the labor press of the country, which is published in about 300 papers. Author: "The Working Men and Social Problems"; "Boys of the Street, How to Win Them"; "Messages to Working Men"; "Christianity's Storm Center: A Study of the Modern City." *Address*: 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

STEPHENS, URIAH SMITH: Founder of the Knights of Labor; born near Cape May, N. J., 1821; educated for the Baptist ministry, but was compelled to learn a trade; became a tailor. He taught school and traveled extensively, but mainly followed his trade in Philadelphia. In 1869 he was the main founder of the Knights of Labor (*q. v.*), the first Master Workman of Assembly No. 1, and in 1878 was chosen the first Grand Master Workman. He died in 1882.

STEPNIAK, SERGIUS MICHAEL DROGOMANOFF: Russian radical; born in the Ukraine Mountains in 1841. Studied at Kieff, and became a teacher of history there; professor in 1870; re-

moved by the government in 1876, and driven into exile, because of his strictures on Count Tolstoi. He had written works, as early as 1862, which had been published, and he now went to Switzerland and wrote in the Little Russian dialect against absolutism and for democracy in Russia. In 1885 he removed to London, and became a leading authority on Russian subjects, and a steady worker for social and political reforms. He died in London, 1895. Author: "Underground Russia"; "The Career of a Nihilist"; and numerous other works.

STEVENS, LILLIAN M. M.: President National Woman's Christian Temperance Union; born 1844, at Dover, Me.; educated at Foxcroft Academy; a teacher in the schools of Maine until her marriage. In 1874 assisted in the organization of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Maine, was its first treasurer, and afterward its president. From 1894–98 was vice-president of the National Union; after the death, in 1898, of Miss Willard, became the acting president, and on the meeting of the National Convention at St. Paul that same year was herself elected to the presidency; reelected every year since. Vice-president of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union. One of the managers of the World's Columbian Exposition, 1892–93; was for years representative for Maine in the National Conference of Charities and Correction. Mrs. Stevens believes in one standard of purity for men and women; that total abstinence from intoxicating liquor is the only safe and beneficent course. She also firmly believes that state and national prohibition of the liquor traffic would greatly help toward the settlement of all other reform questions. *Address*: Portland, Me.

STEWARD, IRA, "Father of the Eight-Hour Philosophy," was a workingman of English birth, who, with Mr. George E. McNeill and others, founded the Boston Eight-Hour League. Mr. Steward's thoughts have been best developed by one whose position, in many ways, was opposed to his, namely, by Mr. Gunton (*q. v.*) in his book on "Wealth and Progress." (See Eight-Hour Movement.)

STEWART, JAMES DENHAM: Metaphysician; economist; born Edinburgh, 1712. Educated at the University of Edinburgh, entered the law, spent some time on the Continent. He became so involved and compromised by his relations with the Pretender to the throne that he was unable to return to Scotland, but was obliged to remain on the Continent from 1745 to 1763. He published in 1767 "An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy," the best known of his many writings. His complete works, political, metaphysical, and chronological, were collected and published by his son in 1806. Died in Lanarkshire, 1780. (See Political Economy.)

STIRNER, MAX: Pseudonym of Kaspar Schmidt, an extreme individualist writer of Germany, born Bayreuth, 1806; studied at Berlin, Erlangen, and Königsberg, first theology, then philosophy. Spent his life as a teacher, but was always a student. He wrote in 1845 "Der Einzige und sein Eigentum" (The Individual and His Property), a book which most philosophic anarchists consider one of the earliest and ablest statements of their views. Died at Berlin in 1856. (See Anarchism.)

ST. LOUIS: Situated, as it is, near to the center of population in the United States, is in many respects at once a Northern, Southern, Eastern, and Western city, the center of vast railroad interests and of great wealth, yet with a population more complex than even most American cities, and has had more than her share of intricate social problems. Founded as a fur-trading center in 1764, first French, then Spanish, then French again, ceded to the U. S. by the Louisiana Purchase Act of 1803, chartered in 1822, growing rapidly after 1830, her emigration since 1850, owing largely to the revolutionary movements of 1848, has been chiefly German. Of her present population, 575,238 in 1900, tho the foreign-born are comparatively few, nearly one half are born of foreign parents, while of the foreign-born more than one half came from the German Empire. Since the war, too, a large colored population has developed, altho probably during the war the sympathy of a majority of the citizens was with the South, and the city was only saved to the North by the wise energy of a minority. Since the war, too, the city has become the center or starting-point of such vast railroad systems like the Gould system, and the abode of so much wealth growing out of its vast commerce, that it is small wonder that commercialism, playing on such a complex and often irresponsible population, has developed political and industrial scandals and made the city somewhat notorious for this. Into this, however, in this article we need not go. It is covered in the article Corruption. At present there seems good ground for believing that the city's government is largely redeemed from its worst evils. The municipal government is vested in a House of Delegates representing the wards, a Council or Upper House with a more general representation, and a mayor with departments under him. The mayor appoints only the heads of the lower departments, and those of the more important ones are chosen by direct vote of the people. The sheriff, civil and criminal judges, with the police, however, belong to the county, except that the mayor appoints justices for the police courts. The police are under the final authority of the governor, but are directed by commissioners whom he appoints, and the expenses are met by the city treasury. The schools are under a board elected by popular vote—a complicated system making the fixing of responsibility difficult and reform uncertain. Public ownership and control extend only to the water-supply, streets, sewers, parks, and schools. (For statistics, see Cities.) The city is more commercial than manufacturing, altho there were in 1900 6,732 manufacturing establishments in the city (without its suburbs East St. Louis or others), with an annual product of $233,629,000, of which tobacco, food, and malt products are the principal. Its annual sales are approximately: dry goods, $120,000,000; groceries, $75,000,000; boots and shoes, $50,000,000; tobacco, $41,000,000, making it "the largest tobacco market in the world." The clearings of the banks and trust companies are some $3,000,000,000 per year.

The relief institutions include a city dispensary, city hospital, other hospitals, insane asylum, poorhouse, house of refuge, reform school and prison, and a juvenile court. A school of

Philanthropy has recently been established. (See SCHOOLS OF PHILANTHROPY.) An active Y. M. C. A., a public library, numerous Turner societies and clubs, several institutional churches and settlements carry on the social life of the city. The Civic Federation is the main society of civic reform, but clubs and societies represent almost every phase of reform thought. St. Louis seems entering on a period of good government, the administration of Mayor Rolla Wells, the reform mayor, being without scandal, altho the enemies of reform are numerous and daring. The important social reform societies are all well organized, e. g.:

The Civic Federation, 319 N. Fourth Street.
Young Men's Christian Association, Grace and Franklin.
St. Stephen's House, Sixth and Rutgers Streets.
The Women's Christian Temperance Society.
Central Trades and Labor Union, 925 Franklin Ave.
Socialist Party of Missouri, 324 Chestnut Street.

STOCK EXCHANGES began in the creation of public debts on the modern plan late in the seventh century, but there was no formal organization of stock-brokers. The New York Stock Exchange was formed in 1792 by twenty-four brokers, but did not have a building till 1865. The London Stock Exchange (Capel Court) building dates from 1801; that of Paris from 1826. To-day by far the four greatest stock exchanges are those of London, Paris, Berlin, and New York. In the amount of wealth converging on the investment market and in world exchanges, London probably stands first; in the amount of actual money Paris is perhaps first; in the amount of transactions New York is by far ahead. Says Mr. A. D. Noyes (*Munsey's Magazine*, 1907, p. 596):

In 1905 there were sold on the New York Stock Exchange 263,000,000 shares of stocks and over $1,000,000,000, face value, in bonds. If the average price of the stocks—a rough estimate—was $70 per share, and if the price of the bonds averaged par, it will be seen that some $19,500,000,000 worth of capital was paid over last year for securities purchased on the floor of the Exchange. On one day—April 30, 1901, the climax of the Wall Street speculative craze of that extraordinary year—3,200,000 shares of stock changed hands. This, on the average price above assumed, meant that $224,000,000 worth of that class of securities alone was purchased in that single day.

There is no reason to suppose that transactions on any European stock exchange come within a fraction of these figures. None of the foreign markets pursues such a thorough system of reporting as our own; but the facts may be judged from what is considered a large sale in one market or in another. On a European market sales of single blocks of 1,000 shares of standard stocks are rare; on the New York Stock Exchange they are so familiar as to attract no special attention. The list of securities dealt in on the London Stock Exchange is much longer than that of the New York institution, but an active day causes no such pressure on the machinery of the institution as is exerted in New York. Except for the system of "clearing" stocks—placing the value of securities bought by one broker against the value of securities sold, and leaving only the difference to be paid in cash—the banking and credit facilities of New York could not possibly endure such a daily strain, while providing for commercial customers. Even with the "clearing" system, the demand on the loanable funds of New York banks, at times of a stock-exchange "boom," is so great as to lead repeatedly to the extraordinary rates for money of which so much has recently been said.

. . . One reason why stock-exchange business at New York so far surpasses that of the European exchanges, is that a far larger portion of the Wall Street purchases and sales are purely speculative. It has been estimated that less than 10 per cent of the stocks bought on the New York exchange are bought by investors to keep. The rest are bought to sell again as soon as the expected rise has come. Profits made on the frequent advance in prices, during the epoch of American prosperity since 1898, have been so great as to dazzle the speculative mind.

European banks will not lend on such a scale to stock-exchange speculators, and European speculators will not take such risks. It is part of the American character that reckless gambling chances of the sort are coolly accepted. When Wall Street has gone too far, and is in a scrape—as in the "rich men's panic" of 1903, and in the smaller convulsion after the earthquake of 1906—it resorts to London, Paris, and Berlin to borrow money, and, at a price, it gets it. There is always capital to be had on these slow-going foreign markets. (See WEALTH.)

STÖCKER, ADOLF: German Protestant Christian Socialist leader, and director of the *Stadt Mission* in Berlin, member of the Reichstag, and of the General Synod of the State Church of Prussia; born Dec. 11, 1835, at Halberstadt. He received his preparatory training at the Bürgerschule and Gymnasium of his native city; studied theology and philosophy at Halle and Berlin, 1856; was successively tutor and pastor in Neumark, Kurland, Seggerde, Hamersleben from 1857 to 1870. He became army chaplain in Metz in 1871, and in 1874 court preacher at Berlin until 1890. In 1877 he was the main leader in establishing Protestant Christian socialism in Germany. For an account of this, see CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM, but it must be remembered that Christian socialism on the Continent has not at all meant the radical movement it has usually meant in England and America. Especially under the lead of Stöcker it has meant little more than the religious wing of the paternal movement for the State and the Church to aid the poor. Stöcker has been even better known as a leader in the German anti-Semitic movement. In 1881 he was elected to the Reichstag for 1881 to 1893; but was reelected in 1898 and since. Author: "Christliche soziale Reden und Aufsätze" (1890); "Christlich Sozial" (1890); editor of *Deutsch Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*; "Wach auf! evangelisches Volk"; "Kirchenpolitische Aufsätze," 1901; "Dreizehn Jahre Hofprediger und Politiker," 9th ed.; and numerous essays in periodicals, besides purely religious works. *Address*: Berlin, S. W., Königgratzer Strasse, 46.

STONE, LUCY: Woman suffragist; born West Brookfield, Mass., 1818. Taught school to earn money for a higher education; in 1847 graduated at Oberlin College. The same year she gave a lecture on woman's rights in her brother's pulpit at Gardner, Mass., and soon was engaged to lecture for the Anti-Slavery Society, in which work she had great success. In 1855 married Henry B. Blackwell, but always retained her own name. In 1866 she helped to organize the American Equal Rights Association, and in 1869 the American Woman's Suffrage Association, of the executive board of which she was chairman for twenty years. She died in 1893.

STOWE, MRS. HARRIET BEECHER: Author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin"; born Litchfield, Conn., 1812, daughter of Dr. Lyman Beecher and sister of Henry Ward Beecher (*q. v.*). Studied at home and in Hartford Female Seminary, where, too, she taught from 1827 to 1832. Her father becoming president of Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, she moved there with him, and, in 1836, married there Prof. C. E. Stowe. They lived there till 1850, when her husband became professor of theology in Bowdoin College, Me. In 1852 he accepted a professorship at Andover, Mass., which ill health compelled him to resign in 1862. Mr. and Mrs. Stowe went to reside in Hartford, Conn. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was written first as a serial for *The National Era* of Washington, and was based on incidents with which Mrs. Stowe became acquainted in her life in Cincinnati. March 20, 1852, it was published as a book, and 300,000 copies were sold in a year;

forty editions appeared during the year. It has been translated into nearly twenty languages, and probably contributed more than any other one effort to rousing the country against slavery. In 1853 Mrs. Stowe visited Europe and wrote "Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands." In 1856 she wrote "Dred," another slave story. Among her other numerous tales are "Old Town Folks"; "My Wife and I"; "Men of Our Times." Mrs. Stowe died in Hartford, July 2, 1896.

STRAIGHT EDGE INDUSTRIAL SETTLEMENT, THE: Started in New York City in 1899, under the title of "A School of Methods for the Application of the Teachings of Jesus to Business and Society." It grew out of the desire of Mr. and Mrs. Wilbur F. Copeland to make their home a center for the study of social and industrial problems. *The Straight Edge*, a weekly newsletter started in 1899, gave its name to the movement, which, during its first seven years of experimental work, has enabled over two hundred persons—about eighteen at a time on an average—to earn their living by carrying on simple industries, such as a bakery, restaurant, pure-food laboratory, printery, laundry, dressmaking, gardening, and other branches for which from time to time it has had qualified workers. Its purpose is to find men and women who need work and to organize them into useful, self-supporting, cooperative industries. Each worker, after working two months on trial, is given a grade based on ten industrial qualifications, and shares in the earnings of the industries in proportion to his grade. The ten qualifications on which a worker is graded are that he:

1. Does useful and necessary work that adds to the industrial efficiency of the organization, and as much of it as could reasonably be expected from a thoroughly trained worker with the best equipment.
2. Puts in the time and energy necessary to do to the best of his ability all the work for which he becomes responsible.
3. Knows how to set himself to work and to keep at work without needless supervision.
4. Carries responsibilities continuously, never throwing his work on somebody else, or leaving it without arranging to have it done properly.
5. Requires no waiting on; is willing to do anything there is to be done.
6. Cleans up after himself; leaves his working-place in order; is clean about his work and in his personal habits.
7. Takes care of the tools and utensils with which he works.
8. Works in harmony with others; shows respect for his fellow workers and consideration for their rights, convenience, and comfort.
9. Attends the business conferences; watches the economies of the place; saves materials and expense; makes and helps to carry out helpful suggestions.
10. Has worked long enough to earn the proportionate share of working capital required on an average to furnish a first-class industrial opportunity for each cooperative worker.

The custom is to grade each adult worker who stays the two months on trial and wishes to continue, "36 points," or four points on each of the first nine qualifications, if there is no objection raised when the name is proposed, in open meeting of the workers, to be placed on the regular list. Then each month the grade of each worker is considered in the same way, and an additional point is given to each, if proposed by a fellow worker on some specific qualification and no objection is raised.

A primary industrial training department, known as the "Play-work School," is maintained for the children of workers and for any other children whose parents or guardians wish to pay for the service what it is worth. The children receive "points" as soon as they learn to do some useful task that contributes to the industrial efficiency of the enterprise. The children fold papers, stitch booklets, cook their food, wash their clothes, and do other ordinary work that they should know how to do for themselves.

Workers are not required to furnish capital, but a portion is laid aside from the general earnings to extend the plant, and bonds are issued in return for capital furnished, to be paid at the rate of 10 per cent a year, the issue of bonds being limited to $500 per worker employed, and $1 a week being laid aside for each $500 of bonds outstanding. This enables workers to pay for their capital—land, tools, machinery, things to work with—by a very moderate tax upon their earnings. The settlement is located at 1 Abingdon Square, New York City, and has a country place near Alpine, Bergen Co., N. J.

WILBUR F. COPELAND, *General Organizer.*

STREET-RAILWAYS. (See also PUBLIC OWNERSHIP; STOCK-WATERING.)

THE UNITED STATES

Electric-railway lines in the United States are increasing rapidly. In 1890 there were 8,123 miles of track and in 1902 22,576 miles. In the same period the number of employees increased from 70,000 to 140,000. Upon some interurban lines the speed and equipment are so good that the electric-car competes with the steam-car.

The equipment and improvement of electric lines is causing important social changes. First, urban population is being better distributed; for example, the population of the Bronx and outlying parts of New York City increased from 88,900 in 1890 to 200,000 in 1900. Second, suburban life around all great cities has been increased with the consequent increase of land values and in some instances the decrease of land values in old residential sections. Third, a concentration of business has been made possible; retail districts, for example, in the central parts of the cities, being easily accessible, absorb nearly all the trade. Fourth, easy access to the country parks and pleasure resorts adds health and enjoyment to the lives of wage-earners.

Present Development

The combined total capital stock and funded debt of all street- and electric-railways is equal to $103,099 per mile of track owned by them; the net capitalization of those companies which operate primarily electric surface railways and which do no commercial lighting, amounts to $92,114 per mile of track. These figures greatly exceed the capitalization per mile of the steam-railways of the country, the net capitalization of which, according to the Interstate Commerce Commission, is about $36,000 per mile of track.

It is quite impossible to obtain accurate information as to the actual amount of money which has been spent in the construction and equipment of street-railways in general, or of most individual street-railways. The item, "cost of construction," according to the books and balance sheets of street-railway companies, gives no idea whatever of the cash investment. The intervention of construction companies composed of the promoters of the railway has in many cases rendered the book value of property misleading. The most important difficulty, however, is that the

Capitalization

greatest railway systems now existing have been built up by combination and recombination.

The heaviest net capitalization is in Greater New York, where each mile of street-railway is represented by more than $260,000 of securities. The surface lines in Manhattan were capitalized in 1902 at $494,399 per mile of track, the highest average for any improved surface system, altho some of the trackage is operated by animal power.

There is not a wide variation in the wages of most employees on electric surface railways. Of all wage-earners on such railways, 32.7 per cent received between $2 and $2.04 per day, while 68.8 per cent received between $1.75 and $2.49 daily. The rate of $2 per day is more common than any other, and is probably the precise median for all classes combined. More than four fifths of all conductors and five sixths of all motormen received $1.75 or more per day, while less than 2 per cent of other classes received $2.50 and more per day.

Wages

The only states in which a median for all wage-earners combined exceeded $2.10 per day are Montana, California, Colorado, Oregon, and Rhode Island.

The median wage for all employees of the fast, long interurban railways is $1.90 and $1.94, or somewhat less than the median for all classes of railways combined. The median rate for conductors and motormen on such interurban railways, however, is $2 and $2.04.

Street-railway companies, like other corporations, derive their charters, which give them the right to exist and which regulate in a general way their internal government, from the state, either through general or special statute. The privilege of occupying a specific street or highway usually requires further authorization, and it is this authorization which is designated by the term "franchise" in the more limited sense. In some state constitutions the legislature is expressly prohibited from granting the use of the streets and highways without the consent of the local governing authorities, while in nearly all other states the practise of the legislature is to give the local governments control in this respect. This control involves ordinarily the right of the local authorities to impose such conditions as they may see fit at the time the franchise is granted. Deviations are mostly confined to the New England states, where a large proportion of the street-railway companies have been chartered by special acts of the legislature.

Franchises

The movement in favor of "direct legislation" has led to the requirement, in various states and cities, that franchises shall be submitted to popular vote, either in all cases, or on petition of a certain proportion of the voters. Such use of the referendum is most common in the Western states. In Colorado, South Dakota, and Utah, for example, all municipal ordinances are subject to the referendum on petition, or the optional referendum as it is commonly called. The same requirement is found in the San Francisco charter, and in the charters of various other cities. In Nebraska and Arizona all public franchises in cities must be submitted to popular vote; in Montana and Colorado to the vote of the taxpaying electors. In Iowa one fifth of the voters in any city may require any franchise to be submitted to popular vote.

During recent years it has become quite common, with a view to obtain more favorable terms, to offer franchises at public competition. This requirement often applies to other classes of public utilities as well as to street-railways. In California, Nevada, Kentucky, and Virginia the general state laws require competitive bidding, but contain no provision specifying the character of the bids, which apparently might, at the discretion of the local authorities, be either in the form of lump sums or of annual payments. In New York and Louisiana the bids must be on the basis of a percentage of the gross annual earnings. In Ohio the franchise must be granted to the bidder offering the lowest rates of fare. A similar method is required by the individual charters of certain cities, and in a few it has been adopted voluntarily by local authorities. The city ordinarily reserves the right to reject all bids.

State constitutions or laws usually, tho by no means always, limit the duration of corporate charters of all classes. Such limitations, however, are ordinarily of a formal character, and unless some action to the contrary is taken by the state legislature at the time of expiration, a charter can usually be renewed by a simple procedure on the part of the stockholders of the corporation. Nevertheless, the limitation on the duration of the charter offers to the state the possibility of imposing new restrictions if it so desires. State constitutions or laws seldom reserve to the state or local authorities the right to terminate a franchise, or to revise its provisions during the prescribed term, nor have the local authorities in granting franchises ordinarily reserved this right. The most important exception to the statement just made is found in Massachusetts. For a long time it has been the policy in that commonwealth to grant street-railway and other franchises for an indefinite term, subject to revocation either by the state or by the local governments.

Duration of Franchises

Many street-railway franchises, particularly those of early date, are perpetual, and there is no state or local provision under which they can be revoked or amended. Where, however, a corporation whose charter is subject to revocation or amendment holds such an unlimited franchise, the state legislature can virtually annul it, or change the terms of the franchise, through its control over corporate existence. Even if both the charter and the franchise of a public-service company are unlimited in duration, the state may, subject perhaps to certain self-imposed limitations, exercise, directly or through local governments, its right of eminent domain to purchase the property for public use. The payment in such a case would ordinarily include not merely the tangible value but the full franchise value. In Indianapolis, Ind., and Portland, Ore., where competitive bidding for the renewal of franchises is required, it is especially provided that, if the grant is made to another person or corporation, the new grantee must buy the tangible property of the former holder at its appraised valuation. The same requirement is probably intended in the Virginian law and in the Baltimore charter, by which competitive bidding is also required. An arrangement of this sort has the great merit that it largely removes the discouragement to improvements which is otherwise characteristic of limited franchises.

The rate of fare on about two thirds of the urban street-railways in the U. S. is five cents

for any distance covered by a single car. The journey is often extended by means of transfers to other cars, a practise which will be fully discust in the succeeding section. The practise, very common in Europe, of grading fares according to distance does not exist in any proper sense in American cities. In some cases the restrictions on transfers are such that certain journeys within the city's limits can be accomplished only by paying two fares. Naturally this is usually the case where different parts of the city are served by distinct companies. The most conspicuous illustration is in Chicago, where the railway systems of the south, west, and north sides are operated as independent units. The one-city one-fare principle is being strongly urged for Chicago. Consolidation of street-railways has already virtually brought this about in most cities. American street-railway managers very generally maintain that the uniform fare is more advantageous to the public than fares graded according to distance.

Fares

The returns made to the Bureau of the Census show that more than one third of all the operating street-railways in the U. S. offer fares of less than five cents to all of their patrons under certain conditions. In almost all such cases the cash fare for a single trip is five cents, but tickets for a number of trips are sold at reduced rates. Sometimes these tickets are good only during the busy hours of the morning and evening. More than 200 railway companies offer tickets at a price of approximately four cents each. By far the most common practise among such railways is to sell 6 tickets for twenty-five cents. Sometimes a further reduction is made if a larger number of tickets is bought, 25 tickets being sold frequently for $1, and sometimes 26 or even more.

A more important practise is that of granting reduced fares to school children. In such cases the most common rate is two cents and a half, tho sometimes three or four is charged. In New England it is almost universal for street-railways to carry school children at reduced rates. About sixteen of the street-railway companies of Massachusetts reported reduced fares for working men, the most common rate being two cents and a half, altho several railways reported three or four cents. The most important company which makes special rates for working men is the Boston & Northern Railway Company, which serves many cities and towns in eastern Massachusetts. Among other instances of reduced fares for working people may be mentioned the practise of certain railways in the mining districts of Pennsylvania. For example, two companies centering at Shamokin, and several others elsewhere, sell thirty working men's tickets for $1. The Detroit & Port Huron Shore Line and the Saginaw Valley Traction Company sell eight tickets for twenty-five cents to working men, while the railways of Zanesville, Ohio, and Clinton and Dubuque, Iowa, make a two-cent-and-a-half rate.

The fact that transfers were issued to more than one fifth of the fare passengers on street-railways in 1902 indicates the great importance of this practise in connection with the social service of street-railways. The proportion of passengers who transfer is highest in the large cities, where the railway lines are complex and where the distances to be covered are great. An examination of the detailed statistics for individual companies shows that there is scarcely an important surface railway in a city of more than 100,000 inhabitants which does not grant transfers on an extensive scale.

Transfers

For statistics see MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP, page 791.

The rapid increase in public ownership has made an impression on private enterprises. More recent private tramway undertakings have reflected the municipal standard, especially about London, where some splendid private lines have been opened. The fear of a demand for public ownership has compelled the street-railway companies, as it has the gas and electric lighting companies, to do many things which would have been deemed impossible a few years ago.

One of the most insistent sources of discontent under private management was the bad condition of the employees. Their hours were very long, ofttimes eighty hours a week and sometimes as much as fourteen hours per day. The rate of wages was low. This led to constant friction and was one of the principal causes of municipalization. The cities have uniformly corrected such abuses. Present hours range from fifty-four to sixty per week, with one day off in seven. Wages now range from 5*d.* to 7*d.* (10 to 14 cents) an hour for motormen and 4½*d.* to 7½*d.* (9 to 15 cents) for conductors, while free uniforms and one week's holiday on pay are nearly universal. In some cities special funds are set aside for sickness and disability and death, while recreation rooms, with games, baths, and cafés, are found in many cities. The highways committee of the London County Council estimates that "the value of the concessions already made to the men in respect of increase in pay or alteration of hours and other matters amounts now to about £37,000 ($180,061) a year." In Liverpool, according to Sir Charles Petrie, "the men have been provided with summer and winter uniforms, and we are paying them in wages upward of £40,000 ($194,660) per annum more than they would have received under companies' rates."

Labor

GERMAN MUNICIPAL STREET-RAILWAYS[1]

The introduction of the electric-railway marks a turning-point in the history of street-railway development in Germany. It inaugurated a movement toward municipal ownership and operation which is sweeping over the entire empire and which includes not only the larger cities, such as Munich, Frankfort, Cologne, and Nurnberg, but small towns such as Bonn, Trier, Colmar, and Graudenz.

Of the four larger cities that have embarked upon municipal operation of street-railways, the financial situation of the Frankfort system is most favorable. At the close of the fiscal year 1903, after paying all operating expenses, there remained a surplus of $576,574.25. Out of this the fixt charges were paid, amounting to $295,813.65.

From the remaining $280,760.60, the city contributed $15,805 toward the pension fund for employees, $4,057.50 toward the pension fund for orphans and widows of employees, and $36,250 toward the repaving and widening of streets, leaving a net profit of $224,648.10.

In Cologne the fiscal year 1903–4 showed a net profit of $130,816.06.

[1] Compiled from "Municipal Ownership and Operation of Street Railways in Germany," by L. S. Rowe, Ph.D., in the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1906.

In Nurnberg the financial results of the first two years of municipal operation have been satisfactory. The street-railway account is burdened with the interest and liquidation charges on the loan contracted for the canceling of the companies' franchise. This means an annual outlay for thirty years of about $138,000. In spite of this fixt charge, the street-railway department turned over to the general city treasurer a net profit of $13,669.89 in 1903, and $38,263.91 in 1904.

Fares.—Frankfort has a zone tariff system. The graduation of fares is as follows:

For one mile and one fifth or less, 2½ cents.
Over one mile and one fifth and less than two miles and one tenth, 3½ cents.
Over two miles and one tenth and less than three miles, 5 cents.
For every nine tenths of a mile over three miles, 1¼ cents.

Cologne has recently introduced a new zone tariff system arranged as follows:

Fare for 1⅛ miles	2½ cents
Fare for 3⅜ miles	3¾ cents
Fare for 5⅝ miles	5 cents
Fare over 5⅝ miles	6¼ cents

With every fare exceeding two cents and a half a free transfer is issued.

Nurnberg and Darmstadt are the only cities of any size which still retain the uniform fare in their municipal railway system. The fare is two cents and a half.

In Barmen the uniform two-cent-and-a-half fare with free transfer was also introduced immediately after the municipalization of the street-railways. Monthly commutation cards good for all portions of the system were issued at $1.25. In Dec., 1903, this system was replaced by a zone tariff under which the lines were divided into five zones of two miles and a tenth each. The rate for each zone was fixt at one cent and a fourth with a maximum fare of two cents and a half.

In Königsberg within the limits of the city the uniform two-cent-and-a-half fare is retained; beyond the city limits three cents and three-fourths is charged.

Labor Conditions Under Municipal Management.—One of the most notable achievements of municipal operations in Germany has been the betterment of the labor conditions. The German cities undertook without delay to readjust the hours of labor so as to bring them within the ten-hour limit and so to arrange the schedules that this ten-hour service should be as continuous as possible. JOHN MARTIN.

STRIKE-BREAKING: The most recent institution for meeting the exigencies of modern industrial life is an establishment concerned in strike-breaking. This is an agency which provides men to factories, street-car lines, etc., the employees of which have gone on strike. The strike-breakers are not a hoodlum class, neither are they men looking for excitement or occasional work; but a set of picked men, each skilled in a particular line of work. The agency has about 225,000 men on its lists in different trades throughout the United States. The handling of such an army of workmen and their proper placing in times of need requires system.

Candidates, in order to get their names on the list, must pass a rigorous examination as to character and physical and professional fitness. A corps of twenty-three men is detailed to examine candidates. When a strike is impending or has been declared, this agency is notified by the employers, and it contracts to supply a sufficient number of skilled men to take the place of the strikers, and then selects its men, each of whom must sign an agreement to keep at work on the new job at least thirty days. Traveling expenses in addition to good wages are paid by the agency. The agency maintains a commissary and a quartermaster's departments to feed and house the strike-breakers, and is able to fill the strikers' places within a very short time.

Strike-breakers are, however, frequently exposed to violence on the part of the strikers and their friends. A department of protection has been formed by the agency to provide adequate protection for its men. The head of this department is in touch with sheriffs and police officials over all the country. His men, numbering between 500 and 600, are sworn in as special deputies on each occasion so as to have a legal standing; they are under military discipline and must pass an examination equivalent to that for the police department of New York.

While the department of protection is well organized and reckless or irresponsible men are kept out, it is nevertheless a reflection on the city, state, or county to have need of this private army of detectives or deputies for the protection of private or corporate property. The agency has succeeded well in breaking strikes, and has attained large financial success. But it is open to the same objection as the Pinkertons (*q. v.*) and other private semimilitary organizations within the state having the privileges but not the responsibilities of public officials.

STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS: (For a discussion of principles involved, see TRADE-UNIONS.) A strike occurs when the employees of an establishment refuse to work unless the management complies with some demand. A lockout occurs when the management refuses to allow the employees to work unless they will work under some condition dictated by the management. In effect strikes and lockouts are practically the same thing, the disturbances simply originating with one side or the other in the case. A strike, however, is often really a lockout, because it not unfrequently happens that employers, finding a dull market and not wishing to bear the opprobrium of discharging their employees or suspending work, require some grievous condition which causes the employees to strike. The real origin of strikes is, therefore, by no means always easily determined.

Strikes are as old as labor itself. For the slave insurrections and labor strikes of classic times, see GILDS.

History

In Germany we hear of a strike in Breslau among the journeymen girdle makers as early as 1329, and in France among the tanners in 1349. According to Mr. and Mrs. Webb, there was a strike and perhaps a trade-union among the serving-men of the cordwainers in London in 1387. In France in the next century they seem to have been common. In 1538 in England (the Webbs' "History of Trade-Unionism"):

The Bishop of Ely reports to Cromwell that twenty-one journeymen shoemakers of Wisbech have assembled on a hill without the town and sent three of their number to summon all the master shoemakers to meet them, in order to insist upon an advance in their wages, threatening that

"there shall none come into the town to serve for that wages within a twelfth-month and a day, but we woll have an harme or a legge of hym, except they woll take an othe, as we have doon."

The first strike in the United States was probably among the New York City bakers in 1741, while in Philadelphia the journeymen shoemakers conducted a series of strikes, 1796–99. According to T. S. Adams and H. L. Sumner ("Labor Problems") the terms "strike," "scab," and "general turnout" were in common use and strikes were "the fashion" by 1835.

The Third Annual Report of the U. S. Bureau of Labor (1887) finds records of 1,491 strikes down to 1881, of which 813 took place in 1880, 199 took place from 1875 to 1879, and 185 from 1870 to 1874; 4 took place in the eighteenth century, the first being a strike among the bakers of New York City in 1741; 75 took place between 1800 and 1850. Of the 1,491 strikes, 1,089 related to wages; 316 succeeded, 154 were compromised, 583 failed, and 478 had their issue unknown.

CAUSES OF STRIKES, 1881–1900

PRINCIPAL CAUSE OR OBJECT	Establishments involved in disputes		Establishments involved in disputes	
Wages	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
For increase	54,872	46.69	750	7.55
Against decrease	9,173	7.81	664	6.68
Other	917	0.78	544	5.48
Total wages strikes	64,962	55.28	1,958	19.71
Hours of labor	14,944	12.72	418	4.21
Sympathetic strikes	.....	3.47	.....	.....
Against employment of non-union men	.....	2.34	.....	.....
Adoption of new scale	.....	2.33	.....	.....
Recognition of union	.....	1.40	4,569	46.00
Other causes	.....	23.46	.....	30.08
		100.00		100.00

RESULTS OF STRIKES ORDERED BY LABOR ORGANIZATIONS AND NOT SO ORDERED

YEAR	Number of strikes ordered by labor organizations	Per cent of establishments in which strikes ordered by labor organizations—			Number of strikes not ordered by labor organizations	Per cent of establishments in which strikes not ordered by labor organizations—		
		Succeeded	Succeeded partly	Failed		Succeeded	Succeeded partly	Failed
1881	222	65.61	6.46	27.93	249	48.25	8.67	43.08
1882	218	56.38	9.56	34.06	236	44.75	3.76	51.49
1883	271	64.26	18.39	17.35	207	26.25	4.07	69.68
1884	239	55.79	3.26	40.95	204	30.79	6.90	62.31
1885	361	63.70	10.50	25.80	284	26.20	7.08	66.72
1886	760	33.49	20.46	46.05	672	41.65	7.38	50.97
1887	952	48.38	7.19	44.43	483	26.96	7.24	65.80
1888	616	56.17	4.99	38.84	288	25.00	8.86	66.14
1889	724	45.61	21.37	33.02	351	49.93	9.26	40.81
1890	1,306	53.99	10.17	35.84	525	39.86	8.45	51.69
1891	1,284	38.46	8.10	53.44	432	36.76	11.68	51.56
1892	918	39.33	8.75	51.92	380	39.19	8.16	52.65
1893	906	53.94	10.89	35.17	399	28.42	6.19	65.39
1894	847	37.35	13.67	48.98	501	43.94	12.12	43.94
1895	658	59.25	10.05	30.70	555	27.21	9.18	63.61
1896	662	62.47	6.55	30.98	363	29.93	15.69	54.38
1897	596	59.67	29.51	10.82	482	30.83	12.54	56.63
1898	638	69.72	6.15	24.13	418	33.96	7.64	58.40
1899	1,115	76.33	14.19	9.48	682	36.56	14.92	48.52
1900	1,164	48.06	21.95	29.99	615	29.94	7.03	63.03
Total	14,457	52.86	13.60	33.54	8,326	35.56	9.05	55.39

AUSTRIA

(From "Die Arbeitseinstellungen und Aussperrungen in Oesterreich," in 1904 and 1905, 2 vols., issued by the Arbeitsstatistisches Amt im Handelsministerium.)

YEAR	Strikes	Establishments affected	Strikers	Per cent of strikers of total employees	Days lost	STRIKES		STRIKERS	
						Per cent succeeded	Per cent succeeded partly	Per cent succeeded	Per cent succeeded partly
1894	172	2,542	67,061	69.5	795,416	25.0	27.9	9.2	37.3
1895	209	874	28,652	59.9	300,348	26.8	24.9	12.8	60.7
1896	305	1,499	66,234	65.7	899,939	21.0	36.4	4.6	62.8
1897	246	851	38,467	59.0	368,098	17.5	37.0	15.7	47.8
1898	255	885	39,658	59.9	323,619	18.8	41.2	8.4	66.4
1899	311	1,330	54,763	60.2	1,029,937	15.4	45.0	10.2	72.0
1900	303	1,003	105,128	67.3	3,483,963	20.2	44.9	4.7	85.5
1901	270	719	24,870	38.5	157,744	20.7	36.3	20.1	47.8
1902	264	1,184	37,471	44.0	284,046	19.7	39.0	13.8	52.7
1903	324	1,731	46,215	60.5	500,567	17.3	43.5	10.0	68.0
1904	414	2,704	64,227	64.3	606,629	24.4	44.4	18.6	41.3
1905	686	3,803	99,591	63.6	1,151,310	21.8	51.2	14.0	71.6
						20.7	41.7	10.9	62.3

GREAT BRITAIN

(*From "Report on Strikes and Lockouts"* and in *"Conciliations and Arbitration Boards in the United Kingdom, 1905," published by the Labor Department of the British Board of Trade.*)

["Aggregate working-days lost by all employees thrown out of work" includes the aggregate duration in each year of disputes which began in previous years and extended beyond the year in which they began, and excludes the duration in 1906 of disputes which began in 1905.]

YEAR	Strikes and lock-outs	Strikers and employees locked out	Other employees thrown out of work	Total employees thrown out of work	Aggregate working-days lost by all employees thrown out of work
1901	642	111,437	68,109	179,546	4,142,287
1902	442	116,824	139,843	256,667	3,479,255
1903	387	93,515	23,386	116,901	2,338,668
1904	355	56,380	30,828	87,208	1,484,220
1905	358	67,653	25,850	93,503	2,470,189

ITALY

(*From statistics of the "Ministerio di Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio, Direzione Generale della Statistica,* 1906.")

STRIKES IN AGRICULTURE

YEAR	Total strikes	Strikes for which strikers were reported	Strikers	Aggregate days of work lost
1881	1	1	100	200
1882	2	2	2,200	4,400
1883	3	3	262	1,812
1884	10	2	245	245
1885	62	36	8,857	53,761
1886	17	16	3,846	9,623
1887	9	8	2,275	3,785
1888	5	5	1,366	1,366
1889	4	4	[1]1,087	2,880
1890	8	7	1,950	8,420
1891	24	24	7,795	33,877
1892	10	9	3,504	7,123
1893	18	18	12,390	1,718,370
1894	8	8	4,748	43,058
1895	7	6	1,765	20,565
1896	1	1	100	100
1897	12	12	24,135	322,020
1898	36	36	8,495	82,833
1199	9	9	1,895	7,475
1900	27	26	12,517	72,057
1901	629	629	222,985	2,931,766
1902	221	221	146,592	2,024,833
1903	47	47	22,507	341,847
Total	1,170	1,130	[1]491,616	7,692,416

[1] In one strike the number of families taking part was reported.

STRIKES IN THE U. S., 1881–1900

(Compiled from the Sixteenth Annual Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Labor)

YEAR	STRIKES[1]										LOCKOUTS[1]									
	Number of strikes	Number of employees thrown out of employment by strikes, the results of which were—				Total	Percentage of employees thrown out of employment by strikes, the results of which were—				Number of lockouts	Number of employees thrown out of employment by lockouts	Number of establishments in which results of lockouts were—				Total	Percentage of establishments in which results of lockouts were—			
		In favor of workpeople	In favor of employers	Compromised	Unsettled or unknown		In favor of workpeople	In favor of employers	Compromised	Unsettled or unknown			In favor of employers	In favor of workpeople	Compromised	Unsettled		In favor of employers	In favor of workpeople	Compromised	Unsettled
							Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent								Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
1881..	471	55,600	56,439	17,482	.....	129,521	42.93	43.57	13.50	.....	6	655	8	.....	1	.....	9	88.89	.....	11.11	.....
1882..	454	45,746	101,813	7,112	.....	154,671	29.58	65.82	4.60	.....	22	4,131	27	15	.....	.....	42	64.29	35.71	.....	.....
1883..	478	55,140	77,599	17,024	.....	149,763	36.82	51.81	11.37	.....	28	20,512	66	51	.....	.....	117	56.41	43.59	.....	.....
1884..	443	52,736	89,274	5,044	.....	147,054	35.86	60.71	3.43	.....	42	18,121	99	254	1	.....	354	27.97	71.75	0.28	.....
1885..	645	115,375	103,475	23,855	.....	242,705	47.54	42.63	9.83	.....	50	15,424	70	107	6	.....	183	38.25	58.47	3.28	.....
1886..	1,432	195,400	238,229	74,167	248	508,044	38.46	46.89	14.60	0.05	140	101,980	294	912	182	121	1,509	19.48	60.44	12.06	8.02
1887..	1,436	127,579	225,655	26,442	.....	379,676	33.60	59.43	6.97	.....	67	59,630	438	827	16	.....	1,281	34.19	64.56	1.25	.....
1888..	906	41,106	95,468	11,130	.....	147,704	27.83	64.63	7.54	.....	40	15,176	134	39	7	.....	180	74.44	21.67	3.89	.....
1889..	1,075	72,099	114,853	62,607	.....	249,559	28.89	46.02	25.09	.....	36	10,731	54	44	34	.....	132	40.91	33.33	25.76	.....
1890..	1,833	158,787	144,681	48,444	32	351,944	45.12	41.11	13.76	0.01	64	21,555	213	93	18	.....	324	65.74	28.70	5.56	.....
1891..	1,717	80,766	195,288	22,885	.....	298,939	27.02	65.33	7.65	.....	69	31,014	349	119	78	.....	546	63.92	21.79	14.29	.....
1892..	1,298	61,125	129,117	16,429	.....	206,671	29.58	62.47	7.95	.....	61	32,014	495	40	181	.....	716	69.13	5.59	25.28	.....
1893..	1,305	62,018	160,741	41,765	1,390	265,914	23.32	60.45	15.71	0.52	70	21,842	119	113	52	21	305	39.02	37.05	17.05	6.88
1894..	1,349	117,500	405,391	137,534	.....	660,425	17.79	61.38	20.83	.....	55	29,619	99	755	21	.....	875	11.31	86.29	2.40	.....
1895..	1,215	156,388	192,286	43,729	.....	392,403	39.86	49.00	11.14	.....	40	14,785	49	320	1	.....	370	13.24	86.49	0.27	.....
1896..	1,026	99,823	106,839	34,508	.....	241,170	41.39	44.30	14.31	.....	40	7,668	41	9	1	.....	51	80.39	17.65	1.96	.....
1897..	1,078	158,858	97,221	152,312	.....	408,391	38.90	23.81	37.29	.....	32	7,763	104	61	6	.....	171	60.82	35.67	3.51	.....
1898..	1,056	108,669	117,321	23,012	.....	249,002	43.64	47.12	9.24	.....	42	14,217	104	59	1	.....	164	63.41	35.98	0.61	.....
1899..	1,797	227,203	130,214	59,655	.....	417,072	54.48	31.22	14.30	.....	41	14,817	58	262	2	1	323	18.01	81.37	0.62	.....
1900..	1,779	145,218	163,477	195,307	1,064	505,066	28.75	32.37	38.67	0.21	60	62,653	2,151	123	7	.....	2,281	94.30	5.39	0.31	.....
Total.	22,793	2,137,136	2,945,381	1,020,443	2,734	6,105,694	35.00	48.24	16.71	0.05	1,005	504,307	4,972	4,203	615	143	9,933	50.06	42.31	6.19	1.44

[1] The distinction drawn in the report between a strike and a lockout is: "A strike occurs when the employees of an establishment refuse to work unless the management complies with some demand; a lockout occurs when the management refuses to allow the employees to work unless they will work under some condition indicated by the management . . . in a strike the employees take the initiative while in a lockout the employer first makes some demand, and enforces it by refusing to allow his employees to work unless it is complied with."

ITALY

STRIKES IN INDUSTRIES OTHER THAN AGRICULTURE

YEAR	Total strikes[1]	STRIKES WHICH—		Strikes for which strikers were reported	STRIKERS				Strikes for which days lost were reported	Aggregate days of work lost
		Succeeded	Succeeded partly		Men	Women	Children	Total		
1879	32	2	10	28	(2)	(2)	(2)	4,011	28	21,896
1880	27	4	9	26	(2)	(2)	(2)	5,900	26	91,899
1881	44	4	11	39	(2)	(2)	(2)	8,272	38	95,578
1882	47	5	16	45	(2)	(2)	(2)	5,854	45	25,119
1883	73	10	29	67	(2)	(2)	(2)	12,900	65	111,697
1884	81	16	34	81	(2)	(2)	(2)	23,967	78	149,215
1885	89	22	32	86	(2)	(2)	(2)	34,166	82	244,393
1886	96	14	39	96	(2)	(2)	(2)	16,951	95	56,772
1887	69	9	29	68	(2)	(2)	(2)	25,027	66	218,612
1888	101	22	40	99	(2)	(2)	(2)	28,974	95	191,204
1889	126	12	63	125	(2)	(2)	(2)	23,322	123	215,880
1890	139	23	58	133	(2)	(2)	(2)	38,402	129	167,657
1891	132	15	51	128	(2)	(2)	(2)	34,733	123	258,059
1892	119	24	33	117	(2)	(2)	(2)	30,800	114	216,907
1893	131	34	46	127	(2)	(2)	(2)	32,109	122	234,323
1894	109	35	29	103	19,766	3,890	3,939	27,595	103	323,261
1895	126	41	39	126	11,788	5,192	2,327	19,307	126	125,968
1896	210	79	51	210	39,955	34,264	21,832	96,051	210	1,152,503
1897	217	70	60	217	21,809	38,435	16,326	76,570	217	1,113,535
1898	256	70	68	256	22,112	9,571	4,022	35,705	256	239,292
1899	259	80	69	259	28,228	11,280	3,686	43,194	259	231,590
1900	383	112	143	383	59,750	16,292	4,816	80,858	383	493,093
1901	1,042	294	428	1,042	137,389	40,683	18,468	196,540	1,042	2,146,184
1902	810	165	363	810	140,487	36,218	20,809	197,514	810	2,539,331
1903	549	106	194	549	80,138	18,759	10,430	109,327	549	1,539,298
Total	5,267	1,268	1,944	5,220	561,422	214,584	106,655	1,208,049	5,184	12,203,266

[1] Including 143 strikes the results of which were not reported. [2] Not reported from 1879–93.

NETHERLANDS

[Strikes due to two or more causes have been tabulated under each cause; hence the totals for this table do not agree with those for other tables.]

CAUSE OR OBJECT	Total strikes		Strikes for which number of establishments involved was reported		Strikes for which number of strikers was reported		Strikes for which aggregate days of duration was reported		Strikes	
	Number	Per cent of total reporting cause	Strikes	Establishments	Strikes	Strikers	Strikes	Aggregate days of duration	Succeeded	Succeeded partly
For increase of wages	65	32.83	64	256	65	2,647	62	1,262	6	33
Against reduction of wages	8	4.04	8	8	8	126	8	345	1	6
Other disputes concerning wages	25	12.63	24	35	25	953	23	339½	4	11
Hours of labor	7	3.53	6	45	7	457	6	145	.....	4
Trade-unionism	6	3.03	6	17	6	244	4	210	.....	4
For reinstatement of employees	23	11.62	23	23	23	393	22	477½	2	10
Regulations governing work	22	11.11	20	20	22	1,187	22	558½	5	9
Other causes	40	20.20	40	52	40	1,096	37	838½	7	22
Not reported	2	1.01	2	2	1	15	1	¾	.....	.....
Total	198	100.00	193	458	197	7,118	185	4,176¼	25	99

SUMMARY OF LOCKOUTS, 1901 TO 1905

YEAR	Total lockouts	Lockouts for which number of establishments involved was reported		Lockouts for which number of persons locked out was reported		Lockouts for which aggregate days of duration was reported		Lockouts which—	
		Lockouts	Establishments involved	Lockouts	Persons locked out	Lockouts	Aggregate days of duration	Succeeded	Succeeded partly
1901	7	5	5	6	361	6	380	2	.....
1902	14	14	15	14	2,381	12	519	5	4
1903	14	13	24	14	1,021	11	293½	7	5
1904	17	17	74	16	6,754	14	355½	9	6
1905	6	5	5	6	2,707	6	163½	2	1

GERMANY

(From "Streiks und Ausperrungen, 1905," Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt)

YEAR	STRIKES								LOCKOUTS							
	Total strikes	Strikes which—				Establishments affected	Total employees in establishments affected	Strikers	Total lockouts	Lockouts which—				Establishments affected	Total employees in establishments affected	Persons locked out
		Succeeded		Succeeded partly						Succeeded		Succeeded partly				
		Number	Per cent of total strikes	Number	Per cent of total strikes					Number	Per cent of total lockouts	Number	Per cent of total lockouts			
1899....	1,288	331	25.7	429	33.3	7,121	256,858	99,338	23	6	26.1	9	39.1	427	8,290	5,298
1900 ...	1,433	275	19.2	505	35.2	7,740	298,819	122,803	35	13	37.1	17	48.6	607	22,462	9,085
1901....	1,056	200	18.9	285	27.0	4,561	141,220	55,262	35	16	45.7	8	22.9	238	7,980	5,414
1902....	1,060	228	21.5	235	22.2	3,437	131,086	53,912	46	30	65.2	7	15.2	948	18,705	10,305
1903....	1,374	300	21.8	444	32.3	7,000	198,636	85,603	70	36	51.4	15	21.4	1,714	52,541	35,273
1904....	1,870	449	24.0	688	36.8	10,321	273,364	113,480	120	44	36.7	33	27.5	1,115	36,312	23,760
1905....	2,403	528	22.0	971	40.4	14,481	776,984	408,145	254	65	25.6	147	57.9	3,859	188,526	118,665

GREAT BRITAIN

INDUSTRY	Strikes and lockouts					Employees thrown out of work				
	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905
Building trades	104	39	44	37	31	9,797	5,356	3,663	8,697	6,637
Mining and quarrying	210	168	125	113	106	112,981	208,526	63,578	46,287	44,791
Metal, engineering, and shipbuilding	103	71	87	75	70	22,489	15,914	32,380	12,130	12,753
Textile trades	96	82	55	52	67	16,609	16,706	9,458	13,048	15,786
Clothing trades	39	23	25	26	29	4,135	2,790	2,476	1,448	3,540
Transportation	20	14	15	10	11	2,682	1,590	2,172	1,759	2,112
Miscellaneous trades	65	41	32	41	39	10,489	3,679	2,463	3,794	7,159
Employees of public authorities	5	4	4	1	5	364	2,106	711	45	725
Total	642	442	387	355	358	179,546	256,667	116,901	87,208	93,503

BY PRINCIPAL CAUSES, 1901 TO 1905

PRINCIPAL CAUSES OR OBJECTS	Strikes and lockouts					Strikers and employees locked out				
	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905
Wages	402	267	232	233	235	58,865	56,733	49,557	32,783	38,737
Hours of labor	29	20	17	13	14	4,198	3,044	4,108	1,970	3,145
Employment of particular classes or persons	84	58	54	46	47	10,524	11,436	7,822	6,081	6,408
Working arrangements, rules, and discipline	79	64	56	47	37	23,185	19,849	13,609	7,601	5,546
Trade-unionism	38	29	25	15	21	11,531	25,489	17,602	7,925	9,377
Sympathetic disputes	6	1	.....	1	2	1,890	14	.....	20	243
Other causes	4	3	3	.....	2	1,244	259	817	.....	4,197
Total	642	442	387	355	358	111,437	116,824	93,515	56,380	67,653

RESULTS, 1901 TO 1905

[The figures for years previous to 1905 have been revised to include the results of disputes terminated after the reports of those years were published.]

RESULT	Strikes and lockouts					Strikers and employees locked out				
	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905
In favor of employees	163	108	90	62	70	30,591	37,187	29,167	15,413	16,702
In favor of employers	284	206	185	180	166	38,701	37,187	44,956	23,500	22,943
Compromised	193	125	111	112	118	41,575	42,141	19,370	17,441	27,464
Indefinite or unsettled	2	3	1	1	4	570	309	22	26	544
Total	642	442	387	355	358	111,437	116,824	93,515	56,380	67,653

BELGIUM

(From "Statistique des Grèves en Belgique, 1896–1900," published by the Belgian Labor Department)

GROUP OF TRADES	I. Number of disputes					II. Number of work-people directly affected by disputes				
	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900
Building trades	8	6	4	4	5	555	125	1,454	429	640
Mining and quarrying	38	54	23	18	36	10,794	27,976	6,429	47,964	7,903
Metal trades	11	11	20	12	22	2,340	1,989	1,315	1,111	4,402
Textile trades	42	23	16	29	32	6,218	1,901	1,137	2,561	13,763
Transport trades	3	2	2	9	2	64	44	130	543	168
Printing and paper trades	3	3	3	3	4	97	46	588	550	1,376
Wood-working and furnishing trades	7	7	4	2	7	1,763	637	110	332	438
Chemical, glass- and pottery trades	7	9	11	9	15	525	1,595	1,607	2,592	1,893
Food and tobacco trades	3	7	3	7	6	77	405	241	421	187
Leather trades	10	3	1	5	8	456	127	4	280	316
Other trades	7	5	4	6	9	315	1,113	86	1,148	1,357
Total	139	130	91	104	146	23,204	35,958	13,101	57,931	32,443

FRANCE

(From Statistics of the Ministère du Commerce, de l'Industrie, et des Postes, Direction du Travail)

YEAR	Strikes	Establishments	Strikers	Aggregate days of work lost by employees thrown out of work	Strikes which—		Strikers in strikes which—	
					Succeeded	Succeeded partly	Succeeded	Succeeded partly
1894	391	1,731	54,576	1,062,480	84	129	12,897	24,784
1895	405	1,298	45,801	617,469	100	117	8,565	20,672
1896	476	2,178	49,851	644,168	117	122	11,579	17,057
1897	356	2,568	68,875	780,944	68	122	19,838	28,767
1898	368	1,967	82,065	1,216,306	75	123	10,594	32,546
1899	739	4,288	176,772	3,550,734	180	282	21,131	124,767
1900	902	10,253	222,714	3,760,577	205	360	24,216	140,358
1901	523	6,970	111,414	1,862,050	114	195	9,364	44,386
1902	512	1,820	212,704	4,675,081	111	184	23,533	160,820
1903	567	3,246	123,151	2,441,944	122	222	12,526	89,736
1904	1,026	17,250	271,097	3,934,884	297	394	53,555	168,034
1905	830	5,302	177,666	2,746,684	184	361	22,872	125,016

STRONG, REV. CHARLES: Founder of Australian Church (Liberal), Melbourne, in 1885; born The Manse, Dailly, Ayrshire, Scotland, Sept. 26, 1844. Formerly Presbyterian clergyman in Glasgow and (1875–84) in Melbourne. Resigned and founded a free church, 1885, and president of Collingwood Working Men's Club, a founder of Collingwood Crèche, and of Convalescent Home for Men. Vice-president of Anti-Sweating League and member of Royal Commissions on Non-employment and on Bible in State Schools. Member of State Commissions on Cause and Cure of Inebriety. President of Criminology Society. Chairman of Peace Society. Editor of *Australian Herald.* Author of various religious works. *Address*: Avoca Street, South Yarra, Australia.

STRONG, JOSIAH: President of the American Institute of Social Service; born Jan. 19, 1847, at Naperville, Ill. Attended public school at Hudson, Ohio; graduated Western Reserve University, 1869; studied at Lane Theological Seminary, 1869–71. Missionary in Cheyenne, Wyo., chaplain of Western Reserve University, 1873–1876; pastor Sandusky, Ohio, 1876–81; secretary Home Missionary Society of Ohio, 1881–84; pastor Vine Street Church, Cincinnati, Ohio, until 1886, when he published "Our Country," which has had a remarkable influence with a circulation of over 175,000, and been translated in several European languages. Secretary of Evangelical Alliance for United States, 1886–98. Becoming, however, more deeply interested in social questions than his associates in the alliance, he founded with Dr. Tolman a league, which in 1902 became the American Institute of Social Service (*q. v.*), which has led to similar institutes in other countries (see SOCIAL INSTITUTES), and in 1907 organized with Dr. Tolman the American Museum of Safety Devices and Industrial Hygiene.

Dr. Strong has thus stated his social views:

> The "kingdom of God," which was the great burden of Jesus's message to the world, was his *social ideal.* It was a vision of civilization perfected, of heaven come to earth. Just so far and fast as God's will is done among men as it is among angels, so far and so fast will the "kingdome come."
>
> I believe that Jesus's teaching concerning the kingdom of God affords the true social ideal, lays down the fundamental laws and principles by the application of which alone can the great social problems be solved, supplies the needed enthusiasm, and inspires complete assurance that this social ideal will ultimately be fully realized. That is, the kingdom of God, as Jesus taught it, affords the aim, the method, the power, and the necessary confidence for the transformation of the world.

Author: "Our Country," 1886; "The New Era," 1893 (50,000 copies); "The Twentieth-Century City," 1898; "Expansion" and "Religious Move-

ments for Social Betterment," 1900; "The Times and Young Men," 1901; "The Next Great Awakening," 1902; "Social Progress," 1904–5, and 1906; "The Challenge of the City," 1907. *Address:* 231–241 West Thirty-ninth Street, New York.

SUBSIDIES: Aid granted to individuals or corporations chiefly to encourage manufacture and transportation, principally in the form of relief from taxation, of land grants, or of subvention in money. This last is the usual meaning in which the term is now used, and the only one considered in this article. (See also BOUNTIES; LAND; PUBLIC DOMAIN.)

The most important modern subsidies have been to railways and steamship companies.

England has granted no railway subsidies except in Ireland. France defrayed about half the original cost of her railways, and this system has been largely followed in Austria, Russia, southern Europe, and British India. In the United States railway subsidies, in the form of land grants mainly, have been very extensive. (See RAILWAYS.)

Great Britain.—Ship stores have been free since the time of the Armada; but George II. granted a direct bounty to aid shipping in 1730. Its purpose was to encourage herring fisheries and thus indirectly to train sailors and marines for the navy. Since that time Great Britain has almost continuously aided her shipping corporations, partly for the encouragement of British trade, but chiefly to maintain efficient communication with her colonies. The latter object has been of great value to the United Kingdom since in times of war, e. g., the Crimean and the Sepoy Rebellion. In the Boer War (1899–1900) England was able to transport a vast army within a short time to a distance of 6,000 miles, in addition to the necessary supplies. While vast sums have been spent in subsidies, English statesmen believe that they have been good investments. In 1901 the government paid £874,155 to twenty steamship lines; the Cunard Line alone receives since 1902 £150,000 annually.

Germany pays to three lines about 10,175,000 marks for carrying mails to America, Australia, East Asia, and East Africa, besides granting other benefits in the form of release from import duties and reduction in freight on railroads, etc., in all materials used in ship-building. *France* has been anxious to build up a mercantile marine, and is paying about 45,150,000 francs annually to shipping corporations, besides granting premiums to ship-builders. *Austria*, too, paid about $1,600,000 and Hungary over $400,000 in 1901. More recently Hungary has made an agreement with the Cunard line for a fortnightly service from Fiume. *Italy* has paid subsidies for navigation and construction since 1885, and paid for the former nearly $395,000 and for the latter about $20,250 in 1897; this sum has since been increased. She paid about 20,000,000 lires in 1906. *Japan* pays heavy bounties on navigation and construction since 1897. Since 1900 she pays over $2,162,200 to the lines running to Europe, San Francisco, and Seattle. Denmark, Holland, Norway, and Sweden pay only a fair return for the carrying of mail.

Railroads are subsidized in nearly every European country by having the capital for construction advanced by the State. England has subsidized the Canadian Pacific line. The *U. S.* have made grants of vast tracts of land to nearly every railroad in the West; the states and municipalities have offered additional inducements. The Central & Union Pacific alone received 30,000,000 acres of land, and a subsidy of $25,000 per mile in the form of a loan, with the more or less tacit understanding that it would never be repaid. The subsidies to railroads have, however, served a very useful purpose in opening the vast lands of the West, and thus enriching the whole country; while the aid to shipping corporations has been of no value.

The *U. S.* have granted ship subsidies since 1845. From that time to 1858 they amounted to about $15,000,000. From 1867–77 another sum of $4,583,000 was granted to a single company; and another company received $250,000 per annum. In 1891 a new arrangement was made; mail is now paid for by mileage at a fixt rate. On Feb. 15, 1906, the Senate passed the Ship Subsidy Bill, granting $50,000,000 in aid of mercantile marine enterprises for twenty years. The grants to railroads have been much larger and have produced better results.

SUFFRAGE, THE, IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES: Every country has certain legal disabilities, e. g., for crime, military or civil service, receiving relief from poor funds, etc.; these are not stated here, but only the general requirements.

Argentine Republic.—Universal male suffrage for all native or naturalized citizens at least twenty-one years old.

Australia.—Laws made by the separate states. New South Wales and New Zealand have universal male and female suffrage for citizens over twenty-one years of age. Tasmania universal male and female suffrage for the House of Assembly, but a property qualification for the Legislative Council applicable to both sexes. Queensland has a property qualification for male suffrage. South Australia and Western Australia have a property qualification for both men and women. Victoria has a property qualification for *men* of little education; professional men are freed from that.

Austria.—Universal, equal, and direct male for citizens twenty-four years of age (by law of November, 1906.)

Belgium.—For *Chamber of Representatives*: every male citizen twenty-five years of age, one vote. Every citizen over twenty-five years of age owning real estate to the taxable value of 2,000 francs, or has a corresponding income from such property, or has for at least two years derived not less than 100 francs a year from Belgian funds either directly or through the savings-bank, has two votes; every citizen over thirty-five years of age, who has children—whether married or widowed—and pays at least 5 fr. in income tax, has also two votes. Every citizen at least twenty-five years of age, who has received a diploma of higher or a certificate of higher secondary instruction, or has filled an office or is engaged in private professional practise implying at least average higher instruction, has three votes. For the *senators* who are elected the same conditions are required with the additional specification that electors must be at least thirty years of age. No citizen has more than three votes.

Brazil.—Every male citizen over twenty-one years of age, duly enrolled, has one vote, except beggars, illiterates, and members of monastic orders under vows of obedience.

Canada.—The franchise is controlled by the different provinces; but it is practically universal on condition of certain property qualifications.

Cape Colony.—Property and educational qualifications for men.

Chile.—Universal male with educational qualification for citizens twenty-one years old.

Denmark.—Universal male for citizens thirty years old.

Finland.—Universal male and female for citizens twenty-four years old.

France.—Universal male for citizens twenty-one years old.

Germany.—Universal male for citizens twenty-five years old for the *Imperial Diet or Reichstag.* The individual states have separate election laws for their respective *Landtage* or state legislatures, altho most of the states in South Germany have or are following the example of Bavaria (law of April 6, 1906) in giving the franchise to every citizen twenty-five years of age.

Prussia has peculiar election laws. The members of the *Abgeordneten Haus* are elected indirectly, by electors or *Wahlmänner*, who are distributed according to property qualifications in such wise that one third is elected by the few rich people who pay one third of the total taxes; one third by the larger class that pays the second third; and one third by the smallest taxpayers. One *Wahlmann* is elected for every 250 souls. Every male citizen, qualified to vote in his municipality or village, is called *Urwähler*, and entitled to vote for the direct electors or *Wahlmänner.* Age requirement in each case twenty-five years. The election laws of *Saxony* are the same as those of Prussia.

Great Britain.—(See UNITED KINGDOM.)

Greece.—Universal manhood suffrage.

Hungary.—Citizens twenty years old and paying at least a low amount of taxes. Is agitating universal male suffrage.

Italy.—Has male suffrage; age requirement twenty-one years of all citizens; also educational *or* property qualifications.

Japan.—Male suffrage for citizens twenty-five years old; property qualifications, ten yen in land or direct taxes.

Mexico.—All respectable adult male citizens may vote.

Netherlands, The.—All male citizens twenty-five years of age, self-supporting, and paying at least one florin in taxes.

Norway.—Universal male suffrage for citizens twenty-five years old.

Portugal.—Male citizens twenty-one years old, with the necessary educational and property qualifications.

Rumania.—Educational and property qualifications for adult male citizens. Three classes of electors as in Prussia. (See GERMANY.)

Russia.—Educational and property requirements.

Servia.—Male citizens, twenty-one years old, and paying 15 francs in taxes or over.

Spain.—Universal male suffrage for citizens twenty-five years old.

Sweden.—Native male citizens, twenty-one years old, with fairly high property requirements.

Switzerland.—Universal male suffrage for citizens twenty-one years old.

United Kingdom.—Every adult male citizen may vote who pays at least £10 rent a year; or has a freehold to the value of 40*s.* per annum; or lands in life tenure or leasehold for sixty years to the annual value of £5 or over. Residence within the district is required for six months in England and one year in Scotland.

United States.—Universal male suffrage for citizens twenty-one years old. The states have various additional requirements and rights. Residence required in the state is usually one year, in the county six months, in the district thirty days. Idaho, Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, have female suffrage in state elections. Many other states allow women to vote in school elections. A few states, e. g., Kansas and Nebraska, give the franchise to aliens who have declared their intention to become citizens.

SUICIDES (for number of suicides in the United States, see CRIME, p. 336): Suicides seem on the increase.

United States.—Per 100,000 of population, estimated from statistics of the Chicago *Tribune*:

1885.....	[1] 1.73	1903.....	10.76
1890.....	4.19	1904.....	11.39
1895.....	8.27	1905.....	12.08
1900.....	8.85	1906.....	12.05

[1] Probably less fully reported.

Frederic Hoffman, statistician of the Prudential Life-Insurance Company, gives the following rate per 100,000 of population in fifty cities of the U. S.:

1890.....	12.0	1897.....	17.3
1891.....	14.0	1898.....	17.3
1892.....	13.0	1899.....	16.0
1893.....	15.9	1900.....	15.8
1894.....	15.5	1901.....	16.6
1895.....	15.6	1902.....	17.0
1896.....	15.9		

Great Britain.—Coroners' returns per 100,000 of population:

1863.....	6.71	1893.....	8.62
1873.....	6.33	1903.....	10.43
1883.....	7.30	1904.....	9.85

German Empire.—The Statistical Year Book of the German Empire gives the annual averages per 100,000 of population for the following given periods in cities of over 15,000 (higher than the rate for the country):

1877–81.....	31.0	1897–1901.....	24.5
1882–86.....	29.0	1902.....	26.2
1887–91.....	25.4	1903.....	26.4
1892–96.....	26.1	1904.....	25.0

In France the growth of population since 1830 has been 100 per cent, but the number of suicides is said to have increased by 245 per cent. In Belgium the suicide rate has, in the same time, quintupled. In Prussia, while the population increased 0.98 per cent, suicides increased 1.07; of Italy the population rate was 0.7, the suicide 1.28; of France 0.07, and 2.06; of Sweden 0.81, and 1.5.

According to Hoffman (see above), based on the census of 1900, suicides in the U. S. were:

IN CITIES PER 100,000 POPULATION, 1905
(Estimated from the census)

San Francisco.....	50.44	Pittsburg.....	16.47
Denver.....	32.27	New Orleans.....	16.36
Newark, N. J.....	28.11	Kansas City.....	15.21
St. Louis.....	24.80	Baltimore.....	14.90
Chicago.....	22.20	Louisville.....	14.46
Milwaukee.....	22.46	Philadelphia.....	14.00
Cincinnati.....	21.97	Boston.....	13.86
Indianapolis.....	21.50	New York (Brooklyn).	13.28
Jersey City.....	20.88	Detroit.....	9.21
Cleveland.....	20.74	Fall River.....	2.50
New York (Manhattan)	20.56		

According to a table compiled by George M. Gould, M.D. ("Biographic Clinics," vol. v., p. 193), from data mainly supplied him by the U. S. Bureau of Statistics, the suicides per million in various countries are as follows:

Country	Date	Total per annum	Per 100,000
Ireland	1887–91	112	2.4
Russia	Approximately		2.7
Scotland	1887–91	224	5.6
Italy	1902	2,010	6.1
Holland	1904	371	6.7
Norway	1903	154	6.7
United States	1900	5,498	7.2
England	1903	3,511	10.5
Belgium	1903	818	11.7
Bavaria	1887–91	.....	11.8
Sweden	1902	804	15.5
Austria	1901	4,291	16.4
Japan	1902	9,194	18.9
Prussia	1904	7,290	20.0
Germany	1904	12,468	21.0
France	1902	8,716	22.3
Switzerland	1903	779	22.9
Denmark	1887–91	.....	25.3
Saxony	1862–86	.....	32.2
Saxony	1898	.....	46.9

For the U. S. the annual report of the Census Bureau for 1905 gives the following statistics:

Suicides per 100,000 of Population

Year	Registration area	Registration cities	Registration States			Registration cities in other states
			Total	Cities	Rural districts	
1901	12.2	13.7	10.4	11.7	8.7	15.7
1902	12.7	14.4	10.3	11.7	8.5	17.2
1903	13.9	15.6	11.3	12.8	9.4	18.6
1904	14.8	16.7	12.2	13.9	10.1	19.5
1905	16.1	17.9	13.5	15.0	11.6	20.7

Registration Area per 100,000 of Population

	Annual average: 1900 to 1904	1901	1905
Suicide	13.1	12.2	16.1
Poison	4.4	4.0	5.4
Asphyxia	0.9	0.8	1.5
Hanging or strangulation	2.0	1.9	2.4
Drowning	0.7	0.7	0.8
Firearms	3.1	2.9	4.3
Cutting instruments	0.7	0.7	0.9
Jumping from high places	0.2	0.1	0.2
Crushing	0.1	...	0.1
Other suicides	1.0	1.1	0.6

The leading cities in proportion of suicides to population are: St. Louis, Mo.; Hoboken, N. J.; Chicago, Ill.; Oakland, Cal.; New York City (Manhattan and Bronx); Milwaukee, Wis.; Cincinnati, Ohio. The lowest cities were New Bedford, Mass.; Camden, N. J., and Newton and Fall River, Mass. (lowest of all). According to the census of 1900 in the registration area, the suicide rate of native Americans is returned at 6.8 per 100,000 of population, against 6.1 for those of Irish origin, 19.3 for those of German origin, and 22.0 for those of French origin. According to Professor Bailey, in the Yale *Review*, May, 1903, the following is the classification of the suicides in respect to motive:

Motive	Totals	Males	Females
Despondency	2,207	1,596	431
Business loss	1,398	1,300	98
Insanity	1,361	1,013	348
Ill health	1,309	969	340
Disappointment in love	900	627	273
Domestic trouble	773	544	229
Fear of disgrace	539	429	110
Grief	427	267	160
Alcoholism	413	390	23
Chagrin	294	225	69
Miscellaneous and unknown	559	421	138
Totals	10,000	7,781	2,219

The *Chicago Tribune's* report thus classifies the reports of the causes of suicide of the year:

Motive	1905	1906
Business losses	32	58
Liquor	375	119
Ill health	411	388
Unknown	721	435
Disappointment in love	958	1,113
Domestic infelicity	1,525	2,125
Insane	1,826	1,326
Despondency	4,134	4,561
Totals	9,982	10,125

According to Dr. Gould (see above), if the larger portion of the "Despondency" cases is added to the "Ill health" class the results are not very dissimilar to his own independently made classification. He quotes De Greef as saying that the principal social conditions causing suicide, in the order of their importance, are: (1) poverty; (2) family difficulties; (3) physical suffering, of about equal power; (4) alcoholism; (5) fear of legal persecution; (6) love, jealousy, and debauchery.

Dr. Gould finds the following facts: (1) Suicide is on the increase. (2) Civilization increases the suicide rate more rapidly than the growth of population. (3) The urban suicide rate is higher than that of the country. (4) The influence of occupation upon the rate is most incongruous. (5) The rate in contiguous countries, departments, or "races" presents inexplainable variations. (6) With one exception the rate in males is several times higher than in females. (7) The rate is greater among the single than among the married, and is still higher among the divorced and widowed. (8) The age or time of life at which suicide is committed presents inexplainable peculiarities. (9) The rate rises in proportion to school pressure, education, etc.

SUMNER, WILLIAM GRAHAM: Economist; born in Paterson, N. J., 1840; graduated at Yale College in 1863, and then studied at Oxford, England, and at Göttingen in Germany; 1866–69 was a tutor at Yale College. In 1867 he took orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church, and was assistant at Calvary Church in New York. In 1872, however, he became professor of political and social science at Yale College, which position he has since held, one of the leading economists in America of the orthodox school, especially on the subjects free trade and gold currency. Author: "History of American Currency"; "Lectures on the History of Protection in the United States";

"What Social Classes Owe to Each Other"; "Protectionism"; "Life of Andrew Jackson;" "Life of Alexander Hamilton"; "Life of Robert Morris"; "The Financier and Finances of the Revolution"; "A History of Banking in the United States"; "Folkways." *Address*: 240 Edwards Street, New Haven, Conn.

SUMMERBELL, THOMAS: Member British Parliament, of Independent Labor Party for Sunderland; born in 1861 at Seahan Harbor, Sunderland; educated at the national school of his native town; worked as a grocer, later as printer, in many towns of northern England, until he started in business for himself in Sunderland; joined the Typographical Society, and has been secretary of the Trades Council for seventeen years. He is member of many committees of his town, chairman of that on Tramways, and honorary secretary of the local branch of the League of the Blind. He is a member of the Housing Reform Council, Land Nationalization, Foresters, Labor Information Bureau, Independent Labor Party, etc. He was elected to Parliament in 1906. *Address*: 14 Vincent Street, Sunderland, England.

SUNDAY REST, THE: With the religious and theological arguments raised for the limitation of Sunday labor we are not in this Encyclopedia concerned, save as these affect the moral, physical, and industrial welfare of society. In the ever-increasing perplexity and stress of modern life, it is patent to all that men more and more need a rest, at least one day in seven, from their daily toil. It is to-day substantiated, beyond all question, that man in the long run can produce more and better work by resting one day in seven than by continuous work. And men and women who have such rest live longer and more happily, and stand higher on the scale of intellectual, moral, social, and spiritual being.

Dr. Chalmers, of Scotland, said: "I never knew the man who worked seven days in the week without becoming soon a wreck in health or in fortune, or in both."

Edmund Burke said: "A nation that neglects the Sabbath soon sinks into barbarism or ruin. Civilized man cannot bear the pressure of seven days' work and worry in a week."

As a matter of fact, leaving out England and America, where there has been less need of legislation on the subject because of the prevalence of the Sunday rest, the main and most efforts for legislation forbidding or limiting Sunday labor have come from the working men themselves, through their trade-unions and the Socialist and Labor parties. In most countries they have done far more for it than has the Church. On the Continent the prevalence of Sunday labor has been a subject of general protest and bitter complaint. Even in the United States of late years Sunday labor has in many ways much increased. It has been estimated that two millions of persons in the U. S., or more, are compelled to do some form of Sunday labor.

Sunday Labor

On railroads, on street-railways, in livery-stables, in making repairs (often only done on Sunday, because employers are unwilling to forfeit week-day dividends), in bakeries, in hotels, in private houses, in barber shops, in drug stores, in printing-offices, in theaters and places of amusement, a constantly increasing amount of work is done on Sunday. Working men bitterly complain of this, yet too often find even the Christian Church turning a deaf ear to their cry, and even clergymen unwilling to cooperate in limiting the hours of labor.

There has, however, been considerable agitation of the question in all countries, resulting in the legislation summarized below, and in Europe especially in a very general abandonment of Sunday labor in manufactures and to a less extent has led to the closing of stores on a portion if not the whole of Sunday. Sunday Rest Leagues (*associations or ligues pour le repos du dimanche*) have been organized in France, Belgium, and Italy, and elsewhere, and have been very active. There exists also a *Fédération Internationale pour l'observation du dimanche*, with headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland. In England there has seemed less need. In the U. S. labor organizations have largely agitated the question, and various societies like the New England Sabbath Protective League, the American Sabbath Union of New York, the International Reform Bureau of Washington, have circulated considerable literature and conducted other efforts on the question. In France and Belgium the main effort has been to close the stores on Sunday afternoons and prevent all unnecessary industrial labor. In England a joint committee of the Houses of Lords and Commons, under the chairmanship of Lord Avery, has recommended general legislation, leaving much discretion, however, to local authorities. There is a strong movement, too, to open the museums, galleries, and libraries. (See NATIONAL SUNDAY LEAGUE.) In the U. S. the effort on the part of the working men has been against all work, while the religious societies have worked for this and are against the running of trains on Sunday and the opening of places of amusement. In all countries, in cases where Sunday labor is necessary, it is contended that the laborer should be given a day of rest on some other day of the week, and that the work which must be done on Sunday be given on different Sundays to different workmen, so as to give each the Sunday rest as frequently as possible. The Sunday legislation may thus be summarized:

United States

The United States.—All states and territories except Arizona, California, Idaho, Nevada, and the Philippine Islands have laws prohibiting the employment of labor on Sundays. In California, however, it is a misdemeanor for any employer to cause his employees to work more than six days in seven except in cases of emergency.

The Sunday labor laws usually make it a misdemeanor for persons either to labor themselves or to compel or permit their apprentices, servants, etc., to labor on the first day of the week. Exceptions are made in the case of household duties or works of necessity or charity. These exceptions are sometimes exprest in general terms and sometimes specified in detail. The excepted labor is usually that required in the sale of drugs, medicines, surgical appliances, milk, ice, soda-water, newspapers, the letting of horses and carriages, undertakers' work, and railway transportation. In Colorado and Montana barbering only is prohibited on Sunday, while in Alaska barbering is included among the excepted occupations.

A number of states make special provisions for the running of railway cars on Sunday, such as specifying certain hours during which they may run, permitting the transportation of perishable goods, fruit, milk, etc., or leaving the regulation of the running of railway cars on Sunday to the discretion of the railroad commissioners.

Nearly all the Sunday labor laws make exceptions in the case of members of religious societies by whom any other than the first day of the week is observed as a Sabbath, provided they refrain from labor on that day.

Laws regulating the hours of labor of street-railway employees are in force in California, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, and Washington. In some cases the

limitation of the hours of labor applies only to conductors, gripmen, motormen, and drivers, while in others it applies to all street-railway employees. In Louisiana, Massachusetts, New York, Rhode Island, and Washington the hours are limited to ten per day, while in the other states the limitation is placed at twelve hours per day. The laws usually provide that extra time for extra compensation may be worked in times of extraordinary emergencies, Massachusetts and Rhode Island permitting exceptions to be made also on legal holidays. The law of Rhode Island, by an amendment to the original act, permits contracts to be made for longer hours. In South Carolina contracts for longer hours of labor may be made in the city of Columbia.

Germany.—Germany has the fullest code of Sunday laws. The regulation anew of Sunday labor was one of the most important features of the labor law of June 1, 1891. It set forth in detail the conditions under which work might be performed on Sunday, and made the infraction of any of its provisions punishable by a fine, which in some cases amounted to as much as 600 marks ($142.80). The essential provisions of this law are reproduced in the following paragraphs:

The general principle of the act is that all labor on Sunday and holidays is prohibited in those cases specifically mentioned by the law. This prohibition applies to almost all categories of industrial and commercial work, except when a workingman labors alone or is aided only by the members of his family. It does not, however, apply to agriculture, forestry, fishing, and the liberal arts and professions, nor to concerts, theaters, cafés, restaurants, hotels, and the like, nor to transportation, except when it is a part of the work of an industrial or commercial establishment.

The law further provides that the prohibition of Sunday and holiday work may be extended by an imperial decree approved by the Bundesrath to industries other than those specified in the law. Such decrees must be placed before the Reichstag at its next session.

The determination of the days to be considered as legal holidays is made by the State government in taking account of the religious customs of the people. The cessation from labor must be for twenty-four continuous hours on each Sunday and holiday, thirty-six hours when a Sunday and holiday or two holidays succeed each other, and forty-eight hours at Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. When a Sunday and holiday or two holidays succeed each other the rest period must always last until 6 P.M. of the second day, and as it must begin at midnight in establishments working only in daytime or in irregular shifts, in such cases it lasts forty-two instead of thirty-six hours. In establishments working continuously night and day by shifts, it may for a holiday or Sunday begin not earlier than 6 P.M. of the day preceding nor later than 6 A.M. of the day itself, and last for twenty-four hours, in which case the whole establishment shuts down for that length of time.

Germany

In commercial establishments (*Handelsgewerbe*) no labor must be performed on Christmas, Easter, or Pentecost. On other holidays and on Sunday employees may be allowed to work not more than five hours. Power, however, is given to the local authorities to limit still further or even to suppress this privilege.

To this general prohibition of commercial work on Sunday there are a number of exceptions. During those periods of the year when trade is unusually active, as the four weeks prior to Christmas and certain times when the people from the rural districts come to the cities to make their purchases, the police authorities can permit stores to remain open for as many as ten hours on Sunday and holidays. The exception made in the case of persons working alone or only aided by members of their families in industrial work does not apply to commercial establishments. The prosecution of business by shops conducted in this way or by pedlers on Sunday is equally prohibited with that of other commercial establishments.

The impracticability of attempting to restrict all Sunday work, no matter what its nature or circumstances under which it must be performed within the limits described above, has necessarily been recognized by the German Parliament. The law, therefore, provides in detail the cases in which these restrictions shall not apply. These exceptions are in part enumerated in the law itself and in part are left to the Bundesrath or other governmental authorities to determine.

The following classes of work are enumerated by the law as exempt from the prohibition of Sunday and holiday work: (1) Work which public convenience requires shall be promptly executed; (2) the making of inventories required by law; (3) the guarding of plants, and the cleaning, repairing, and other work necessary for the maintenance of the equipment or to insure that the work shall not be interrupted, and which cannot be performed on other days; (4) work indispensable in order to preserve materials employed or goods manufactured, as far as this work cannot be done on week-days.

In order to prevent an improper advantage being taken of these exceptions, it is provided that, whenever work of this kind is performed, the employer must keep a record showing for each Sunday or holiday the number of persons employed, the duration of their labor, and the nature of the work performed. This record must be always open to the inspection of the factory inspectors or local authorities.

In those cases where working men have been employed, as provided in the third and fourth cases, for more than three hours, or have been prevented from attending divine worship, the employer must give to them twelve hours' rest every other Sunday between the hours of 6 A.M. and 6 P.M., or thirty-six hours' uninterrupted rest, including Sunday, every third week. The local authorities, however, can abrogate this provision where the working men are not prevented from attending divine service and enjoy a twenty-four-hours' uninterrupted rest during the week.

By far the most important exceptions, however, are those which the law permits the Bundesrath or the superior or local authorities to accord. The Bundesrath can frame regulations permitting Sunday work in those industries which must be prosecuted without interruption, which can remain in operation only during certain seasons of the year, or which manufacture goods that are only in demand during certain months. Practically the only limitation to the power of the Bundesrath in this respect is that the regulations must be general and apply to all establishments in the same industry. All such orders must be published in the official journal and must be placed before the Reichstag at its next session.

The power of the superior administrative authorities to grant authorizations for Sunday work relates to those industries the operation of which is necessary to satisfy the daily needs of the public, or where the power used is irregular, as water-flow and wind.

The local authorities can grant similar authorizations to particular establishments where such work is necessary to prevent great loss on account of an accident or other unforeseen circumstance. In these cases the authorization must be in writing, and a copy must be posted in the place of work where it can be easily seen by the employees. The authorities must also prepare a statement showing all the cases where this permission has been granted, the number of persons whose employment was permitted, the length of time worked, the reasons for granting the permission, etc.

Finally, it is important to note that not only were the existing laws of the individual states regarding Sunday work not repealed, except in so far as they were in opposition to the imperial law, but full freedom was left to the states to further restrict through legislation Sunday labor within their boundaries.

France.—In 1906, mainly as the result of Socialist agitation, France enacted, with but a single dissenting vote, a law forbidding Sunday labor, with certain definite exceptions.

France

Government ministers fifteen times a year can allow in State or private establishments work to be done on Sunday, in the interests of the national defense. In hotels, bakeries, restaurants, hospitals, drug stores, newspaper and intelligence offices, etc., employees may labor on Sunday, provided they be given some other day in the week for rest.

Belgium.—In 1905 Belgium enacted a somewhat advanced Sunday Rest Law, tho the Socialists voted against it as delaying the enactment of a more radical law.

It does not apply to transportation by water, fisheries, or public entertainment. In all other industries, except as stated below, no one can employ on Sunday persons except members of his own family and domestic servants. Exceptions are made in cases of necessity, such as preserving perishable material, making repairs, etc. Persons can be employed thirteen days out of fourteen, or six and a half out of seven, in industries connected with food intended for immediate consumption, in hotels and restaurants, tobacco and floral shops, drug stores, public baths, places of amusement, newspaper and intelligence offices, book stores, ticket offices of any sort, works furnishing light, water, or power, employment bureaus, on all modes of land transport, in all work which must of necessity be run continuously. In retail stores persons can be employed Sundays from eight till noon. The law can also be extended or modified within certain limits by royal authority.

Other Countries.—Legislation on this subject is now so generally agitated that change of laws may be looked for at any time, but at present the general situation is as follows:

In Austria Sunday labor in industrial establishments is forbidden, tho with very numerous exceptions, and tho commercial establishments may open on Sunday for six hours. In Denmark Sunday labor in factories is forbidden (with exceptions); stores may be open from 9 A.M. to 4 P.M. Holland has only legislation for children. Russia forbids Sunday labor in industry (with exceptions). In Spain, by an act of 1904, Sunday labor is forbidden in factories, with exceptions, in which case the worker must have some other

day in the week for rest. Canada has made the Sunday rest obligatory by parliamentary action. In Great Britain prosecutions for Sunday trading under ancient acts (of Charles II. and others) have risen in England and Wales from 2,925 in 1893 to 5,510 in 1903 and 5,411 in 1904.

SUNSHINE SOCIETY INTERNATIONAL, THE: An organization formed in New York City for the purpose of caring for the welfare of blind babies. It was incorporated in 1900, and endeavors to receive every blind child into its home, located at Eighty-fourth Street and Thirteenth Avenue, Dyker Heights, Brooklyn, N. Y. *Secretary*: Mrs. Mary D. Beattie, 96 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

SUTHERLAND, LADY MILLICENT FANNY ST. CLAIR-ERSKINE, DUCHESS OF: Born 1869, daughter of the fourth Earl of Rosslyn. Has for some years been deeply interested in social questions and in the economic and industrial conditions of the people. It was through the duchess's influence and instrumentality that Parliament appointed a commission to investigate the terrible lead-poisoning conditions among the pottery workers in Staffordshire; she is president of the Potteries Cripples' Guild; of the Scottish Home Industries Association; president for some time also of the Nicholson Institute at Leek. Author: "How I Spent My Twentieth Year"; "One Hour and the Next"; "The Winds of the World"; "Seven Love Stories"; and a play, "The Conqueror." *Address*: Stafford House, St. James's, S. W., London.

SUTTER, JULIE: Author; born in India of German parentage. Educated in Germany and French Switzerland, she has lived most of her life in England. Her earlier literary efforts were translations, among these "For the Right," by Francos, and the famous "Letters from Hell." She also translated into German the works of Professor Drummond. Miss Sutter had already written in German a "Life of General Gordon"; but it was while translating Drummond's "Tropical Africa" that she was imprest with the horrors of the slave raids and set herself to rouse Germany with the question: "What are we Germans Doing Against the Slave-Trade?" This pamphlet was instrumental in the suppression of the slavers in East Africa and in forming an African Missionary Society with headquarters at Berlin. While in Germany she met Pastor von Bodelschwingh, and this led to her book "A Colony of Mercy," giving an account of Bodelschwingh's wonderful work in Westphalia; and this in turn resulted in the formation of the British Christian Social Service Union and the establishment of the colony at Lingfield, Surrey, a colony for both epileptics and the workless derelicts of society. Then came the pamphlet "The Homelessness of England" and the book "Britain's Next Campaign"—"a dynamo of a book," according to the *Review of Reviews*. Miss Sutter's views on political economy and social reform are summed up in what is at once the key-note and battle-cry of her book, "Homes for the disinherited ones, an own home, an own bit of land, for a recruiting of the national life-blood, for a saving of the people." Her latest book is "Britain's Hope," May, 1907. *Address*: Lingfield, Surrey, England.

SUTTNER, BERTHA, BARONESS VON: Founder and president of the Austrian Society of Peace, vice-president of the Internationale Friedensbureau (the International Peace Bureau) at Bern; born June 6, 1843; is the daughter of the Austrian Field Marshal and Count von Kinsky; married Baron von Suttner in 1876. She has traveled extensively, and lived in the Caucasus for nine years. In 1889 she wrote "Die Waffen Nieder" ("Lay Down Your Arms"), which met with instant success, and has been translated into every European language. She has been in the fore in the battle for peace since 1891; has lectured in Europe and America, attended all peace congresses, and written numerous articles on that topic. In 1905 she received the Nobel peace prize as reward for her labor in behalf of peace, particularly for the book "Lay Down Your Arms," and its continuation, "Martha's Children," 1902. Author: "Maschinenzeitalter," 1887; "Briefe an einen Toten," 6th ed. in 1904; "Baby's Seventh Love Affair," 1905; "A Bad Man," etc. *Address*: Wien I., Zedlitzgasse 7.

SWAMP-LANDS: The swamp-lands of the United States originally constituted a large proportion of the public domain. The swamp-land law, in brief, provided for the donation to the several states, by the general government, of the swamp-lands included within their borders, with the idea that the states should reclaim them where possible, and secure their settlement. Under this statute many million acres—and much of it in no sense swamp-land—have become the property of the states, and but very little has been done by any of the states to carry out the intent of the law; indeed, some of the states have made no effort whatever to reclaim their swamp-lands. At the present time there are estimated to be in the neighborhood of 100,000,000 acres of swamp-lands, the bulk of which could be drained and reclaimed. The success of the National Irrigation Law has suggested a similar enactment by Congress with reference to swamp-land, a bill having been introduced in the last Congress with provisions similar to those of the irrigation law.

There has been a more or less definite survey of most of our swamp areas which are situated mainly in the eastern half of the U. S., and it is believed that these lands could be drained and made habitable at a cost not to exceed one half of the average price of irrigation reclamation. The lands are in the main extremely fertile, and would provide homes for a multitude of small farmers. Such a law should not be difficult of passage since every eastern state has its swamp area and would benefit thereby.

GUY E. MITCHELL.

SWEAT-SHOPS: The terms "sweat-shops," "sweating system," "sweated industries," while often used more or less loosely of any industrial conditions involving overdriven wage-earners at low wages, is used specifically and more correctly for conditions (mainly in the clothing trades) involving four characteristic evils—long hours, stress of work, low wages, and crowded and unsanitary workshops. There has been, however, a change in the system. Formerly a vital part of the system was the subcontractor or middleman, who would take a job of work from the manufacturer or contractor, and get it done by hiring workers at the lowest possible terms. Competition, however, of late years, in its efforts to lower cost has eliminated the middle man, or the former "sweater," properly speaking,

and made the contractor himself the sweater, hiring the workers himself at the lowest terms. This probably has meant in some respects somewhat improved conditions, as it has to some extent abolished the small sweat-shop in which the former middleman usually employed his workers, and has substituted for it generally larger rooms and somewhat more responsible management; but on the other hand it probably means more overcrowding of many workers in one room, and a more rigid development of an iron system with machine labor driven at the highest speed and wages systematically reduced to the lowest point. So true is this that average rates of wages in the clothing trade have fallen both for men and women from 1890 to 1900, tho earnings for women have slightly risen, owing to speed and greater quantity of work. (See below.) Coupled with this has also gone in most cities, through legislative action, the driving out of sweat-shops from the tenements, and, in some lines of production at least, the prohibition of labor in living-rooms. Agitation, too, and endeavors at organization on the part of workers, has also tended probably to somewhat ameliorate conditions. Yet the steady growth of industry, the growing congestion in cities like New York, through the pouring into them of a swelling tide of immigration (*q. v.*), has made the system a larger and more complex, and therefore, in that sense, a more difficult and serious problem, even tho some of its more apparent evils be diminished.

The steady persistency of the evil under changing forms is one of its most discouraging features. As long ago as 1849 a series of letters in the London *Morning Chronicle* showed the horrors of the sweating system in London, and called out Charles Kingsley's burning tract, "Cheap Clothes and Nasty." This tract tells of men working in sweating-dens, the longest hours for seven days in the week, and paying the sweater for the most meager board such rates that at the end of the week they would be in debt to the sweater and thus be in his power and be compelled to stay on.

Since then there has been in England a more or less steady protest against such evils, and in the United States since about 1890 legislation has been enacted and devoted efforts made to lessen the evil. Yet on both sides of the ocean, among the lower immigrant populations of London, New York, and other cities, the evil is still most serious. In New York City the tailor trade, the main sweated industry, was first in the hands of the English, then the Irish, and later the Germans. Conditions, however, do not seem to have been very bad till about 1880 with the growth of the city and the overcrowding of the East Side. German, Austrian, and Hungarian Jews entered the trade as early as 1873, and soon after the Russian and Polish Jews, who gradually captured the industry, till by 1890 it was almost wholly in Jewish hands, while a fierce and unrestricted competition had lowered wages, lengthened hours, and increased speed of work to the most inhuman degrees—the same conditions to a less extent developing in Boston, Baltimore, Rochester, Philadelphia, and Chicago. About 1890, too, the Italian immigration entered the trade and increased the competition still more.

Increase, too, of a poorly paid population increased the demand for cheap and for ready-made clothing, on which the sweating system thrives. It is estimated that in 1870 less than 25 per cent of the clothing manufactured in the U. S. was ready-made, but that by 1890 60 per cent was ready-made. Miss Helen L. Sumner, to whose interesting chapter on "The Sweating System," in "Labor Problems," written by herself and Prof. P. S. Adams, we are indebted for many of our facts, traces four distinct stages in the clothing industry. First, production by the journeyman tailor, a fairly skilled mechanic who made up an entire garment. Second, production in home shops, where men or women take portions of garments home to sew on, they having been cut out at some shop. This method was largely produced by the development of ready-made clothing. Third, production by the "task" system, beginning about 1877, of which Miss Sumner says: "The task system has two characteristics. First, there is a 'team' or 'set' of men who work together, each one performing a special part of the labor. Second, a certain task is set, which is called a day's labor, regardless of whether it takes one day or two to perform it. By this means the fiction is maintained that standard wages are paid." Fourth, production in a factory, the present system, and which Miss Sumner thinks may solve the evil. About 1890 there was a general agitation on the system, and in 1892 Congress appointed a committee to report upon the matter. This committee reported that probably the manufacture of clothing was in total value the most important product of the country; that it was largely centered in cities; that over 60 per cent of the clothing sold was ready-made, and that about one half of this was made under the sweating system. Clothing made under this system they declared to be made in premises usually filthy, in the slums and crowded portions of the cities, from places liable to breed germs of disease which could be carried in the clothing, and producing evil in every way. The worst form of the system, the report says, is when the clothing is not made even in sweating-dens but is carried home to be made in the tenements under conditions sometimes defying description.

The main recommendation of the commission was legislation driving the industry out of the tenements. The report of the commission says:

> We quote and adopt the reasoning of Dr. Daniels. The one method that can be employed by which we shall be certain that no article is manufactured in tenement-house living-rooms, and that no little children are employed in the manufacture of any goods, is the passage of a law prohibiting such manufacture in tenement-house apartments which are used for living and sleeping purposes. . . . Undoubtedly under such a law a few would suffer. The people who would suffer would probably be only a few women who, from old age or chronic illness, are unable to go to the shops to work. The widows would be forced to find work in the factories, and the orphans sent to school, kindergarten, or nursery. The result would be that women would work in better sanitary surroundings, that no children under fourteen years would be employed in manufacturing goods; the sick would receive proper care, if not at home, then transferred to a hospital, there to get well or die out of sight of the everlasting work.

Concerning legislation, see below.

No little has been done also to organize the trade and with good results. Some portions of the trade have been permanently organized, and even in those where the competition for cheap work has eventually broken up organizations much education and agitation has been produced. (See TAILORING TRADE.)

The main crusade against the evil, outside of the efforts of the workers themselves, has been the effectively conducted National Consumers'

League (see CONSUMERS' LEAGUE) with its "white lists" and its still more effective educational propaganda among the charitably inclined of the upper and middle classes.

Nevertheless, how much evil remains can be seen in the following statement of conditions as revealed largely in the report of the Industrial Commission. Miss Sumner gives the following table as derived from the Twelfth Census:

PRINCIPAL SWEATED INDUSTRIES IN THE UNITED STATES

INDUSTRIES	Average number of employees	Proportion of women	Proportion of children	Ratio of capital to value of product	Proportion of total wage-earners in 165 principal cities
Men's clothing..	191,043	47.04	2.05	41.67	90.0
Women's clothing, factory product.....	83,739	67.91	.91	30.39	91.7
Men's furnishing goods.....	30,216	83.67	2.06	45.93	83.7
Shirts.....	38,492	80.73	2.11	41.43	67.1
Cigars and cigarettes.....	103,462	36.50	3.41	42.25	67.1
All industries in U. S.....	5,308,406	19.39	3.17	75.49	[1]62.5

[1] Of forty-nine selected industries.

It is estimated that 39.7 per cent (in value) of men's clothing is manufactured in New York and of women's clothing (factory product) 64.4 per cent; Chicago comes next with 12.7 per cent of men's clothing and 5.8 per cent of women's. Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Rochester, St. Louis, Boston, Baltimore follow in about that order. Of the New York product, it was testified before the Industrial Commission that four fifths is made in sweat-shops.

In Chicago it is said that practically the whole product is made in sweat-shops.

Concerning sweat-shop wages, Mr. Henry White, the former secretary of the United Garment Workers, presented the following table:

	$10 suit	$15 suit	$20 suit
Cutting and trimming.....	$0.15	$0.21	$0.25
Making coat.....	.75	1.00	1.50
Making pants.....	.30	.40	.55
Making vest.....	.25	.35	.50
Total.....	$1.45	$1.96	$2.80

According to the special census report on employees and wages, the average rate of pay per week in 1900, for cutters (men) was $17 (1890, $18); bushelers (men), $10; sewing-machine operatives (men), $7 (1890, $8); general hands and helpers (men), $5 (1890, $7); all occupations (men), $10 (1890, $11.50); seamers (women), $5.50; basters (women), $5; finishers (women), $4.50 (1890, $4); sewing-machine operatives (women), $4; all occupations (women), $4 (1890, $4.50). The facts that stand out here that the average rate for men had fallen from $11.50 per week to $10 and for women from $4.50 to only $4 per week, show how serious is the problem. This is perhaps only increased by the fact that while the *rate* for women had fallen, the actual average *earnings* had risen from $5 to $5.50 per week, indicating either increased speed or increased quantity of women's work, and probably for a pittance of $5.50 per week. What the sweating system really means in hundreds of thousands of cases can be seen in the following quotations compiled by Miss Sumner from reports:

In New York City, for instance, a woman was found "who earned $70 by twenty weeks' work, which was the entire income for the support of herself, mother, aged fifty-seven years, and sister, aged thirty-two years." [1]

The family consisted of a man, wife, and five children, who worked, cooked, ate, and slept in two small rooms. The people looked as tho they had not washed themselves for a year. The boys' coats that they were making were piled upon a dirty bed. The dirt could absolutely have been shoveled out of the rooms. Potato parings, garbage, and filth of all kinds were strewn about the floor, and the odor that prevailed was so foul that one of the agents was made sick.[2]

The testimony of physicians that have examined them is that, given a sweat-shop that is uninspected, where the members work in the boom season up to the limits of endurance, using foot-power for the machine, it is rare to find, after four or five years, any healthful person there.[3]

There is no other material that so invites use and deposit during manufacture as to involve to so great an extent as does cloth contact with the persons of the unclean and sick of the family, not merely during the day, but even as a rest for exhausted sleepers. There is probably no material which, once having harbored disease germs or filth, is so favorable to their preservation or propagation as is cloth, especially when made of wool; and, lastly, it would be hard to imagine any material, or use to which it could be put, that would be so repulsive to civilized instincts and so dangerous to life and health as clothing, steeped in contagion, to be worn on the person.[4]

A journeyman tailor of Chicago testified before the Industrial Commission that he knew many men who worked, during the busy season, six days and three nights in the same week, and that he had repeatedly seen men work thirty-six hours without any interruption or sleep or hardly any time to take their meals.

One important point is especially made by Miss Sumner. She says:

It is, moreover, an erroneous idea to suppose that sweat-shop clothing is necessarily poor in quality. On the contrary, overalls and working men's garments are usually manufactured in large factories under good conditions, while some of the worst conditions are found in the custom trade and in the manufacture of beautiful and expensive garments. It was again and again stated before the Industrial Commission that no man in buying a custom-made suit of the best and most fashionable tailor could have any assurance that it was not made in a sweat-shop. The same thing may be said of all classes of women's ready-made clothing.

Dr. Annie S. Daniel says:

It is absolutely impossible to know the number of hours per week which one person might devote to the work, in the busy season—a woman will frequently not have more than five hours' rest in the twenty-four. The hours are regulated solely by the amount of work on hand or by the physical strength of the worker—Sundays and holidays, in sickness and health, work they must. The amount received varies with the kind of work, from a cent and a half an hour to ten cents—very rarely more. (The little children, according to their ages, earn from 50 cents to $2 per week.) During December the average monthly income of 49 new families was $13.24; the average rent was $8.57, leaving the sum of $4.67 to buy food, fuel, and clothing for the average family of five.

Mr. George A. Weber has prefaced for us the following summary of the legislation of the U. S as to sweat-shops:

Twelve states, namely, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin, have enacted laws regulating sweat-shops.

These laws usually prohibit the manufacture, repair, alteration, or finishing of apparel for wear or adornment, and

[1] Twentieth Annual Report of the (New York) Bureau of Labor Statistics, p. 68.

[2] Twenty-first Annual Report of the (Pennsylvania) Bureau of Industrial Statistics, B, pp. 4–5.

[3] Industrial Commission, xiv., p. 130.

[4] Committee Report, H. R., 52-2, v. 1, No. 2,309, p. 22.

the manufacture of purses, cigars, cigarettes, or umbrellas in rooms or apartments in tenement- or dwelling-houses except under certain prescribed conditions. In Massachusetts the law relates only to wearing apparel. The factory inspectors are required to visit and inspect the sanitary condition of rooms or apartments coming within the scope of the laws and to enforce the provisions of the laws, and in some cases to report insanitary conditions, infectious or contagious diseases, etc., to the health officers. In Illinois this class of work is prohibited in rooms or apartments in tenement- or dwelling-houses except by members of the family living therein, and in Missouri such work is prohibited for more than three persons outside the members of the family; but no further restrictions are made in these cases. In the remaining states enumerated, however, members of the family may engage in such work only under certain conditions. Provision is also made for the regulation of work in shops not connected with living- or eating-rooms, but located in tenement- or dwelling-houses, or in buildings in the rear of the same. In Maryland, Massachusetts, and New York families must procure a license from the factory inspector before being permitted to perform the above-mentioned work in their dwellings, and manufacturers may not give them work unless they have such licenses. In Indiana, Maryland, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin the law prescribes that no person, partnership, or corporation may hire or employ persons to work in rooms or apartments in tenement- or dwelling-houses or in buildings in the rear of such houses without a written permit or license from the factory inspector. In Connecticut and Ohio the laws make no provision for the issuance of a license. In Massachusetts a license is not required for work done in rooms or apartments not connected with living- or sleeping-rooms and which have a separate entrance.

Legislation

The written permit or license obtained from the factory inspector is not issued until after an inspection has been made of the premises and they have been found in a sanitary condition and fit to work in. Usually the license or permit must specify the maximum number of persons that may be employed in the room and it must be conspicuously posted. This number is one person for every 250 cubic feet of air space in the daytime and, usually, one person for every 400 cubic feet at night. The licenses may be revoked at any time when the public health requires it.

In all the states the factory inspectors have access to the rooms or apartments in tenement- or dwelling-houses where clothing, etc., are made, including in most cases rooms where only members of the family are engaged in such work. This is for the purpose of seeing that the regulations regarding cleanliness, light, heat, ventilation, overcrowding, etc., are enforced, and that the articles made are not exposed to infection or contagion and are free from vermin. In Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York, and Wisconsin the factory inspectors or the boards of health may seize, condemn, or destroy articles containing infectious or contagious matter or vermin which are found either in workshops or exposed for sale. In Michigan health officers and physicians are required to report to the deputy factory inspectors of their respective districts all cases of contagious or infectious diseases coming officially to their knowledge. In Massachusetts garments made in tenement- or dwelling-houses in which families have not procured a license, and in Missouri and New York goods made in violation of the law must be conspicuously labeled "tenement-made." In Missouri, if made under unclean or unhealthy conditions, they must be labeled "made under unhealthy conditions." These provisions apply to articles made outside as well as within the state.

In addition to the requirement in most states that persons, firms, or corporations giving out work to be done in tenement- or dwelling-houses must procure licenses or see that the persons performing the work have procured licenses, the states of Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin require such persons, firms, or corporations to keep a register of the names and addresses of all persons to whom work is given or with whom they have contracted for the performance of work to be done in tenements or dwellings. Penalties of from $20 to $500 or imprisonment of from ten days to one year are prescribed for violation of the sweat-shop laws.

But the trouble is with the enforcement of laws. Says Dr. Daniel:

We have laws which if enforced would obliterate every sweat-room, great and small, in New York. To enforce these laws would require an army of inspectors working day and night. . . . I have a list of tenements licensed by the Labor Bureau in my neighborhood. I have been in thirty-eight of these houses; the license was posted in twelve. In one of these licensed houses I have attended a case of measles; there are two families in the apartment; the notice of the contagious disease was posted on the door; two women were finishing trousers within; one day I found the sick child lying on a bundle of the trousers; this is a common occurrence. There is also a clause forbidding the employment of any but members of the family; not only is this not obeyed, but the work is carried to other apartments and even to other houses. The old law placed the responsibility of manufacturing on the worker and the manufacturers. The new law takes the responsibility off the worker and puts it on the landlord. On Jan. 9th, according to the daily papers, a raid was made by twenty-two inspectors in Elizabeth Street. The people were duly frightened, much of the work was hidden, and to my personal knowledge in the evening was being done in inside bedrooms, with doors locked. Fresh work I saw carried in and finished in about the same way that the people would have made counterfeit money. The next day and since, it is being done openly, outlooks being posted in different parts of the house who will give the alarm in their own language, and work will be again hidden should another inspection be made. Is there any remedy? I believe that a law absolutely forbidding any manufacturer to have any part of his work done in a tenement-house could be enforced.

Great Britain

The following important statements are condensed from a Fabian tract (Jan., 1907), "Home-working and Sweating," by Miss B. L. Hutchins:

The phrase, the sweating system, is misleading. All experts agree that there is no one industrial system coextensive with or invariably present in the sweated trades. Mr. Booth expresses this by saying that it is not with one but many sweating systems we have to deal; Mr. Schloss says that no sweating system whatever is discoverable; and the House of Lords committee, while reporting that the evils complained of could "scarcely be exaggerated," said that they had been unable to find any precise meaning attached to the phrase. An inquiry into sweating resolves itself, therefore, into an inquiry into the conditions under which the "sweated industries" are worked. Here at least a painful and striking uniformity is met with, and accepting it as a starting point, the Lords committee defined sweating as:

1. Unduly low rates of wages.
2. Excessive hours of labor.
3. Insanitary state of the work places.

Mr. Schloss has added the important point, taxing of working power to an unreasonable extent, or getting sixpenny worth of work out of fourpenny worth of pay ("driving").

The unfair advantage enjoyed by the sweater is of two kinds: first, the evasion of factory legislation; second, the extreme lowness of the wages paid. Of the low wages so much has been heard that it is hardly necessary to labor the point further. We take a few instances at random from the *Daily News Exhibition Handbook*.

A. Trouser maker, widow with four children, works ten or twelve hours a day; her best earnings (exceptional) are 10*s*. 6*d*. a week; more often 3*s*. or 4*s*.; receives parochial relief.

B. Match-box maker, works twelve hours a day, earns on an average less than 5*s*. a week. Highest earnings 8*s*. 2*d*. for a full week including Sunday.

C. Button carder. Two old people work together, earn 3*s*. 6*d*. per week.

Such instances could be multiplied *ad nauseam*. The Cradley Heath chain makers, after deducting cost of fuel, earn only 5*s*. to 6*s*. weekly for hard work, of a kind really skilled in its way, and not yet replaceable by machinery. The writer has personally visited home workers in London, Birmingham, and Cradley Heath, and has met with one, a skilled waistcoat maker, who was paid a living wage. The next most favorable instance was that of a remarkably quick, capable girl, making girls' frocks, lined throughout and trimmed, at 8*d*. each, deducting cost of cotton. She said she could make five or even six a day on occasion. In match-box making and similar wretched trades, about 1*d*. per hour seems to be what the piece rates yield. The lowest depths of all perhaps are reached by workers who sew hooks and eyes, buttons, etc., on cards. Carding hooks and eyes I have found paid at 14*d*. per gross cards in Birmingham. The employer was threatening to reduce the price to 10½*d*., for there were middlewomen who could farm the work out to "very poor people," and thus cut the recognized price of 14*d*. per gross. The average earnings of women in this work are only about 3*s*. 3*d*. weekly, even when they work long hours. In all these small home industries the wages appear to tend steadily downward, altho in factory work women's wages have been rising for a considerable period.

The pathetic part of the sweated industries is that it is often the very virtues of these people that are their ruin. Miss Clementina Black, in her introduction to the cases investigated and tabulated by the Women's Industrial Council, says "many of them are of the highest respectability and maintain a standard of conduct and cleanliness quite heroic. . . . The majority of these forty-four women are industrious, even painfully industrious; most are thoroughly respectable; scarcely one is paid a living wage." They will sit up all night, and work for what is given them, and submit.

Nothing comes home more forcibly to the investigator of home work than this fact that many of the women would not take work out at all if their husbands could obtain a decent remuneration. A great deal of sweated work by

women is simply an indirect result of the underpayment or irregular employment of men.

Successive inquiries and reports have brought these conditions before the public. The Commission on Children's Employment, 1863–67, advised the extension of the Factory Act to homes in which certain industries were carried on. But no government has had the courage to take such a step, each in turn having been daunted, partly no doubt by a vague dread of infringing "the sancity of the home," but still more, probably, by the practical difficulties of administering such an act. The law in regard to home work consists of a few very mild provisions.

Private consumers' league cannot exert much influence by issuing "white lists," for the reason that trade is so complicated that it is practically impossible to trace production.

Remedies Some good, perhaps, might be done by the requirement of a label on goods for sale, stating that the goods were tenement made, in unhealthy conditions, or the reverse. This plan has been tried in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, it is said, with some success; but the extreme ease with which a label can be forged or destroyed makes the provision of doubtful value.

Protection of home industries is sometimes urged as a possible remedy for sweating. The evidence collected for the Berlin exhibition of sweated industries showed that sweating is quite as rampant in protected Germany as in free-trade England; colonies of home workers in Chicago and New York where even the very high tariff does not make wages or conditions any better than in the worst parts of London. Regulation of sweating would do far more for trade than any import duty.

Restraint of immigration is often urged as a remedy for sweating, but the Aliens Act of 1905 achieved little or nothing, and it is unlikely that even a much more drastic act would really check the evil.

Short of regulating wages, we do not believe that any real or adequate control of the sweater can be maintained. Undoubtedly efficient sanitary inspection of homes used as workrooms may do some good indirectly, in that it protects the consumer from the very real danger of dirt and infection, and also in that it checks the giving out of work in some degree, and is likely to insure more work being done in factories and workshops, "to which the employer has the right of access and control." Two competing suggestions are now before the public; these are known respectively as the Tennant Bill and the Women's Industrial Council's Bill, the latter usually introduced jointly by some friends or members of the Women's Industrial Council and of the Scottish Council for Women's Trades. Mr. Tennant's Bill aims at placing the responsibility for the conditions under which work is done in home workrooms on the giver-out of work; and would place the administration in the hands of the local sanitary authority, who already receives the outworkers' lists. The Women's Industrial Council Bill involves more of an innovation; it would place inspection of outworkers under the factory inspectors, and all outworkers would have to produce a certificate showing that their workrooms had been inspected and found suitable for the work to be carried on, having regard to the health of the persons to be employed therein. This measure would involve a considerable increase in the inspecting staff, but as that is for other reasons highly necessary and desirable, it does not in itself constitute an objection.

To those who follow the argument that sweating, tho apparently an inexpensive method of production, is ruinous to the community through the physical and moral deterioration induced in the sweated and their workers, it will be at once evident that the abolition of sweating is an important incidental advantage of direct public employment. The establishment of the Army Clothing Factory has saved thousands of workers from sweating-dens without any increase in the cost of production. The enlargement of that factory so as to produce in it not only some but all the clothing required for the army, militia, and volunteers would rescue thousands more from their present fate.

And if local authorities followed suit—if the London County Council were given power to set up its own clothing factory, and to supply other local governing bodies—if it became the practise to manufacture all asylum, hospital, police, and fire-brigade uniforms required by any town or county council or other public body, either in its own factory or in that of some other public body—if a similar course were pursued with regard to boots and shoes, saddlery, and general leather work, chains, furniture, and other commonly sweated wares, part, at least, of the evil would disappear.

But however rapidly we press on the establishment of public factories for the supply of public wants, many public bodies will, for a long time to come, have to buy goods which are at present usually the product of sweating.

There is no person in this—or in any of the states that are called civilized—who does not partake of the proceeds of underpaid labor; and the conditions of such labor are not growing better; they are, if anything, growing worse, and underpayment is rather spreading than decreasing.

The writer believes that New Zealand alone is working out a complete solution of the problem. In New Zealand and some other colonies any work-room where two or more persons are employed, the employer counting as one, constitutes a factory within the meaning of the act. Those who have studied the history of factory legislation can see that this is by far the best method, and the only one that can check sweating in home work and prevent unfair competition with well-conducted industry. Yet this is not all and mainly important because of the New Zealand system of wages boards, minimum wages, and strict government control of wages and labor conditions.

SWEDEN: A monarchy of Europe. Area, 172,876 sq. m.; population in 1906, 5,337,455, or 30.43 per sq. m., in 1905. The principal cities with population (1906) are: Stockholm, 332,738; Göteborg, 156,927; Malmö, 75,691; Norrköping, 45,528; Säfle, 30,988; Hälsingborg, 31,404.

I. Statistics

The population of Sweden shows a slow but healthy growth; it was in 1890—4,784,981, an increase of 0.50 per cent per annum over 1880; 1900—5,136,441, an annual increase of 0.71 per cent. Of the population in 1905 there were 2,584,564 males and 2,710,321 females. In 1900 there were of males: single, 1,566,868; married, 838,999; widowers, 98,647; divorced, 1,922; females: 1,566,668 single; 847,252 married, 212,461 widows, 3,624 divorced. Births seem to have somewhat decreased. There were 139,370 in 1901 (of which 16,385 were illegitimate) and 135,400 in 1905. Marriages are also decreasing (31,278 in 1901 and 30,800 in 1905). Deaths (exclusive of still-born), 82,772 in 1901, and 82,400 in 1905.

The population of Sweden is almost entirely of the Scandinavian branch of Arians, with the exception of (1900) 22,138 Finns and 6,983 Lapps; there were also 35,627 foreigners, mostly Germans, Danes, and Norwegians. Sweden lost by emigration: 1900—20,661; 1904—22,384; 1906—24,705. Of these numbers 16,209; 18,533 *and* 21,442 came to the United States.

Religion and Education.—The vast majority of Swedes belongs to the State Church (Evangelical Lutheran). The Church numbered (1900) 5,072,792; extended to all religions, and no civil disabilities attach to those citizens not belonging to the State Church. The latter is supported from the income of the Church lands, and by contributions of the parishes.

Education is well advanced in Sweden; public elementary instruction is compulsory and gratuitous. In 1904 there were 12,778 elementary schools with 727,008 pupils and 18,274 teachers; the expenditure was 27,055,369 kroner. Sweden had (1905) 82 public high schools with 20,516 scholars; 31 people's high schools with 1,666 scholars; 14 normal schools with 1,412 students; 8 technical schools with 3,400 students; 10 navigation schools with 712 boys. There were, moreover, schools for defective and backward children. Sweden has two universities, Upsala with 1,729 and Lund with 817 students, in 1905.

Industrial Statistics *Occupation* is chiefly agricultural; since about 2,380,000 people depend on farming for their living. Manufactures support about 1,210,000 people; trades and servants about 462,000; transport and locomotion, 414,000.

The land suitable for cultivation was (1904) divided among 350,851 owners or tenants; 86,925 of these had 2 hectares or less; 223,164 between 2 and 20; 33,432 between 20 and 100; 3,225 over 100. The area under cultivation constitutes only 8.8 per cent of the total area; 3.4 per cent consists of grass and meadow land; 51.5 is under forests; 36.3 per cent are mountains or snow-covered, and non-productive. The crops produced in 1905 were: wheat, 1,909,800 hectoliters; rye, 8,881,-

500; barley, 4,778,900; oats, 21,624,300; mixed grain, 3,761,000; pulse, 659,800; potatoes, 26,366,200. The total value of the crops in 1904 amounted to 243,100,000 kroner. Live stock in 1904 numbered: 546,943 horses; 2,545,583 cattle; 1,105,903 sheep; 796,572 swine.

Mining is an important industry in Sweden. The output in 1905 was 4,364,833 tons of iron ore, producing 530,776 tons of pig and 369,771 of bar iron; 8,397 tons of silver and lead ore; 39,255 tons of copper ore; 56,885 tons of zinc ore; 1,992 tons of manganese ore; and 20,762 tons of sulphur pyrites. Besides 55 kilograms of gold, 606 of silver, 575,527 of lead, 1,385,098 of copper, and 305,000 of zinc were produced in the smelters. Considerable coal has been found in southern Sweden, yielding (1905) 322,384 tons. Mining gave employment that year to 31,222 persons.

Forestry is managed by the State in a scientific manner. The public forests have an area of 6,642,909 hectares of timber land, including 1,100,000 hectares of crown forests. There were 1,370 saw- and planing-mills in 1904 with 41,849 employees. The output of lumber was valued at 153,196,688 kroner. Furniture factories numbered 441 with 10,949 workmen; output valued at 23,196,349 kr. The output of 135 wood-pulp factories with 8,333 employees amounted to 45,035,375 kr.; 67 paper and pasteboard factories with 7,031 work-people had an output valued at 432,477,477 kr.

Manufacturing is chiefly in iron and machinery; 19,509 people were employed in 636 iron- and steel-mills and produced an output valued at 61,727,900 kr.; 424 machinery shops employed 19,710 people with an output of 55,294,000 kr.; 1,670 flour-mills with only 4,517 employees produced an output to the value of 100,362,000 kr.

Commerce and Shipping.—The imports in 1900 and 1905 amounted to 534,935,110 kroner *and* 582,084,457; exports, 391,334,962 kr. *and* 450,211,733. The customs duties amounted to 57,731,764 kr. *and* 60,366,568 respectively. The imports consisted (1905) principally of metal goods, machinery, etc., 75,340,683 kr.; minerals, chiefly coal, 73,841,176; corn and flour, 62,587,043; raw textiles, 55,351,198. Exports were chiefly: timber (wrought and unwrought), 201,813,518 kr.; hair, hides, and other animal products, 51,466,500; metals, 49,962,098; minerals, 40,668,344; machinery and metal goods, 37,729,192. Imports were principally *from* Germany, 224,364,938 kr.; Great Britain, 144,035,143. Exports *to*: Great Britain, 159,398,772 kr.; Germany, 85,206,640.

The mercantile marine consisted (1905) of 1,950 sailing vessels with 265,748 tons, and 1,019 steam vessels with 408,124 tons. Göteborg was the largest port with 292 vessels and 147,707 tons; Stockholm second with 226 vessels and 95,817 tons.

II. Constitution and Government

Sweden is a constitutional monarchy. The present king is Oscar II. (born 1829, succeeded to the throne Sept. 18, 1872). The king has certain powers in political matters, but in others he (with his cabinet) exercises that power in conjunction with the Diet. Every new law must, however, have the assent of the crown. The right of imposing taxes is vested in the Diet.

The Diet consists of two chambers, both elected by the people. The First Chamber has 150 members who are elected by certain provinces, towns, and cities; they must be thirty-five years old, have taxable property worth 80,000 kroner, or an income of 4,000 kr.; they are elected for 9 years, and give their services free. The Second Chamber consists of 230 members; 80 elected by the towns and 150 by rural districts. Electors must be 21 years of age; possess real estate worth 1,000 kr. or farm land worth 6,000 kr., or pay an income tax on 800 kr. The number of electors in 1905 was 432,099, or 8.2 per cent of the population; but only 217,759, or 50.4 per cent of the electors, actually cast ballots. The members of the Second Chamber are elected for 3 years; receive 1,200 kr. plus expenses in the case of extra sessions.

The municipalities and provinces enjoy much freedom in their local affairs.

Finance

The revenue of the State comes chiefly from customs, 57,000,000 kr. (1906); imposts on sugar, spirits, etc., 32,000,000; income tax, 20,950,000. The total revenue for 1906 was 179,270,000 kr.; expenditure, 179,270,000. The principal items of the expenditure were: Army, 51,293,600 kr.; navy, 22,455,700; Ministry of the Interior, 35,610,800; education and ecclesiastical affairs, 18,884,400.

The total length of railways was 7,677 miles in 1903; of which 2,612 belonged to the State.

Posts, Railways, etc.

The receipts of all railways were 100,223,312 kr.; expenses, 66,575,691; surplus, 33,647,621. They carried 36,296,648 passengers and 24,490,837 tons of freight. The total length of telegraph and telephone lines was (1904) 19,487 miles with 127,170 miles of wire; of these 14,685 miles of line with 95,118 miles of wire belonged to the State. There were 2,383 telegraph offices.

The postal service had (1904) 3,419 offices; receipts, 16,563,956 kr.; expenses, 14,635,991; surplus, 1,927,965.

The *Army* is just being reorganized, and will be on its new status by 1914. The new scheme provides for a *modified militia* with conscripts being called out for an initial training of 150 days in the infantry and artillery and 281 days in the cavalry, and with 30 yearly for the next three years.

III. Social Reform

Sweden as an agricultural country has not developed far in industrial reform. Educational and temperance reforms began earlier (see TEMPERANCE; NORWEGIAN COMPANY SYSTEM; GOOD TEMPLARS), and poor relief is older still. Homes for the shelter of poor children still exist which were founded early in the sixteenth century. The present poor-law dates from 1843, revised in 1871, and lays the burden on the parishes. Various private charities, however, supplement this.

In Stockholm a society called Föreningen för Välgörenhetens Ordnande (Society for Organizing Charitable Relief) was founded in 1889 on the same leading principles as the English and American charity organization societies. In Stockholm alone there are 400 different charitable societies.

The oldest is the "Skyddsföreningen" (Society of Protection), started by Frederika Bremer and whose president is the queen; its members visit and help the poor, their first object being the children. "Arbetsstugor" (workshops for children), where children from seven to fourteen years of age are taught sewing, knitting, basket-making, and other kinds of hand-work, are spreading over the country. A considerable number of "so-called" model houses for workmen—after the Octavia-Hill system—have been erected.

"Vandrande Sparkassor" (moving savings-banks) are formed by visitors in needy neighborhoods to induce the saving of pennies.

Cooperation, tho slow in beginning, is now rapidly spreading in Sweden. There were, in 1906, besides unregistered societies, 382 retail societies, 410 agricultural, 373 dairy and poultry, 903 building societies, 155 productive, and 301 miscellaneous. A wholesale society has been established. The growth is very rapid.

Trade-unions began in Sweden in 1880. In 1898 the unions formed into a national organization, composed of twenty-four federations with about 60,000 workers. Various *Houses of the People* (similar to those in Belgium) have been started. The one at Stockholm is on an especially large scale. Industrial legislation, however, has been backward and the unions have had to struggle hard for their rights. A principal aim

has been universal suffrage, and in 1902 there was a general strike for this purpose, only very partially successful.

Socialism entered Sweden with a tailor from Denmark, Auguste Palm. A paper, *Tiden* (Times), was started and the movement spread fast. In 1885 the Swedish trade-unions became connected with the Socialist movement, as they are in all Scandinavian countries. Since 1898 this has been compulsory in Sweden. In 1893 a *folkesdag* (congress of the people) was organized. In 1896 the Socialists elected a deputy, Branting. In 1905 they had fifteen deputies and cast some 30,000 votes. The Socialist Party numbers, however, 55,000 paying members, only a moiety of whom can vote, because of the high property qualification (taxed on an income of 800 kr.).

The trade-unions numbered 1,300 with a membership of 80,000, or 25 per cent of the industrial workers. Of these, 850 unions with 42,000 were in the National Union. The Swedish Socialist includes 3 dailies, 10 periodicals, and 20 trade-union papers.

Among the important Swedish social reform societies are the:

Central förbundet för Socialt arbete (Central Alliance for Social Work), 6 Lastmakaregatan, Stockholm.
Föreningen för Valgörenhetens Ordnande (Charity Organization Society), Stockholm.
Cooperative Society, 6 Lastmakaregatan, Stockholm.
Temperance Society, 12 Tegnergatan, Stockholm.
Frederika Bremer Forbundet (Woman's Questions), 54 Drottninggatan, Stockholm.
Folkets Hus (Trade-Union House of the People), 14 Barnhusgatan, Stockholm.

REFERENCES: *Sverigis Statskalendar*, Upsala; *Sweden, Its People and Its Industry*, published by the Government, ed. B. Sundberg (1904); *Scandinavia, a Political History*, by R. N. Bain (1905); *Sweden and the Swedes*, by W. Thomas (1898); *Apercus Statistiques Internationaux*, by G. Sundberg (1906).

SWINTON, JOHN: Journalist, labor leader; born 1830 in Illinois; learned the printer's trade. In 1850 removed to New York City; studied law and medicine, but returned to journalism and was made chief of the editorial staff of the *Times*, a position he held through all the Civil War and until 1869. After that was with Mr. Greeley on the *Tribune* till 1879, and then was chief writer on the *Sun* for several years. In 1883 he established *John Swinton's Paper*, a radical labor organ which acquired for a time a great influence, but unfortunately in 1886 the paper failed. Mr. Swinton then returned to ordinary journalism. In 1874, nominated for Mayor of New York on a workman's ticket, he received but 200 votes. He was, however, always a favorite speaker, and a popular leader in all New York labor meetings to the last. He died in 1901.

SWITZERLAND: A republic of Europe. The three cantons, Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, entered into a defensive league Aug. 1, 1291. Since then the republic has grown until it comprizes twenty-five cantons with an area of 15,976 sq. m., and a population of 3,489,689 in 1906, or 218.4 per sq. m. The corresponding figures of the population for 1900 were 3,315,443 and 207.5.

The principal cities with population in 1905 are: Zurich, 180,843; Basel, 127,987; Geneva, 114,547; Bern, 71,748; Lausanne, 53,209; St. Gallen, 51,766.

I. Statistics

Births in 1905 were 98,057; marriages, 26, 269; deaths, 65,208 (including still-births); surplus of births over deaths, 32,853, a surplus which has been decreasing; in 1901 it was 37,010. Illegitimate births in 1905 were 4,469, or 4.6 per cent of the total; that of divorces, 1,206. Of the population over fifteen years of age there were in 1900: 1,112,111 *males* = 503,770 single; 542,119 married; 61,065 widowers; 5,157 divorced; 1,174,893 *females* = 481,499 single; 539,595 married; 144,532 widows; 9,267 divorced.

Switzerland has lost less heavily by emigration than other European countries, the figures for five years being: 1901—3,921; 1902—4,707; 1903—5,817; 1904—4,818; 1905—5,049. In 1905 over 85 per cent, or 4,349 of the total emigrants went to the United States; 554 to different parts of South America. There were 383,424 foreigners resident in 1900.

Switzerland is peculiar in recognizing three languages as official: German, French, and Italian being spoken in the *Bundes-Versammlung* (*q. v.* below). German is, however, the principal language, being spoken by 2,312,949, or nearly 70 per cent, in 1900. French was spoken by 730,917; Italian by 221,182; Romanish (in the Grisons), by 38,357.

Religion is not required for citizenship, the Constitution of 1874 permitting any or no religious affiliation. No State taxes are levied for any Church; no bishoprics, Roman or other, can be created on Swiss territory without the consent of the Confederate authorities. The Jesuits are debarred, and the foundation of new religious orders and convents is forbidden. The Protestants—chiefly Reformed or Calvinistic—numbered in 1900 about 59 per cent, or 1,916,157; the Roman Catholics about 40 per cent, or 1,379,664. There were 12,264 Jews.

Education is not supervised by any central authority, except that it is compulsory since 1874; it is, however, under the civil authorities. The expenses are borne entirely by the communes in some cases; in others the cantons share them. In Roman Catholic cantons the proportion of school-attending children to the whole population is 1 to 9; in Protestant, 1 to 5; in mixed, 1 to 7. Some Roman Catholic cantons have never enforced the school laws properly. The age for school attendance is, moreover, shorter in the Catholic cantons. In 1905 there were only 0.09 per cent of the contingent for military service who could not read, and 0.43 per cent who could not write. In 1904 there were 862 infant schools with 44,000 pupils and 822 teachers; 4,665 primary schools with 492,768 pupils and 10,977 teachers; 598 secondary schools with 43,842 pupils and 1,772 teachers; 40 "middle" schools, or *Realschulen* and *Gymnasien* with 11,824 pupils and 841 teachers; 65 "normal" or *Lehrer-Seminarien* with 2,813 pupils; "pensions" or "boarding-schools" for girls, 2,076 pupils. The so-called *Fortbildungs Schulen* or evening schools number 54,289 pupils. There are besides commercial, technical, and agricultural schools. (See article, EDUCATION.) Six universities—Basel established in 1460, being the oldest—make provision for higher education.

Education

Occupation.—Thirty-seven per cent are engaged in agriculture, 41 in industries, and 11 in trade. In 1907 1,067,905 were engaged in farming or allied and dependent occupations; the building trades and furniture manufacture employed 426,401; commerce, hotels, boarding-houses, etc., 285,486; metal works, 275,892; textile industries, 270,114; clothing and dressmaking,

208,757; transportation, 167,278; food supply, etc., 129,797. There were in 1901 6,080 factories with 242,534 employees.

Industries and Commerce

Industries are chiefly agricultural. The soil is very evenly divided among the population. An estimate places the number of peasant proprietors at 300,000, with about 2,000,000 people. The estates are necessarily small, since 28.4 per cent of the total area is unproductive. Of the productive area 35.8 per cent are grass land and meadows; 29 per cent forest; 18.7 per cent under fruit; 16.4 per cent under crops and gardens. Notwithstanding the large agricultural population, the bulk of the food crops consumed is imported.

The peasant proprietors are engaged chiefly in the manufacture of cheese, condensed milk, cream, etc.; 278,432 quintals of cheese and 306,589 quintals of condensed milk were exported in 1905. In the southern cantons viniculture is a thriving industry, 1,267,45 hectoliters of wine being produced in 1904, on 28,831 hectares, to the value of 45,009,470 francs. Live stock in 1903 numbered 161,936 horses, 2,080,297 cattle, 219,438 sheep, 555,261 pigs, and 354,634 goats.

Forestry is under federal supervision. The law of 1876 placed about 1,119,270 acres, or 55 per cent, of forest land under federal regulations, according to which this area can never be reduced. Trees are carefully replanted—22,704,570 in 1905; timber is cut according to scientific principles — 1,839,558 cubic meters in 1905. There are about 163 establishments for pisciculture, the fry going chiefly to hotels. There are 5 salt-mining districts, the output in 1905 being 554,507 quintals; 186 breweries produced 2,264,652 hectoliters of beer. Alcohol manufacture is a federal monopoly, 56,355 quintals of drinkable spirits and 74,264 quintals of methylated spirits for use in the arts being sold in 1905.

Commerce is principally special; the imports (1905), 1,458,321,700 francs; exports, 1,007,822,756. The principal items in the import figures for 1905 were: Foodstuffs, tobacco, spirits, etc., 371,397,433 fr.; silk, 154,339,265; useful metals, 114,432,251; cottons, 97,221,225; mineral substances, 90,933,377. Exports were: silk, 250,728,057 fr.; cottons, 185,840,814; clocks and watches, 132,743,514; foodstuffs, tobacco, spirits, etc., 129,126,944; machinery and carriages, 61,201,625. Imports (1905) were: From Germany, 440,798,593 frs.; France, 274,299,129; Italy, 176,901,230; Austria-Hungary, 91,524,476; Russia, 77,075,155; Great Britain, 68,803,389. Exports: To Germany, 232,028,577 fr.; Great Britain, 175,193,814; America, 170,439,166; France, 119,600,221; Italy, 56,981,041; Austria-Hungary, 54,369,866. The customs duties on imports and exports were, 1903: 53,361,590 fr.; 1906, 62,156,690.

Switzerland has largely gained in wealth in the last fifty years. Its wealth, excluding State property, is estimated at $3,400,000,000.

II. Constitution and Government

In 1815 the perpetual neutrality of Switzerland and the inviolability of her territory were guaranteed by the Congress of Vienna. The Constitution then adopted has been changed in 1848, and lastly in 1874. It provides for the revision of the Constitution by the ordinary forms of federal legislation, with compulsory *referendum*; or by direct popular vote on the *initiative* of 50,000 citizens. The federal government has all the rights, prerogatives, duties, and obligations of a sovereign government, tho the enforcement of law, justice, public works, and education is left to the cantons. There are two federal chambers, the Senate or *Ständerat* consisting of one to two representatives from each canton; and a Chamber of Deputies or *Nationalrat*, consisting of 167 representatives, chosen in direct election, at the rate of one member for every 20,000 of the population. The senators receive their honorarium from the cantons—on an average 20 francs per diem—the deputies from the federal funds at the rate of 20 fr. for each day on which they are actually present, plus traveling expenses. The life of the Chamber expires by limitation; a new election by ballot being required every three years. Citizens of twenty-one years of age may vote; and every voter may be elected a deputy, except clergymen. When the two chambers are in session the assembly is called *Bundes-Versammlung*, or Federal Assembly. The legislative power rests in either of the two chambers; but the principles of the referendum and initiative are in force. By the *initiative* (on the demand of 50,000 voters) a popular vote must be taken (the referendum). Legislation, too, by the Assembly may be vetoed by the *referendum* (on demand of 30,000 voters, or of eight cantons). (See REFERENDUM IN SWITZERLAND.) The principal parties are Right (Roman Catholic), Center (Liberal), Left (Radical), and Socialists. The chief executive power rests in the *Bundesrat*, or Federal Council—a committee of seven, elected for three years by the Federal Assembly. The members of this committee cannot hold any other federal or cantonal office, nor engage in any gainful occupation. They frequently introduce new measures in the Assembly, and take part in its deliberations, but are not allowed to vote. The president and vice-president of this council, elected annually, are the president and vice-president of the confederation. They represent the republic, but have no more power than their confrères. The members of the council form the cabinet of the government. Salaries: The president's salary is 13,500 fr.

Legislature

The local government varies greatly in the different cantons, each being supreme in matters not delegated to the federal authorities.

Finances.—The federal government has no power to levy taxes directly. Its principal revenue comes from the customs, the alcohol monopoly, and the postal, telegraph, and railroad services. Even part of this revenue is paid back to the cantons. Of the revenue from the alcohol monopoly, each canton must use one tenth for combating alcoholism within its own territory. Several federal manufactories yield part of the revenue; also the tax for exemption from military service. This is levied by the cantons, and divided equally between them and the confederation. The Constitution provides, however, that the federal government may, in extraordinary cases, levy a rate upon the various cantons according to a settled scale. The total revenue in 1901 was: 101,924,682 francs; 1905, 129,303,264. Expenditure: 105,533,089 fr. and 116,716,180, respectively.

The principal item of expenditure without any returns was for military purposes; in 1907 it was estimated at 39,562,156 fr. Internal communication is good. There were (1905) 2,936 miles of railroads—1,470 belonging to main lines, 1,423 to secondary and tramways, 43 to foreign. The federal government owned 1,516 miles. The receipts on the latter amounted to 120,677,369 fr.; working expenses to 80,156,945; surplus, 40,520,424. There were in

Railways, Posts, and Telegraphs

all 5,620 miles of telegraph lines with 27,597 miles of wire. The State owned about half of them. The receipts on the latter were 11,033,151 fr.; expenses, 10,877,151; surplus, 426,000. There were in the same year 1,677 post-offices. Receipts, 44,549,955 fr.; expenditure, 40,053,837; surplus, 4,496,118.

The army of Switzerland is essentially a militia. Military service is compulsory, nominally from 17 to 50 years; practically from 20 to 32. About 143,000 men are eligible to a call to arms in case of need.

III. Social Reform

Switzerland, in many ways, tho by no means in all, leads the nations in social reform. In no country are democratic political institutions so fully developed; perhaps in no country is there so much industrial democracy.

Political Reforms

The Swiss referendum comes down from the old *landsgemeinden* of ancient times and was used almost in its modern form in Bern and Zurich as early as the fifteenth century. The compulsory referendum and the initiative were adopted in some of the cantons in 1868. The federal referendum was established in 1874 and the federal initiative, 1891. Proportional representation was adopted at Ticino in 1892, and has been adopted now by most of the cantons (see Direct Legislation; Referendum and Initiative; Proportional Representation). Another important and unique political institution in Switzerland is her political recognition of organized labor. In 1887 the office of Workman's Secretary was founded, its incumbent to be practically a member of the federal cabinet, and to be paid by the government, but to be elected by the Swiss labor-unions, thus to some extent making them a recognized part of political Swiss institutions. A Working Men's Federation has been formed, composed of one delegate from each labor organization which has 250 members. This Federation elects the Workman's Secretary (for many years Herman Greulich). It has also a congress (*Arbeitertag*), which meets triennially, a council (*Bundesvorstand*), and an executive (*Ausschuss*).

Municipalism

Swiss municipal institutions are, however, equally progressive with national institutions. Cities like Zurich and Basel in German, and Geneva in French, Switzerland, are among the most progressive municipalities in the world. They care minutely for the housing of the working classes; they strive to give work to the unemployed; they have municipalized most of the natural monopolies—they thus receive large municipal revenues with low rates of taxation; among other things they have developed industrial schools of the world. Geneva had an *École de dessin* as early as 1751 and Basel a public school for drawing in 1762. Other cities followed, Bern in 1766. In 1848 the confederation founded a university and polytechnic school (1905, 1,293 pupils) at Zurich (opened 1855). In 1884 the federal government commenced subsidizing local schools, with the result that Switzerland has, for her size, probably the best industrial schools in the world.

Switzerland has also done pioneer work in institutions for the insurance of the unemployed, tho thus far without large success. Bern established a plan of voluntary insurance under municipal auspices in 1895, after some preliminary efforts by local labor organizations. The benefit granted, however, to the unemployed was very little and few workmen have availed themselves of it—only about 600 in recent years, mainly in the building trades. St. Gall, in 1895, tried a somewhat similar plan, but made insurance in it compulsory upon working men. It, however, was never popular and was given up in 1897. In 1901 Basel (having voted against a municipal plan) commenced subsidizing a workmen's unemployment fund which was started, and this has endured, but without large results, and losing in membership of late years.

Philanthropies

Much more successful have been the Swiss municipal or cantonal employment bureaus, founded on the German method, St. Gall in 1887, Bern in 1888, Basel in 1889, and other cities later. (See Public Employment Bureaus.) In 1905 they placed 44,243 persons out of 59,355 who sought work. Connected with these are the relief stations for workmen traveling in search of work, also on the German plan (see Relief Stations). They cover many of the cantons with a network. There are besides numerous municipal or private philanthropic institutions, all largely subsidized by the State. Examples are the Old People's Refuge at Bern, the Municipal Orphanage at Zurich, the Municipal Workshop (*Armenanstalt*) at Bern, and labor colonies at Tannenhof and Herdern. The Tannenhof colony was founded in 1889; that at Herdern in 1895; neither have had large success. They attract but a low class of laborers, having from twenty to fifty inmates usually, and cannot show large results with these. For pauper children Swiss cities do better, mainly on the boarding-out plan. Peculiar to Switzerland are the societies for public utility. This is the name by which Mr. W. H. Dawson (see his "Social Switzerland") translates *Gemeinnützige Gesellschaften*. They are of long standing, in Bern since 1759 and Basel since 1777. They are in a way agencies for various measures, charitable and educational. They maintain gymnasiums, baths, schools, classes, etc., afford relief, and do not a little in developing model dwellings. In this line, however, the municipalities do more, notably Bern, at Wylerfeld (a municipal industrial colony). The Messrs. Suchard (chocolate manufacturers) have a private "model village" at Neuchâtel, as have Reiter & Co. at Töss. Courts of arbitration and boards of conciliation, with *conseils de prudhommes* at Geneva, are other measures developed in Switzerland between capital and labor.

Cooperation and Trade-Unions

Cooperation began early in Switzerland, and has had considerable development. Distributive societies were the first started. The *consumvereine* of Zurich date from 1858. There were, in 1903, some 1,800 cooperative agricultural societies and 1,200 productive societies. Including the cooperative banks there were some 4,400 cooperative societies in all. The *Genossenschaftliche Volksblatt* has some 100,000 readers. Trade-unions have also reached considerable development. The *Schweizerische Gewerkschaftbund* has about 50,000 members; 30,000 organized in the railroads and transportation are not affiliated with this. There are 24 trade-union journals and 26 workman's secretaries of various organizations. Nevertheless, it is said

that the unions still reach only 12 per cent of labor.

The fact is that Switzerland, where land is widely distributed and even factory workers have small allotments, on which they work a portion of the time, has not developed the class consciousness of many more purely industrial countries. Switzerland has few very wealthy or very poor and has therefore considerable middle-class conservatism and individualism even among her working classes. This, coupled with the fact that the federation, the cantons, and municipalities have largely worked on lines of public ownership and operation, is probably the reason why organized political socialism has not found large expression in Switzerland. The *Grültiverein* (organized in 1838 in Geneva) is by far the oldest distinctively labor organization in Switzerland; tho to-day mainly political and connected with the Socialist Party, it was long educational and general. By 1845 it had largely spread through the country. By 1848, however, it had become markedly radical and was suppress in many cantons, including Bern. It, however, did large preliminary work for socialism. In 1864 a branch of the International was founded in Geneva, and by 1869 thirty-two branches were said to exist in Geneva alone. But the movement did not endure. (See INTERNATIONAL.) It was largely a foreign importation.

Socialism

Switzerland has long been the asylum of political refugees from other lands. Thus Geneva has been the shelter from which at one time Mazzini tried to rouse a Young Europe, which Bakounin sought to make the center of anarchism, and from whence Russian nihilists have tried to reach Russia. But these movements have little affected Switzerland. Driven from Germany by the anti-Socialist law, many German Socialists found refuge in Basel, and somewhat developed German socialism in Switzerland, yet after all not at all commensurably with the Swiss development of unconscious socialism.

Yet in 1873 a People's Association (*Volksverein*) was formed, and also a Worker's Federation (*Arbeiterbund*), both national and both affiliated with the *Grültiverein*, and in 1877 adopted the program of Marxist socialism. In 1888 the present Swiss Social Democratic Party was formed. In this the *Grültiverein* is now largely merged, its secretary, since 1904, being the secretary of the party, tho the association still keeps up its organization and celebrates its seventieth anniversary in 1908. The party now claims 20,337 paying members, a number which of recent years has declined rather than grown; it cast some 70,000 votes, and it has at present only two representatives in the *Nationalsrath*, tho it claims to have elected six members, and that four were unjustly unseated through technicalities. In many of the municipal councils of the larger cities the party, however, has numerous representatives. Switzerland, however, has many socialistic features, nationalized telegraph, telephone, postal savings-banks, and railroads (voted in 1898 and now being rapidly accomplished). There is also a federal alcohol monopoly.

The Federation of Switzerland, 1886–87, undertook to restrict and control the distilled liquor traffic. It bought the distilleries and required a fee on importers. The minor distilleries were destroyed, 60 or 70 being left. One tenth of the value of the product is devoted to hospitals for inebriates and other institutions. This tenth in 1902 was 581,859 fr. Most of this was spent on prisons, asylums, and neglected children; only 100,000 on inebriate asylums and temperance work. Swiss authorities differ on the result. Some say a "beer plague" has been substituted for a "whisky plague." The strict abstinence movement is growing, there being 350 societies, with 8,500 members and 5,900 associates.

REFERENCES: *Annuaire Statistique de la Suisse*, Bern; *Handwörterbuch der Schweizerischen Volkswirtschaft, Socialpolitik und Verwaltung*; *Social Switzerland*, by W. S. Dawson, 1897; *Rise of the Swiss Republic*, by W. D. McCracken, 1892.

Addresses of important reform societies in Switzerland:

International Labor Office (International Association for Labor Legislation), 1901. Chief Secretary, Dr. Stephen Bauer, Rebgasse 1 Clarahof, Basel, Switzerland.
Arbeiterbildungsverein. Zurich.
Arbeiterbund. (Schweizerischer.) Arbeitersekretär, Hermann Greulich. Zurich.
Arbeiterinnenvereine. Secretary, Verena Conzett. Zurich.
Eidgenössisches statistiches Bureau. Bern.
Katholische Männer und Arbeitervereine. Verbandssekretär, Dr. A. Hättenschwiller. Lucern.
Le Peuple. (Socialist.) 27 Coulouvreniere St., Geneva.
Verband Schweizerischer Konsumvereine. Basel.
Bundeskomite des Schweizerischen Gewerkschaftsbundes, Zurich.
Zentralkomite des Schweizerischen Grütlivereins, Zurich.
Bureau Internationale de la Paix, Kanonenweg 12 Bern.
Fédération Internationale pour l'observation du Dimanche. Sec., M. Deluz, Geneva.

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TAFF VALE RAILWAY CASE: A suit brought in England in which the Taff Vale Railway Company was given £23,000 damages against the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants for persuading and intimidating workmen to break their contracts with the railway, and aiding and abetting acts of violence which together injured the railway company in the amount named. The corporation sued the members of the trade-union individually, and then, under a rule of the court, joined the organization itself. The decision went in favor of the corporation. On appeal it went against the corporation. It was then carried to the highest court in England, the House of Lords, and the latter held that the members of the association individually and the association itself were liable. The decision created considerable discussion especially in labor circles, where it had been commonly held that trade-unions could not be sued. It has led to constant agitation since in England for a change of law, making the trade-unions not liable with their funds, and it was this decision (see TRADE-UNIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN) which largely led the British trade-unionists into independent political action in the parliamentary elections of 1906.

TAILORING TRADES: The tailoring trade is *par excellence* the trade of the sweat-shop. But for this, see SWEAT-SHOPS. Slowly, however, the trade is being driven from the sweat-shop and organization of the workers is being effected.

Statistics

The census for 1900 shows a capital of $169,298,434 invested in the manufacture of clothing, factory product, in the 8,581 establishments reporting for the United States. This does not include the capital stock in the industry. The value of products is returned at $436,881,648, to produce which involved an outlay of $16,983,635 for salaries of officials, clerks, etc.; $78,424,066 for wages; $49,279,187 for miscellaneous expenses, including rent, taxes, etc.; and $230,098,018 for materials used, mill supplies, freight, and fuel. It is not to be assumed, however, that the difference between the aggregate of these sums and the value of the products is, in any sense, indicative of the profits in the manufacture of clothing during the census year. The census schedule takes no cognizance of the cost of selling manufactured articles, or of interest on capital invested, or of mercantile losses, or of depreciation.

Altho the manufacture of men's clothing as a factory product began in the U. S. prior to 1830, it was not until the census report of 1890 that the statistics for this branch of the clothing industry were given separately.

The number of establishments increased 864, or 17.7 per cent, between 1890 and 1900. In the same period the capital decreased $7,633,196, or 6 per cent.

The average capital per establishment, which in 1890 was $26,352, had decreased to $21,047 in 1900, indicating that the increase in establishments had been in smaller shops. The total number of wage-earners reported in 1900 showed a decrease of 23,976, or 16.5 per cent, and their wages decreased $5,570,059, or 10.9 per cent. The greatest decrease was in the number of men, with 19,709, with a decrease in their wages of $5,968,327. This decrease can be explained partly by the substitution of women for men and partly by difficulties in correctly ascertaining the number of workers.

The average number of women wage-earners decreased 5,759, or 7.6 per cent, but the total wages paid to women increased $131,649, or $\frac{1}{10}$ of 1 per cent. The number of children under sixteen years of age increased 1,492, or 98.2 per cent, and the wages paid them increased $266,619, or 179.3 per cent.

The census of 1860 was the first in which the manufacture of women's clothing was reported. With the exception of the abnormal increase in the number of establishments in 1870 and the consequent decrease in 1880, there was a very steady increase during every decade. With but few exceptions the figures for every item more than doubled each decade. In 1860 the number of establishments was 188, and in 1900, 2,701, an increase of more than thirteenfold; during the same period the capital increased $47,009,894, or more than thirty-threefold; the number of wage-earners, 78,000, more than thirteenfold; the total wages paid, $31,393,069, or more than twenty-sixfold; the cost of materials used, $81,381,257, or more than twenty-fourfold; and the value of products, $152,158,500, or more than twenty-onefold.

As the manufacture of women's ready-made clothing is not distributed over as many places as is that of men's, and as a large part of it is manufactured in large factories and in shops, the collection of statistics could be more accurately done, and the figures may be taken as more approximately correct.

In contrast with the manufacture of men's clothing, this branch of the industry showed a large increase in the number of wage-earners and of the wages paid. The total number increased from 39,149 to 83,739, and the total wages from $15,428,272 to $32,586,101. The development of the industry during the decade was of such a nature that men were substituted for women in the manufacture of certain of the better grades of clothing, such as cloaks and ladies' suits, while the greatest number of women were added in the factories for shirt-waists and underwear.

Tailoring trades were among the first to organize labor-unions in the U. S. A tailors' organization existed in New York City in 1806. The Knights of Labor (*q. v.*) began among the Philadelphia tailors. Cutters' unions have existed in New York City since the forties. Nevertheless, the trade has, as a whole, because of the large proportions of people involved in the sweating system, been one of the most difficult to organize. Organizations innumerable, local and general, have come and gone. The United Garment Workers, organized in 1891, has been undoubtedly the most successful general organization, and has at times attained large proportions. It adopted a union label in 1891 which has had considerable success. (See UNION LABELS.) Some 2,000,000 labels were said to have been issued during 1898, and in 1900 ninety firms were using the label. The organization has at times been one of the most active of the unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, but has had several ups and downs on account of the difficulty of the conditions in the trade. A large number of its members are foreigners, working in the great cities and exposed to severe competition from different employers on the one hand and unorganized working people on the other. In 1903 they claimed 45,700 members. In 1905 the number was reduced to 31,900. (See article SWEAT-SHOPS.)

The Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, organized in 1883, had in 1905 16,000 members composed of the more skilled members of the trade. In Great Britain conditions are virtually the same. Some of the earliest trade-unions of modern times existed among London tailors. The Amalgamated Society of Tailors dates from 1866, while national unions were formed earlier. Yet here, as in America, permanent and effective organization has been very difficult to reach. The Amalgamated Association had in 1904, 12,964 members, the Scottish Operative Tailors and Tailoresses, 3,551. (See SWEAT-SHOPS.)

TAMMANY HALL: This powerful, compact political organization, which, with rare intermissions, has ruled New York City from the year 1800 and which has exercised a great influence at times in state and national affairs, is an outgrowth of the Society of St. Tammany, a Columbian order. Founded on May 12, 1789, a fortnight later than the establishment of the national government, the society of St. Tammany was the creation of William Mooney, an upholsterer. Before the Revolution, societies variously known as the "Sons of Liberty" and the "Sons of St. Tammany" had been formed to aid the cause of independence. Tammany, or Tammanend, was an Indian chief noted for his wisdom, benevolence, and love of liberty. When societies sprang up bearing the names of St. George, St. Andrew, or St. David, and proclaiming their fealty to King George, the revolutionists dubbed Tammany a saint in ridicule of the imported saints. After the Revolution these patriotic societies dissolved.

The passionate controversy over the adoption of the Constitution caused Mooney to found anew a Tammany society. His object was to create a society, democratic in character and principle, which would resist centralizing power in the national government. At first non-partizan, the society by 1798 became a powerful and extremely partizan body, warmly supporting Jefferson and his doctrines. Aaron Burr realized the power that it could be made; the transition of the society from an effusive, speech-making body to an active political club was mainly through his instrumentality. Burr controlled Tammany until his downfall, after his duel with Alexander Hamilton in 1804.

In 1805 the Tammany Hall political organization as apparently distinct from the Tammany Society was created. In that year the society obtained from the legislature a charter incorporating it as a benevolent and charitable body for the purpose of affording relief to members and others. This change was made to meet the bitter criticisms that a private society was engaging in politics. As a matter of fact the sachems of the society were the leaders of the organization, or their henchmen, and this has been the case ever since. The secret of the power of the control of the society has been in the fact that the society has been the owner of Tammany Hall, and, in the

capacity of landlord of the building, has had, and still has, the power of dispossessing any faction hostile to the bosses of the political organization. Evicted from Tammany Hall, the contesting faction could not lay claim to being the Tammany organization or any part of it. This happened in 1828, when the sachems, as trustees, excluded a faction working for the nomination for president of John Quincy Adams from meeting in Tammany Hall, which was a fatal disadvantage in politics. It happened again in 1853 when a faction opposed to the leaders of the organization was prohibited by the sachems from meeting in the building. The same process was used by the sachems in 1857, and later during the Tweed régime.

Before 1806 Tammany was more of a political club without any systematic regimentation. In that year a disciplined organization was formed. A general committee was created which should have the power of convening all political meetings of the party and of making preparatory arrangements for approaching elections. This committee, then composed of thirty members, has gradually been expanded until now it numbers more than five thousand members. Nominating, corresponding, and ward committees were also created. In a few years Tammany had a powerful political machine, unequaled anywhere in the world. It moved with clock-work precision. Its intense opposition to government by aristocracy gave it increasing political strength. Soon its influence in local, state, and national elections was very great. This influence and strength increased after 1821 when manhood suffrage was enacted in New York State, and was still more increased by Tammany's support and organization of immigrants who poured in heavily, especially from 1846 onward. While the Whigs antagonized the foreign influx, Tammany took it in hand, saw to its naturalization, and gave it material support by providing jobs and offices for the chief political workers among the foreign-born citizens.

History

Up to 1840 Tammany was led by bankers and merchants who generally used their political power for corrupt self-advancement or who became enriched by granting, for bribes, special privileges of various kinds. Nearly all the leaders from Mooney down had been guilty of some crime, ranging from embezzlement to corruption in passing laws for capitalistic interests, then in a nascent state. Law after law was passed granting bank charters, railroad franchises, and other privileges which, the evidence showed, were obtained by bribery. The most notorious of Tammany's clique of leaders was Samuel Swartwout, who was a great power in the organization about 1825–37 and who, as Collector of the Port of New York, embezzled $1,222,705.69 from the government.

From 1840 Tammany began to be ruled from the bottom of the social stratum, instead of from the top. The rough element, backed by their stronger political and fistic power, came up from the slums and assumed control. Under the leadership of Fernando Wood, the criminal and boisterous element was marshaled systematically in the Tammany organization. Before that time there had been incessant frauds at the polls, but they were insignificant compared to those from 1840 on. Corruption was more brazen. When previously Tammany had been directly and clandestinely used by capitalists to get special privileges worth incalculable sums for nothing, it now was used indirectly. With the enormous bribes that they received the leaders now assured themselves a large, mercenary following which packed primaries and repeated at the polls, as ordered.

Until 1867 the Tammany organization was held in the control of cliques of constantly changing leaders. Wood had been the nearest approach to a boss. With the control of Tammany by William M. Tweed the boss system was developed to its highest pitch. Tweed absolutely ruled the organization. He and his accomplices plundered the city of more than $100,000,000 from 1867 to 1872. At the same time they made a regular traffic of selling special privileges to the highest bidder. Some of the richest families in America, the Vanderbilts and Goulds for instance, owe the greater part of their wealth to exploitative laws passed during the Tweed régime. Tweed not only controlled the whole municipal government, but the legislature, of which he was a member, as well. A political uprising of the people resulted. Tweed was indicted and imprisoned. After serving a year he was released, but was immediately rearrested on civil charges and held in $3,000,000 bail. Not being able to get this he was remanded to jail, where he lingered until his death in 1878. In 1872 he was succeeded as boss by John Kelly. Tammany was a byword the world over, but Kelly showed that sagacity which Tammany leaders had almost invariably shown in critical times. By persuading a number of prominent "reform" Democrats to enter the organization, and because of his plea that the corruptionists had been cast out, the organization was able to weather the storm. At basis, however, it was as corrupt as ever. Upon Kelly's death in 1886, Richard Croker became boss, and he, in turn, was succeeded by the present boss, Charles F. Murphy, in 1902.

Tweed

GUSTAVUS MYERS.

(See also articles NEW YORK CITY, and CORRUPTION, p. 320.)

TARIFF (see FREE TRADE; PROTECTION): In this article, for convenience of reference, we merely trace the outline of the United States tariff, leaving its principles to be discust under the above-mentioned heads.

The Congress of 1789 imposed a tariff duty of from 5 to 15 per cent, almost exclusively a tariff for revenue only. From 1802–12 the ad valorem duty on dutiable and free articles averaged 19.36 per cent, ranging from 23.40 per cent in 1804 to 17.88 in 1810. The War of 1812 doubled duties from 1813–15, the rates averaging 33.03 per cent. With the act of 1816 the protective principle first appears prominent, the rates averaging from 1816–20, 22.53 per cent. From this time on to 1832 the protective principle was more and more adopted in successive acts, as those of 1824 and 1828. From 1821–26 the rate averaged 33.07 per cent, and from 1827–1831, 40.21. In 1832 a reduction was made to remove the "abominations" of the act of 1828. In 1832 the rate averaged 30.86, and in 1833, 23.95 per cent. The growing influence of the South obtained still further reductions, and from 1834–43 the average was 17.18 per cent, ranging from 20.84 in 1838 to 15.45 in 1840. In 1842, however, protectionist measures slightly

prevailed, yet from 1844–57 there was a steady tendency to enact lower rates, and the average during this period was 23.85. In 1857 still further reductions obtained, and the average from 1857–61 was 16.35, falling in 1861 to 14.21 per cent. In 1861, however, the Morrell tariff act was passed, followed by still further enaction of "war tariffs," the average from 1862–65 being 31.21, rising from 26.09 to 38.46. After the war still higher protective rates prevailed, rising from 41.81 in 1866 to 46.49 in 1871, and averaging during this period 43.95. From 1871–91, under the dominance of the Republican Party in Congress, the rate averaged 29.70 per cent, ranging from 38.94 in 1871 to 25.25 in 1891. In 1882 a tariff commission was appointed, resulting in little change. In 1890 the celebrated McKinley Act was passed by the protectionists. In 1894, under a Democratic administration, the Wilson Act was passed, yet it so slightly reduced the tariff, that President Cleveland, weakly allowing it to become a law, tried to avoid responsibility for it by declining to sign it. The only important change from the McKinley Act was the admission of wool as free, while to please the Sugar Trust, a duty of 40 per cent was placed on sugar and an additional duty on refined sugar. The ratio from 1890–96 inclusive averaged for the respective years 29.12, 25.25, 21.26, 23.49, 20.25, 20.67. All these rates, however, it must be remembered, were the percentages on dutiable and free articles. On dutiable articles alone the corresponding rates for the last seven years have been 44.41, 46.28, 48.71, 49.58, 50.06, 41.75, 40.18.

In 1896 the Republican Party was returned to power with McKinley as president. His election was naturally construed as an indorsement of protection, altho the real issue in the campaign had been the free-silver question. A special session of Congress, March, 1897, passed, after a prolonged debate, the Dingley Act, which was closely modeled after the McKinley Act. The duties on a few articles, e. g., wool and woolen goods, cutlery, pottery, etc., were made even higher than in the McKinley Act of 1890. Some articles, e. g., lumber and hides, were restored to the dutiable list. The War Revenue Law of June 13, 1898, was more in the nature of an internal-revenue measure, and imposed no additional tariff duties except ten cents on a pound of tea. The law was repealed April 12, 1902.

Nearly all civilized countries have protective tariffs, e. g., France, Germany, Russia, and the other Continental countries; Japan, Canada, Australia, Cape Colony, etc. The example of England as a free-trading country has been followed only by a few of her dependencies, e. g., India. The tendency toward reciprocity and preferential tariffs is spreading. During the last few years Mr. Joseph Chamberlain has been advocating a protective duty for Great Britain, but without any tangible results.

TARIFF REFORM IN GREAT BRITAIN: The movement, now in progress in Great Britain, in favor of a reform of the fiscal policy introduced by Cobden sixty years ago, had long been foreseen as inevitable by attentive observers of economic and political developments both within and without the British Empire. The Fair Trade movement in the early "eighties," and successive resolutions passed by one colonial conference after another, clearly indicated the growing conviction that a fiscal policy inaugurated two generations ago, under totally different circumstances from those now prevailing, and on the strength of hopes and prophecies every one of which had been falsified by events, was no longer suited either to the needs of the United Kingdom or those of her great and growing empire beyond the seas. At the last of these colonial conferences, held in London in the summer of 1902, a strongly worded resolution was unanimously passed by the imperial statesmen taking part in it, repeating the declarations of previous conferences in favor of a system of mutual preferential trading between the mother country and her daughter states, and binding the signatories "to submit to their respective governments at the earliest opportunity the principle of the resolution, and to request them to take such measures as may be necessary to give effect to it."

Upon Mr. Chamberlain, then colonial secretary, as representing the mother country on this occasion, thus devolved the duty of submitting, "at the earliest opportunity," this definite offer of preferential trading relations to the government, and therefore, ultimately, to the people of Great Britain. He lost no time in doing so. Immediately upon the publication of the proceedings at the conference, in November of the same year, he laid before the cabinet proposals for a policy of colonial preference in connection with the then existing 1*s.* duty on corn. Strong opposition was offered, however, to this proposal by Mr. Ritchie, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and after considerable discussion in the cabinet, the proposal was dropped.

In March, 1903, Mr. Ritchie introduced his budget providing for the repeal of the 1*s.* duty on corn. Nothing daunted, Mr. Chamberlain at once decided on his course of action, and in an epoch-making speech at Birmingham, on May 15, 1903, he for the first time put before the country the policy of preferential tariffs as being, in his opinion, the most important means of promoting the unity and prosperity of the British Empire. A fortnight later, on May 28th, during a debate in the House of Commons on a motion for adjournment made by Sir Charles Dilke, in order to raise the subject of fiscal policy, Mr. Chamberlain dealt still more explicitly with the question, and received on that occasion the sympathetic support of the Prime Minister, Mr. Balfour.

Beginnings

Meanwhile the keenest interest in the new policy had been aroused throughout Great Britain and the empire; and while it became more and more evident that the cabinet was divided in opinion on the matter, it was none the less clear that the future of the policy would have to be decided outside the walls of the House of Commons, by an appeal to the British electorate. In these circumstances the government decided that there should be an official inquiry, "a most careful examination of every side of the problem," as Mr. Balfour put it in the House of Commons (June 10, 1903), and that the results of this inquiry should be published by the Board of Trade as material upon which it might be possible to come to a decision on the merits of the new proposals. At the same time Mr. Balfour adhered to his declaration of May 28th, that the whole matter lay outside the province of the existing House of Commons, that the question could not be dealt with that session or the next, or the session after that, but would have to

be most carefully examined and exhaustively thought out. On these terms all further development of the situation in Parliament was checked for the time being.

The movement, however, proceeded apace in the country. Two powerful organizations had been formed during the summer for the propagation of Mr. Chamberlain's policy; one—the Imperial Tariff Committee—operating in Birmingham and district, the other—the Tariff Reform League—embracing in its scope the whole of the rest of the United Kingdom, with headquarters in London, and branches in all parts of the country. At the same time the political opponents of Mr. Chamberlain were not idle, and institutions of a similar nature were organized on behalf of so-called "free trade." The Cobden Club received a fresh lease of life, and its efforts were seconded by those of a new organization entitled the "Free Trade Union." More significant still as a sign of the disintegrating effect of the situation on old party distinctions, was the banding together of a small body of Unionist members of Parliament under the somewhat fantastic, not to say meaningless, title of the "Unionist Free Food League." All these organizations, together with various less important bodies, have since been busily engaged in flooding the country with propagandist literature in the shape of leaflets and pamphlets, and in organizing meetings upon one side or the other in the towns and villages of the United Kingdom.

The results of the official fiscal inquiry instituted by the government were published by the Board of Trade in Sept., 1903, in the shape of a bulky volume of statistical memoranda and charts. The facts and figures thus made public were claimed as proving their respective theories by partizans of both sides in the controversy, but the general result of this inquiry, while not conclusive, was nevertheless distinctly favorable to the views of tariff reformers, who did not fail to take all possible advantage of the fact.

The close of the Board of Trade inquiry brought with it the open rupture in the cabinet which had been, from the first, inevitable. On Sept. 18th the country was startled by the announcement of the resignations of Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Ritchie, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord George Hamilton, the Secretary of State for India. The resignation of Lord Balfour, Secretary for Scotland, followed within a few days. But tho all these ministers resigned, their action was dictated by very different reasons. Mr. Ritchie, Lord George Hamilton, and Lord Balfour were pronounced Cobdenites of the straitest sect. They resigned as the strongest protest they could offer against any change, however small, in that free importing policy which they had come to regard as equivalent, if not superior, to the free trade preached by Cobden. Mr. Chamberlain, on the other hand, left the cabinet, as the only course which would at once set him free to devote himself unreservedly to the advocacy of the preferential policy he had at heart, while at the same time leaving Mr. Balfour unembarrassed in his leadership of the Unionist Party on the more popular part of the tariff-reform program, that officially known as the policy of "retaliation," or retaliatory duties on foreign manufactured goods.

On Oct. 1, 1903, Mr. Balfour spoke at Sheffield on the occasion of the annual meeting of the National Union of Conservative Associations. He declared that while he was opposed to the taxation of food, it was not as a matter of principle but because it was not then practical politics. He did not think public opinion was ripe for it. But he was in favor of the policy known as retaliation. "Tariff attacks," he said, "could only be met by tariff replies." He stated that he desired "to reverse the fiscal tradition which has prevailed during the last two generations" by asking the people of Great Britain "to reverse, to annul, and delete altogether from the maxims of public conduct the doctrine that you must never put on taxation except for revenue purposes. . . . This country should again have what every other country in the world possesses, and that of which no other country in the world would think of depriving itself, the liberty to negotiate and something to negotiate with." The policy enunciated in this speech is commonly referred to by fiscal controversialists as the "Sheffield program." It was unanimously indorsed by the National Union of Conservative Associations in a resolution passed to that effect.

Mr. Balfour

On Oct. 6, 1903, Mr. Chamberlain opened his first fiscal campaign with a great speech at Glasgow, in which he laid before the country what he described as "a sketch plan" of his fiscal proposals. These may be succinctly stated as follows:

PROPOSED NEW TAXES

2*s.* a quarter on foreign (not colonial) corn.
Corresponding tax on foreign flour.
Five per cent on foreign meat.
Five per cent on foreign dairy produce.
An average 10 per cent on completely manufactured foreign goods.

TAXES TO BE RELIEVED

Three quarters of the existing duty off tea.
Half the existing sugar duty taken off.
Corresponding reduction on coffee and cocoa.
Preference to colonial wines and fruit.

DUTIES NOT CONTEMPLATED

No tax on raw materials.
No tax on maize.

In the same speech Mr. Chamberlain stated that he had worked out the probable effect of these proposals upon the cost of living in the United Kingdom and considered that they would result in a gain of about 2*d.* a week in the case of the agricultural laborer and 2½*d.* a week in the case of the town artizan. "Nothing I propose," he declared, "will add one farthing to the cost of living of the workingman or of any family in this country."

The Glasgow speech was quickly followed by others, delivered at Greenock, Newcastle, Birmingham, Cardiff, Newport, Leeds, Liverpool, London, and other towns and cities, speeches in which Mr. Chamberlain dwelt in detail on the various aspects of his policy, answering the objections raised by his opponents, and appealing both to the local experience of his auditors and their national and imperial patriotism.

But the energies of Mr. Chamberlain and his lieutenants were not confined to the making of speeches. The necessarily inadequate results of the inquiry undertaken by the Board of Trade into the condition of the trade of the country had shown the need of some wider and more searching investigation of the many difficult problems involved. On Dec. 16, 1903, Mr. Chamberlain stated in a speech at Leeds that a tariff commission, composed of trade experts and influential business men, had been formed to undertake this

task, and two days later the nature and scope of its work were announced together with the names of the commissioners and secretary. The commission, at time of writing, still carries on its work, the value of which is best attested by the series of elaborate reports already issued, dealing with the iron and steel, cotton, woolen, hosiery, lace, carpet, silk, flax, hemp, and jute industries.

The year 1904 was marked by little of importance in the way of parliamentary developments. But the war of leaflets and of platform discussion went on with, if possible, increased vigor, and public interest in the controversy showed no signs of flagging. On Jan. 11th came the publication of letters which had passed between the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Chamberlain relative to the position of the Liberal Unionist Association, of which the duke was president, in regard to the fiscal question. This correspondence was quickly followed by a split in the organization, and ultimately by the reconstitution of the Liberal Unionist Council, on the basis of a fuller popular representation of the party, under the presidency of Mr. Chamberlain.

Campaign

As the parliamentary session wore on efforts were made by the Liberal Opposition to embarrass both the government and Mr. Chamberlain by means of adroitly drawn resolutions on the subject of fiscal policy, all of which proved abortive. It became increasingly evident that the working agreement between the Prime Minister and Mr. Chamberlain was not to be shaken by any maneuvers on the part of their opponents. The reality of the sympathetic alliance between them received additional confirmation on Oct. 3, 1904, when Mr. Balfour, in a speech at Edinburgh, accepted Mr. Chamberlain's suggestion that the whole question of preferential tariffs should be submitted to the consideration of a colonial conference, specially called together for that purpose, and adopted it as the policy of the government. This fresh advance on the Prime Minister's part was warmly welcomed a few days later by Mr. Chamberlain in a speech at Luton.

Throughout the session of 1905 the parliamentary situation remained very much what it was in the previous year, and the same may be said of the progress of the movement in the constituencies. The chief event of importance during the year was, perhaps, Mr. Balfour's restatement of his position in a speech delivered at the Albert Hall on June 3d, and again, in the House of Commons, on June 7th. It did not, however, either add to or subtract from his previous pronouncements on the fiscal question. "Honorable gentlemen opposite," he said to the House of Commons, "talk as if it was in the Albert Hall that I for the first time said that this question of fiscal reform stood in the forefront of our constructive policy. It must be quite obvious that this is so, and I have said so on all occasions. It is equally obvious, and I have equally said so, that of all the branches of fiscal reform that which was connected with the problem of drawing closer the commercial bonds between us and our colonies was the most important part of our policy."

The manner in which this declaration was received by Mr. Balfour's followers was made clear at the annual meeting of the National Union of Conservative Associations at Newcastle on Nov. 14, 1905, when a resolution was carried by a practically unanimous vote strongly approving of the program outlined by Mr. Chamberlain. When, late in 1905, Mr. Balfour's government resigned office, it was on the twofold policy of retaliation and preference that the Unionist Party went to the country.

The result of the general elections of 1906 is still fresh in the public mind, but it is safe to say that no one in Great Britain, on either side of politics, now regards the sweeping victory gained by the Liberal and Labor Party as representing the conclusive verdict of the British electorate on the fiscal issue. That issue was obscured by, and to a large extent subordinated to, a variety of other issues more or less completely alien to it, as, for example, the education question and that of Chinese labor in the Transvaal. An analysis of the electoral results and their causes would be instructive on this point, but demands more space than we can give to it. It must suffice to remark that the huge Liberal and Labor majority in the present House of Commons affords no indication of the real strength of the Liberal and Labor vote in the constituencies, since out of a total of 5,358,000 votes cast at the general election no less than 2,350,000, or 44 per cent, were given for Unionist candidates. In other words, if we leave out of consideration all the questions — home rule, education, Chinese labor, and other issues—which undoubtedly influenced the Liberal and Labor majority, the most that can possibly be claimed for Cobdenism is a poll of little more than one half the total electorate. And this within three years of the opening of the fiscal campaign, and at the first appeal to a people notorious for conservatism.

The present position of the Unionist Party in regard to the fiscal question is clearly defined in the following correspondence, which appeared in the press of Feb. 15, 1906:

4, Carlton Gardens, S. W.,
Feb. 14, 1906.

My dear Chamberlain: The controversy aroused by the fiscal question has produced, not unnaturally, an impression, which I have constantly combated, that the practical differences between fiscal reformers are much deeper than is in fact the case. The exchange of views which has recently taken place between us leads me to hope that this misconception may be removed, and with it much friction which has proved injurious to the party. My own opinion, which, I believe, is shared by the great majority of the Unionist Party, may be briefly summarized as follows:

I hold that fiscal reform is, and must remain, the first constructive work of the Unionist Party.

That the objects of such reform are to secure more equal terms of competition for British trade and closer commercial union with the colonies.

That, while it is at present unnecessary to prescribe the exact methods by which those objects are to be attained, and inexpedient to permit differences of opinion as to these methods to divide the party, tho other means may be possible, the establishment of a moderate general tariff on manufactured goods, not imposed for the purpose of raising prices or giving artificial protection against legitimate competition, and the imposition of a small duty on foreign corn, are not in principle objectionable, and should be adopted if shown to be necessary for the attainment of the ends in view or for purposes of revenue.

Believe me, yours sincerely,
Arthur James Balfour.

40, Prince's Gardens, S. W.,
Feb. 14, 1906.

My dear Balfour: I cordially welcome your letter of today, in which you have summarized the conclusions that we have reached during our recent discussion. I entirely agree with your description of the objects which we both have in view, and gladly accept the policy which you indicate as the wise and desirable one for the Unionist Party to adopt.

In endeavoring to give effect to this policy, and in defending all Unionist principles, any services that I can render will be entirely at your disposal.

I am, yours very truly,
J. Chamberlain.

TAUSSIG, FRANK WILLIAM: Was born in St. Louis, Mo., in 1859. He received from Harvard University the degrees of A.B. in 1879, Ph.D. in 1883, LL.B. in 1886. He studied in Europe one year, and has since been professor of political economy in Harvard University. His main works are: "Tariff History of the United States" (1789–1898, 6th ed., 1899); "The Silver Situation in the United States" (1892); "Wages and Capital" (1896); and various contributions to the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*. *Address*: Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

TAYLOR, JOHN WILKINSON: Member British Parliament of the Independent Labor Party for Chester Le Street, Durham; born 1855 in Durham; newspaper boy at nine; apprenticed to blacksmith at twelve, he worked at the trade for forty years; and is now in business with his brother as a printer. He is a justice of the peace, a county councilor, and member of the education committee; a stanch member of the Independent Labor Party, and chairman of the Annfield Plain Cooperative Society, which has a membership of 6,000. In 1906 he was elected to Parliament chiefly by the Durham Colliery Mechanics' Association, and other working men of his district. *Address*: Dipton, S. O., County Durham, England.

TAXATION: We cover in this article a definition of taxation: I. History of Taxation; II. Forms and Methods of Taxation; III. Taxation in the United States. IV. The Theory of Taxation; V. Tax Reform; VI. Separation of State from Local Taxation.

In the broadest sense an exercise of the taxing power of the State occurs whenever any compulsory contribution is taken from any person, private or corporate, under the authority of the public powers. But such a broad definition would include also a number of charges which are not taxes in the narrower or strict sense. It would include, for example, certain fees and other special charges for special services. In the narrower sense a tax is a compulsory contribution levied to defray the expenses incurred in conferring some common benefit, in which all persons subject to the tax have a right to participate and for which the government makes no specific counter-service. When a distinct or specific service is rendered by the government in return for the contribution by the individual the payment may be: a fee, if it does not equal or exceed the cost of the service rendered; or a price, if it exceeds or equals the cost of the service rendered.

I. History

Taxation in the sense above defined is of comparatively recent development. In the earliest stages of economic life, when a condition of savagery prevails, there are no taxes in the above sense, nor, in fact, any public revenues proper, inasmuch as there is no government and such authority as is exercised by chiefs or leaders has a distinctly private rather than a public purpose. In the stages of economic life immediately above savagery, where government authority is exercised by the head of the clan or family or by a council of such heads who are themselves in control of all the wealth of the family, there is still no recognition of public, as distinct from private, revenues, and there can be no taxes proper.

Greek and Roman Taxes

In early times and, to an extent, all through classic times, taxation was light. Ancient States received their main revenues from wars, the conduct of State colonies, and trading expeditions, the management of State mines, forests, lands, etc. Slaves did the most of the labor, and foreigners were compelled to pay for protection in money or heavy tribute. Officials were paid usually not by salaries but by fees, and hence were of small expense to the State. Boeckh (bk. iii., i.) divides the revenues of Athens into "duties arising partly from public domains, including the mines; partly from customs and excise, and some taxes upon industry and persons, which only extended to the aliens and slaves; fines, together with justice fees and the proceeds of confiscated property; tributes of the allied or subject States, and regular liturgies" (or payments for amusements for the people, etc., by the holders of the offices). Grote puts the annual expenditure of Athens in the age of Pericles at 1,000 talents, which Professor Ely ("Taxation in American States and Cities," p. 25) values at $1,200,000.

Rome passed from a period of light taxes to a period of 120 years (163–43 B.C.), when successful wars relieved her from necessity for any taxes, and then to a period of heavy and increasing taxation. Cicero, in his "De Officiis" (45 B.C.), speaks of taxation as a thing to be avoided if possible, and adopted only in extreme necessity. In Japan and most Asiatic and despotic countries taxation consisted of a tax paid in service to the State and in tithes laid on the land, and in most countries farmed out, as in the later Roman Empire, to corrupt and merciless tithe collectors, as in Turkey to-day.

In the Middle Ages the concept of the State was that it belonged to the prince or sovereign. Public employees were private servants. Large domains were set apart for the support of the sovereign. The kings at first collected no taxes from the peasantry; the king, under the general feudal conception, was supposed to own all the land, and not to part from this ownership. But he subdivided it among his barons to rule over (not to own), and for that right they did homage—i. e., paid service to the king, usually by bringing to the king a contingent of troops in time of war. They in turn subdivided their lands among the lower gentry or knights, again only to rule over, not to own, and for this obtained homage or service from the knights. These finally gave to their serfs the land to live on and cultivate (not own), and for this received from the serfs a certain amount of service. In this way there were practically no taxes, but each paid to his feudal superior a certain amount of service; the other expenses of the king and greater barons being met out of conquest, or lands held directly as theirs to use. Such was the general feudal conception, modified, however, in a thousand ways by various local conditions, concessions, customs, and traditions. At a later period, however, especially when the countries grew more settled, the barons often preferred to stay and defend their own lands or carry on their own wars, and so, instead of giving contingents of troops to the king, gave a commutation or money substitute. The kings preferred this, as it enabled them to hire standing mercenaries, and be more independent of their barons. This money payment became a tax. The next step was, as the necessities of the king grew, to extend taxation to all classes. It was overlooked or ignored that the other classes were already paying their service to the barons, for him to pay to the king. The lower classes began to be compelled to pay their feudal superiors and the king also. Gradually then the barons began to claim the ownership of the land in fee simple, instead of in use for the king, and what they were paid in service, and later in money, they kept as rent, and what the king collected was tax. (See LAND.)

The first taxes to emerge from the darkness of this period were a number of contributions of the nature of commuted feudal services or such as arose directly from feudal rights. There were also certain market dues, customs duties, tolls for the use of roads, bridges, and ferries, and two forms of the property tax—land taxes and family taxes. The land taxes, as has been suggested above, are just emerging from the character of rent payments and are only by degrees acquiring the character of pure taxes, but the combination of those charges with the hearth or family tax led to the formation of the mixed property and personal tax.

Direct taxes in this period, as in classical times, are never paid by the freeman as they are considered derogatory and are the badge of a servile position. The freeman might give his services to the State, might risk his life for it, but would regard it as an insult to have to pay taxes. Hence when necessity came to ask even the freemen to contribute to some common cause, as the

Turkish wars, these contributions were given a name, such as "donation," "bedes" (from the German *beden*, to beg), and the like, which indicated their voluntary character, and only after these voluntary contributions had been so repeatedly called for that their payment became customary was it possible to introduce any element of compulsion. Indirectly, of course, freemen were taxed, as for example when they bought merchandise for permission to sell which the trader had been taxed. As soon, however, as industry began to develop, as soon as the crafts sprang up in the cities which clustered around the market-places, and a considerable body of the citizens came to live entirely from industry, there arose such differentiation of sources of wealth that the old forms of taxation were insufficient and new forms suited to the new conditions were devised. It was in the cities which retained a large degree of political independence that the highest development of taxation took place in the Middle Ages.

Modern Taxation

The history of modern taxation is the history of the recognition and control of taxation by legislation. The earliest parliaments were called to vote taxes. The recognition of the principle of "no taxation without representation" is the development of representative government. English constitutionalism has been built on the granting of taxes. According to the Magna Charta, "No scutage (land tax, or commutation for feudal service) or aid shall be imposed on our realm save by the common council of our realm." John was allowed to reserve for himself only the three customary feudal "aids"—contributions in case of king's captivity, on the knighthood of the eldest son, and on the marriage of the eldest daughter. The financial needs of the sovereign compelled in 1294 the addition to the charter, called the statute, "*de tallagio non concedendo*," whereby it was agreed that no taxes should be levied by the king, save with the consent of knights, burgesses, and citizens in Parliament assembled. This, says Green, "completed the fabric of our representative constitution." Parliament has since then been necessary. The Declaration of Rights (1689) declared that "levying money for or to the use of the crown, by pretense of prerogative, without grant of Parliament for longer time or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal." This was followed by annual grants of supplies, instead of life grants as before, and annual renewals of the Mutiny Act, containing provisions for the pay and discipline of the army. Annual parliaments have since been necessary. Green calls this "the greatest constitutional change which our history has witnessed" ("Short History of the English People," chap. ix.). That it was the violation of the principle of no taxation without representation which led to the American Revolution is well known.

Great Britain

Taxation in Great Britain to-day is of many kinds. Tho known as a free-trade country (see FREE TRADE), millions of pounds of revenue are still raised from customs duties on wine, spirits, tobacco, and a few other articles. These are not protective duties, however, because a duty is also laid on the home produce, as of spirits. More income is raised from excise duties (see EXCISE), considerable income is raised from stamp and death duties, a growing proportion from an income tax, while a comparatively small amount of national taxation comes from a land tax. Local expenditures are mainly met by rates on house values.

On the Continent, speaking generally, local expenses are largely met by indirect taxes, such as the *octroi* or duties on commodities brought into a city for sale, national taxation being either direct or from a protective tariff. (See PROTECTION.) In Europe generally various stamp duties are more common than in the U. S. See also the separate countries for their sources of revenue in more detail.

II. Forms and Methods of Taxation

Taxes are commonly grouped as direct or indirect according as it is the intention of those levying the tax that the burden shall be borne by him who pays it or shifted to some one else. While there is more or less difference of opinion among different writers as to where the line should be drawn between the two, yet this distinction is for the most part sufficiently clear. Among the taxes ordinarily considered direct taxes are poll taxes, income taxes, land taxes, taxes on general property, including realty and personalty and various modifications and combinations of these. Among those commonly regarded as indirect taxes are customs duties, excises or, as they are called in the U. S., internal revenue duties, tolls, and certain licenses. Not so definitely belonging to either class are certain taxes like inheritance taxes levied on certain property or wealth regardless of its ownership.

III. Taxation in the United States

Colonial Period

In the earlier days of the American colonies there was small need for taxes. England asked no assistance. Quit-rents satisfied the proprietors or the companies, who in turn gave partial protection; there were few officials and few public expenses. Wars had not developed. Forfeitures, fees, fines, and payments for land met all expenses. Land was usually granted for the support of schools. From 1647–89 all the taxes of Rhode Island were about £600 sterling. Fines were collected on the violation of sumptuary laws. Mary Stebbins, in Springfield, Mass., was fined 10*s.* in 1667 for wearing silks contrary to law, and Nathaniel Ely, in 1674, for selling beer not made according to law. A poll tax was levied at various times by almost all the colonies. In Virginia it was long the only tax. Maryland had, before the Revolution, no other direct tax. Quit-rents were annual charges on land in the colonies under proprietary government. Lands in colonies not proprietary were divided among the members of the colonizing companies according to the amount of stock held or for services rendered. In later settlements the apportionment was according to one's ratable property. Public officials were mainly supported by fees—ministers by christening, churching, and burying fees; clerks by fees for issuing court papers and making records; sheriffs by fees for making arrests and inflicting punishments, etc. Licenses and fines, for sale of liquors, for marriages, for lawyers and pedlers, brought in considerable revenues. Lotteries (*q. v.*) were common in the later days when expenses grew. Fines were placed—e. g., in Virginia—on widows, in Maryland on bachelors over twenty-five, in New York on wigs. Excise duties were laid in almost all if not all the colonies on the manufacture of liquor. Duties on exports and imports were irregularly laid. Tonnage duties were levied payable in powder and shot. The methods of collection of the most of the taxes were the same as later on. Largesses were common, as in 1644 New Haven began annual contributions for the support of poor scholars at Harvard College. It consisted of a peck of wheat or value of the same from all "whose hart is willing." In Maryland in 1650 an "equal assessment" was made on all those who would not contribute for the maimed, lame, and blind. Private citizens gave often to the state. In Philadelphia, the charter of 1701 gave no power to levy taxes. The act of 1712 established the right of the citizens to control taxation. The State of Pennsylvania did not levy the first direct tax till 1785. It was an annual tax of £76,945. The annual expenditure of the state government was given by Mr. Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury, at $130,000. Taxation was a very grudgingly recognized right. The attempts

of England to tax caused the Revolution. What state taxes there were were very varied. In 1795 Mr. Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury, in reporting to Congress a plan for laying and collecting federal revenues, declared that the systems of taxation in the various states were "utterly discordant and irreconcilable in their original principles." Seven states had a uniform capitation tax. All except Delaware taxed land, but in some according to quantity, in others quality. Responsibility in some states attached to the state; in others to the counties or townships. The average annual expenditure of each of the fifteen states was less than $70,000, the total about $1,000,000. The New England states taxed live stock and capital. The Southern states taxed slaves.

National Taxation

National taxation was attempted before the adoption of the Constitution of 1787, but Congress had no power. It could only assess the states. After much discussion this was finally changed, and the new Constitution conveyed to the national Congress "power to collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the U. S.," and to "borrow money on the credit of the U. S." But this large grant was accompanied by decided restrictions. The first is that "all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the U. S." The second, that "no capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration" elsewhere provided for. The third, that "no tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state. No preference shall be given, by any regulation of commerce or revenue, to the ports of one state over those of another." On the other hand, it is provided that "no state shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts laid by any state on imports or exports shall be for the use of the treasury of the U. S.; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of Congress." The interpretations of the Supreme Court have determined (1) that Congress has no power to levy duties on exports under any circumstances; (2) that no state may tax the "instrumentalities" which the federal government deems proper to create or employ for carrying out its purposes, such as property in the debt of the U. S.

This interpretation of the Constitution has led to the present condition of affairs, whereby the national government has raised its revenues almost exclusively by indirect taxation, and the states have levied almost all our direct taxes. This has meant that the national government has had the most remunerative taxes and the states the most unpopular. It has meant, too, that during large portions of our history the national revenue has been largely in excess of national expenditures. Only in our earliest history in war time and very recently has the revenue been insufficient and resort made to direct taxation by the national government. In 1796 Congress yielded to the pressure of financial necessities, and recommended a direct tax, and in 1798 one was laid on houses, slaves, and lands.

Again during the War of 1812 it was necessary to resort to direct taxation to carry on the government. Here a new feature was introduced, inasmuch as the several states were permitted to assume as states the payment of their quota of the tax. Many states availed themselves of this privilege. Thus was avoided a collection of the taxes by the U. S. Government at different rates in all parts of the country, and with it the general unfavorable criticism of the system. When again in 1861 it became necessary to resort to direct taxation, the privilege of assuming the payment of the quota was embraced by all the loyal states.

The main national taxation, however, has been indirect taxation through the tariff and the excise duties. (For a history of the former, see TARIFF, and for statistics of revenue, see FINANCE; INTERNAL REVENUE.) For the first years of our national life, burdened with debt, the revenue was by no means excessive, in spite of the excise taxes enacted under Washington's administration; but in 1801 those excise taxes were repealed, and by 1806 President Jefferson announced to Congress that the tariff revenue would soon be more than sufficient to meet the constitutional wants of the government, and proposed that the powers of Congress be enlarged to enable it to undertake a great system of internal improvements. The outbreak of the war with Great Britain postponed the appearance of a surplus revenue and forced the reenactment of excise taxes. But in 1829 General Jackson announced the reapproach of a surplus revenue, and in 1836 a law was passed to deposit the surplus revenue with the states in quarterly instalments. These deposits were made and were used for education, etc., but the business depression of 1837 and the failure of the state banks compelled the treasurer to suspend the fourth payment, and he was supported in so doing by Congress. Owing to the Mexican War and bad financial management, there was no surplus before the war, but in 1860 a debt of $61,140,496. The expenses of the war caused "the war tariff," excise taxes, and direct taxes, besides large loans, and for twenty years after there was no surplus. But by 1887 the policy of the funding of the debt, putting a large part of it out of reach for redemption at par, there came to be a large surplus, even tho most of the war taxes had been repealed. It had come to be a practical question in national taxation what to do with the surplus revenue. It did not remain so. The growth of the pension list, which has come to be among the heaviest expenses of the government (see REVENUE), with heavy appropriations for internal improvements, etc., for a time more than exhausted the revenue. This was remedied by the passage of the Dingley tariff and more recently by the increased revenues of the taxes levied at the time of the Spanish War, some of which still continue. (See PROTECTION. For present national taxes, see FINANCE; INTERNAL REVENUE. See also INCOME TAX.)

State Taxes

Coming to state taxation, we have seen that the systems of state taxation inherited from the colonies were most diverse and confusing. This diversity has largely continued. They are all, as has been said, direct taxes. At first the general aim was to tax according to ability to pay. In Connecticut, till 1814, taxation was first upon property according to its probable net revenue. In Ohio, till 1825, land was divided into three classes, according to quality, and there were three rates of taxation per 100 acres. In 1825 a clause was introduced providing that land should be taxed without taking into consideration the actual improvements thereon. In Maryland there was a direct tax for local purposes on the direct

value of all property. Other states followed in the main the systems of taxation inherited from the colonies. (See above.) Generally speaking, the effort to tax all property according to income proved a failure, and the tendency has prevailed to tax according to selling value, this change being made in most states in the "forties." Another change, too, was generally made about the same time. The old specifications of property failed to reach large masses of wealth. The attempt now is to tax all property according to selling value. The constitution of Ohio, adopted 1851, expressly provides that even state and local bonds shall be taxed. Nevertheless, this attempt to tax all property equitably according to its selling value has not succeeded. In many states the opulent pay taxes on little more than what property they choose to return. The widows, and the helpless, and the conscientious, whose property, being in the hands of the courts, is easily measured or fully returned, pay full taxes. The rich who will largely escape taxation on personal property. In Ohio, where the most strenuous efforts have been made to reach all property, the governor reported that "in 1883 the valuation for taxation of the personal property of the state, as shown by the grand duplicate, was $542,207,121. In 1884 it shrunk to $528,298,871, and for 1885 dwindled again to $509,913,986. This loss has been made up largely by the steady growth of the valuation of real estate on account of new structures, etc., but the loss was greater than the increase last year" (Professor Ely's "Taxation in American States and Cities," p. 157). Says the preliminary report of the West Virginia Tax Commission, made in 1884:

> At present all the taxes from invisible property come from a few conspicuously conscientious citizens, from widows' executors, and from guardians of the insane and infants; in fact, it is a comparatively rare thing to find a shrewd trader who "gives in" any considerable amount of notes, stocks, or money; the truth is, things have come to such a condition in West Virginia that, as regards paying taxes on this class of property, it is almost as voluntary and is considered pretty much in the same light as donations to the neighborhood church or Sunday-school. . . . The statistics bearing on this point will scarcely be credited by persons who have not investigated the subject (idem, p. 174).

In New York State the assessors, in their report for 1881, say:

> Women, heirs, executors, administrators, guardians, and trustees of persons of unsound mind are assessed beyond all measure of justice. . . . The same assessor, however, if not forgetting his oath when inquiring of the wealthy neighbor as to his personal property, very likely accepts the negative answer as truthful, tho it is well known to the community that he possesses large means. The one has not yet learned how to cover the personal property by an assumed indebtedness, while the other is well versed in the many devices by which he may escape even the "diligent" assessor (idem, p. 174).

A careful study, however, of the present condition of city taxation in the U. S. is the Eighth Biennial Report (1894) of the Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics, of which George A. Schilling was secretary. It is an exposé of the crookedness and inequalities of the present system of assessing and levying taxes, and of the extent to which wealthy individuals and corporations escape taxation. Applying to Chicago, it is notoriously representative to a greater or less degree of all our larger and some of our smaller cities. Its value may be seen in the fact that the original edition of 45,000 was exhausted in a few months, and a special edition called for. The report considers the whole subject at length. We can quote from it only some of its findings as to the assessment and taxation of personal and land property. It shows, in the first place, the extent to which personal property escapes taxation. The following table shows the amount of personal property assessed in Cook County (the city of Chicago) and outside of Chicago, and also the relative property of bankers which is assessed and that of other classes of citizens:

Assessed Personal Property of Bankers, Brokers, etc., and of Other Classes[1]

Area	Population by United States Census, 1890	Assessed Money		Amount per Capita	
		Bankers, etc.	Other persons	Bankers, etc.	Other persons
Illinois	3,826,351	$3,120,555	$7,769,358	$0.816	$2.03
Cook County	1,191,922	43,925	434,244	0.037	0.364
Other counties	2,634,429	3,076,630	7,335,114	1.168	2.784

Assessed Credits[1]

Area	Assessed Credits		Amount per Capita	
	Bankers, etc.	Other persons	Bankers, etc.	Other persons
Illinois	$1,563,583	$11,343,365	$0.409	$2.968
Cook County	10,000	522,110	0.008	0.438
Other counties	1,553,583	10,821,255	0.590	0.108

[1] Tabulated from Eighth Biennial Report of Illinois Bureau of Labor.

As further illustrative of the undervaluations in Cook County, tables are presented which show that, according to the report of the state auditor, the net taxable credits and moneys of twenty-seven state banks in Chicago, on June 5, 1893, amounted to $1,058,105.25 and $18,991,771.67 respectively, while the amounts of these items listed for taxation, May 1, 1894, by all the banks in the city (national banks excluded) amounted to $10,000 and $43,925 respectively.

Of the utterly unjust assessments of real estate, the report gives equally plain evidence.

The extent of the undervaluation for the purpose of taxation is first illustrated by a series of tables, that compare the cost of buildings erected during a number of years, as shown by the building permits, with the assessed value of all real estate. The following statement summarizes the general results of the comparison:

Cost of Buildings and Assessed Value of All Real Estate in Chicago

Buildings erected 1876 to 1893	63,301
Cost	$418,144,603
Average cost	$6,605.66
Per cent of total cost	100.00
Assessors' valuation, all real estate, 1893	$123,745,832
Per cent of cost of buildings	29.59
Cost of buildings erected 1890, 1891, and 1892	$129,364,250
Per cent of assessed value of all real estate, 1893	104.54

Leaving out entirely the buildings erected prior to 1876 and still standing in 1893, and omitting land values altogether, the assessment valuation in 1893 of both land and improvements was less than one third of the cost of the buildings for which permits were granted after the close of 1875.

A description is given of seventy of the costliest commercial buildings of the city, with the true and the assessed value of the land and the buildings separately shown, and the percentages of the assessed to the true values; similar showings are also made for a number of costly and a number of cheap residences. The increase in the true value of some of the commercial and costly residence property is compared with the decrease in the assessment value. Comment is also made on the constantly increasing value of land and decreasing value of improvements, with almost stationary assessment values.

In comparing values for old and new style office buildings, it is found that while in both cases the site value exceeds the value of the buildings, the proportion is much greater in the case of the old buildings. For forty-four new buildings the site value was 50.84 per cent of the value of both land and buildings, while for sixteen old buildings it was 74.23 per cent. In the case of eight lots in a choice residence portion of the city the value of the ground is shown to have increased 556.59 per cent between 1882 and 1893, while the assessed valuation increased 76.55 per cent, and the per cent that the assessed is of the true value decreased from 21.72 in 1882 to 5.84 in 1893. The assessed value of the improvements on these lots in 1893 was 15.82 per cent of the true value. For ninety-eight unimproved lots the assessment for 1893 was 4.88 per cent of the true value, while for twenty buildings it was 13.54 per cent. The variation between the percentage of true value at which buildings are assessed and that at which building sites are assessed appears to be about the same for all classes of property.

Apart from its obvious tendency to obstruct improvement, the report states that "a custom of assessment for taxation like that above described must therefore in its very nature discriminate against the owners of improved property according to the greater value of their improvements relatively to the value of their land. And this operates with special force against owners of cheaper properties." Comparing a business property valued at $800,000 with a residence valued at $8,875, it is shown that for the business property the ground was 87.50 per cent and the building 12.50 per cent of the total value, and for the residence the ground was 21.13 per cent and the building 78.87 per cent. The assessed value of the land in the case of the business property was 7.29 per cent, the building 27 per cent, and the total 9.75 per cent of the true value. For the residence property the percentages were, land 5.33 per cent, building 15.71 per cent, and total 13.52 per cent of the true value. In these two cases the assessment valuation is, in proportion to actual value, lower on the cheaper property, both as to site and improvement, than on the business property; and yet the total assessment valuation of the cheaper property is 3.77 per cent greater, as compared with the total real value, than the total assessment of the business property.

A number of tables are presented which show the quantity and assessed value of real and personal property, also of railroad and other corporate property throughout the entire State of Illinois, with appropriate comparisons with similar values for the State of Indiana. These statistics are shown in detail by county totals, comparisons being made between the totals of 1873 and 1893. The two final summary tables are in substance as follows:

Assessed Valuation, All Classes of Property, Illinois

Class of Property	Assessed Values in—		Decrease	Per cent of decrease
	1873	1893		
Personal property	$287,292,809	$145,318,406	$141,974,403	49.42
Lands	582,416,667	320,964,855	261,451,812	44.89
Town and city lots	317,199,285	293,274,185	23,925,100	7.54
Railroads (all property)	133,807,823	82,270,090	51,537,733	38.52
Corporations other than railroads	20,896,462	5,363,979	15,532,483	74.33
The city of Quincy	13,788,271	[1]	13,788,271	.....
Total	$1,355,401,317	$847,191,515	$508,209,802	37.50

[1] Assessment of the city of Quincy included in Adams County.

The report gives many concrete examples of the way real estate is undervalued, and so escapes taxation. Of thirty residences ranging in value from $20,000 to $1,300,000, the report says:

> The highest assessment shown is only 12.23 per cent of true value. That is the assessment valuation of the residence No. 112 Lake Shore Drive, worth $130,000. The residence Nos. 87–102 Lake Shore Drive, worth $1,300,000, is assessed at only 5.54 per cent of true value; its millionaire owner pays considerably less than half the tax for his home, in proportion to value, that is paid by the owner of the $130,000 home. The owner of the least valuable home in all the list, the residence at No. 2829 Indiana Avenue, pays on a 9.5 per cent valuation—nearly double the proportion paid on the millionaire residence; and homes worth but little more than the minimum limit of the list—those at Nos. 2241 and 2243 Michigan

Avenue—are taxed upon 11.03 per cent of true value; or proportionately within a very small fraction of double the tax upon the millionaire home. Some of the comparatively modest places are taxed at a low valuation. One worth $50,000 is taxed upon only 4.86 per cent of its value; one worth $67,500 is not much worse off with a tax upon 6.30 per cent of its value; one worth $60,000 is assessed at 4.08 per cent of its value, and one worth $90,000 is assessed as low as at 4 per cent of its value. The average valuation of the thirty properties is but 7.78 per cent of real value.

How can the fraudulent character of these valuations be doubted? Make all possible allowance for differences of opinion, and still assessors cannot explain the valuation of $50,000 property at $2,430; of $90,000 property at $3,600; of $175,000 property at $7,980; of $1,300,000 property at $71,960, and so on. And what explanation can the owners make? They may say it is no part of their business to object to undervaluations of their property; but they would not try to satisfy a merchant with such an explanation of purchases from his clerks at prices so monstrously out of proportion to real value. Why is their standard of honor and honesty so radically different when the issue is with the people instead of a merchant? and over a question of shirking taxes instead of purloining goods? This question is the dilemma of those owners who passively acquiesce in undervaluations; those who actively promote them have a worse moral problem to deal with.

As an illustration of the way vacant land is undervalued, the report gives the following history of a bit of land formerly known as the Garfield Race-Track, owned by Judge Lambert Tree:

It is unimproved, held for a rise, an eyesore and obstruction to the growing neighborhood, and worth at the present time not less than $1,000,000. This property was patented in 1835; in 1836 it was sold for $580; in 1870 it was sold again, the price being now $50,000. At the next sale, in 1875, the true price was veiled—$1,000 and "other good and valuable property" being the consideration exprest. In 1870, the year the property sold for $50,000, it was valued by the assessor at $39,960, and by the Board of Equalization at $37,562, and taxed $8,245.50. Since that time the valuation has been slightly increased and the tax slightly reduced, as follows:

Year	Assessors' valuation	Board's valuation	Taxes
1870	$39,960	$37,562	$8,245.50
1880	40,530	49,042	2,430.75
1890	101,200	119,416	7,737.05
1893	88,600	106,320	7,768.59

It will be observed that the highest valuation—that of 1890—is but little more than double the price paid in 1870, long before the thick population that now surrounds the property had begun to drift in that direction. The valuation for 1893 does not exceed 10 per cent of the true value.

For further facts as to city taxes, see Cities.

A more recent report, that of the Commission on Revenue and Taxation of the State of California, 1906, has the following indictment of the present system which will apply with but slight modification to the conditions prevailing in most other states:

1. In general the present system of taxation does not meet the demands made upon it. It is antiquated, having been adopted fifty years ago, and has not been revised to keep pace with modern conditions.

2. It is full of inequalities, which impose a handicap on the growth of the state, a handicap which only the vigor and inexhaustible energy of our people can carry.

These inequalities twist and distort our industries and prohibit a symmetrical development of our resources. They place an undue burden upon agriculture especially; the foundation of our wealth, the one industry which most fully exploits the great natural resources of the state.

3. The taxes paid by farmers in California are equivalent to an income tax of 10 per cent. This is in contrast to many other industries; for example, the taxes paid by manufacturers which amount only to 2 per cent on income. The persons engaged in agriculture, with an average yearly income of about $500, pay $50 per capita per annum in taxes. The persons engaged in manufactures, with an average annual income of $870, pay $17.50 per capita per annum.

4. Our chief tax, called a general property tax, has in fact become a real estate tax. Only from 15 per cent to 18 per cent of the entire taxes are levied on personal property.

5. The amount of personal property on the tax rolls to-day is hardly larger than it was in 1872.

6. Money and credits escape taxation almost entirely. Our laws in regard to the taxation of this class of property are full of absurdities and utterly unenforceable. It is unwise to retain these provisions on the statute-books.

7. National banks pay no taxes at all, except on real estate, of which they are not permitted to hold much, by the provisions of the federal laws.

8. State commercial banks, subject to our tax laws, are badly handicapped by the competition of the untaxed national banks. Many of them have become national banks partly for the reason that they would not then be subject to taxation.

9. State commercial banks, to live at all, in face of this competition, are forced to evade taxation whenever possible and are hampered in their investments by unwise provisions of our tax laws.

10. Savings-banks, which harbor the savings of the workers and which are, in many states, granted special rebates in taxation on that account, are the only class of banks which pay their full quota of taxes.

11. "Equalization," so called, does not equalize, and in the nature of things, cannot equalize. After the officers have exhausted their best efforts in this direction there are inequalities—glaring ones—between real estate and personal property; between different classes of personal property; between county and county; between city and city; between city and country; between man and man. All of which are rarely removed and often intensified by so-called equalization.

12. The original inequalities in the assessment are intensified by the constant piling up of tax on tax on the same base. If a city has a rate of $1, which may be "reasonable" enough, there often comes on top of that a county tax of another $1, a few special school taxes, or a sewer tax, or a tax for bonds, or a levee tax, or a drainage tax, etc., etc., until the effects of any inequalities in the original assessment have been multiplied anywhere from two- to fivefold. Aggregate tax rates falling on city property range from $1.65 per $100 to $5 per $100 of assessed valuation.

13. Counties with relatively undeveloped resources often have very high tax rates on relatively high valuations, while some of the richest counties enjoy a low tax rate on low valuations.

14. The present system takes the revenue derivable by taxation from large general organizations, like the railroads, which revenue belongs by right to the people of the state at large, and distributes it most inequitably among the local divisions of the state which have no proper claim to it whatsoever.

15. Under the present system it is impossible to adjust the burden of taxation equitably between different classes of corporations.

16. Our present system is a "school for perjury," puts a penalty on honesty, and pays high premiums for dishonesty.

IV. The Theory of Taxation

The theory of taxation may be considered under three heads: (1) the canons of taxation; (2) its incidents; (3) particular taxes. The canons of taxation—i. e., the characteristics by which taxes are to be measured as wise or unwise—are usually based on the four classic canons laid down by Adam Smith. They are in Smith's words as follows:

1. The subjects of every State ought to contribute to the support of the government as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities; that is, in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State. In the observation or neglect of this maxim consists what is called the equality or inequality of taxation.

2. The tax which each individual is bound to pay ought to be certain, and not arbitrary. The time of payment, the manner of payment, the quantity to be paid, ought all to be clear and plain to the contributor and to every other person. Where it is otherwise, every person subject to the tax is put more or less in the power of the tax-gatherer, who can either aggravate the tax upon any obnoxious contributor, or extort, by the terror of such aggravation, some present or perquisite to himself. The uncertainty of taxation encourages the insolence and favors the corruption of an order of men who are naturally unpopular, even when they are neither insolent nor corrupt. The certainty of what each individual ought to pay is, in taxation, a matter of so great importance, that a very considerable degree of inequality, it appears, I believe, from the experience of all nations, is not near so great an evil as a very small degree of uncertainty.

Canons of Taxation

3. Every tax ought to be levied at the time or in the manner in which it is most likely to be convenient for the contributor to pay it. A tax upon the rent of land or of houses, payable at the same term at which such rents are usually paid, is levied

at a time when it is most likely to be convenient for the contributor to pay, or when he is most likely to have wherewithal to pay. Taxes upon such consumable goods as are articles of luxury are all finally paid by the consumer, and generally in a manner that is very convenient to him. He pays them by little and little, as he has occasion to buy the goods. As he is at liberty, too, either to buy or not to buy, as he pleases, it must be his own fault if he ever suffers any considerable inconvenience from such taxes.

4. Every tax ought to be so contrived as both to take out and to keep out of the pockets of the people as little as possible over and above what it brings into the public treasury of the State.

The subject of the incidence of taxation is one of the most involved and debated in economic science. Professor Seligman, in his "The Shifting and Incidence of Taxation," traces the history of the doctrine of incidence, and finds nine different theories besides those which he calls early theories. The early theories he divides into those favoring a general excise tax (Hobbes, Cradock, Munn, Petty), those that favored a single tax on land (Locke, Davenant, Cantillon, and others), those that favored a more elastic system (Hume and Steuart). The first developed theory which he considers is that of the physiocrats (*q. v.*). They held that as land is the only original source of wealth, all taxes should be on land alone, and then cannot be shifted, while any other tax will be shifted. The absolute theory, he says, was outlined by Smith and perfected by Ricardo. According to this, a tax on pure rent will remain on land. Other land taxes and all special taxes on commodities not included in the laborer's standard of life will be shifted on to the consumer. All general taxes on agricultural produce, on wages, or on profits come from the capitalist. These conclusions are derived from the Ricardian doctrine of rents, wages, and the residuum of profits. The equal diffusion or optimistic theory, that all taxes are generally diffused on consumers, Professor Seligman criticizes severely, tho he finds it accepted widely, especially in America. The germs of it he finds in the Italian economist Verri, and especially in Canard. It is accepted by Thiers, Courcelle-Seneuil, Cherbuliez, Prittwitz, Stein. America, however, Professor Seligman says, is "the only country in the world where the doctrine is still upheld, and the chief representative of this easy-going, complacent doctrine is David A. Wells." The pessimistic theory, held by Proudhon, also believes that all taxes fall on the consumer, and that this cannot be helped in any form of taxation. The capitalization or amortization theory argues that the land tax falls exclusively on the landowner, and that hence the taxation of land is simply equivalent to depreciating the value of the land by the capitalized value of the tax. From this is deduced the conclusion that after the tax is once imposed it makes no difference how much the tax is, provided it be constant, since, whatever it is, its capitalization has been subtracted once for all from the value of the land. The germ of this theory Professor Seligman finds in John Craig. German writers like Sartorius, Hoffman, and Murhard, went so far as to say that a land tax was no tax at all; this has been to some extent accepted by modern economists like Garnier, Wolowski, Cherbuliez, Walras, Leroy Beaulieu. Rau discusses the theory, and shows that it is only true so far as the value of land depends on its net produce, and this only so far as the produce does not change, and this is true not only of land, but of any commodities of varying value capable of sale. Under the head of the eclectic theory, Professor Seligman groups those who criticize all the above theories, among them J. B. Say, Sismondi, Garnier, Parieu, Von Thünen, Von Hock, Rau, Prince-Smith, Jones, Senior, Mill, McCulloch, Cliffe-Leslie. All these deny that any of the above theories work without exception. The negative or agnostic theory of Held goes further and denies the above theories. Held argues that all profits like land profits depend on the difference between the greatest cost and market price. The Socialist theory Professor Seligman calls Lassalle's teaching, that indirect taxes are all those not assessed on income or property, and fall on the laborer, who, even in Germany, has not been quite squeezed down to starvation. The last theory which Professor Seligman considers is the quantitative or mathematical theory, as developed by Cournot, Jenkin, and Pantaleoni. The treatise of the last named Professor Seligman considers the best existing treatment of incidence. This theory is, however, a method rather than a theory. It regards incidence as bound up with the theory of value (*q. v.*).

Theory of Incidence

With such contradictory views as to the general theory of incidence, it is wiser to discuss concrete taxes than any general principles.

Taxes are usually divided into direct and indirect. Taxes are called direct taxes when the payment is made by the person taxed.

Indirect taxes are paid, in the first place, by merchants and tradesmen, but it is understood that they recover the amount paid from their customers. The principal taxes consist of the customs duties levied upon articles, when they are imported for use in this country, and excise duties, or duties levied upon goods produced within a country.

The form of direct tax most approved is undoubtedly land taxation. The subject of the incidence of land taxation is so important that we quote at length on the subject from Professor Seligman. He says:

> Theoretically there may be five kinds of land taxes:
> 1. Tax on economic rent.
> 2. Tax on profits from agriculture.
> 3. Tax according to net produce.
> 4. Tax according to quantity.
> 5. Tax according to selling value.
>
> A tax on economic rent can never be shifted. Here all writers are agreed. As regards the other taxes, Ricardo maintained that a tax on the value of land or on produce will raise prices and fall on the consumer. Ricardo's theory would hold good on two conditions: First, that there was an absolute mobility of capital and labor; and, secondly, that the community in question was an isolated one. It is assumed that the farmers will abandon the land rather than cultivate it at a loss, and that a decrease of supply will raise price. Now it may happen that an increase of price will often lead to a decrease of consumption, which again will react on the price, so that at best only a part and not the whole of the tax would be shifted to the consumer. But in actual life it is a difficult matter for producers to decrease the supply of agricultural products. The tax would often simply have the influence of reducing the farmer's profits.
>
> In the case of cities we may have four cases:
>
> 1. When the tax is levied on the ground-owner the case is simple. The value of a lot is fixt by the law of monopoly value. Its price will be entirely unaffected by the imposition of a tax.
>
> 2. The tax may be levied on the house-owner apart from the question whether or not he is the land-owner. Buildings represent the investment of capital and labor. A special tax imposed on the building-owner can therefore generally be shifted.
>
> **City Real Estate**
>
> A distinction must, however, be drawn between houses already constructed and those built after the tax is imposed. In exceptional cases the tax imposed on old houses cannot be shifted.
>
> 3. The tax is levied on the ground-owner, who is at the same time the house-owner. We need here only combine the two preceding cases.

4. The tax is assessed on the occupier according to rental value. It is generally supposed that the ground rent part of the tax will be shifted to the ground-owner. But this is not always true, for three reasons: 1. The ground rent may be so low and the rent so high that the builders cannot afford to erect any more houses. This means an increase of the rents. 2. In the course of long leases any intervening increase must rest on the occupier. He cannot improve his condition until the expiration of the lease. 3. But even in the case of short leases, it is not true that the tax can always be shifted. If the competition for lodgings be such that the rent is $200, the occupier who has been paying $10 as the ground tax proportion of the whole tax will not pay any less rent for the premises if his tax is increased to $15. It might, indeed, cause the tenant to live in a less desirable locality—i. e., lower his standard of life. The occupier could evade the tax, but he could not shift it.

Taxes on other property than land obey still more complicated laws of incidence. Taxes on luxury cannot be shifted, but they are expensive in collection, depend mainly on the conscientious reporting by citizens of their own wealth, with the result that they fall only on a few conscientious citizens, and produce a great deal of dishonesty, with a very small profit for the State.

Taxes on income, on inheritance, are of very great importance, but of such importance that we consider them under special articles. It is generally held that taxes on capital, on investments, etc., can be shifted. If all capital were mobile, its taxation could undoubtedly be shifted; but for various reasons, such as the condition of the market, expense of the process, all capital cannot be moved, and then the tax cannot always be shifted. Taxes on railroads, street-car corporations, etc., so far as they are not taxes on land values, can theoretically be shifted on to the people who patronize the cars, etc.; but practically they often cannot, as the rates are sometimes fixt by law, more often by a custom, which the companies cannot break.

Taxes on Capital

A few other taxes may be briefly considered. Poll taxes, once common, are now rare. They fall unjustly, because they tax the poor man and the wealthy man equally; they bring too little revenue at large expense. In England, they have not been levied since William III. Stamp duties are generally considered more cumbersome than effective, tho in England and Europe generally they are still common. They are usually indirect taxes. The question of taxation is more and more being limited to a discussion which is wiser of two or three great classes of taxes.

V. Tax Reform

(For the position and arguments of the advocates of particular tax reforms, see INCOME TAX; INHERITANCE TAX; SINGLE TAX. For the arguments for and against duties for protection, see PROTECTION; FREE TRADE.) Generally speaking, other propositions to reform taxation may be divided into the two great classes of those who would concentrate taxation upon land and those who, in various ways, would seek to tax all personal property. As representative of the former class, we quote a short paper read by Prof. S. M. Dick, before the American Economic Association, Aug. 24, 1892. He says:

All writers and teachers dealing with the subject of taxation, so far as I know, are agreed that the American taxing system is faulty and ought to be reformed.

Some of its worst defects are: It puts a premium on dishonesty; it is exceedingly complex; it tends to widen the breach already existing in society. There are two reasons why a reform is difficult to inaugurate: First, the rich men do not want it. Second, the farmers do not want it.

Our present system is a system of 100 years ago. At that time millionaires and monopolies were unknown to America. Our system was more nearly just then than it is possible for it to be now. Since new factors of wealth have been introduced, new methods of taxation are necessary.

Land Taxation

In 1826 the personal property in Ohio was nearly equal in value to the real estate. In 1889 the realty amounted to $1,213,645,052, while the personal property is listed at only $540,552,292. Assuming that the personal property is worth as much as the real, we have $673,092,760 of taxable personal property bearing no portion of the public burden. In the city of Cincinnati in 1867 the personal property was valued at $68,412,285, and the real at $68,596,040, while in 1880 the real was valued at $129,956,980, and the personal at only $37,578,376. This apparent decrease of personal property is not limited to Cincinnati. The same is true in other large cities in Ohio. Personal property, therefore, escapes taxation. The most logical basis for a system of local taxation is real estate. The taxation of mortgages is a question of great interest to the people of the United States, since the census of 1890 shows that there are 12,690,152 families and 9,000,000 of mortgages in the U. S. Mortgages, so far, have not been successfully taxed.

If taxation were on real estate alone in Ohio, those counties most given to farming would save, per annum, from 15 to 20 per cent of all the tax now paid for state purposes.

Had real estate alone been taxed in 1891, and had the same amount of tax been required for state purposes that was demanded, the four counties containing the four largest cities in Ohio would have paid $147,889.30 more than they did pay. The four cities would have paid much more than this, and the farm hands in those counties would have saved a large per cent of their tax.

It is very evident from the facts ascertained in the investigation that Ohio farmers would be largely the gainers if personal property were exempt from taxation.

The above paper is not, however, to be understood to commit Professor Dick or his fellow thinkers to a sole tax on real estate. It was shown in the debate that followed that the professor would not limit taxation to this. On this point Professor Seligman said (and Professor Dick agreed with him):

The thought is perhaps in harmony with that of a large number of tax reformers in this country, that the best basis, or at least a very good basis, for local taxation would be real property. Henry George goes one step farther, and maintains that the basis should be land exclusive of improvements. My objection is that while the plan has many advantages of ease and convenience of collection, and of non-inducement to fraud, it fails of equality and uniformity. There is no doubt that after all the contests over principles of taxation, modern science has settled down on a taxation according to ability and means rather than on a taxation according to benefits, tho it is true that in local taxation this principle must be modified somewhat by the principle of benefits to the individual and his property. As real property has a large share of the benefits of state and municipal protection, it ought to bear a large share of the taxation. It is hopeless to suppose that the farmers of this country will ever consent to abolish the tax on personal property unless we replace it by something which will reach the bondholders, and tax the holders of millions who did not get their wealth from real estate. No system of local taxation can be worked out without taking into account the general state and national taxation system, all three systems trying to get at the faculty of the individual.

This general proposition to concentrate taxation on land is the one supported by the report of the Illinois Bureau of Labor, quoted above. It says:

To adopt the site-value method of taxation is to invite general prosperity. With personal property exempt, its increased consumption would increase the demand for it, and consequently multiply business opportunities in connection with making, carrying, and selling it. With landed improvements also exempt, larger and better homes would be demanded, to the stimulation of all branches of the building industry. With vacant lots taxed the same as if improved, and so much that it would be unprofitable to hold them long out of use, speculative values would decline and business be no longer obstructed by exorbitant prices for location.

Working men would pay in taxes only what their ground rent privileges were worth. Farmers would pay in taxes not more than their farms would rent for if wholly denuded of buildings, fences, and drains, and turned back into raw prairie. Every one would be benefited through reduced taxes, or better incomes, or both—every one except the mere monopolizer of public benefits.

And the cry of fraudulent taxation, on any other account

than an occasional personal dereliction, like a post-office embezzlement or a bank robbery, would be heard no more.

Simple, practical, natural, scientific, and just as the site-value tax doubtless is as a method of raising public revenues, it is at the same time recommended by its supporters as the solution of the labor question, or, more correctly, as the natural way of reinvesting every laborer with power to settle his own labor question for himself. For it is not the power of employers, but the necessities of the unemployed or the inadequately employed, that makes employment precarious and wages low. It is not the clubs of policemen nor the weapons of soldiers that defeat strikes; it is the underbidding of men in worse plight than the strikers. The simple remedy is by freeing business from monopoly and tax burdens to open the way for unlimited opportunities for employment, so that none need take another's place in order to get remunerative work himself. This, it is claimed, the site-value tax would do.

As an example of those who strive to tax personal property more rigorously we quote the Hon. Mr. Winn, in an address made in Faneuil Hall, Boston, Oct. 7, 1891. He said:

When personal property is all taxed, the owner of a house cannot collect the tax on it from his tenant by making him pay more rent. He must bear his own taxes.

But, when personal property is permitted to escape, the landlord can make his tenant bear the tax on the house by charging that much more rent.

The reason is that, if capital in buildings escapes taxation by throwing the tax on the tenant, capital outside, if taxed, will flow into buildings to get the same advantage, till it can be got no more.

But if the outside capital is not taxed it will not flow into buildings, which always are taxed, until the tenants are willing by a higher rent to bear the new tax the capital has to assume. . . .

Taxation of Capital

This is the very key to the situation. Here is the method by which the rich throw their taxes over on to the poor, who are not in the tax lists at all. They get chattels exempted, or take care that the laws are lax enough to permit their escape from taxation. And by this the poor men who have no property whatever, but who must have shelter, and who never dream they are paying taxes, are haled in to bear not only the taxes of the tax-dodging millionaire, but those of their landlords as well.

Data have been collected which show that the rent of the poor whose incomes are less than $1,000 is four times as great according to their means as the rent borne by persons whose incomes exceed $7,500. So a tax on rent, if borne by tenants, is grossly disproportionate.

Come at it from another direction. The report of the tax committee of the Boston Executive Business Association, written by one who desires to exempt this class of property, and who would naturally underestimate its amount, declares:

"The personal property of both city and state, which under the law is subject to taxation, cannot be less than twice the value of the real estate."

If this is so, more than $2,000,000,000 escapes taxation, and the people are cheated out of about $17,000,000 per annum. I understand that Mr. Robert Giffen estimates the wealth of England to be about one sixth in land. Applying this scale to Massachusetts, and somewhat less than $1,700,000,000 escapes taxation, and the loss of taxes is $14,000,000 to $15,000,000. . . .

I believe that the whole assessment of estates should be in the hands of the Tax Commissioner, who should appoint the local assessors, and that they should be paid by the state. I believe that the tax on private personal property should be an excise—a state tax at a uniform rate through the commonwealth—which should be the average tax rate as now laid on corporations. I believe that the personal property tax collected should be distributed to the cities and towns in proportion to the value of their real estate, with such concession as may be reasonable to places of taxpayers' residence. Or that the state should help the municipalities with the proceeds in the support of schools and roads and such other expenses as the state may wisely assume. I believe that every taxpayer should be compelled to give in a sworn list of his personal property under penalty of double doomage at least. And if this is not enough we may adopt the Swiss system of examining the estates in probate.

VI. Separation of State from Local Taxation

Since the Conference on Taxation, held at Buffalo in 1901 in connection with the Buffalo Exposition, there has been a marked movement in the direction of tax reform starting with the separation of state from local taxation as to sources of revenue.

This has been most carefully and extensively worked out by the California commission above referred to. We quote from them as follows:

The commission recommends:

1. Separation of state from local taxation as to sources of revenue.

This is the first step in reform.

Complete separation implies that the state shall collect its revenues from sources other than a direct levy on real and personal property of individuals, leaving to the counties and cities the exclusive right to tax such property for local purposes.

This will take the burden of direct state taxation off real estate, and save the owners of real estate about $4,000,000 annually.

It establishes, at once, home rule in matters of local taxation.

It abolishes, at once, any necessity for equalization between counties, and cures the evils state equalization fails to reach.

The property belonging to the subjects selected for state taxation shall, so far as it is reached by the state, whether through its earnings or directly, be exempt from local taxation.

Separation, while not a remedy in and of itself, except for the evils arising from the breakdown of so-called equalization, opens the way for a proper classification of the subjects of state taxation, and makes it possible to tax each class with a greater approximation to equality than is possible without it.

The exact boundary line, the line of "separation," between the state's power of taxation and the powers to be exercised by the counties and their subdivisions, will be defined in connection with each class of subjects selected for state taxation. (See *3b*, "New Sources," below.)

2. That an absolute divorce between state and local taxation be the ultimate aim, and that as nearly complete separation as possible be attained at the very outset.

3. That the state derive its revenues from the following sources:

a. Old sources continued.

(1) The poll tax.

(2) The inheritance tax.

(3) The tax on insurance premiums (modified to remove existing discriminations).

(4) The annual franchise tax on corporations (modified and made proportional).

(5) All fees now collected.

(6) All collections by state institutions (some of which may be increased).

(7) All earnings of state property and investments.

(8) The revenue from sale of state lands.

N. B.—The right to levy on general property should not be surrendered, but should be resorted to only to make good a deficit.

b. New sources.

(1) A gross earnings tax on railroads; street-railroads; express companies; car companies; light, heat, and power companies; telegraph and telephone companies, at rates fixt for a period of six years by constitutional enactment, after which time they may be amended by the legislature, but not more frequently than once every six years.

This tax is to be in lieu of all other taxes except taxes on property not necessarily used in the operations conducted by the companies. The counties and cities would, therefore, be forbidden to tax this class of corporations.

(2) A tax on the shares of capital stock of all banks at 1 per cent of the book value of the stock. The book value is the sum of the paid-up capital and the accumulated surplus and undivided profits.

This tax, like the gross earnings tax, is to be in lieu of all other taxes on the banks, except taxes on real estate, the assessed value of which is, however, to be deducted from the capital before the 1 per cent rate is applied. Cities and counties would be deprived of the right to tax banks except on their real estate and mortgages.

(3) A tax at the rate of 1 per cent on the assessed value of all corporate franchises of every sort, not covered by the abovementioned taxes, such franchises to be valued by the state Board of Equalization. This tax, also, would be in lieu of local taxes on such franchises.

The separation of state from local taxation as to sources of revenue has come to be generally recognized as the one feasible pathway for tax reform.

Many of the Eastern states have introduced the plan for separation of state from local taxation. Pennsylvania was the pioneer in this line, and has had such a system in force for many years. New York has, after twenty-five years of gradual evolution, attained a similar position. We have selected these two states, together with Connecticut, Ohio, and Minnesota, each with more or less com-

Separation in Other States

plete separation, to illustrate the way this plan works in other states.

REFERENCES: Plehn, *Introduction to Public Finance*; Seligman, *Essays on Taxation*; Adams, *Science of Finance*; Ely, *Taxation in American States and Cities*; Twelfth Census of the U. S., *Volume on Wealth, Debt, and Taxation.*

TCHAYKOVSKY, N. W.: Father of the Russian revolutionary movement, publicist, and propagandist; born 1851 in northeastern Russia. He prepared himself for the University of St. Petersburg, where he studied natural sciences, and was graduated in 1873, altho he was arrested during his final examinations and detained for several months. This, with a number of previous experiences, opened his eyes fully to the arbitrary ways of the bureaucracy, and the uselessness of trusting the czar. He openly espoused the cause of the people, and for thirty years has worked, spoken, and written in their behalf. He knows the people, since he has in turn been school-teacher, farmer, ship-carpenter, laborer in a sugar-refinery, newspaper correspondent, editor, traveling salesman, chemist, superintendent of factories. His extensive travels, including a stay of four years in the United States, and his studies abroad have also given him a full knowledge of free countries. He is the author of numerous pamphlets on the political and industrial situation in Russia.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION AND MANUAL TRAINING: We include under this general heading three subjects which are distinct, altho continually confounded in the public mind—trade education, technical education, and manual training. We consider them under one head, in order that, by placing the subjects side by side, the important differences between them may be clearly brought out. We commence with definitions.

Definitions

Trade education is the preparing of craftsmen for practical work in a particular trade. Technical education is the teaching of the sciences in their practical application to the material interests of man. A good trade-school may be a very poor technical school, while a good technical school is not of necessity a good trade-school. Manual training is different from either; it is instruction in the use of tools as a part of a complete educational discipline. Trade-schools seek to turn out craftsmen; technical schools seek to turn out scientific specialists and professional men, such as civil engineers, architects, etc.; manual training seeks to develop complete manhood and womanhood by developing dexterity of hand as well as head. We must consider the three in their modern chronological development.

I. Technical Schools

Science is modern; scientific schools are therefore modern. When Count Rumford, in 1799, founded the Royal Institution in London, he intended it to be a technical school, altho it was later diverted into a chemical laboratory in which Davy, Thomas Young, Faraday, Tyndall, Rayleigh, and others did their great work. This attempt at founding a technical school had, however, been preceded on the Continent by half a century. The Polytechnicum at Brunswick, Germany, was established 1745; that of *Ponts et Chaussées* at Paris in 1747. Mining schools were founded: Freiberg, Saxony, 1765; St. Petersburg, Russia, 1773; Clausthal, Prussia, 1775; Paris, 1778. The Polytechnique at Paris dates from 1794; that at Stockholm, Sweden, from 1798. With the beginning of the nineteenth century these schools began to multiply rapidly.

Technical education has reached its highest development and its largest extent in Germany. A sharp distinction should be made between the *technische Hochschulen* and the *gewerbliche Mittelschulen* or *Industrieschulen.* The former require a thorough preparation and correspond really to the university faculties of law, medicine, theology, and philosophy. Graduation from a *Gymnasium* or *Realgymnasium* or *Oberrealschule* is necessary for admission to these schools. They require an attendance of six years for graduation, and grant the doctorate in engineering on the presentation of a satisfactory thesis and the passing of requisite examinations.

Germany

The *Industrieschulen* or *gewerbliche Mittelschulen* are satisfied with less preparation, e. g., that of a *Unterrealschule, Höhere Bürgerschule,* etc. They intend to furnish a more practical education, at less expense, and, as a rule, somewhat more specific.

Germany had nine technical colleges or *Hochschulen* in 1905. The largest—Berlin-Charlottenburg—has 402 instructors and about 4,200 students, and offered 281 courses. The total number of students in the nine colleges was (1903) 14,626, of whom 2,242 were foreigners; and that of instructors 1,145. The preeminence of Germany in certain industries, e. g., dyeing, is due to these schools. A dauntless, earnest, untiring pursuit of science is preeminently the mission of the German technical high schools of to-day.

The *Industrieschulen* are intended to furnish a general education in technology with the thorough mastery of some particular branch (both theoretically and practically) arising out of local needs and conditions. If one of these institutions has only one department it is called a *Fachschule*, e. g., that at Würzburg, Bavaria, for the construction of machinery. There are at present twenty-four schools belonging to this category; the best known is that at Chemnitz, Saxony, established 1836, with the departments of mechanics, chemistry, construction, requiring three years and a half, and electro-technics, four years.

The schools and museums of industrial art occupy the middle ground between the schools of fine arts and the trade-schools. Their object is to apply the principles of art to the trades, and thus raise the standard of taste. (See article REVIVAL OF HANDICRAFTS.) Germany has thirty schools of this kind, scattered pretty well over the whole empire. The applicants for admission must have had some practical experience and a theoretical knowledge of the branch in which they seek instruction. The *Industrie Halle* at Carlsruhe was founded 1865; those at Munich and Berlin, 1867.

The schools for foremen (*Werkmeister*) propose to train experts of medium grade in different branches. Germany has twenty-one schools of this kind; the one at Chemnitz, Saxony, was established 1855; the applicants must have at least two years' experience at their trade, and must be at least sixteen years old.

Various Trades

Germany has schools for almost every individual trade.

Women have not been neglected in this general educational scheme. Schools for trades which women may choose abound; cooking, embroidery, nursing, textile, commercial subjects, etc., are taught, and efficient workwomen are trained in them. Prussia had (1901) 603 schools with 24,313 students; Bavaria 39, with 3,462; Saxony 24, with 1,800; Württemberg 42, with nearly 6,300.

The lowest industrial schools of Germany are the so-called *Fortbildungsschulen* or continuation schools. They supplement the general continuation schools by giving all kinds of practical information for the earning of a livelihood, and are found in every community where industrial conditions make such instruction expedient. Attendance is generally compulsory. There are nearly 3,000 schools of this character, scattered over the whole German Empire.

Austria has eight technical colleges, or *technische Hochschulen*, supported by the State. They are modeled after those of Germany, with four to six departments. The total number of instructors was, in 1906, 545; that of students, 9,176. The best known is that of Vienna with 112 instructors and 2,774 students.

Other European Countries

Belgium has no technical schools which take rank with those of Germany and Austria; but the demand along this line is met to a large extent by special courses in engineering, mining, and manufactures, given by or in connection with the four universities. The students of technology numbered 2,046 in 1904–5.

France has twelve technical high schools which have done excellent work; their combined registration was 1,992 in 1903. The *École Polytechnique*, established in 1794, is the best known; it has 370 students.

England has only two institutions which belong in this class, the Royal College of Science, with 34 instructors and 300 students; the City and Guilds Central Technical College with 33 instructors and 430 students, both connected with London University. The universities supply this need to a large extent by special courses. Other countries which have institutions of this kind are as follows: Hungary, Holland, Italy, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Scotland, Sweden, Finland, Canada, and Japan.

Russia deserves special mention, because she has twelve institutions of higher technical instruction with a total enrolment of 11,356, and because a very large number of Russian students go to Germany and Switzerland to study technology.

Switzerland, too, needs separate mention because of her excellent *Polytechnicum* at Zurich, with 178 instructors and 1,293 students in 1905. It has the six departments usual to a German school of this character and one in philosophical and political science.

United States

The system of instruction in the United States has until recently been based on that of England; that is, the schools of technology were not *graduate* schools, but received students with widely differing preparation, altho graduation from a high school was usually required in the better class institutions. The requirements for admission have, however, been raised constantly until they are equal to those of the best colleges; permitting, of course, the substitution of scientific, mathematical, and modern language studies for Greek and Latin. The instruction is of the same grade as in the colleges, altho along different lines. In 1903 there were forty institutions of this kind with instructors as follows: preparatory departments, 107 men, 34 women; collegiate departments, 1,506 men, 120 women; total number of men, 1,586; women, 161. The students numbered in the preparatory department, 3,288 men, 804 women; the collegiate, 13,997 men, 1,237 women; the graduate, 203 men, 32 women. Grand total, 19,765 men and 2,614 women. These institutions have 15 fellowships and 951 scholarships. Their equipment is: books, 565,795, and pamphlets, 159,187, to the value of $1,176,424; scientific apparatus and machinery worth $4,451,052; grounds and buildings valued at $25,171,943; productive funds, $13,748,820.

The dates of foundation of the more important institutions are: Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute at Troy, N. Y., established in 1824, to train civil engineers; Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University (1847); Lawrence Scientific School of Harvard (1848); Chandler Scientific School of Dartmouth (1852). In 1862 Congress voted land grants to the several states to enable them to build institutions for teaching agriculture and mechanics. Most of the state universities established scientific schools. Cornell became prominent for its scientific teaching. Washington University, at St. Louis, organized its School of Engineering, and Columbia College its School of Mines. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology was chartered in 1861 and opened in 1865; the Worcester (Mass.) Polytechnic Institute, 1867; the Stevens Institute, Hoboken, N. J., 1871; the Rose Polytechnic Institute, Terra Haute, Ind., 1883; the Case School of Applied Science at Cleveland, in 1891.

In 1906 there were forty-four colleges of this kind with an income of $6,235,314.

II. Trade-Schools

Trade-schools are attempts to develop craftsmen in place of the apprentice system, which is all but gone. (See Apprenticeship.) Those of Germany have already been described.

Austria has an extensive system of trade-schools which dates back to 1751.

1. *The central industrial educational institutions.* These are all located in Vienna, with the exception of that at Prague.

2. *Schools for important groups of trades.* There are two grades in this class, the higher industrial schools requiring graduation from a *Realschule* or *Gymnasium*, and intending to train in one year specialists for either administrative officers in industrial establishments, or specialists in a particular line, e. g., master builders and contractors, or master mechanics in the railway service, etc., or finally superintendents of breweries, distilleries, etc. For the highest positions along all these lines the course requires four years for completion. The lower schools are those for foremen and are similar to those of Germany. There are eighteen schools of the latter kind.

3. *Schools for particular trades.* They require graduation from a common school, the passing of the fourteenth year, and prepare for special trades, e.g., lace-work and embroidery; weaving, knitting, etc.; wood, iron, and stone work; earthen- and glassware; metal working; housesmithing, machine construction, drawing and modeling, watch- and clock-making, etc. In 1900 Austria had ninety-six State schools of this kind with 8,815 pupils, and sixty-two private schools.

Belgium

Belgium leaves industrial education to the initiative of the communes and to private enterprise, but subsidizes these schools. The trade-schools for girls antedate those for boys, originating in 1865 in Brussels.

The industrial education of boys is given in the *Écoles industrielles*, which furnish general courses pertaining to industries; in trade-schools, which teach both the theory and practise of a particular trade; in superior trade and technical schools; in Saint Luke trade-schools; apprentice shops for males; and in trade courses for males. The different trades are covered in these various schools.

Canada has aside from its dairy and agricultural schools 7 industrial schools in the province of Quebec, and 6 in that of Ontario.

France

France finally abolished the gilds in 1791, and established a previously private trade-school as a national one in 1799. Since that time the system has grown, partly through private and partly through public initiative, until in 1900 there were 292 schools receiving government aid. She has now a remarkably complete system of trade and technical schools, furnishing industrial education from simple operations to advanced training for engineers. The schools present no distinctive features that have not already been presented in connection with other countries. There are 6 national schools of arts and trades, 2 schools of horology, 33 practical schools of commerce and industry (7 of these for girls), 20 practical schools of industry, 35 schools of industries with 5,550 pupils, 13 municipal trade-schools in Paris with 1,385 pupils, and about 370 private industrial schools with 92,000 pupils. Numerous societies provide for courses in weaving, cutting, dressmaking, millinery, etc., for girls.

Great Britain

Great Britain has no national system of industrial education, altho she has numerous and, in many cases, fine trade-schools, maintained by municipalities or private institutions. The City and Guilds of London Institute was organized 1878, and established Finsbury College in 1883. There are over forty of these higher schools in Great Britain with an ever-growing number of students. The secondary schools are also numerous. They are generally divided into secondary day-schools, or schools of science, of which there are about 230 with 32,625 pupils; in the other class of secondary day-schools partly doing industrial work, there are 253 establishments; so-called science classes are given in 489 schools to nearly 46,000 pupils, earning a grant of £40,859. Science examinations are held in 1,325 centers, and over 18,600 passed first-class, over 31,000 second-class. Besides, there are numerous scholarships and exhibitions, e. g., the Whitworth and the National. The evening-schools, too, are doing considerable work in this line, both as centers of manual and industrial training. Those of them which earned a grant in 1904 numbered 5,579, with 25,517 instructors and 696,882 pupils—422,478 males and 274,404 females. Some took instruction in several subjects, but the majority only in one. There are several museums of industrial art; and the Royal College of Science gives instruction in chemistry, biology, metallurgy, and mining, in addition to other subjects. The total number of schools of art in Great Britain is said to be 230. Industrial education is, however, not as popular as on the Continent owing to a conflict in laws, one of which holds that trades cannot be taught in a school, while another holds that trades cannot be taught without a school. The great enthusiasm for outdoor sports also militates against theoretical instruction concerning trades. Nevertheless, 34,189 pupils were entered in 1900 in 390 industrial schools, while the London County Council's schools alone had 1,246 pupils in 1901.

Hungary

Hungary deserves more than passing mention in this connection. Since 1884 every city with at least fifty apprentices is compelled by law to maintain a school for apprentices, at which attendance is obligatory—masters failing in their duty in this respect being fined 100 kronen = $20.30. They have three grades, the lowest intended for boys of twelve years. Instruction is usually given in the evening and comprizes, besides cultural courses, nature study, penmanship, bookkeeping, drawing, and sketching. There are about 380 schools of this kind with nearly 80,000 pupils and 2,200 teachers. There are, moreover, twenty schools for journeymen with voluntary attendance and about 1,000 pupils.

School workshops for apprentices form the two links in industrial education.

The State industrial schools form the fourth and highest step in industrial education. They are intended for superintendents, directors, and factory owners, and have a four years' course. The excellent *polytechnikum* in Budapest forms the apex of industrial education in Hungary. Schools of design, needlework, embroidery, etc., for women, also exist in all cities and villages with decent primary schools. The four industrial museums exhibit masterpieces of all kinds, and maintain lectures to workmen, foremen, and owners of shops.

Italy

Italy has excelled in industrial arts for several centuries, and education along these lines dates back to the eighteenth century. In 1841 the Austrian Government established in Venice and Milan two technical schools with an industrial character. According to a law of 1859 technical schools of a lower grade were established, numbering 280. Nevertheless, industrial education dates from 1870, when Italy became united. They owe their origin chiefly to local and private initiative, and the central government has not unified the system as it has that of general education.

The schools are either industrial or schools of art applied to industry. The three polytechnical schools form the apex, and perform functions similar to the same institutions in other countries, as described under Germany. The industrial and trade-schools of medium grade are intended to train foremen of workshops; those of lower grade to perfect workmen. The former number 8, with about 1,000 students; the latter 68, with about 17,000 pupils. The character of these schools corresponds to that described elsewhere. There are, moreover, two mining-schools, with about 50 students.

Switzerland proposed a school for drawing in 1704, established one in Geneva, 1751, and has increased its industrial schools since to such an extent that the little republic stands at the head of all countries in proportion to its population. The system has been under the Federal Assembly since 1884, and is as perfect as that of Germany. There are (1906) 380 institutions receiving

subsidies from the government, cantons, and communes; and 275 schools for girls similarly subventioned.

Industrial education in the United States may be divided into *public*, *semipublic*, and *private*. The first comprizes schools under the supervision of federal, state, or municipal authorities; the second, schools under the auspices of private universities, colleges, and schools of religious and semi-religious societies, of philanthropic and benevolent institutions, etc.; the third class includes all private institutions, associations, or individuals that make instruction in general industrial subjects or in special trades a business. Owing to these differences in control, origin, and motive, the schools vary greatly in method, clientele, and purpose. The government schools, e. g., for Indians, desire to civilize the red man; they have unlimited means at their disposal, and are intended for one class only; their methods must necessarily differ from those pursued, e. g., at Pratt Institute, where usually only grammar-school graduates are admitted, and from those of a small college with large purposes but small means. Again, the private school, e. g., for barbers, aims merely at turning out efficient men at this trade within the shortest time, with least expense, and largest profit to the owner. It is, consequently, impossible to give a general description of methods, as was done in connection with several European countries with their systems, carefully graded by a central authority, without going into lengthy details which are outside the realm of the Encyclopedia. Only this much may be said frankly, that the better-class institutions of the public and semipublic classes have taken the best institutions of Europe for their models, and are doing all that can be expected of them considering the shortness of time they have been in the field. The trouble is, however, that too much is left to the initiative of individuals, with the result that only a comparatively small number of boys and girls are reached. For instance, in 1904 the total number of industrial schools reporting to the Commissioner of Education was 195—i. e., 98 of high-school grade with 36,680 pupils, 52 of elementary grade with 27,793 pupils, 45 Indian schools with 9,260 elementary and 1,032 secondary pupils. To these numbers must be added 996 colored pupils receiving industrial training in public high schools, and 15,743 in secondary and elementary private schools. This makes, including a few other schools not reported, in round numbers 92,500 pupils, male and female, out of an approximate number of at least 1,000,000 who ought to receive such instruction.

United States

The apprentices are, with few exceptions, left to their own devices. Small wonder that they grow up without any knowledge of anything outside of their trade, and no deep knowledge of that. In 1900 the returns for the twelfth census showed 81,482 apprentices and helpers in sixteen trades and miscellaneous industries. Only 2.45 per cent of this total were legally indentured, although in some unions the percentage was 7; that means that they were not even compelled to serve a sufficient time for learning their own trade. Two agencies are trying to ameliorate this woful condition. A number of large manufacturing firms have established apprenticeship schools, besides requiring a definite length of time for learning the trade. Such schools are found in connection with the Baldwin Locomotive Works, the Midvale Steel Company, the Wanamaker store, all of Philadelphia; the Brown and Sharpe Manufacturing Company of Providence; the Lynn works of the General Electric Company; the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, East Pittsburg; the manufacturers of the Hoe printing-presses, New York. The other agencies for betterment in this line are the numerous schools carried on as private trade-schools, e. g., the New York Training School; the Baron de Hirsch Trade-School, the Hebrew Technical Institute, both of New York City; the Drexel Institute and the Williamson School of Philadelphia; the California School of Mechanical Arts and the Wilmerding School of Industrial Arts, San Francisco. Some of these schools are very large and highly organized. Furthermore, numerous and varied classes taught by Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, by the legions of college, church, and other settlements, give an increasing amount of technical education. (See Hull House.)

While the present condition of intermediate and elementary industrial education is lamentable, there are hopeful signs in the following facts: 1, that our higher technical schools (mentioned above) are fast gaining an excellent standing; and 2, that education along these lines has had a remarkable growth in the U. S. Manual-training schools numbered 15 in 1895 with 3,362 pupils—2,043 males and 959 females—all of high or secondary grade; in 1896 these schools had 4,892 students—3,621 males and 1,271 females; in 1897 the schools had increased to 40 with 13,890 students; 1898, to 58 with 18,977 students; 1899, to 66 with 20,701 students; 1900, to 69 with 24,716 students; 1901, to 78 with 28,981 students; 1902, to 85 with 29,507 students; 1903, to 95 with 33,062 students; 1904, to 98 with 36,680 students. The number of elementary industrial schools has had a similarly rapid, altho more recent, growth. The 195 schools for whites had (1904) a total expenditure of $1,480,685—salaries, $1,028,586; materials, $127,529; new tools and repairs, $82,060; incidentals, $242,510. The cost of plants was $10,197,524.

Perhaps the commercial and business schools should be mentioned here, owing to their rapid development. In 1904 about 4,600 institutions reported 250,231 students taking courses of this kind; 138,363 of them were in regular business colleges; the remainder took courses in departments attached to high and normal schools and colleges.

III. Manual Training

The idea of manual training as a part of education dates from the Reformation; that is, with the final fall of feudalism. The reformers laid stress on the practical side of life against that of asceticism and contemplation. That meant the ennobling of work, and, coincidently, of manual dexterity. Luther, Comenius, Locke, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, advocated it in one form or another. It was due, perhaps, to these influences that kings, emperors, and princes are now adopting a trade which they are supposed to master. Froebel (*q. v.*) took the first step in his "Education of Man."

Uns Cygnæus, of the Helsingfors Seminary, Finland, actually introduced manual training beyond the kindergarten age. From there it spread over Finland and Sweden, later over Eu-

rope and the United States. (About manual training for little children, see article KINDERGARTEN.)

Sweden must be mentioned first, because manual training was introduced already in 1876, and has since spread over the whole country. This country has, moreover, a normal school at Nääs devoted to the education of teachers in this line. The Swedish system is called Slöjd (Sloyd), and includes carpentry, turning, and wood-carving; but requires in each case the completion of an article by the same pupil. This system has since been adopted elsewhere.

Sweden

Austria has manual training for girls in every primary school in the department of sewing, needlework, embroidery, etc. Her continuation schools, too, are in the majority of cases non-professional, and impart knowledge and, frequently, practise in one or another branch of manual training, particularly in drawing. For the perfection of the latter accomplishment there exist four general drawing-schools for both girls and boys, three in Vienna and one in Brünn; they are subsidized by the State. Boys receive less attention, because the gymnastic and military training is supposed to supply skill and agility in general, and trade-schools the particular dexterity required. Moreover, nearly every country school has a school garden (*q. v.*) and boys acquire considerable skill in the handling of farm implements. This is certainly manual training, since no less a man than Count Tolstoy depicts (in "Anna Karénina") the joy which filled his heart when he was able to handle a scythe as well as the best farm-hands. What has been said about Austria in regard to continuation schools, school gardens, and training of girls in sewing, etc., applies equally to other Continental countries, e. g., Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, France, Hungary, Italy, and the Scandinavian countries.

Austria

Germany has about 200 schools with workshops; *Switzerland* has them in more than half the cantons; *France* has them in every advanced primary school of Paris and of the larger provincial cities; *England* began in 1887 with the Drapers' Company's gift of £1,000 to the City and Guilds of London Institute for the promotion of manual training. The institute was so successful with its six centers that the government took them over in 1890 and introduced the system both in London and the provinces. Models, apparatus, tools, etc., are furnished by the board. The love of outdoor sports is, tho, a strong counter attraction.

Manual training has had its best and widest development in the United States, with the exception, perhaps, of Sweden. Training of girls and boys and adults in drawing was introduced in the Massachusetts schools in 1872; St. Louis established a manual training school in 1876, which aimed at an all-round education. Nearly all large cities have since followed that example, e. g., Chicago, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Cleveland. The system has had a very rapid development. In 1890 only 37 cities included manual training, in addition to drawing, in their public schools; 1894 there were 95; 1896—121; 1898—146; 1900—169; 1901—232; 1902—270; 1903—322; 1904—411. That is, out of the 588 school systems in cities over 8,000 population, more than 80 per cent had adopted the system; and it has extended rapidly since. Manual training is given in the high schools and in the grades for from two to eight years. Some cities give it in both. Drawing, sewing, and other needlework for girls were generally the beginning in the public schools; later the manual training schools introduced joinery, wood-turning, and carving, pattern-making, modeling in clay, molding, casting, forging, machine-shop practise, etc., for boys, and proper branches for girls. From these schools, which taught the cultural branches, too, the system spread into the public schools. Private schools, e. g., Pratt Institute, Brooklyn; the Drexel Institute, Philadelphia, etc., adopted the system readily, and in several cases improved it.

United States

IV. Economic Bearing

Everybody believes to-day in industrial education. The development of the body is recognized as a vital part of education (*q. v.*). Socialists, individualists, radicals, and conservatives, all are agreed at the present that industrial education should be extended as far as possible.

But there is a difference of opinion as to what form this industrial education should take. Working men and many other people favor technical schools and general manual training, but oppose trade-schools. Speaking of manual training, in an address before the Social Science Association in 1884, General Walker says: "It is not so much the creation and endowment of separate schools of this character which is in view, as the gradual conversion of all the existing schools of the land to this use through the grafting of certain studies and exercises upon the traditional curriculum."

This is what working men desire.

Says Mr. George E. McNeill ("Report of Massachusetts Commission on Manual Training," part iii.):

> The manual training school is a necessary substitute for part of that which has been lost to the children of to-day. . . .
>
> The "Puritan," sneered at by the dilettante liberalists of to-day, was a hard man—hard to contend with, whether in the field of productive labor or destructive war, in religious argument or political debate. He was the best-equipped man of his time. As populations increased, and industries became more diversified, his adaptability was extended.
>
> Every home had its Bible, its library, musket, and tool-chest. . . .
>
> A boy of twelve years of age who could not use the tools required for the manual training school of to-day was held to be below par. . . .
>
> In the crisis of the union, men were found in the ranks of the New England volunteers who could do any kind and all kinds of work, and do it well. . . .
>
> The wage-worker of to-day, whether a hand-tool or a steam- or electric-tool worker, is less and less required to depend upon himself in his work; his opportunities of development in his work are limited, as compared to those of former times. . . .
>
> Handicraft, as a means by which the masses of mankind can earn a living, is being replaced by machine-craft. . . .
>
> Learning a trade is like learning a dead language, useful as an accomplishment, but useless as an investment, save as it interprets a past mystery and disciplines the learner. . . .
>
> The plain men, labor reformers, who studied the industrial conditions and the evolutionary processes of development foresaw that adaptability and availability were worth more than skilled ability. They were among the first to advocate and demand the kindergarten and the school of technology. They wrote, lectured, and petitioned that the school should be the place of resistance to the demoralizing influences of the rapidly decaying industrial and social system, and a source of persistence in the direction of the moralizing influences of enlightened civilization.
>
> That some working men should oppose the extension of school work to primary preparation for manual pursuits was to be expected. Men whose occupations are their life must needs be jealous of everything that tends to increase competition. They know by instinct, if not by experience, that wages, under the pressure of competition with other laborers in the same craft, will, like water, seek its lowest outlet; and

they feel that resistance to lower wages, like resistance to tyranny, is obedience to God. . . .

Our public schools are for the training of citizens, not mechanics, merchants, lawyers, or the other professions; and the youth is not correctly trained who enters upon the duties of citizenship with contempt for manual pursuits.

This quotation, perhaps, indicates the position occupied by the more intelligent working men of the world. They honor labor, and believe that all men should labor. They would have manual training taught to everybody, but they fear trade-schools. Trade-schools which, in their opinion, turn out dilettante workmen, feeling themselves superior to "ordinary" workmen, and refusing to develop the necessary trade-unions (see TRADE-UNIONS), they fear and oppose. They do not oppose good workmen, but they do not believe that trade-schools are the place to produce real effective craftsmen. They argue that American and English mechanics who lead the world were not taught in trade-schools, but in the workshop.

They would have in place of trade-schools schools of technology, for the study and teaching of science and manual training for everybody, giving boys and girls that general adaptability to fit them to enter any trade workshop and become skilled craftsmen. On the other hand, many people regret the rule of machinery, and believe we need besides the teaching of the workshop, where money values alone rule, the teaching of trade-schools, as in Europe, to teach hand-carving, artistic weaving, pottery-making, and good work of every kind. (For the question whether industrial education should be in the hands of the State or private individuals, see EDUCATION; SOCIALISM; INDIVIDUALISM.)

RUDOLPH M. BINDER.

REFERENCES: *Report on Industrial Education of the U. S. Commission of Labor* (1892); *Report of Massachusetts Commission on Manual Training and Industrial Education; Technical Education at Home and Abroad*, a paper by J. Hirst Hollowell in the *Cooperative Annual*; *Seventh Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, Trade and Technical Education* (1902); *Report of the Commissioner of Education* (1904), vol. ii.; *Industrial Education and Industrial Conditions in Germany, Special Consular Reports*, vol. xxxiii., 1905.

TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE SERVICES:

For history and discussion of public ownership of, see Section II. of this article for Telegraph, and Section III. for Telephone.

I. Commercial Statistics

TELEPHONE, UNITED STATES AND EUROPE, 1905

COUNTRY	Population	Telephones	Inhabitants per telephone	Telephones per 1,000 inhabitants
United States	76,000,000	3,400,000	22.2	44.8
All Europe	.....	1,485,784	.....	....
Sweden	5,250,000	112,250	46.8	21.4
Denmark	2,500,000	41,650	60.0	16.7
Switzerland	3,300,000	52,509	62.7	15.9
Norway	3,000,000	41,500	72.2	13.8
German Empire	58,000,000	518,489	112.0	8.9
United Kingdom	42,000,000	365,198	115.0	8.7
Holland	5,300,000	29,500	180.0	5.6
Belgium	7,000,000	24,750	284.0	3.5
France	39,000,000	122,191	320.0	3.2
Austria-Hungary	48,000,000	74,600	644.0	1.6
Spain	18,600,000	16,000	1,160.0	0.9
Italy	32,000,000	27,147	1,180.0	0.8
Russia	135,000,000	60,000	2,250.0	0.4

(Compiled from Reports of the United States Census Bureau and Bureau of Statistics, 1906.)

COUNTRY	Telegraphs: Date	Length of line	Length of wire	Length of line per 10,000 inhabitants	Length of wire per 10,000 inhabitants
		Miles	*Miles*	*Miles*	*Miles*
Argentina	1905	32,387	75,204	57.0	132.4
Australia, States	1906	45,220	.....	111.7	.....
New Zealand	1906	8,355	25,116	93.9	282.2
Austria	1904	25,714	116,915	9.0	42.9
Hungary	1904	14,572	77,133	7.2	38.4
Belgium	1905	4,117	23,079	5.7	32.2
Bolivia	1904	2,778	.....	12.7	.....
Brazil	1904	15,502	30,686	10.8	21.4
Bulgaria	1904	3,272	6,918	8.1	17.2
Canada	1905	37,804	103,165	58.7	160.2
Central America:					
Costa Rica	1905	946	.....	29.6	.....
Guatemala	1905	3,230	.....	17.9	.....
Honduras	1906	3,811	.....	51.2	.....
Nicaragua	1905	3,152	.....	63.0	.....
Salvador	1905	1,872	.....	18.5	.....
Chile	1904	9,312	.....	28.7	.....
China	1905	22,183	33,989	.5	.8
Colombia	1903	6,475	.....	16.2	.....
Cuba	....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Denmark	1904	2,353	8,823	9.2	34.3
Ecuador	1904	2,566	.....	18.3	.....
Egypt	1905	2,752	11,400	2.8	11.6
France	1904	97,941	369,851	24.9	94.1
Algeria	1904	7,416	21,638	14.2	41.4
Tunis	1904	2,143	6,385	11.8	35.1
French East Indies	1904	7,798	13,005	4.2	7.1
French colonies, n. e. s.	1904	9,370	.....	3.5	.....
German Empire	1905	89,348	331,547	14.8	54.8
German Colonies	1904	2,077	2,210	.....	.....
Greece	1904	3,916	5,899	1.6	1.8
Haiti	....	.....	.....	16.1	24.3
India, British	....	61,684	227,749	.....	.....
Italy	1904	30,094	117,216	2.1	7.7
Japan	1905	19,015	88,811	8.9	34.6
Formosa	1905	942	3,321	4.0	18.5
Kongo Free State	....	.....	.....	3.1	10.8
Korea	1905	2,170	.....	.....	.....
Luxemburg	1905	683	1,414	1.8	.....
Mexico	1906	34,996	.....	27.3	56.6
Netherlands	1905	4,346	19,868	25.7	.....
Dutch East Indies	1904	8,420	11,321	7.8	35.5
Dutch possessions in America	1904	.....	.....	2.4	3.2
Norway	1905	6,104	12,073	26.4	52.2
Paraguay	1905	1,136	.....	17.8	.....
Persia	1905	6,459	10,393	8.4	13.6
Peru	1906	3,741	.....	8.3	.....
Portugal	1904	5,369	12,123	10.4	23.5
Portuguese c'l'nies	1904	2,336	2,546	3.2	3.5
Rumania	1905	4,358	11,502	6.7	17.8
Russia	1904	112,244	380,196	8.0	27.0
Finland	....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Santo Domingo	1897	429	.....	7.0	.....
Servia	1905	2,039	4,799	7.6	17.8
Siam	1904	3,287	.....	6.6	.....
Spain	1904	20,053	47,424	10.8	25.5
Sweden	1904	10,770	32,071	20.5	61.0
Switzerland	1905	3,892	14,012	11.3	40.5
Turkey	1904	26,488	42,358	10.6	17.0
United Kingdom	1905	52,115	588,164	12.1	136.1
British colonies, n. e. s.	....	33,144	.....	22.1	.....
United States	1906	202,959	1,256,147	24.1	149.3
Philippine Islands	1906	6,966	.....	9.1	.....
Porto Rico	1905	517	.....	5.2	.....
Uruguay	1905	4,919	.....	47.4	.....
Venezuela	1903	4,033	.....	15.6	.....
Total	....	1,144,090	.....	.....	.....

Practically all of the commercial telegraph lines of the U. S. are owned by the Western Union Telegraph Company, which sent in 1906 71,487,082 messages, besides railroad business. Expenses, $23,605,072; receipts, $30,675,655.

UNITED STATES TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH SYSTEMS, INCLUDING SUBMARINE CABLE SYSTEMS, 1902

	Telephone systems	Telegraph systems
Number of systems	4,151	25
Miles of wire	4,850,486	[1]1,318,350
Salaried officials, clerks, etc.:		
Number	14,124	829
Salaries	$9,885,886	$1,162,632
Wage-earners:		
Average number	64,628	26,798
Wages	$26,369,735	$13,877,041
Capital stock and bonds outstanding, par value	348,031,058	162,946,525
Common stock	269,180,076	115,853,525
Preferred stock	4,869,621	1,200,000
Bonds	73,981,361	45,893,000
Total revenue	86,825,536	40,930,038
Operating expenses and fixt charges, except interest on bonds	61,652,823	28,998,884
Interest on bonds	3,511,948	1,949,150
Dividends paid	14,982,719	6,256,693
Net surplus	6,678,046	3,725,311
Total assets	452,172,546	195,503,775
Construction and equipment (including telephones)	366,561,694	156,911,448
Real estate	22,716,538	4,768,131
Stocks and bonds of other companies	9,938,342	25,939,944
Machinery, tools, and supplies	9,689,691	945,795
Bills and accounts receivable	30,629,677	3,084,739
Cash and deposits	12,291,840	3,287,384
Sundries	344,764	566,334
Total liabilities	452,172,546	195,503,775
Capital stock	274,049,697	117,053,525
Bonds	73,981,361	45,893,000
Cash investment, unincorporated companies	6,161,299	7,310
Bills and accounts payable	44,302,999	6,244,585
Dividends unpaid	188,067	366,666
Reserves	31,029,628	7,859,648
Sundries	1,124,265	.....
Surplus	21,335,230	18,079,041

[1] Includes miles of wire operated by Western Union Telegraph Company outside of the U. S., but does not include 16,677 nautical miles of cable operated by submarine cable systems.

WAGES IN THE U. S.

Telegraph, 1902.—Of the total amount paid to salaried officials, clerks, etc., $230,250, or 19.8 per cent, was paid to corporation officers; $255,740, or 22 per cent, to general officers; and $676,642, or 58.2 per cent, to all other employees in general offices.

In addition there were employed, on an average, during the year 26,798 wage-earners, to whom $13,877,041 was paid in wages.

Managers and assistants:	
Average number	5,752
Wages	$2,898,588
Operators:	
Average number	13,093
Wages	$8,862,349
Male:	
Average number	10,179
Wages	$7,494,909
Female:	
Average number	2,914
Wages	$1,367,440
Inspectors:	
Average number	1,152
Wages	$573,369
Linemen:	
Average number	1,208
Wages	$573,088
Messengers:	
Average number	4,746
Wages	$839,360
All other wage-earners:	
Average number	847
Wages	$130,287

Telephones.—Of the operators no fewer than 37,333 were women and only 2,525 were men, the former receiving $10,035,432 in wages and the latter $729,666. Women operators in the exchanges constituted more than half the total average number of wage-earners in the whole industry. The moderate rate of their pay can be inferred from the total sum credited to them as wages. A slight difference as to income is shown in favor of men operators, but this might well be due to the fact that in many exchanges the night-work, justifying a higher rate, is performed by the men.

Many exchanges provide rest rooms, sell cheap lunches, and introduce various benefit features for the operatives.

THE AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY, 1906

Miles of exchange service wire	4,778,282
Total subscribers	2,241,367
Length of wire operated, miles	6,043,518
Instruments in hands of licensees	5,698,258
Daily exchange connections, number	13,543,468
Capital	$158,661,800
Gross earnings	21,712,831
Net earnings	13,034,038

POSTAL TELEGRAPH CABLE COMPANY

CALENDAR YEAR	Miles of poles and cable operated but not owned	Miles of poles and cable owned	Miles of wires	Messages
1885	.....	2,811	23,587	1,428,690
1890	.....	11,142	67,751	7,380,000
1895	.....	19,477	117,344	12,493,892
1900	17,385	26,042	226,465	16,528,444
1905	27,307	27,936	306,187	23,925,962
1906	31,721	28,137	326,815	25,500,064

TELEPHONES IN LARGE CITIES, 1905

CITY	Population	Telephones	Inhabitants per telephone	Telephones per 100 inhabitants
Stockholm (two systems)	312,000	42,685	7.3	13.7
Stockholm (company system only)	312,000	31,685	9.8	10.2
New York	2,100,000	144,353	14.5	6.9
Christiania	230,000	12,513	18.3	5.4
Copenhagen	476,000	23,000	20.6	4.8
Zurich	153,000	7,275	21.0	4.8
Berlin	1,931,000	66,744	29.0	3.4
London	4,614,000	93,598	49.5	2.0
Paris	2,660,000	49,444	54.0	1.8
Brussels	576,000	7,829	73.7	1.4
Vienna	1,762,000	21,723	83.0	1.2
Amsterdam	543,000	6,081	89.5	1.1
Rome	500,000	5,000	100.0	1.0
Budapest	800,000	7,500	106.5	0.9
Lisbon	370,000	1,740	212.0	0.5
St. Petersburg	1,334,000	6,000	223.0	0.4
Madrid	550,000	2,400	229.0	0.4

II. Telegraph

For a discussion of the principles of public ownership pro and con, see PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

As early as 1727 Stephen Gray, a pensioner of the Charter House in London, made an electric discharge pass over a circuit of some 700 feet. In 1747 Professor Watson constructed a telegraph line for the Royal Society of London that passed over the housetops and used the earth for the return circuit. In 1748 Benjamin Franklin sent crude electric signals across

the Schuylkill River at Philadelphia. In 1774 a working telegraph line was established in Geneva, Switzerland, by Le Sage. Various other experiments followed, but in 1837 Wheatstone and Cooke, in England, put a crude telegraph system into actual service in 1838 on the line of the London & Blackwall Railway, one of the first of England's steam-railroads.

Simultaneously Morse, in America, in 1837, made a public exhibition of apparatus whose conception dated back to 1835.

History

His fame rests, however, upon his electro-magnetic telegraph, and, while his share in this and even his originality has been bitterly contested, it seems impossible to deny that from Morse sprang the original conception and that by him much of the original work was done. Morse attempted to secure aid from Congress for the construction of a line about forty miles in length between Washington and Baltimore, and finally a bill was passed by a small majority appropriating $30,000 for this purpose. The line was duly constructed, and on May 24, 1844, Miss Ellsworth, daughter of the U. S. Commissioner of Patents, sent over it the memorable message, "What hath God wrought!"

It was not at once a financial success, and Congress yielded to the persuasions of those who wished to buy the telegraph for a private institution. Even at first, however, a few clear-sighted statesmen saw into the future far enough to discern the vast importance of the new idea and the greatness of the mistake that was being made. As early as 1844 Henry Clay was advocating government ownership of the telegraph. He wrote:

"It is quite manifest it is destined to exert great influence on the business affairs of society. In the hands of private individuals they will be able to monopolize intelligence and perform the greatest operations in commerce and other departments of business. I think such an engine should be exclusively under the control of the government."

The government declined, however, to purchase the Morse telegraph for $100,000, and the telegraph reverted to private hands.

In 1856 the Western Union Telegraph Company consolidated a large part of the telegraphic systems of the country.

The attempts to transmit signals commercially through wires laid under water date back as far as 1839. In the summer of 1842 Morse laid an insulated wire in New York harbor. The first submarine cable of any length was laid in 1847 from Dover, England, to Calais, France.

Morse said with regard to data obtained from his own trials: "Telegraphic communication on the electro-magnetic plan may certainly be established across the Atlantic Ocean. Startling as this may now seem, I am confident the time will come when the project will be realized." The successful carrying out of the idea was in great measure due to the courage and indomitable perseverance of Cyrus W. Field. Capital was pledged, government support was enlisted, and in 1858 the first Atlantic cable was laid between Ireland and Newfoundland. Congratulatory messages were exchanged between Queen Victoria and the President of the U. S.

Since 1866 the history of submarine telegraphy has been one of continuous advance. The last definite figures with regard to cables give the number as 1,750, with an aggregate length of nearly 200,000 miles, their cost being estimated at $275,000,000 and the number of messages transmitted annually over them at more than 6,000,000.

Wireless telegraphy, after numerous experiments and inventions by Edison and others, was finally worked out by G. Marconi in his system, patents for which were applied for in June, 1896. In 1899 he established wireless communication between England and France, and Dec. 12, 1901, across the ocean from Cornwall, England, to Newfoundland. By 1905 "Marconis" were sent to and from Atlantic steamers and elsewhere, and in 1907 a commercial transatlantic wireless telegraph service was announced.

The U. S. to-day is the only great country in the world not having a national ownership of the telegraph. France, Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and many other nations early recognized this truth, and built public telegraph lines at the start. England, Belgium, New Zealand, and a few other States tried private control, but found it so objectionable that they changed to public ownership. In England the telegraph was in private hands for more than a quarter of a century; but complaints of high charges, inefficient service, unjust discrimination, etc., became so frequent and so urgent that at last the government appointed a committee to investigate the public systems of Europe. The report made an exhaustive comparison of the public system in use on the Continent with the private system of England, and the result was so overwhelmingly in favor of the former, that the government, under the leadership of Gladstone, yielded to the demands of the reformers, headed by the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce, and passed a law (1868) providing for the purchase of the lines, the rapid extension of the service into the rural districts, which had been neglected by the private companies, and the union of the telegraph with the postal department. The charges were at once reduced from one third to one half, and the business doubled in about two years. Complaints were no longer heard as before the transfer, and now, after more than a quarter of a century, the public system is unanimously pronounced a success. The government has raised the wages of employees from time to time, lowered rates, extended the lines, and improved the facilities. The system has paid all operating expenses and cost of extension and improvements, but the surplus beyond these items has not been quite sufficient to cover interest on the tremendous original outlay, which was about four times the real value of the lines. (See Postal Service.)

Nationalization of

On a thorough study of the history of private and public telegraphs in Great Britain we find that a few thoughtful men called attention to the existing abuses and advocated national ownership as the remedy; the immediate results of this were:

1. A reduction in rates of one third to one half.
2. A vast increase of business, the work done by the telegraph nearly doubling in the first year after the transfer.
3. A great extension of lines into the less populous districts, so as to give the whole people the benefit of telegraphic communication.
4. Large additional facilities by opening more offices, locating offices more conveniently, and making every post-office and post-box a place where a telegram may be deposited to be taken to the nearest telegraph office for transmission.
5. A considerable economy by uniting the telegraph service with the mail service under a single control, avoiding useless duplications, using the same offices, the same collecting and delivery agencies, and often the same operatives for both services.
6. A marked improvement in the service, throwing complaint out of the steady occupation she had had so long, the aim of the post-office being service, not dividends.
7. A decided gain to employees in pay, hours, tenure of office, etc.
8. Unprecedented advantages to the press for cheap and rapid transmission of news, at the same time freeing it from the pressure of a power that claimed the right to dictate the views and opinions it should express.
9. The development of business and strengthening of social ties, ties of kinship and friendship, through the growth of business and social correspondence.
10. The removal of a great antagonism and the cessation of the vexatious and costly conflict it had caused between the companies and the people.

Looking at the subsequent history of the English postal telegraph we find:

1. A further reduction of nearly one half in the average cost of a message.
2. More than a tenfold increase of business in twenty-five years, while population increased but one fourth, over 1,000 per cent telegraph growth to 25 per cent population increase.
3. A sixfold extension of lines and fiftyfold increase of facilities.
4. A steady policy of expanding and improving the service, adopting new inventions, putting under ground hundreds of miles of wire that formerly ran over houses and streets, etc.
5. A systematic effort to elevate labor, resulting in a progressive amelioration of the condition of employees in respect to wages, hours, tenure, promotion, privileges, and perquisites.
6. A good profit to the government (excluding interest on the waterlogged capital cost) in spite of low rates, large extensions into thinly populated areas, advancing wages, heavy losses through carrying press dispatches below cost, competition of telephone companies in the best-paying part of the traffic, etc.
7. Satisfaction with the telegraph service even on the part of conservatives who objected to the change before it was made.

Comparing the English situation with our own, we find:

IN ENGLAND

Low rates.
Good service.
Extension of telegraph facilities to the masses.
Rapid growth, forty times as rapid as the growth of population, and four times as fast as the growth of the letter mail.
Progressive improvement of labor.
Harmonious uninterrupted operation.
Large popular use of the telegraph.
A management aiming solely at serving the people.
Moderate salaries for leading officials.
No big fortunes from telegraph manipulation.
Universal satisfaction with the telegraph situation.
Public monopoly.

IN THE UNITED STATES

High rates (twice as high).
Poor service.
Facilities only for the classes.
Slow growth, less than one sixth of the growth of the English system.
Progressive maltreatment of labor.
Big strikes.
The telegraph an adjunct of speculation.
A management aiming solely at serving themselves.
Exorbitant salaries for leading officials.
The telegraph a millionaire machine.
Universal discontent with the telegraph situation.
Private monopoly.

In the U. S. petitions for a postal telegraph, signed by over 2,000,000 citizens, have been presented to Congress. Organized labor, the organized farmers, chambers of commerce, and other important business organizations, have passed resolutions in its favor. But thus far the interests of the telegraph companies and their owners appear to have more weight with Congress than the interests of the people.

The real reason why the U. S. Government has not adopted the postal telegraph is undoubtedly shown by the following quotations from Postmaster-General Wanamaker's argument before the Congressional Post-office and Post-roads Committee in 1890:

Mr. Wanamaker's Report

In the present discussion Mr. F. B. Thurber, of New York, has given a list of the directors of the Western Union Telegraph Company. I beg to append their names: Norvin Green, Thomas T. Eckert, John T. Terry, John Vanhorne, Jay Gould, Russell Sage, Alonzo B. Cornell, Sidney Dillon, Samuel Sloan, Robert C. Clowry, George J. Gould, Edwin Gould, John G. Moore, Cyrus W. Field, Henry Weaver, Percy R. Pyne, Charles Lanier, Austin Corbin, J. Pierpont Morgan, Frederick L. Ames, John Hay, William D. Bishop, Collis P. Huntington, George B. Roberts, Sydney Shepard, Erastus Wiman, William W. Astor, Chauncey M. Depew, James W. Clendenin, Henry M. Flagler.

Mr. Thurber used this list of names to answer the question why the public cannot have the great boon of a postal telegraph. "No such list of names," he added, "can be found in the directory of any other corporation in this country. Every name represents some great interest. They are the richest and the best in the financial world. They deservedly rank as our best citizens; their names are found scattered throughout the religious and charitable world, but in the matter of transmitting intelligence their interest diverges from that of the general public, and it remains to be seen whether 65,000,000 people or the comparatively few stockholders which these men represent will be able to control the great force of electricity as applied to the transmission of intelligence."

According to uncontroverted statements made before your honorable committee, the capital stock of the Western Union Telegraph Company in 1858 was $358,700. The stock dividends declared between 1858 and 1866 amounted to $17,810,146, and the stock issued for new lines was $1,937,950; so that the capital stock on July 1, 1866, was $20,133,800. In 1866 new stock was created to the amount of $20,450,500; so that the total capital of the Western Union on July 1, 1867, was $40,568,300. The largest dividend declared by the company up to 1874 was 414 per cent. The largest amount of stock ever divided at one time was $10,000,000, and for a period of seven years the dividends were about 100 per cent a year on its average capital. It was by adding dividends to dividends and by piling the one up on top of the other that this tremendous amount of $46,000,000 of capital and debt was created.

"A public telegraph will paternalize the government," say the defenders of monopoly. If so, it is pretty badly paternalized now, with the post-office, the fish commission, the treasury, customs, navy, army, agricultural, judiciary, signal service, and all the other departments; but the people do not seem to desire to give up such paternalization —they appear to enjoy it. In truth, however, public service is not paternalism, but fraternalism.

"It will cost too much." It need not cost the people $1 of taxes to establish the postal telegraph. Plenty of capitalists are ready to build the lines for the government, introduce low rates, and agree to turn the plant over to the nation for actual value at the end of fifteen or twenty years, or allow the service to pay for the plant gradually.

The Western Union does not do and never has done one half the business its lines would carry. The total increase under public management would probably be from twenty to one hundredfold the present business. The development of business consequent upon low rates and the extension of lines results from the use of the telegraph by a larger number of people. The wealthy people of the cities use it now all they wish to; they would use it little if any more with a five-cent rate than with a rate of twenty-five cents. But to the poor and to people in moderate circumstances, the difference between the telegraph and postal rates is practically prohibitive except under the stress of very special need. President Green of the Western Union said that 46 per cent of their business is speculative, 34 per cent legitimate trade (his own words), 12 per cent press, and 8 per cent social (Bingham Hearings, 1890, p. 56). In Sen. Rep. 577, part ii., p. 15, the then president of the Western Union said the company's social business was 5 or 6 per cent of the whole. In Belgium the social messages constitute 55 to 63 per cent of the whole.

The following table gives an idea of the difference in the charges under private ownership in the U. S. and under public ownership abroad:

	Ordinary rate per word	Ordinary minimum charge per message	Average receipt per message
	Cents	*Cents*	*Cents*
Great Britain	1	12	15½
France	1	10	15½
Germany	1½	12	...
Belgium	⅝	10	8½
Switzerland	½	12	...
Austria	1	11	...
United States	2 to 7	25	31

Since this table was compiled there has been some slight lowering of average charges abroad, and a very considerable increase in Western Union rates on many routes.

The charges in the U. S. are more than double the rates of the public telegraphs, and more than double what they need to be here. Postmaster-General Wanamaker after a careful investigation concluded that a uniform ten-cent charge for a ten-word message would be sufficient. And if Delany's methods of automatic transmission were utilized it is probable that ten cents for fifty words, and perhaps even five cents for fifty words, would prove remunerative in spite of the competition of the wireless system and the telephone.

The service rendered by our telegraph system is inferior to that afforded by the public systems of Great Britain, Germany, and Switzerland.

LONG-DISTANCE RATES IN THE UNITED STATES, CANADA, AND EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

COUNTRY	Distance in miles									
	20	40	80	120	160	200	240	280	400	600
United States [1] / Canada [1]	$0.12	$0.24	$0.48	$0.72	$0.96	$1.20	$1.44	$1.68	$2.40	$3.60
Great Britain [2]	0.06	0.12	0.24	0.36	0.48	0.60	0.72	0.84	1.20	1.80
Austria	0.12	0.20	0.28	0.40	0.40	0.40	0.40	0.40	0.60	.....
Bavaria	0.10	0.10	0.24	0.24	0.24	0.24	0.24	0.48	.....	.....
Belgium	Free	0.20	0.20	0.20	0.20	0.58	.....	.....	.....	.....
Denmark	Free	Free	0.26½	0.40	.....	.....	.....	0.53	0.53	.....
Finland	0.02½	0.02½	0.04½	0.06	0.09	0.11	0.13	0.15	.....	.....
France	0.10	0.10	0.20	0.20	0.29	0.38	0.38	0.48	0.66	0.96
Germany	0.06	0.12	0.24	0.24	0.24	0.24	0.24	0.24	0.36	0.36
Holland	0.20	0.20	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Luxemburg [3]	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Norway	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.44	.....
Rumania	0.26	0.26	0.48	0.48	0.66	0.86	0.86	1.04	.....	.....
Spain	0.13	0.13	0.24	0.24	0.34	0.43	0.43	0.53	0.72	1.00
Sweden	Free	Free	0.08	0.08	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.20	0.27
Switzerland	0.06	0.10	0.15	0.15	0.15	0.15	0.15	0.84	1.17	1.68
Württemberg	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

[1] Half rate at night, 6 P. M. to 6 A. M.
[2] Local rate covers free intercommunication between all points.
[3] Double period allowed for day rate at night.

Labor

The treatment of labor by our telegraph system is one of the most objectionable features of the management. According to the testimony of telegraph employees in various investigations and congressional hearings, a systematic policy of reducing wages has been pursued by the telegraph monopoly. They have put boys to work in the offices to learn the business, and then if the operator resigned or moved away or did not prove satisfactory, or if for any other reason his office became vacant, they would offer the place to this young student or apprentice at $5 or $10 less than the salary formerly paid; and in that way and in other ways they have reduced the wage so that, according to the testimony, it was reduced 40 per cent from 1870 to 1883.

The great strike of 1883 throughout our telegraph system was largely due to the low wages and long hours. They asked for an increase of pay of 15 per cent and for eight-hour work, and no salary lower than $50. These requests, moderate as they were, were refused, and the great strike was fought out at a cost altogether of over $1,000,000, and after the strike, according to Western Union testimony, the result was that the company was able to get about one third more work out of the men for the same pay. The hours of operators are in many cases very long, the work is very trying, and they are apt to be affected by consumption and other diseases—unable to continue many years under the strain.

They also blacklist their employees, I understand from the workers, so that the man who meets with their disapproval is practically unable to get employment in the country. They try to shut out the unions of the men, and they even deny them the privilege of petition. The men say that the leaders in presenting a joint request for amelioration of conditions, if found out, are almost sure to be discharged from employment.

As I write (Oct., 1907) the telegraph services are tied up and obstructed by another great strike from one end of the country to the other. The public systems treat their employees fairly and are not troubled with strikes.

The Western Union has sinned grievously in the line of overcapitalization; putting about a hundred millions of stocks in a plant that has been estimated to be worth only five or ten millions more than the bonds, and into which the stockholders, according to the reports of congressional investigations, did not probably put more than sixteen millions all told.

The Telegraph Trust goes into politics. It has distributed favors among various legislators and among congressmen, and Western Union testimony is explicit as to the benefits they have received. Long ago the president of the Western Union said:

"The franks issued to government officials constitute nearly a third of the total complimentary business. The wires of the Western Union Company extend into thirty-seven states and nine territories within the limits of the U. S., and into four of the British provinces. In all of them our property is more or less subject to the action of the national, state, and municipal authorities, and the judicious use of complimentary franks among them has been the means of saving to the company many times the money value of the free service performed." (Western Union Report of 1873. See also Wanamaker's argument, p. 164; Postmaster-General Creswell's Report, 1873, p. 49.)

The passage is constantly cited by writers and speakers dealing with the telegraph, because of its astonishing nature and implications. I have it on the authority of one of the most distinguished members of the U. S. Senate that "books of telegraph franks are tendered to every senator and member of Congress, and most of them accept the favor."

III. Telephone

For the principles of public ownership pro and con, see PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

The history of the telephone, like that of the telegraph, is full of conflicting claims as to priority of discovery. Page, Bourseul, Professor Clifton, and, above all, Reis in Germany, made important discoveries. But it is beyond dispute that March 7, 1876, when Alexander Graham Bell patented his invention of a speaking telephone, there was not a single operative telephone in the hands of the public anywhere in the world.

The first line ever built for telephone purposes was in Boston, 1877. The Bell Telephone Association was formed that year and the New England Telephone Company in Feb., 1878, and the Bell Telephone Company in July, 1878. In 1879 these combined into the National Bell Telephone Company, and the American Bell Telephone Company was formed in 1880, ab-

sorbed in 1899 in the American Telegraph and Telephone Company.

The telephone was immediately introduced into Europe after America, and more slowly in other parts of the world.

Public Ownership

But while in the U. S. its development has remained exclusively in private hands, in Europe the telephone and telegraph lines have remained almost exclusively subject to government control. In only two foreign countries—Great Britain and Sweden—has there been any notable exception to this rule, and the British Government has completed with the National Telephone Company, which has controlled the Bell telephone system for many years, negotiations by which the Postal Telegraph service will take over the entire telephone lines of Great Britain.

ANNUAL TELEPHONE RATES—DIRECT UNLIMITED SERVICE

COUNTRY	Place and rate
Austria*	$40 Vienna
	20 smaller cities
Belgium*	48 Brussels.
	33 smaller cities
France*	80 Paris
	40 smaller places
Great Britain	115 to $100
Germany*	45 Berlin
	15 smaller places, 1,000 telephones
	18 1,000 to 5,000 telephones
	22 5,000 to 20,000 telephones
	24 in places having over 20,000 telephones
Holland*	14 to $46
Italy	12 to 40
Norway*	8 to 21
Sweden*	6 to 26
Switzerland*	19.4 first year, 13.6 second year, 7.8 third year } plus 1 cent per message
United States	15 to $240

The countries marked with a star have public or cooperative systems wholly or in large part.

The best telephoned countries in the world, that is, the countries having the most telephones per 1,000 population, are Sweden, Norway, and Switzerland, where the telephones are most under public management. When the government entered the telephone field in Stockholm, it greatly reduced the rates and improved the service. The same thing was true when Amsterdam and Rotterdam adopted municipal ownership and operation of the telephone service.

When Glasgow put in a municipal telephone system, she cut the annual rate from $50 to $26.

The following table shows the Bell Telephone charges in a number of American cities and also the charges made by the independent companies which in many cities have cut the Bell rate in two:

	Business telephone		Residence telephone	
	Bell	Ind.	Bell	Ind.
Philadelphia	160	80	130	48
St. Louis	120	60	160	36
Indianapolis	72	40	48	24
Cleveland	82	48	60	36
Baltimore	125	48	100	36
Rochester	125	48	64	36

[1] Four-party line measured service, Bell, St. Louis.

Our excessive telephone rates constitute a tax on business and social intercourse, a limitation on the development of civilization, intelligence, friendship, affection, and industry.

FRANK PARSONS.

REFERENCES: *Municipal Monopolies*, Ed. W. Bemis, ed., (1899); chap. iv., *Report of U. S. Industrial Commission* vol. IX. See PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

TEMPERANCE (see also CENTRAL PUBLIC HOUSE TRUST ASSOCIATION; DISPENSARY SYSTEM; HIGH LICENSE; INTEMPERANCE; LIQUOR TRAFFIC; NATIONALIZATION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC; NORWEGIAN COMPANY SYSTEM; PROHIBITION; PROHIBITION PARTY; POVERTY; WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION): We give in this article a brief sketch of the temperance movement, referring the reader to the above articles for details.

The temperance movement is a modern movement tho intemperance is as old as history. We find instances of intoxication in Genesis, the oldest Hebrew writing, and in Homer's pictures of early Greek social life. Intoxication is described or referred to in the ancient books of China, the "Vedas" of India, the "Avestas" of Persia, and in all early traditions. The fiery "rice wines" of India and China matched the drugged wines of Greece and Rome. Fermentation was usually the early source of intoxicating drinks; distillation has been known in Europe at least for only six centuries. Spirit drinking is said to have developed first in northern climes, and perhaps in England. There were, however, some early attempts at temperance reform. The Chinese claim that eleven centuries before Christ some of their emperors made strenuous temperance reforms, one going so far as to order all vines in the kingdom to be uprooted. In India and Persia the priesthood early made some attempts at reform, and the Buddhists taught total abstinence. Buddhist sects seem to have spread total abstinence ideas far and wide, and among the Hebrews there were various total abstinence orders and sects, such as the Nazarites and Rechabites in olden times, and the Essenes and Therapeutæ of the time of Christ. Draco is said to have punished drunkenness with death, and Lycurgus, King of Thrace, to have ordered all vines to be destroyed, as did later Terbaldus, a Bulgarian prince. The Carthaginians forbade wine in the camps and among magistrates holding public office. In northern climes the use of intoxicating beverages was universal. The Saxons were mighty eaters and drinkers. The mead horn plays a large part in all Saxon literature. Mead or metheglin they made from honey, beer from barley. Weddings, christenings, and funerals were scenes of intoxication, sometimes of orgies. The burial clubs (see GILDS) were drinking-clubs. The Church strove somewhat for reform, perhaps because the clergy needed it. St. Gildas the Wise in 570 A.D. ordered the drunken clergy to be punished. St. David (569) punished also the publican. King Edgar, at the instance of Dunstan, limited by law the number of taverns and the size of the pots. By a law of 1285 taverns in London were to close at curfew. This was to prevent crime. Yet drinking increased. When George Neville was made Archbishop of York, in 1464, we are told that 300 tuns of ale and 100 of wine were consumed. Bacon saw that "all the crimes on earth do not destroy so many of the human race nor alienate so much property as drunkenness." Beginning with 1603, legislation against alehouses and drunkenness is very frequent, but accomplished nothing. According to Bishop Earle, the public house was the rendezvous for all classes. All or almost all the clergy drank. Decker says that in 1632 a whole street was in some places but a continuous ale-house, not a shop to be seen between red lattice and red lattice. The Puritans were about as bad. Pepys says Monk's troops were most of them drunk all day. Even the women drank. Lecky says that in 1688, 12,400,000 barrels of beer were brewed for a population of a little over 5,000,000, or about ninety gallons a head, against about twenty-nine at present in England. In the eighteenth century gin-drinking increased. Retailers hung out signs saying "Drunk for 1*d*. Dead drunk for 2*d*. Straw for nothing." Eleven million gallons of gin were consumed in England in 1733; nearly 20,000,000 in 1742. In 1749 there were 17,000 gin-shops within the bills of mortality.

Early Ages

Eighteenth Century

Crime and immorality rose. In 1736 Parliament tried to suppress gin-drinking by putting a prohibitory tax on it, but the illicit trade was so great that it soon went to the other extreme, and made the trade well-nigh free. But this did no good, In 1751 distillers were forbidden to sell to unlicensed publicans, and tippling debts could not be collected by law. According to Lecky, this did some good. Gin began to give way to beer, a vast improvement.

In the American colonies the evil was as bad. Dr. Dorchester ("Problems of Religious Progress") tells us that in 1790 two gallons and a half of distilled spirits and wine were consumed per capita; in 1810 four and a half; in 1823, seven and a half of spirits alone. At a later date there were 400,000 confirmed drunkards, while everybody drank a little, and often to excess. The rich drank French and Spanish brandy; the middle classes, Jamaica rum; the poor, New England rum. Drunkenness was not uncommon among the clergy, and an ordination was often little short of a debauch. Rum was a requisite of every gathering. All public men drank. (See also CRIME.)

The modern temperance movement began in the first quarter of this century, in England first, tho it first gained headway in the United States. In 1800 Micajah Pendleton, of Nelson County, Va., signed and circulated a total abstinence pledge. In 1804 Dr. Benjamin Rush (*q. v.*), of Philadelphia, wrote an important temperance paper, and in 1805 Dr. Ebenezer Porter, of Connecticut, preached an important sermon. In 1808 Dr. J. B. Clark founded, in Saratoga County, N. Y., the Temperance Society of Moreau and Northumberland. In 1813 the Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance was formed. In 1826 the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance was founded in Boston, based upon total abstinence, the Rev. Mr. Hewitt being the first general agent. By 1829 there were eleven state and about 1,000 local societies. The same year six sermons by Lyman Beecher, of Litchfield, Conn., produced a wide effect. In 1833 there were 6,000 local societies and over 1,000,000 members; 2,000 distilleries had been stopt. Most of this early temperance movement, however, was opposed simply to the use of distilled spirits, and the pledge in general use had reference to these alone. Cider, beer, and wine were generally considered harmless or indispensable. Total abstinence from all intoxicating liquors was embodied in Pendleton's pledge of 1800 and in the New York society of 1809 and in a few other local societies, but was voted down by the general society in 1833. In 1836, however, at the meeting in Saratoga it was finally adopted, and the American Temperance Society has since been committed to total abstinence. In 1840 began the great but brief Washingtonian movement, when six intemperate drinkers in Baltimore, Md., met one Friday evening, at their usual resort, and suddenly resolved to reform. They drew up a pledge, signed it on the spot, calling themselves the Washingtonian Society. They began to hold public meetings, and met with great success. Crowds attended, and thousands took the pledge. Many became speakers, and Washingtonian societies were organized everywhere. In four or five years it is estimated that 150,000 drunkards and 500,000 others signed the pledge. The movement, however, did not endure. The toper's motley became the sensational talk of speakers, and ignorant and sometimes evil men, caring only for notoriety or pay, ruined the movement. In 1842 the Order of the Sons of Temperance was founded in the city of New York, the first society modeled after Masonic ideas. In 1845 the Order of the Templars of Honor and Temperance and in 1851 the Order of Good Templars (*q. v.*) were formed. In 1845 a law in New York State prohibiting the public sale of alcoholic liquor was passed and referred to the people, and received a large majority, but in 1847 it was repealed. In 1851 the Maine law (*q. v.*) was passed. (For temperance legislation since that date, see Prohibition; High License; Local Option.)

The United States

Modern Movements

In 1874 the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (*q. v.*) commenced its important and successful movement, and marks an epoch in the temperance movement of the world. Since that date its efforts for temperance education in the public schools, churches, and to a less extent in legislation, play a very large part in the temperance movement of this country and the world. (But for this, see special article, Woman's Christian Temperance Union.)

The temperance movement in America has moved largely along denominational and religious lines. Nearly all of the Protestant denominations have formed temperance societies within their own borders. The "Congregational Total Abstinence Association" dates from 1874; that of the Baptists from 1874; those of the various Methodist bodies from about the same time. Owing to the fact that most of these and other denominations, e. g., the Quakers, Dunkards, make total abstinence a test of membership, temperance has received a religious sanction. Among the lower classes this work has been done chiefly by the Salvation Army, whose aim seems to be to save people from drink; that is, from poverty and sin. The purpose of the Church Temperance Society (*q. v.*) is not so much abstinence as temperance; altho the former is distinctly encouraged. It was organized in 1881, and has a Woman's Auxiliary and a "Legion" for young men. It endeavors to have the Sunday before Advent observed as a "Temperance Sunday" in the local churches, and publishes a monthly, *Temperance*. The Roman Catholic Church, too, insists on moderation, and recommends abstinence where the former is difficult. The "Catholic Total Abstinence Union," formed in Baltimore in 1872, numbered about 80,000 members in 1902.

The Prohibition Party (*q. v.*), first organized in 1869, assumed great importance in the national campaign of 1884, and since then has energetically called attention to legislation on the liquor question, and particularly local prohibition, forcing a vote on the subject wherever possible, with the result of very numerous victories and an incalculable amount of educational discussion and consideration. (But see articles Prohibition; Prohibition Party; Local Prohibition.)

In 1893, in Ohio, the Anti-Saloon League of that state was founded which has now grown into an important national movement, organized in forty-three states and territories, and doing in many states, e. g., Ohio and New York, a very active non-partizan work, rousing, however, the churches and religious bodies into organized influence upon legislatures, so at times, as in Ohio, to affect the politics of the whole state. (See Anti-Saloon League; see also the Lincoln League, organized in connection with it. See also Bands of Hope.)

The World's Temperance Congress of Chicago in 1893 was attended by delegates from every civilized country, and discust the problem from every point of view, particularly the economic. At the International Congress against Alcoholism (Stockholm, July 28 to August 3, 1907) the statement was made by an American delegate to the effect that over "30,000,000 people in the U. S. were living under the operation of prohibitory laws, through local option." The actual number is about 33,000,000.

A remarkable movement toward prohibition and local option has commenced (1907) in the Southern states. The Georgia legislature passed a state prohibition law Aug. 2d, which was promptly signed by Governor Hoke Smith, and is to take effect Jan. 1, 1908. The measure has the backing of the people, because under the "local option clause" county after county had voted "no license," until the number had reached 125, and only 21 were left with licenses. Other states are moving in the same direction. Ten-

nessee has local option in all but a few counties. North Carolina has 60 out of 90 counties with "no license"; Alabama over 50 out of 66; Kentucky 87 out of 119; Texas 152 out of 230; South Carolina all over the state with the exception of 10 cities. All these states are tending toward prohibition. The territory of Oklahoma, before adopting the constitution for statehood, had a plebiscite on Aug. 6th on the question of prohibition, and adopted (Sept. 17, 1907) the constitution, containing a prohibition clause by about 30,000 majority. In the Southern states 17,000,000 out of 27,000,000 people are already under local option. (See LOCAL PROHIBITION.)

The fight about the canteens in the U. S. army posts still continues. The advocates of the canteen claim that drunkenness has increased since 1901, when it was abolished. The Prohibitionists claim that arrests for drunkenness have largely decreased, and claim to base their contention on official figures, which the officials say do not show this because of a change in laws.

The Anti-Saloon League (*q. v.*) is a most progressive society, and has a large and efficient organization. Owing to the strenuous exertions of the larger temperance societies, instruction on the influence of alcohol on the mind and body is now given in nearly all public schools all over the U. S., in connection with physiology. This instruction is graded to suit the different ages and comprehension of the children.

The Prohibitionists are now trying to prevail upon the national government not to issue receipts to wholesale dealers or other persons who sell liquor in bottles and larger quantities, because, e. g., Maine with no state licenses had (1905) 640 of these U. S. Treasury receipts, and thus there is a possibility of the state law being circumvented.

The latest move of general importance is the creation of a new society, the "Youths' Temperance Alliance of America," by the National Temperance Society, in 1907. It is to be chiefly an educational agency for the young people of both sexes, preparing platform speakers and serving as a sort of clearing-house for the various temperance movements, particularly among the young people. That the liquor interests are alarmed is evidenced by a number of articles in their papers, urging unity and a strong fight all along the line; also calling attention to the fact that none of the older prohibition states have abolished the law and that in all of them the sale of intoxicants has decreased.

An interesting temperance feature is the exposure of quack and patent medicines by a prominent weekly during 1906, as containing from 40 to 80 per cent alcohol, and greatly reducing the sale of these nostrums among farmers and villagers.

Another feature tending toward abstinence is the demand of an increasing number of employers for teetotalism on the part of their employees, e. g., of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company.

GREAT BRITAIN

Great Britain

In Great Britain Dr. Trotter, of Edinburgh, published a book on the effects of intemperance in 1809. The first temperance society was organized in Skibbereen, in Ireland. in 1818. The first society based on total abstinence was formed at New Ross, Ireland, by the Rev. George Cane in 1829, tho the same year one was formed in Glasgow, Scotland. Within a year there were twenty-five societies in Ireland. The first society of England was formed in Yorkshire in 1830, teetotalism being still used as colloquial for total abstinence, and the same year the London Temperance Society held its first public meeting. In 1831 the British and Foreign Temperance Society was formed, and in Dublin the Hibernia Temperance Society. In 1830 the Duke of Wellington Beer Act tried to encourage the use of beer instead of spirits. In 1834 a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed to report on the subject. Mr. Muchmoore in this report describes the evils of the day. Fourteen public houses were patronized by 2,750 persons each per day. They had connected with them large halls invisible from the street, where girls of the town, sailors, etc., danced. According to the census there was then one public house for every twenty families in the United Kingdom. Today there is not one for every fifty. The spirits distilled in England rose from 43,000,000 gallons in the four years 1791–1795, to 154,000,000 in 1826–31.

In 1838 the Rev. Theobald Mathew (Father Mathew), a Roman Catholic priest in Cork, Ireland, commenced a temperance movement and in the space of five months administered the pledge to 150,000 persons in Cork alone. In Galway 100,000 took the pledge in two days. He traveled in Ireland and England, and in 1850 came to America, everywhere finding great success, and becoming known till his death, in 1856, as the Apostle of Temperance. The Father Mathew societies of the Catholic Church still attest his memory, tho much of his early work died away. From 1840 to 1850 the temperance movement languished, and in 1850 the British and Foreign Temperance Society perished of inanition. In 1853 a United Kingdom Alliance was formed in Manchester to agitate for prohibitory laws. Various ideas were introduced from the United States, and in 1868 the Order of Good Templars. The Church of England Temperance Society was formed in 1862. Total abstinence became the cry. A Workingman's Teetotal League was formed and other similar societies. In 1872 was passed the Licensing Act, the most important act of the century, tho acts have been very numerous, most of them ineffective. In 1876 the House of Lords appointed a select committee on the subject.

A number of laws have been passed intended to discourage habitual drunkenness. Under the Act of 1879 an inebriate had to apply voluntarily for admission to a retreat; the Act of 1898 made retirement to a retreat compulsory for all those who by criminal actions or by becoming public nuisances had put themselves within reach of the law. The Licensing Act of 1902 gave power to a magistrate to commit a wife, if an habitual drunkard, to a retreat. These retreats are of three kinds: (1) Certified inebriate reformatories; (2) State inebriate reformatories—for the worst cases; (3) Licensed retreats, which, under the "Inebriates' Reformation and After-Care Association's" (32 Charing Cross, S. W.) supervision have greatly improved in late years. The "Society for the Study of Inebriety" was established in 1884. Only qualified medical practitioners are admitted as full members; medical students and other interested persons as associates (120 Harley Street, W., London). At present the Church of England Temperance Society seems to be the largest society with 609,319 members, 384,289 of these being juveniles, and of the remainder 174,637 being of the total abstinence section. According to Mr. Nelius, one person in England out of eight is a teetotaler, but Mr. Arthur Shadwell, to whose articles in the *National Review* for Dec., 1895, and April, 1896, we are much indebted for our facts, very much questions whether this is not a great exaggeration.

During recent years notable advance has been made in Great Britain along the line of sentiment in favor of Sunday closing. Scotland has had all-day Sunday closing since 1853–54; Ireland, except in the five chief towns of Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Limerick, and Waterford, since 1878; and Wales, since 1881. Up to 1839 public houses were open throughout England the whole of Sunday except during the hours of morning and afternoon divine service. In that year, owing to the disorderly state of many of the London streets on Sunday morning, a clause was inserted in the metropolitan police act to

close public houses from midnight on Saturday to one o'clock on Sunday afternoon. Other cities followed suit, and in 1854 Patten's bill further closed the public houses on Sunday afternoon from 2.30 to 6 o'clock, and 10 at night to 4 on Monday morning. This has been the law with slight modifications since that time. There is strong public sentiment in England for entire Sunday closing. Such sentiment is also spreading in Canada.

Lately Great Britain has debated several propositions, e. g., the Norwegian Company System. But no special legislative act has been passed. Nevertheless, the temperance movement is gaining rapidly. The sentiment against women bartenders has resulted in their removal in most cities. Licenses are not as readily granted as formerly. Indeed, Miss Agnes E. Slack stated at the International Congress Against Alcoholism (Stockholm, 1907) that England had reduced the number of licenses by 1,000 per annum for several years. The case of Liverpool is, perhaps, typical of many other cities in Great Britain. Sir Thomas Hughes has been chairman of the Liverpool Licensing Bench since 1890. Under his wise management the number of fully licensed houses has been reduced by 200 between 1890 and 1907, altho the city's population has increased by 200,000 during that time. The beneficial effect of his management is so keenly appreciated by his fellow townsmen that they have elected him Lord Mayor (1907).

On March 31, 1901, England and Wales had 66,973 publican's licenses; on the same date, 1905, only 66,239—a reduction of 734, or 1.09 per cent. Beer licenses and reductions for the same dates: 29,286; 28,522; 764, or 2.6. Beer and wine licenses: 4,968; 4,845; 123, or 2.47. Total licenses: 101,227; 99,606; 1,621, or 1.6. This reduction was made notwithstanding an increase in population of 1,531,000. The total reductions between 1881 and 1905 were 4,942; a steady decrease distributed almost evenly over the 25 years. In addition it ought to be mentioned that a large number of applications were refused, 639 in 1903 alone. In the United Kingdom the decrease in the number of licenses in 1906–7 over 1905–6 was 3,007. On the initiation of the Prohibitionists and other temperance leaders several bills have been passed by Parliament, while others have failed. Among those passed in 1905 were the following: Closing of Licensed Premises on Christmas Days in Ireland; Expiring Laws Continuation Bill; Sale of Intoxicants to Children; the Registration of Clubs Bill for Ireland (1904). The Liquor Traffic Local Veto Bill for Scotland was defeated by a small majority; it showed, however, that the Scotch are ready for local option.

The fall in the sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages may be estimated from the fact that the revenue from wine was £146,000 less in 1905 than 1904; the importation of foreign spirits showed a decline of £610,000, the excise for beer of £420,000. The total decrease in excise and customs of all alcoholic beverages fell from £39,206,781 in 1901 to £34,670,599 in 1906 in the United Kingdom. The consumption of spirits per capita in 1900 was 1.09 gallon, in 1904 only 0.95; that of beer 31.5 gallons *and* 29, respectively. Considerable controversy has arisen over the question of compensation to liquor dealers whose licenses are taken away.

The drink bill of England and Wales for 1904 was £140,366,542, or £4 3*s*. 2*d*. per head; Scotland, £14,804,305, or £3 4*s*.; Ireland, £13,816,318, or £3 2*s*. 10*d*.

The Temperance Hospital in London, established 1874, receives patients from all parts of the kingdom, and from beyond the seas; 23,393 persons were treated during the thirty-one years of its existence; its rate of mortality has been about 7.3 per cent on an average.

The "United Kingdom Alliance" has spread temperance literature broadcast wherever feasible. It is trying to raise a fund of 100,000 guineas for better carrying on its work. Its receipts in 1905 were £13,989.

There are two particularly encouraging features of the movement in Great Britain: the ever-increasing number of people both among working men and government circles who are interested in temperance. John Burns, for instance, has written a widely read pamphlet on "Labor and Drink," of which nearly 70,000 copies were distributed in 1904. The other feature is the growing tendency of the people to take their enjoyments in other forms than drinking. The habit of attending outdoor games is becoming firmly established, and means less drinking. The cheap railway fares enable people to go to the seaside and the country during their holidays; they take their own "nose-bags" along, have picnics, and spend but little money on drinks.

The growth of various temperance orders, e. g., the Sons of Temperance, the Rechabites, the British Medical Temperance Association (1872)—with a large similar association in the U. S. since 1891—are most encouraging signs; as is the enrolment of large numbers of children in Bands of Hope, etc. One of the most important modern movements, however, in England, is that of the Public House Trust. (For this, however, see Central Public House Trust Association.) Many people in England are studying the Norwegian Company, and not a few favor State management of the trade.

The English colonies are moving forward steadily, partly under local option laws, partly by a closer supervision and stricter regulation of the liquor traffic. This progress is a fact, notwithstanding occasional setbacks owing to prosperous times or other incalculable conditions. The liquor bill per head in New South Wales, Australia, has, under local option since 1882, steadily gone down from £5 4*s*. 5*d*. in 1881 to £3 1*s*. 5*d*. in 1906—a reduction of £2 3*s*. in twenty-five years. In Victoria, under local option since 1876, the reduction has been from £5 3*s*. 5*d*. in 1885 to £3 9*s*. 10*d*. in 1906.

British Colonies

In the Dominion of New Zealand Sunday closing is in operation throughout the colony. Publicans are forbidden to serve young people, or drunkards proclaimed by the magistrates; Maori women may not be served; and the entire King Country of the Maoris is under prohibition by legislative act of the colony. In 1881 a local option law was passed by the legislature, amended several times since, e. g., 1893 by the Liquor Sale Act; 1895 by the Liquor Sale Act Amendment Act. All men and women over twenty-one years of age have the suffrage, and each electoral district can suppress the liquor traffic by a three fifths majority vote within its own borders. Clutha voted local option in 1893, and has maintained it ever since. In 1902 five other districts took the same step; a number of other districts

just fell short of the required three fifths majority, while thirteen districts carried the vote for the reduction of the number of saloons by 25 per cent. The prohibition sentiment is growing steadily, and it may be owing to this fact that New Zealand shows the second smallest per capita consumption of absolute alcohol, 0.86 gallons, as compared with 2.04 in the United Kingdom, and 0.71 in Canada.

The Dominion of Canada is the most sober country in the English-speaking world according to statistics. The so-called Scott Act, a prohibition measure, was passed in 1878 and applies to the whole Dominion. It confers local veto power upon the various cities and counties. Separate local option laws have since been passed by nearly every province. In the more populous Eastern provinces, comprizing 90 per cent of the population, sentiment is constantly growing in favor of prohibition. The Province of Quebec has had local option since 1899; New Brunswick in all but five counties and one city; Nova Scotia in sixteen out of eighteen counties; Prince Edward Island in all counties and cities; Manitoba in many towns and villages. Aside from the local option law several provinces make the obtaining of licenses difficult or impossible by requiring the indorsement of two thirds of the rate-payers. Ontario voted in favor of prohibition (1902) by a majority of 199,749 to 103,548; but fell short of the necessary three fifths vote. Nevertheless this province has progressed rapidly in temperance. Licenses in 1874 numbered 6,185; in 1902 only 2,947. The city of Toronto had 530 licenses in 1874 with 60,000 population; in 1907 with about 250,000 only 207.

On the Continent sentiment in favor of temperance and total abstinence is growing. In the Scandinavian countries, Norway and Sweden, the problem is being partially solved by the Gothenburg system, or State conduct of the liquor traffic. (For a discussion of the benefits claimed for this by its advocates and the faults charged by its opponents, see NORWEGIAN COMPANY SYSTEM.)

Europe

In France and Germany a number of medical and scientific bodies of the highest and most conservative authority have made utterances as to the evil effects of the use of intoxicating liquors. Influential periodicals in France, like the review *Science Française*, *Le Temps*, and bodies like the French Academy of Medicine and the Association for the Advancement of Science, have taken up the fight against the use of alcohol as a beverage. In Germany one of the most noteworthy utterances was the publication in the *Deutsche Versicherungs-Zeitung*, of Berlin, of a lecture by Dr. Brendel, delivered before the Anthropological Society of Munich (March 28, 1894), in which insurance companies are warned that their risks are dangerously increased by alcoholism—drink always shortening life. Similar statements have been made since with increasing frequency and authority, e. g., by Dr. Zacher, the director of the Imperial Statistical Department, in 1906. It must be borne in mind that this department had 11,418,446 people insured in the division for sickness, 18,376,000 in that of accidents, and 13,756,400 in that of old age. Statements of the director are, therefore, based both on wide observation and accurate information. Dr. Zacher says in "Social Progress" (1906), pp. 36 and 37:

Germany

> The continued and detailed statistics of the working men's insurance have demonstrated that alcoholism, that is, the excessive consumption of alcoholic drinks, leads to increased exposure to sickness, accident and invalidity, consequently increasing mortality. Moreover, people addicted to alcohol readily contract diseases of all sorts, convalesce slower, and are prone to relapse, while, on the other hand, the members which abstain from such excesses are far less exposed, and their recoveries are surer and more rapid. It is certain that the abuse of alcohol tends not only to largely increase the liability to accidents and unfavorably influences their consequences, but also promotes and spreads the national disease of tuberculosis.

It is, perhaps, owing to this interest in temperance by governmental and scientific circles that the old private temperance societies have taken on a new lease of life and new ones have been founded. Some of these societies began to agitate against brandy in 1842. Beer was considered harmless. Since the consumption of both increased, the *Verein gegen den Missbrauch geistiger Getränke* began a strong agitation in behalf of temperance in the eighties, and kept it up under the guidance and inspiration of Dr. J. Waldschmidt, its president. This society numbered 20,000 in 1906 and had an income of 45,490 marks in 1904. The Good Templars are doing splendid work in the north, particularly in Schleswig-Holstein, and the Blue Cross Society in the south. The *Centralverband zur Bekämpfung des Alkolismus* is a total abstinence society with a small but growing membership. How badly work of this kind is needed may be inferred from the fact that in many rural districts a public house exists for less than 200 people.

Austria has a "Verein gegen Trunksucht" since 1884. Its activity has been directed chiefly along the line of instruction by means of pamphlets and lectures in different languages. Since 1893 it issues jointly with a similar society in Saxony a monthly, *Volksgesundheit*. The society has established branches in the different provinces, and aims at reaching the different nationalities. The total abstinence society of the *Slovenes*, for instance, has 250 members. The Austrian Women's Abstinence Society has succeeded in establishing a temperance library in Vienna and opening a temperance restaurant in 1905. A significant feature of the movement in Austria is the high scientific character of its leaders; some of the foremost physicians, e. g., Dr. Pöch, Dr. Müller, Dr. Fröhlich, and Dr. Wlassak, of Vienna, being among them. *Hungary* has a similar society. The delegation from Austria-Hungary at the congress in Stockholm (1907) numbered 75.

Austria

The first Belgian temperance society was organized about 1850 at Brussels. In 1879 the *Association belge contre l'abus des boissons alcooliques* was founded. It took the title of *Ligue patriotique contre l'alcoolisme* in 1884. The first abstinence organization was formed in 1866 at Saint-Trond. In 1889 a society among small children and school children was formed. In 1890 the government voted an annual appropriation of 65,000 francs for controlling alcoholism. The *Ligue* had (1903) 27 branches with 3,000 members and 2,550 adherents. The branches are scattered over all parts of the kingdom among both the French and Flemish people; it has sections for women nearly in every branch. In 1906 the "Sociétés Scolaires de Tempérance" were represented in 2,318 communes, 3,208 schools, with 65,151 members in primary schools—out of a total 113,714 boys; 1,068 schools for older boys had a membership of 27,876. The total number of boys who have taken the pledge since the i

Belgium

auguration of the society is 333,657. The remarkable fact about the temperance societies among school children is their being subsidized by the communes to the extent of 3,333 francs. In a number of departments sections for girls have been formed. In 1905 they numbered 272 in primary schools, with 8,781 girls, and 37 in schools for older girls, with 1,286 members. There were, moreover, 164 sections for girls who had graduated, with 8,786 members. There are other organizations for minors—18 in all, with 672 branches and 54,967 abstinent members of fourteen years or under. They are subsidized by the government to the extent of nearly 72,000 francs.

This is certainly a creditable showing and has received much governmental support, with marked results.

Table Showing Consumption of Beer, Wine, and Alcohol per Inhabitant

Year	Beer in liters	Alcohol (50 per cent) in liters	Wine in liters
1880	169	9.21	3.71
1885	162	9.25	3.30
1890	179	9.29	3.54
1895	192	10.56	4.12
1900	221	9.37	4.65
1904	219	5.84	4.32

France

A national congress was held in Paris (Sept., 1903) for the discussion of means and ways to obviate the danger arising to the nation from intemperance. The congress advocated temperance rather than abstinence. It favored the school as an agent in behalf of temperance by means of instruction on the effects of alcohol, and recommended that the government monopolize the sale of intoxicants in order to suppress the low taverns (*cabarets*), and in general regulate the traffic.

There was great need of such a congress, since France leads the list in the annual per-capita consumption of absolute alcohol with 3.72 gallons.

There are a number of temperance societies; the leader is, however, the *Ligue Nationale contre l'alcoolisme*, formerly called *Société Française de Tempérance*. It was founded in 1872. This society is tacitly acknowledged as a clearing-house on questions pertaining to the sale and consumption of liquor in France. It is a temperance organization, not a teetotal; but welcomes all the various means for restricting the sale and diminishing the consumption of liquor; its principal influence is on legislation. The Ligue holds conferences, prints and spreads literature, and issues an excellent monthly which keeps in touch with all questions and problems in its domain. The *Union Française antialcoolique* has about 1,500 local societies, chiefly in primary schools, with the motto: "Prohibition of distilled liquors." The *Association de la Jeunesse tempérante* has inscribed the salvation of children from the effects of alcohol on its banner, and has grown from 200 "adherents" in 1896—the year of its foundation—to 2,000 in 1904. It holds conferences in schools, establishes local societies, and issues a monthly, *La Jeunesse*. The *Ligue antialcoolique* dates since 1896, and is chiefly concerned with the establishment of asylums for inebriates, and with the diffusion of knowledge on the effects of alcohol. Its paper, *La Prospérité*, stands for teetotalism. By its efforts a total abstinence society was organized among railway employees in 1901.

The *Croix Bleue* draws its members chiefly from the Protestants of France, while the *Croix Blanche* endeavors to interest the Roman clergy in the cause of temperance. Through the cooperation of these various societies the government has been induced to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors in French military canteens.

In both chambers groups have been formed with a view to secure the enactment of existing, and the promotion of new, legislation.

In the meanwhile the private temperance societies are doing what they can in the way of creating diversions and preventing temptation by the establishment of restaurants free from alcohol, e. g., in Versailles, Bordeaux, Paris (the latter since 1898). The interest in the temperance movement is also shown by the fact that France had eighteen representatives at Stockholm in 1907.

Finland is ripe for prohibition; the Diet has passed a law, but the czar has refused to give his consent.

Italy has a per-capita consumption of 2.40 gallons of absolute alcohol. Drinking is, however, on the decrease.

Table showing consumption of alcohol per head in gallons:

Year	Wine	Spirits	Year	Wine	Spirits
1886	27.06	0.317	1894	16.94	0.271
1890	20.90	0.315	1897	16.72	0.264

There is a temperance society which sent four delegates to Stockholm.

Russia

The drinking of vodka or brandy is a national evil in Russia, which forced the government to take action in 1894. A committee was appointed by the czar to investigate the drink evil and propose remedies. When the report was received an ukase was published to the effect that, beginning Jan. 1, 1895, the manufacture and sale of vodka and beer would be under the supervision of an imperial committee. There was thus a government monopoly created at one stroke. The distillers and brewers are watched very closely as to the amount and quality of their product. A rigid examination is made, and the output turned over to the government, which dispenses it through its own salaried agents who are not supposed to have any interest in the quantity sold.

The general committee, consisting of men from the best families and high officials, was, furthermore, authorized to create subcommittees in every province of Russia; these again had the power to enlist *cooperators* who are voluntary workers and do most of the active work. There were 25,000 *cooperators* in 1900, working in conjunction with forty-five departmental committees. Each of the latter receives about 50,000 rubles per annum for the purpose of establishing hospitals for inebriates, assisting voluntary temperance societies, spreading knowledge, and creating diversions. In 1898 the forty-five committees had established 1,713 tea-houses and restaurants, 744 lecture halls and libraries, 501 concert halls, 91 popular theaters; arranged 4,658 conferences; staged 602 plays; and managed 445 grand popular fêtes in the open air. The government further assists the temperance cause by making the saloons as unattractive as possible.

The contributions of the government to the departmental committees have increased from about 200,000 rubles in 1895 to 1,797,200 in 1899 and 2,711,000, or $1,500,000, in 1900.

The effect of these measures is said to be wholesome; drunkenness in Warsaw, for instance, having decreased 20 per cent from 1895 to 1900. The government sold in 1898 about $125,000,000 worth of vodka and beer at a profit of $15,000,000. The gain in sobriety, fewer arrests, safety of life and property, is estimated by hundreds of millions.

There is, however, another side to the picture. *The Defender*, New York, reports Aug. 1, 1907, that a member of the Octobrist Party of the late Duma, M. D. Chelysheff, has stated that the dispensary system was demoralizing the Russian peasantry by giving 40 per cent alcohol instead of the weaker stuff of the former tavern-keeper; that the government at first put every obstacle in the way of the voluntary temperance movements, and forbade the clergy to join them; that it took over the sale of liquor only because of the revenue, and has placed dispensaries where the peasants objected to them. This contention seems to be supported by the revenue from the sale of liquor: 117,919,678 rubles in 1900; 169,143,000 in 1901; 462,808,000 in 1902; 609,364,980 in 1905; 568,436,000 in 1906. This increase in revenue has, however, two other explanations: The gradual replacing of private saloons by dispensaries, and the higher price charged for liquor as a war tax during that period. The revenue for 1906 is nearly 41,000,000 rubles lower than for 1905, showing that the government intends to assist temperance. If it is alleged, moreover, that "the Russian peasant drinks only to get drunk" and that the government has helped this unholy desire by its very honesty in giving 40 per cent alcohol compared with the weak stuff of the saloon-keepers, one should remember that it takes more drinks of weak stuff and, consequently, more money to get drunk than on a better quality at the same price. The case of Warsaw with its decrease of 20 per cent drunkenness in five years speaks well for the system, altho no one claims perfection for it, or can refuse to decry the drink evil in Russia.

Spain was up to 1860 a sober country; but has since been drinking more spirits, owing to the adulteration of wines. Its per-capita consumption of absolute alcohol is 2.42 gallons annually. Lately the widespread intemperance has caused alarm, and serious notice is being taken of its deleterious effects. The new queen, herself an abstainer, is said to be interested in a reformatory movement.

Spain

Switzerland has both temperance and abstinence organizations. The Blue Cross Society was introduced in 1877, and is a strong organization with an increasing membership. Dr. Farel is the most prominent temperance worker, particularly among the French Swiss.

Other Countries

Sweden and *Norway* are still satisfied with the *Company* or Gothenburg system. It is favored by the temperance people and abhorred by the total abstainers. The former point to the fact that the sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages is decreasing all over the kingdom, and that Gothenburg, for instance, had, in 1907, the same number of saloons with 150,000 population as in 1870 with 50,000; they also refer to the small number of arrests for drunkenness in the rural districts, 1.5 per 1,000 population. The teetotalers point to the 37 arrests per 1,000 for drunkenness in the urban boroughs, and claim that the growth of their societies with a profest membership of over 400,000 in 1907—besides the numerous unenrolled abstainers—is responsible for the reduction of the per-capita and total consumption, while the law has not stopt or even reduced drinking among the non-abstainers. (See NORWEGIAN COMPANY SYSTEM.) The per-capita consumption of absolute alcohol in Sweden is 1.08 gallons and in Norway only 0.54, the lowest of any civilized country, being smaller by 0.17 than that of Canada.

Smaller countries, e. g., Denmark, Holland, are also beginning to be interested in temperance; the former having an active society. Denmark, for instance, has a number of local temperance societies; and the Danish branch of the Good Templars has over 100,000 members. The government grants financial assistance for the carrying on of temperance propaganda; and private enterprise provides coffee-houses, etc., to promote the cause.

An item of importance in the temperance movement is the attitude of the secular press. Time was not so very long ago when the abstainers and Prohibitionists served as a butt of ridicule to daily and comic papers. This attitude has changed materially to one of sympathy in the better class of secular dailies, weeklies, and monthlies, altho the large revenue derived from the advertisements of liquor interests still holds many of them in bondage. Many papers, however, refuse these advertisements. Sweden, for instance, has forty prohibition papers out of 250; and seventy other journals refused advertisements of intoxicants. In the United States five of the best magazines notified the brewers and distillers in 1907 that their contracts would not be renewed for liquor advertising in any form. All of the 700 papers in the State of Kansas are said to have taken the same action some years ago. The religious press stands, of course, for temperance, and many papers favor abstinence. The number of prohibition papers is ever increasing in all English-speaking countries.

The Press

How completely the attitude toward alcohol has changed may be inferred from the fact that in the spring of 1907 a manifesto, signed by fifteen leading physicians of Great Britain, was published in the *Lancet*, defending themselves for the prescription of alcohol under certain conditions, and claiming that the moderate use of alcohol was beneficial to adults while maintaining that its abuse was injurious. The manifesto was severely criticized in several secular papers, and a counter manifesto published by the "British Medical Temperance Association," signed by J. J. Ridge, its honorary secretary. In America an answer was prepared by the secretary of the National Temperance Society, and given out for publication to a newspaper syndicate, said to represent several hundred secular dailies and weeklies with 5,000,000 readers—apart from the prohibition and religious journals which published it entire or in part.

Conclusions

The life-insurance companies, too, have become interested in the question of temperance, and some American and British companies give favorable terms to total abstainers, while several companies with lower terms have been established for teetotalers both in England and the U. S.

How wide the movement against alcohol has spread became evident at the "International Congress against Alcoholism" in Stockholm, July 28 to Aug. 3, 1907. Among its delegates were: 2 Rumanians, 2 Servians, 4 Italians, 7 Belgians, 14 Norwegians, 16 Americans, 18 Frenchmen, 19 Russians, 21 Dutchmen, 25 Britons, 31 Swiss, 75 Austrians and Hungarians, 150 Germans.

The enormity of the problem may be gleaned from the fact that in the U. S. a capital of $269,270,249 was invested in 1896 in the liquor traffic with about 41,500 people employed. This had increased to the enormous sum of $415,000,000 in 1907. Legal regulation and prohibition have done much; religious and moral influences are

doing more; scientific and medical teaching are just beginning to exert a powerful influence. The most effective aid to temperance, if not to abstinence, is, however, the constant refinement of feeling and the creation of a public opinion through education. Where customs, physical grossness, low tone of morality, demand and favor drinking—no law will prevail. Even the religious convert will frequently backslide, unless his social atmosphere is changed. The only permanent and constantly growing force against intemperance is the refinement of our personal feelings, of our social judgments, and of our moral and esthetic ideas. RUDOLPH M. BINDER.

REFERENCES: Joseph Rowntree and Arthur Sherwell, *The Temperance Problem and Social Reform* (1900); *Der Alkoholismus*, Heft 2, 1906; *Mössigkeits-Blätter*, 1904, 1905, and, 1906, *Rundschau in der Alkoholfrage*; *Exposition d'Économie et l'Hygiène sociales ou Palais de la Femme*, Exposition in Paris, 1905; *The Alliance News and Temperance Reformer* (a British weekly); *The New Voice*; *Liquor Habit in Russia*, *Outlook* (N. Y.), July 13, 1901; *Fight Against Alcoholism Abroad*, *Review of Reviews*, Dec., 1903.

TEMPERANCE LEGISLATION BOARD, THE SCOTTISH: Organized 1901 with the object of uniting all sections of the country in an endeavor to obtain further legislation on the lines of Lord Peel's Report (it being understood that support of the board by societies and individuals does not necessarily involve unqualified approval and indorsement of every statement and recommendation contained in that report), and also to strive to secure the effective administration of the licensing laws.

The board has avoided identifying itself with any political party; its aim is to be non-sectional and representative of all who have the welfare of Scotland at heart. And to all such, of whatever party, it appeals for support. The Rt. Hon. Viscount Peel is the president. The secretaries are G. F. Barbour and T. Nicol, 41, Melville Street, Edinburgh.

TEMPLE, WILLIAM: English economist; born London, 1628. Entering the diplomatic service, he represented England at the court of Brussels and in Holland. He sat in Parliament one year, but in 1680 retired from public life. Died in 1699. He wrote, among other books, "Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands" and an "Essay on the Trade of Ireland," in which, says Ingram, he mingled just views and mercantilist prejudices.

TENEMENTS (for statistics, see HOMES, OWNERSHIP OF; also OVERCROWDING. For methods of relief, see HOUSING; MUNICIPAL HOUSING; GARDEN CITIES, etc.): In this article we consider only tenements proper, in the sense of large buildings occupied mainly by families of the working or poorer classes. We consider New York City mainly because here the tenement presents the distinctive housing problem. In most other American cities, like Chicago and Philadelphia, while there is overcrowding with its attendant evils, the working classes and even the very poor occupy small houses rather than tenements. Boston has some of the worst tenements in the United States, but they are few in number compared with those in New York. Cincinnati, after New York and Boston, has the third worst tenements. (See OVERCROWDING.)

In Great Britain the housing question generally is also one of small houses rather than of tenements.

On the Continent most of the larger cities and Berlin especially have large barracks or tenements, but, generally speaking, they are neither so crowded nor so ill kept as in New York. In New York City the problem is undoubtedly at its worst. (See OVERCROWDING.)

The tenements are generally of five or even six and seven stories, built usually on lots of 25x100 feet, and with three or four families on each floor. Many of them are double-deckers, with 100 to 150 persons to a house. Rents are from $12 to $18 per month for four rooms, too often mere bed closets, opening on a narrow shaft and generally almost totally dark. In the public hallway opposite the stairs two water-closets often serve fifteen or twenty families.

Conditions, however, are improving. In 1895 a Tenement-House Commission was appointed, and as a result of their report and of further agitation an important Tenement-House Act has been passed, and repeatedly improved and amended, and enforced by a Tenement-House Department. The law now requires each apartment in the new tenements to have a toilet room, determines the proportion of the lot which can be built upon, the minimum amount of cubic and floor space per family, the position of fire-escapes, forbidding the keeping of animals on the premises, etc. Much has been accomplished. In two years, according to the report of the department (1906), 14,000 houses have been supplied with fire-escapes, and 9,000 wood floors of old fire-escapes replaced with iron; 28,000 accumulations of filth and rubbish have been removed from halls, cellars, or yards; 26,000 defective plumbing pipes repaired or replaced; 4,000 dark interiors have been given light and ventilation; 2,000 school sinks and privies have been removed. Yet vast evils remain. In 1904 362,000 dark interior rooms were reported. Jan. 1, 1906, there were still 357,000 such rooms. In the first quarter of 1906 1,031 rooms were provided with windows, at which rate it would take eighty-six years to change all the dark rooms. The department has to supervise 85,000 completed tenements, while in 1905 nearly 6,000 plans were filed for new tenements.

REFERENCE: See HOUSING.

TEXTILE INDUSTRIES AND WORKERS: Textile industries in the United States employ a larger number of workers than any other branch of manufacturing, and in capital invested they are only exceeded by the iron and steel industries. In 1860 the capital invested in them was $150,080,852; in 1890, $739,973,661; in 1905 it was $1,744,169,234. (For statistics, see MANUFACTURING). In value of product these industries stand third, food products being first and iron and steel products second. The conditions of the operatives in the industries are, however, relatively low, owing to the presence among them of a large population of unskilled female labor. There were employed in these industries in 1905 492,161 men sixteen years or over, and 582,630 women sixteen years and over, with 81,514 children under sixteen, a proportion and number of women and children not approached in any other branch of manufacturing.

On this account largely wages are low, especially in the South. (See WAGES.) In 1905 the Southern cotton-mills produced 2,346,652 bales, the Northern 2,203,406. Organizations in the textile trade began early and have played an impor-

tant part in the labor movement of the U. S., yet developed strong local bodies rather than national organizations. The Spinners' Union at Fall River, at times, at least, has been among the strongest unions in the country. A general International Union of Textile Workers, to include all except the spinners, was formed in 1881, but did not develop except in the South, the New England operatives mainly having unions of their own. In 1905 it had 10,000 members (15,000 in 1903). The National Spinners' Association of America, formed in 1858, was reorganized in 1889, since when it has been steadily successful.

In Great Britain the textile industries are if anything still more important. (See COTTON.) In 1905 the exports of cotton yarn were £10,317,000 (Germany, £1,703,000; France, £750,000); of cotton piece goods, £70,817,000 (Germany, £13,208,000; U. S., £6,000,000; France, £10,562,000); woolen and worsted yarn, £4,244,000 (Germany, £3,176,000; France, £1,490,000); woolen and worsted manufactures, £19,619,000 (Germany, £14,076,000; France, £7,361,000; U. S., £419,000); jute yarn and manufactures, £2,680,000 (France, £562,000); linen yarn and manufactures, £6,340,000 (France, 1904, £1,681,000). (See WAGES.) The main English textile labor organizations are the Amalgamated Association of Operative Cotton Spinners, organized in 1870, with (1904) 18,534 members, and several federations, the United Textile Factory Workers' Association (1883), representing 103,181 members; the Amalgamated Association of Card and Blowing-room Operatives (1886), with 22,420 members, and the North Counties Amalgamated Association of Weavers (1884), with 80,920 members. An International Textile Congress has been formed, the congress of 1905, representing 349,165 members, of which 220,515 were English and 60,000 German.

THÉATE, CH., L.J.: Chief of the Bureau of Labor in Belgium, and publicist; born in Liège, 1866. He was educated in his native city, and visited the university there, receiving the degree of Doctor Juris in 1887. He practised law for a while at the court of appeals. In 1897 he was called to his present position. He is in favor of State interference, but with as little infringement of individual liberty as possible. He is author of commentaries on several Belgian laws; "Lois sur les Règlements d'Atelier"; "Lois sur les Unions Professionelles"; "Lois sur les Accidents du Travail"; also a number of others along similar lines. *Address:* Boulevard Militaire, 166, Brussels, Belgium.

THOMAS, JOHN LLOYD: Publicist and manager of the "Mills Hotels and Model Dwellings"; born at Witton Park, England, April 22, 1857; educated at Darlington, England, and Utica, N. Y. Entered journalism and has written much for New York journals and the American Press Association; was editor *The Constitution*, New York, 1890–96; has lectured on social questions in United States, Canada, and Great Britain. He was secretary National Prohibition Party and National Constitutional League for several years, and has traveled in Europe, studying the subject of model dwellings and similar movements for the benefit of working men. He is the author of many pamphlets and magazine articles on municipal and school questions. *Address*: 161 West Thirty-sixth Street, New York.

THOMPSON, ROBERT ELLIS: Economist; born near Lurgan, in the north of Ireland, in 1844; emigrated to America with his parents in 1857. Graduating at the University of Pennsylvania in 1865, he received the degree of M.A. in 1868, and was chosen instructor in the university in that year, and professor of social science in 1871, and transferred to the professorship of history and English literature in 1881. In 1892 he was elected professor of history and literature in the Wagner Institute of Science. He has lectured on protective tariffs in various universities. Professor Thompson edited the *American Presbyterian* (1866–70); the *Penn Monthly* (1870–81); the *American* (1880–91); the *Sunday School Times* (1891); also the first two volumes of the *Encyclopedia Americana*. He belongs to the economic school of Henry C. Carey. In 1894 was appointed to the position he still holds—the presidency of the great Central High School of Philadelphia. Author: "Social Science and Natural Economy" (1875); "Elements of Political Economy" (1882); "Protection to Home Industry" (1886); "The Divine Order of Human Society" (1892). "History of the Presbyterian Church" (1895); "The Hand of God in American History" (1902); "Nature, the Minor of Grace" (1907). *Address*: West Rex Avenue, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia.

THOREAU, HENRY DAVID: Transcendentalist; born Concord, Mass., 1817. In 1837 he graduated at Harvard College and returned to Concord as a private tutor and a school-teacher. He became intimate with Emerson, at times an inmate of his home; he was soon a characteristic member of the new transcendental school. He supported himself by teaching school, by pencil-making, surveying, carpentering, and painting, making every year pedestrian excursions through the woods of New Hampshire. Eccentric in his dress, manners, and mode of life; it is said (tho it is also denied) he never went to church, never voted, and never paid a tax to the state. In 1845 he built for himself a wooden hut in the woods by Walden Pond, and continued to live there—a cultured hermit—for two and a half years. After 1849 he lived at home with his parents and sister in Concord. In 1859 he became acquainted with John Brown, and was so influenced by him as to devote his life to the anti-slavery movement. He combined high culture with the quick instincts, discernment, and love of nature of an Indian; a scornful enemy of every custom not based upon nature, reason, and morality. Died in 1862. He kept a voluminous journal and wrote many essays, from which large selections have since been published. Author: "A Week on the Concord and Merrimac Rivers" (1849); "Walden" (1854); "Cape Cod" (1865), etc.

THORNE, WILLIAM JAMES: Member British Parliament, of Labor Party for West Ham, South; born in 1857 at Birmingham; he lost his father at seven and had to go to work with a roper; a year later he worked in a brick-field, and tried different trades, but finally became an efficient stoker in the retort house on the drawing and charging machine. As a consequence of a strike he lost his work, and tramped to London, where he worked for a gas company. In 1889 he founded the National Union of Gas Workers and General Laborers, and has been its secretary ever since. He has been on the Trade-Union Parlia-

mentary Committee for eleven years, and attended three international congresses. At West Ham he is a member of the town council, and was deputy-mayor in 1898. His constituency consists of various societies of working men, chiefly Social Democratic Federation men. Elected to Parliament in 1906. *Address*: 1 Lawrence Road, Upton Park, E. London, England.

THORNTON, WILLIAM THOMAS: Writer; born Burnham, England, 1813; educated at the Moravian settlement at Ockbrook, near Derby. Secretary to the British Consul-General at Constantinople, 1830–35; clerk in the India House, London, 1835–58; secretary for public works in the India Office till his death in 1880. Author: "Over-Population and its Remedy" (1845); "On Labor: its Rightful Dues and Wrongful Claims, its Actual Present and Possible Future."

THRIFT has been recently called "an eclipsed virtue." It is, perhaps, by many to-day too much condemned, as it was once by most too much praised. In the period when an unbalanced and doctrinaire individualism prevailed in economic thought, the only true help was thought to be self-help. The only abiding way to help the poor was to teach them to help themselves. Under this belief the virtue of thrift was continually exalted by those anxious to remedy poverty. It was shown how, on exactly the same incomes, thrifty persons could manage to get along in comparative comfort, while those without thrift could not get along at all. The inference was that the only way to enable the poor to prosper was to teach them to be thrifty. "A penny saved is a penny earned"; "Frugality is a vast revenue"—these were the lessons taught. It was shown how wise and prudent it was to save and stint, and then invest one's small savings, and so gradually acquire a competence, or at least provision for old age or a rainy day. Penny savings-banks, post-office savings-banks, various provident institutions were founded to encourage thrift.

On the other hand, extreme Socialists and trade-unionists have been wont to condemn thrift. Many Socialists argue that the laborer under competition can only get a living, and that if by thrift he is enabled to live cheaper, he will simply be enabled to work for lower wages. Trade-unionists put the same view usually thus: "Wages depend on the standard of living. The laborer gets, as in all cases of value, just what it costs to produce him. Cheap laborers make low wages. As thrift means cheap living, it is an evil to the laborers as a class, tho it may enable one who practises it to get the advantage of his fellows."

Mr. Hyndman, before the British Labor Commission, argued that to accumulate money in any way is to accumulate orders on other men's labors, and not to benefit the class who so save. All thrift on the part of the working classes, he held, by making them small capitalists, and intensifying competition, increases the evil ("Minutes of Evidence Digest," p. 23). According to Mr. Bax: "To the Socialist labor is an evil to be minimized to the utmost. The man who works at his trade or avocation more than necessity compels him, or who accumulates more than he can enjoy, is not a hero, but a fool" ("The Religion of Socialism," p. 94). According to John Burns, before the Trade-Union Congress at Norwich, "Thrift was invented by capitalistic rogues to beguile fools to destruction" (Report, p. 55).

The balanced view between these extremes of praising thrift as the one thing needful to prosperity and of condemning it as an evil, is to show that there is truth on both sides. Self-help is not the only necessary help. Cooperation is necessary. Thrifty, competing individuals may lower their wages by thrift; but thrifty cooperation or socialism will not lower wages, and yet will save much for the individual and the community. The rich as a class are much more thrifty than the poor. Waste is never wise. The need is for a thrifty cooperative community.

THÜNEN, JOHANN HEINRICH VON: Political economist; born 1783, the son of a landed proprietor, and became himself the owner of a large estate near Rostock. Political economy was his favorite study; in 1826 he published the first volume of his "Der Isolirte Staat." It is still a matter of debate how far Von Thünen was a Socialist, but many of the opinions to which he gives expression are of a decidedly socialistic nature. Von Thünen's inquiries led to the conclusion that the wages of a laborer only cover the cost of his maintenance, and the interest on the capital employed in his bringing up; for his labor, his exertion, he receives nothing but his life—i. e., his necessary subsistence. Von Thünen thinks that the only way to raise the wages of labor is to increase the cost of bringing up the laborer, and thus he advocates the better education and training of the workman's children, the requisite cost being regarded as an indispensable need.

TILLETT, BENJAMIN, was born at Lower Easton, Bristol, England, in 1860. As a boy he had to shift for himself, and roughed it in coal-pits and brick-yards until fourteen, when he went to sea. He spent three years in the merchant service and two years in the navy. By obtaining employment as a tea cooper he was brought into direct contact with dock and wharf work, and experienced the evils of irregular employment. In 1887 he was one of the most active in organizing the Tea Coopers' and General Laborers' Association, and later in organizing the London dockers. (See DOCKERS' STRIKE.) Mr. Tillett was elected and has since been general secretary of the Dockers' Union. He is a "progressive" trade-unionist, has been nominated for Parliament by the Independent Labor Party, and has been chosen an alderman of the London County Council. *Address*: 425, Mile End Road, London, E.

TOCQUEVILLE, ALEXIS CHARLES HENRI CHEREL DE: Jurist, author; born Verneuil, France, 1805. He studied law and became an assistant magistrate. In 1831 he was commissioned to investigate the penitentiary system of the United States. In 1835 he published his famous "De la Démocratie en Amérique." In 1848 he was elected to the Constituent Assembly. In 1849 Minister of Foreign Affairs for four months. In 1856 he published his "L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution." He died at Cannes in 1859. An opponent of democracy, he foretold its growth in the world, and became one of its first historians. We give two typical quotations from his book.

"Democracy," says De Tocqueville, in a remarkable passage (vol. ii., chap. xx.), "is favorable to the growth of manufactures. . . . Manufactures may possibly, in their turn, bring men back to aristocracy. . . . In proportion as the principle of the division of labor is more extensively applied the workman becomes more weak, more narrow-minded and dependent. The art advances; the artizan recedes. On the other hand, in proportion as it becomes more manifest that the production of manufactures is by so much the more cheaper and better as the manufacture is larger and the amount of capital employed more considerable, wealthy and educated men come forward to embark in manufactures. . . . In a short time the one will require nothing but physical strength without intelligence; the other stands in need of science and almost of genius to secure success. This man resembles more and more the administrator of a vast empire—that man a brute. . . . Hence it would appear, on searching to the bottom, that aristocracy should naturally spring out of the bosom of democracy. . . . The manufacturing democracy of our age first impoverishes and debases the men who serve it and then abandons them to be supported by the charity of the public. This is a natural consequence of what has been said before. Between the workman and the master there are frequent relations, but no real relationship. I am of opinion, upon the whole, that the manufacturing aristocracy which is growing up under our eyes is one of the harshest which ever existed in the world; but at the same time it is one of the most confined and least dangerous. Nevertheless, the friends of democracy should keep their eyes anxiously fixt in this direction, for if ever a permanent unequality of conditions and aristocracy again penetrate into the world, it may be predicted that this is the channel by which they will enter."

Industrial Servitude

De Tocqueville's final conclusions as to the effect of democracy upon social conditions in America is strange reading to-day. He says, in part, "great wealth tends to disappear, the number of small fortunes to increase; desires and gratifications are multiplied, but extraordinary prosperity and irremediable penury are alike unknown. The sentiment of ambition is universal, but the scope of ambition is seldom vast. Each individual stands apart in solitary weakness, but society at large is active, provident, and powerful; the performances of private persons are insignificant; those of the State immense. There is little energy of character, but manners are mild and laws humane. If there be few instances of exalted heroism or of virtues of the highest, brightest, and purest temper, men's habits are regular, violence is rare, and cruelty almost unknown."

TOLMAN, WILLIAM HOWE: Director of the American Museum of Safety Devices and Industrial Hygiene; born 1861 at Pawtucket, R. I.; educated at Brown University (1882); took postgraduate work in history and politics at Johns Hopkins University; was for three years general agent of the Society for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor, secretary of the Improved Housing Council, director of the League for Social Service and of the American Institute for Social Service (*q. v.*), and since 1907 of the American Museum of Safety Devices. He has been especially active in promoting exhibits in social economy at various international expositions: Paris 1900, St. Louis 1904, Liège 1905, Milan 1906, Paris 1907, has represented the United States Government at them, has been a member of the International Jury at each, and received numerous awards and decorations, including that of Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur, the Order of Leopold, and the Prussian Crown, third-class. Author: "History of Higher Education in Rhode Island," 1891; "Municipal Reform Movements in the U. S.," 1894; "Handbook of Sociological Reference for New York City," 1894; "Public Baths and Comfort Stations," 1897, and of numerous essays on industrial betterment. *Address*: 231–241 West Thirty-ninth Street, New York.

TOLSTOY, COUNT LEO: Russian author, social reformer; born 1828 at Yasnaia Poliana, a village and estate belonging to his mother's family, and situated near the city of Toula, in Russia. His family has been intimately associated with the history of Russia for two centuries, and ranks among the higher nobility. He studied at the University of Kazan, and in 1851 took a commission in the Army of the Caucasus, seeing active service there, and later taking part in the defense of Sebastopol. About this period he published his first novels, including "Childhood, Boyhood, Youth," "The Cossacks," and "Sebastopol." At the close of the Crimean War he made St. Petersburg his home, and became a distinguished member of the literary society there. He traveled extensively abroad, and on his return settled upon his native estate, became a justice of the peace, and applied himself to the organization and management of schools for the peasants, now released from serfdom; he also edited a paper devoted to popular education. After further travel he married, at the age of thirty-four, and made Yasnaia Poliana his permanent home. For fifteen years he wrote his novels there, separated almost completely from society, and there his large family were born and brought up. During these years he composed his two greatest works, "War and Peace" and "Anna Karénina."

At the expiration of this period, and about the year 1877, Tolstoy became imprest with the emptiness of his literary pursuits, and began to ask himself what the meaning of life really was.

Making a careful study of the four Gospels, here at last he succeeded in satisfying himself. He says ("What I Believe," also called "My Religion," p. 10):

> The text that gave me the key to the truth was St. Matt. 5:39, "Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you that ye resist not evil." The simple meaning of these words suddenly flashed full upon me; I accepted the fact that Christ meant exactly what He said, and then, tho I had found nothing new, all that had hitherto obscured the truth cleared away, and the truth itself arose before me in all its solemn importance.

In his book "Life," Count Tolstoy gives systematic form to the theory of life which he deduced from the Gospels. He maintains that man should renounce the individual aims of his life and devote his life in love to his fellow creatures, thus finding his life in doing God's will—that is, in doing unto others as he would have others do unto him, and abstaining entirely from violence. He who enters upon such a life is really born again, for him there is no death. In "What to Do," "The Kingdom of God is Within You," he shows the conclusions to which his beliefs have brought him. He holds that war, government, private property are to be condemned as involving the use of force; that all men should engage in manual labor; that they should avoid luxury; that all should have an equal right in the land; that money is an evil thing, its chief end being the enslavement of the people, and that a life of complete chastity is the ideal toward which men should tend. His system is thus seen to be a combination of the philosophy of St. John with the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount literally applied.

His Views

The "Kreutzer Sonata," a novel intended to show the author's rigid views upon marriage, was published about the year 1888, and was strangely misunderstood, having been placed under the ban by the Post-office Department in the United States as unfit for transportation in the mails. In an article written in explanation of this book, Tolstoy declares that eventually

love for God and for one's neighbor should replace the physical relations of marriage.

Count Tolstoy's own life gives a fair example of the application of his principles. He has stript his house of everything not actually necessary; dresses like a peasant and works in the fields; has also learned bootmaking. He confines his writing to the elucidation of his moral and religious ideas, and has published many short moral stories for the peasants. He has become a strict vegetarian, and never touches wine, tobacco, tea, or coffee. During the famine of 1891–92 he and his family did an extensive work in establishing soup-kitchens in the stricken districts. The count has a considerable following in Russia, altho the character of the government in that country makes it difficult to ascertain the real dimensions of such a movement. He has escaped Siberia himself on account of his great international reputation.

Tolstoy has been a voluminous writer, and many of his works have been translated into the principal European languages. Among the English translations, besides those already mentioned, may be named "The Four Gospels, Harmonized and Translated," three volumes; "My Confession," "Ivan Ilyitch," "Family Happiness," "Napoleon's Russian Campaign," "Power and Liberty," "The Long Exile," "The Invaders," "A Russian Proprietor," "Where Love Is," "The Two Pilgrims," "What Men Live By," "Master and Man," "Work While Ye Have the Light." Many of these works are more or less autobiographical, and even in the novels there is usually a leading character who reflects more or less distinctly the personality of the author. He has also written several plays and some books on education, but these have not yet appeared in English. ERNEST CROSBY.

TOOKE, THOMAS: Economist; born in St. Petersburg, Russia, in 1774, the son of William Tooke, the historian, and at that time chaplain to the factory of the Russia Company, in St. Petersburg. Thomas Tooke was for more than forty years successfully engaged in the Russian trade, but is better known as a pioneer in the free-trade movement. He drew up in 1820 a famous "Merchants' Petition" for free trade. He founded the Political Economy Club in 1831, and promoted numerous industrial and philanthropic reforms. He is the author of numerous writings on currency and trade, the best known being his "History of Prices and of the State of the Paper Circulation from 1798–1856," etc. (6 vols., 1838–57). He died in London in 1858.

TOPOLOBAMPO: A former cooperative colony situated in northern Sinaloa, Mexico, founded by Albert K. Owen, who had obtained valuable concessions from the Mexican Government. A company was formed to develop the colony; its charter was filed in Colorado, and the first colonists were landed in Topolobampo Bay in 1886. An organ of the colony, the *Credit Foncier of Sinaloa*, was started in 1885 in New Jersey and moved to Topolobampo in 1888, edited by Mrs. Marie Howland, and devoted to "integral cooperation." The colonists numbered, in 1892, 446 persons, including 150 children.

The main activities were the developing of the natural advantages of the colony, involving the investment of many tens of thousands of dollars. The main immediately remunerative industry was a tinware manufactory. Family life was preserved. Differences, however, sprang up. A Free Land Company was formed to oppose the original Credit Foncier Company, headed by Mr. Owen, and the life of the colony gradually ended.

TORRENS LAND SYSTEM: A system used in Australia to keep the title of lands in a public registry, so that a transfer of titles can be made easily, cheaply, and safely, by simply recording the transfer in the registry. It was adopted in Illinois a number of years ago, but soon declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of that state. (See LAND TRANSFER.)

TORRENS, ROBERT: Economist; born in Ireland, 1780. He became major-general in India, and was for years in Parliament, prominent as a supporter of the Reform Bill. His views on the Corn Laws were finally adopted by Peel. He died in 1864. Author: "Essay on Money and Paper Currency" (1812); "Essay on the Production of Wealth" (1821); "The Budget, a Series of Letters on Financial, Commercial, and Colonial Policy" (1841–43).

TOTAL ABSTINENCE. See TEMPERANCE; PROHIBITION; PROHIBITION PARTY.

TOYNBEE, ARNOLD: Social reformer; born in London, 1852. He spent two years in a military college, then resided for a year in a retired village on the seacoast, engaged in study and meditation. After this he went to Oxford, where he made a notable mark. In spite of ill health he was appointed tutor to the Indian civilians at Balliol College, and for a time immersed himself in economic studies. Deeply interested in the working classes, he went to Whitechapel (East London) and lived, devoting himself to improving the condition of the poor, and taking part in public and religious meetings. Popular with the men, he felt called upon to lecture against the views of Henry George's "Progress and Poverty," and the strain and excitement of this action on a feeble body, worn by constant labors, was the immediate cause of his death in 1883. From the inspiration of his example arose Toynbee Hall, founded in 1884. (See SETTLEMENTS.) His main work, published in partly unfinished condition, after his death, is "The Industrial Revolution in England." Neither a Socialist nor a Democrat, he had strong tendencies in both those directions, and opposed the doctrinaire character of most orthodox economics, and believed that modern facts show the necessity and value of adopting many Socialist principles. Deeply interested in Church reform, he desired the harmony of Church and State, his conception of Christianity being, the spirit of Jesus applied in all directions, and in all the affairs and relations of life.

TRADE AGREEMENTS: The term "Trade Agreement" is used to designate an agreement covering wages, hours, and conditions of labor, between an association or union of workmen and an association of employers. An essential part of the agreement is the clause providing that there shall be no strikes or lockouts during the term of the agreement, usually one year, but that all disputes relating to interpretation of, or to matters not covered by, the agreement shall be settled by conference between representatives of the

two associations. Sometimes it is provided that in case these representatives cannot agree they shall call in an outsider or umpire. The term Arbitration (see ARBITRATION) is sometimes inaccurately applied to the trade agreement, but arbitration is strictly the reference of a dispute to a disinterested outsider, whereas trade agreements are nearly always drawn up by the representatives of the parties. An exception to this rule was the arbitration of the anthracite coal strike in 1902, when a commission appointed by the president drew up a trade agreement, which the parties agreed in advance to accept for a period of three years. The term conciliation is also often used with reference to a trade agreement, but conciliation is properly mediation by outside parties with the object of inducing the two parties to enter upon a trade agreement of their own framing. The principal trade agreement systems at present in vogue are as follows:

Iron and steel industry, between the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers and such companies as the United States Steel Corporation and Republic Iron and Steel Company. The system originated in 1865 and has continued to the present time with three or four interruptions.

Bituminous coal industry, since 1898. Several agreements covering separate competitive fields, the principal one being that of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, between the United Mine Workers of America and different associations of coal operators. Anthracite coal industry, between the United Mine Workers and the largest anthracite coal producers since 1902.

Longshoremen's agreements between the Longshoremen, Marine, and Transport Workers, and different associations on the Great Lakes and Gulf and Pacific coasts, of dock managers, lumber and grain carriers, and others. Since 1897.

Stove industry, between the Molders' Union and the National Stove Founders' Defense Association. Since 1891.

Newspaper publishers and International Typographical Union. Since 1899.

Railroad Brotherhoods and nearly all railway systems.

The United Garment Workers, United Brewers, Hatters, and Cigar Makers have agreements, or contracts, with individual establishments granting the use of the union label.

In the building trades there are many hundred local agreements, the bricklayers having begun the practise in New York in 1884.

Lithographic Trades Alliance and the Lithographers' Association (National).

The Theatrical Managers and the Musical Protective Union.

There are in addition very numerous local agreements.

Examples of the endurance of the severest tests on these agreements are the contracts between the associated bituminous coal operators and the United Mine Workers of America, and the contract between the Lake Carriers' Association and the International Longshoremen's Union. Each party to these agreements has undergone successfully the strain of granting higher wages on the one side and of accepting lower wages on the other. The acceptance of a lower scale by the bituminous coal miners prevented a strike, extending through Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, whose possible consequences no man could forsee, since it might literally have stopped the commerce and paralyzed the industries of the country.

The Stove Founders' Association, composed of 600 of the largest manufacturers in the U. S., has maintained since 1891 a trade agreement with the National Iron Molders' Union. This contract, renewed annually, has withstood successfully the severest tests, both of advances and reductions in wages, two of these strains having been especially severe. The executive committee of each organization attends the annual convention of the other.

The manager of the Lake fleets and shipping interests of the U. S. Steel Corporation, Harry Coulby, recently said:

"There are no workers harder to manage than the longshoremen. Yet the discipline of their organization is so thorough and their sense of honor is so high that, when contracts are signed, the employers know just what they can count on. If a new local union attempts to violate its contract, the national organization protects the employers. Had it not been for the steadying influence of this organization and the effect of its collective contract, the business of lake transportation would have suffered disaster during the past five years."

JOHN R. COMMONS.

TRADE-UNION BENEFITS (see also INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE): We give here a tabulation of facts. Those for the United States are from the New York State *Bulletin of Labor* (March, 1906).

The national unions belonging to the American Federation of Labor made the following expenditures for benefits in 1905:

Death benefits	$742,421.23
Death benefits (members' wives)	24,800.00
Sick benefits	582,874.13
Traveling benefits	62,989.71
Tool insurance	5,180.41
Unemployed benefits	85,050.72
Total	$1,503,316.20

THE RAILWAY BROTHERHOODS

Exclusive of street-railway employees, there are ten organizations of railway men in the U. S., of which only three (the car workers, trackmen or maintenance-of-way employees, and telegraphers) are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Of the remaining seven, five are composed of men engaged directly in the operation of trains and thereby exposed to great risks, against which they insure themselves through the Brotherhood itself or some association closely identified with the Brotherhood. The following table reveals the magnitude of this death and disability insurance at the present time:

BROTHERHOOD	Members of Brotherhood	BENEFICIARY DEPARTMENTS	
		Amount paid in benefits	Number of claims paid
Conductors	36,000	$825,000	423
Engineers	47,000	1,327,500	594
Firemen	55,287	810,250	.....
Switchmen	23,000	154,200	151
Trainmen	74,539	1,545,236	1,154
Total	.....	$4,662,186	.....

GREAT BRITAIN

The Board of Trade Report on Trade-Unions (1906) gives the following statistics for 100 of the principal unions:

	Unemployed, traveling, and emigration benefits	Dispute benefits	Sick and accident benefits	Superannuation benefits	Funeral benefits	Other benefits and grants to members	Total expended, benefit and working
1900	£263,231	£149,056	£308,900	£180,530	£95,655	£34,150	£3,693,854
1902	424,046	217,976	340,506	219,096	95,296	36,334	4,379,981
1904	647,722	126,446	384,519	267,395	95,644	49,074	4,616,230

The total membership in these years was respectively 1,149,937, 1,152,634, and 1,127,529.

In Germany and on the Continent generally trade-union benefits are low, partly because the State, particularly in Germany, does so much in industrial insurance, mainly, however, because the trade-unions themselves are relatively weak, tho on the increase. In Germany unemployed benefits are confined to the Hirsch Duncker unions and a few Social Democratic unions. In the Hirsch Duncker unions members receive from six to eight marks per week for thirteen weeks.

TRADE-UNIONISM (see special articles TRADE-UNIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN, by Sidney Webb; TRADE-UNIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, by Prof. John R. Commons; WOMEN'S TRADE-UNIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN, by Miss Gertrude M. Tuckwell; WOMEN'S TRADE-UNIONS IN THE U. S., by Miss Herron; AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, by William J. Kirk; COMPULSORY ARBITRATION, by Samuel Gompers; UNIONIST AND NON-UNIONIST, by John Mitchell; cf. also articles OPEN SHOP; TRADE-UNION AGREEMENTS; TRADE-UNION BENEFITS, etc., etc.):

We consider in this article trade-unions in other countries, and the arguments for and against other trade-unionism.

I. Trade-Unionism in Various Countries

(For Great Britain and the U. S., see above.)

France

In France all industrial organizations, whether of employers, of employees, or of both, are called *syndicats*. Organization of trade-unions of the English type was late in France. (For the history, see FRANCE AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

In 1884 complete freedom of organization was gained. In 1890 there were 1,006 labor-unions with 139,678 members, and in 1905, 4,625 unions with 781,344 members; 3,176 of the unions were federated in 158 federations. The largest number of unions were in the building trades, followed next by transportation and then by the metal trades. In point of membership transportation comes first with 221,683 trade-unionists; metal trades, 90,355; mining and quarrying, 87,166; textile trades, 79,676.

Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, and the Department of Nord are the main centers. French trade-unions are more formally identified with the Socialist movement than English and American unions. (See SOCIALISM.) The entrance fee is usually 1 franc, and the monthly dues from 50 c. to 1 fr. The *Chambre Syndicale Typographique* is one of the oldest in Paris, founded in 1839.

Germany

In Germany trade-unions (*Gewerkvereine*) are of various kinds. The old medieval gilds (*Zuntfe*) were abolished by various laws about 1800; but modern gilds (*Innungen*), mainly of employees, and somewhat patterned after the old, were developed, and were encouraged by the government, which strictly controlled all trade. Trade-unions proper date from 1868. Herr Fritzsche established a German Union of Tobacco Workers in 1865, and of German printers in 1866. These were largely socialistic. In 1868 were formed of this type various trade associations (*Gewerkschaften*). Dr. Max Hirsch the same year started a movement with the English trade-union idea. He and Herr Duncker worked together, and by 1869 had formed four such unions. The principal German unions, however, the socialistic *Gewerkschaften*, in fifty-seven central organizations.

In 1894, however, began a new type of unions, the so-called Christian Trade-Unions, opposed to the asserted materialism and socialism of the *Gewerkschaften*. (See GERMANY, p. 539.)

The following table gives for recent years the relative strength of the various types of unions:

	1899	1904	1905
Social Democratic trade-unions (Gewerkschaften):			
Central federations	580,473	1,052,108	.....
Local unions	15,946	20,686	.....
Total "Gewerkschaften"	596,419	1,072,794	1,372,539
Hirsch-Duncker trade unions (Gewerkvereine)	86,777	111,889	117,097
Christian trade-unions:			
Affiliated to central federations	not given	107,556	not given 188,106
Other		99,928	
Total Christian trade-unions	112,160	207,484	305,203
Other trade-unions (non-federated)	68,994	74,458	144,601
Total of all unions	864,350	1,466,625	1,822,343

The Christian trade-unions are strongest in transportation with 83,000, and 44,118 in mining (1904). They reported an income that year of about 1,400,000 marks, and expenditures of about 1,009,000. The Hirsch-Duncker unions are strongest in the metal and engineering trades, with 47,000. They reported in 1904 an income of about 1,080,000 mk. and expenditures of about 880,000. The Social Democratic unions, which are much the largest, had in 1904 243,626 members in the building trades, 117,972 in the metal and shipbuilding trades, and 105,015 in woodworking trades. They reported in 1904 an income of some 20,000,000 mk., and expenditures of 16,600,000 for trade expenses alone and 1,120,000 in industrial benefits. These unions are now rapidly growing in Germany and the Social Democrats are entering them, developing them, and working with them and through them in every way.

In Switzerland trade-unions proper have not been strongly developed, tho they are now attaining more strength. (For the important *Grutliverein*, see SWITZERLAND.) An interesting feature of Swiss trade-unionism is that, owing to an agitation in 1886, a federal officer, called the workman secretary, is elected every three years by a congress of Swiss labor societies, organized as a federation, and represents the societies in the government. He is paid by the government. In all, the Swiss Trade-Union Federation had (1904) some 31,137 members, of which 21,000 were in printing and bookbinding trades. In 1907 it was reported at the Stuttgart Socialist Congress that Swiss unions claimed about 50,000 members, besides some 30,000 not affiliated in the central federation.

In Italy labor organizations are of very various kinds. Some are very ancient. The Pious Union of Journeymen Printers of Turin dates from 1710. The Pious Institute of Silk and Felt Hat Makers of the same city dates from 1738. In 1861 a *Fratellanza Artigiana* was started at Florence, and is still strong. In 1871 a *Patto*

del Fratellanza, or pact of working men's societies, was formed at Rome. Both of these were under the influence of Mazzini. Since then most Italian labor organizations are best considered under the head of socialism. (See ITALY.)

Other Countries

In 1902, however, there were reported 480,000 members of labor-unions, of which 240,000 were in agricultural unions. There were reported at Stuttgart, 1907, 365,000 members in 2,657 unions.

In Austria the history of trade-unions is identified with the political history and socialism. (See AUSTRIA.) On Christmas eve, 1893, the first congress of Austrian trade-unions met in Vienna; 270 delegates were present, reporting 20,000 members of unions in Vienna and 11,320 in the provinces. (See AUSTRIA.)

In 1905 there were reported 3,111 unions with 323,090 members, of which 28,403 were women, while at the Stuttgart Congress 448,000 members were reported in 1907. Hungary had in 1905 forty unions with 71,173 members. There were reported at Stuttgart, 129,232.

In Belgium trade-unions have long had a firm hold, some of them being descended from the old trade benefit societies, but at present are mainly Socialist societies. (See BELGIUM.) There were reported in 1907 100,000 members in two federated bodies, about 35,000 being connected technically with the Socialist Party. Sweden reported in 1907 144,000 trade-union members; Norway, 25,000; Denmark, 78,000. In all these Scandinavian countries the trade-unions and the Socialist parties are practically different forms of one organization. Holland reports about 28,000 members of unions; Spain, 34,000. It is estimated that there are about 250,000 trade-unionists in Australia. In Australasia, naturally, trade-unions have followed the English model.

II. Arguments for Trade-Unions

The first argument for the existence of trade-unions is that they are necessary to protect the individual employee. For capitalists organized in great corporations to refuse to allow their employees to organize is injustice. Before the gigantic organization of capital to-day the individual employee is helpless. Only by organization and collective bargaining can he at all put himself on a basis of equality in dealings with his employer.

Trade-unions are necessary to allow of arbitration, conciliation, and responsible, enduring relations between workmen and their employers. Boards of arbitration and conciliation cannot deal between employers and each of several hundred employees acting as individuals. In England the large employers have learned to prefer to deal with strong trade-unions. Then responsible bargains can be made for a year ahead between the masters and the men, and the men and the corporations can know what to count on in fixing their prices.

Says Schulze Garvernitz ("Social Peace," tr., pp. 248–250):

> The more intellectually gifted employers in the most important English industries have given an ungrudging recognition to the unions, and comparing the present with the former state of incessant strife, they see in the trade-union movement the instrument which is to restore English industry to the paths of peace. He quotes David Dale, a prominent mine-owner, as saying: "Let me therefore declare emphatically, as the result of long and varied experience, that the best securities that employers can have for the rule of reason and the observance of engagements on the part of the operatives of any trade is that those operatives should have among themselves a union strong in numbers and with an able and trusted executive."

Says Prof. Alfred Marshall, in a carefully balanced estimate ("Economics of Industry," bk. vi., chap. xii., section 13):

> Little but mischief indeed comes from a weak union, always ready to interfere, but seldom able to secure the faithful carrying out of an agreement, to which its own officers have been a party. But a strong union, guided by able and far-seeing men, who have a grave sense of responsibility, is found to enable a few minutes' quiet conversation to settle innumerable petty disputes that in old times would have caused much delay and worry and loss of mutual good feeling.

Invention and machinery make trade-unions and short hours necessary. Muscular labor has been replaced by machinery (*q. v.*) in different trades from 50 to 300 per cent. This process is going on continually. Typesetting machines displace thousands of compositors. Trade-unions are often the only bulwark between the wage-worker and terrible reductions in wages. They are also the only hope of steady, orderly solution of the labor question. In trades where labor is well organized there are high wages and peace and hope.

The best argument for trade-unions is the simple statement of what they have done. Mr. Trant, summing up what they have done in England, says:

> It has been argued: First, that trade-unions have succeeded in raising wages and reducing the number of working-hours. Second, that these reforms do not benefit the laborer at the cost of either the capitalist or the consumer; as, between certain limits, it is found that high pay and the prospect of an early cessation from work are such incentives to industry that the produce of labor is actually greater than under a system of long hours and low pay. Third, that the workmen have such confidence in the benefits they derive from union, that, after the experience of "half a millennium," they are crowding into societies, into unions, in a greater ratio every year. Fourth, that their declared object is to prevent strikes and substitute arbitrations; and altho the latter mode of settling disputes is often proposed by the men and refused by the masters, it is seldom proposed by the masters and still less often refused by the men. It has been argued further, that such being the objects of trade-unions, and such their success in obtaining these objects, the influence of that success must be very beneficial. First, because high wages mean increased comforts, which are not only a social but a commercial advantage. High wages mean increased production, also the double blessing just mentioned. Second, because high wages do not mean enhanced prices, but the contrary. Third, because the principles of trade-unionism teach men the prudence of denying themselves something to-day, in order that they may have greater advantages to-morrow; and the duty of self-sacrifice, by calling upon them to contribute, out of their meager wealth, toward the alleviation of the sufferings of their fellow men. Fourth, because trade-unions endeavor to obtain for the working classes more leisure for recreation and study. Fifth, because by lectures and other means the unions endeavor to make their members better workmen; and by rules which stigmatize and punish the idle, the vicious, and the incompetent, do all in their power to make workmen better citizens.
>
> It is really difficult to conceive how an institution with such noble objects, having attained those objects, can be anything but a great blessing to the community in which it is placed.

In the U. S. trade-unions have produced the same results.

1. They have shortened hours of toil from 13, 14, and occasionally 16, seventy years ago, to 12, 11, 10, and even to 8 in very many trades to-day. This is almost solely due to trade-unions, and has not taken place in portions of the country or in trades where trade-unionism is weak. (See table on page 1233.)

2. Trade-unions have mainly contributed to what rise of wages has been gained.

3. Trade-unions have prevented an unknown number of cut-downs in wages.

4. Trade-unions have gained in many states legislation preventing the truck system, the locking of factory doors in work-hours, the employment of women and children at night, etc.

They have gained legislation protecting the life and limb of employees from unguarded machinery, compelling the erection of fire-escapes, appointing factory inspectors (men and women). They have helped or led in establishing evening schools, labor bureaus, boards of arbitration and conciliation. They have caused to be enacted laws compelling weekly payment of wages, exempting the wages of wives and children from attachment, defining the responsibility of railroad and other corporations for accidents to their employees, above all limiting the hours of labor of women and children.

Such laws have not been passed in all states, nor are they wholly due to trade-union efforts; but they have scarcely ever, if ever, been passed where trade-unions are weak, and in almost all cases it has been trade-union leaders who have attended the legislative hearings, collected the witnesses, and conducted the agitations that have resulted in these laws.

5. The chief benefit of trade-unions is implied in the above, viz., their educational effect. It is said that good trade-unions do good and poor trade-unions do harm, but good trade-unions usually come as the outgrowth of poor and weak trade-unions. Therefore even poor and weak trade-unions are to be encouraged and made strong and good as soon as possible.

6. Trade-unions have been of inestimable use to the working classes as benefit societies. (See Trade-Union Benefits.)

III. Objections to Trade-Unions

1. It is said that they are tyrannical. On the contrary, they are utterly democratic. In every trade-union, every office, every rule, every strike is voted upon by the members, and the majority prevails. Sometimes a union, after voting to strike, empowers a walking delegate to call the strike when he thinks best; but the decision to strike does not lie with him. It not unfrequently happens that an employer asks an employee why he struck, and the man says he was compelled to strike by his union. Yet often that same employee himself voted to strike. Employees do not usually tell their employers when they vote to strike. Of course, in a democratic organization, a minority submits to a majority, but this is not tyranny. Sometimes, therefore, some men do strike against their will; but if they did not belong to a union they would have their will more crossed by their employers, so that, tho in a union a man does not always have his way, he has it infinitely more often than the employee who belongs to no union.

2. It is said that trade-unions are led by agitators, whose salaries depend on getting up an agitation. This occasionally happens, but very seldom. Trade-unions employ walking delegates for two reasons: (1) To attend to the important beneficiary work of the union; (2) because they have learned that it is necessary to have some one to represent them in dealing with their employers who is not financially dependent upon his employer. This is unquestionably necessary.

3. It is said that trade-unions are mischievous in creating useless strikes. This is, generally speaking, a mistake. (See Strikes.)

Trade-Unions and Non-Unionists

4. It is said that trade-unions lower the efficiency of labor, interfere with personal rights, and create violence by preventing apprentices from learning trades, by demanding equal wages for union members without reference to skill, by interfering with the employer's right to employ whom he will, and demanding that he employ only union labor, and by attacking non-union labor in time of strikes.

To these objections it is to be frankly admitted that cases of injustice on the part of trade-unions do frequently happen, especially with weak and newly formed unions; but this is not because of trade-unionism, but because the members are ignorant and unwise, and therefore have more need of unions which gradually outgrow such evils. Says Professor Marshall ("Economics of Industry," bk. iii., chap. v., § 3):

> In many of the smaller unions there remains to the present day much of the folly and ignorance and selfishness and a little of the violence of earlier times. But we may trust that those faults which are not now found in the largest and best-managed unions will, with the course of time and the diffusion of knowledge, disappear altogether. It is true that even the best unions do not always act up to the principles of unionism as they are expounded by their most enlightened members. But as, when dealing with the economics of trade, we do not trouble ourselves to discuss at length the guiles of dishonest merchants, so when dealing with the economics of unionism, we may accept its principles as they are put into practise by the most enlightened unionists.

As for violence in times of strike against non-union men, called "scabs" by the union men, it undoubtedly often happens, but very often it is conducted by irresponsible young men or boys, and sometimes women, in hate, or in spirit of mischief, and is not conducted by the unionists. The violence against property in case of strike is almost wholly committed, not by unionists, but by the hoodlums that infest most large cities, and are glad of any opportunity to attack the representatives of capital. Most trade-unions are careful to protect property, knowing it for their interest in the long run. (See Strikes; Open Shop; Unionist; Non-Unionist.)

Of the complaint that trade-unionists demand equal wages for workmen good and bad, Mr. Trant says (as above):

> That unions force masters to pay bad workmen the same wages as good workmen is not true, and the very idea would be scouted by all sensible unionists. The notion that such is the case is, however, very general. . . . True, the unions sometimes agree upon a minimum rate of wages, but this is quite another thing. If a man be not worth that minimum no employer need employ him, while if he be a man of superior skill, or extraordinary working ability, there is no limit to the amount of wages an employer may feel inclined to give him. Of course, where wages are paid by the day, a uniform rate naturally springs in existence.

Ruskin advocates equal wages. He says ("Unto This Last," Essay 1):

> "Pay good and bad workmen alike?" Certainly. The difference between one prelate's sermons and his successor's—or between one physician's opinion and another's—is far greater, as respects the qualities of mind involved, and far more important in result to you personally, than the difference between good and bad laying of bricks (tho that is greater than most people suppose). Yet you pay with equal fee, contentedly, the good and bad workmen upon your soul, and the good and bad workmen upon your body; much more may you pay, contentedly, with equal fees, the good and bad workmen upon your house.
>
> "Nay, but I choose my physician and (?) my clergyman, thus indicating my sense of the quality of their work." By all means, also, choose your bricklayer; that is the proper reward of the good workman to be "chosen." The natural and right system respecting all labor is, that it should be paid at a

fixt rate, but the good workman employed, and the bad workman unemployed. The false, unnatural, and destructive system is when the bad workman is allowed to offer his work at half price, and either take the place of the good, or force him by his competition to work for an inadequate sum.

Says the late Prof. Thorold Rogers (*q. v.*), of Oxford, concerning trade-unions:

I confess to at one time having viewed them suspiciously: but a long study of the history of labor has convinced me that they are not only the best friends of the workman, but the best agency for the employer and the public; and that to the extension of these associations political economists and statesmen must look for the solution of some among the most pressing and difficult problems of our times.

Trade-Unionism and Socialism

5. One objection is brought against trade-unions from a very different quarter from those we have considered above. They are declared by some socialistic reformers to be reactionary and useless. This objection, as far as it applies to trade-unions, is usually brought by young and Utopian middle-class Socialists who know very little about what trade-unions are doing. Few working-class Socialists object to trade-unions. But very many working-class Socialists do attack, and that bitterly, the trade-union leaders. They say trade-unions are necessary to-day, but cannot really solve the Labor movement; that only socialism can do that; and that the main use of the trade-union ought to be to educate the workers toward socialism. This, they say, the trade-union leaders prevent because it is for their interest to magnify the organizations which give them a living. Those trade-unionists who refuse to join the Socialist Labor Party they brand as traitors to labor.

The trade-union leaders, however, even those who do accept the ideals of socialism as their ultimate aim, being usually men of some years of experience, know that socialism at the best can come but slowly. They have seen working-class political movements and labor parties come and go. To identify trade-unions as organizations with such political movements, they believe, would endanger the only organizations that are protecting labor interests to-day for at the best questionable and vague hopes.

TRADE-UNIONS, 1907

COUNTRIES	Members	Trade-union papers
United States	2,000,000	245
Great Britain	1,700,000	...
Germany	1,372,539	75
France, 1905	781,000	...
Austria	448,000	46
Italy	365,000	23
Australia	250,000	...
Sweden	144,000	20
Hungary	129,000	8
Belgium	100,000	18
Switzerland	80,000	...
Denmark	78,000	32
Spain	34,000	12
Holland	28,000	40
Norway	25,000	11
Servia	3,000	...
Bulgaria	2,000	7

REFERENCES: *The History of Trade-Unionism* (British), by Sidney and Beatrice Webb (1894); *The Labor Movement* (American ed.), by G. E. McNeill (1887); *The Conflicts of Capital and Labor Historically and Economically Considered* (revised ed., 1890), and *Trade-Unionism, New and Old* (1891), by G. Howell; *Trade-Unions*, by W. Trant (1884); *Industrial Evolution of the United States*, by C. D. Wright (1895); *Labor Problems*, by Ph. S. Adams and Helen Sumner (1905); *Organized Self Help*, by H. N. Casson (1901); *Studies in American Trade-Unionism*, J. H. Hollander and others (1906); *Trade-Unionism and Labor Problems*, by J. R. Commons and others (1905); *History of the American Labor Movement*, R. T. Ely (rev. ed., 1905); *Problems of Modern Industry* (1898) and *Industrial Democracy*, Sidney and Beatrice Webb (1902); *Trade-Unions*, Geoffrey Drage (1905). See also AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR; ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION; FACTORY SYSTEM MACHINERY; KNIGHTS OF LABOR; NEW TRADE-UNIONISM; SHORT-HOUR MOVEMENT; STRIKES; TAFF VALE RAILWAY CASE; WAGES, etc.

TRADE-UNIONISM IN THE UNITED STATES: The history of American trade-unions may be divided into five periods: (1) A formative period reaching down to about 1840, and including the early ten-hour movement. (2) A period of quiet growth on trade-union lines, accompanied by a wave of Fourierite socialism in the country, and then the concentration of all interest in the War of the Rebellion, ending in 1865. (3) A period of active effort on trade-union lines, reaching to 1878. (4) A period of great strikes and efforts at general organization, like the Knights of Labor, culminating in 1886. (5) The present period of the dominance of the American Federation of Labor.

The beginnings of American trade-unionism are not known with definite accuracy. A so-called strike of journeymen bakers is said to have occurred in New York City in 1741, but investigation of the circumstances and of the court records indicates that this was probably a combination of small master bakers with the object of nullifying a municipal ordinance regulating the weight and price of bread. The first organization along the lines of wage-earners of which we have any definite record is that of the journeymen printers of New York in 1776, when they made a demand for an increase of wages, and this being refused, a strike was called. The strike proved successful and the association ceased. In Philadelphia in 1786 an attempt by the employers to reduce wages to $5.83\frac{1}{3}$ a week was made the occasion for calling the trade together. Twenty-six printers signed the document, pledging themselves to mutual support in case of being thrown out of employment on account of refusing to work for less than $6 per week.

The journeymen cordwainers of Philadelphia had an organization as early as 1792; and the first trial of journeymen for conspiracy took place in Philadelphia in 1806, the union in question being a successor of this one which had been organized in 1792. The typographical unions had developed considerable strength, especially in New York and Washington. The first strike of sailors occurred in New York in 1803. Prior to 1827 most of the organizations in the several trades were secret in character, but the period 1827–37 marks their emergence into open organizations based upon the principle of quitting work under a joint agreement in order to compel acquiescence to demands. This period is therefore the real beginning of trade-unionism. Viewed from this standpoint, while England is considered the home of trade-unionism, the distinction belongs to Philadelphia. Modern trade-unionism, as an industrial and political force, began with the coming together of previously existing societies from the several trades to form a central body on the representative principle. Working by themselves, these isolated societies could accomplish but little in the face of hostile governments and employers. Consequently, they inclined to secrecy or to cloak their movements under the garb of friendly benefits. But when they formed a representative body, they

came out in the open, they encouraged each other in the spirit of aggressiveness, they greatly increased their membership, they organized the workmen in trades previously unorganized. This was the real beginning, not only of trade-unions, but even of the term "trades' union." For the term indicated originally not a union in a trade, but a union of trade "societies." The latter was the usual name of the isolated organizations. The general public, however, which first came to know them and to take alarm when these societies joined themselves in a union of trades, transferred the name of the representative body to the primary body. So that at the present time what was originally a trades' union has sought other names, such as Central Labor-Union, Trades Council, Trades Assembly, or Federation of Labor.

The first trades' union in England was that of Manchester, organized in 1829, altho there seems to have been an attempt to organize one in 1824.

Formation Period

But the first one in America was the Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations, organized in Philadelphia in 1827, two years earlier. The name came from Manchester, but the thing from Philadelphia. Neither union lasted long. The Manchester union lived two years, and the Philadelphia union one year. But the Manchester union died, and the Philadelphia union metamorphosed into politics. Here, again, Philadelphia was the pioneer, for it called into being the first labor party. Not only this, but through the Mechanics' Union Philadelphia started probably the first wage-earners' paper ever published —*The Mechanics' Free Press*—antedating, in Jan., 1828, the first similar journal in England by two years. The political movement, begun in Philadelphia, was taken up by New York, Albany, and Troy in 1829, by Boston in 1830, and by other places in the same years. It disappeared altogether in 1831, after the older political parties had borrowed its planks and captured its leaders.

But the trades' union was again inaugurated two years later, in 1833, this time with a resolution learned from experience to "keep out of politics." New York now took the lead, and organized the "General Trades' Union," bringing the name from England. Baltimore and Philadelphia quickly followed, and in the next four years there were trades' unions in a dozen cities from Boston to Washington, and even as far west as Louisville. In New York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia these trades' unions were remarkably aggressive and successful, and certainly in Philadelphia in 1835 and 1836 there was a larger proportion of the population enrolled as members of labor organizations than there has been at any time in the seventy years that have followed.

In 1834 these local unions formed a national association, which they called The National Trades' Union, with a constitution and officers. Altho England also had its so-called national organization in 1834 under the stimulus of Robert Owen, this fell to pieces in six months, while the National Trades' Union in the United States held three conventions with increasing influence in 1834, 1835, and 1836. The national union in England covered a few counties. The one in America stretched from Boston to Cincinnati. The American movement was not imported from England; it was an indigenous product of American conditions, and its leaders were American-born. Altho the daily papers of this time in America abounded with news of strikes and with editorials of advice to restless mechanics, yet the remarkable national labor organization that backed these strikes was barely mentioned, and has been as utterly forgotten as the lost tribes of Israel or the continent of Atlantis.

The authentic sources from which to learn of these associations are the labor papers; and it is fortunate that these have been preserved in unexpected abundance in a few libraries. Out of some forty titles the principal ones have been located through the search set up by the American Bureau of Industrial Research. Aside from *The Mechanics' Free Press*, already mentioned, the most valued is a daily paper—*The Man*—published for sixteen months in 1834–35 under the influence of the Trades' Union of New York. Another is *The Working Man's Advocate* of 1829–30, the first of the New York labor papers. More important is *The National Laborer*, the organ in 1836 of the Philadelphia union and the National Trades' Union.

The labor movement of this period has usually been treated as a communistic or agrarian agitation, but this is because our knowledge of it comes only from the papers hostile to it or from Robert Dale Owen's *Free Enquirer*. Robert Owen had founded New Harmony in 1825 with an amount of advertising never before or since secured for a radical program. When his followers scattered after 1827, they attached themselves to whatever elements dissatisfied with political and industrial conditions would give them a hearing. As soon, however, as the import of their teachings was understood, the mechanics and working men withdrew support and limited their movement to the immediate demands of legislation or of trade-unions.

The Mechanics' Union of Philadelphia sprang from an unsuccessful strike of the carpenters for a ten-hour day. There the labor party held the balance of power in two elections, and all of its candidates who were indorsed by the Adams and Jackson parties were elected. Even the congressional candidates of the older parties flung out their banners as the "true working men's party," and appropriated the slogan of "6 to 6," which the working men had used to indicate their demand for the ten-hour day. The labor party disappeared entirely in 1830, and the American politician had learned for the first time how to split the labor vote.

In New York the movement of 1829 was much more complicated than it was in Philadelphia, more radical in its demands, more distinct in its cleavage of classes, and attended with greater immediate success. It began with a meeting called to protest against increased hours of labor. The meeting adopted an agrarian preamble drawn up by a mechanic, Thomas Skidmore, and transporting into economics the Declaration of Independence. They resolved that "the Creator has made all equal," and that "in the first formation of government no man gives up to others his original right of soil and becomes a smith, a weaver, a builder, or other mechanic or laborer, without receiving a guaranty that reasonable toil shall enable him to live as comfortably as others." They contemplated a strike, and not a political party. Six months later they nominated a ticket selected by lot and adopted another agrarian platform, again drawn up by

Skidmore, and accidentally elected a carpenter to the legislature. Three months later they ousted Skidmore and took up Robert Dale Owen. He persuaded them to renounce agrarianism and to indorse free education, but his free schools were to take the children away from their parents, to dress, feed, shelter, and teach them alike. He would substitute for Skidmore's communism of property a Pestallozzian communism of education. On this the party split. Tammany finished the disruption by enacting the mechanics' lien law—the first law of its kind to protect the journeyman as well as the contractor. Four working men's tickets then came into the field. The biggest vote went to Tammany and the smallest to Skidmore. Thus Tammany won its first success as the "workingman's friend," and Socialists had their prototype in the agrarians.

Outside Philadelphia and New York the working men's party included small employers. In Boston its platform appealed to "laboring men, mechanics, tradesmen, farmers, and others standing upon the same level." So in Charleston, Wilmington, and elsewhere. The class division of employer and employee was as yet limited to a few localities. Labor politics was a part of the general protest of the times raised by the "productive classes" against "aristocracy."

Four years of inaction followed the disruption. The stage was filled by Jackson and the Bank. When the Bank disappeared, its place was taken by a host of state banks with a flood of paper money. In 1835 and 1836 prices and the cost of living rose 50 to 100 per cent. Wages did not rise in the same proportion. The inflation came so suddenly that wage-earners could not escape to the free lands of the frontier. They were caught in a trap. They turned to their newly found trades' unions and to their National Trades' Union, which had held its first convention in 1834. They attributed to these organizations a permanence and grandeur pathetic in view of the collapse three years later, but excusable in view of the victories meanwhile. Not until thirty years afterward, in a similar inflation of the Civil War, did organized labor appear again in similar vigor. The trades' union of 1833 was a generation ahead of the industrial conditions that give organized labor endurance. It was not an industrial revolution, as in England, but a financial inflation, that provoked the labor movement of 1835.

The many strikes of 1835–36 are well known. The fact that they were systematically supported by extensive organizations of labor is not so well known. The climax was reached in 1836. Prices continued to rise, and the societies continued to strike. Their successes were inspiring. The trades' unions supported them with enthusiasm and devotion. Dues were increased and donations added to dues. Finally, the ominous sign of overorganization appeared. Jurisdictional struggles began. Blacksmiths protested against horseshoers, and hand-loom weavers against factory weavers. These were not settled when the panic of 1837 stopped everything, and the trades' unions disappeared when the wage-earners' employment ceased.

The issues that aroused the wage-earners may be learned from the debates in their conventions. The first national convention discust politics. The controversy raged back and forth exactly as it does to-day; but, finally, the convention excluded the word "political" from its objects and substituted the word "intellectual." In each convention they discust education, public lands, immigration, child labor, female labor, prison labor, lotteries, banking, and cooperation.

Here were the beginnings not only of the general organization of labor, but also of humanitarian and reform movements. The industrial revolution was under way, but its substantial basis—the railway—was not yet a factor. In general the period was that of the sudden and rough awakening of labor as a distinct element in American history. For the first time magazines and newspapers gave space to labor problems. Humanitarians began to examine the conditions of working and living. Politicians put labor planks in their platforms. Protectionism framed its pauper-labor argument, and manufacturers proceeded to capitalize the labor movement. Some demands were immediately granted, others remotely. Imprisonment for debt disappeared before 1835. Free schools became general before 1850. Mechanics' liens have spread from New York to all other states. The ten-hour day became the standard. Juries began to return verdicts of "not guilty" in labor conspiracies. The importance of free land as an outlet for labor was first realized, and leaders of the homestead agitation learned their lesson in the predicament of the trades' unions of 1835.

The second period of growth on trade-union lines did not reach marked development until about 1844, after seven years of depression had attracted attention to the sufferings of the wage-earners, and had served to bring forward agitation along the lines of Fourierite socialism. Horace Greeley espoused this movement and *The New York Tribune* opened its pages to its advocacy. Many phalanxes were established, of which Brook Farm, near Boston, is the most famous. The organization of labor proceeded with considerable activity. The New England Workingman's Association was organized in 1845, but it was largely controlled by such men as Charles A. Dana, George Ripley, Albert Brisbane, and others connected with the socialistic and antislavery movements. A nearer approach to industrial organization appeared in 1845, when the National Reform Convention was held in New York. This, however, was preliminary to the National Industrial Congresses, which began their sessions in 1846 and continued until 1854. These congresses were held at New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and Chicago, and were attended by delegates from many different kinds of reform organizations including trade-unions. Horace Greeley presided at several of them. The Industrial Congress of 1850 adopted a platform dealing with the following subjects:

1844–1866

1. Homestead exemption.
2. Land freedom for all unoccupied lands.
3. Land limitation.
4. Independence of labor by land freedom and labor organizations in which every toiler will be a proprietor and as far and as soon as possible an equal proprietor.
5. Free trade and direct taxation.
6. Abolition of all laws for collection of debt.
7. Schools and colleges.
8. Abolition of all banking.

Eventually these congresses became absorbed solely in the land question and were the predecessor of the Homestead Law of 1861. The slavery agitation, which reached a crisis in 1854, absorbed the attention of the country; consequently these reform movements, as well as the

trade-union movement, were thrown into the background. It was in this period that the first national organization of a trade was effected, which has continued until the present time, namely, that of the National Typographical Union, organized in 1851. This trade had held a convention as early as 1836, but that convention was not followed by any permanent organization. In 1862 the Typographical Union adopted the name *International* in order to admit Canadian unions, and this term when employed by American organizations usually means simply the inclusion of Canadian local branches. The next national organization was that of the hat finishers, in 1854, followed by the iron molders in 1858 and the machinists and blacksmiths in 1859. These were the only national organizations of labor prior to the Civil War.

The Civil War period introduced a situation quite similar to that of 1835–36, namely, the enormous increase of prices owing to the paper-money inflation. This inflation began about 1862 and was in full swing in the middle of 1863. Its first impression which has left a permanent record is found in the publication of *Fincher's Trades' Review*, the first number of which appeared in July, 1863. This journal did much toward the organization of labor during the Civil War period and was assisted by *The Daily Evening Voice*, published by the printers in Boston during the years 1864–67. During this period national organizations were formed by the locomotive engineers in 1863, the cigarmakers in 1864, the bricklayers and masons in 1865; and a large number of cities recruited the organizations by central labor-unions or trades assemblies similar to those characteristic of the period 1827–37. In the '60 period state federations or trades assemblies were organized, and the one in New York has had a continuous existence until the present time. A combination of these local, state, and national organizations was found in the *National Labor-Union*, which held its first convention in 1866. The leading spirits in bringing about this national movement were Jonathan Fincher of the Machinists' and Blacksmiths' Union, editor of *Fincher's Trades' Review*; William H. Sylvis, president of the Iron Molders' Union; and A. C. Cameron, of Chicago. William H. Sylvis stands forth as the most important labor leader of that period, and it was through his tireless efforts and great enthusiasm and sacrifice that labor organizations were formed in many places throughout the country. The convention was representative not only of trade-unions proper, but also of eight-hour leagues and city trades assemblies. After a session of four days it adopted resolutions declaring that the first and grand desideratum is the eight-hour day; that every workingman should connect himself with his labor organization; that every local union should be represented in a trades assembly; that each trade should form a national and international organization; that cooperation is a sure and lasting remedy for the abuses of the present industrial system; that prison labor should be restricted, and the public be requested not to patronize parties who contract for prison labor except they pay the rate of wages demanded by mechanics outside; that labor organizations should cooperate with working women and factory operatives in their efforts to ameliorate their condition; that agricultural interests in the South should be speedily restored by action of Congress; that tenement-house reform was essential to the welfare of the whole community; that the public domain should be disposed of to actual settlers only at a minimum price; that all honorable means should be exhausted before resorting to strikes; that mechanics' institutes, lyceums, and reading-rooms should be encouraged in all cities for the use of working men; that working men out of employment should proceed to the public lands and become actual settlers. This platform was substantially reproduced at succeeding meetings of the National Labor-Union, but with the addition in 1868 of an extensive discussion of the money question and the adoption of a resolution that the "issue of treasury notes be made a legal tender in the payment of all debts, public and private, and convertible at the option of the holder into government bonds bearing a just rate of interest, sufficiently below the rate of increase in the national wealth by natural production as to make an equitable distribution of the product of labor between non-producing capital and labor." The National Labor-Union held annual conventions until 1872, when in connection with farmers' organizations it nominated presidential candidates. This resulted in the wrecking of the organization and the repetition of the experiences of forty years before, which has led trade-unions generally to adopt the policy of keeping themselves free from politics. It was during the activity of the National Labor-Union that the eight-hour movement took on a more aggressive form than it had ever taken before, and it received its first philosophical and scientific statement at the hands of Ira Steward of Boston, a member of the Machinists' and Blacksmiths' Union. A Grand Eight-Hour League was organized, but endured only for a short time. It was followed in 1869 by the Boston Eight-Hour League, which with the help of Wendell Phillips secured the establishment of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, the parent of all other labor bureaus. There were many strikes for shorter hours, and out of the agitation developed the policy of Congress and American states and cities in establishing eight hours as a legal working-day. Congress adopted the eight-hour bill in 1868 and another act in 1869 regulating the compensation for eight hours so that it should be the same as it had been prior to the reduction in hours. The leaders of the National Labor-Union were in correspondence with the International Working Men's Association and a delegate was sent to the convention at Geneva in 1867. Among the trade-unions which sprang up during this period the Knights of St. Crispin were the most powerful, altho exceedingly short-lived. Its period of prominence was during the years 1869–72, but its attitude toward the introduction of labor-saving machinery and the vigorous onset of the employers practically destroyed the organization after 1874, altho it held a nominal existence for two or three years later. At that time the Coopers' Union was among the first in importance, but it likewise was destined to go down before the introduction of machinery. The presidents of the Coopers' Union and the Machinists' and Blacksmiths' Union joined together in 1872 to organize a national movement which should be free from politics and should be representative of the national trade-unions. Their efforts were unsuccessful owing to the policy of the national

National Labor Union

leaders who feared that their authority in their own trades would be undermined. However, an important national convention was held in 1874 which adopted the name of the Industrial Brotherhood along with a platform derived partly from that of the National Labor-Union. This platform afterward was adopted almost without change by the Knights of Labor. The latter organization was first established as a local secret labor-union in Philadelphia in 1869 through the efforts of Uriah S. Stevens, a clothing cutter. It continued its policy of secrecy until 1879, at which time T. V. Powderly was chosen General Master Workman. The Knights of Labor aimed to bring all labor men into one great organization without reference to the trade-unions to which they belonged. Its growth was rapid until 1886, at which time its membership was over five hundred thousand. Several disastrous strikes caused a reaction, especially that of the packing trades in Chicago, and the one on the Gould system of railways south and west of St. Louis, but, more than anything else, labor at this time received its severest blow from the Haymarket riot in Chicago, and the bomb which killed the policemen who were endeavoring to suppress an open-air meeting. During the two or three years following there was very little activity, but in 1890 a new organization, the American Federation of Labor, started its comprehensive plan of inaugurating an eight-hour working-day. The American Federation of Labor was formally organized in Columbus, Ohio, in 1886, as the successor of the Federation of Trade and Labor-Unions which had held its first meeting in Pittsburg in 1881. The principles of the American Federation of Labor were opposed to those of the Knights of Labor in that they recognized the full autonomy of each trade to regulate its own internal affairs. Its plans, however, were made so as to assist each trade in the support of all other trades. Under this arrangement the carpenters, in 1890, were authorized to lead the movement for eight hours. They were successful in many cities. In 1891 the miners were authorized to follow, but they were unsuccessful owing to the deprest conditions in their trade and the dual form of their organization.

Knights of Labor

Since the time when the National Labor-Union and the International Working Men's Association exchanged fraternal delegates, there has been more or less controversy between the Socialists and the trade-unions. The leaders of the various socialistic parties have made bitter attacks on the trade-union leaders and have endeavored to capture the movement for political socialism. They have organized separate trade-unions on a socialistic basis at various times, but these have not achieved any marked success. Their principal influence has been in supporting one side of the internal conflict in the ranks of organized labor growing out of the two policies of organization by trades and organization by industries. Industrial unionism, by which is meant the enrolment in one organization of all of the employees in an industry, has appealed to the socialistic element as the proper line of organization. Three of the strongest organizations in the American Federation of Labor, namely, the mine-workers, longshoremen, and the brewery workers, are based upon this principle, but the great mass of organized labor follows the principle of trade organization. In 1893 the American Railway Union, organized by Eugene V. Debs, attempted to introduce the industrial principle in the organization of railway employees. The great organizations of Locomotive Engineers, Firemen, and Conductors are outside the American Federation of Labor and they recognize the trade principle. The failure of the American Railway Union and similar organizations has served to strengthen the plan of trade autonomy, and the strength of this principle is shown in the recent expulsion of the Brewery Workers from the American Federation of Labor on account of its attempts to organize firemen and engineers. After a period of remarkable success in organization following a long period of depression ending in 1897, many jurisdiction troubles arose, and much of the time of the American Federation of Labor has been occupied in mediating between conflicting organizations.

Recent Developments

One of the distinctive features of American trade-unions is the great variety of nationalities and languages embraced within the same union. This became more apparent in recent years than before on account of the extension of the recruiting area of immigration to the east and south of Europe. The characteristic organizations of recent years are those made up of immigrants and unskilled labor following the introduction of labor-saving machinery and minute division of labor in all branches of industry and the liberal policy of encouraging immigration. These conditions have changed the character of the organization in the boot and shoe industry so that instead of the journeymen cordwainers as represented in the Knights of St. Crispin, the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union of the past ten years is a comprehensive organization of all employees in the trade. Another characteristic of American unions is the adoption of the union label which is a guaranty to the purchasing public that the goods bearing the label were manufactured by union workmen. The label has been of the greatest advantage to the Cigarmakers' Union and of considerable importance to the Garment Workers. Another trade represented by the Typographical Union in more recent years began to place greater emphasis upon its label as a means of organization. There are some sixty trades with labels, but the importance of these devices depends upon whether the union in question manufactures an article which is sold directly to working men.

JOHN R. COMMONS.

Effect of Trade-Unionism on Wages and Hours in the U. S.

The statistics in the following table as to wages and hours are taken from the *Bulletin* of the U. S. Bureau of Labor (Aug., 1907). The statements as to the strength of organization in the different trades are generalizations for the whole country, submitted to trade-union leaders, Professor Commons, and others. The connections between the two sets of facts are obvious. It must be remembered that not a few trades, tho generally weakly organized, are strong in some localities and sections or vice versa, and that these facts are estimates of general conditions in the trade.

The table on page 1233 shows almost absolutely, with very few exceptions, and these admitting of explanation, that complete organization is necessary for high wages and short hours.

Trade or Occupation	Organization	Hours per week	Changes 1890–1906; 1890 = 100	Wages per hour	Changes 1890–1906; 1890 = 100	Notes
Bakers, male	Poor	60	91.8	$0.25	127.4	(1)
Boot and shoe workers	Fair	56	97.6	0.31	132.4	(Lasters, male)[2].
Bricklayers	Strong	46	91.9	0.62	138.6	(2)
Building laborers, male	Poor	54	95.4	0.19	122.5	
Carpenters	Fair	48	89.7	0.40	141.6	
Cigarmakers, male	Partial	55	106.7	0.31	117.6	(1)
Clothing cutters	Strong	49	97.2	0.42	109.9	(Machine, male.)
Compositors, male	Strong	51	92.8	0.35	120.3	
Conductors, railroad	Strong	.....	.....	3.04	.....	Per day.
Electrical workers	Fair	48	87.0	0.40	152.5	(Wiremen in houses.)[3]
Engineers, railroad	Strong	.....	.....	3.65	.....	Per day.
Glass-workers	Strong	42	100.1	0.90	146.3	Window-glass highest wage paid.[1]
Granite-cutters	Strong	47	91.3	0.43	121.7	
Hatters, caps and furs	Strong	53	98.9	0.49	121.1	Curlers, male; highest wage paid.[1]
Horseshoers	Poor	54	.....	0.36	.....	
Housesmiths	Fair	49	.....	0.47	.....	
Iron-molders	Strong	56	95.1	0.32	123.8	Foundry and machine shop.
Machinists	Fair	55	96.7	0.32	118.6	Car manufacture.
Metal polishers	Fair	54	92.8	0.30	117.7	Brass finishers in car manufacture.
Painters	Partial	47	89.7	0.38	136.8	(1)
Plasterers	Strong	46	90.0	0.59	148.7	
Plumbers	Strong	46	90.2	0.53	141.9	
Pressmen, male	Strong	55	98.7	0.22	118.6	
Sheet-metal workers	Strong	47	90.5	0.42	145.1	Cornice makers.
Street-cleaners	Poor	48	91.0	0.22	114.9	Municipal work; contract, 56 hours 19 cents; change 93.3 and 139.8.
Trainmen	Fair	.....	.....	1.90	.....	Per day.

[1] This trade is on the whole poorly organized, therefore general averages are poor, but those workers in the trade who are organized have now good conditions.
[2] Idle two to four months in the year.
[3] Poorly organized on the Atlantic coast. Strong on the Lakes, Gulf, and Pacific coast.

TRADE-UNIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND: Contrary to a popular impression, there is no evidence of any connection between the medieval gilds and the essentially modern institution of trade-unionism. The combinations of journeymen, which were not unknown in the England of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, appear to have been ephemeral and unstable. Not until the latter part of the seventeenth century do there seem to have arisen durable associations of wage-earners in particular trades, having for their object the protection and advancement of their economic position. The first of such associations as yet discovered is that of the woolen workers of the west of England, traced as existing in Devonshire in 1700. In 1720 the master tailors complain to Parliament that

History

> The Journeymen Taylors in and about the cities of London and Westminster to the number of 7,000 and upward have lately entered into a combination to raise their wages and leave off working an hour sooner than they used to do; and for the better carrying on of their design have subscribed their respective names in books prepared for that purpose, at the several houses of call or resort (being public houses) which they use, and collect several considerable sums of money to defend any prosecutions against them.

Parliament listened, and prohibited such combinations, but the tailors seem to have continued their organization, centering around the "houses of call," for in 1810 a master declared before a select committee that their combination had existed over a century. Combinations, however, were illegal, and so were usually disguised as sick and funeral clubs, while perhaps still more often bona fide friendly societies gradually came to act as and finally to become trade-unions. The Society of Taylors of London in 1760 says: "It has been an ancient custom in the kingdom of Great Britain for divers artists to meet together and unite themselves in societies to promote amity and Christian charity." The Newcastle shoemakers organized in 1719. The London Sailmakers' Burial Society dates from 1740. The Glasgow coopers organized in 1752. At Nottingham in 1794 fifty-six clubs joined in the annual procession. Local friendly societies sprang up everywhere. The rules of over 100 of these formed between 1750 and 1820, centered around Newcastle-on-Tyne, are in the British Museum. Adam Smith says: "People of the same trade seldom meet together, even for merriment and diversion, but the conversation ends in a conspiracy against the public or in some contrivance to raise prices" ("Wealth of Nations," bk. i., chap. x.). Often a strike ended in a permanent organization.

First Trade-Unions

All such combinations "in restraint of trade" were unlawful, both at common law and under various statutes. Especially during the Napoleonic wars, when the ruling classes were full of apprehension of sedition, were these "Combination Laws," as they were called, enforced with ruthless severity. The harsh punishments and legal tyranny of this period made the trade-unions all the more lawless. Economic oppression in these years went hand in hand with judicial persecution. In 1814 the last vestige of the Elizabethan Statute of Apprentices was repealed, and with it disappeared any pretense of maintaining the workers' standard of life. But within a decade the tide had begun to turn. In 1824, mainly by the efforts of Francis Place (*q. v.*) out of Parliament, and Joseph Hume in Parliament, the laws against combinations (see Conspiracy Laws) were repealed, and freedom of association seemed won. In the following year, however, the alarmed ministry reimposed part of the legal prohibition of trade combinations, and the judicial persecutions began again. In 1834 six

Legislation

harmless farm laborers of Dorsetshire were sentenced to seven years' transportation for merely joining a trade-union which had among its initiation ceremonies the taking of an oath. It may here be said that complete freedom of association was not accorded until 1875, when the last remnant of penal legislation was repealed.

The history of trade-unionism in the United Kingdom may be conveniently divided into four periods. The first, lasting down to 1824, includes the origin of the movement, and its early struggles for recognition. This was followed by a "revolutionary period," when the trade-union movement was dominated by the Owenite movement and the Chartist political agitation. A third period, lasting down to 1880, covers the development of trade-unions into strong trade-benefit societies, largely ignoring and sometimes even opposing political action. The last period, reaching to the present, includes the development and then the partial subsiding of the first wave of what is called the new trade-unionism.

The first period we have already considered; the second period really belongs to Owenite socialism and to Chartism (*q. v.*) rather than to trade-unionism. The Lancashire and Yorkshire textile and building operatives were the pioneers of this phase of the movement. The unions were never a part and parcel of this movement, tho many of their members and a few organized unions did belong to it. No unions contributed to Chartist funds, and the leaders of the unions were often denounced for their apathy by the Chartists. The virtual collapse of Chartism in 1842 and its final end in 1848 set the unions wholly free to develop their non-political methods. (For the passage of factory laws, the short-hour movement of Oastler, "the factory king," the efforts of Lord Shaftesbury and of others, culminating in the ten-hour act of 1848, see FACTORY LAWS; SHORT-HOUR MOVEMENT; OASTLER.) But after 1842 the unions devoted themselves to building up their own organizations. Those which were organized before this period now developed their characteristic policy and strength. The Friendly Society of Iron Founders was organized in 1809, but the much larger Amalgamated Society of Engineers was only formed in 1850. The Steam-Engine Makers' Society dates from 1824, the Associated Iron Molders' of Scotland from 1831. The United Society of Boiler-Makers and Iron Ship-Builders dates from 1832, as does also the Operative Stone-Masons' Friendly Society. The Operative Bricklayers' Society was formed in 1848. The Amalgamated Association of Operative Cotton Spinners dates from 1853, the Yorkshire Miners' Association from 1858. The Durham Miners' Association was not organized till 1869. The Amalgamated Society of Tailors appears in 1866, the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives in 1874. The Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners was formed in 1860, and the Northumberland Miners' Mutual Confident Association in 1863. But these dates do not clearly indicate the actual course of events. As a matter of fact, the decade from 1840–50 saw a marked revival of trade-unionism. In 1843 a strong Potters' Union and an active Cotton Spinners' Association were formed, and in 1844 a National Typographical Society. Still more important was the Miners' Association of Great Britain and Ireland, formed in 1841, and, under the leadership of Martin Jude, sending out fifty-three organizers who visited every pit in the kingdom, obtaining, it is said, in 1844 a membership of over 100,000. In 1845 a National Association of United Trades for the Protection of Labor was formed. It was not, however, political, like Owen's attempts, and with moderation and good management endured fifteen years. The unions of this period, as indicated by their names, were largely benefit societies. They expected and sought little from legislation, tho they strenuously fought against legislative oppression. They depended on organizing their own crafts, collecting dues, employing a paid secretary, aiding unemployed members.

Date of Organizations

The Trade-Union Idea

The men of this period laid stress on the power of workmen in combination to obtain advances by collective bargaining, peaceful abstention from taking work under price, and great reserve funds. Among the coal-miners and iron-workers they accepted for almost a generation the assumption that wages should follow the price of the product, and thus they agreed to let the rate of wages be determined automatically according to sliding scales (*q. v.*), a plan now almost completely abandoned. But the leaders of this period did not abstain from political action. Under the leadership of Allan, Guile, Coulson, and Odger, acting as a sort of junta, the rich and powerful trade-unions drew together to resist the attacks that were being made on trade-unionism, to secure reforms in the law as to the terms of employment, to promote a system of national education, and to obtain an extension of the franchise. Only very slowly could the leaders induce the unions to take any corporate part in politics. At the 1874 election there was something of a trade-union movement, and Macdonald and Burt were returned to Parliament, where the latter has since continuously sat.

Meanwhile the trade-unions were growing steadily in organization. Between 1858 and 1867 local federations of the branches in all the principal towns were formed, under the name of trades councils. The first of these seems to have been that of Liverpool in 1848. By 1860 they were common. The London Trade Council was established in 1861. Out of these councils came the trade-union congresses, now the great British parliaments of labor. An important special conference was held in London in 1864. The first annual conference was held at Manchester in 1868, and after 1875 became a power. What political action was taken by trade-unionists at this period was usually under the name of Radicalism or Liberalism. This grew up naturally as a result of the efforts on the part of the union leaders to gain legal recognition for their unions. It was necessary to use arguments that would appeal to middle-class politicians, since the Conservatives were not yet progressive enough to indorse trade-unions in any form. The argument that most appealed to the middle-class politicians was the Liberal argument of the freedom of the individual to sell his labor as he pleased—if he wished, individually; if he wished, collectively.

Congresses

At the general election of 1874 Alexander Macdonald (*q. v.*) and Thomas Burt (*q. v.*) were elected to Parliament from Stafford and Morpeth —the first labor members; elected as Liberals or Radicals, tho not with any cordial assistance from the Liberal Party organizers. Seventeen other labor candidates went to the polls at this election,

and the miners, iron-workers, and some other unions voted money for campaign expenses. It was this showing of the strength of labor at the polls which made the victorious Conservative Party in 1875 pass the bill finally legalizing labor combinations.

The last period, beginning about 1880, has seen a change. This has been marked by the appearance of the so-called new unionism. (For a full account of this, see NEW UNIONISM.) It may be described in brief as the effect of recent English socialism on the trade-unions. The new socialism which began to appear about 1882 made some of the younger men, like Tom Mann and John Burns (*q. v.*), dissatisfied with the conservative and non-political methods of the older unions. The great dock strike (*q. v.*) of 1889 and the match strike, together with the London agitation of the unemployed, created wide-spread excitement, and enabled the younger leaders to organize a union of unskilled laborers, some of which (such as the Gas-workers and General Laborers' Union and the Dock and Wharf Laborers' Union) have maintained their existence.

New Unionism

The outstanding feature of the trade-union movement in Great Britain since that date has been its growing participation in political activity and the consequent establishment in Parliament of an independent "Labor Party," claiming to oppose all other political parties. Toward the formation of such a party there have been many contributory causes, not the least of which has been the constant efforts of the Socialists to arouse the English working men, and notably the persistent propaganda of the Fabian Society, which took form in 1896 in the establishment of a society called the Independent Labor Party, in which many trade-unionists were individually enrolled, and which has steadily increased in membership and in the number of its branches. But it was not until 1899 that the trade-unions themselves were induced to take action. Their adhesion in 1889–92 is to be attributed to the apprehension and resentment caused by certain legal decisions (culminating in the case of the Taff Vale Railway Company *vs.* the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, L. R. Appeal Cases, 426), by which the law courts brought trade-unionism once more under the ban of the law. No attempt was made to bring back the criminal prosecutions of trade-unionists. But the judges held, contrary to the universal opinion of lawyers since 1875, that, altho trade-unions were not fully incorporated, they could be sued and cast in damages for the action of their agents, whenever this without justification caused damage to other persons. Under this finding the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants had to pay $150,000 in damages to the railway company against which its members, against the wishes of the executive committee, had tumultuously struck. It became clear that trade-unionism was once more in grave danger from the law. The Trade-Union Congress had already taken alarm while the case was in the lower courts and in 1899 had issued an invitation to trade-unions, trades councils, and Socialist societies to join together in the formation of a "Labor Representation Committee" (*q. v.*). At the first annual conference of this committee in Feb., 1901, there were represented forty-one trade-unions with 353,070 members, seven trades councils, and the Fabian Society, the society called the Independent Labor Party (the I. L. P.), and the Social Democratic Federation. The latter organization soon withdrew, but the others continued, and at the sixth annual conference in 1906 there were represented 921,280 members in 158 trade-unions, seventy-three trades councils, the "Independent Labor Party," and the Fabian Society. This conference followed upon a most remarkable series of successful candidatures at the preceding General Parliamentary Election. The Labor Representation Committee had indorsed fifty candidates who had signed its pledge to constitute an independent labor group with its own whip, and of this number twenty-nine were elected. In addition to these members of Parliament, the miners' associations, which were not affiliated with the Labor Representation Committee, elected eleven members, and there were fourteen other workmen elected either as independent labor men or through the indorsement of other parties. The total labor representation in Parliament is therefore fifty-four. A striking feature of the ministry formed by the Liberals was the elevation of John Burns, the leader of the new unionism of 1889, to the position of a cabinet minister and president of the Local Government Board. Tho Mr. Burt and Mr. Broadhurst had held subordinate offices in previous Liberal ministries, Mr. Burns was the first workman to enter the cabinet. Tho this really amounted to a valuable recognition of the political influence of the working classes, the action of Mr. Burns in remaining outside the Labor Party, and in accepting office in a Liberal cabinet, was bitterly resented by the more extreme members of the Labor Party.

Political Activity

While the British unions were thus moving into the political field, they were not neglecting to strengthen their organization in the industrial field. The Trade-Union Congress had never taken on itself the support of unions in time of trade dispute. To accommodate these unions which desired a national body of this type, there was organized in 1899 the General Federation of Trade-Unions. The objects of this Federation were simply the accumulation of a strike fund for the assistance of constituent unions in strikes approved by the managing committee. Many unions were already affiliated in federations of their own, such as the Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades, the several miners' federations, and those of the textile trades. The General Federation affords similar protection for other unions, and even to unions which also are affiliated to the federations of their own industries. Its membership the first year included forty-three societies with 343,000 members, and had increased in 1907 to 119 societies with 630,933 members.

The recent statistics of British trade-unions are given in the fifteenth Report of the Labor Department of the British Board of Trade. The Department knew of the existence of 1,148 separate workmen's trade-unions at the end of 1904, with a total membership of 1,866,755. This is a decline in membership of 74,119, or 3.8 per cent, from the high-water mark at the end of 1901. The number of unions declined from 1,239 in 1901 to 1,148 in 1904. The total number of trade-unions has steadily decreased since 1896, when the number had reached 1,302. This de-

Statistics

cline is especially marked in the smaller unions of builders and general laborers, where the process of absorption and amalgamation is most rapid.

Financial details are given with regard to 100 principal unions only, but these unions include over 60 per cent of the total membership of all the societies. The income of these 100 unions was £2,097,470 in 1904, and their expenditures amounted to £2,042,165. Their accumulated funds amounted to £4,616,230, or nearly £4 2*s.* per member. These figures are the highest yet recorded. "Of every £1 spent by the 100 unions in 1904, 6*s.* 4*d.* was for unemployed benefit, 1*s.* 3*d.* was on account of disputes, 8*s.* 4*d.* for sick, accident, superannuation, funeral, and other benefits, and 4*s.* 1*d.* for working and miscellaneous expenses." The proportion of expenditure for unemployed benefit was greater, and the proportion of expenditure for dispute benefit was less, in 1904, than in any year of the preceding decade. Meanwhile the accumulated funds have much more than doubled.

Detailed particulars as to the chief items of expenditure for the 100 principal unions are shown in the following statement:

EXPENDITURES, ETC., OF 100 PRINCIPAL TRADE-UNIONS, 1904

ITEMS	Amounts	Per cent
Unemployed, etc., benefits	£647,722	31.7
Dispute benefit	126,446	6.21
Sick and accident benefits	384,519	18.8
Superannuation benefit	267,396	13.1
Funeral benefit	95,644	4.7
Other benefits and grants	103,234	5.1
Working and other expenses	417,204	20.4

Concerning the distribution of members by trades in the United Kingdom, the department furnishes the simple totals from which the following table is drawn:

TRADES	GREAT BRITAIN			
	Registered unions	Unregistered unions	Branches	Membership
Metal, engineering, and shipbuilding	108	129	2,778	335,908
Building	79	30	3,310	225,481
Mining and quarrying	50	19	2,197	501,248
Textile	66	182	519	221,694
Clothing	19	17	591	58,525
Printing, paper, and allied trades	22	19	387	62,428
Woodworking and furnishing	42	57	633	39,571
Chemical, glass, pottery, etc.	13	28	129	15,278
Food and tobacco	10	17	286	17,294
Workers in fiber, cane, etc.	5	10	116	4,443
Leather	13	15	84	6,247
Enginemen	15	10	187	10,567
Miscellaneous	30	16	1,187	49,941
General labor	16	2	1,012	97,676
Transport (land and sea)	46	11	1,380	154,206
Agricultural laborers and fishermen	4	3	9	3,913
Employees of public authorities	12	33	1,408	62,335
	550	598		1,866,755
Total	1,148			

TREVOR, JOHN: Founder of Labor Church; born Liverpool, Eng., 1855. Sent to a Wisbech school, he grew up under a narrow orthodoxy, a crushing load on his imaginative spirit. In 1869 he was articled to an architect in Norwich, but gave more thought to theological and sociological problems. In 1877, broken in health, he went to Australia, thence to San Francisco, and then entered the Meadville (Pa.) Theological School, to prepare for the Unitarian ministry. Returning to London, he tried to preach, but thought he had no mission, and returned to his profession of architecture in the south of England. Finding his profession commercialized and degraded by competition, he studied social problems more than ever, and gradually worked out the views which he later embodied in his Labor Church. Studying for a year at Manchester, New College, he then went to London to assist Mr. Wicksteed at Little Portland Street Chapel, but in 1890 went to Upper Brook Street Free Church, Manchester; at last left all organized churches and started, Oct., 1891, the Labor Church movement. (See LABOR CHURCH.)

TRUEBLOOD, BENJAMIN F.: Editor of *The Advocate of Peace*; general secretary of the American Peace Society; born Salem, Ind., 1847; educated in district schools, Friends' Academy at Blue River, and graduated from Earlham College, 1869. A.M., Earlham College, 1875; LL.D., Iowa Wesleyan University, 1887; LL.D., University of Iowa, 1890. Was in turn principal, instructor, professor, at various important institutions of learning; and from 1874–79 president of Wilmington College, Ohio; 1879–90 president of Penn College, Iowa. Spent year 1890–91 in France and other countries of southern Europe, studying the military condition of Europe. In 1892 was made general secretary of the American Peace Society and editor of *The Advocate of Peace*, which position he has held for fifteen years; has lectured in this country, England, and France. Member of the International Peace Bureau, Switzerland, and International Law Association. Early in life made a minister by the Friends' Society, he has been connected with many of the advanced religious movements in the Society of Friends. Mr. Trueblood holds advanced views on the subjects of peace and arbitration, temperance, women's rights, international trade, municipal ownership of street-railways, etc. Author of "The Federation of the World," and a number of pamphlets on peace. Translator of Kant's "Perpetual Peace." *Address*: 31 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.

TRUSTS have been defined, both in their looser and stricter sense, by Mr. S. C. T. Dodd, solicitor of the Standard Oil Company, as follows ("The Present Legal Status of Trusts," published in the *Harvard Law Review*, Nov., 1893):

> The term "Trust" in its more confined sense embraces only a peculiar form of business association effected by stockholders of different corporations transferring their stocks to trustees. The Standard Oil Trust was formed in this way, and originated the name "Trust" as applied to associations. . . .
>
> The term "Trust," although derived as stated, has (now, however) obtained a wider signification, and embraces every act, agreement, or combination of persons or capital believed to be done, made, or formed with the intent, power, or tendency to monopolize business, to restrain or interfere with competitive trade, or to fix, influence, or increase the prices of commodities.

In this larger sense, which to-day usage has made the correct sense, a very large number and a considerable variety of associations must be included. Perhaps no recent economic movement has arrested more attention since the foundation of the first trust, the great Standard Oil Trust, in 1882, than the development of the trust movement. Mr. H. W. Macrosty, in his "The Trust Movement in British Industry" (1907), divides trusts into three main classes: the vertical or integral, as in the iron and steel industries; the more common amalgamation or horizontal combination, as more or less developed in all industries, and the innumerable but less organized terminable associations and agreements of the retail trades. Some trades pass through all these stages, beginning with a mere agreement as to prices, passing on into an association (sometimes into a trust in its narrowest sense), and then into a full consolidation of interest and management, and these general classes are subdivided into innumerable kinds and varieties, varying in different states and countries and from time to time to fulfil or get around the requirements of different laws, and varying also interminably with the needs of different trades and markets. Yet through them all runs the central idea, the avoidance of commercial competition and the development of more or less of a monopoly. Mr. Moody, in his "The Truth About the Trusts," perhaps the most authoritative recent statement of the facts as to trusts in the United States, considers them inevitable. He says (p. 494):

> Instead of the growth of the trust movement being an achievement to be laid at the door of Mr. Morgan or Mr. Rockefeller, or any other leader of men, it should be laid at the door of nature. For if anything in this world is true, the following proposition is:
>
> "The modern trust is the natural outcome of evolution of societary conditions and ethical standards which are recognized and established among men to-day as being necessary elements in the development of civilization."

As to statistics for the U. S., Mr. Moody, in Jan., 1908, brought his figures down to date as follows:

THE GREATER INDUSTRIAL TRUSTS[1]

NAME OF COMPANY	INCORPORATION		No. of plants acquired or controlled	Total capitalization, stocks and bonds outstanding (par value)
	Date	State		
1. Amalgamated Copper Co. and affiliated corporations	1889	N. J.	35	$271,163,000
2. American Smelt. & Refin. Co. and affiliated corporations	1899	N. J.	145	203,100,000
3. American Sugar Refining Co. and affiliated corporations	1891	N. J.	about 60	160,000,000
4. American Tobacco Co. and affiliated corporations	1904	N. J.	about 200	324,309,900
5. International Merchant Marine Co.	1902	N. J.	6	176,325,705
6. Standard Oil Co. and controlled companies.	1899	N. J.	about 400	98,338,300
7. U. S. Steel Corporation and controlled properties	1901	N. J.	about 792	1,475,201,849
Total (seven greater industrial trusts).	.....	....	1,638	$2,708,438,754

[1] In this list the "number of plants acquired or controlled" embraces not only the corporations and plants now operating, but also those which operated previously to their acquirement, whether they have now been discontinued or not.

The "total capitalization" includes the stocks and bonds afloat (in the hands of the public) of all subsidiary or controlled corporations, as well as those of the parent company. The figures given are the par values. It must be clearly understood that in some cases both the number of plants acquired and the amount of stocks and bonds outstanding are only approximately correct. There are instances in which it is practically impossible to secure the accurate figures for both of these items. However, the greatest care has been used in arriving at these approximate figures.

		No. of plants acquired or controlled	Total capitalization, stocks and bonds outstanding
	Summary of Industrial Trusts:		
7	Greater industrial trusts	1,638	$2,708,438,754
451	Lesser industrial trusts	5,038	8,243,175,000
	Grand Totals of Industrial Trusts:		
458	Important industrial trusts	6,676	10,951,613,754

None of the above capitalization figures are duplicated. They represent, not the amount of securities authorized or even issued, but simply those which are "afloat" or in the hands of the public. No securities of subsidiary corporations which are owned by the controlling corporations are included in these figures.

Totals of the franchise trusts	2,599	$7,789,393,000
Totals of the great steam-railroad groups	745	12,931,154,000
Totals of all franchise and transportation trusts	3,344	$20,720,547,000
Grand totals (Jan. 1, 1908) of all trusts—industrial, franchise, transportation, etc.	10,020	$31,672,160,754

An analysis of these figures slightly in detail would show that of the industrial trusts 15 have $100,000,000 capitalization or over, 33 have $50,000,000 or over, 165 have $10,000,000 or over, and 451 have $5,000,000 or over. Of the franchise trusts 16 exceed $100,000,000, 41 exceed $50,000,000, and 156 exceed $5,000,000. Of the 6 greatest railroad groups, all exceed $1,000,000,000 capital.

EVILS

Trusts are accused of every economic evil, but probably with much injustice and certainly with much exaggeration. As to raising prices, the conclusion Professor Jenks, one of the most careful students of trusts, arrives at is probably the opinion of most. He says:

> While they have it in their power to make profits at somewhat lower rates of prices than would be possible under free competition, they nevertheless do probably check slightly the normal decrease in prices that comes with increasing facilities for manufacturing. At any rate, they hold prices so that they can make much better profits than under competition. Competition, however, and the checked demand that would come with too high prices, generally in the long run prevent prices from being much higher than under free competition.

As for the treatment of employees, generally speaking, monopoly at least makes possible, and probably usually makes actual better conditions. Generally speaking, wages are higher and treatment of employees better with large companies than with small ones. Small competing firms are often driven to small wages for lessening the cost of production. Large companies usually find fair treatment of employees the cheapest. They have capital to introduce reforms which small companies, tho anxious to, often cannot. Above all, combination of interests makes possible and

often even necessitates collective bargaining, aiding often and making necessary often strong trade-union organization. Strikes have occurred on the part of employees to compel small employers to enter an employers' association. Nevertheless trusts also make possible and often actual centralization of power used to crush out trade-unionism. A greater evil is their control of the methods and channels of production. They can and continually do discriminate against the home market, or certain sections which are under their power, by raising prices there to recoup themselves for selling cheap in a competitive foreign market or to create new trade. They frequently prevent progress by being able to prevent inventors from putting their inventions on the market, through not having or being able to get capital enough against these gigantic combinations. They often absolutely and irresponsibly check or destroy personality and free individuality. The one great evil of trusts and monopolies is their scandalous and notorious defiance or corruption of government. But for this see CORRUPTION. It is not, however, confined to the U. S. Said *The Economist* (English), Aug. 12, 1899: "It is undeniable that during the session just ended there has been an atmosphere of money in the lobby, and presents to the House of Commons scarcely known before. All manner of 'interests' have gathered there as they gather in Washington and in the various state legislatures in America."

The danger of the trusts then is that they threaten personal liberty, that we shall become, as has been said, "a nation of industrial and commercial employees practically permitted to enjoy life in greater or less degree, by the permission of other employees, who will take their instructions from the small companies of captains of industry who promise, in time, to be in control of the necessaries, as well as the luxuries, of life, their production and distribution."

REMEDIES

Almost every state in the U. S. and the federal government in two main bills has attempted legislation against trusts. Yet the movement has only gone on increasing. When the Standard Oil Trust was declared illegal in Ohio, it continued with even greater powers under a new name, while its connections, assuming different names in different states to avoid the law, virtually form a single body. So, to a less extent, with the other trusts.

The first general federal law which can be regarded as a result of the trust agitation was the Interstate Commerce Act passed in 1887. This act was the outgrowth of the sentiment which had been created during the previous years by the general cutting of rates by the railroads, and their inequitable dealings with shippers in all parts of the country. The relations of the railroads with the Standard Oil Trust were matters of particular criticism at this time, and the immediate purpose of the act was mainly to eliminate the illegal discriminations in favor of the Standard, and, if possible, give all shippers the same opportunities.

The Interstate Commerce Law has now been in existence for twenty years, but its results have in no way verified the predictions of its framers. Recently its powers have been largely widened and prosecutions against the Standard Oil monopoly trusts have been begun, and several have been successful to the extent of imposing fines running into many millions. But these have been usually subject to appeal to Supreme Court, while few believe they can break up the movement.

A measure which was created in 1890, and is popularly known as the Sherman Antitrust Act, is the law which was passed for the express purpose of eliminating monopoly in railroads or other corporations which may become established "in restraint of trade." It is the law under which the Northern Securities Company was sued by the Attorney-General of the U. S. and declared illegal. The law declares unlawful every contract, combination, or conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce among the several states or with foreign nations; and also declares unlawful monopolies, and any attempt to monopolize, or any combination or conspiracy to monopolize any interstate or international trade. The law has been in effect now fifteen years and, with the exception of the Northern Securities Company case, has accomplished, at least until recently, practically nothing. Of the final result of the recent prosecutions it is too early to speak definitely. Most of the great trusts, however, have been formed since the passage of the law, and in spite of it, and most publicists believe that while perhaps some of the more apparent and grosser violations of the laws may be prevented by such legislation, the essence, if not the necessity of trusts has too deep a foundation in economic interest and practical common sense to be permanently and seriously affected by such laws. Colossal industries cannot by law be compelled to compete, only prevented from continuing in certain ways.

Therefore most publicists believe, with individualists, that the trusts must be attacked in their foundation, by taking from them all special privileges (see INDUSTRIALISM; FREE TRADE), or with the Socialists, that the trusts are but stepping-stones to socialism, the great trust of the people.

OTHER COUNTRIES

The trust movement in other countries has gone by no means so far as in the U. S., and has assumed less sensational forms, and yet very actually exists. Mr. Macrosty, whose two books, "Trusts *vs.* the State" (1901) and "The Trust Movement in British Industry" (1907), furnish probably the best general study of the subject in Great Britain, finds the trust movement, at least in the form of agreements to control prices, more or less present in practically every British industry. The movement in Great Britain is scarcely twenty years old, and as it has not developed in the striking American form and since some of the early attempts at combination were not a success, the claim has been made that trusts cannot flourish on British soil, nor under free trade, yet Mr. Macrosty says of England ("Trusts *vs.* the State," p. 160): "So far as the transport services are concerned, we are driven to the conclusion that competition in the old sense of the term has ceased to exist; and turning to manufactures proper, we shall find the same opinion forced upon us."

Great Britain

The first movement to consolidation was, as was to be expected, among "the natural monopolies" dependent upon valuable franchises, such as the agreement between the London Water Companies after they were forbidden to amalgamate and before they were bought out by the city. The next step was in the development of "throughness" on the railways, such as the formation of the London & Northwestern Company out of forty-five companies, and the amalgamation of the Southeastern and the London, Chatham, and Dover Railways. To-day there is practically no competition in British railways (see RAILWAYS), fares being fixt by conferences between the roads. Shipping companies have similarly combined. Charges here too have almost invariably been fixt by conferences between the lines.

Combination in manufacturing lines is more recent; after various failures, beginning successfully about 1895, in the metallic bedstead trade in Birmingham and rapidly extending to many other industries in Birmingham and

elsewhere. Combination in the textile trades began about the same year in the textile industries with J. I. Coates, Limited, in the sewing-cotton trade. In 1896 London found that eight firms supplying 5,000,000 of the 8,000,000 tons of coal coming to London, had combined. Agreements as to prices are at present the rule in the iron and steel industries. Amalgamation and absorption of companies in every branch of industry goes steadily on. Says the *Textile Mercury*, as early as April, 1899: "Steadily, altho at a rate far less rapid than in the States, amalgamation of kindred concerns is going on within our borders." In almost every case, says Mr. Macrosty (idem, p. 199):

> Years of keen rivalry have eaten away all the gain in manufacturing or trading. Attempts to reconcile the conflicting interests have produced some form or other of voluntary association to control selling prices; but these bodies, even when guarded by the provision of money penalties for breach of rules, may at any time be wrecked by the greed of one member or the starting of a new competitor. Sooner or later they break down and the trade either slips back into the slough of bankruptcy or advances to the consolidation of rival firms into one large company.

In Germany similar combinations (called Kartells) have arisen in the last twenty-five years, often of great power and magnitude, and in a great number of trades. In the extent to which actual merging of companies has gone they occupy somewhat of a midway position between the developed American trust and the English agreement. The specific and typical German kartell (tho the word is also used in a looser sense) is not a merging of companies, nor yet a mere agreement, but the formation of a committee and sometimes of a new company which undertakes the selling (and therefore the fixing of prices) for all the companies entering into the kartell. The companies do not sell at all, and are wholly independent only in methods of production. To this simple beginning, however, greater powers are often added, and the kartell is recognized by the German law and both defended and made responsible by the law. Kartells of one kind or another exist in the coal, iron, steel, book, wall-paper, and spirit industries; to a less extent among others. One of the chief is the Rhenish Westphalian Coal Kartell, with a capital of only $225, but all of the shares are held by the coal owners and are transferable only with the consent of the general meeting, so that the coal owners wholly control it and through it determine the output, the base price, and the selling price, each mine owner voting according to the number of tons of coal he produces.

Germany

Similarly under one form or another, tho to a less extent, the trust movement has developed in France, Belgium, Austria, and elsewhere.

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TUBERCULOSIS: The definite movement for the prevention of tuberculosis dates from the discovery of the tubercle bacillus by Dr. Robert Koch, of Berlin, in 1882. Koch not only found that this bacillus is the cause of the disease but was able to isolate and describe the life history of the organism. He proved that it is received into the body in a dried state through the discharges of tuberculous individuals and chiefly through the sputum. The main channels of infection are the respiratory and digestive tracts.

It follows from Koch's discoveries that tuberculosis is necessarily an infectious disease, and, its cause being known, is consequently preventable. It has also been found by subsequent clinical investigators that when taken in its early stages the disease is curable.

While it was some years before the significance of Koch's work became generally recognized, there has now arisen a movement for the elimination of tuberculosis of world-wide scope. The necessity for this organized campaign is evident from the extent of the disease which is responsible for more than 1,000,000 deaths per annum in the civilized world.

The conditions which favor the development of tuberculosis are precisely those which exist in the crowded quarters in each of our great centers of population where the nutrition of the inhabitants is defective and where adequate ventilation and hygienic surroundings are not present. The practical work of prevention therefore associates itself with all the modern movements of a social character for the betterment of the poorer classes of our communities. It involves the cooperation of the medical profession and the laity as well as the vigorous prosecution of measures for the betterment of health on the part of public officials.

Starting in Europe, the organization of leagues for the prevention of tuberculosis has spread rapidly until at the present time such associations are found in nearly all the countries of the civilized world, those of particular efficiency being in Great Britain, Germany, France, Denmark, Switzerland, and the United States. Organizations on national lines also exist in Italy, Austria, Belgium, Spain, and Portugal. In Norway the government is taking an active part in the control of tuberculosis, and the same is true, in a lesser degree, of Sweden. In South America antituberculosis leagues exist in Brazil, Argentine, Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, and Ecuador. A league has also been established in Cuba.

Extent of Movement Against

In the U. S. the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis is pushing the work of organization in all parts of the country. There are now seventeen state societies for the prevention of tuberculosis, with others in process of formation. Local associations to the number of about eighty have also been organized, nearly all within the last two years, and it is evident that a short time will see the U. S. completely organized for the fight against this disease.

An International Antituberculosis Association made up of representatives from the various national societies is also in existence with headquarters in Berlin. Annual meetings are held where topics of particular interest at the moment, both technical and social, are discust from the various points of view of the different countries represented.

Once every three years an International Congress of still wider scope is held and is rapidly becoming one of the chief factors in the dissemination of authoritative information regarding tuberculosis and its treatment and prevention. The next congress will be held in Washington in Oct., 1908.

The most important feature of the organized campaign as at present conducted is the movement for the education of the general public with regard to the causes of tuberculosis and the methods of prevention. While every available means is drawn upon to force this knowledge upon the attention of the public, particular emphasis has been laid during the last two years upon the exhibition method. Such exhibitions of comprehensive character form one of the chief features of the international congresses, and in the U. S. exhibits are kept constantly in operation in various parts of the country. The National Association conducts one of large size which is sent from city to city, and is used as a means of stimulating public interest and subsequent organized cooperation against the disease.

Methods

Permanent exhibits have also been formed by many of the state and local societies.

The program advocated by those who are conducting the campaign is comparatively simple in its outlines. It involves the establishment of sanatoria, hospitals, dispensaries, etc., on an adequate scale for both incipient and advanced cases. This is regarded as necessary not only as a curative but as a preventive measure. It also advocates the passage of such legislation as shall enable the municipal and state health authorities to exercise adequate supervision over the disease. The particular points at present at issue are the requiring of registration and notification of tuberculosis by physicians and the passage of ordinances forbidding indiscriminate expectoration. The other features of the program can be included under the term "Education" which, as has been said, involves every possible method of instruction in the elementary facts regarding the disease, namely, that it is infectious, preventable, not inherited, and in early cases curable; that in order to prevent infection proper hygiene must be observed, and that the cure depends upon the simple factors of fresh air, good food, and rest. The reduction that has already taken place in the death-rate from consumption in those communities where rigid and organized measures have been taken make it entirely reasonable to suppose that the disease will ultimately be practically eliminated.

PROF. LIVINGSTON FARRAND.

TUCKER, BENJAMIN R.: Anarchist; born near New Bedford, Mass, 1854; educated in private schools, and at Massachusetts Institute of Technology; decided on journalism as a profession; served apprenticeship in printing-office; in 1878 joined editorial staff of a Boston newspaper. Introduced to radical thought by Josiah Warren, Colonel William B. Greene, and others. Making a thorough study of Proudhon, he considered "anarchism" to be the most appropriate designation for his political doctrines. In 1877 he established a quarterly, *The Radical Review* which did not receive the requisite support. Mr. Tucker soon concluded that a more effective propaganda of his views could be carried on by a fortnightly or weekly organ, and accordingly founded *Liberty*, in 1881, still recognized in philosophic and progressive circles as the ablest and most authoritative champion of anarchism, both in Europe and America. In 1893 published "Instead of a Book"; in this socialism, communism, the single tax, and other reforms are criticized from the anarchistic point of view. Author: "A Blow at Trial by Jury"; "The Attitude of Anarchism Toward Industrial Combinations." *Address*: P. O. Box 1312, New York City.

TUCKWELL, GERTRUDE M. (MISS): Chairman of the Women's Trade-Union League; born 1862, Oxford, England; was educated at home; daughter of the Rev. William Tuckwell, "the Radical Parson," well known in England for his experiments in allotments, his advocacy of land nationalization, and his strong labor views. At the age of twenty in order to be independent she trained as a board-school mistress; worked in Liverpool and in London for six years. Then became secretary to her aunt, Lady Dilke, and honorary secretary to the Women's Trade-Union League, and came thus into complete touch with women's industrial life. At the death of Lady Dilke in 1904 was chosen in her place chairman of the Women's Trade-Union League. Through the league, which is very active both in trade-union and in legislative work, Miss Tuckwell represents 140,000 women. She is a Christian Socialist and a strong trade-unionist; has written much for the *Fortnightly* and *The Nineteenth Century*. Author: "The State and Its Children," and several small books on industrial law. *Address*: Women's Trade-Union League, Club Union Building, Clerkenwell Road, London, E. C.

TURGENEFF, IVAN SERGYEVITCH: Russian novelist, nihilist; born 1818 in Orel, the son of an officer of cuirassiers; he was educated at Moscow and afterward at the University of Berlin. In 1852 he first became the object of government displeasure. Was imprisoned for a month for an article he wrote on the death of Gogol, and compelled to reside for two years more in the country. This experience seems to have been in some sense a turning-point in his career, for in 1855 he commenced publishing the novels which have had such a vital connection with the social life of Russia. In 1855 he published "Dimitri Rudin"; in 1858, "A Nest of Nobles" and "Helene"; in 1862, "Fathers and Sons," which work was one of the most potent means in wakening into action the philosophy of negation and materialism. This book, too, gave to the philosophy the name of "nihilism," which it has borne ever since. In 1865 he published "Smoke," and in 1877 "Spring Floods" and "Virgin Soil." He wrote many shorter stories; his last work was a collection of prose poems entitled "Senilia," which for power and pathos takes rank with his best work. After the publication of "Fathers and Sons" he left Russia and settled in Baden, where he stayed until the termination of the Franco-German War. Then he removed to Paris and resided there until his death in 1883.

TURGOT, ANNE ROBERT JACQUES, BARON DE L'AULNE: French statesman and economist; born Paris, 1727. Educated for the Church, he gave up an ecclesiastical career and studied law, becoming noted as a liberal thinker and contributor to the *Encyclopédie*. He associated with

Quesnay and Gournay, and accepted to some extent their views. (See PHYSIOCRATS.) In 1761 he was appointed intendant-governor of the province of Limousin, and in 1774 Controller-General of France under Louis XVI. The courtiers and nobility bitterly opposed his reform ideas, but for a while the king supported him, and he was able to introduce free trade in grain and other reforms. At last the king, in 1776, was induced to depose him, and Turgot retired to private life and devoted himself to science till his death in 1781. His "Œuvres Complètes," including his essays on usury, on taxation, and "Réflexions sur la Formation et la Distribution des Richesses," etc., were published in nine volumes (1808–11).

TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION, THE INTERNATIONAL: The International Typographical Union of North America, organized in 1852 as the National Typographical Union, is the oldest national trade-union in the United States. As early as 1836 an attempt was made to unite the typographical societies in the U. S. in a national organization. At a national typographical convention held in Washington, Nov. 7–11, 1836, a constitution was framed and submitted to the various local societies. In 1837 at New York this constitution was amended in minor details and the National Typographical Association formed. The association, however, died within the year. In 1850 a call for a national convention was issued by the New York, Boston, and Philadelphia unions, and on Dec. 2, 1850, the National Convention of Journeymen Printers met in New York with delegates present from six unions located in five states. At the convention held in Baltimore in 1851 the unions in seven states were represented and the convention formulated a constitution for the National Typographical Union. In 1869 the name of the union was changed to the International Typographical Union of North America.

History

The membership of the union includes printers, proof-readers, machine-tenders, mailers, typefounders, editors, and reporters. Pressmen and bookbinders were admitted until 1895, stereotypers and electrotypers until 1902, and photo-engravers until 1904. The members of these trades have formed separate international unions. Despite these losses, the membership of the Typographical Union has steadily increased in recent years.

MEMBERSHIP BY YEARS

1891	25,165
1892	28,187
1893	30,454
1894	31,379
1895	29,295
1896	28,838
1897	28,096
1898	28,614
1899	30,646
1900	32,105
1901	34,948
1902	38,364
1903	42,436
1904	46,165
1905	46,734

The annual convention of representatives elected by the subordinate unions was originally the only organ of government. The officers, mere adjuncts to the annual session, were elected by the convention from its own members and held office for one year. Since 1884 the annual meeting of representatives has been partly replaced and partly supplemented by other institutions. In 1889 the referendum was made a regular part of the union's governmental machinery. Provision was made that all amendments to the constitution and all laws involving increased taxation should be submitted to a vote of the membership. The advocates of nationalization in the union have long desired to replace entirely the convention by the initiative and referendum. In 1893 they secured the adoption of the initiative; in 1894 the sessions were made biennial; in 1896 the membership voted to do away with regular sessions. Since 1896, however, there has been a strong movement in the direction of limiting the use of the initiative and referendum and of restoring the convention to a considerable place in the governmental machinery. The annual session has been restored. A referendum is always had, however, on important changes of law. The initiative is rarely used. Since 1896 the officers have been elected by a popular vote and every member of the organization is eligible to office.

Government

Since the establishment in 1888 of permanent headquarters, the importance of the official staff has rapidly increased. The judicial power of the convention has practically been transferred to the president. The increasing intricacy of the union's affairs has made the opinion of the officers more weighty in legislation. The net result of these changes is that the government of the union, theoretically vested in the convention, rests really in the membership at large and in the official staff.

In the fiscal year ending May 31, 1905, the receipts of the union were $244,689.24. Of this sum $196,280.27 was received from a per-capita tax of thirty-five cents monthly; $27,472.83 was received from a compulsory subscription to the *Typographical Journal* of five cents monthly. Thus practically all the revenue of the union is derived from the regular per-capita tax and from special assessments.

The principal expenditures of the union in 1905 were: Printers' Home, $56,235.95; burial benefits, $39,690; the *Typographical Journal*, $29,426.77; salaries and office expenses, $16,408.02; strikes and disputes, $39,603.16.

The United Typothetæ of America, the organization of the book and job master printers, was organized in Oct., 1887. It was formed primarily to resist the demand of the Typographical Union for a reduction of the working-day to nine hours. The bargaining between the United Typothetæ and the union has been concerned almost exclusively with the shortening of the working-day. In 1898 the Typothetæ agreed to put the fifty-four-hour week into effect on Nov. 21, 1899. In 1902 the Typographical Union began to plan for a further reduction in the hours of work. The Typothetæ has steadily refused to grant the eight-hour day. In Sept., 1905, a great strike began. The strike was at first confined to Chicago, but by Jan. 1, 1906, it had extended to every large printing center. The Typothetæ has led the opposition to the demand for the eight-hour day and has on its own side declared for the open shop.

The relations of the union with the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, the organization of employers in the newspaper business, have been amicable. In 1900 an arbitration

agreement was entered into by the union and the publishers. Under this agreement the Typographical Union guaranteed the performance of the contract of a local union with a publisher, provided the publisher agreed to arbitrate all disputes as to interpretation. In 1902 the agreement was broadened to cover not only disputes as to interpretation but disputes arising over the formation of new contracts. The present agreement expires in 1907. GEORGE E. BARNETT.

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TYSON, ROBERT: Exponent of direct legislation and proportional representation; born Canterbury, England, 1845; largely self-educated; as a boy worked in machine-shop; later shorthand clerk in railway offices; then as newspaper reporter and editor in Lancashire. Came to Canada 1870; did newspaper work until 1876, when he was appointed stenographic reporter to the Court of Queen's Bench, now a division of the High Court of Justice. At one time editor of *Proportional Representation Review*; is now editor of the Proportional Representation Department in *Equity Series*, of Philadelphia. He has conducted many elections for societies, labor-unions, etc., and addrest meetings on the proportional principle; is in touch with the movement and current history of proportional representation in Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Belgium, Switzerland, etc. Mr. Tyson's economic views are based on those of Henry George, and for some years he worked ardently in the single-tax cause. Later becoming imprest with the necessity of improved political conditions in order to forward social reform, he directed his work more toward direct legislation and proportional representation, making a specialty of the latter. Author of several pamphlets and many serial articles on electoral reform. *Address*: 10 Harbord Street, Toronto, Canada.

TWEED RING: The Tweed Ring of New York City may be said to have begun in 1863, when William Marcy Tweed, a chairmaker of Scotch descent, born in New York in 1823, was appointed deputy street commissioner. He had been long prominent in local politics, and in 1853 had been elected to Congress. He was a member of Tammany (*q. v.*) for many years, and from 1869–71 its grand sachem. Becoming the virtual head of the Street Department, and later of the Department of Public Works, he enormously extended the expenditures for "improvements," and created numberless offices, giving him vast influence and the bestowal of sinecures on his friends. A ring gradually developed, and by 1869 held almost every department of the city in its power. In 1868 the ring's greatest scheme of robbery was begun—the building of a new county court-house. It was stipulated not to cost over $250,000. Before 1871 it had cost $8,000,000, and was still unfinished. In 1870 the power of auditing accounts was taken from the supervisors and vested in certain city offices filled by friends of the ring. All restraints on fraudulent bills were then removed. Bills amounting to $6,000,000 were passed at the first and only meeting of the Board of Audit. Of this amount $1,000,000 was traced to Tweed's own pocket. A secret account of the money thus paid was kept in the auditor's office, entered "County Liabilities." During the winter of 1870–71 a clerk stealthily copied its items and showed them to his patron, James O'Brien, an opponent of Tammany. He gave them to the *New York Times*, and they were published in July, 1871. The excitement created an investigation, and through the efforts of Samuel J. Tilden the frauds were exposed and the ring overthrown in the election of Nov., 1871. Tweed was tried for grand larceny and forgery, and Nov. 22, 1872, sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment and a heavy fine. In 1875 he escaped and fled to Spain, where he was captured and returned to New York City in 1876, dying in Ludlow Street Jail in 1878.

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UMANITARIA, LA SOCIETÀ: An Italian philanthropic society, founded by the generosity of Prosper Moïse Loria (died 1902), of Milan, who bequeathed 10,000,000 lire for this purpose. But owing to certain legal and political difficulties, the society has been inactive for nearly ten years, and the funds now amount to about 13,000,000 li.

The general purpose of the society is to help the poor, needy, and unemployed, to raise the industrial efficiency of workers, and to serve as a general adviser and cooperator to all philanthropic societies. Men and women of whatever nationality are admitted as members on payment of 1 li. per annum. The members elect fifty delegates who have general charge of the budget and of the management, and elect ten of the fifteen directors of the society—the other five are appointed by the Municipal Council of Milan.

The Umanitaria expects to have about 600,000 li. annual income, to be divided thus: 45,000 on annuities; 90,000 on administrative and office expenses; 175,000, or 37.64 per cent, for the amelioration of unemployment; 200,000, or 43 per cent, for industrial education; 50,000, or 10.76 per cent, on farm laborers; 20,000, or 4.3 per cent, in the promotion of cooperation; 20,000 on social bureaus of all kinds which aid the poor and needy in some way, particularly legal and medical aid societies.

The society maintains a *Bureau du Travail*, for making investigations into various labor problems, e. g., legal rights of the workingman, the opportunities for employment at home and abroad, institutions for the moral improvement of the working classes, cost of living, sanitary conditions, etc. This bureau has, with its three divisions, a network of correspondents all over northern and central Italy, and receives reports regularly. The employment bureau for working men, governesses, and domestics placed in 1906: industrial workers, 5,089; domestics, 602. Two

bureaus assist, instruct, and supervise emigrants both from the city to the country and from Italy to foreign lands.

Industrial education is furnished in schools of designing, blacksmithing, furniture-making, engraving, molding, decorating, varnishing, clock-making, tailoring, cooking, embroidery and other needlework, electricity, etc. One school is intended to train young men as foremen, superintendents, etc.

Cooperation is encouraged by a loan association, a supply store, an agricultural cooperative society, etc.

The unemployed are assisted, according to the system practised at Ghent, by a relief station and a labor colony.

The society has taken a keen interest in the housing of working men, and has established (1906) two model tenements for 2,000 persons at a cost of nearly 1,000,000 li. It has encouraged taste and simplicity by offering a prize for the best furnished flat for a small family at a cost below 700 li.

The espousal of anti-alcoholism and the establishment of a *Musée Sociale*—intended for the education of the people in preventive measures—complete the list of activities of the Umanitaria. The society expects to purchase an old monastery, renovate it, and establish its industrial schools, its central offices, and a physician for women there; and to build a *Maison du Peuple* in its neighborhood. RUDOLPH M. BINDER.

UNEMPLOYMENT: We consider in this article: I. The meaning and kinds of unemployment. II. The number of the unemployed. III. The means used to meet the problem.

I. Meaning and Kinds of Unemployment

It is necessary to consider the meaning of the word, because differences here have led to numberless misunderstandings and to fatal errors in the practical working of the problem.

Mr. Carroll D. Wright, in his report on the unemployed as United States Commissioner of Labor in 1886, uses the word in a very limited sense. He defines it as including only "those who under prosperous times would be fully employed and who during the time mentioned were seeking employment." But, obviously, if during times of especial need one would find the complete number of those without work, one must add to those whom Mr. Wright defines as the unemployed, those who in times of prosperity would be without employment, and this undoubtedly is not a small number.

Other writers seem to mean by the term only those who desire work. The tramp who does not work, mainly because he will not work, they do not reckon among the unemployed. The object of making this distinction seems to be to differentiate between those whom people consider to deserve sympathy and aid in finding work and a class which they believe to be very much to be condemned and who should be severely treated. Yet if we could go into the life history or the prenatal history and early environment of the work-shunning tramp we might find one genuinely to be pitied even more than the man who has not yet fallen low enough to lose his desire for work, one perhaps needing aid and help (altho usually in the form of very stern treatment) more than any other one class in the community. But however this be, it is certainly true that no one can possibly arrive at any true conclusions of how to employ the unemployed, if one leaves out of consideration those who do not desire employment. For in actual life those who do not work because they cannot find work and those who do not work because they will not, are commingled at every step and not seldom the two natures are somewhat developed in the same person. The whole problem of employing the unemployed often turns upon this very point. One cannot solve a problem by reading out of the problem one of its most difficult and complicated factors.

Once more, some writers and more readers seem to understand by the unemployed only the exact opposite of the foregoing. They take it for granted that any can find work who will, and that therefore if anybody is without work, it is because he will not work, or at least because of some fault which he has developed, and for which he is morally responsible. To them there are no unemployed except those who will not work. Few students of social facts take this view. However much the members of the unemployed through no fault of their own may have been exaggerated by some, no one can doubt but that, in the present ordering of society, with its sudden economic changes, there are such. The invention of a machine, the formation of a trust, the usual resultant shutting down of mills or shops or mines, the change of a railroad rate, the termination of an important contract, the failure of some crop or of some supply, even the caprice of fashion or the overstocking of a market—these and a hundred other things may cause thousands of operatives to be at least temporarily out of work. To call all the unemployed willing idlers, or shiftless incapables, is to ignore facts and to insult many a worthy but unfortunate honest workman. It certainly is to dodge rather than to face a problem.

Analysis

Nor is there any more ground for limiting the word unemployed, as is sometimes practically done, to the unemployed among the artizan and manual-labor class. The unemployed clerk, the unemployed accountant, journalist, professional man, is often in a much more serious and critical condition than the artizan or manual laborer who finds himself without work. A university diploma is unfortunately by no means an insurance against lack of work.

Nor, once more, can the term unemployed be limited to those who are without work for a considerable period of time. An artizan without work for a day is not usually in a very serious condition and certainly need not be a concern to the community, and yet he is for that day unemployed. He may in that day contract the beginnings of evil habits; he may that day undercut the wage of a man who will go months without work—above all, if day be added to day, he may grow, before he knows it, and before the community knows it, into one who is both a burden and a menace to the community. This is certainly true—that if provision for those finding themselves temporarily out of work can be made promptly and well, before habits of idleness and the recklessness of discouragement have set in, the difficulty of caring for confirmed idleness, hopeless apathy, and developed degeneration will often not have to be met. It may be said in fact that almost the most important portion of the

problem of unemployed is how to prevent there being such a person as an unemployed man.

Nor finally is there any sex limitation to the word. An unemployed man may, in the long run and upon the whole, be a very much more serious social factor than an unemployed woman, because usually and as a fact to-day, and as most people believe, by nature, man is the chief bread-earner of the family and of the community; but when a woman does need work and either cannot or will not find it, she is often in a much more pitiable, and a more dangerous, even desperate condition than an unemployed man. The problem of the unemployed cannot leave out the woman idle either by disposition or by circumstance.

And so we must mean by unemployment the being out of work, for any cause, either by fault or misfortune, by any class or condition of persons who are in need of work, whether conscious of the need or not.

Definition

But second only to the necessity of including in the problem all its elements, all classes of the unemployed, is the necessity in the actual treatment of the case to most carefully distinguish and discriminate between different classes of the unemployed. The failure to do this last has probably been the one most frequent cause of the failures in working out the problem. To treat a drunken, burned-out weakling like a strong skilled man, temporarily out of work, is almost as serious a sociological mistake as to treat the honest, skilled, willing artizan, out of work, like the tramp who comes begging for a nickel to quench his fevered thirst. Yet history is full of instances of industrial colonies which have failed because they have taken for granted that everybody knew how and desired to work, and still more of instances of well-meant systems which have begun by insulting or more frequently driving away the most hopeful class of the unemployed by insulting them and lumping all the unemployed in one class and under conditions suited only to the most degraded and the most inefficient. To distinguish is the very first step toward the solution of the problem. Years ago it was said by John Burns, the present Secretary of the English Local Government Board:

> Until the differentiation of the laborer from the loafer takes place, the unemployed question can never be properly discust and dealt with. Till the tramp, thief, and ne'er-do-well, however pitiable he may be, is dealt with distinctly from the genuine worker, no permanent benefit will result to any of them. The gentleman who gets up to look for work at midday, and prays that he may not find it, is undeserving of pity. I have seen the most genuine and honest men at meetings mixed up with the laziest and most drunken scoundrels.

Briefly, we may divide the unemployed as follows:

First, The Temporarily Unemployed, who are Employable—those who, both able and willing to work, find themselves for one reason or another temporarily out of employment.

Second, The Temporarily Unemployed who are Unemployable—those who for one reason or another, of fault, or of temperament, or circumstance, are so inefficient that while they can do certain work, are always losing their jobs, continually getting tho not remaining permanently out of work.

Classes of the Unemployed

Third, The Somewhat Permanently Unemployed who are Employable—those who by reason of a change in their trade or in the market, or for some other reason find themselves threatened by permanent unemployment and yet are able and willing to work.

Fourth, The Permanently Unemployed and Unemployable—those who are permanently out of work, because for one reason or another of fault or misfortune they are too inefficient to do work.

Fifth, The Permanently Unemployed who are viciously or incorrigibly unwilling to work.

It is obvious that these distinctions at once need very different modes of treatment. Differentiation only can lead to solution.

II. The Number of the Unemployed

Before considering their number it is necessary to consider some common misconceptions of the subject.

The opinion seems general in the U. S., and to a less extent exists even in other countries, that the number of unemployed has been exaggerated and above all that sympathy for men without work is, generally speaking, largely undeserved. The reasons for this very common and natural opinion are habitually overlooked, but when they are studied the opinion will be seen to be erroneous.

1. In the first place, the unemployed which come into closest contact with the general community, and above all with the charitable community, are beyond all question the worst unemployed and therefore mislead the public as to the general character of the unemployed. The self-respecting men and women avoid begging and knocking at the doors of charity until the last possible moment. Many of them prefer and often actually do choose starvation rather than beggary. Consequently these self-respecting persons are the last to come in evidence before the charitable. But those who have lost self-respect, who will not work even when they can, who are the professionally unemployed, the typical tramp of the stage and at the rich man's door—these do continually haunt the wealthy and the charitable. Not unnaturally the ordinary public judges from its experience and wrongly concludes that what is true of the unemployed with which it comes in contact, is true of the whole class, and that the one trouble with the unemployed is that they will not work. But all experienced investigators of the subject are agreed that, while this may be true of a large class, it is by no means true of all, and that there are millions of people in the U. S. who never come before the charitable and who even denounce and dislike charity who are nevertheless, at least for periods of time, bitterly in need of work.

2. These premature judgments of the ordinary public are caught up and repeated by the press. The press, and especially the press supporting whatever administration happens to be in power in any locality, Republican or Democratic, does not like to admit any lack of employment. It is for their interest to talk good times: "Prosperity" talk creates prosperity. Of this there is no question. Desiring, as we all do, prosperity, the papers, probably rightly, encourage hope, but not unfrequently falsely assert that there is work for all. A New York paper not long ago declared that the Department of Street Cleaning was unable to secure street-sweepers. Application at the department at that very time elicited the fact that the department was overrun with applications for work. Such is the fact as to many similar rumors and statements accepted by the public.

3. The wealth of the U. S. is so limitless, its opportunities so vast, the prosperity of certain classes so good, the wages of many artizans so high, ordinary labor, when paid at all, is so well paid, compared with European labor, that it seems incredible that at that very time others should be unable to get work at any price. Yet such is the case. Trade-union wages are high, not because there is no competition from the unemployed, but because of strict trade organization.

4. People get into the way of thinking that those out of work are so through their own fault alone because such are usually our "weaker brethren." Such forget that this *must* be so. When a man employing 100 men must discharge five, he naturally discharges the five who, for one reason or another, are the least efficient. Yet he may have discharged them, not for any especial inefficiency or fault, but because his business compelling him to discharge five, he selected them. Consolidation of business is said to have discharged some 35,000 traveling agents. Railroads sometimes lay off a thousand men at a time. When two companies combine, some clerks are almost always discharged. Inevitably, the more efficient are retained and the unemployed are the less efficient. For many of these, especially of the clerical class, with a fair general knowledge but no especial trade, it is difficult to find work, especially if at all old. Invention and machinery also temporarily make men idle. The rapid entry of women into offices and some forms of light manufacture displaces men, at least temporarily. Other forms and often higher forms of work usually open for the abler men, but the inefficient often go months without work. The experience of certain college professors who, with plenty of physical and mental ability, have experimented in seeing if they could get work, and have found it, proves nothing. The question is, Can the inefficient get work? Yet for their inefficiency they may be by no means to blame. Born as many of them are born, bred as many of them are bred, housed as they are housed, fed as many of them are fed, it is physically impossible but that they should be inefficient. Are they, therefore, to starve?

Causes of Unemployment

5. It is said that they could at least be thrifty, cleanly, temperate; and that often they are not. Large numbers of the unemployed are thrifty, cleanly, temperate; but be it remembered that few apply for relief or come to the public notice until they have been unemployed for a considerable time, or only employed on very occasional jobs, so that the process of discouragement and demoralization has gone on a long ways before they attract attention. By this time many who, when they had good work, were thrifty and temperate have begun to take a weak refuge in thriftlessness and intemperance.

6. This leads us inevitably to the question of intemperance as the cause of unemployment. Some say foolishly that the question of unemployment is only another form of the drink question and that everybody could find work except for drink. Few informed students say this. Serious as is the evil done by drink, it is easily exaggerated, because if drink leads undoubtedly to evil habits, and so often at least to discharge and unemployment, it is also true that idleness and unemployment often lead to drink. It is often difficult to know which is cause and which is effect. The facts are often, perhaps usually, so complex that most students of sociology to-day have given up asking what are the causes of drunkenness, poverty, unemployment, or crime. They are too intricate often to allow of analysis.

We come therefore, without limiting the number to those who are or who are not to blame for their unemployment, to ask how many are unemployed.

Of the number of the unemployed, in the full sense of the word, in the U. S. particularly, no man has any even approximately exact knowledge. Only a few hints can be given. Of the higher artizan class in a few cities statistics are taken somewhat exactly. Perhaps the most complete of these statistics are the returns to the New York Department of Labor and published in its Bulletin.

According to this Bulletin (March, 1907) comparatively full reports were received from the manufacturing, mechanical, and transport trades, from hotels, and some other leading occupations, and the mean of unemployment, 1902–5, was 15.1 per cent. In 1902 it was 14.8 per cent; in 1903, 17.5; in 1904, 16.9; in 1905, 11.2. But this was the mean for the whole year. In January and February it runs much higher. It is also for the better and more established industries. Fifteen per cent of the 2,000,000 members of organized labor would be 300,000.

Of the unorganized trades we have but little but guesses. Still less do we know the number of the vagrant class who have no trade. Mr. Lewis estimates them at half a million. (See VAGRANTS.)

For Great Britain, we have the following:

The mean percentage of the unemployed returned by trade-unions during 1905 was 5.4, compared with 6.5 in 1904, 5.1 in 1903, 4.4 in 1902, and 3.8 in 1901. The average percentage for ten years, 1896–1905, was 4.04.

According to the Statistical Abstract of the United Kingdom for 1906, there were in receipt of poor relief, on Jan. 1st, in England and Wales, 909,918 persons; on Jan. 15th, in Scotland, 111,202 persons; on the last day of the year and in January in Ireland, 103,302 persons; or for the United Kingdom, 1,114,522 persons, which is 2.59 per cent of the estimated population.

In France, according to the census of March, 1901, there were 314,530 unemployed, or 2.92 per cent of the workers.

Germany reported 520,728 unemployed in the second quarter of 1905, or 1.9 per cent.

But these are of the working classes. Statistics are inevitably taken mainly from the larger establishments. Of the total number who are out of work at any time in any country, we have no adequate means of knowing.

Wrote Mr. John Burns, in the *Nineteenth Century* for Dec., 1892:

> Disguise it how we will, hide it tho we may, looming up is the great, the all-absorbing question for all countries and governments to face—How can the honest worker be provided with work uncontaminated with pauperism's degrading taint and charity's demoralizing aid? The glib quotation of figures showing that official pauperism has decreased only insults the genuine worker who asks for work, so that it may be reduced further still. But even the official statistics, when shorn of all their complacent optimism, reveal the real nature of the problem. The fact that a cruel administration of the poor-law, which mixes honest and criminal together, has reduced official pauperism from 46 to 20 per 1,000, is cold comfort to the men who, by physical necessity or want of work, are compelled to be of the 20. The growth of trade-unionism, friendly, sick, loan cooperative,

John Burns

and other agencies that the workers resort to in times of distress, is not recognized as a factor in reducing the distress which, in the absence of such agencies, the poor-law would have to meet. Exploiting the ever-increasing repugnance among the genuine poor to pauper relief, the officials representing the *laissez-faire* middle class are determined to throw the support of the worthless, that the rich and poor now sustain, on the poor exclusively, who voluntarily, taxed as they are, cannot carry further burdens.

Outside the official pauper class, as Mr. Charles Booth proves, there are hundreds of thousands of people whose standard of life and comfort, from the point of view of food, clothing, and house accommodation, is lower than that of the pauper or criminal, yet these people will not accept relief, but struggle on in the vain hope of work that never comes, and which, if it did, would find them too low to perform it. The fact is the virtue—or vice—of thrift and independence among the pick of the working classes, which well-fed reformers contend is applicable to all, is being abused and exploited. When the poor refuse poor-law relief, it is construed as proof that its abolition is justifiable. When, as a better alternative, the poor man asks for work, he is told that that is pauperism in another form. When he becomes ill through neither relief nor work being offered or accepted, or, as a last resource, thieves and goes to prison, he has to be kept, after his health and morals have been shattered, till he dies. . . . Having experienced the lot of the workless worker, I believe, with Carlyle, that "a man willing to work and unable to find work is, perhaps, the saddest sight that fortune's inequality exhibits under the sun."

III. Means Used to Meet the Problem

With the indirect means used to meet the problem we are not here concerned. Yet these may be the most important and probably are so. It is, indeed, beyond doubt that the only complete solution of the question is to prevent there being any unemployed. If education or temperance or religion or protection or free trade or socialism or individualism will so order society as to provide work for all, almost all social problems would be solved. But to this question this whole Encyclopedia is devoted and we can only consider in this article what can be done for or with the unemployed as they exist today.

This we have said must vary with the different classes of the unemployed. We can little more than name the different measures that have been tried or proposed, referring the reader to special articles for account of them.

1. Undoubtedly the first thing to do is to divide the unemployed into their different classes. Till this is done, nothing can be done with any class. Hence the work test, which has loomed so large especially in English and American attempts to grapple with the problem. It is, however, but a crude test compared with the following of the lines of individuals as in Germany. (See ELBERFELD SYSTEM; RELIEF STATIONS.) These methods enable the Germans to know what a man is and therefore to aid him wisely.

2. The second step undoubtedly is to reduce the problem to its lowest terms by obtaining employment in the quickest time for all who are employable and for whom employment can be found. This means the wisest form of employment bureau, in which Germany again seems to have worked out the best system. (See PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS.)

3. We come next to the question of how to deal with the somewhat employable and efficient, for whom, however, no work can immediately be found. Here America, England, and Belgium, in different ways, have been the most successful. (For the system most successfully worked out in America, see VACANT LOT CULTIVATION. For the Belgian system, see INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE. For the English system, see PUBLIC RELIEF WORKS.)

4. We come to the class more permanently unemployed, and usually for the most the unemployable and inefficient, the weak but not the confirmed and semi-criminal confirmed idlers. For these the so-called labor colonies of Germany and of other countries are undoubtedly the best means. (For these, however, see LABOR COLONIES.)

Means Used

5. We are left finally to consider the semicriminal and vicious and confirmed idlers, the tramp proper or vagrants. For these, undoubtedly compulsory work in colonies more or less penal, like those of Holland and Belgium, should be established. For these, different means used for different classes of the unemployed should doubtless be worked into a complete national system, as in the following plan, recommended by Percy Alden, P. M., in his book "The Unemployed."

(For New Zealand and the unemployed, see NEW ZEALAND.)

A congress as to unemployment was held at Milan in 1907, and an international committee was organized.

REFERENCES: Percy Alden, *The Unemployed* (1905); *Die bestehenden Einrichtungen zur Versicherung gengen die Folgen der Arbeitslosigkeit*, German Imperial Report, 3 vols. (1907); D. F. Schloss, *Report on Agencies and Methods for Dealing in Certain Foreign Countries*, English Board of Trade Report (1904); W. D. P. Bliss, *Report on the Employment of the Unemployed*, U. S. Bureau of Labor (1908).

UNEMPLOYMENT, USELESSNESS OF LABOR COLONIES FOR: For the genuine unemployed—the independent, self-reliant, self-respecting workers—farm colonies are an inadequate remedy, uneconomic, wasteful, and destined in the future, as in the present and past, to be a futile remedy for their workless condition.

There are several rural workhouses for able-bodied paupers; there are *al-fresco* casual wards and pastoral labor hospitals where the industrial misfits and social wreckage find refuge under coercive, restrictive, and pauperizing conditions, that the efficient but workless workmen will very properly not accept. But these institutions are but pauper auxiliaries, with the dependent, subjective, and penal taint.

They are admirably diagnosed and effectively summarized by the last Board of Trade report, which says of their foreign counterpart, of which the British are but immature imitations, "Whatever be the object of these colonies, the great bulk of the material with which they deal consists not of efficient workmen out of work, but of tramps, ex-prisoners, and others whose distress is caused by personal defects. They are not colonies of unemployed; they are receptacles for social wreckage." Writing of them recently, Mr. T. Mackay, no mean authority, says: "They are asylums more or less satisfactory to the philanthropic sentiment, more or less attractive to persons of unindustrial instincts, but in no large sense of the terms are they able to restore or to create industrial capacity in those who resort to them."

As abroad, in Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, from 50 to 90 per cent of the colonists are ex-convicts, chronic tramps, who often "go to colony after prison, or arrive in serious debility from alcoholic excess," I do not think I was far wrong when I said: "Farm colonies were only doss-houses in which good men were brought down to the level of tramps and wastrels, and became chargeable to the parish."

Where the Farm Colony Fails

Can we wonder that these places abroad and at home are avoided by unemployed men of character, the people of whom alone I am speaking? Their reasons for so doing are commendable in every way. The isolation of a farm colony from industrial centers, its distance from the normal labor market, prevent the genuine unemployed workman, anxious to take up his work, from resuming his proper and profitable place in the ranks of labor when his opportunity for employment arrives.

The farm colony breaks up family life by withdrawing the father and breadwinner from his family, and even where this may sometimes lead to his physical benefit, it often results in greater moral detriment to himself and family.

Canadian Experience

It is all-important, at this moment, when the unemployed are being exploited by advertising and rival religious leaders, when real and permanent remedies for the prevention of the unemployed are being pushed aside by social freaks, economic charlatans, and settlement quacks, each with his patent pill, that some one should enter a protest against costly and illusory projects and delusive remedies for the unemployed. I feel justified in taking this view, as in a recent tour in Canada I traveled several thousand miles to see some ten colonies in which this problem was being dealt with; the only satisfactory examples were the Doukhobor settlements, that are not labor colonies at all.

The time has arrived, now that London, through Mansion House funds and other undesirable means, is attracting the provincial workless wastrels, and the tramp, to the metropolis, to the detriment of its own decent unemployed, that some direct speaking should be given in protest against this kind of thing.

The worst way to help the unemployed, in my judgment, is to put them in small celibate compounds on pauper patches in rural districts. The better plan is to prevent them, as free men, being driven from the land in droves. An Essex laborer dispossest from the soil, briefly employed at the East End, then sent to a farm colony, is worse for the transposition. He has been "institutionalized," and I never yet knew the average man survive that pauperizing ordeal.

John Burns, M. P.

UNION LABEL, THE: A trade-mark owned and registered by a trade-union. It is usually granted by the unions to those firms which employ union labor only, and is to be attached to articles of sale to indicate that they have been made under conditions stipulated and approved by the organization.

The *purpose* of the union label is to gain friends for organized labor among the general public and to confine the patronage of union men to the goods of employers who pay union wages, and otherwise conform to the conditions stipulated, e. g., in regard to hours, sanitation, and places of manufacture. From this point of view the label is a legal or negative boycott, since the employers to whom it is granted are on the "fair list."

The *history* of the union label dates from 1874, when it was first used by cigarmakers in California as a protection against Chinese labor. Its origin is closely connected with the race question, since it arose as a result of the more intense competition due to a larger immigration of skilled workmen, beginning with 1870. Owing to this fact the label has not been widely adopted in Australia, since the trade-unions in that country have always been successful in keeping out cheap labor. The Trade-Union and Cooperative Congress in England approved it in 1893, and it was adopted by the hatters. But in Canada and the United States the label has been widely used as a weapon to "maintain the white as against the coolie standard of life." During a strike in St. Louis (1875) a discussion arose as to the color of the label; this was settled at the convention in Chicago (Sept., 1880) by the adoption of blue.

The *extent* of the use of the label is enormous. The hatters' unions adopted it in 1885, and reported 3,120,000 labels used in fourteen towns from Dec. 1, 1896, to June 1, 1897, and about 12,000,000 for the U. S. in 1897. It is estimated that over 100,000,000 were used by different unions from 1885 to 1900. Various unions have urged all the "locals" to adopt the label all over the country. The American Federation of Labor recognized and approved forty-three labels in 1903, but advocated the use of its own label.

The *benefits* of the label have been numerous for organized labor, owing largely to systematic and persistent advertising. The cigarmakers seem to be in the lead in this respect, e. g., Cigarmakers' Union No. 97 expended over $3,188 in 1896 for "label agitation"; other unions spent smaller amounts.

Finally, state legislatures have granted legal protection to the label. Illinois, for instance, makes its counterfeiting or unauthorized use a semicriminal offense, and penalizes it with $100 fine or imprisonment. In 1898 the label was protected in twenty-eight states, and in 1900 in thirty-two.

Since that time the label has increased as a commercial asset for the trade-unions, since many employers find its use a good advertisement, and are perfectly willing to conform to the conditions stipulated. Rudolf M. Binder.

UNION LABOR PARTY: This was a political party organized at Cincinnati, Feb. 23, 1887, mainly by representatives of farmers' organizations of the West and Western Middle States, with many of the old Greenback Party (*q. v.*). Its platform declared for a graduated land and income tax; government telegraphs and railroads; abolition of national banks; free coinage of silver; payment of national debt at maturity; exclusion of the Chinese; woman suffrage; arbitration of labor disputes; and against contract labor in prisons, the further issue of interest-bearing government bonds, and the employment of armed men by private corporations. It polled an insignificant vote, but led to the formation of the People's Party (*q. v.*).

UNIONIST PARTY: The name commonly used in Great Britain to-day for the party formerly called the Conservative Party, as indicating the union of all those who believe in the maintenence and defense of the existing Constitution and political institutions of the British Empire, tho with such constructive and progressive legislation as shall adapt these to the growing needs of the people without, however, any fundamental change, either in the empire or the United Kingdom, in State, Church, or social organization. Its keynote may be said to be at present the exaltation of the empire, calling for preferential tariff arrangements with the colonies and protection or at least tariff discrimination against other powers, the maintenance of the House of Lords, and in general the rights of property and private initiative, as against all beginnings of republicanism and socialism, the maintenance of a strong army and

navy, paternal legislation for the benefit of the industrial and working classes, education, with much recognition of the Church of England as the State Church.

For the position of the Unionist Party on the two important topics of the tariff and of education, see special articles TARIFF REFORM IN GREAT BRITAIN, from the standpoint of Mr. Chamberlain, undoubtedly the leader of the Unionist Party upon this line, and SCHOOL QUESTION IN GREAT BRITAIN, Section 1, from the standpoint of the Church of England.

On other questions the following quotations may be said to be semiauthoritative, being from campaign pamphlets published by the National Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations, the central propaganda body of the Unionist Party.

On the mooted question of the House of Lords these pamphlets say:

Why abolish the House of Lords because it can suspend too hasty or ill-considered legislation on the part of the House of Commons?

Why not abolish the House of Commons because it often vetoes the legislation of the House of Lords?

The House of Lords has the older standing, the greater intellect, and, above all, the freedom to consider questions on their own merits alone, which the House of Commons, subject as it is to electoral caprice, can never have.

It is often asserted that the existence of the House of Lords is opposed to the principles of democracy, but few of those who make this assertion have ever considered what it means.

The principle of a democracy is that the deliberate wish of the nation as a whole ought to prevail in all questions of government. This is easily provided for in all cases where a large majority of the nation is of one opinion; it is difficult, if not impossible, to attain when the nation is equally divided upon any question. It often happens that the supporters of a particular view, though a minority of the electors, are able to secure the return of a majority of members holding their opinions. If it is not a party question, candidates on both sides are selected from men holding the opinions of these electors, who, though comparatively few, may be numerous enough to turn the election in the particular constituency.

House of Lords

Again, at most elections there are more questions than one prominently before the electors, and some of the electors support the candidate of their choice on one ground and some on another, so that the member when elected cannot say that upon either question he certainly represents the views of the majority of the electors.

In the interests of democracy itself, therefore, it is necessary that there should be some authority to prevent laws being passed by the House of Commons against the wishes of the people, and this can best be done by a second chamber.

In America the elected Senate is stronger than the House of Representatives, which is fatal to the democratic principle. In France the two chambers, if they differ, sit together, and the majority of the House of Representatives, if small, does not always prevail even where it represents truly the views of the nation.

The English House of Lords appears of recent years to have performed the duty required in the interests of democracy more successfully than the senates of foreign countries. Being an hereditary House it can without discredit yield to the will of the people if clearly and deliberately exprest, and yet being independent it can resist the House of Commons when it is really doubtful whether their decision expresses the deliberate wish of the nation.

During the Parliament of 1892–94 the Lords more than once stayed the hand of the House of Commons. In the case of Home Rule, the nation had in 1886 pronounced strongly against it, and in 1892, by a small majority, if any, in its favor. It was impossible, therefore, to say that the deliberate opinion of the nation had been exprest, even on the general question. On the particular bill it certainly had not been exprest, and few people now believe that the Home Rule Bill was really desired by a majority of the electors. The clause of the Employers' Liability Bill prohibiting contracting-out was an endeavor to impose a serious restriction upon the liberty of the working classes, and was carried by so small a majority in the House of Commons, notwithstanding all the exigencies of party, as to leave it quite uncertain what were the real views of the majority even of the elected representatives of the people. In 1906, in the case of the Plural Voting Bill, the House of Lords simply upheld the old constitutional principle, that any alteration in the franchise must be accompanied by a redistribution of seats, while with regard to the Education Bill, as every section of the community which was concerned or interested in its provisions had most vigorously protested against one or other clause of the measure, it is perfectly obvious that in amending it the Lords did not oppose the wishes of the people.

In each case the action of the House of Lords was such as to secure, and not to thwart, a deliberate expression by the nation of its desires.

When those desires are exprest at a general election the House of Lords conforms to them.

In opposition to socialism, the Unionist pamphlets say:

Socialism means the end of liberty—the Socialists would make every man a puppet and a slave to the Socialist god—the State. All men would become machines for the use of the State, their work parceled out when, how, and where the State thought fit, and its results snatched from them for the purposes of the State.

Socialism would seize from every man his home and belongings. Under socialism no man must *own* anything; everything would belong to the State. All the savings of years of thrift would be taken and thrown into the common pool.

Opposition to Socialism

Socialism would destroy family life and take away those sweet things that make the English idea of home the best thing in the world.

For "home," socialism would substitute gigantic barracks where you would be compelled to live and have your meals divided out to you, of such kind and quantity as the State decided, in such company as the State chose for you. If you wanted more tea, more beer, more tobacco, however honestly you had earned it, you could not have it. You must have no more than your neighbors. Socialism would kill all enterprise and stop progress, individual and national. Under socialism no man could rise. Can you conceive what life would be without ambition or hope? Without the possibility of reaching to better things? Without the chance of carving out for yourself a higher future? With the deadening knowledge that as you are so you shall remain, with your life State-planned, State-run, State-crushed? Is not this black despair? Under our present conditions, however low down a man may start, he has it in his power to make his future. Consider the thousands of men who have risen from nothing to eminence.

There is no need for socialism. Not because the present state of things is perfect. But every year sees the worker's lot improved. The aim of every piece of labor legislation is to bring into being benefits which could not be possible under socialism. And with it all the marked liberty is not lessened; it is increased. Why, then, give up liberty for nothing?

In opposition to the Liberal (or Radical) Party, the Unionist Party claims that:

(*a*) That party has not fulfilled its pledges on the old-age pensions, an unemployed act, reduction of the income tax, a licensing act, retrenchment.

(*b*) It has thrown many men and women out of employment, by reducing the work at the arsenals, and by buying supplies for the army outside of England.

Opposition to Liberalism

(*c*) It has aroused serious hostility toward the mother country among the colonies: in *South Africa*, by its anti-British policy; in *Natal*, by blundering interference in local affairs, causing such resentment as to make the Natal Ministry resign; in *Newfoundland*, by a gross betrayal of the colonists' interests—the making of a treaty contrary to their wishes; in *Australia* and *New Zealand*, by riding roughshod over colonial sentiment in the matter of the New Hebrides convention.

(*d*) In regard to Chinese labor in South Africa at the very time when the Radicals were circulating lying slanders about the Chinese labor ordinance, they were actually themselves making a similar ordinance (but harsher) to bind the blacks of the New Hebrides.

But the position of the Unionist Party is by no means purely negative and defensive. It claims, on the contrary, to be the party of achievement and construction. It claims among other things to have introduced:

(*a*) Most of the progressive industrial legislation of England in which England, until recently, at least, has led the world.

(*b*) The Agricultural Rating Act, 1896, and Continuance Acts of 1901 and 1905. This act lowers the local rates payable by agricultural land in England and Wales by one half. It provides £1,333,000 a year out of the Imperial Exchequer to relieve land from its heavy and unjust taxation, local taxation being the heaviest burden upon land. It affects all classes interested in the land, and especially the farmer and laborer.

(*c*) Agricultural Holdings Act, 1900. This act is of great

importance to the tenant farmers, giving them increased security in the value of their improvements.

(*d*) The Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897, Extension Act. This act, passed in 1900, confers upon agricultural laborers the benefits of the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1897.

(*e*) Other acts like the Light Railways Act, 1896, the sale of food and drugs acts, etc.

(*f*) The Unionist claims that "the long period of Conservative predominance has synchronized with and generously aided the growth of the imperial idea," preserving the empire intact, developing progress in India, Canada, Australia, Egypt, etc.

(See TARIFF REFORM IN GREAT BRITAIN.)

UNITED KINGDOM ALLIANCE, THE: The United Kingdom Alliance is an association of temperance and social reformers, formed in Manchester, England, 1853.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

1. That it is neither right nor politic for the State to afford legal protection and sanction to any traffic or system that tends to increase crime, to waste the national resources, to corrupt the social habits, and to destroy the health and lives of the people.

2. That the traffic in intoxicating liquors, as common beverages, is inimical to the true interests of individuals, and destructive to the order and welfare of society, and ought, therefore, to be prohibited.

3. That the history and results of all past legislation in regard to the liquor traffic abundantly prove that it is impossible satisfactorily to limit or regulate a system so essentially mischievous in its tendencies.

4. That no considerations of private gain or public revenue can justify the upholding of a system so utterly wrong in principle, suicidal in policy, and disastrous in results, as the traffic in intoxicating liquors.

5. That the legislative prohibition of the liquor traffic is perfectly compatible with rational liberty, and with all the claims of justice and legitimate commerce.

6. That the legislative suppression of the liquor traffic would be highly conducive to the development of a progressive civilization.

7. That, rising above class, sectarian, or party considerations, all good citizens should combine to procure an enactment prohibiting the sale of intoxicating beverages, as affording most efficient aid in removing the appalling evil of intemperance.

The alliance has no test of membership bearing upon the personal habits of its members, or as to their religious creed or political party. It invites the aid and cooperation of all good citizens, whether abstainers or not. It has but one object—the removal of the liquor traffic by a law, enacted by Parliament and enforced by public opinion, working through the executive power of the State. *Secretary*, Mr. W. Williams, 16 Deansgate, Manchester, England.

UNITED LABOR PARTY: This party was organized in 1886 in New York, and based upon the single-tax principle. Henry George, one of its chief promoters, was nominated by it for Mayor of New York in the same year. He received over 68,000 votes, as against over 90,000 received by the Democratic and over 60,000 by the Republican nominee. The following year a convention was held at Syracuse, the organization of the party was perfected, and measures taken to spread it through the state. Henry George was nominated for Secretary of State of New York. In the election he received 70,055 votes, against 469,888 for the Democratic, 452,811 for the Republican, and 7,622 for the Progressive Labor candidate. The United Labor Party declared in its platform that it does not seek to "secure any forced equality in the distribution of wealth, nor propose that the State shall take possession of land, and either work it or rent it out," but that its aim is to abolish all restrictive taxes upon industry, to remove the tax from improvements, and increase the land tax. Its platform advocated government ownership of telegraphs and railroads; prohibition of child labor and competitive convict labor; reduction of the hours of labor; prevention of the abuse of the conspiracy laws; legal and judicial reform; and a mode of election that would check bribery and corruption by relieving the candidates of expense. After this election its chief promoters mainly united with the Democratic Party in the hope that that party would lead in battle for free trade, and thus, by abolishing protective taxes, pave the way for the single tax (*q. v.*).

UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA, THE: Organized in 1890, it has a total membership in the United States exceeding 300,000. Its officials claim for it the distinction of being the strongest and largest single trade-union in the world. It is well organized in at least ten of the twenty-seven coal-producing states, and is gradually extending its power into all of the twenty-seven. About 75 per cent of all the coal-mine employees in the country are at present members of the union; more than 85 per cent of the total of 486,000 are governed by the union's scales and work under its conditions of employment, and, the officials of the union claim, fully 90 per cent of all coal-mine workers in the U. S. would go out on a strike if a national suspension of coal-mining is ever found to be necessary by the union.

The United Mine Workers of America is one of the most democratic organizations in the world, with the possibility of it all at once becoming one of the most autocratic. It is democratic in the sense that in the final analysis its policy and management are in the hands of its members. To them, in their local unions, every great question affecting the national union is referred sooner or later; from the local unions come the final decisions on all such questions.

Once a year representatives of the local unions meet in regular convention as the national union, usually at Indianapolis, and for ten days or two weeks outline the policy of the national union for the ensuing year. This convention possesses absolute power; there is nothing affecting the organization it cannot do, even to altering or amending its fundamental law—the constitution. It can even abrogate, if it so chooses, the agreement of the Interstate Joint Conference.

No strike can be ordered by any district, nor can final action be taken upon any questions directly or indirectly affecting the interests of the mine workers of another district, until the approval of the national president is secured in writing, or, he having disapproved, until favorable action upon an appeal from his decision has been taken by the Executive Board. An exception to this, of course, is in case the strike or action has been ordered by the national convention.

The vesting of such great power, by the United Mine Workers of America, in the hands of one man is due primarily to the exigencies of strike times when, for all practical purposes, the union becomes a military organization, in the control of which there must not be the least possibility of divided leadership.

Under the constitution every local union is required to pay into the national treasury a per-capita tax of ten cents a month for each member and such additional assessments as may be levied

by the National Executive Board. Boys under sixteen years of age are regarded as half members and pay one half as much tax and assessments as full members. These dues and assessments from the locals form the principal sources of income for the national union. When a strike of unusual proportions is in progress contributions from other labor organizations and from the general public increase the funds in the national treasury. The important part these play in the conduct of the organization was shown during the six months' strike in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania in 1902. To carry on that struggle alone, not including the expenses accompanying the strike of mine workers in progress at the same time in the Virginias, the various unions of the United Mine Workers of America voluntarily donated $258,344, and the members of the organization paid in special assessments $1,967,026, a total of $2,225,370.

So well organized are the finances of the United Mine Workers of America that the national union was able to carry on a wide-spread system of relief to the needy anthracite mine workers during the last two months of the strike in 1902. In this relief work no distinction was made between union and non-union men. In fact the testimony of many witnesses is to the effect that aid was furnished as freely to the non-union as to the union mine workers.

Since 1885 the union has held an annual joint conference with representatives of the operators and coal-mining companies of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and the Pittsburg field of Pennsylvania. In these conferences labor is regarded as a commodity, and the possessor of this labor—the mine worker—is accorded the right, through representatives of the union, to "bargain" with representatives of the purchasers of that labor—the coal-mining companies—for the price of his labor and the conditions under which it is to be sold.

Since the great strike of 1897 the United Mine Workers has extended the eight-hour work-day into the mines of Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Michigan, Kentucky, and parts of Tennessee, and has secured for the mine employees of those states increases in wages ranging from 13 to over 30 per cent. Increases in the wages of mine workers in other states have also been secured through joint conventions with the operators, and increases in wages, with improved conditions of employment, were forced from the railroad mining companies and independent operators in the three hard-coal fields of Pennsylvania in 1900 and 1902. (See also Coal Strike and Western Federation of Miners.)

Frank J. Warne, Ph.D.

UNITED STATES, THE. (For all statistics and details, see special articles. In this article we very briefly outline the story of social reform in the U. S. so as to bring out the continuity and the connection of the various movements.)

Social reform in the U. S. may be said to have commenced with the political agitation over the adoption of the Constitution. As is well known, it was with the utmost difficulty that the various states were induced to ratify the Constitution. It was held by large masses of the people in all the various states that the Constitution was a concession to aristocracy and the power of wealth in giving too much power to the central government and thus subverting the very principles of democracy upon which the American government was supposed to rest. While, therefore, the leadership of Washington, Hamilton, and others brought political success for a while to the Federalists, the supporters of the Constitution, a strong party of decentralization was growing up, led by Thomas Jefferson, which finally won political success in the presidential elections in 1801, with Jefferson as president. "The Republican and Democratic Party," as the party supporting this view was then called, remained in power under the presidency of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe until 1825, and was strong with the masses of the country and the agricultural interests, the opposing Federalists being mainly strong with the commercial and manufacturing interests of the North. The doctrine of decentralization was during this period largely applied not only in the central government but in the states, it being generally held even by both parties that that was the best government which governed least. It was during this long period too that the U. S. developed its national tendency to individualism and the minimizing of government action, federal, state, and local. (For all this, however, see article Centralization.)

The first steps to reform other than political were, as is well known, in the agitation against slavery. The Pennsylvania society for the abolition of slavery was formed as early as 1774, and abolition societies followed in almost all the states in the immediately ensuing years, including Virginia (1791). The abolition of the slave-trade by Great Britain (1807) was followed by that of the U. S. in 1808. Nevertheless the issue between the slave power and the abolitionists increased steadily in popular interest. In 1831 Garrison (*q. v.*) established the *Liberator* in Boston, and in 1832 the New England Anti-Slavery Society was formed. (For all details, however, see article Abolition.) The Liberty Party was formed in 1840, the Free Soil Party in 1848, leading to the formation of the Republican Party and the War of the Rebellion, till in 1870 the American Anti-Slavery Society disbanded, believing its work fully done.

Distinctive economic and labor reform in the U. S. came much later, altho a few trade-unions were formed very early in the nineteenth century if not in the eighteenth. (See Trade-Unions in the United States.) The really formative period of American trade-unionism, however, did not begin till 1825, and then only gradually became active until 1840, when it was somewhat submerged by the interest in Fourierism. Various labor papers were published during this period and important labor organizations attempted. A Workingman's Convention was held in Syracuse as early as 1830 and made a labor nomination for the governorship of New York.

The Labor movement, however, early became largely identified with the eight-hour movement, and from 1840 to 1850 this was the important subject of agitation in labor circles. In 1840 President Van Buren issued a proclamation establishing the ten-hour system in the U. S. Government establishments. (See Eight-Hour Day.)

Early Labor Movement

Meanwhile, although having little direct connection with the general economic movement, industrial colonies of one kind or another were established in the U. S., mainly from Europe. The Shakers, led by Ann Lee, first came to the U. S. from England in 1774 and were gathered into Settlements in 1787. The Harmonists (*q. v.*) came to America in 1803. In 1825 Robert Owen established his short-lived community in New

Harmony, Ind. (For these and other colonies, see COMMUNITIES.) These colonies, however, led to a considerable development of the community idea in the U. S. itself, the most important result of which was the foundation of Brook Farm in 1842. This, however, was swallowed up in the wave of Fourierite socialism which swept over the U. S. from 1840 to 1850. In 1840 Brisbane (*q. v.*) published his "Social Destiny of Man," and in 1843 Horace Greeley opened the columns of the New York *Tribune* to the teachings of Fourierism. Fourierite phalanxes were established almost by the dozen. Even Brook Farm became a Fourierite phalanx in 1844. The movement, however, did not endure, and by 1850 it was practically at an end.

After 1850 the political events which preceded the war absorbed attention, altho various labor-unions were formed and considerable agitation created in various social and economic lines. All this, however, was for the time forgotten in the Civil War.

At the close of the war a new era of social reform begins in the U. S. The first political movements were connected with the greenback and currency question (see CURRENCY), but the trade-union movement was not inert. A National Labor-Union had been formed in 1860, but had not endured, and in 1866 another National Labor-Union was formed. A grand Eight-Hour League was organized, and later (1869) the smaller but more influential Boston Eight-Hour League. The efforts of this league led to the establishment of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor in 1862, the first labor bureau of the world. In 1874 Massachusetts enacted a ten-hour law for women and children under the age of eighteen. Since then the progress of labor legislation has been almost steady. In 1870 and 1871 we have the first beginnings of the direct connection between the labor movement in the U. S. and in Europe, when a few branches of the International (*q. v.*) were formed in the U. S., but did not take deep root. In 1873, however, an attempt was made to reorganize the National Labor-Union and an important congress was held in Rochester and drafted a platform which later became almost without change the famous platform of Knights of Labor (*q. v.*). This great order was first established as a secret labor-union in 1869, though it did not hold its first general assembly until Jan. 1, 1878. Meanwhile various trade-unions had been growing in power and believing in the principles of trade autonomy and federation instead of a merging in one general organization like the Knights of Labor. Various attempts at such organization were made, resulting finally in the formation of the American Federation of Labor in 1886. (See AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.)

Socialism, as a political movement, began in the U. S. much later than in Europe. After the collapse of the revolutions of 1848, however, a few European exiles, mainly German, sowed the seeds of international socialism in the U. S., and a few local Socialist societies were started principally in or near New York City. They, however, were for the most part forgotten in the war and the new problems that sprung up at its close. In 1876, however, a Social Democratic Workingman's Party cast 1,365 votes in the City of New York. In 1877 it changed its name to the Socialist Labor Party. It was, however, composed largely of Germans and was little in touch with the native American trade-union movement. It was, too, like the early European international movement, by no means free from the anarchist movement, and did not become so till the two wings of the party completely split in 1885. After that the Socialist Labor Party grew, till the policy it developed of hostility to the trade-union movement (since the movement as a whole would not declare for political socialism) dissatisfied a large number of the members of the party, particularly in the West, and the Socialist Democratic Party was organized in 1898. Since then the Socialist Labor Party has grown steadily relatively smaller, and is now confined mainly to the followers of Mr. Daniel De Leon (*q. v.*) in New York City and elsewhere. The Socialist Democratic Party (now called in most states the Socialist Party) has become the main representative of political socialism in the U. S. Its platform and policy are those of international socialism, while as concerns trade-unionism, it strives to induce trade-unions to declare for political socialism. In this for the most part it fails, tho a few unions, notably the Western Federation of Miners (*q. v.*), have done so. Nevertheless, its members work more or less in harmony with the unions on trade-union lines and the party vote steadily grows. (See SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.)

Socialism

A distinctively American Socialist movement, however, began in 1888 when a Nationalist Club was founded in Boston to advocate the ideals portrayed in Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward" (see NATIONALISM), and led to a very general discussion and propaganda of Socialist ideas throughout the country. Various similar clubs were formed, with one or two attempts at political organization, particularly in California. The movement, however, did not endure in organized form, but for the first time the seeds of political socialism were widely sown in the U. S. Almost at the same time and with the same result of unenduring organization, but with the sowing of germinal seeds far and wide, we have a Christian Socialist movement beginning also in Boston in the Society of Christian Socialists organized in 1889. This was a definitely Socialist body and movement, tho there have also been various Christian Social societies in the U. S. not definitely socialistic, such as the Christian Social Union, the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, the Brotherhood of the Kingdom. (See their respective names.) In 1906, however, a new Christian Socialist Fellowship (*q. v.*) was formed in the West on definite Socialist lines. (See also CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM; BLISS; HERRON; CARR.) The seeds of this Nationalism and Christian Socialism, however, early passed into the Populist movement and largely influenced it.

Nationalism

The Populist Party. This party, the outgrowth of the Farmers' Alliance (*q. v.*) which began in Texas as early as 1876, was formed on a national basis at Omaha in 1902, tho a Kansas People's Party was formed in 1890 and had large success in that state.

Into this party came many elements, however. A National Greenback Party had been formed in 1876, on the greenback issue (see GREENBACK PARTY), but later united with "labor reformers," and as the national "Greenback Labor Party" in 1878 polled over 1,000,000 votes and elected fourteen representatives to Congress. In 1880, however, it polled only 300,867 votes and in 1884 only 175,380 on an "antimonopoly" platform. In 1887, however, a National Union Labor Party was organized at Cincinnati, which, tho polling a small vote in 1888, kept this movement alive in 1890. All these elements—

People's Party

greenback, labor, and nationalists—united with the Farmers' Alliance in the People's Party. Tho called a labor party, it had, however, little or no connection with the trade-unions or their members and was rather a farmers' and middle-class movement. As a result it stood for greenback and silver currency ideas (see CURRENCY), together with socialistic ideas, such as the nationalization of railways, etc. When, therefore, these ideas, largely through the influence of Mr. William J. Bryan, captured the Chicago Democratic Convention in 1896, the People's Party by a large majority voted to fuse with the Democratic Party, and thus became lost in it, in spite of the efforts of a small minority to keep the party alive.

The result has been to divide the Democratic Party into a minority (nationally not small and possessing influence and wealth) of old-time Democrats unfavorable to most progressive measures and intensely individualistic; and a majority favorable to socialistic measures but with no concerted platform or policy on which it is agreed, since it largely represents an attempt to unite socialistic measures to an individualistic basis. Prominent leaders like William J. Bryan, Tom Johnson, the able single-tax mayor of Cleveland, W. R. Hearst, and others succeed in doing this to the satisfaction of themselves and their followers, but without national union.

Meanwhile the Republican Party, born of the antislavery movement (see ABOLITION MOVEMENT), and heir to the federal traditions and the economics of protection, has been the party of construction and of support of the federal government, as against state rights. Nevertheless, becoming the party of protection and of gold, it has become a party whose machinery and politics are controlled by capitalists and monopolists, and therefore the party of the rich, plus a large middle-class vote of respectability and conservatism, together with the negro vote and a large vote in cities dominated by Republican bosses. Against this party machinery Mr. Roosevelt has struggled with so-called antitrust measures (see RAILROADS, etc.) with the result that the Republican Party has become divided with the president, popular with the people, and the monopolists in control of the party machine. Thus neither the Democratic nor the Republican Party comes before the country with a united front, but the Republican Party with the immense advantage of being in power, having access to large moneyed support, and of being the party to which the country owes its "success." Meanwhile the Prohibition Party, formed in 1869 as a national party, from 1892 to 1896 added to its platform various other reforms, which it has since largely abandoned for prohibition simply.

Present Parties

Such, very briefly stated, have been the main national political reform movements. The main political movements, not national, have been various efforts at municipal reform; at first mere sporadic uprisings of outraged citizens in temporary non-partizan political movements to oust an unusually corrupt administration, or more frequently the unusually open corruption of a ring (see TAMMANY HALL; CORRUPTION), but developing later permanent organizations, and later still the Law and Order Leagues which sprang up during the eighties, and more thorough organizations like the Municipal Voters' League of Chicago, organized in 1896, and the Municipal Leagues of Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and others, and finally uniting these in a National Municipal League with affiliated societies in every large American city and an intelligent civic reform movement now sweeping through the land.

Municipal Reform

In state action there have been various efforts at reform, as in Pennsylvania, Missouri, and Wisconsin, and still more frequent efforts at anti-monopoly legislation, as in the Granger laws enacted in many central western states, laws requiring three-cent-a-mile rates and other "reforms" enacted in many states in 1906, and "so-called" anticombination laws enacted at different times in almost every state and almost universally without result. Some states have enacted some tax-reform legislation. In 1886 Mr. Henry George, nominated for the mayoralty by the United Labor Party, conducted a phenomenal campaign for the single tax in New York City, polling 62,110 ballots, followed in 1886 by a state campaign. The results of these campaigns and brilliant lectures delivered by Mr. George throughout the U. S., and after his death by many able champions, has been to develop no party, but to affect some tax legislation and enroll many devoted adherents mainly in the radical wing of the Democratic Party. Anarchism (*q. v.*) has had some brilliant advocates in the U. S., but has affected no national movement. The significant and epoch-making hanging of the so-called "Chicago Anarchists" (*q. v.*) in 1887 is the only important anarchist event.

Temperance in the U. S., on the contrary, has had much political activity in the U. S. nationally through the Prohibition Party (see above), but far more effectively through LOCAL OPTION (*q. v.*) which has carried the discussion of temperance into almost every town and village in the U. S. Most effective in this line has been the work of the women, and particularly of the National WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION, beginning in the Woman's Crusade of 1874 and organized by Miss Frances E. Willard into a world's Christian Temperance Union in 1883. More recently considerable temperance agitation and also with bearing on legislatures has resulted from the Anti-Saloon Leagues, begun as a state movement in Ohio in 1893. In these educational and moral movements has the main work for temperance been done in the U. S. rather than in the adoption of prohibition by certain states, as in "the Maine Law" of 1851, the adoption of prohibition in Kansas in 1890, or the adoption of the dispensary system by South Carolina in 1893. (See, however, TEMPERANCE and the various temperance movements and ideas under their different names.)

Other Movements

Cooperation and, to a much less extent, profit-sharing have had repeated and widely scattered trials in the U. S., but without developing a concerted national movement, as in other countries, unless it be the BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS of the U. S., which lead the world in that especial form of cooperation. (See COOPERATION; PROFIT-SHARING; BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS.)

Communities of almost every kind have also been tried in the U. S. After the failure of the Fourierite communities there were no large attempts in this line till about 1885, when for about fifteen years we have a long line of experiments, almost all, however, disconnected and almost all disastrous and short-lived. (But see SHAKERS; AMANA FAIRVIEW AND HOME COLONY; and also COMMUNITIES.) Less ambitious but more practical efforts, however, mainly on the parts of employers, have developed many so-called "model villages" and have resulted in many activities

for the benefits of the employed. (See Model Villages; Industrial Betterments.) "Settlements" have been founded in very large numbers in all of the large and not a few of the smaller cities, particularly since 1895, and some of them with very great success, like Hull House in Chicago, founded in 1889, and which may be said to have affected the whole city if not the country. (See Settlements.) Many churches have undertaken social activities. (See Institutional Churches.) Charities and philanthropies of almost every kind have had a very large development. (See Charity Organization Societies; Baths; Libraries; Kindergartens; Recreation Centers; Reformatories, etc.)

Non-Political Reform

Civil service reform has been largely and successfully adopted. (See Civil Service.) Primary reform has been much less developed, but is successfully beginning. (See Ballot Reform; Primaries.)

The Referendum and the Initiative have been largely discust and quite recently adopted in several western cities. (See Direct Legislation.)

Labor Bureaus and Labor Legislation have had considerable development (see those subjects), undoubtedly largely due to influence of the great growth of organized labor (see Trade-Unions), perhaps in their turn largely occasioned by the phenomenal growth of combination in capital. These great aggregations of capital on the one hand and labor on the other have led to gigantic strikes which have assumed national importance, notably the Pittsburg railroad and coal strikes of 1879, the strikes on the Gould railroads in the early nineties, the great Pullman strike of 1894, and the Homestead strike of 1892, and perhaps greatest of all the coal strike of 1902. All of these great struggles, and of numerous smaller, whichever side has immediately won, both sides in the long run have seemed to emerge more strongly organized and yet with increased respect for their opponents' strength. The result has been wide discussion and considerable adoption of methods of arbitration and conciliation, tho compulsory arbitration has received little favor. In this movement the National Civic Federation, organized nationally in 1901, has been a leader. (See Arbitration; Conciliation; Open and Closed Shop, etc., etc.) Perhaps especially characteristic of the U. S., however, has been the large development of women's clubs of various kinds, and especially the entry of women into almost every kind of professional and industrial life. Only four states, Wyoming (1869), Colorado (1893), Utah (1895), and Idaho (1896), have granted complete woman's suffrage and that with little effect, of either the good results claimed by its advocates or the evil results feared by its critics, but many states have granted school suffrage with, in a few instances, municipal suffrage, and probably in no country is woman's educational and social influence so potent and actively used as in the U. S. Women have entered very largely into industrial life. (See Woman's Movements; Woman's Suffrage; Women's Trade-Unions; Women's Federation of Clubs, etc. See also special articles on all important subjects.)

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION: The University Extension movement dates from the pressure brought to bear upon the universities of England to extend their benefits to men and women who could not attend their regular sessions. Beginning in 1867, Prof. James Stuart and others began lecturing to bodies of club women, teachers, and workmen, especially in the northern industrial districts of England. The University of Cambridge appointed a committee in 1872, which reported in 1873, recommending the university experiment with courses of lectures in two or three towns. In the winter of 1873 the first lectures authorized by the university were given in Leicester, Derby, and Nottingham. These lectures followed the methods which have become the distinguishing characteristics of university extension, the lecture being followed or preceded by the quiz, the weekly or fortnightly paper presented by volunteer students, examination, and the printed syllabus.

Origin

In the absence of a teaching university in London a society was established in 1876 to extend the methods of the university. In 1878 the University of Oxford followed this example with little success, until in 1885 it began to offer courses of six lectures instead of the twelve which had remained the unit with the other organizations. The rapid growth of university extension in the next few years inspired imitators in America.

Experimental lectures were given in 1887 and succeeding years, and in 1890 the Philadelphia Society for the Extension of University Teaching was organized. The following year the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching grew out of this local effort. The first president of the American society was Prof. Edmund J. James, subsequently director of the Extension Division of the University of Chicago.

The movement took root in the West in the organization of the Chicago Society for University Extension, in 1891. This organization undertook to correlate the efforts of half a dozen of the universities in the middle West, and was responsible for much of the pioneer work in that section. During those earlier years spasmodic attempts were made by other universities, notably by the Universities of Iowa, Wisconsin, Cornell, and Brown, but the first institution to incorporate university extension methods as an integral part of its organization was the University of Chicago, which on its foundation in 1892 accepted the extra-mural teaching as one of its functions. The prophetic instinct of Prof. William Rainey Harper saw a field for the university which was nothing less than world-wide, and planned to send members of the faculty out through the country, for lectures throughout the city and suburbs, for the conduct of classes, duplicating university work and their teachings by correspondence throughout the world. These three methods are still followed by the University of Chicago with increasing success.

Recently the University of California has organized an Extension Department under the direction of Prof. Morse Stephens, whose experience in England and at Cornell qualifies him to direct such work on the Pacific coast. The latest accession to the ranks of universities giving official recognition to university extension is Columbia, where an experienced extension man, Dr. Frederick H. Sykes, has organized a system of lectures and classes of exceptional thoroughness. The most remarkable expression of the influence of university extension in America has

come through recognition of the merit of its methods by the Board of Education of New York City, under the direction of Dr. Henry M. Leipziger, supervisor of free lectures. Over 1,000,000 people attend the 4,000 or more lectures given in Greater New York annually. This example has been followed officially by Milwaukee, and through private patronage by various other cities.

Extent

The numerical significance of university extension in Great Britain and America at the present time is partly indicated by the attendance on the lectures conducted by the University of Cambridge of over 10,000 people annually; London University (which has incorporated the London University Extension Society), over 15,000 people; Oxford, 20,000; the American Society at Philadelphia, 25,000; the University of Chicago, 50,000. These figures represent the attendance at courses of six or more lectures given at weekly or fortnightly intervals.

Not the least significant of the methods of university extension is that of correspondence instruction. This method was employed in Germany as early as 1856 by the School of Languages in Berlin, and in the United States at Chautauqua in 1894. The University of Chicago incorporated these methods in its original organization in 1892, and gives instruction now to over 2,000 students in every state in the union and many foreign countries. Similar work is undertaken by the American Institute of Sacred Literature, Chicago, Pennsylvania State College, University of Wisconsin, Northwestern University, Sprague Law School, Detroit, and other minor institutions, as well as by several large commercial organizations. University extension methods have also been employed by several European universities and organizations, notably in Berlin, Vienna, and Paris.

CHARLES ZUEBLIN.

USURY: Literally means and originally meant *use-money*, the payment of money for the use of money, and sometimes even payment for the use of any article. It was identical with our term interest. Only in modern times has it been limited to mean the taking of inordinate or excessive interest. In this article we consider the ethics of usury or interest-taking. (For economic and other questions, see INTEREST; CAPITAL.)

Usury or interest-taking among all ancient peoples was considered sin. The Hebrew condemnation of usury is well known: "Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother; usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of anything that is lent upon usury" (Deut. xxiii., 19). This condemnation occurs repeatedly in the Old Testament. (See Lev. xxv., 35–37; Ex. xxii., 25; Neh. v., 7, etc.) Ps. xv., 5, describes the righteous man as one "who putteth not out his money to usury." It is true that the Hebrew could take usury of a non-Hebrew! "Unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury" (Deut. xxiii., 20), but this was probably due to the organic and national conception of Hebrew morality. All races originally condemned usury. Herodotus says the Persians repudiated all buying and selling. Yet usury was everywhere practised. In Greece and Rome it gradually developed a plutocracy by putting all the small creditors into the power of the rich, and often reducing the poor to literal slavery. Aristotle ranks usury with prostitution. He says:

> Such are all they who ply illiberal trades; as those, for instance, who keep houses of ill fame, and all persons of that class; and usurers, who lend out small sums at exorbitant rates; for all these from improper sources, and take more than they ought ("Nichomathean Ethics," iv., § 1).

Plato says:

> Of the two sorts of money-making, one, as I have just said, is a part of household management, the other is retail trade; the former necessary and honorable, the latter a kind of exchange which is justly censured; for it is unnatural, and a mode by which men gain from one another. The most hated sort, and with the greatest reason, is usury, which makes a gain out of money itself, and not from the natural use of it. For money was intended to be used in exchange, but not to increase at interest. And this term usury (τόκος), which means the birth of money from money, is applied to the breeding of money, because the offspring resembles the parent. Wherefore of all modes of money-making, this is the most unnatural ("Politics," i., 10, 4, Jowett tr.).

Cato, on being asked what he thought of usury, asked the speaker what he thought of murder. Nevertheless, in both Greece and Rome usury was common, and laws were in vain passed against it. The opposition of the Church fathers is well known.

Chrysostom says ("Homily on St. Matthew"):

> Nothing is baser than the usury of this world, nothing more cruel. Why, other persons' calamities are such a man's traffic; he makes himself gain of the distress of another, and demands wages for kindness, as tho he were afraid to seem merciful; and under the cloak of kindness he digs the pitfall deeper by the act of galling a man's poverty.

Basil says ("Second Homily on Psalm xiv."):

> In truth, it is the last pitch of inhumanity that one man, in the need of the bare necessities of life, should be compelled to borrow, and another, not satisfied with the principal, should seek to make gain and profit for himself out of the calamities of the poor.

Of the man who has borrowed on interest Basil says farther on:

> At first a man is bright and joyous; he shines with another's splendor. . . . But the money slips away. Time as it runs on adds the interest to its tale. Now night brings him no rest; no day is joyous; no sun is bright; he is weary of his life; he hates the days that are hurrying on to the appointed period; he is afraid of the months, for they are the parent of interest. . . . Usury is the origin of lying, the beginning of ingratitude, unfairness, perjury.

Such are examples of the position of the fathers. Council after council forbade usury, especially upon the part of the clergy. Yet it grew. It was gradually allowed, even by the canon law under the form of one exception after another. It was, however, still condemned on principle. Protestantism, too, first condemned usury, and often with unmeasured terms. The usurer's house was the house of the devil. One per cent was enough to shut out the kingdom of heaven. Archbishop Sands is quoted as saying, "This canker hath corrupted all England"; Luther as saying, "To exchange anything with any one and gain by the exchange is to steal." Interest was forbidden as late as an act of Edward VI. Beginning with Henry VIII., however, the endeavor was only to control the rate of interest. Calvin was the first Christian thinker to nominally allow interest. Locke, Hume, Adam Smith, and, above all, Jeremy Bentham, argued that it was justifiable. Bentham's celebrated argument was that the effort to condemn and forbid interest simply raises the rate of interest. Men at times must borrow. The lender does a real service to the borrower. Under equity he is entitled to some reward or interest. If all interest is forbidden, he will then secretly ask a higher rate of interest because of the risk run. It is also argued by

those of this school that the attempt to control interest places useless and harmful checks on the natural flow of commerce.

To-day civilization is largely based on interest, and few but the extremest radicals condemn it. To destroy interest, it is argued, would harm the worker and overthrow civilization. On the other hand, radicals who condemn all interest argue that labor of hand or brain is all that men ought to receive pay for, and that he who lends money lends stored-up labor, perhaps, and therefore should get back what he lends and no more, because, in the loaning, he has himself done no labor. They argue that the power which interest gives to the idler, who has either himself made or inherited money to live in idleness and receive interest from those who toil, is the foundation of social evils, creating classes, developing luxury, enslaving the poor to support the rich. (See INTEREST; CAPITAL.)

REFERENCES: *Usury*, by W. Cunningham; *The Ethic of Usury and Interest*, by W. Blissard (1892).

V

VACANT LOT GARDENING, or a plan for the relief of the unemployed, or of families in need, began in Detroit, Mich., in 1894, when Mayor Pingree asked for the loan of vacant lots on which the unemployed could be aided to develop vegetable gardens. Four hundred and thirty acres (about 7,000 lots) were given, staked, plowed, and harrowed; 945 families were given seeds with lots of from a quarter to a half acre. About nine tenths of these were well taken care of. The estimated value of the crop produced was some $13,000, and the cost to the committee, $3,600. The plan was so successful it was copied in other cities, notably Philadelphia. The movement in that city began in 1896, and after eleven years' continued success, the latest report declares the last year to be the most successful one, with the following summary of results: Gardens conducted for 800 families; total value of product, $52,000; average value of product per family, $65; approximate number of men, women, and children receiving benefits from the garden, 4,000. The cost to the Philadelphia Vacant Lots Cultivation Association (R. F. Powell, superintendent, 1123 Land Title Building, Philadelphia) was $6,616. Similar work is being now carried on in Washington, D. C., New York City, Chicago, Cincinnati, and Cleveland. It is being agitated in Europe, in London and Milan.

VACCINATION: The inoculation with vaccine, or the virus of the cowpox, as a preventive of the smallpox. Dr. Jenner, an English physician, discovered the process of vaccination in 1796. One illustration will suffice to prove its beneficial result. The cases of smallpox in New York City were: 1898—12; 1899—54; 1900—132; 1901—1,198. Jan., 1902—190; Dec., 1902—9. Of the 1,396 cases from 1898–1901 nearly one third, or 410, ended fatally. Then the Health Department bestirred itself and tried to stop the rapid increase of the disease; 200 vaccinators were appointed for special service; they went to schools, factories, houses, and vaccinated about 800,000 people in six months. It required some money, but the disease and its ravages were stopt.

Vaccination does result fatally, however, in some cases. This is due to the fact that the vaccine is impure, that the instruments used are not treated antiseptically, or that the blood of the patient is in very poor condition. There is an Anti-Vaccination Society in Great Britain. Nevertheless, the governments of civilized countries make vaccination obligatory.

Charities and the Commons, of Oct. 12, 1907, says: "The contrasted experience of the two great empires of Germany and Russia affords conclusive evidence on this question. Compare the figures of a single year as taken from the official records of each of these nations. In 1904, in Germany, having enjoyed the blessing of compulsory vaccination for nearly thirty years, only 189 cases of smallpox, of which twenty-five were fatal, occurred. More than a quarter of these were imported from neighboring countries. In Russia, where free vaccination is offered and where every possible safeguard is thrown around the operation, and no expense is spared to educate the people as to its advantages, but where it is not compulsory, during the same year, 103,717 cases of the disease occurred with 48,390 deaths. In Germany the average annual death-rate per million of population for a five-year period was 1.1, while in Russia it was 463.2. Our people, like those of Russia, are far from having reached such a state of civilization that they can be relied upon to willingly and voluntarily accept universal vaccination."

VAGRANCY (TRAMP, ETC.): Vagrancy is a national problem. Thus far its treatment has been almost always local. The vagrant is the most elusive of all applicants for charity; in consequence, charitable aid for the vagrant has generally taken the form of wood-yards, wayfarers' lodges, municipal lodging-houses and missions. The vagrant's crimes are petty, and often not discovered; as a result both courts and citizens have looked upon him more as a nuisance or as a pitiable object, than as a criminal or a potential malefactor. He has been "moved on," or committed to jail for a few days with little labor, if any, or he has wintered in the workhouse or almshouse.

The question of vagrancy has concerned England and European countries for many years. England, with an army of the unemployed, and with time-worn treatment of vagrancy by casual ward, workhouse, and short-term sentence, has recently received the recommendations of its Vagrancy Commission, which, after months of investigation in England and in Continental countries, has reported to both houses of Parliament that present methods of treating vagrancy should be coordinated, strengthened on the side of repression, and supplemented by the establishment of compulsory labor colonies. In Germany, a generation ago, the prevalence of vagrancy and begging precipitated questions similar to those we are now asking, at least in some of our Eastern states; as a result, way stations were established for wayfarers, home inns for "overnight," and volunteer farm colonies for more permanent treatment. (See RELIEF STATIONS; LABOR COLONIES.)

Of the number of vagrants in any country no

man knows. In the United States the vagrant largely lives on the railway, at least during the summer months. "Railroads representing more than half the total mileage operated in the U. S. and Canada testify almost without exception to depredation, thieving, injuries, deaths, accidents to passengers or rolling-stock, enormous aggregate costs to railroads or society, caused by the habitual illegal use of the railroads by vagrants." The number of "trespassers," from one half to three quarters of whom are vagrants, who are killed annually on American railroads, exceeds the combined total of passengers and trainmen killed annually. Within four years 23,964 trespassers were killed and 25,236 injured, thus furnishing the enormous total of 49,200 casualties, with all the cost they involve. If we may judge the number of vagrants by the number killed in the same proportion as the number of railway employees killed to the total number, it brings the number of vagrants in the U. S. to some 500,000. Major Pangborn, representing President Murray of the Baltimore & Ohio, stated with deliberation that railroads frequently maintain private graveyards along their right of way, in which to bury vagrants killed by trains while trespassing; $25,000,000 would be a conservative estimate, according to Major Pangborn, of the direct and indirect annual financial losses to railroads in the U. S. through railway vagrancy.

Extent of Problem

To attack vagrancy effectively, the main principles of a consistent program must be followed by all communities. During the last two years Massachusetts has waged an effective vagrancy campaign, because the entire state has been made the unit of activity. In consequence, the number of vagrants in Massachusetts has diminished remarkably; but probably there are now more vagrants in contiguous states. No city or state can live unto itself alone in a thorough treatment of vagrancy. New York City has recently adopted excellent lodging-house regulations, which will increase the price of the cheapest beds. Yet in the absence of a mendicancy squad in New York City, vagrants can still ply their trade in New York, and commute by ferry to the unsupervised ten-cent lodging-houses across the river in Hoboken, Jersey City, and Newark.

At the National Conference of Charities and Corrections (1907) a committee was appointed to create a national committee upon the question. (See also UNEMPLOYMENT.)

REFERENCES: Benj. C. Marsh, *Vagrancy and Methods of Eradication*; Annals of American Academy, May, 1904; O. F. Lewis, *Vagrancy in the U. S.*, a paper presented at the National Conference of Charities and Corrections (1907); *Report of Departmental Committee on Vagrancy* (Great Britain, 1906); W. and V. W. Carlile, *The Continental Outcast* (London, 1906); Louis Rivière, *Mendicants and Vagabonds* (Paris, 1904); *Der Wanderer* (monthly), Bielefeld, Germany. (See also UNEMPLOYMENT.)

VAIL, CHARLES HENRY: Economic writer; born Tully, N. Y., 1866; educated at St. Lawrence University, and entered the ministry in the Universalist Church; has held pastorates at Albany, N. Y., Jersey City, N. J., Richfield Springs, N. Y.; now pastor of Pullman Memorial Church, Albion, N. Y. Mr. Vail believes in the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. Author of "National Ownership of Railways," "Modern Socialism," "Principles of Scientific Socialism," "The Socialist Movement," "The Mission of the Working Class," "The Negro Problem," etc. *Address*: 141 South Main Street, Albion, N. Y.

VAILLANT, MARIE EDOUARD: French Socialist; born in 1840 at Vierzon, France. He became a student of the *École Centrale des Arts et Manufactures*, and a civil engineer in 1862; also a physician and surgeon. He was a member of the Commune in 1871, and has been prominent as a Socialist ever since; elected to the Municipal Council of Paris in 1884, and as a deputy in 1893, he became a leader of the *Parti Ouvrier*, and now of the United French Socialist Party, and as such was elected again a deputy in the last election.

VALUE (from Latin *valere*, to be strong, to be valiant, to be worth): A term sometimes loosely used, even by economic writers, to include the worth of an article measured in any way. It is, however, increasingly used in economic science in a narrower sense to mean what a commodity will bring in exchange for other articles. Adam Smith, even in his day, clearly differentiated between value in use, or the utility of an article to its possessor, and value in exchange, or what an article will exchange for in the market. This distinction is fundamental, and is observed by all economists. Air, for example, has great value in use. Man cannot live without air. But air has ordinarily little exchange value. Diamonds, on the contrary, with a low use value, have great exchange value. In modern terminology, however, value in use is usually called utility, and by value is simply meant value in exchange.

Definitions

It is still necessary, however, to distinguish value from the cognate words "price" and "cost."

"Price," says Professor Fawcett, "is a particular case of value." Value is what an article will exchange for. Price is what an article will exchange for in money (*q. v.*).

Cost is different from either value or price. Cost may be defined as the sum of sacrifices of any kind involved in the production of an article. Articles frequently sell for much more or for much less than for the cost to produce—that is, their value and their price are different from their cost.

Remembering these definitions, we now come to consider the important and much-discust question of the theory of value. We may recognize two main theories of value. The value of an article is believed by one school to depend upon its cost of production, and by the other to depend upon its utility. Adam Smith, Ricardo, the classical economists, most German Socialists, and most individualistic or anarchistic radicals hold to the former view. Professor Hadley ("Economics," p. 93) calls it the socialistic theory. On the other hand, most modern economists and most Fabian Socialists hold to the latter view. Both views, however, it must be remembered, have been variously stated.

Adam Smith held that value must tend to the cost of production, because he argued that no man could afford to sell an article for much less than it cost to produce, while no man would pay much more, since he would rather produce it or cause it to be produced himself. He says ("Wealth of Nations," bk. i., chap. v.): "Labor, therefore, is the real measure of the exchangeable value of all commodities. The real

Cost Theory

price of everything, what everything really costs to the man who wants to acquire it, is the toil and trouble of acquiring it."

The followers of Adam Smith very much developed this view, but spent more time in analyzing it than in asking if it be true. Ricardo makes value depend upon the quantity of labor and the scarcity of the articles; but since most articles can be easily multiplied, he makes the quantity of labor the main source of value. Mill calls attention rather to the wages cost of labor than the quantity of labor. Cary makes the important point that value depends on what it would cost to reproduce an article at the time of its sale rather than on what it originally cost. Such are the main points as to value developed by the classical school.

From this view Karl Marx and most German Socialists argue that labor (of mind or hand) being the only source of value, only the laborer should share in the result. That portion of value produced which goes to the capitalist Karl Marx calls surplus value robbed from the real producer. Hence such Socialists argue that if the community owned all the land and capital, the monopolist could not take from the laborer any portion of the product, and the laborer would receive the whole value of his product. Anarchists and extreme individualists would get the same result by doing away with the governmental control of monopolies which secure the monopolists in their monopoly, and, leaving every man free to obtain land and capital, secure to every worker the value he produces.

We now come to the second school. It is now denied by most economists that value depends upon cost of production, and that labor is the only source of value. As a matter of fact, value, says the modern school, has often very little relation to the cost of production. A certain quack medicine that happens to hit the public fancy can often command prices bearing no reference to the cost of production. Houses continually sell for prices often much above and often much below their cost of production; so with books, so with wines, so indeed with most things, even including such stable articles as grain, iron, etc. The old theory therefore does not explain the facts, and a new theory must be developed. Jevons was the first prominently to develop the new theory, which is often associated with his name. According to this theory, the value of an article depends upon its final utility. According to this, the value of an article depends upon how useful to the community another article of the same kind would be. If the community desires more medicine, more houses, more books, more jewels, more bread of a certain kind, the price is high; if the community does not desire more, the price falls. Says Jevons ("Theory of Political Economy"):

Utility Theory

> A great undertaking, like the Great Western Railway or the Thames Tunnel, may embody a vast amount of labor, but its value depends entirely upon the number of persons who find it useful. . . . Labor once spent has no influence on the future value of any article; it is gone and lost forever. In commerce bygones are forever bygones; and we are always starting clear at each moment, judging the value of things with a view to future utility.

Such, in brief, is Jevons's view. His phrase, however, has mainly given place to another. The Austrian, Professor Wirser, has given us the phrase marginal utility in place of final utility, as indicating the utility of an article on the margin of production—i. e., on the margin of doubt, whether it be worth while to produce it or not, since it is when one is debating whether it is worth while to obtain an article or not that its value is fixt. This theory, indeed, has been mainly developed by the Austrian school of economists, tho more recently American economists have carried the theory even further than the Austrians. This has led to what is sometimes called psychologic economics. If value depends on how much the community desires an article, it follows that value is affected by all the psychologic elements which affect desire.

This view, too, now widely accepted, is accepted by some socialists, and especially by most Fabian Socialists. They come to the same conclusions as German Socialists, but not on the ground that labor is the only source of value or that cost determines price. They base their socialism mainly on grounds of expediency (see SOCIALISM), and argue that just because value is determined, in part, by the whims and desires of society, it is not wise to leave the individual worker subject to the whims and caprices of a changing market. In conclusion, Ruskin's view, which plays more or less into the psychologic view of the modern holders of the utility theory, must not be forgotten. He says ("Munera Pulveris," chap. i., § 12):

> Value signifies the strength or "availing" of anything toward the sustaining of life, and is always twofold; that is to say, primarily, intrinsic, and secondarily, effectual. . . . Value is the life-giving power of anything; cost, the quantity of labor required to produce it; price, the quantity of labor which its possessor will take in exchange for it. . . . Intrinsic value is the absolute power of anything to support life. . . . It does not in the least affect the intrinsic value of the wheat, the air, or the flowers, that men refuse or despise them. Used or not, their own power is in them, and that particular power is in nothing else. But in order that this value of theirs may become effectual, a certain state is necessary in the recipient of it. The digesting, breathing, and perceiving functions must be perfect in the human creature before the food, air, or flowers can become of their full value to it. The production of effectual value, therefore, always involves two needs: first, the production of a thing essential, useful; then the production of the capacity to use it. When the intrinsic value and acceptant capacity come together there is effectual value or wealth. Ruskin's view, then, is (see "Unto This Last") that all labor should be equally paid, and thus the good workmen be rewarded not by higher pay for a given piece of work, but by being more in demand and in this sense better paid. Thus valuable work will be produced, and there will be no competition to get "cheap" work.

REFERENCE: See POLITICAL SCIENCE.

VARLEZ, LOUIS: Professor at the Industrial School of Ghent; doctor of laws, and of science; born at Antwerp, Nov. 26, 1868; entered the university and studied law. He practised for a few years, then began to study the question of providing work for the unemployed of different classes. He originated the so-called Ghent system (see article UNEMPLOYED), which has been adopted in Belgium, Germany, Holland, France, etc. Professor Varlez is a member of numerous societies which work for social betterment; also of the International Institute for Statistics. *Address*: Ghent, Belgium.

VERINDER, FRED: English land reformer; born in Bethnal Green, 1858. He was one of the founders and the first secretary of the Guild of St. Matthew (*q. v.*). He was long subeditor of the *Church Reformer*, secretary of the English Land Restoration League, and organizer of the Red Van movement. He is now secretary of the English League for the Taxation of Land Values, 376–377, Strand, W. C., London.

VERRIJN, STUART COENRAAD ALEXANDER: Professor of economics and of industrial law at the Academy of Technology at Delft; born

1865 at Weesp, Holland. He received the doctor's degree in law and political sciences at the University of Amsterdam in 1890, and was appointed instructor in economics at the School of Commerce the same year. He was also one of the directors of the Statistical Institute—a private institution founded by the Statistical Association in that city. In 1892 he became secretary of the Central Commission of Statistics at The Hague, and in 1899 was appointed director of the Central Bureau of Statistics—a government institution founded on the reorganized Central Commission.

In politics he is a liberal. In respect to the social question he believes that the amelioration of social conditions depends more on the mental and moral improvement of the working men themselves than on the interference of the state. Author of numerous articles and papers in various periodicals, mostly in the Dutch language; a few of them dealing with the relation between the theories of classical economy and those of Marx. *Address*: Delft, Holland.

VIENNA: Imperial royal capital of Austria-Hungary, and of Lower Austria. It dates back to the Roman camp Vindobona, which was erected owing to the strategic position of the place—on the Danube where the spurs of both the Alps and the Carpathians almost meet. When the Romans withdrew in the fifth century, the settlement became the prey of various peoples until the twelfth century, when Margrave Leopold, the Saint, restored it, and made it his capital. Since that time Vienna has shared all the vicissitudes of the Austrian monarchy; being twice besieged by the Turks, and once nearly taken, 1683. During the reign of Maria Theresa and Joseph II., in the eighteenth century, the city received a number of prerogatives, and its population has since grown steadily, viz.: 1800—231,050; 1840—356,700; 1857—476,222; 1869—607,514; 1880—704,756; 1890—817,299; or with the incorporated suburbs, 1,341,897; 1900—1,648,335, plus 26,622 soldiers.

For administrative purposes the city is divided —since 1900—into twenty districts or wards, each of which enjoys a certain independence. The burgomaster and two vice-burgomasters are at the head of the municipal authorities, and are restricted in certain ways by the governor of Lower Austria and by the emperor. The Communal Council consists of 158 members, elected for six years in four groups. In 1900 there were seventy Christian Socialists, eighteen Liberals, and two Socialists in this body; this is the legislative body with the prerogative of initiative. The twenty-two aldermen form, with the burgomaster and the two vice-burgomasters, the executive body; they appoint and supervise all officials; they are elected by and from members of the Communal Council. The number of officials under their supervision was (1900) 2,471 with salaries aggregating 6,500,000 kronen—$1,300,000. The city is supplied with excellent water from the mountains, which is conducted in some cases at a distance of 95.5 kilometers by means of aqueducts, one of which is twenty-five meters high. The total cost of the plant was, up to 1900, 127,320,000 kr. There are six municipal abattoirs, which draw chiefly from the central market of St. Marx, covering thirty-one hectars. In 1900 there were killed 279,670 cattle, 207,362 calves, 563,302 hogs, 62,285 lambs, 107,764 sheep, 24,618 horses, and 23 donkeys.

Municipalism

The finances of the city are good. Property in 1900: 360,314,766 kr.; debts, 308,806,446; revenues: receipts, 164,663,076 kr.; expenditure, the same. The city made handsome profits on its transportation system, 4,422,047 kr.; non-navigable watercourses, 2,816,769; canalization, 2,173,557; markets, 1,701,502; cemeteries, 1,124,303; water tax, 6,069,367. The principal occupations are: Clothing industries, 202,437 people; commerce, 137,318; transportation, 106,355; woodworking, 86,013; court, state, and city officials, 86,082; own income, 85,301; various trades, 85,512; iron and steel, 62,119; building trades, 60,816; food, 46,438; textiles, 36,783; professions, 32,784; paper and leather, 29,576.

The city has a large commerce in grain and cattle, and is excellently served by railroads and several steamship lines. The railroad depots have recently been connected by means of a belt line. Numerous banks, particularly the Austro-Hungarian, facilitate commerce and assist industries; there are 94 savings-banks and loan associations; 21 *Konsum-Vereine* with 64,727 members and 4,710,000 kr. assets; 90 cooperative societies with 9,373 members and 25,610,000 kr. assets. The four municipal savings-banks have 574,588 depositors and 542,980,000 kr. deposits. Life- and accident-insurance is taken care of by 25 companies; besides numerous sick-benefit organizations. There are 46 hospitals for various kinds of diseases; 20 orphan asylums; 3 houses of refuge for vagrants and poor (1900—88,493 inmates), etc. Over 800 benevolent societies with more than 50,000 members minister to various and numerous needs of the sick and poor. The 9 city poor funds had an income of 7,056,110 kr.; 6,479,684 expenses, and property worth 40,920,000. The 1,343 institutions for the poor have 21,380,000 kr. property with 878,348 kr. income. About 65,500 persons received 463,900 kr. from public funds, and 83,430 persons 985,014 kr. from private funds in temporary relief; 21,815 persons received 3,187,978 kr. in the form of annuities. There are 27 baths, 13 of which are public and municipal.

The city has numerous and excellent schools, libraries, churches, opera-houses, theaters, museums—advantages which bring nearly 500,000 visitors to its hotels every year. Since the tearing down of the old walls around the inner city, Vienna possesses an excellent system of parks, which, added to the politeness and bonhomie of the inhabitants, form strong attractions to many Continentals and Englishmen.

VIVIS, LUDOVICO: A Spanish philanthropist who flourished in the first half of the seventeenth century. He dreamed of a sort of Utopia, and in 1635 wrote a book about it, which he called "De Commune Rerum."

VOGEL, SIR JULIUS: Twice Premier of New Zealand and spoken of as her "institution builder"; born in London, 1835; educated at London University and the Royal School of Mines. He went to Australia to practise his profession; in Melbourne was soon elected to the Provincial Council and became head of the provincial government. He soon, however, went to New Zealand, was elected to the House, and became Colonial Treasurer (1869), later Postmaster-General,

then leader of the House, finally Premier, 1873–1875, and again in 1876, when he resigned because of ill health. From 1876–81 he was Agent-General for New Zealand. Altho a Conservative, he introduced in New Zealand the nationalization of railways, the public-works policy, government life-insurance, the public-trust office, the Australian ballot, with other important measures. He died in 1899.

VOLLMAR, GEORGE von: German Socialist; born Munich, 1850, of aristocratic family, and educated by the Benedictine fathers. He entered the cavalry in 1865, and went through the Austrian campaign. He then offered his sword to the Pope, but joined the Bavarian army in the Franco-Prussian War. Wounded and crippled for life, he set himself to complete his education, and left the hospital a Socialist. He edited a Socialist paper in Dresden. Banished by Bismarck's anti-Socialist law, he spent his exile in France and Switzerland. In 1881 he was elected to the Reichstag, but was arrested and again banished. In 1884 and in 1890 he was returned for Munich. He is the main leader of socialism in Bavaria, the first lieutenant of Bebel and Liebknecht, and belongs to the more conservative German Socialists. In 1891 he published "Ueber die, nachsten Aufgaben der deutschen Social Demokratie."

VOLUNTARYISM is a system of social thought developed by Mr. Auberon Herbert (*q. v.*), and advocated in his paper *Free Life*. Mr. Herbert says:

> Voluntaryism asserts the sovereignty—the self-ownership—of the individual; denies that the State, which is but a collection of individuals, possesses any larger right to use force than the individual possesses, and, therefore, opposes all force-action on the part of the State, except for the one purpose of maintaining individual self-ownership by protecting person and property against violence and certain coarse forms of fraud. *The Free Life* opposes all force-action by the State in matters connected with religion, education, health (except where person or property is injured by an aggressive act), the professions, labor, insurance, poor-law, trade, banking, drink, morality, marriage, and the taking of money for public purposes.
>
> *The Free Life* believes in the weapons of reason, persuasion, and example; believes in the infinite development of ideas and of human resource and invention, where men are left free; believes in a society based upon the friendly exchange of voluntary services, and not in State-made virtues or in legal persecutions of each other, or in coercion of minorities by majorities, or in the bribery of politicians of their supporters out of private property or the common compulsory fund. It is opposed to all forms of pensions and official vested interests; it denounces all public debt as fatal to prosperity and most unrighteous as regards our successors; it would sell public property and make every voluntary effort in order to get rid of existing debt, but refuses all responsibility for any debt, central or local, incurred after the year 1893.

VOLUNTEERS OF AMERICA, THE: Founded in 1896 by General and Mrs. Ballington Booth. The organization adopts a military discipline, combined with a democratic constitution. It has nearly one hundred self-supporting posts and companies, exclusive of the philanthropic and sociological centers.

The Volunteer Prison League, organized by Mrs. Ballington Booth (1895), has branches in twenty-two state prisons and embraces 40,000 men. By correspondence and speech, this league is in touch with tens of thousands of men and women all over the country for their moral and spiritual betterment. It has established three Hope Halls (homes for released convicts until they can procure work), at Flushing, L. I., Fort Dodge, Iowa, and Chicago, Ill. Seventy-six per cent of those passing through these homes have done well.

In connection with the above, there are many philanthropic branches of work, such as employment bureaus, wood-yards, industrial departments, cooperative stores, the work of renovating second-hand furniture, supplying of coal, distribution of milk, women's sewing classes, reading-rooms, hospital nursing, fresh-air camps, distribution of clothing, and many other benevolent and needed efforts that are too numerous to mention.

The following is a statement by General Ballington Booth of the work for 1906, furnished for the Encyclopedia:

> The eleventh year of our work has not been a backward one in the cause of philanthropy under the Volunteer standard. In connection with our Central Homes and Institutions, there have been 362,812 lodgings provided. There were 480,218 free meals given, and 275,084 paid meals, making a total of 755,302 meals. These are apart from the many thousands of meals provided at Thanksgiving and other seasons of the year.
>
> Some idea of the magnitude of the work of the Volunteers in the prison world is shown in the fact that since its organization there have been registered in the Volunteers' Prisoners' League 60,000 members. The league is now established in twenty-seven penal institutions, but in addition to the above figures many hundreds of the men and their relatives and wives are in touch with the league by correspondence and visitation, and the moral and spiritual uplift reaped amid the poverty and temptation of our great cities has considerably grown.
>
> Perhaps no phase of the Volunteer work has more forcibly demonstrated its need than that of the hospital work. In all 17,260 outdoor and dispensary patients have been treated during the last year; 47,819 visits have been made by patients to the dispensary alone; 40,286 individual cases were treated in the hospital and dispensary since June 9, 1905—a total of not less than 114,785 cases.
>
> In conclusion, let me add that it would be little short of a serious oversight for me to overlook the fact that the indefatigable labors of the officers and workers of the Volunteers of America have resulted in the truly encouraging report that we have reached over 4,000,000 hearers.

President: Ballington Booth. *Address*: 34 West Twenty-eighth Street, New York, N. Y.

W

WADSWORTH, JOHN: Member British Parliament, of Labor Party for Hallamshire, West Riding, S. Yorkshire; born 1850; worked in the mines at Thorncliffe and Wombwell as miner and check weighman. He was elected secretary, president, and delegate for the Wharncliffe Silkstone branch of the Yorkshire Miners' Association and is now secretary of the Association. He was elected to Parliament in 1906 chiefly by the votes of the Miners' Association, assisted by the Liberals. *Address*: 2 Huddersfield Road, Barnsley, England.

WAGES (see also Hours of Labor; Mining; Railroads; Woman's Wages): We consider the subject of wages under three heads: I. The Asserted Laws or Theories of Wages; II. The Statistics of Wages; III. Real Wage Conditions; are they improving or not?

I. The Law of Wages

There have been six main theories presented as to the law or laws governing wages. Variously

stated by different writers, they are substantially as follows:

A. THE WAGE FUND THEORY

This theory, suggested by Adam Smith and developed by his followers, is given up to-day by all economists in its original form, tho some, like Professor Taussig, of Harvard University ("Economics," 1896), assert that it contains valuable truth, and when properly stated is wholly true. As originally stated it is this: Wages, like everything else, are governed by supply and demand, and in the aggregate depend upon the proportion of laborers to the capital available for employing labor, this capital being denominated a wage fund. Adam Smith says ("Wealth of Nations," book i., chap. viii.):

> The demand for those who live by wages, it is evident, cannot increase but in proportion to the increase of the funds which are destined for the payment of wages.

This hint his followers developed. Malthus and Ricardo hold the same, but argue that wages cannot rise, even by increasing the wage fund; because if the wage fund is increased and wages be temporarily raised, population, according to Malthus, always pressing on the limits of subsistence, will be enabled to expand, and the increase in the number of laborers will increase the supply relatively to the wage fund, and therefore lower wages. Ricardo says ("Principles of Political Economy," chap. v.):

> By the encouragement which high wages give to the increase of population, the number of laborers is increased, wages again fall to their natural price, and, indeed, from a reaction, sometimes fall below it. . . . The natural price of labor is that price which is necessary to enable the laborers, one with another, to subsist and to perpetuate their race without either increase or diminution. . . . The market price of labor is the price which is really paid for it from the natural operation of the proportion of the supply to the demand; labor is dear when it is scarce, and cheap when it is plentiful. However much the market price of labor may deviate from its natural price, it has, like commodities, a tendency to conform to it.

Similarly argue Senior, James Mill, John Stuart Mill, and most of the older writers of this classical school, tho on this subject, as on others, Mill later somewhat modified his views, and is often inconsistent.

This wage-fund theory naturally leads to and did historically lead to

B. THE GERMAN SOCIALIST THEORY OF THE IRON LAW OF WAGES

According to this theory, wages under competition can never be higher than that which will just support the laborer and enable him to renew his kind. The theory directly follows, its holders argue, from the wage-fund theory as stated by Ricardo. It is true that Ricardo himself did not hold this theory, sometimes fathered upon him. He held that the condition of the laborer could be raised by education, if he could be taught by moral ways to avoid overpopulation; but the German Socialists claimed that under the intense struggle to live the laborer could not be sufficiently educated, and that the only way was to stop the competition and introduce a socialism which would lead to education rather than to depend on education to lead to socialism. The economic condition, they argued, is the key to all else, and civilization creeps on its belly. Hence they argued that under competition, by an iron law (Lassalle's phrase) the condition of the laborer can never be one of more than mere existence, and the only change for improvement is to replace the competitive system by socialism.

But now a new theory arose—

C. THE THEORY THAT PRODUCTION FURNISHES THE TRUE MEASURE OF WAGES

This theory, first clearly advocated by President Walker ("Wages Question," 1876), argues that the wage-fund theory and its socialistic corollary are wholly false, and wages depend upon the productivity of labor. Wages, it says, are not dependent upon capital, because men without capital can and often do employ labor, provided they can know that the laborers employed will produce enough value to enable them to pay the laborers out of the product and leave a balance for the employer. Employers are able to do this —as often on a farm—by giving the laborer merely his board till the harvest comes, and then paying him more out of the harvest his labor has produced. Or he can do it by borrowing capital, provided out of the product of labor he can pay for the capital borrowed, the laborers themselves, and leave a profit for himself. Hence wages depend on product. Says President Walker ("Wages Question," chap. viii.):

> The popular theory of wages . . . is based upon the assumption that wages are paid out of capital, the saved results of the industry of the past. Hence, it is argued, capital must furnish the measure of wages. On the contrary, I hold that wages are, in a philosophical view of the subject, paid out of the product of present industry, and hence that production furnishes the true measure of wages. . . . The employer purchases labor with a view to the product of labor, and the kind and amount of that product determine what wages he can afford to pay.

This view has been very widely accepted in both England and America. Writers like Edward Atkinson have accepted it, arguing that the only way to raise wages is to raise the product.

Capital must be paid first, Mr. Atkinson argues, in order to induce it to contribute; but it is only paid just what is necessary in the market to obtain it, and the rest of the product goes to wages. The relative share of capital, it is claimed, will fall, because as wealth increases the competition of capital will grow more and more, and thus lower the rate of interest, and leave more of the product to go to the laborer. Interest is lowest, it is argued, in the wealthiest countries, and wages are there highest. Machinery increasing, the product increases; therefore, the share of the laborer. Such is, in brief, the roseate theory held to-day by many economists and most capitalists. But few working men or radicals accept it. They argue that the facts do not support the theory. They say it is true that the rate of interest is lowest in richest countries, but that the very competition of abundant capital and temporary rise of wages force capital more and more to employ machinery, and that on a large scale, thus tending to make the laborer, and especially the skilled laborer, less and less necessary, and so throwing on the market an increasing number of unemployed laborers, whose competition tends to lower wages, and leaves the employer with a low rate of interest, to yet accumulate large profits by multiplying small rates of profits in large concerns. The falling in the rate of interest does not show, say these critics, a falling in the share of capital. Capital gets its share, not only interest,

but in dividends, and dividends in large concerns may be very high where interest is low. Wages, then, do not, so these critics urge, necessarily rise and fall with production, but are often lowest when production is highest, because a so-called overproduction discharges laborers and materially lowers their income. Were it not for trade, they argue, wages might be very low with production very large.

D. THE THEORY THAT WAGES DEPEND UPON THE STANDARD OF LIVING

This theory, born of the so-called eight-hour philosophy (see EIGHT-HOUR PHILOSOPHY), held to-day by most American trade-unionists, except those who are Socialists, and developed at length by Mr. George Gunton (*q. v.*) in his various writings, argues that wages depend upon what the workingman considers the lowest level upon which he can live. Competition, it argues, can reduce wages to the lowest limits he will work for, but not lower, because he will then starve rather than work, or so strenuously organize that wages will have to rise. What he will work for depends upon the standard of living in the different countries and trades concerned. An American will starve or strike rather than accept Chinese wages, because the American standard of living demands higher wages. The price of labor, like all other commodities, depends on the cost of production. A skilled laborer receives more than an unskilled, because it costs more to produce and maintain him in the standard of living necessary to his being a skilled laborer. A Chinaman receives low wages, because he will live in a low way. Wages in crafts which cannot be prosecuted all the year are per day higher than those in crafts which can be prosecuted all the year round, because in a portion of the year the laborer has to earn enough to keep him all the year. Wages in trades where the wife and child as well as the man habitually work (as in the cotton trade) are lower than trades where women and children do not work, because the wage of the wife and child, supplementing the man's wage, enables the family to maintain the standard of living of their class without the man's wage alone equaling that amount. City wages are higher than country wages, because it costs more in the city to live on the same plane of living as in the country. Wages in piece-work are in the long run the same as in day-work, because under competition the employer cannot pay higher wages than the workman can be obtained for, and under competition the workman will always work under any system for that which will enable him to secure the standard of living he considers necessary. All these cases show, argue the holders of this theory, that wages in any country and in any trade depend, not, as the Socialists say, on what will just support and renew the laborer's life, but on what will maintain and renew his life according to the standard of living he considers necessary. The one way to raise wages, therefore, argues this school of thought, is to raise the laborer's standard of living.

But this theory, like all the others, has its critics. It is argued that, however hard the laborer tries to maintain his standard, men will lower their standard rather than starve, and that when machinery discharges men, men will work for wages which will support life even far below the standard of living in their trade and country, and hence, by their competition, lower all wages. In some skilled trades intelligent workmen, by labor combinations, may long keep up their standard of wages; but unskilled laborers cannot. Wages thus, say these critics, do not so much depend on the standard of living as the standard of living depends on the wages men can secure.

E. HENRY GEORGE'S THEORY OF WAGES

Henry George says ("Progress and Poverty"):

> Wages depend upon the margin of production or upon the produce which labor can obtain at the highest point of natural productiveness open to it without the payment of rent.

Wages cannot be lower, he argues, than men can get by working for themselves, without paying rent, because men prefer to work for themselves, and will only work for an employer provided he will pay more than they get by working for themselves. On the other hand, Mr. George also argues, employers will not pay more than just enough to secure the laborer, because under competition they cannot pay more than they have to. If they do pay more somebody else will pay less, and so be able to undersell them, and force them to pay lower wages.

Therefore the one way to raise wages, according to Mr. George, is to give men opportunity to labor without paying rent.

But this theory, in its turn, is contradicted by the facts. Wages are not the highest where there is most free land, but where there is least. Wages are highest not in the center of Africa, but in New York City. If it be said that in Africa the laborer gets a larger proportion of his produce than in New York City, it may be true, but nine tenths of thirty cents is less than three tenths of $3. The presence of capital and machinery enables the employer to pay not only higher, but much higher wages than the employer can make on land without capital at the margin of production. It is true that the competition of labor tends to lower wages, but the mere opening of opportunities in land cannot check this competition, because in civilized countries land without capital is useless, or so nearly useless that those with capital can afford to pay very much more for it than a man without capital, and hence in the open market will get the land, whether the price be paid to the landlord, as under the present system of land tenure, or to the government, under the single-tax plan. It may be said that this will force all land to be used by those who can use it best, and so employ labor and raise wages; but with machinery constantly improving in agriculture, as in all trades, the laborer grows less and less necessary to the employer, and the competition of the laborer, replaced by machinery, can lower wages under a single-tax system as well as under any other form of land tenure. Wages, therefore, do not depend on access to land. (See SINGLE TAX and objections.)

F. THE THEORY THAT WAGES DEPEND, AS IN ANY OTHER CASE OF VALUE, ON THE MARGINAL OR FINAL VALUE OF THE LABORER

(For a full statement of the marginal or final value, see VALUE.) This theory is rather a way of looking at things than the statement of a definite law. It simply states that no one law of wages exists; that wages depend on the value to

the wage-payer of the laborer he is considering—i. e., on the margin of employing. Each worker will get what his labor is worth to the employer at the time when his wage is decided upon. What the laborer is worth depends upon the state of the market, the ability of the laborer, the standard of living, psychological conditions, etc. The theory, therefore, simply states that no definite law of wages can be laid down. It is undoubtedly a great advance on any other, because it is undoubtedly true that wages are the resultant of many forces. All the above laws of wages contain elements of truth. Those who argue that wages depend on production are fond of declaring the wages-fund theory exploded; but, as Professor Taussig says ("Wages and Capital," p. 37):

> In whatever sense we use the term capital, it will still appear that current wages, considered with reference to any but a very short period of time, are derived in the main from capital.

Thus the wage-fund theory has some truth. The Socialist theory has some, for under competition, without organization, wages do tend to what will just support life. So with all the theories. The standard of living, the margin of production, the productivity of labor, do all affect wages. Wages are the resultant of many economic forces. This seems to-day all that economy can say.

II. Statistics of Wages

A. The United States

The best general statements of wages in the United States are undoubtedly those of the U. S. Bureau of Labor. (See, however, Section III.) We quote from the latest statement of the bureau as to wages (*Bulletin* of the U. S. Bureau of Labor, July 1907). It must be remembered, however, that these returns are only for manufacturing, and even in that only report for the large industries and in the main the larger establishments, a result necessitated by the expense and difficulty, amounting to impossibility, of covering the whole field, and particularly the scattered industries, those most irregular and least organized, such as agriculture, mining, and commerce, and the smaller industries and establishments. But this means that the low wages of perhaps a majority of the people do not appear in these returns, as in agriculture, mining, and the unorganized trades, great department stores, and multitudinous small stores and workshops. The returns, therefore, tho doubtless true of the facts investigated, are of necessity limited for the most part to the higher conditions and therefore give an unduly favorable view for the whole of industry. The report says:

> In making the investigation of rates of wages and hours of labor, the design has been to cover the principal distinctive wage-working occupations in the leading manufacturing and mechanical industries in the U. S. with a view to securing data that would be representative of conditions and show the trend of wages and hours of labor. The investigation covers those industries in which the wages paid in the U. S. in one year were $10,000,000 or over as shown by the census of 1900. The office and field force available for the prosecution of the work has not admitted of the extension of the investigation to cover transportation, mining, agriculture, and the other great industrial groups. . . .
>
> The hours of labor given in this report represent the regular full-time hours of the occupation—that is, the time that the employees as a class were engaged in work. No account has been taken of time lost by individual employees because of a desire not to work, of bad weather, or of slack work. It is no part of the purpose of this article to measure the amount of unemployment, and it must not be inferred that all employees engaged in the establishments reported in this article worked full time. . . .

Wages in Representative Industries, U. S., 1906

Occupation and Geographical Division	Number of establishments	Number of employees	Average hours per week	Average wages per hour
Bakers, male:				
North Atlantic	48	1,078	61.24	$0.2465
South Atlantic	20	204	59.89	.2440
North Central	44	742	57.47	.2566
South Central	19	131	65.43	.2208
Western	17	202	59.38	.3293
United States	148	2,357	60.01	.2552
Blacksmiths, male:				
North Atlantic	11	33	56.21	.2776
South Atlantic	3	8	57.25	.2500
North Central	8	19	57.68	.2962
South Central	3	8	58.88	.2739
Western	6	26	53.46	.3598
United States	31	94	56.06	.3014
Boot and Shoe Workers (Factories)				
Closers-on, female:				
North Atlantic	29	177	56.09	.1885
North Central	15	107	57.79	.1787
United States	44	284	56.73	.1848
Cutters, outsole, male:				
North Atlantic	23	103	56.86	.2627
North Central	13	61	57.97	.2507
United States	36	164	57.27	.2582
Goodyear stitchers, male:				
North Atlantic	25	210	55.21	.3909
North Central	15	105	57.57	.3730
United States	40	315	56.00	.3850
Vampers, male:				
North Atlantic	14	148	54.89	.3155
North Central	5	22	56.55	.2920
United States	19	170	55.10	.3124
Vampers, female:				
North Atlantic	31	425	56.14	.2409
North Central	15	282	57.55	.2117
United States	46	707	56.70	.2292
Bricklayers, male:				
North Atlantic	73	2,035	45.74	.6091
South Atlantic	31	637	49.38	.5731
North Central	64	1,679	46.90	.6117
South Central	27	390	49.61	.6031
Western	20	363	44.98	.8263
United States	215	5,104	46.82	.6205
Cabinet-makers, male:				
North Atlantic	17	483	52.74	.2942
South Atlantic	6	160	55.63	.2180
North Central	34	775	56.17	.2482
South Central	1	23	60.00	.1815
United States	58	1,441	55.02	.2592
Carpenters, male:				
North Atlantic	70	2,695	46.96	.4194
South Atlantic	32	1,055	49.49	.3632
North Central	64	2,106	48.39	.3983
South Central	30	661	53.39	.3208
Western	20	651	46.07	.5170
United States	216	7,168	48.26	.4047
Clothing Workers (Factories)				
Buttonhole-makers, machine, male:				
North Atlantic	5	13	56.54	.2434
South Atlantic	3	24	55.54	.2641
United States	8	37	55.89	.2568

Occupation and Geographical Division	Number of establishments	Number of employees	Average hours per week	Average wages per hour
Clothing Workers (Factories)—Continued				
Buttonhole-makers, machine, female:				
North Atlantic	3	22	54.91	.1304
South Atlantic	2	13	52.85	.1666
North Central	6	33	55.39	.1685
South Central	2	13	54.08	.1223
United States	13	81	54.64	.1504
Cutters, hand, male:				
North Atlantic	14	472	52.13	.3663
South Atlantic	2	94	53.62	.2974
North Central	9	236	49.30	.4028
United States	25	802	51.47	.3690
Cutters, machine, male:				
North Atlantic	9	18	50.33	.4456
South Atlantic	3	36	53.89	.3700
North Central	7	168	48.07	.4384
United States	19	222	49.20	.4279
Finishers, female:				
North Atlantic	10	289	55.38	.1157
South Atlantic	4	278	57.92	.1089
North Central	8	297	54.75	.1288
South Central	2	46	54.52	.0939
United States	24	910	55.91	.1168
Pressers, male:				
North Atlantic	13	394	54.20	.2151
South Atlantic	4	137	59.21	.2151
North Central	9	219	54.64	.2578
South Central	2	13	54.46	.2153
United States	28	763	55.23	.2273
Sewing-machine operators, male:				
North Atlantic	13	609	54.95	.2191
South Atlantic	4	128	58.64	.2585
North Central	4	46	54.22	.3131
United States	21	783	55.51	.2311
Sewing-machine operators, female:				
North Atlantic	12	714	53.76	.1309
South Atlantic	3	229	56.07	.1447
North Central	9	474	55.84	.1665
South Central	2	195	53.90	.1176
United States	26	1,612	54.72	.1417
Cotton Workers (Factories)				
Carding machine tenders, male:				
North Atlantic	17	377	59.18	.1234
South Atlantic	10	105	65.12	.0869
South Central	3	31	60.97	.1256
United States	30	513	60.51	.1160
Spinners, frame, male:				
North Atlantic	8	134	58.82	.1199
South Atlantic	5	44	65.91	.0914
South Central	1	7	66.00	.0530
United States	14	185	60.78	.1106
Spinners, frame, female:				
North Atlantic	16	2,317	59.04	.1120
South Atlantic	10	553	65.49	.0778
South Central	3	208	63.71	.0666
United States	29	3,078	60.51	.1028
Spinners, mule, male:				
North Atlantic	11	300	59.37	.1978

Occupation and Geographical Division	Number of establishments	Number of employees	Average hours per week	Average wages per hour
Cotton Workers (Factories)—Continued				
Weavers, male:				
North Atlantic	15	2,059	58.47	.1689
South Atlantic	9	592	65.41	.1134
South Central	2	106	65.72	.1153
United States	26	2,757	60.24	.1549
Weavers, female:				
North Atlantic	15	3,700	58.83	.1481
South Atlantic	9	518	65.68	.0962
South Central	3	242	62.47	.0934
United States	27	4,460	59.83	.1391
Hod-carriers, male:				
North Atlantic	84	2,426	45.99	.3228
South Atlantic	33	604	48.96	.2451
North Central	87	2,392	47.21	.3194
South Central	25	350	52.29	.2038
Western	40	520	45.18	.4650
United States	269	6,292	47.02	.3192
Iron and Steel (Factories)				
Bar, hot straighteners, male:				
North Atlantic	12	84	62.56	.2015
South Atlantic	2	27	60.00	.1571
North Central	6	54	66.67	.2545
South Central	2	14	72.00	.1366
United States	22	179	64.15	.2057
Bar, rollers, male:				
North Atlantic	12	35	63.63	.7441
South Atlantic	2	9	60.00	.6342
North Central	7	29	71.72	.9820
South Central	2	8	72.00	.9401
United States	23	81	66.95	.8364
Bar, roughers, male:				
North Atlantic	12	84	65.17	.3868
South Atlantic	2	18	60.00	.3512
North Central	10	111	61.87	.5227
South Central	2	18	72.00	.3324
United States	26	231	63.71	.4451
Bessemer, bottom-makers, male:				
North Atlantic	7	20	68.70	.3141
South Atlantic	3	7	77.14	.2239
North Central	5	12	66.00	.3430
South Central	2	7	65.14	.1790
United States	17	46	68.74	.2874
Bessemer, steel pourers, male:				
North Atlantic	7	26	57.38	.5077
South Atlantic	3	6	80.00	.4597
North Central	5	17	50.82	.7088
South Central	1	2	66.00	.4229
United States	16	51	58.20	.5658
Hot-blast men, male:				
North Atlantic	11	70	84.00	.1813
South Atlantic	2	12	84.00	.1597
North Central	7	36	84.00	.1759
South Central	5	16	84.00	.1547
United States	25	134	84.00	.1748
Lumber				
Laborers, male:				
North Atlantic	5	209	59.67	.1679
South Atlantic	9	762	60.57	.1392
North Central	27	2,471	60.17	.1747
South Central	17	1,758	60.05	.1477
Western	8	1,943	60.00	.2092
United States	66	7,143	60.12	.1735

Occupation and Geographical Division	Number of establishments	Number of employees	Average hours per week	Average wages per hour
Lumber—Continued				
Sawyers, band, male:				
North Atlantic	4	11	60.00	.5136
South Atlantic	2	4	63.00	.5932
North Central	26	62	60.26	.5030
South Central	12	19	60.00	.5658
Western	8	26	60.00	.4632
United States	52	122	60.23	.5082
Marble polishers, male:				
North Atlantic	19	139	48.85	.2785
South Atlantic	9	49	54.78	.1943
North Central	14	149	55.56	.2120
South Central	16	75	56.88	.1907
Western	9	22	48.36	.3662
United States	67	434	53.18	.2355
Painters, male:				
North Atlantic	66	1,671	47.35	.3722
South Atlantic	32	569	49.64	.3427
North Central	63	1,515	47.45	.3918
South Central	24	399	48.90	.3451
Western	25	408	45.45	.5011
United States	210	4,562	47.64	.3842
Plumbers, male:				
North Atlantic	73	833	46.12	.5069
South Atlantic	29	245	48.92	.4728
North Central	64	612	46.54	.5192
South Central	28	216	47.85	.5111
Western	21	310	44.86	.7376
United States	215	2,216	46.54	.5392
Printers (Book and Job)				
Bookbinders, male:				
North Atlantic	23	220	53.39	.3471
South Atlantic	17	71	54.17	.3016
North Central	41	463	53.76	.3169
South Central	17	80	53.53	.3167
Western	14	69	49.86	.3889
United States	112	903	53.38	.3285
Compositors, male:				
North Atlantic	47	793	50.77	.3602
South Atlantic	23	220	52.61	.3203
North Central	48	638	51.13	.3443
South Central	19	191	52.60	.3364
Western	18	120	49.33	.4237
United States	155	1,962	51.19	.3521
Compositors, female:				
North Atlantic	12	84	53.33	.2306
North Central	9	23	53.22	.2950
United States	21	107	53.31	.2445
Electrotypers, male:				
North Atlantic	8	85	52.25	.3807
North Central	9	73	52.74	.3511
Western	4	21	49.43	.4816
United States	21	179	52.12	.3805
Linotype operators, male:				
North Atlantic	19	190	49.32	.4580
South Atlantic	10	29	51.59	.4122
North Central	20	86	48.84	.4664
South Central	4	14	48.00	.4712
Western	8	31	48.19	.5552
United States	61	350	49.24	.4654
Press-feeders, male:				
North Atlantic	37	372	52.48	.2116
South Atlantic	20	107	54.01	.1585
North Central	46	519	53.77	.1906
South Central	18	137	53.05	.1615
Western	18	105	49.27	.2392
United States	139	1,240	52.94	.1951

Occupation and Geographical Division	Number of establishments	Number of employees	Average hours per week	Average wages per hour
Printers (Book and Job)—Continued				
Press-feeders, female:				
North Atlantic	13	145	54.43	.1284
South Atlantic	12	44	54.00	.1155
North Central	10	61	54.00	.1494
South Central	7	27	53.78	.1016
United States	42	277	54.20	.1284
Proof-readers, male:				
North Atlantic	22	93	49.92	.4174
South Atlantic	8	14	53.64	.3226
North Central	15	21	52.57	.4003
Western	6	8	48.00	.5168
United States	51	136	50.60	.4109
Proof-readers, female:				
North Atlantic	15	30	51.13	.3086
North Central	12	18	52.61	.2907
United States	27	48	51.69	.3019
Stitchers, book, female:				
North Atlantic	17	66	53.56	.1146
South Atlantic	4	21	53.43	.0834
North Central	20	98	53.85	.1212
South Central	5	18	53.67	.1114
Western	6	23	48.26	.1714
United States	52	226	53.14	.1201
Printers (Newspaper and Publishing)				
Compositors, male:				
North Atlantic	47	820	47.09	.4995
South Atlantic	22	279	47.20	.4707
North Central	44	629	47.24	.5156
South Central	19	235	48.52	.4994
Western	17	242	46.66	.6045
United States	149	2,205	47.25	.5120
Linotype operators, male:				
North Atlantic	46	799	46.74	.5524
South Atlantic	22	254	44.94	.5531
North Central	43	615	47.36	.5296
South Central	19	217	47.71	.6499
Western	17	229	45.62	.6535
United States	147	2,114	46.68	.5668
Pressmen, male:				
North Atlantic	47	410	46.58	.4636
South Atlantic	22	71	48.25	.3705
North Central	43	362	50.67	.4150
South Central	18	33	52.61	.4678
Western	17	78	49.17	.4517
United States	147	954	48.68	.4374
Stereotypers, male:				
North Atlantic	44	259	45.84	.5324
South Atlantic	19	54	46.78	.4045
North Central	40	186	48.45	.4463
South Central	17	32	49.19	.4278
Western	17	54	49.83	.4843
United States	137	585	47.31	.4831
Stone-masons, male:				
North Atlantic	41	321	47.75	.4780
South Atlantic	9	96	51.73	.4687
North Central	32	224	48.02	.5269
South Central	6	33	49.18	.4720
Western	12	145	44.72	.6237
United States	100	819	47.81	.5158

Occupation and Geographical Division	Number of establishments	Number of employees	Average hours per week	Average wages per hour
Streets and Sewers (Contract Work)				
Laborers, male:				
North Atlantic	38	5,166	57.64	.1731
South Atlantic	18	1,352	54.74	.1680
North Central	40	4,147	58.10	.2073
South Central	17	1,748	58.51	.1645
Western	15	2,191	50.69	.2784
United States	128	14,604	56.56	.1971
Municipal Work				
Laborers, male:				
North Atlantic	21	9,023	48.65	.2313
South Atlantic	10	2,439	50.55	.1848
North Central	22	9,748	48.22	.2260
South Central	9	1,126	51.72	.1713
Western	8	1,216	48.00	.2715
United States	70	23,552	48.78	.2235
Structural ironworkers, male:				
North Atlantic	19	830	45.25	.5353
South Atlantic	7	130	51.37	.4389
North Central	24	947	52.74	.4395
South Central	4	56	55.46	.3138
Western	8	142	51.15	.4263
United States	62	2,105	49.67	.4730
Tobacco (Cigars)				
Bunch-makers, machine, female:				
North Atlantic	8	359	53.69	.1611
North Central	3	146	52.67	.1717
United States	11	505	53.39	.1642
Cigar-makers, male:				
North Atlantic	14	914	49.11	.3396
South Atlantic	8	2,371	59.92	.3015
North Central	14	434	47.34	.3126
United States	36	3,719	55.80	.3122
Cigar-rollers, hand, male:				
North Atlantic	6	169	51.93	.2566
South Atlantic	2	47	55.15	.2100
North Central	4	62	49.84	.2557
United States	12	278	52.01	.2485
Cigar-rollers, hand, female:				
North Atlantic	10	667	54.77	.1796
South Atlantic	3	253	56.87	.1523
North Central	8	252	50.72	.1943
South Central	1	26	46.00	.1283
United States	22	1,198	54.17	.1758
Woolen and Worsted Goods				
Carders:				
North Atlantic	24	222	58.65	.1214
Card strippers, male:				
North Atlantic	13	80	57.64	.1323
Combers, male:				
North Atlantic	6	142	59.04	.1232
Combers, female:				
North Atlantic	4	149	56.83	.0953
Dyers, male:				
North Atlantic	24	486	59.23	.1396
Loom-fixers, male:				
North Atlantic	26	268	58.43	.2557
Spinners, frame, female:				
North Atlantic	8	572	58.28	.1070
Spinners, mule, male:				
North Atlantic	22	326	58.55	.2029
Weavers, male:				
North Atlantic	27	1,460	58.71	.2024
Weavers, female:				
North Atlantic	27	2,222	58.17	.1693

The following table shows the per cent of increase or decrease in wages per hour and in hours of labor per week in 1906 as compared with the average for the ten years from 1890 to 1899 in each of the 41 industries covered by this report:

Industry	Wages per hour. Per cent of increase	Hours per week. Per cent of decrease
Agricultural implements	29.3	3.4
Bakery, bread	27.4	8.2
Blacksmithing and horseshoeing	19.9	5.4
Boots and shoes	20.4	3.7
Brick	19.1	1.3
Building trades	40.2	9.1
Candy	18.9	[1]
Carpets	13.9	1.9
Carriages and wagons	15.8	3.5
Cars, steam-railroad	18.5	4.1
Clothing, factory product	15.4	3.3
Cotton goods	39.5	1.7
Dyeing, finishing, and printing textiles	8.0	.3
Electrical apparatus and supplies	22.0	6.0
Flour	12.5	2.4
Foundry and machine shop	17.9	5.2
Furniture	25.6	4.4
Gas	3.8	3.5
Glass	22.3	1.4
Harness	21.6	3.4
Hats, fur	25.2	7.8
Hosiery and knit goods	26.4	1.8
Iron and steel, bar	35.7	2.1
Iron and steel, Bessemer converting	33.8	8.5
Iron and steel, blast-furnace	14.1	[1]
Leather	9.2	.1
Liquors, malt	27.8	12.1
Lumber	23.7	2.9
Marble and stonework	21.3	6.3
Paper and wood pulp	21.1	6.9
Planing-mill	20.6	3.6
Pottery	12.9	.2
Printing and publishing, book and job	25.9	9.3
Printing and publishing, newspaper	18.4	4.6
Shipbuilding	17.7	4.1
Silk goods	9.9	2.0
Slaughtering and meat-packing	15.2	[2]
Streets and sewers, contract work	39.8	6.7
Streets and sewers, municipal work	14.9	9.0
Tobacco, cigars	31.1	.3
Woolen and worsted goods	24.0	1.4
All industries	24.2	4.6

[1] Increase. [2] Not reported.

In studying these tables of wages, the explanation at the beginning must always be remembered. *They are only true of the more highly organized industries.*

Yet, according to the census (vol. "Employees and Wages," p. 616), 11 per cent of the male workers over sixteen years of age in the New England cotton-mills receive less than $300 per year. Dr. Peter Roberts says that 60 per cent of the workers in the anthracite coal region do not receive $450 per year ("Anthracite Coal Communities," p. 346). Robert Hunter says that the mass of unskilled workers in the North receive less than $460 a year and in the South less than $300 ("Poverty," p. 53).

In computing the figures for the summary for the U. S., each industry has been given a weight in proportion to the amount of wages paid therein, as shown by the U. S. census of 1900. This was deemed to be the most equitable method of making allowance for the greater or less importance of the several industries. The agricultural implement industry is an important industry, but by no means so great as the building industry of the country; therefore allowance for the importance of each industry was deemed necessary, and the most satisfactory method of weighting is believed to be the weighting in proportion to the wages paid in the several industries. In com-

puting this weighted average the relative number or index for a year for each industry was multiplied by the wages paid in each industry, respectively, as shown by the U. S. census of 1900, exprest in the nearest $100,000. The products were then added and the sum divided by the total wages paid in the industries represented.

The following table shows the relative weight accorded to each industry:

INDUSTRY	Weight
Agricultural implements	225
Bakery, bread	279
Blacksmithing and horseshoeing	180
Boots and shoes	592
Brick	219
Building trades	[1] 2,127
Candy	109
Carpets	111
Carriages and wagons	298
Cars, steam-railroad	1,194
Clothing	794
Cotton goods	867
Dyeing and printing textiles	127
Electrical apparatus and supplies	202
Flour	177
Foundry and machine shop	1,822
Furniture	426
Gas	124
Glass	271
Harness	107
Hats, fur	[2] 151
Hosiery and knit goods	244
Iron and steel	1,208
Leather	226
Liquors, malt	258
Lumber	1,046
Marble and stone work	287
Paper and wood pulp	207
Planing-mill	327
Pottery	177
Printing and publishing	842
Shipbuilding	248
Silk goods	210
Slaughtering and meat-packing	339
Streets and sewers	[3] 395
Tobacco, cigars and cigarettes	409
Woolen and worsted goods	448
Total	17,273

[1] Includes census figures for carpentering, masonry, painting and paper hanging, and one half of roofing, architectural iron, electrical construction, and tinsmithing.
[2] Includes census figures for wool hats.
[3] Estimated from wages paid in the District of Columbia.

[Relative numbers on basis of average for 1890–1899 = 1000.]

YEAR	Employees	Hours per week	Wages per hour	Full-time weekly earnings per employee	Retail prices of food, weighted according to family consumption	Purchasing power measured by retail prices of food, of— Hourly wages	Purchasing power measured by retail prices of food, of— Full time weekly earnings per employee
1890	94.8	100.7	100.3	101.0	102.4	97.9	98.6
1891	97.3	100.5	100.3	100.8	103.8	96.6	97.1
1892	99.2	100.5	100.8	101.3	101.9	98.9	99.4
1893	99.4	100.3	100.9	101.2	104.4	96.6	96.9
1894	94.1	99.8	97.9	97.7	99.7	98.2	98.0
1895	96.4	100.1	98.3	98.4	97.8	100.5	100.6
1896	98.6	99.8	99.7	99.5	95.5	104.4	104.2
1897	100.9	99.6	99.6	99.2	96.3	103.4	103.0
1898	106.4	99.7	100.2	99.9	98.7	101.5	101.2
1899	112.1	99.2	102.0	101.2	99.5	102.5	101.7
1900	115.6	98.7	105.5	104.1	101.1	104.4	103.0
1901	119.1	98.1	108.0	105.9	105.2	102.7	100.7
1902	123.6	97.3	112.2	109.2	110.9	101.2	98.5
1903	126.5	96.6	116.3	112.3	110.3	105.4	101.8
1904	125.7	95.9	117.0	112.2	111.7	104.7	100.4
1905	133.6	95.9	118.9	114.0	112.4	105.8	101.4
1906	142.9	95.4	124.2	118.5	115.7	107.3	102.4

The foregoing table shows for the years 1890 to 1906 the relative wages per hour, the relative hours of labor per week, the relative number of employees covered by the report in the establishments investigated, the relative retail prices of food, and the relative full-time weekly earnings per employee and relative purchasing power of hourly wages and of full-time weekly earnings per employee as measured by retail prices of food.

The relative numbers shown are percentages, the base (100.0) being the average for the ten years 1890 to 1899.

AGRICULTURAL WAGES

Farm Laborers

(From United States Bulletin of Department of Labor, No. 29)

WAGES	Vermont	Pennsylvania	North Carolina	Texas	Iowa	Oregon
Wages per month, without board, by the year, 1899	26.36	21.74	11.96	17.54	26.33	29.64
With board	17.65	13.84	8.05	12.41	18.38	21.09
Wages per day in harvest, without board, 1899	1.74	1.51	.94	1.16	1.75	1.82
With board	1.41	1.20	.79	.93	1.47	1.47
Wages outside of harvest for day, without board	1.30	1.15	.60	.90	1.40	1.35
With board	1.00	.84	.46	.68	1.11	1.00

AVERAGE WAGES OF FARM LABORERS IN THE UNITED STATES

(From Bulletin of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, "Wages of Farm Labor in the U. S.")

YEAR	PER MONTH		PER DAY OF ORDINARY LABOR		PER DAY IN HARVEST	
	Without board	With board	Without board	With board	Without board	With board
1890	$18.33	$12.45	$0.92	$0.68	$1.30	$1.02
1902	22.14	16.40	1.13	.89	1.53	1.34

B. OTHER COUNTRIES

Various Estimates

Perhaps the most recent book which at all adequately discusses the question of wages from an international standpoint is Dr. Arthur Shadwell's "Industrial Efficiency," a comparative study of industrial life in England, Germany, and America (1906). He comes to the conclusion that (vol. ii., chap. viii.) so-called "average wages" reached by averaging skilled and unskilled wages in varying degrees are so misleading that "the wage of the unskilled laborer who occupies the same position in every country" is the safest basis for international comparison, and finds the following facts:

DAILY WAGE OF UNSKILLED DAY LABOR. Winter, 1902–3

(in industrial centers)

	Actual	Average	Per cent
England	$0.75–1.00	$0.87	100.0
Germany	.62– .75	.68	78.6
United States	.75–1.75	1.25	142.8

WAGES AND HOURS OF LABOR IN LEADING OCCUPATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN EUROPE, 1890 AND 1903
(Compiled from the Bulletin of the U. S. Bureau of Labor for July, 1904)

	Year	Wages per Hour					Hours per Week				
		United States	Great Britain	Germany	France	Belgium	United States	Great Britain	Germany	France	Belgium
Blacksmiths	1890	$0.2677	$0.1652	$0.1175	$0.1474	.....	59.41	54.00	62.00	60.34	.....
	1903	.2962	.1740	.1237	.1629	.....	56.65	53.67	59.90	60.19	.....
Boiler-makers	1890	.2594	.1595	.0986	.1417	$0.0742	59.25	54.00	64.00	63.00	60.00
	1903	.2848	.1719	.1123	.1455	.0753	56.24	53.67	60.00	61.50	60.00
Bricklayers	1890	.4316	.1757	.1103	.1277	.0700	53.22	52.67	57.50	63.00	62.00
	1903	.5471	.2062	.1328	.1325	.0845	47.83	51.83	56.50	63.00	62.00
Carpenters	1890	.2713	.1690	.1025	.1544	.0713	55.94	52.67	59.41	60.00	64.87
	1903	.3594	.2028	.1301	.1544	.0712	49.41	50.17	55.30	60.00	64.73
Compositors	1890	.3980	.1572	.1065	.1207	.0788	53.15	54.33	57.40	60.00	60.00
	1903	.4467	.1795	.1411	.1303	.0955	49.81	50.67	51.08	60.00	54.00
Hod-carriers	1890	.2259	.1217	.0675	.0965	.0471	52.78	52.67	59.75	66.00	92.00
	1903	.2863	.1250	.0849	.0965	(1)	47.98	51.83	59.50	63.91	(1)
Iron-molders	1890	.2540	.1678	.1009	.1119	(1)	59.51	54.00	60.00	60.00	(1)
	1903	.3036	.1787	(1)	.1310	.0692	56.80	53.67	(1)	60.00	60.00
Laborers, general	1890	.1507	.0948	.0641	.0965	.0524	59.02	54.17	59.98	60.00	63.00
	1903	.1676	.1019	.0797	.0965	.0549	56.13	52.50	56.36	60.00	63.00
Machinists	1890	.2413	.1534	.0973	.1256	.....	59.52	54.00	64.00	61.90	.....
	1903	.2709	.1677	.1310	.1326	.....	56.12	53.67	60.00	61.50	.....
Painters, house	1890	.2680	.1554	.0934	.1231	.0603	55.23	54.33	56.50	60.00	66.00
	1903	.3450	.1774	.1194	.1255	.0667	48.89	51.00	56.25	60.00	66.00
Plumbers	1890	.3464	.1757	.0946	.1501	.0793	54.33	50.00	59.75	63.00	60.00
	1903	.4371	.2027	.1148	.1501	.0784	48.97	49.17	56.68	54.00	60.00
Stone-masons	1890	.3722	.1774	.1103	.1404	.0700	54.54	51.00	59.75	66.00	62.00
	1903	.4486	.2078	.1328	.1448	.0845	49.54	50.17	56.50	66.00	62.00

[1] No data obtained.
The wages and hours of labor shown for the United States are for blacksmiths in the foundry and machine-shop industry.
The wages and hours of labor shown for the U. S. are for carpenters in the building industry.
The wages and hours of labor shown for the U. S. are for compositors, newspaper.
The wages and hours of labor shown for the U. S. are for iron-molders in the foundry and machine-shop industry.
The wages and hours of labor shown for the U. S. are for laborers in the building industry.
The wages and hours of labor shown for the U. S. are for machinists in the foundry and machine-shop industry.

He finds this general proportion approximated in several skilled trades, for instance, in the metal trades, and concludes that in general German wages are about four fifths and American wages seven fifths of English wages, tho (see EXPENDITURES) he thinks that for skilled labor (not in general) the higher cost of living in the U. S. makes up for the higher wages as compared with England, tho not as compared with Germany. German wages, however, he considers to be somewhat rapidly on the increase.

III. Are Real Wage Conditions Improving?

This is one of the most difficult questions to settle and is very variously answered by different authorities according to the point of view:

A. THE FAVORABLE VIEW

Most conservative writers maintain that, however poor the condition of the wage-worker is to-day, he is at least far better off than ever before in the world's history. Mr. John Rae adduces evidence in his "Contemporary Socialism" (1st ed., p. 390) "to show how greatly improved the working-class standard of living now is from what it was 200 years ago in the good old times Socialist writers like to sing of." He says:

If poverty were increasing with the increase of wealth, it would show itself either in an increase of pauperism or in a decline in the general standard of living among the laboring classes or in a fall in the average duration of life, and these symptoms would be most acute in the countries that are the most wealthy and progressive. To prove that these symptoms of increasing poverty do not exist, he quotes Sir M. Hale and Gregory King, writers of the seventeenth century, to show that in their day one out of every ten, or, including children, one out of every six, received alms. To-day Mr. Rae says it is only one out of thirty. Wages at that time could not support the laborer. Everything was higher then except butcher meat, but half the population had meat only twice a week, and a fourth only once. The laborer lived chiefly on bread and beer, and bread was as dear as now. Fuel, light, and clothing were all much dearer.

For the United States, Carroll D. Wright similarly argues the improved condition of the wage worker. In his "The Industrial Evolution in the United States," and in his article "Wages" in "Johnson's Cyclopedia," he sums up the wage history of the U. S. substantially as follows:

Colonial Period.

In 1633 the Massachusetts Bay Colony, by the action of the general court, made it a rule that carpenters, sawyers, masons, bricklayers, tilers, joiners, wheelwrights, mowers, and other master workmen should not receive more than 2*s.* a day, the workman to pay his own board; but should he elect to board with his employer, then he was to receive 14*d.* a day. The rates of inferior workmen were to be fixt by the constable. Skilled tailors were to be paid 12*d.* a day, poorer ones 8*d.* At the close of the seventeenth century common laborers were paid 2*s.* a day, as they had been forty years before. At the close of the colonial period laborers on farms were paid 40 cents a day; butchers, 33⅓; carpenters, 52; ship and boat builders, about 90; shoemakers, 73; blacksmiths, 70. Prices were uneven; there was no common market. Wheat might bring at one place 5*s.*, at another 10*s*; $1, Mr. Wright thinks, could then buy one bushel of winter wheat, one gallon of common molasses, a bushel of barley or of rye, one and a third bushels of corn. A common grade of wheat flour was $16 per barrel. Butter, cheese, and meats were cheaper than now. Sugar, tea, and coffee were dearer than now. Common necessities were cheap.

After the colonial period wages slowly rose. Laborers received in 1790, 43 cents a day; in 1800, 62½ cents; from 1800 to 1810, 82 cents per day; from 1810 to 1820, 90 cents; from 1840 to 1860, from 87½ cents to $1. Carpenters in 1790 were paid less than 60 cents per day; in 1800, over 70 cents; in 1810, $1.09; in 1820, $1.13; from 1830 to 1840, $1.40 in the northern states. Cotton-mill operatives received until 1830, 44 cents per day;

just prior to 1840, 90 cents, and from 1840 to 1850, $1.03 per day. Woolen-mill operatives were paid higher prior to 1830, being paid $1.12. In 1840 carpenters were paid $1.50 per day in New York, and in 1891, $3.50. Bricklayers and their helpers received $1.75 and $1 respectively in 1851, and $4 and $2.50 in 1891. Locomotive engineers and firemen received $2.14 and $1 in 1840, and $3.77 and $1.96 in 1891, these figures being taken from actual pay-rolls. The great crises of 1837 and 1857 deprest wage-rates, which did not recover before 1860. Comparing wages in 1860 and 1880, Mr. Wright uses the above-referred-to Aldrich Senate Report, calling it "a most excellent one, and indicates the general course of wages better than any other statement yet made." According to this, he says: "Wages stood at 87.7 per cent in 1840 as compared with 100 per cent in 1860; in 1866 they stood at 152.4 per cent and in 1891 at 160.7." "To be more correct, however," says Mr. Wright, "the rates should be taken in accordance with the importance of each industry relative to all industries. . . . On the latter basis wages have increased 68.6 per cent since 1860 and 86.1 per cent since 1840. . . . It is fair to say that wages in the leading industries of the country are 80 per cent at least higher than they were in 1840. Very many wages are double what they were at that date."

Early Part of this Century

Of prices Mr. Wright says: "With this increase there has been in every direction a decrease in the working-time of each day, and a general decrease in the cost of living, taking all articles into consideration. The decrease in the cost of living, however, has not been equal to the increase in wages. Rents are much higher, and so are meats and some other articles; but taking the wholesale prices of 223 of the leading articles of consumption, it is found that there has been a decrease since 1860 of about 6 per cent."

Present

B. THE UNFAVORABLE VIEW

The belief that American wages have steadily risen is largely based on the Aldrich Senate Report of 1893. Now, this report is believed by many scholars to be utterly unreliable. Dr. Spahr, in his "Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States," argues the utter worthlessness of its conclusions, and says (p. 103):

> The statisticians employed to summarize the returns were to a hurtful extent in sympathy with the political aim of the investigation. This criticism in no degree applies to Mr. Joseph D. Weeks, whose work is in the highest degree conscientious and intelligent. But Mr. Weeks's conclusions are not embodied in the committee's comprehensive summary for "all" occupations. It is this summary that has spread so much misinformation throughout the country. Some of the more serious errors in the report are apparent upon a casual examination. When any one at all familiar with the course of wages in recent years takes up the report, he is astonished to see that the wages of clerks in stores have risen out of all proportion to wages in other industries. In the metal works, as he would expect, currency wages are reported to have fallen since 1873; so, too, in the cotton factories; but in stores, where the invasion of women and girls is believed to have deprest wages to an unusual extent, he finds it reported that an advance of nearly 40 per cent has taken place. If, to understand the anomaly, he takes the trouble to consult the original data, he discovers that for the metal works and cotton factories the returns covered many establishments and many hundreds of employees, while for stores the returns covered but one dry-goods store and one grocery, employing together less than thirty clerks. Yet the committee, in its table of "simple averages for all industries," made the uninvestigated industry count as much as either of the thoroughly investigated ones. And the committee did not stop here. Despite this assumed rise of nearly 40 per cent in the wages of clerks, the table of "simple averages" still showed that currency wages had fallen 4 per cent since 1873. Thereupon the committee proceeded to make a table of "weighted averages," assuming that the incredible advance of 40 per cent in wages had been received by all the clerks in the country, and that since these outnumbered the employees in metal works and cotton-mills put together, therefore the returns for less than thirty clerks ought to outweigh those for more than 1,500 metal workers and more than 3,000 cotton operatives. By this means currency wages in 1891 were made to rise 1 per cent above the level in 1873.
>
> To cut short the criticism, in order to get at the facts reported, it is necessary to throw away the work done by the committee's experts, and return to the original reports made by the employers.

A False Report

Accepting the returns of the report itself, Dr. Spahr shows that real wages, instead of rising since 1873, fell materially down to 1891, and in 1894 were 20 per cent lower than in 1891. The only industries in which wages rose between 1873 and 1891, according to the returns gathered by the report, were in the manufacture of ale, beer, and porter; the making of carriages and wagons; in the case of the clerks of the two dry-goods and grocery stores mentioned above; in the making of paper, of spice, and of woolens. In the report itself the facts showing the fall of wages in the cotton and metal industries alone cover 686 pages, while the facts which the experts have magnified to overbalance the fall in wages cover only eleven pages.

Again, admitting that wages are higher to-day than early in the nineteenth century, which no informed scholar denies, it does not follow that the laborer's real economic status is improved. Early in the century, life was simple, wages were low, hours were long. But the workman who was faithful had a practical security of work. He often lived in a little home of his own whose garden could supplement his low wage. To-day his wage is all, and he has no security of work. The problem of the unemployed is the pressing problem of the present situation. If hours were long early in the century, the worker working at his little cobbler's bench or in a little shop, where some one could read aloud, had much more real opportunity to develop his own individuality than to-day, tho working at shorter hours, in crowded factories amid machinery driven at its utmost speed. Real freedom and economic status, more than wages, therefore, must be taken into consideration before we can admit advance. As for comparison with a remoter past, Mr. Rae, as quoted above, argues that the workingman is vastly better off to-day than "200 years ago, in the good old times Socialist writers like to sing of"; but no Socialist writer sings of 200 years ago. By exactly picking his dates, Mr. Rae seems to prove progress for the working classes. Hale and King, whom Mr. Rae quotes, wrote in the last part of the seventeenth century. Two hundred years before that and fifty years after that Mr. Rae would have found a very different state of things. In the fifteenth century, before the English laborer had been driven off from the land, and was still under a form of feudal tenure, and yet no longer a serf, he was in what Mr. J. E. Thorold Rogers has called the "golden age of England." In the first part of the eighteenth century, when there was a revival of handicraft and machinery was not developed and monopolized, wages were higher than they were either immediately before or immediately after. It is to these times rather than to the seventeenth century that Socialist writers are apt to revert. And for the view that compared with these periods the present condition of the wage-earner is not so favorable, they have good authority.

As for Great Britain, comparing conditions in 1837 and 1897, Sydney Webb says in "Labor in the Longest Reign":

> If we might sum up in one general impression the different facts as to comparative wages, we should, I think, have to come to this conclusion: While the skilled male craftsman has largely increased his income, and a practically new class of responsible and fairly well-paid laborers and machine-minders has come into existence, there exists now a greater sum, tho a smaller proportion of hopeless destitution than at any previous time. It appears, at any rate, highly probable that in 1897 there are positively more people in Great Britain who are existing at or near starvation wages than there were in 1837, altho their number bears a small proportion to the whole.

Mr. Charles Booth tells us, in the effective "eloquence unadorned" of his columns of statistics, that some 32 per cent of the whole four millions of London's population fall within his four classes of "poverty," earning not more than a guinea per week per family. It is difficult to believe that, even in 1837, the percentage of persons at a corresponding low level can have been greater. It is practically certain, remembering the great increase in the total population, that at no previous time were the actual numbers more than at present. It has been reserved for our own prosperous time to produce the spectacle of over a million of people within one city living "in poverty." And when we examine closer into Mr. Booth's appalling details, and begin to realize that out of this huge residuum nearly a third are actually below what can be called even full subsistence for a London family, we shall begin to feel that our boasted progress since 1837 has not, after all, taken us very far. The 300,000 Londoners who fail to get even 18s. a week per family, and live in "chronic want," can never have been poorer. Their actual number in the much smaller city of 1837 cannot have been so great. And if we take into account the slums of our other great cities, and realize that we have in our midst a class of at least a million persons, besides the million at any one time in receipt of poor-law relief, who live in "chronic want" of even the necessaries of life, we shall begin to understand how very partial, after all, has been our progress.

It is often assumed that this huge residuum which is existing in our midst at starvation wages is made up entirely of unskilled laborers, women plying the needle, and drunkards and wastrels of all kinds. But this is not the case. The unskilled laborer, indeed, is morally entitled to full subsistence, tho he does not always get it; but even men with a trade are sometimes little better off. We find to-day numerous small classes of skilled craftsmen in large towns whose weekly earnings do not amount to a pound a week.

Professor Rogers is not blindfold to the conditions of the past, yet in a carefully balanced paragraph he says ("Six Centuries of Work and Wages," chap. vi.):

The life of our ancestors, tho laborious, was not without its hopes. All the necessaries of life in ordinary years, when there was no dearth, were abundant and cheap, and even in dear years the margin of wages or profits over the bare wants of life was considerable enough to fill up the void, even tho the laborer had to subsist for a time on some cheaper food than wheaten bread. Meat was plentiful; poultry found everywhere; eggs cheapest of all. The poorest and meanest man had no absolute and insurmountable impediment put on his career, if he would seize his opportunity and make use of it.

I am well aware that in many particulars he was far behind his descendants in the conveniences and comforts of life. . . . I am alive to the fact that what were once the luxuries of the very few have now become the habitual comforts of the many, and that enterprise has scoured the earth to make these and newer luxuries abundant and cheap. I know that owing to the spread of knowledge, the adaptation of industry, the energy of invention, and the extension of trade, the population of England and Wales is tenfold what it was six centuries ago; that trim gardens, magnificent mansions, noble parks, rows of banks and houses, vast and splendid cities, occupy sites which were covered by squalid hovels or frequented by wild boars, curlews, and bitterns, or were marsh fens and wild moors. I can see, without being reminded, that the most lofty and subtle pleasures of literature are now common and profuse, and that the world of civilization is so strong that there seems no possible danger of its becoming destroyed by a new incursion of barbarians, not even of those barbarians whom it creates. . . . I do not need to be told that the wealth of London is such that a single block of buildings pays a higher rent to its fortunate owner than was derived from the whole customs of the port in the days of the Plantagenets and Tudors, that in a few hours a loan could be raised in London sufficient to equip and provision an army more numerous than all the men at arms were in medieval Europe, and this probably without deranging the course of trade or materially interfering with the functions of credit. And I suspect that when we are invited to consider all these things and more of the same nature, as the prodigious strength of modern governments, the boundless resources of modern societies, the priceless collections of art and letters, the ceaseless activities of enterprise and the ever-increasing discrepancies of science, it is fancied that a complete answer is given to those who entertain misgivings because they believe there is a reverse to the picture, another side to the shield, which these triumphant eulogies on modern progress would have us conceal or forget. . . . It may be that the progress of some has been more than counterbalanced by the distresses and sorrows of many, that the opulence and strength of modern times mock the poverty and misery which are bound up with and surround them. . . . It may be well the case, and there is every reason to fear it is the case, that there is collected a population in our great towns which equals in amount the whole of those who lived in England and Wales six centuries ago, but whose condition is more destitute, whose homes are more squalid, whose means are more uncertain, whose prospects are more hopeless than those of the poorest serfs of the Middle Ages and the meanest drudges of the medieval cities.

Progress

Reverse Picture

In another passage (idem, chap. xix.) he thus sums up the economic history of the English laborer in the following words:

I have shown that from the earliest recorded annals, through nearly three centuries, the condition of the English laborer was that of plenty and hope; that from perfectly intelligible cause it sunk within a century to so low a level as to make the workman practically helpless, and that the lowest point was reached just about the outbreak of the great war between king and Parliament. From this time it gradually improved, till in the first half of the eighteenth century, tho still far below the level of the fifteenth, it achieved comparative plenty. Then it began to sink again, and the workman experienced the direst misery during the great continental war. Latterly, almost within our own memory and knowledge, it has experienced a slow and partial improvement.

Some still more pointed passages from Mr. Rogers's work are as follows:

I am convinced that at no period of English history for which authentic records exist was the condition of manual labor worse than it was in the forty years from 1782 to 1821, the period in which manufacturers and merchants accumulated fortune rapidly, and in which the rent of agricultural labor was doubled (chap. ii.). I have stated more than once that the fifteenth century and the first quarter of the sixteenth were the golden age of the English laborer, if we are to interpret the wages which he earned by the cost of the necessaries of life (chap. xii.). I contend that from 1563 to 1824 a conspiracy, concocted by the law, and carried out by parties interested in its success, was entered into to cheat the English workman of his wages, to tie him to the soil, to deprive him of hope, and to degrade him into irremediable poverty (chap. xiv.). We have been able to trace the process by which the condition of English labor had been continuously deteriorated by the acts of government. It was first impoverished by the issue of base money. Next it was robbed of its gild capital by the land thieves of Edward's regency. It was next brought in contact with a new and more needy set of employers, the sheep masters, who succeeded the monks. It was then with a pretense, and perhaps with the intention of kindness, subjected to the quarter sessions amendment, mercilessly used in the first half of the seventeenth century, the agricultural laborer being still further impoverished by being made the residuum of all labor. The agricultural laborer was then further mulcted by inclosures, and the extinction of those memorial rights of pasture and fuel which he had enjoyed so long. The poor-law professed to find him work, but was so administered that the reduction of his wages to a bare subsistence became an easy process and an economical expedient (chap. xvii.). Some of the working classes in London, and those who have been long educated in the machinery of labor partnership, have at last regained the relative rate of wages which they earned in the fifteenth century, tho perhaps in some particulars the recovery is not complete (chap. xix.). I make no doubt the ordinary hardships of human life in England were greater and, I am sure, they were more general six centuries ago than they are now. Life was briefer, old age came earlier, disease was more deadly, the risks of existence were more numerous. But the extremes of wealth and poverty were by the fact of these common conditions less widely separated. Above all things, what is now characteristic of human life, that one half of the world does not know how the other half lives, a very moderate statement of the fact, was not true of the early ages of English progress. . . . The grinding, hopeless poverty under which existence may be just continued, but when nothing is won beyond bare existence, did not, I am convinced, characterize or even belong to medieval life.

Conspiracy

Grinding Poverty

Says Mr. Frederick Harrison:

To me, at least, it would be enough to condemn modern society as hardly an advance on slavery or serfdom, if the permanent condition of industry were to be that which we behold, that ninety per cent of the actual producers of wealth have no home that they can call their own beyond the end of the week; have no bit of soil, or of so much as a room that belongs to them; have nothing of value of any kind except as much old furniture as will go in a cart; have the precarious chance of weekly wages which barely suffice to keep them in health; are housed for the most part in

places that no man thinks fit for his horse; are separated by so narrow a margin from destitution, that a month of bad trade, sickness, or unexpected loss brings them face to face with hunger and pauperism. . . . This is the normal state of the average workman in town or country. (Mr. Frederick Harrison, p. 429, "Report of Industrial Remuneration Conference," 1886.)

Nevertheless, the progress in many ways must not be overlooked.

H. N. Casson says of the U. S.: "The average laborer 100 years ago had fewer comforts and less consideration than a horse or dog has to-day. The laborer lived in a house of unpainted boards; he had sand on the floor instead of carpet, and his dishes were made of pewter instead of china. If he had fresh meat once a week he thought himself lucky. A good share of his wages was paid in rum and gin; then, when he got drunk, his employer had him arrested. Worst of all, it has been clearly proved that in some factories women and children were thrashed with a cowhide if the overseer caught them snatching a moment's rest."

As to progress in recent years the question is, if anything, still more difficult to answer in any general way. Undoubtedly statistics, so far as they go, show in most countries for the main industries some advance measured by the cost of living, tho no large advance, except for a few highly organized trades. But the question still remains whether such statistics are reliable. As shown in Section II. of this article such statistics are and must be usually based on returns from the larger establishments and the better organized industries. It therefore seems fair to say that they are not representative. Whether, therefore, in general real wages for the working classes have risen or not, measured by prices, is not proven and various minds will answer the question in various ways. General averages as to wages are almost worthless. If in a factory there are eighty men earning each only $1 a day and twenty especially skilled workers earning each $6 a day, the average in that factory would be $2 a day, and yet a mere statement of the average would utterly conceal the true facts. In America in almost every trade a few workmen receive very high wages, and so American averages of wages conceal the real wages, often very low, paid to a large share of our workers. Again the worth of wages depends on the cost of living. It is generally thought that wages of late years have risen; yet the report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics in the prosperous State of New York says, for the year ending Sept. 30, 1901: "It therefore seems safe to say that, despite the more regular employment and higher wages now enjoyed by the working people, their economic condition is little better than it was four years ago, save that they now work shorter hours." Again, income depends not only on the amount a man receives per day, but the number of days in a year he has work. Yet this simple fact is continually forgotten in comparing wages in different countries and trades. One dollar a day all the year round is better than $4 a day once a week. Once more statements as to wages are continually vitiated by the bias of opnion of those who interpret or collect the data upon which they are based. Reformers often estimate wages lower than they are, to show the need of reform. Conservatives and supporters of whatever political administration is in power, and this unfortunately includes almost all official statisticians, are tempted to statements as roseate as possible. The belief that American wages have steadily risen in recent years has been till recently largely based on the Aldrich Senate Report of 1893. Yet this report is believed by most scholars to be utterly unreliable. Dr. Spahr, in his "Present Distribution of Wealth in the U. S.," argues the utter worthlessness of its conclusions to-day. Accepting the returns of the report itself, Dr. Spahr shows that real wages, instead of rising since 1873, fell materially down to 1891, and in 1894 were twenty per cent lower than in 1891.

On the other hand, most statisticians, as we have said, do figure out a small rise of wages. For the U. S. the following table is among the best:

Relative Movements of Wages and Wholesale Prices

Year	Wholesale prices [1]	City wages (in gold) 25 occupations [2]	Wages 192 occupations [3]	Wages of farm laborers (gold) per month without board [4]
1869	.....	.....	.....	104.8
1870	.....	84.64	.....	.....
1871	.....	94.00	.....	.....
1872	.....	96.26	.....	.....
1873	.....	92.13	.....	.....
1874	.....	90.46	.....	.....
1875	.....	88.11	.....	92.9
1876	.....	85.65	.....	.....
1877	.....	88.21	.....	.....
1878	.....	90.66	.....	.....
1879	.....	91.12	.....	88.3
1880	.....	91.94	.....	.....
1881	.....	94.59	.....	.....
1882	.....	96.16	.....	101.7
1883	.....	97.05	.....	.....
1884	.....	97.83	.....	.....
1885	.....	97.15	.....	96.6
1886	.....	97.15	.....	.....
1887	.....	97.93	.....	.....
1888	.....	98.52	.....	98.0
1889	.....	98.82	.....	.....
1890	.....	99.31	.....	98.6
1891	95	100.00	100.00	100.0
1892	90	100.59	100.30	.....
1893	90	99.94	99.32	102.6
1894	82	97.98	98.06	95.4
1895	81	97.19	97.88	95.1
1896	77	96.60	97.93	.....
1897	73	96.11	98.96	.....
1898	79	95.62	98.79	104.2
1899	77	.....	101.54	108.7
1900	90	.....	103.43	.....
1901	88	.....	.....	.....

[1] Bureau of Economic Research.
[2] Bulletin, Sept., 1898. [3] Bulletin, July, 1900.
[4] Department of Agriculture, No. 22, Miscellaneous Series, 1901.

For years 1901–1906 see p. 1266.

Concerning recent rise or fall of wages in Great Britain the annual report of the (English) Labor Department on "Changes in Rates of Wages and Hours of Labor in the Kingdom" (1905) summarizes the principal data contained in the returns for the ten-year period, 1896 to 1905. Since the number of agricultural laborers, seamen, and railway employees affected by these changes is not known, they are not included in the general tables, but are treated separately in the report.

The table covers a period of five consecutive years of increasing wages, followed by five consecutive years of decreasing wages. A comparison of the net results of these two periods shows that the total increase exceeds the total decrease by £208,734 11s. ($1,015,806). The wage loss for the year 1905, calculated from the date on

which the various changes became operative, amounts to £114,000 ($554,781), or an average loss for each person affected by reduction of wages of 9*s.* 2*d.* ($2.22).

The table below shows for each year, by industries, the number of persons affected by changes in rates of wages, and the net amount of weekly increase or decrease as compared with the previous year for each year, 1902 to 1905.

There was somewhat of a decline in wages paid agricultural laborers in England and Wales and in Scotland, while in Ireland reports showed very little change in the wages paid this class of labor.

Wages of seamen engaged on steamships, as compared with 1904, showed a slight decrease. Wages on sailing vessels showed no change. The average wages paid able seamen on steamships in 1905 were 80*s.* 5*d.* ($19.57) per month, as compared with 80*s.* 6*d.* ($19.59) in 1904. Firemen and trimmers were paid 85*s.* 2*d.* ($20.72) per month in 1904, and 85*s.* 1*d.* ($20.70) in 1905. The men receive food in addition to the wages named.

Concerning agricultural wages, according to a report on "Wages, Earnings, and Conditions of Employment of Agricultural Laborers in the United Kingdom" (Labor Department, 1905), the following table gives the facts:

[The averages here shown relate to able-bodied male adults. They do not include the earnings of stewards, bailiffs, foremen, or casual laborers. All computations are based on the census returns for 1901.]

Country	Ordinary Agricultural Laborers				All classes of agricultural laborers, including ordinary laborers and men in charge of animals, 1902
	1898	1902	Increase in 1902, as compared with 1898		
			Amount	Per cent	
England	$4.0757	$4.2379	$0.1622	3.98	$4.4407
Wales	4.0149	4.2784	.2635	6.56	4.1973
Scotland	4.4205	4.7246	.3041	6.88	4.6840
Ireland	2.4739	2.6158	.1419	5.74	2.6563

According to the figures shown in the report, the average value of the food consumed weekly by a farm laborer, his wife, and four children is 13*s.* 6½*d.* ($3.30) in England, 15*s.* 2½*d.* ($3.70) in Scotland, and 10*s.* 5¾*d.* ($2.55) in Ireland.

Number of Persons Affected by Changes in Rates of Wages, and Net Amount of Increase (+) or Decrease (−) in Weekly Wages, 1902 to 1905

Industries	Number of persons affected by changes in rates of wages[1]				Net amount of increase or decrease in weekly wages as compared with preceding year			
	1902	1903	1904	1905	1902	1903	1904	1905
Building	15,575	4,638	10,829	11,747	+ $4,506	+ $1,479	− $4,302	− $5,051
Coal mining	735,524	752,190	658,390	200,746	− 359,498	− 158,103	− 152,292	− 65,557
Other mining (iron, etc)	7,121	9,361	10,753	7,628	+ 1,217	− 2,088	− 2,584	+ 1,849
Quarrying	6,733	3,160	2,701	9,184	+ 1,489	− 1,080	− 448	− 5,606
Pig iron, and iron and steel manufacture	50,343	23,492	60,097	63,836	+ 4,064	− 5,236	− 16,751	+ 11,826
Engineering and shipbuilding	32,822	74,080	31,094	48,119	− 11,772	− 20,833	− 12,721	− 8,443
Other metal trades	15,357	1,934	1,973	461	+ 706	− 866	− 204	− 83
Textiles	2,107	1,001	3,939	311,437	+ 691	+ 88	− 530	+ 48,251
Clothing	3,112	3,496	333	60	+ 1,416	− 418	+ 131	+ 68
Glass, etc., trades	86	6,386	7,318	1,630	+ 49	− 2,920	− 4,005	− 711
Other trades	10,555	7,610	4,986	4,282	+ 920	+ 968	− 404	+ 1,548
Employees of public authorities	7,871	8,650	8,245	29,759	+ 2,930	+ 2,492	+ 3,197	+ 11,354
Total	887,206	896,598	800,658	688,889	− $353,282	− $186,517	− $190,913	− $10,555

[1] Including persons whose wages were changed but were the same at end of year as at beginning.

Number of Persons Affected by Changes in Rates of Wages, and Amount of Increase or Decrease, 1896 to 1905

Year	Number of changes	Increase		Decrease		Net Changes	
		Persons affected	Total weekly rise of wages	Persons affected	Total weekly reduction of wages	Persons affected[1]	Net weekly increase in wages
1896	1,607	379,975	$163,745	167,357	$34,692	605,404	$129,053
1897	1,518	560,707	159,920	13,855	6,590	597,444	153,330
1898	1,403	1,000,240	396,618	11,865	3,828	1,012,119	392,790
1899	1,588	1,170,937	440,018	1,132	506	1,172,069	439,512
1900	1,413	1,109,284	1,028,835	23,010	13,733	1,132,386	1,015,102
1901	966	429,715	198,503	489,318	571,214	928,926	[2] 372,711
1902	470	91,812	25,921	789,891	379,203	887,206	[2] 353,282
1903	443	21,327	7,502	874,721	194,019	896,598	[2] 186,517
1904	412	16,054	5,849	784,604	196,762	800,658	[2] 190,913
1905	386	319,304	79,489	249,586	90,044	688,889	[2] 10,555

[1] Including persons whose wages were changed but were the same at end of year as at beginning. [2] Decrease.

WAGES OF SUPERINTENDENCE: It is often forgotten that the employers of labor usually, tho not always, do important work themselves. They furnish to an industry the most important work of superintendence, of planning the work, of obtaining the raw material, of providing the plant and machinery—in a word, of managing the business. This work is almost always of the extremest importance. Especially under sharp competition, management is sometimes nine tenths of the element of success. It demands usually large and varied talents, concentration of thought, attention to small details, and yet ability to run the business as a whole. It demands long hours and continuous responsibility. The employee who works even long hours, when his hours are over is free. The employer is often never free. He sometimes works all day and worries all night. His work, therefore, is often long and exacting, as well as of the utmost importance. He is, as such, a skilled wage-worker, and what he earns as such (not as a mere capitalist, but as performing the work of superintendence) is money earned by hard labor, and may be, as it is often, called the wages of superintendence. It is often high wages, but even so is often wholly earned. Socialists do not object to wages of superintendence. They recognize the importance of superintendence and its value in production, only they would have it performed for the community and not for private stockholders. The very same men, they say, who do such work to-day for private firms could do it under socialism for the people, as, indeed, does occur when a railroad goes into the hands of a receiver.

WAGNER, ADOLF HENRI GOTTHILF: Political economist; born at Erlangen in 1835. Studying at the University of Heidelberg, he became in 1858 professor in the Commercial College of Vienna, and then at Hamburg, Dorpat, Freiburg, and since 1870 at Berlin. He is prominent as a leader in the historical school of Germany, and particularly as a Socialist of the Chair (*q. v.*), and a sympathizer with German Christian socialism (*q. v.*). He is best known for his studies in finance and his general economic treatise. Among his works are "Die Geld und Kredit theorie der Peelschen Bankacte" (1862); "System der deutschen Zettelbank-Gesetsgebung" (1873); "Lehrbuch der politischen Oekonomie" (1872).

WALD, LILLIAN D.: Founder and head of Henry Street Settlement; born Cincinnati, Ohio, 1866; educated in private schools, New York Hospital Training School, special courses in Women's Medical College, etc. Established system of non-sectarian nursing in conjunction with social settlements, on a district plan which covers the whole of Manhattan and the Bronx; originated for New York public-school nurse system under municipal pay and control; has taken active part in State and National Child Labor Committee work. She has been identified with trade-union movement and on the National Board of Women's Trade-Union League since its establishment. Miss Wald is identified with many of the movements for social and educational equalization; has been an occasional contributor to *Charities and the Commons*, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, and the *American Journal of Nursing*. *Address*: 265 Henry Street, New York City.

WALDSCHMIDT, JOHANN: Editor of *Alkoholismus*; born 1854 at Dortmund, Germany. After completing his medical studies was for some time assistant physician in a public asylum. Devoted several years to the comparative study of brain anatomy. Thereupon established a private asylum for the treatment of the insane in which he held for nine years the position of director. Since 1899 has been member of the municipal government of Charlottenburg, and is at the present time chairman of the Municipal Health Committee, founded in 1900 for the Berlin District Association against the abuse of alcoholic beverages, the Walfrieden sanitariums near Furstenwalde on the Spree; Administration Council appointed Dr. Waldschmidt their representative with special charge of the inspectorate of the sanitariums. Established in the same year the magazine *Der Alkoholismus*; member of board of directors of German Association Against Abuse of Intoxicating Liquors; member for German lands of the Federation of Sanitariums for Cure of Drunkenness. Author: "Duties Toward Drunkards," "Alcohol and Accidents," "Medical Assistance to Drunkards," "The Care of Drunkards in Prussia," etc., etc. *Address*: Nikolassee, near Berlin, Germany.

WALKER, AMASA: Political economist; born Woodstock, Conn., in 1799. Educated in public schools, he became a merchant in Boston in 1825, and gained prominence in the construction of the early railroads, and also in the antislavery and temperance reforms. Professor of political economy in Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, 1842–49; in the Massachusetts Legislature, as a member of the House in 1848, and of the Senate in 1849; Secretary of State, 1851–52. In Congress 1862–63, and lecturer on political economy at Amherst College, 1861–66. Died at North Brookfield in 1875. Author: "The Science of Wealth," and other works.

WALKER, FRANCIS AMASA: Political economist; born Boston, 1840, the son of Amasa Walker (*q. v.*). Graduated at Amherst College in 1860, studied law at Worcester, but entered the army in 1861 as sergeant-major. Steadily promoted, he became brevet brigadier-general in 1865. Wounded at Chancellorsville, he was captured at Ream's Station, and confined at Libby Prison, where his health became shattered. After the war he was teacher at Williston Seminary, 1865–68; editor of the Springfield *Republican*, 1868–69; chief of the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department at Washington, 1869; superintendent of the ninth United States census, 1870; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1871–72; professor of political economy and history in the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale College, 1872; superintendent of the tenth U. S. census, 1880; and president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Boston, 1881, which position he held till his death in 1897. He is best known in economics as the main originator of the theory that wages depend upon production, for his Ricardian views of rent, and his advocacy of international bimetalism. He is considered by many, such as Dr. Ingram, as among the ablest of American economists. Author: "The Wages Question"; "Money"; "Political Economy"; "Land and Its Rent"; "The Making of a Nation"; "International Bimetalism."

WALKING DELEGATE, THE, is the paid secretary of a trade-union. His duties usually are to pay out the sick and out-of-work benefits of the union; to see that they are only paid to those really entitled to them; to visit the sick members; to care for the burial of members who have died; to try and secure work for members out of work (thus often having an office and acting as an employment bureau); to investigate troubles between members and employers; to try and secure redress from the employers if the case is found to need it; to report to the union if the employers will not grant redress—to advise the union whether or not it is advisable to strike; if the union votes to strike, to give the signal to the members when to strike and to take charge of the strike.

It is this last duty which has made the name of the walking delegate so unpopular with employers. They see him give the signal to strike; at his signal they see their men lay down their work; the walking delegate visits the employer to represent the men; the employer not unnaturally thinks that the walking delegate, who appears to be, and often is, the leader of the union, is the person who has stirred up the evil, and that at his order his men have struck. He therefore thinks that his men are under the tyranny or at least the influence of this "paid agitator," and lays at his door most of the evil of the strike.

As a matter of fact, in no trade-union is a walking delegate ever allowed to order a strike. He is always the servant of the union, usually poorly paid, and can only give a signal when the union has voted to strike—never an order. English and American trade-unionists are singularly democratic and jealous of authority. They never put themselves under a walking delegate.

Employers too often resent dealing with their men through a walking delegate; they say that they wish to deal with their men directly. They forget that any body of men has unquestioned right to deal through a representative. Corporations continually do so. Trade-unions do so because they have learned that an employee dependent upon an employer cannot face the employer as can a walking delegate who is independent of the employer. Hence the need in justice of employing a walking delegate to conduct such negotiations. Thomas S. Adams, in his "Labor Problems" (pp. 192–193), strongly dissents from "the doctrine that when a walking delegate or a union organizer goes into a factory or mine, and persuades the employees to strike, he is necessarily without real interest, and guilty of malicious interference. Doubtless there are cases in which the object of the walking delegate is simple blackmail. But in the great majority of instances his work is perfectly legitimate." The walking delegate's main duty, however, is to care for the sick and out-of-work. Strikes come but rarely; the sick and needy are always present.

Dr. Rainsford, of New York City, said some years ago concerning walking delegates:

> I believe the labor leaders in the United States, taking them all in all, are just as good as the leaders in law or finance or society or politics. . . . I know a man who for years in this country has occupied one of the first positions as a labor leader. No word is too bad to be said about him by most of the press, and some of the colleges; and I know, as a matter of fact, that the man, with a large family of children, never drew but one half his salary during the whole time he held office, and put the other half back into the treasury of his organization. I know a man who, if my judgment amounts to anything, is one of the ablest men in the U. S.—a man who has great powers of tongue and great powers of organization, and a true, whole-souled man, and altho, alas! he is outside the Christian Church, I venture to say, a large, whole-souled Christian, too. That man is at the head of an enormous federation in this country, and has never taken but $2.50 a day, which is due to him from his trade, and he has never taken even his $2.50 a day except when he was engaged in the active business of his federation; and when he has not been engaged in their business he has worked at his trade like anybody else. And I will tell you that this winter, with an old mother to support, that man walked the streets in the cold for three long weeks to get work (and there is no better workman at his trade), because boss after boss said, "Mr. So-and-so, you are upholding labor-unionism, and we won't give you work." That man walked for three weeks before he could get a job for $2.50 a day, rather than give in and surrender his principles. I say that if our Lord and King were back on the earth, I believe from my soul that those men would be in His train.

Of recent years, it is true, the growing powers of the unions in certain trades has exposed the walking delegate, or "business agent" as he is now commonly called, to certain great temptations to which he has not always been superior. A man who has the power or influence to call or call off, to create or prevent a strike, involving thousands and thousands of men, and also thousands and hundreds of thousands of dollars, can, if he will, traffic in that power. Those that know the trade-unions best are agreed that such "trade-union graft" is the exception, yet that it does exist and in the great cities in certain trades (see BUILDING TRADES) is not uncommon. In cases it has assumed colossal size and has done widespread harm to capital and labor. A notorious case is that of Samuel Parks (*q. v.*) in New York. Of this case, however, it should be said that it was exceptional and that it is an open question who was most to blame for his career, the employers or certain unions who blindly supported him because of his personal popularity even after his conviction. An article in *McClure's Magazine* for August, 1902, entitled "The Labor Boss," named a certain construction company which had made use of Parks in Chicago and brought him to New York under their pay. Certain it is, the article says, that strikes on their buildings were almost unknown, while the buildings of rival companies were continually delayed by strikes. The suggestion is made in the article that Parks was brought to New York to corrupt the building unions, in which he succeeded only too well. Whatever be the truth—and this article gives names and dates—it shows how intricate are the questions involved and how difficult the placing of the responsibility. That business delegates have abused their power is certain, but that as a class they are dishonest is certainly not the case, nor should organizations be blamed indiscriminately for the misdoings of occasional agents. The graft in trades-unions is certainly both in quantity and quality less than in most great capitalistic organizations.

WALLACE, ALFRED RUSSEL, D.C.L.: Scientist and Socialist; born 1823, Usk, Monmouthshire, England; educated at the grammar school, Hertford. From age of fourteen to twenty-one, with elder brother, was learning land surveying and architecture in various parts of England and Wales; was for two years English and drawing master at the Collegiate School, Leicester. Then spent two years surveying, etc., at Neath, Glamorganshire. Went in 1848 to the Amazon on a natural-history collecting expedition. In 1852, after shipwreck by fire in mid-Atlantic, returned home and spent the next two years in writing the story of his findings and adventures. Traveled, 1854–62, in Malay Archipelago from Malacca and Borneo to New Guinea, bringing home a large collection of birds, insects, etc. Has spent

the many years since in profound scientific and philosophic research, and in writing numerous books—of inestimable service to mankind. In 1890 became a Socialist. Dr. Wallace's socialism is founded on fundamental ideas of social justice. The methods he proposes are absolute "equality of opportunity" for every child born into the world; as this necessarily implies equality (not identity) of education, nurture, and a thorough equipment for an industrial life, the community must be the holder of all its land and capital. The method of transition he advocates is the resumption of all land and capital at the deaths of existing owners, their direct heirs to be adequately provided for. This he conceives to be the line of least resistance and not to involve any infraction of the fundamental principles of equity. Author: "Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro," "The Malay Archipelago," "Land Nationalization," "The Wonderful Century," "Man's Place in the Universe," "Essays, Scientific and Social," "My Life: a Record of Events and Opinions," "Is Mars Habitable?" and many works on natural history. *Address*: Broadstone, Wimborne, England.

WALLACE, JOHN BRUCE: Born in India in 1853, his father being a missionary there of the Presbyterian Church. Educated in Europe and at Queen's University, Ireland, he entered the Congregational ministry in 1878. In 1885, however, he renounced the regular ministry to devote himself to Christian socialism, and in 1887 began to publish a paper, *Brotherhood*, in Ireland. In 1891 he settled in London, and published *Brotherhood* there. In 1892 he became pastor of the Southgate Road Church ("The Brotherhood Church"), and has since been active in various brotherhood movements. *Address*: Letchworth, Herts, England.

WALLAS, GRAHAM: Publicist, and member of the London County Council; born at Sunderland, May 31, 1858. The son of a clergyman, he, after having attended Shrewsbury School from 1871–77, devoted himself to classical studies at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, from 1877–81, and took second class in *Litteræ Humaniores*; he taught classics from 1881–90; became university extension lecturer, and has since lectured to large audiences. From 1886–1904 he was a member of the Fabian Society; of the London School Board from 1894–1904; chairman of the School Management Committee, 1897–1904; and member of the Technical Education Board of the London County Council, 1898–1904. He has been lecturer in the London School of Economics since 1896, and is a member of the National Liberal Club. Wallas is author of "Life of Francis Place," 1897; and of a number of various essays. *Address*: 27 Royal Crescent, W. London.

WALSH, STEPHEN: Member British Parliament, of the Labor Party for Ince, S. W. Lancashire; born 1859; left an orphan; educated at Kirkdale Industrial Schools. He began work in 1874 as a miner at Ashton-in-Mackerfield, and continued till 1889. Having become a trade-unionist, he organized the branch of the Lancashire and Cheshire Miners' Federation. Was member of the Ashton Town Council for eight years. In 1901 he removed to Wigan as miners' agent, and was elected to Parliament in 1906. *Address*: 8 Swinley Road, Wigan, England.

WAR (see also MILITARISM). The following are estimates of the cost of recent wars:

	Cost	Loss of Life
England-France, 1793–1815	$6,250,000,000	1,900,000
Crimean War, 1854–56	1,525,000,000	485,000
United States Civil War, 1863–65	3,700,000,000	656,000
Franco-German, 1870–71	1,580,000,000	290,000
Russo-Turkish, 1876–77	950,000,000	180,000
United States Spanish War, 1898	[1]165,000,000	2,910
Boer War, 1900–01	1,000,100,000	90,898
Russo-Japanese War, 1904–05	2,250,000,000	555,900

[1] The United States alone.

These figures are only the estimates of the direct cost. The indirect cost to the industrial and economic life of a nation is often vastly more. Ancient wars were probably neither so costly or destructive, altho probably far more destruction took place in ancient times as a result of war than in modern, because wars were so constant. The cost of modern wars tends to diminish them.

WARD, JOHN: Member British Parliament, of Labor Party for Stoke-on-Trent; born 1866. Worked as a navvy on the Manchester Ship Canal, and served in the Soudan, 1885. He became a member of the Social Democratic Federation, and was arrested in Trafalgar Square, 1886. In 1889 he founded the Navvies' Union. He is a member of the Executive Council of the National Democratic League; he was elected to Parliament in 1906, chiefly by the Labor vote. *Address*: The Navvies, 129 Elmsleigh Road, East Hill, Wandsworth, London, S. W.

WARD, LESTER FRANK: Geologist, botanist, philosopher, but chiefly sociologist; born at Joliet, Ill., June 18, 1841. He received his early education in Illinois till 1860, and in Towanda, Pa., till 1862. He then served in the federal army and after the war entered Columbian (now George Washington) University, Washington, D.C., where he graduated in 1869, and from the law school of that institution in 1871, receiving the additional degrees of M.A. in 1872, and LL.D. in 1897. For seven years he worked in the Treasury Department, was successively assistant geologist, geologist, and from 1881 to 1905 paleontologist of the United States Geological Survey. During all these years the broader aspects of evolution appealed to him, and he devoted most of his leisure time to sociological studies. In 1906 he accepted a call to the professorship of sociology at Brown University. Author of numerous papers and several works on botany and paleontology. His principal sociological works are: "Dynamic Sociology," 1883; "The Psychic Factors of Civilization," 1893; "Outlines of Sociology," 1898; "Pure Sociology," 1903; "Applied Sociology," 1906. *Address*: Brown University, Providence, R. I.

WARDLE, GEORGE JAMES: Member British Parliament, of Labor Party for Stockport; born 1865 near Burton-on-Trent; began work at eight years as half-timer in Keighley, Yorkshire, and as full-timer at thirteen; in the meanwhile he attended the Wesleyan day-school. At fifteen he became clerk on the Midland Railway, and continued till 1898, when he became editor of the *Railway Review*—the organ of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants. He has written a number of pamphlets, and some poems; but is chiefly interested and instrumental in the eluci-

dation of social and labor problems. Was elected to Parliament in 1906. *Address*: 107 Brownlow Road, New Southgate, N. London, England.

WARNER, JOHN DE WITT: Free-trade writer; born 1851, Schuyler County, N. Y.; graduated in 1872, Ph.B., from Cornell University, and in 1876, LL.B., from the Albany Law School. In 1871 was editor of Ithaca *Daily Leader*; from 1871–74 professor of Latin and German at Ithaca Academy; and from 1875–76 taught the same branches at the Albany Boys' Academy. Represented New York City in the Fifty-Second and Fifty-Third Congresses. Member of Fine Arts Federation, National Sculpture Society, and of the National Society of Mural Painters; president, 1901–3, of the Art Commission of the City of New York; member of Bar Associations of the city and the State of New York, and of the United States; trustee of Cornell University. Author of numerous articles on comparative mythology, free trade, income tax, coinage and currency, single tax, municipal operation, civic art, law reform, etc., etc. *Address*: 60 Wall Street, New York City.

WARNOTTE, DANIEL: Librarian of Labor Department, Brussels; born 1871 at Brussels; studied law and political science in the University of Brussels; made doctor of laws, 1893. In 1897 was appointed to the post he now occupies as librarian (*Office du travail*). Contributes to *Revue de droit International et de Législation Comparée*; and *Kritische Blätter für die Gesammten Socialwissenschaften*, etc. M. Warnotte's views in political economy are for the largest exposition of individual activities under an efficient State control. Author: "La Question douanière en Angleterre"; collaborating with Dr. Poëls, "Legislation Comparée des Accidents du travail au point de vue Medicale"; collaborating with M. H. Maraut, "La loi sur le repos du Dimanche." *Address*: Rue Lambermont 2, Brussels, Belgium.

WARREN, JOSIAH: Philosophical anarchist; born near Boston, 1799. When Robert Owen founded the community of New Harmony (*q. v.*) Warren became interested and joined it. Its failure set him to thinking, and he came to the conclusion that in the community the individual had been made too little of; that the need was not more socialism, but more individualization; secondly, that cost was the true basis of price. (See VALUE.)

Warren determined to test the cost theory, and, about 1827, he started a store in Cincinnati, which he conducted for two years, doing business to the amount of $150,000. See Warren's "Practical Details of Equitable Commerce" (now out of print). Business was not centralized as now, and the retailer realized large profits. Warren marked his goods with the cost and added 7 per cent for rent, fuel, etc., exclusive of the labor of himself and the employees. This 7 per cent was carefully computed, and was invariable, but it allowed no profit. A clock was kept in the store, and every customer was timed and charged so much an hour for the time of the salesman. The charge for time was reduced with the increase of business. Finally, Warren issued his own money in the shape of labor notes, which he exchanged for the labor notes of his customers. His notes became a popular circulating medium.

The experiment satisfied him, and he closed his store, and later published his principal work, "True Civilization" (1846).

Warren next went to Ohio and started a community based on his ideas. He converted Stephen Pearl Andrews (*q. v.*). Later he founded Modern Times, a community on Long Island, but neither community prospered. He then lived a sort of hermit life, partly in Princeton, Mass., and died at Charlestown in 1874. He is considered by the philosophical anarchists, with Proudhon, the founder of their system of thought. (See ANARCHISM.)

WARWICK, FRANCES EVELYN, COUNTESS OF: Socialist; born 1861. The countess is a member of the Social Democratic Federation, and tho a prominent personage and leader in society, she is both sympathetically and practically identified with many of the larger public movements of the time. She is one of the Poor Law Guardians, and both at Warwick Castle and at Easton Lodge has established a complete system for the nursing of the sick and the welfare of those in need. Foundress of a college at Studley Castle, Warwickshire, for training the daughters of professional men in horticulture, dairy, bee, and poultry keeping. She has also established on the Essex estate a science and technical school for boys and girls in the rural districts of Essex; and at Warwick, a home for crippled children who are admitted free and for an unlimited length of stay. President of Essex Needlework Guild, and of many other societies. Author: "Warwick Castle and its Earls." *Address*: Warwick Castle, Warwickshire, England.

WASHINGTON, BOOKER TALIAFERRO: Principal of Tuskegee Institute; born near Hale's Ford, Va., "about 1857 or 1858"; graduated from Hampton Institute, 1875; A.M., Harvard in 1896; LL.D., Dartmouth College in 1901. His most important work was the founding, on July 4, 1881, of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute for the Training of Colored Young Men and Women, at Tuskegee, Ala., the fame of which is everywhere. Established in 1893 the Tuskegee Negro Conference for the purpose of giving information concerning the actual condition of the masses of Negro people in what is known as the Black Belt of the South; in 1900, with a view to stimulating the enterprises of Negroes along business and industrial lines, he organized the National Negro Business League. Author of "The Future of the American Negro"; "Sowing and Reaping"; "Up from Slavery"; "Story of My Life and Work"; "Character Building"; "Working with the Hands"; "Tuskegee and its People"; and many articles in magazines and elsewhere. *Address*: Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

WASHINGTONIAN MOVEMENT: This celebrated moral-suasion crusade had its origin in the reformation of a Baltimore drinking club of six men—W. K. Mitchell, a tailor; J. F. Hoss, a carpenter; David Anderson and George Steers, blacksmiths; James McCurley, a coachmaker, and Archibald Campbell, a silversmith. They were induced to change their habits by the address of a temperance lecturer, and signed the following pledge (April 6, 1840): "We, whose names are annexed, desirous of forming a society for our mutual benefit, and to guard against a practise—a pernicious practise—which is injurious to our health, standing, and families, do pledge our-

selves, as gentlemen, that we will not drink any spirits or malt liquors, wine, or cider."

They took the name of "The Washington Temperance Society," and were familiarly known as "Washingtonians." By the end of 1840 this Baltimore organization had 700 members; and under the leadership of John H. W. Hawkins, the most prominent Washingtonian agitator, the crusade spread to other cities and states. Its force was spent by 1843, but the energy developed by it was of great and lasting benefit to the general temperance cause.

WATER-WORKS: Establishments for procuring a plentiful supply of pure water to cities and towns. (For municipalization of water-works, see article PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.)

The first water-works in the United States were built at Boston, in 1652, by the Water-Works Company; the second at Bethlehem, Pa., in 1761. By 1800 the number had increased to sixteen, of which only the one at Winchester, Va., was owned by the municipality. By 1825 there were thirty-two plants, all but five being owned by private companies or individuals. A rapid increase in the municipalization of water-works took place between 1825–55, the percentage changing from 15.6 to 45.3. For ten years there seemed to be a standstill, then the number of works grew rapidly, from 162 in 1865 to 422 in 1875; of the latter number 53.8 per cent were municipal. From 1875–90 the number of works rose from 422 to 1,878, of which only 42.9 per cent were municipal. By 1896 the total number had increased to 3,196, of which 53.2 per cent were municipal. This percentage shows a zigzag line. But on the whole public ownership of the water-works has greatly increased, since 205 plants were changed from private to municipal during the century, while only twenty changed from public to private.

In 1905 there were, including the large cities, nearly 60 per cent municipally owned water-works in the U. S. "The Municipal Year Book" for 1902 had reports from 1,475 plants, divided as follows: 776 municipal; 661 private; 33 both municipal and private; 14 joint; 3 did not reply; and 47 omitted this item in their report.

Of the thirteen largest cities in the U. S., all but one, San Francisco, own their water-works; and of the thirty-eight cities with a population of 100,000 in 1900, all but eight own them: San Francisco, New Orleans, Omaha, Indianapolis, St. Joseph, Scranton, Paterson, and New Haven; two of these—New Orleans and Omaha—are favorable to the change.

The reasons for the changes from private to public are the following: (1) Private ownership was found to be profitable to individuals rather than wholesome to the cities. (2) During the years when municipal ownership went backward in the U. S. (from 1875–90), promoters had discovered the value of franchises, and they secured them from the ignorant city fathers for almost nothing; investors built the plants, and the private owners sold out to the city at high figures —thus making a profit either way. (3) With a higher education and a somewhat higher honesty in civic matters, people became aware of the fact that a matter of such importance as water-supply—on which the health of a city primarily depends—should not be left to the discretion of private individuals, since the temptation to make it a matter of profit was always lurking in the background. Cities began, therefore, to supply and control their own water—with satisfactory results on the whole. (4) Many advocates of municipal ownership of public utilities saw an opportunity here to illustrate that the public could own and operate these utilities efficiently; they used, consequently, all legitimate means to bring about a change of ownership. (5) The experience of most cities with municipal ownership encouraged others to follow their example.

The fact that water-works are almost the only example of municipal ownership in the U. S., and that the experiment has, with few exceptions, been successful, is an encouraging sign of improved honesty in public affairs.

The average rates charged private consumers by 430 companies, as shown by the "Manual of American Water-Works" for 1889–90, were 43 per cent higher than those charged by 318 cities for the same service. Many of these water-works are very profitable.

For New York City, Mayor Strong, in his message concerning the Department of Public Works (1897), makes the following report from the Bureau of Water-Register:

"For the first time in the history of the city the revenue collected last year from water rents was more than enough to reimburse the city for the entire outlay of the Department of Public Works, which is taken from taxation. To express it in another way, our water rents paid for road pavements, street lighting, care of and repairs to the entire water system, care of and repairs to public buildings, salaries, wages, and all other administrative expenses."

The report of the Water Department of Chicago for 1897 shows that the receipts were $3,226,000 and the operating expenses $285,000, leaving net earnings of $2,941,000. The investment in the Chicago Water-Works, according to the New York *Sun*, was $28,000,000, so that, besides interest on bonds for this amount, the net profits are $1,500,000. The public also receives free water in its parks, streets, and public buildings. (For water-works in Europe, see articles BERLIN; BIRMINGHAM; GLASGOW; LONDON; PARIS.)

REFERENCES: M. N. Baker, *The Manual of American Water-works*, 1897; Folwell, *Water-Supply Engineering*, 1900; Turnaure and Russell, *Public Water Supplies*, 1901.

WATSON, HON. JOHN CHRISTIAN: Member of Parliament for Bland, New South Wales; leader of Federal Parliamentary Labor Party and some time Prime Minister of the Commonwealth. Born Valparaiso, April 9, 1867; became a printer. Member of Legislature of New South Wales, 1894–1901. He first came into prominence as a labor leader when he acted as chairman of the New South Wales Labor Conference, which framed the famous pledge and formed the solidarity of the Labor Party. President of the Trades and Labor Council of Sydney, 1893–94, and president of the Australian Labor Federation, 1895; has been leader of the Federal Labor Party since 1901, and Prime Minister and treasurer of the Commonwealth, April to Aug., 1904. *Address*: Parliament House, Melbourne.

WATSON, THOMAS E.: Ex-Populist Congressman; born at Columbia, Ga., 1856; studied two years at Mercer College, taught school, and was admitted to the bar in 1875; he practised law in Thomson, Ga.; was a member of the legislature, 1882–83; member of Congress, 1891–93; and re-

sumed practise of law in 1895. As a member of Congress he secured on Feb. 17, 1893, the passage of the first resolution passed by Congress for the appropriation of money toward free rural delivery of the mails. The Populists nominated him vice-presidential candidate in 1896; the People's Party presidential candidate in 1904. He had been engaged in newspaper work several times as editor and owner; and so he began the publication of *Tom Watson's Magazine* in New York, 1905, from which he withdrew in order to establish the *Jeffersonian Magazine* in Atlanta, Ga. He is author of "The Story of France," 1898; "Life of Thomas Jefferson," 1900; "Life of Napóleon," 1902; "Bethany, a Study and Story of the Old South," 1904. *Address*: Thomson, Ga.

WAXWEILER, ÉMILE: Director of Solvay Sociological Institute, Brussels; born in the late sixties in Belgium; educated at University of Ghent; devoted himself exclusively to the study of economical and social subjects. In 1893 came to study industrial and labor problems in the United States. Returning to Belgium, was given charge of newly created Bureau of Commerce and Industry in the city of Ghent. Later he was appointed to the Bureau of Labor Statistics for the kingdom of Belgium, and completed the census of Belgian industries, which was begun in 1896. Since 1897 professor of the School of Social Science at the University of Brussels, he lectures on political economy, sociology, and statistics. In 1895 was sent by the Belgian Government to study the Sunday-rest problem in Switzerland; he obtained in 1897 first award for the international prize founded by the Musée Social of Paris. In 1901 he was appointed director of the Solvay Sociological Institute at Brussels. Author: "American High Wages"; "Profit-Sharing"; "Outlines of Sociology." *Address*: Sociological Institute, Parc Leopold, Belgium.

WAYLAND, FRANCIS: Former president of Brown University; economist; born New York, 1796; graduated at Union College in 1813. Studied medicine, but later entered the Baptist ministry. Tutor at Union College, 1817–21; pastor of the First Baptist Church in Boston, 1821–26; president of Brown University, 1827. He died in 1865. His sociological writings are: "Elements of Moral Science"(1835); "Elements of Political Economy" (1837).

WAYLAND, JULIUS A.: Publisher of *The Appeal to Reason*; born Versailles, Ind., 1854; attended the village school for about one year; learned the trade of printing in the village office; then bought the local newspaper and published it for a period of five years; moved to Harrisonville, Mo., where for two years he published the *Cass News*; moved to Pueblo, Col., engaging in the business of printing, publishing, and real estate. In 1890 was converted to socialism; moved to Greensburg, Ind., and there in 1893 started *The Coming Nation*; 1894 removed the plant to Ruskin, Tenn., and commenced a colony. After a year's residence left both paper and colony to establish at Kansas City *The Appeal to Reason*. In 1896 the *Appeal* was moved to Girard, Kan., where it has since been published under the direction of its founder. Mr. Wayland believes in the common ownership of all the means of production and distribution, democratically managed. *Address*: Girard, Kan.

WEALTH: We consider this subject under four heads: I. Definitions; II. Statistics of Wealth; III. The Concentration of Wealth; IV. Is the Concentration of Wealth Increasing or Decreasing?

I. Definitions

Wealth is usually defined in economic science as "useful or agreeable things which possess exchangeable value" (Mill). Of this definition Mill says ("Political Economy," "Preliminary Remarks"):

> Things for which nothing could be obtained in exchange, however useful or necessary they may be, are not wealth in the sense in which the term is used in political economy. Air, for example, tho the most absolute of necessaries, bears no price in the market, because it can be obtained gratuitously; to accumulate a stock of it would yield no profit or advantage to any one; and the laws of its production and distribution are the subject of a very different study from political economy. But tho air is not wealth, mankind are much richer by obtaining it gratis, since the time and labor which would otherwise be required for supplying the most pressing of all wants can be devoted to other purposes. It is possible to imagine circumstances in which air would be a part of wealth.

Senior's definition of wealth, quoted by Jevons ("Theory of Political Economy," p. 175), is the same, that wealth consists of "those things and those things only which are transferable, are limited in supply, and are directly or indirectly productive of pleasure or preventive of pain."

On the other hand, many reform writers identify wealth with well-being on the ground that it is impossible to divorce immaterial factors from material factors, and still be true to the facts of life. John Ruskin, e. g., argues that no article is useful except to those who can use it. Hence he says:

> Wealth, therefore, is "the possession of the valuable by the valiant"; and in considering it as a power existing in a nation, the two elements, the value of the thing and the valor of its possessor, must be estimated together. Whence it appears that many of the persons commonly considered wealthy are in reality no more wealthy than the locks of their own strong boxes are, they being inherently and eternally incapable of wealth, and operating for the nation, in an economical point of view, either as pools of dead water and eddies in a stream (which, so long as the stream flows, are useless, or serve only to drown people, but may become of importance in a state of stagnation, should the stream dry); or else as dams in a river, of which the ultimate service depends not on the dam, but the miller; or else as mere accidental stays and impediments, acting not as wealth, but (for we ought to have a corresponding term) as "illth," causing various devastation and trouble around them in all directions; or lastly, act not at all, but are merely animated conditions of delay (no use being possible of anything they have until they are dead), in which last condition they are nevertheless often useful as delays and "impedimenta," if a nation is apt to move too fast.

Some writers on reform distinguish between riches and wealth. Says G. Bernard Shaw in the "Fabian Essays":

> It is sometimes said that during this grotesquely hideous march of civilization from bad to worse, wealth is increasing side by side with misery. Such a thing is eternally impossible; wealth is steadily decreasing with the spread of poverty. But riches are increasing, which is quite another thing. The total of the exchange values produced in the country annually is mounting perhaps by leaps and bounds. But the accumulation of riches, and consequently of an excessive purchasing power, in the hands of a class, soon satiates that class with socially useful wealth, and sets them offering a price for luxuries. The moment a price is to be had for a luxury, it acquires exchange value, and labor is employed to produce it. A New York lady, for instance, having a nature of exquisite sensibility, orders an elegant rosewood and silver coffin, upholstered in pink satin, for her dead dog. It is made; and meanwhile a live child is prowling barefooted and hunger-stunted in a frozen gutter outside. The exchange-value of the coffin is counted as part of the national wealth; but a nation which cannot afford food and clothing for its children cannot be allowed to pass as wealthy because it has provided a pretty coffin for a dead dog.

II. Statistics

A. *The United States*

Estimated True Value of All Property, 1904

From special census report (1907)

State or Territory	Total	Real property and improvements[1]	Live stock	Farm implements and machinery	Manufacturing machinery, tools, and implements	Gold and silver coin and bullion	Railroads and their equipment	Street-railways, shipping, waterworks, etc.[2]	All other[3]
Continental United States	$107,104,211,917	$62,341,492,134	$4,073,791,736	$844,989,863	$3,297,754,180	$1,998,603,303	[1]$11,244,752,000	$4,840,546,909	$18,462,281,792
North Atlantic division	38,301,608,078	23,149,815,959	506,049,125	161,158,186	1,660,070,678	753,335,468	3,230,781,000	2,375,949,882	6,464,447,780
New England	8,823,325,592	5,506,508,204	123,877,528	38,379,411	477,137,900	131,255,994	578,383,000	449,891,836	1,517,691,719
Southern North Atlantic	29,478,282,486	17,643,307,755	382,171,597	122,778,775	1,182,932,778	622,079,474	2,652,398,000	1,926,058,046	4,946,556,061
New York	14,769,042,207	9,151,979,081	189,662,043	58,806,300	486,774,713	412,832,428	1,898,222,000	1,151,475,505	2,419,290,137
New Jersey	3,235,619,973	1,900,273,091	32,319,327	9,796,532	180,212,427	40,803,293	1,333,568,000	204,130,498	534,456,805
Pennsylvania	11,473,620,306	6,591,055,583	160,190,227	54,175,943	515,945,638	168,383,753	1,420,608,000	570,452,043	1,992,869,119
South Atlantic division	7,936,882,961	4,346,882,107	282,103,181	59,613,692	283,966,221	207,421,221	994,035,000	323,872,985	1,438,988,554
North Central division	40,820,672,079	23,995,667,095	2,087,446,242	403,735,392	921,871,716	625,510,675	4,346,413,000	1,427,319,869	7,012,708,090
South Central division	10,052,467,528	5,159,113,197	793,453,433	157,940,778	230,339,383	283,537,670	1,188,851,000	317,868,461	1,921,303,606
Western division	9,992,381,271	5,690,013,776	404,739,755	62,541,815	201,566,182	128,798,269	1,484,672,000	395,535,712	1,624,773,762
Rocky Mountain	2,958,560,074	1,400,262,198	202,735,190	18,512,915	58,302,591	32,677,627	673,054,000	78,787,478	494,228,075
Basin and Plateau	1,014,865,427	537,318,340	51,935,092	5,703,999	12,786,145	10,233,006	202,426,000	25,934,814	168,469,031
Pacific	6,019,215,770	3,752,433,238	150,069,473	38,324,901	130,477,446	85,888,036	609,192,000	290,813,420	962,076,656

[1] Exclusive of railroads, street-railways, telegraph and telephone systems, privately owned water-works, and privately owned central electric light and power stations, which in certain states are classed as real property.

[2] Including telegraph and telephone systems, privately owned electric light and power stations, Pullman and private cars, and canals.

[3] Including products of agriculture, manufactures, and mining; imported merchandise; clothing and personal adornments; and furniture, carriages, and kindred property.

For the progress and per-capita wealth of the U. S. at various dates, see article Progress. Says Dr. Josiah Strong ("Social Progress," 1904):

Mr. Mulhall wrote in 1895: "The merchandise transported by rail in the U. S. is shown by official returns to be double the amount of land-carriage (at least by railway) of all the other nations of the earth collectively." What a comment on our industrial and commercial activity, that the 70,000,000 people of the United States transport by rail twice as much merchandise as the remaining 1,400,000,000 of mankind! In 1895 we had 802,000 miles of telegraph wire—enough to encircle the earth thirty-two times, or to cross the continent 267 times.

The energy or working power of the nation, including hand, horse, and steam power, was equal, in 1895, to 129,306,000,000 foot-tons daily; that is, it was equal to lifting that number of tons one foot every day. Our working power is more than twice as great as that of Great Britain, and is nearly equal to that of Great Britain, Germany, and France combined.

With this power directed chiefly to the creation of wealth, it is not strange that we are growing rich more rapidly than any other people. Our wealth in 1820 was less than $2,000,000,000. In twenty years it had doubled, and in forty years it had increased eightfold. During the thirty years following, from 1860 to 1890, we created and accumulated $49,000,000,000—$1,000,000,000 more than the entire wealth of Great Britain; and, notwithstanding the great increase of population, our wealth per capita doubled during this interval.

The wealth of the Old World is the accumulation of many centuries, but ninety-four per cent. of ours has been created and accumulated since 1840; and we are now increasing it at the rate of $8,000,000 a day.

From the labor standpoint, labor receives but a small proportion of this wealth. The following is an estimate made from census returns by the "International Institute of Social Service" (Socialist):

The total value of production in 1900, $24,500,000,000; the total value of labor power used in production, $5,815,000,000; therefore the share of productive labor in its product as it appeared in the census year 1900 was 23.74 per cent, or less than one quarter. As shown, by industries:

1. The total value of the various products of agriculture, the forests, the mines, the quarries, the fisheries, manufacture and the hand trades, including transportation and distribution, was $24,500,000,000.

2. The number of wage-workers (men, women, and children from ten to fifteen years of age) reported in the census as employed in the above-named industries, also of those engaged in the transportation and distribution of the products, and including all the necessary labor of accountants, clerks, salesmen, saleswomen, etc., was 15,134,000. Their total earnings were $4,129,000,000.

3. The number of farmers, farm tenants, small manufacturers, artizans, shopkeepers, and others actually performing productive work was 5,110,000. The value of their labor power, liberally estimated at rates notably higher than the average of men's wages for the same class of work, was $1,626,000,000; all above this value being obviously "surplus-value," or profit, which they got, not as workers, but as owners of capital in the forms required by their respective occupations.

Therefore, to productive labor went 23.74 per cent of its product, and to exploiters of productive labor, 76.26 per cent of its product.

B. Great Britain

The following statistics are a portion of a Fabian Tract on "Wealth" (No. 5, tenth edition, June, 1906):

The annual income of the United Kingdom has been estimated by the following authorities:

Sir Louis Mallet, K.C.S.I. (India Office), 1883–1884, "National Income and Taxation" (Cobden Club), p. 23	£1,289,000,000
Prof. Leone Levi (King's College, London), *Times*, Jan. 13, 1885	1,274,000,000
Prof. A. Marshall (Cambridge University), "Report of Industrial Remuneration Conference," p. 194 (Jan., 1885), upward of	1,125,000,000
Mr. Mulhall (1892), "Dictionary of Statistics," p. 320, income for 1889	1,285,000,000
Sir R. Giffen, "The Wealth of the Empire," Journal of Royal Statistical Society, vol. lxvi., part iii., 1903	1,750,000,000
Mr. A. L. Bowley, M.A. (appointed teacher of statistics, University of London), *Economic Journal*, Sept., 1904; income for 1903	1,800,000,000
Mr. L. G. Chiozza Money, M. P., "Riches and Poverty"; income for 1904	1,710,000,000

The gross assessments to income tax have risen (1881–82 to 1901–2) by £265,542,486 (Inland Revenue Report, 1897–1898, C.—4,474 and Cd.—1,717). Allowing for a corresponding rise in the incomes not assessed and in the wages of manual labor, we may estimate the income for 1901–2 at not less than £1,800,000,000. The population in 1901 being nearly 41,500,000 (Cd.—1,727), the average annual income is about £43⅓ per head, or £174 per adult man.[1] In 1840 it was about £20½ and in 1860 £26½ per head (Mr. Mulhall, "Dictionary of Statistics," p. 245).

The total profits from the ownership of lands, houses, tithes, etc., as assessed for income tax in 1901–2, was £238,231,937; the rents of mines, quarries, iron-works, gas-works, water-works, canals, fishings, shootings, markets, tolls, etc., amounted to £40,988,572 ("Inland Revenue Report," 1902–3, Cd.—1,717). Many of these are notoriously far from being fully assessed. The total "rent"[1] of the United Kingdom must therefore amount to at least £290,000,000, or nearly one sixth of the total produce.

The profits of public companies, foreign investments, railways, etc., assessed to income tax in the United Kingdom in 1901–2 amounted to £260,274,742. The interest payable from British public funds (rates and taxes) was, in addition, £22,757,110, and from Indian, colonial, and foreign governments, £28,126,796 ("Inland Revenue Report," 1901–2, Cd.—1,717).

We have, however, to add the interest on capital employed in private undertakings of manufacture or trade. This is included with "wages of superintendence," in business profit, both for the purpose of the income-tax returns and in ordinary speech. Sir R. Giffen estimated it, in 1884, apart from any earnings of personal service, at £89,000,000 ("Essays in Finance," vol. ii., p. 403). Allowing for the increase since then, the total amount of interest cannot therefore be less than £360,000,000.

Adding hereto the rent mentioned in the preceding section, we have a total of £650,000,000 for rent and interest together.

But those who enjoy the vast unearned income just mentioned cannot all be accurately described as the "idle rich," tho they would forego none of it by refusing to work. If they are disposed to increase it by leading active lives, they can do so; and most of them adopt this course to some extent, especially those whose share is insufficient for their desires.

The numbers and total income of this large class cannot be exactly ascertained. It includes workers of all grades, from the exceptionally skilled artizan to the Prime Minister, and from the city clerk to the President of the Royal Academy.

Division of Wealth

It is convenient for statistical purposes to include in it all those who do not belong to the "manual-labor class." If we take the "rent of ability" to have increased in the same proportion as the assessments to income tax this prosperous body may be estimated to receive for its work as profits and salaries about £460,000,000 annually.

The total amount of rent, interest, profits, and salaries was estimated some years ago as follows:

Prof. Leone Levi, *Times*, Jan. 13, 1885	£753,000,000
Prof. Alfred Marshall, "Report of Industrial Remuneration Conference," p. 194 (1885)	675,000,000
Sir R. Giffen, "Essays in Finance," vol. ii., p. 467 (1886)	720,000,000
Mr. Mulhall, "Dictionary of Statistics," p. 246	818,000,000
Mr. A. L. Bowley, *Statistical Society's Journal*, vol. lviii., part 2, p. 284 (1891)	912,000,000

Since these estimates were made the wealth of the country has grown greatly, and on the basis of the increase in gross assessments to income tax, we estimate that the total drawn by the legal disposers of what are sometimes called the "three rents" (of land, capital, and ability) amounts at present to about £1,110,000,000 yearly, or just under two thirds of the total produce.

The total amount of wages was at the same time estimated by the statisticians:

Prof. Leone Levi (as above)	£521,000,000
Prof. A. Marshall (as above)	500,000,000[2]
Mr. Mulhall, "Dictionary of Statistics," p. 320	467,000,000
Sir R. Giffen, "Essays in Finance," vol. ii., p. 467	550,000,000
Mr. J. S. Jeans, *Statistical Society's Journal*, vol. xlvii., p. 631	600,000,000
Mr. A. L. Bowley (as above)	699,000,000

[1] In 1843 the total was (for Great Britain only) £95,284,497; in 1855 (for the United Kingdom) £124,871,885.

[2] These estimates, which are based on average rates of wages, multiplied by the number of workers, assume, however, reasonable regularity of employment, and take no account of the fact that much of the total amount of nominal wages is reclaimed from the workers in the shape of rent. Much must, therefore, be deducted to obtain their real net remuneration.

Allowing for the increase since these estimates were made we may safely say that the manual-labor class receives for all its millions of workers only some £690,000,000.

Rent	£290,000,000
Interest	360,000,000
Profits and salaries	460,000,000
Total (that is, the income of the legal proprietors of the three natural monopolies of land, capital, and ability)	1,110,000,000[1]
Income of manual-labor class	690,000,000
Total produce	£1,800,000,000

C. Other Countries

COMPARATIVE WEALTH OF COUNTRIES

Estimated by Mulhall, in 1896, in millions of dollars

COUNTRIES	Farms	Railways	Buildings	Merchandise	Sundries	Total
Austria	8,985	1,855	3,595	1,835	6,290	22,560
Belgium	1,770	375	875	590	1,330	4,940
Danubian states	2,540	180	680	415	1,315	5,130
France	15,465	3,315	10,795	3,005	15,870	48,450
Germany	12,540	2,775	8,775	3,385	12,785	40,260
Greece	545	30	155	75	305	1,110
Holland	1,475	230	890	520	1,285	4,400
Italy	6,995	920	2,515	1,115	4,255	15,800
Norway and Sweden	2,660	270	1,105	585	1,860	6,480
Portugal	820	115	385	160	575	2,055
Russia	13,550	1,745	5,095	2,575	9,160	32,125
Spain	6,060	540	1,400	740	3,140	11,900
Switzerland	860	220	455	245	680	2,960
United Kingdom	10,385	4,925	12,460	4,025	27,235	49 030
Europe	84,650	17,495	49,170	19,270	86,115	256,700
United States	20,710	11,330	22,230	7,815	19,695	81,750
Canada	1,555	930	725	515	1,320	5,045
Australia	1,960	695	870	440	1,415	5,380

Later Estimates ("Social Progress," 1906, p. 221)

United States	$110,000,000,000
Great Britain and Ireland	58,200,000,000
France	50,800,000,000
Germany	48,000,000,000
Russia	35,000,000,000
Austria-Hungary	20,000,000,000
Italy (Nitti)	13,000,000,000
Belgium	6,800,000,000
Spain	5,400,000,000
Netherlands	4,500,000,000
Portugal	2,500,000,000
Switzerland	2,400,000,000

For a comparison of the world's wealth in the nineteenth and preceding centuries, we of course have no exact data, but may refer to Mr. Gladstone's well-known estimate that all the wealth which could be handed down to posterity, produced during the first eighteen hundred years of the Christian era, was equaled by the production of the first fifty years of the nineteenth century, and that as much more was produced during the next twenty years. If this is a reasonable estimate, as it would seem to be, it is safe to say that for the enrichment of the world there has been more than three times as much wealth produced during this one century as during the eighteen centuries preceding.

III. Is Wealth Concentrating?

TWO VIEWS

Those who deny any concentration of wealth do not deny that in the U. S. and Great Britain the rich are getting richer, but they assert that the poor are also getting richer, and on the whole gaining on the rich. Perhaps the strongest argument for this view in the U. S. has been made by Edward Atkinson in a series of articles in the *Century* (vol. xxxiv.), quoting census and other

[1] In this connection it may be mentioned that the total income of the charities of the United Kingdom, including endowments, amounts to £10,040,000, or one per cent of the foregoing total; £2,040,000 of this, it may be added, is expended upon Bible societies alone (Mulhall, "Dictionary of Statistics," p. 112). The total cost of poor relief in 1901–2 was £15,305,642.

reports to show that on the whole wages are rising and prices falling, while, on the other hand, rates of interest are falling, so that the poor are getting an ever-increasing share of an ever-increasing product, while the rich have to invest larger amounts of capital at an ever-decreasing rate of interest.

Critics of this view show that until recently wages have not risen since 1873, and that the recent rise of wages has been accompanied by a rise of prices, some think sufficient to offset all rise in wages. Except where strong unions have raised the rate, it is asserted that wages, if raised at all, have risen very little. (See article "Wages.") As for falling interest, this is not denied, but this is no proof that profits and dividends have not risen.

The ordinary view that wealth is concentrating, to say the least, has strong support. Dr. Spahr, in his "Present Distribution of Wealth" (1896), from an examination of the surrogate court records of thirty-six counties in New York State, outside of New York City, and applying the proportion to the nation at large, comes to the conclusion that seven-eighths of the families hold but one-eighth of the national wealth, while one per cent of the families hold more than the remaining ninety-nine per cent. He constructs the following table:

Estates	Number	Aggregate wealth	Average wealth
The wealthy classes, $50,000 and over...	125,000	$33,000,000,000	$264,000
The well-to-do classes, $50,000 to $5,000...	1,375,000	23,000,000,000	16,000
The middle classes, $5,000 to $500.....	5,500,000	8,200,000,000	1,500
The poorer classes, under $500.....	5,500,000	800,000,000	150
	12,500,000	$65,000,000,000	$5,200

Professor Mayo-Smith has attempted to challenge Dr. Spahr's conclusions, but with small success. (See Professor Ely's "Evolution of Industrial Society," chap. vi., 1903). Says Dr. Spahr:

> Since the completion of this study, a volume has appeared that must set at rest all question as to extreme moderation of the estimates reached. Part ii. of the "Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1894" publishes the inventoried probates for the entire State of Massachusetts during the three years 1889, 1890, and 1891. Altho the estates for which no inventories are filed are, as a rule, the largest, the following concentration of property is exhibited: . . . the estates of $50,000 and over aggregated fifty-five per cent of the total amount of property, while estates less than $5,000 aggregated but eleven per cent of the total.

It must be remembered, too, that Mr. G. K. Holmes, expert on wealth statistics for the tenth census, found that 0.3 per cent of the people owned 20 per cent of the wealth; 8.97 per cent of the people 51 per cent of the wealth; and 91 per cent of the people only 29 per cent of the wealth.

In Great Britain the strongest argument that wealth is not concentrating has probably been made by Sir R. Giffin, president of the English Statistical Society. See his "Progress of the Working Classes," and for an answer to this see C. B. Spahr's "Present Distribution of Wealth," pp. 15–18. A more popular argument has been made by Mr. W. H. Mallock in his "Classes and Masses." He does not deny that there are absolutely more poor to-day in England than formerly, but contends that there are not so many relatively to the population, while that the great advance of numbers has been of the middle class. If one limits the wealthy to the very wealthy, none contend that they have grown in numbers; it is only contended that they have grown in wealth, and this contention Mr. Mallock dodges. For the facts involved see the preceding page.

Concentration of power, however, no one denies, especially in the U. S. We give some typical and authoritative quotations:

Who controls the United States?

In *The World's Work* [1] for Dec., 1903, Mr. Sereno S. Pratt undertakes to answer this question. He says in brief—we condense his words:

One twelfth of the estimated wealth of the U. S. is represented at the meeting of the board of directors of the United States Steel Corporation.

They represent as influential directors more than 200 other companies. These companies operate nearly one half of the railroad mileage of the U. S. They are the great miners and carriers of coal. The leading telegraph system, the traction lines of New York, of Philadelphia, of Pittsburg, of Buffalo, of Chicago, and of Milwaukee, and one of the principal express companies, are represented in the board. This group includes also directors of five insurance companies, two of which have assets of $700,000,000. In the Steel Board are men who speak for five banks and ten trust companies in New York City including the First National, the National City, and the Bank of Commerce, the three greatest banks in the country, and the head of important chains of financial institutions. Telephone, electric, real-estate, cable, and publishing companies are represented there, and our greatest merchant sits at the board table.

What the individual wealth of these men is, it would be impossible and beside the point to estimate; but one of them, Mr. John D. Rockefeller, is generally esteemed to be the richest individual in the world. But it is not the personal, but the representative, wealth of these men that makes the group extraordinary. They control corporations whose capitalizations aggregate more than $9,000,000,000—an amount (if the capitalizations are real values) equal to about the combined public debts of Great Britain, France, and the U. S. It is this concentration of power which is significant. There were at the time of the last statement 69,955 stockholders in the Steel Corporation. But the control of this corporation is vested in twenty-four directors, and this board of directors is guided by the executive and finance committees, which in turn are largely directed by their chairmen, who are probably selected by the great banker who organized the corporation and in a large part sways its policy.

In 1897 it was estimated that the stocks of the railroads in the U. S. were held by 950,000 persons. Since then there has been an immense increase in the number of stockholders, while at the same time the concentration of control has gone on rapidly, so that less than a dozen men control the property owned by more than a million of shareholders.

The Pennsylvania Railroad has 34,500 owners, but is controlled by a handful of capitalists, among whom two or three constitute the dominating force.

The manufactures of the U. S. are owned by 708,623 individuals, the capital represented being $9,831,486,500, an average of $12,463 to each person: a very fair division of wealth. But the more important of these companies—those whose output is largest and whose influence on the markets is most powerful—are under the control of a comparatively small number of men.

Of the banking power of the U. S., nearly one half is in New York and the other Eastern states. Of the aggregate of loans made by the national banks on Sept. 15, 1902, amounting to $3,280,127,480, the amount outstanding in the banks of New York, Chicago, and St. Louis, the three central reserve cities, was $877,934,942.

Examinations show that concentration of control of these great city banks has gone so far that a comparatively small group of capitalists possesses the power to regulate the flow of credit in this country. In the last analysis it is found that there are actually only two main influences, and that these are centered in Mr. Morgan and Mr. Rockefeller. It is possible to express in approximate figures the extent of the Morgan influence. It is as follows:

Insurance companies, assets	$1,063,000,000
Banks and trust companies, deposits	630,000,000
Railroad capitalization, par value	2,447,171,300
United States Steel Corporation, par value	1,528,000,000
International Mercantile Marine, par value	195,000,000
General Electric, par value	45,000,000
International Harvester, par value	120,000,000
Other industrials, par value	240,000,000
	$6,268,171,300

[1] Quotations by courtesy of *The World's Work*. Copyright, Doubleday, Page & Co.

Mr. Moody in his "Truth About the Trusts" has the following to say of the Standard Oil or Rockefeller group of financiers:

These men either entirely control or make their influence felt to a marked degree in all the greater trusts. They are in fact the real fathers of the trust idea in this country, and, of course, have always been the controlling factors in that most far-reaching and successful of all trusts, the Standard Oil Company. This latter corporation, with a par value capitalization of $97,500,000, absolutely dominates the oil industry of the U. S., supplying 84 per cent of the domestic demand of oil, and over 90 per cent of the export demand. Furthermore, it produces in the neighborhood of 200 different by-products of oil, and in nearly all of these latter industries there are said to be large profits which contribute to an important extent in making up the enormous earnings of the trust. The dividends of the Standard Oil Trust are more than $40,000,000 per year, and its net profits are reported to exceed over $60,000,000 per annum.

But it is not merely in oil and its allied industries that the Rockefeller interests are dominant. They are the controlling factors in the Copper Trust and the Smelters' Trust, and are also closely identified with the mammoth Tobacco Trust, which now practically encircles the globe. Further more, while not entirely dominant, they are interested in and display a marked influence in the great Morgan properties, such as the United States Steel Corporation. In the hundreds of smaller industrial trusts, the Rockefeller interests are also conspicuous in many ways.

Coming to the franchise aggregations, we find that everywhere the Standard Oil influence is most prominent. The Rockefeller interests practically dominate the entire public service aggregations of Greater New York, represented by over $725,000,000 of capital; they are allied in interest with the well-known United Gas Improvement Company of Philadelphia, which is itself the leading corporation of the famous Philadelphia or Widener-Elkins group, and which dominates the public utility interests in a number of the largest centers of population in the U. S., and in addition controls the lighting interests of a score or more of the smaller American cities.

And turning to the steam-railroad field, we find that the Standard Oil interests are one of the conspicuous factors and are steadily increasing their influence there. One of the greater groups (the Gould-Rockefeller) is, of course, directly dominated by them; but, as a matter of fact, the Standard influence is felt quite forcefully in all the railroad groups, and this influence is showing a steady growth throughout the entire steam railroad field. It is now freely predicted in Wall Street that the next decade will see the Rockefeller interests the single dominating force in the world of railway finance and control.

Rockefeller Interests

The great Rockefeller alliances in the railroad and industrial fields are supplemented and welded together, as it were, through the New York city financial interests of the group. Their banking influence is of very great importance, and their ramifications are far-reaching and of great effectiveness. Thus, the Standard Oil chain of banking institutions, headed by the great National City Bank, with a capital and surplus of $40,000,000, and deposits exceeding $200,000,000, includes also the Hanover National Bank, the Second National Bank, the United States Trust Company, the Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, the Central Realty Bond and Trust Company, and a number of smaller institutions. Some of these banks (particularly the National City) have strong dominating influences with the larger banking institutions of other great cities. The Standard interests are also closely allied with great life-insurance companies, such as the Equitable and the Mutual of New York.

The Morgan group of industries and transportation companies is, next to the Standard Oil interests, by far the most important. In fact, the only gigantic interests or groups which can in any sense be considered as on the same plane are the Rockefeller and Morgan groups. There are, it is true, a number of other large groups in special lines, but these two are the only distinctively great interests that dominate immense areas in all lines, steam transportation, public service, industrial, financial, banking, insurance and so forth. The great Morgan enterprises in the industrial world are the Steel and Shipping Trusts, the Electrical Supply Trust, the Rubber Trust, and a score or more of smaller aggregations. In the public utility field the Morgan interests dominate a series of lesser enterprises, but have never been so conspicuous in these lines as have the Rockefeller financiers.

But it is in the railroad world that the Morgan influence makes its greatest claim for public attention. The Morgan group of steam-railroad properties embraces over 47,000 miles of lines, or nearly twice the mileage of any other one group; and its capitalization exceeds $2,265,000,000, a sum far in excess of that of any of the other five groups, and, in fact, amounting to nearly 25 per cent of all the group railroad capital of the U. S. The Morgan railroad properties are nearly all located in growing sections of the country, and there is probably a very small proportion of worthless and unprofitable mileage embraced in the various Morgan systems. Another feature about the Morgan group is that in most cases the lines embraced absolutely dominate certain sections of the country; such as, for instance, the entire South and the great Northwest.

Morgan Interests

The Morgan domination, like the Standard Oil, makes itself felt through the means and influence of large metropolitan financial institutions and great banks, such as the National Bank of Commerce, First National Bank, Chase National Bank, and Liberty National Bank. The great life-insurance companies, such as the New York Life, and trust companies, such as the Mercantile, Guaranty, and Central Trust, are generally rated as being at least partially under the Morgan control.

It should not be supposed, however, that these two great groups of capitalists and financiers are in any real sense rivals or competitors for power, or that such a thing as "war" exists between them. As a matter of fact, they are not only friendly, but they are allied to each other by many close ties, and it would probably require only a little stretch of the imagination to describe them as a single great Rockefeller-Morgan group. It is felt and recognized on every hand in Wall Street to-day that they are harmonious in nearly all particulars, and that instead of there being danger of their relations ever becoming strained, it will be only a matter of a brief period when one will be more or less completely absorbed by the other, and a grand close alliance will be the natural outcome of conditions which, so far as human foresight can see, can logically have no other result.

Around these two groups, or what must ultimately become one greater group, all the other smaller groups of capitalists congregate. They are all allied and intertwined by their various mutual interests. For instance, the Pennsylvania Railroad interests are on the one hand allied with the Vanderbilts, and on the other with the Rockefellers. The Vanderbilts are closely allied with the Morgan group, and both the Pennsylvania and Vanderbilt interests have recently become the dominating factors in the Reading system, a former Morgan road, and the most important part of the anthracite coal combine, which has always been dominated by the Morgan people. Furthermore, the Goulds, who are closely allied with the Rockefellers, are on most harmonious terms with the Moores of the Rock Island system and the latter are allied in interests quite closely with both the Harriman and the Morgan group. The Rockefeller and Morgan group (which may be regarded as one) therefore really constitute the heart of the business and commercial life of the nation.

Professor Gustav Schmoller (Bulletin de l'Institut international de Statistique, Rome, 1896, No. 17, vol. ix.) comes to the conclusion that wealth has not concentrated much more in England than in Rome, Venice, Augsburg, etc. In Germany he finds, roughly speaking, 2 per cent of the wealth in the upper classes, 54 per cent in the middle classes, and 44 per cent in the lower classes.

WEBB, BEATRICE: Economic writer; daughter of Richard Potter, some time president of the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada, etc.; born 1858. A pupil of Herbert Spencer, she studied working-class life in Lancashire and East London; in 1885 joined Mr. Charles Booth in his social investigations, and contributed articles, on the docks, the tailoring trade, and the Jewish community, to *Life and Labor of the People*. In 1888 she gave her experience in sweating-dens to the House of Lords Committee on Sweating. In 1891 she published "The Cooperative Movement in Great Britain." In 1892 she married Sidney Webb (*q. v.*). Between that date and the present, she has collaborated with her husband in five extensive works on Trade Unionism and Local Government. (See WEBB, SIDNEY.) She is a member of the Fabian Society (London). In 1906 she was appointed a member of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law.

WEBB, SIDNEY: Economist, author, barrister at law, LL.B. (London University); born 1859 in London; educated in Switzerland and Germany; entered English civil service in 1878, filling places in the War Office, Inland Revenue and Colonial offices, from which he retired in 1891.

Lecturer on public administration at London University; chairman of the governors of the London School of Economics and Political Science in that university. A leading member of the London Fabian Society, since 1883, elected in 1902 for Deptford to the London County Council, on which he still sits, and in which he has filled the offices of chairman of Local Government Committee and chairman of the Technical Education Board. From 1900 a member of the Senate of the reorganized London University, and chairman of the Board of Studies for Economics and Political Science. Member of Royal Commission on Trade Union Law, 1903–4. Author: In collaboration with his wife, Beatrice Potter (*q. v.*), "History of Trade Unionism" (1894); "Industrial Democracy" (1897); "Problems of Modern Industry" (1898); "The Parish and the County" (1906); "The Manor and the Borough" (1907); and alone, "Socialism in England" (1889); "The London Programme" (1891); "Labor in the Longest Reign" (1897); "London Education" (1904); and in conjunction with Harold Cox, "The Eight Hours' Day" (1891). *Address*: 41 Grosvenor Road, Westminster Embankment, London.

WEITLING, WILHELM: A pioneer of German socialism; born Magdeburg in 1808. Became a tailor, but later traveled through Germany, declaring that he had been converted to communism by the reading of the New Testament; preached a Utopian socialism, mainly fashioned after the ideas of Fourier and Cabet. In 1847 went to America, but returned to Germany at the Revolution of 1848. Later went again to America, and formed a Socialist society in New York City called the Arbeiterbund. Interested himself for four years in a socialistic colony situated in Wisconsin, but remained mainly in New York, living as a clerk, but devoting himself to reform, inventions, and science. His constructive idea was a federation of the families of the world, with leaders chosen by acclamation, who should divide the products of labor, giving to all a fixt share, and to those who produced more than the average certain luxuries, on condition of their being soon consumed to prevent accumulation. Died in 1874. Author: "Die Menschheit wie sie ist, wie sie sein sollte"; "Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit"; "Das Evangelium eines armen Sünders."

WELLS, DAVID AMES: Economist; born 1828 at Springfield, Mass.; graduated at Williams College, 1847; Lawrence Scientific School, Cambridge, in 1851. Engaged for the next ten years in scientific pursuits and inventions in chemistry. Visited in 1862 and 1867 Europe on commissions of the United States Government; 1866–70 U. S. Special Commissioner of Revenue. In 1872 became university lecturer on political economy at Yale College. Mr. Wells prepared fifteen important reports for the Government of the U. S. and numerous papers for scientific associations both in Europe and America. He is best known, however, for his able advocacy of free trade, civil-service reform, and gold monometalism. He died in 1898. Author: "The Creed of the Free Trader" (1875); "Robinson Crusoe's Money" (1876); "Practical Economics" (1886); "Economic Changes" (1889); "Relation of the Tariff to Wages" (1888).

WELLS, HERBERT GEORGE: Novelist, sociologist; born Bromley, Kent, England; educated at a private school, at Midhurst Grammar School, and Royal College of Science, where he received first class honors in zoology, B.Sc. Associate of the International Institute of Sociology; honorary life member National Union of Shop Assistants. Mr. Wells has wrought nobly for the cause of socialism in England, giving it always the valuable support of his pen, especially in his many novels of socialistic interest and bearing. Member of the Fabian Society. Author: "Anticipations"; "The Discovery of the Future"; "Mankind in the Making"; "The Food of the Gods"; "A Modern Utopia"; "New Worlds for Old"; "The Days of the Comet"; "The Future in America." *Address*: Spade House, Sandgate, Kent, England.

WESTCOTT, BROOKE FOSS: Bishop, Christian Socialist; born near Birmingham in 1825. Educated at Trinity College, where he was successively scholar, fellow (1849), and professor of divinity (1876). Was also at different times assistant master at Harrow, a canon of Peterborough and of Westminster, chaplain to the queen and to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and was consecrated Bishop of Durham in 1890. At one time was president of the Christian Social Union (*q. v.*). Besides numerous writings on Biblical and religious subjects he wrote "Social Aspects of Christianity" and "The Incarnation and Common Life." Died in 1901.

WESTERGAARD, HARALD LUDVIG: Danish professor of political economy; born 1853 at Copenhagen, Denmark; studied mathematics and political economy at home and abroad. In 1883 appointed as extraordinary professor of statistics and political economy at the University of Copenhagen. In 1886 appointed ordinary professor in the chair he still occupies. Dr. Westergaard has chiefly been engaged in studies concerning the theory of statistics, life-insurance, and vital statistics. Corresponding member of British Economic Association; honorary member of Royal Statistical Society; member of Royal Commission to consider workmen's unemployment and invalidity. He is greatly interested in matters of labor legislation. In 1898 founded a Christian Social Union. Author: "Die Lehre von der Mortalität und Morbilität," "Grundzüge der Theorie der Statistik," and, in cooperation with Rubin, "Statistik der Ehen," besides several investigations published in German and English journals of economy. *Address*: Scherfigsve 3 Strj., Copenhagen, Denmark.

WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS, THE: A federation of miners west of the Mississippi, organized in Butte, Mont., in 1893. It is not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, early in its history declared for political socialism, and, occasioned perhaps by the unsettled life of the western miners, has developed into the most radical and turbulent of the labor organizations of the United States. It has been accused of practising, aiding, and countenancing every form of violence and crime in its struggles against the capitalist owners of the mines, charges on the other hand vehemently denied by its partizans, with counter-charges of conspiracy, crime, and violence on the part of the capitalists. A brief

summary of representative views will be found below:

I. A Medium View

In an interesting and informed article in the *Outlook* (May 19, 1906), Mr. William Hand makes the following statements:

The western mines are full of long-limbed, frank-eyed men who have adventured themselves far and wide upon the face of the earth. There are eastern miners who were blacklisted after leading unsuccessful strikes. There are cowboys grown tired of the trail. There are farmers who preferred prospecting to plowing. There are city men who burst the bars of their cages to breathe the open air of the West. These adventurous characters, going out into a new country and plunging into the virgin, everlasting hills, where it would seem that at last all men would stand on the same footing, have suddenly discovered that amid these primitive surroundings the modern industrial system is not only found, but is found at its worst.

No one would try to find a parallel anywhere else on earth for the reckless unscrupulousness and maddening insolence of the corporations of the Rocky Mountain States. And practical anarchism among corporations is always a strong promoter of theoretical socialism among trade-unions. If the latter is too theoretical, it at least cannot be said that the former is not sufficiently practical. . . .

The fact is that the members of the Citizens' Alliance and the members of the Western Federation of Miners are brothers under their skins. They come in the main from exactly the same breed. Two men go out prospecting. They come from the same town in Ohio. Their claims are half a mile apart. One man strikes gold. The other doesn't. One man becomes a millionaire, and a member of the Mine-Owners' Association. The other becomes a workingman and a member of the Western Federation. When you look at a group of mine-owners and then at a group of Western Federation officials, you are struck with their native resemblance to each other and with their common Americanism. They were all of them American adventurers before they became employers and employees.

Practically identical in breed, the mine-owners and the miners are practically identical in temperament. They transact their affairs on both sides with an untrammeled recklessness which is appalling, but which, if the distinction be admitted, savors of anarchy rather than illegality. . . . The lawlessness of the Rocky Mountains is the lawlessness of men not yet reduced to order. . . .

The least farcical of all the trials in connection with these outrages was that which followed the attempt at train-wrecking on the Florence & Cripple Creek Railroad. Here there was a "confession" by a man named McKinney. McKinney said he had committed the deed in company with certain unionists. On cross-examination he was forced to admit that he was a detective in the employ of agents of the Mine-Owners' Association. This does not mean that the mine-owners themselves were cognizant of his employment. On further cross-examination McKinney was forced further to admit that he had been ordered to secure the wrecking of a train for the purpose of discrediting the Federation. The cases against the men accused by McKinney were at once dismissed. But McKinney himself was never tried. S. D. Crump, attorney for the Mine-Owners' Association, went on his bond.

At the same time it would be absurd to say that there is not a possibility that in certain cases the responsibility may rest upon profligate and abandoned members of the Western Federation. There are such men in the mines of the West, and they are accustomed to deeds of violence in personal disputes, in business disputes, and in trade-union disputes. All that can be said with certainty is that there has as yet been no proof.

II. The Labor View

The following is a summary of the general labor view:

The Western Federation of Miners have neither committed nor countenanced murder, crime, illegality, nor any deeds of force, save such as were legal and to which they were driven by the conspiracy and illegal and criminal force used by the capitalists in their endeavor to break up the Federation. This is asserted of the Cripple Creek strikes of 1894 and 1904, of the Cœur d'Alene outrages (see Cœur d' Alene), of the explosions in the Vindicator and Independence mines, and particularly of the assassination of ex-Governor Steunenberg, of Idaho, Dec. 30, 1905.

According to their view of this case and of the resultant trial, it was a conspiracy of the Mine-Owners' Association or its agents—principally the Pinkerton Detective Agency—to break up the Western Federation of Miners, by the conviction of the leaders, among others, of Charles H. Moyer, the president of the Federation, and William D. Haywood, its secretary. The defense asserts that Haywood, Moyer, and George Pettibone were illegally kidnapped, taken to Idaho in a special train by Pinkerton detectives and others, arrested there, confined in the Idaho state penitentiary, transferred to the Caldwell jail and finally to the Ada County jail at Boisé. Meanwhile one Harry Orchard, a self-confessed gambler, murderer, and criminal, confessed to the dynamiting of Steunenberg, but implicated Moyer, Haywood, Pettibone, and others, as having aided in the outrage with money, etc. The labor view is that James McFarland, the Pinkerton detective, obtained the "confession" under scarcely veiled promises of immunity. After fifteen months' imprisonment, William D. Haywood was put on trial separately, May 9, 1907, and acquitted July 28th. It was held by the defense that Orchard's testimony was not supported, that there was practically no other evidence, and it was charged, on the contrary, that there was a conspiracy of the Mine Owners, who hired Pinkertons and others as spies to join the Federation, incite to violence, and then accuse the members of the Federation, or in any way break up the organization. This portion of the evidence was, however, thrown out by the judge as not bearing on the case. Moyer was released on $25,000 bail, but Pettibone detained, tho the labor view is that the case is ended, by the discovery of timber frauds involving, they claim, ex-Governor Steunenberg and Senator W. E. Borah, the leading prosecutor.

III. Capitalistic View

An anonymous writer in *The Outlook* for July 7, 1906—anonymous because he considers it unsafe to give his name—states the capitalistic view. He says in brief:

The following extract is from a speech of Edward Boyce, president of the Federation, delivered at Salt Lake on May 8, 1897. He said: "Every union should have a rifle club. I strongly advise you to provide every member with the latest improved rifle, which can be obtained from the factory at a nominal price." This appeal met with a prompt response, for five days later, on May 13th, Federation men entered the building at Mullan, Idaho, where the arms and ammunition of the state militia were stored, and forty-six rifles and 10,000 cartridges were stolen. No arrests followed. The County Commissioners of the county (Federation sympathizers) petitioned the governor to disband the militia companies because they were "a continuous menace to the peace and good order of the county." Shortly afterward a foreman of the Helena-Frisco mill, who had offended the Federation, was taken from his bed by masked men and murdered. No arrests followed.

Federation Outrages

Some officials of the Western Federation pretended to be indignant at these crimes; and yet it was discovered that 250 rifles and 50,000 cartridges were ordered by the union, on union letterhead, and paid for by a draft signed by President Vincent St. John, who was conducting the strike under the direction of Federation officials. Nowhere will be found an instance where any man has ever been expelled or suspended from membership in the Federation for this act or any other similar act; and how is it conceivable that Vincent St. John's course was not approved by the Federation since he shortly after was again at the head of a local union, altho a fugitive from justice and under indictment for murder?

To pass over the strike in Cripple Creek in 1894, conducted by the Western Federation, which surpassed any previous record in its calatog of crime, there comes again, beginning with 1899, in Cripple Creek, a series of assaults, dynamiting, and murders, which affrights humanity. These crimes, where names, dates, and all attending circumstances can be submitted, are numbered by scores and scores. The victims were uniformly men who were giving or had given offense to the Federation. The woman in the home was notified that if the husband persisted in whatever course he might be following, opposed to the Federation, some day he would not come home. Dynamite was hung by strings down chimneys in a home where a lesson was to be taught to a man prominent in prosecuting members of this organization for stealing ore, and his home demolished by the explosion which followed the fire started by his wife in preparation for supper.

From the foregoing it would seem to be clear enough why evidence has been almost impossible to secure for the conviction of the perpetrators of this interminable series of crimes against life, property, and personal liberty. It is to be noted in addition that this organization did not stop with the violences already enumerated as part of its system of defense against the consequences of its course, but in addition systematically aimed to control all local civil officers.

As an instance of the thoroughness with which they dominate a local field, the list of civil officers in the Cripple Creek District, the scene of their last activity, shows not a single officer outside of membership in the Western Federation of Miners authorized to make arrests, serve writs, or institute any other legal process. This, moreover, is entirely in keeping with the fundamental law of the organization.

No just appreciation of the situation which confronted the men [mine-owners] in the mining districts of the West is possible without a recognition of the fact that in the contests

which have occurred they have fought for personal and business freedom in a sense which no other men have during this generation. The contest was not in any large measure industrial. It was for freedom of speech and of the press; for the protection of "the present system of government."

WHATELY, RICHARD: Was born in London, England, in 1787. He studied at Oriel College, Oxford; became a Fellow of Oriel in 1811; was Bampton Lecturer for 1822; rector of Halesworth, 1822–25; Professor of Political Economy at Oxford, 1830–31; and appointed Archbishop of Dublin in 1831. He was prominent for carrying out the principles of the Roman Catholic Relief Act; was for twenty years the leading member of the Irish National Board of Education. He is also associated with "Broad Church" divinity. Besides numerous philosophic and religious writings, he published *Lectures on Political Economy* in 1831.

WHISKY RING: This was a conspiracy between United States revenue collectors and distillers, originating in St. Louis in 1872, spreading into many Western cities, and attaining great political power. Its aim was to defraud the government in the collection of the tax on distilled spirits. The method of defrauding was by the secret shipment of whisky reported as stored. In 1874 a discrepancy was discovered between the returns and shipments of the Merchants' Exchange of St. Louis and those of the revenue officers. Benjamin H. Bristow, Secretary of the Treasury, unearthed the fraud. A general seizure in three cities was made May 10, 1875. Property aggregating $3,500,000 in value was seized, and 238 persons were indicted. When the papers in these cases were laid before President Grant, he indorsed one of them with the injunction, "Let no guilty man escape." O. E. Babcock, President Grant's private secretary, was implicated, but tho acquitted, his guilt was generally conceded. No charge was ever made implicating Grant, but his tenacity in supporting his friends, even when their guilt was evident to others, made it easy for the ring to put many obstacles in Bristow's way. In one case, even, documents were tampered with. Many convictions were obtained, among others that of the chief clerk of the Treasury, Avery.

WHITE CROSS SOCIETY, THE: The White Cross movement was begun, publicly, Feb. 14, 1883, at Bishop-Auckland, England, by the Bishop of Durham, Miss Ellice Hopkins being present and bearing a prominent part. The work was taken up in this country by the Rev. B. F. De Costa, D.D., then rector of the Church of St. John the Evangelist, New York City, aided by his young men, during the winter of 1883–84, and spread throughout the United States.

The principal purposes of this organization are:

(1) To urge upon men the obligation of personal purity; (2) to raise the tone of public opinion upon the subject of morality; (3) to secure proper legislation in connection with morality.

The member promises by the "help of God" (1) to treat all women with respect, and endeavor to protect them from wrong and degradation; (2) to endeavor to put down all indecent language and coarse jests; (3) to maintain the law of purity as equally binding upon men and women; (4) to endeavor to spread these principles among my companions, and to try and help my younger brothers; (5) to use every possible means to fulfil the command, "Keep thyself pure."

The methods of the White Cross are of a varied character. All aim to fulfil its declared object: "By the full presentation of those spiritual truths which form distinguishing characteristics of Christianity, and demonstrate its unalterable hostility to every form of impurity." The methods do not favor so much the creation of new machinery as utilizing that already existing. (See SOCIAL PURITY.)

WHITE RIBBONERS. See WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

WICHERN, JOHANN HEINRICH: Founder of the Inner Mission (*q. v.*) in Germany; born April 21, 1808, in Hamburg. He was educated in his native city, and later visited the universities of Göttingen and Berlin to study theology. In 1832 he superintended a Sunday-school in Hamburg, and established the *Rauhe Haus* at Horn near by, the following year. The *Rauhe Haus* was a refuge for orphans, unemployed, poor, and otherwise needy people. In 1848 he suggested and formed the Central Committee for Inner Missions. In 1849 the Prussian Government entrusted him with the supervision of the 10,000 orphans of Upper Silesia—whose parents had died in a typhus epidemic—and in 1851 with the reform of jails and prisons. He was appointed a member of the highest ecclesiastical council in Prussia, 1859, and lived half the year in Berlin to attend to his numerous duties there in this new office. He took an active part in the organization of the society for sick and wounded soldiers, 1866 and 1870–71. Two years later he resigned his position in Berlin. Died 1891. He is author of "Die Mission der deutschen Evangelischen Kirche," 1849, 3d ed., 1889; editor of *Die Fliegenden Blätter aus dem Rauhen Hause*, 1844 until his death; *Der Dienst der Frauen in der Kirche*, 1858; *Die Behandlung der Sträflinge*.

WILBERFORCE, WILLIAM: Principal founder of the English Anti-Slavery Society; born at Hull, England, in 1759; educated under Methodist principles at Wimbledon and at St. John's College, Cambridge. In 1780 was elected to the House of Commons and became an intimate friend of Pitt, tho always voting independently. In 1787 he organized a society against vice; soon after was influenced by Clarkson toward his great lifework. In 1789 he first proposed the total abolition of the slave-trade, and in 1807 his bill was carried in the House of Commons and through the House of Lords. He still, however, labored for its victory in Parliament and without. In 1822 he shared in the founding of an antislavery society. He died in 1833, one month before the passage of the Emancipation Bill. (See SLAVERY.) He was interested in many other reforms, and published in 1797 "A Practical Review of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes Contrasted with Real Christianity."

WILKIE, ALEX.: Member British Parliament, of Labor Party for Dundee; born 1850; educated at the public schools of Leven. He was apprenticed to a shipwright at Glasgow, became secretary of the Glasgow Shipwrights in the early seventies, later general secretary of the Associated Shipwrights' Society. He is a strong Federationist, and became chairman of the Norwich scheme in 1894, and a member of the Trade-Union Congress Committee which brought about a federation of the trades. He has held a number of offices in the union, and was a member of the Labor Representation Committee. He has visited America twice as representative of the Federation of Labor, at Detroit, 1889, and as a member of the Moseley Commission in 1902; is a Freemason, an Odd Fellow, and a member of the City Council. He was elected to Parliament 1906. *Address*: 8 Eldon Square, Newcastle-on-Tyne, England.

WILL, THOMAS ELMER: Economic writer and reformer; born 1861, Stone's Prairie, Ill.; earned money for education by teaching in country school; graduated Illinois Normal University, 1885; principal in village and city schools until 1888; student in University of Michigan, 1888–89; studied history and economics at Harvard; graduated as A.B. 1890. Specialized at Harvard in economic and social science, 1890–91. At end of year received his A.M.; 1891–93 was professor of history and political science in Lawrence University. During 1893–94 studied, lectured, and wrote in Boston. Was professor of economic science in Kansas Agricultural College, 1894–97, and 1897–99 was president of the college; 1900–1905 was in Chicago, at Ruskin College, Missouri, and in Wichita, Kan., teaching, lecturing, writing. In July, 1905, he entered the Census Office at Washington; and was transferred, April, 1906, to the editorial staff of the Forest Service in the Department of Agriculture, and since 1906 has been secretary of the American Forestry Association. Mr. Will, from 1890 to 1894, was a single taxer, but has gradually developed into socialistic views. Author: Several hundred magazine and newspaper articles and editorials relating to education, economics, politics, religion, and socialism. *Address*: 1311 G Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

WILLARD, FRANCES ELIZABETH: Founder of Woman's Christian Temperance Union; born Churchville, N. Y., 1839. Her parents removed to Oberlin, Ohio, in 1841, where they were students in the college until 1846. They then went to Wisconsin and founded "Forest Home," near Janesville, going to Evanston in 1858. Here Miss Willard graduated from the Women's College. In 1861 she became a teacher, beginning in the public school of her own town and ending as professor of English composition in the university. In 1868 she traveled abroad for nearly two years and a half. On her return she was made president of the Women's College in Evanston. In 1874 she began her temperance work as president of the Chicago W. C. T. U. She was also made secretary of the Illinois W. C. T. U., and in November of that year, at the first convention of the National W. C. T. U., became its corresponding secretary.

In 1878 Miss Willard became chief editor of the Chicago *Daily Evening Post.* In that year she was elected president of the National W. C. T. U.

In 1880, accompanied by the Misses Gordon, Miss Willard made a tour of all the Southern states, introducing a knowledge of the spirit and method of the White Ribbon movement.

In 1883 Miss Willard and her secretary, Miss Anna Gordon, visited every state and territory in the United States and several Canadian provinces, holding the first temperance conventions ever called together in several of the Western territories. In 1883, on her return from California, proposed to the National W. C. T. U. a plan for organizing the World's W. C. T. U., which was accepted, and a polyglot petition to all governments was sent out. This petition received 3,000,000 signatures and attestations in fifty languages.

Temperance Work

In 1885 she urged upon the National W. C. T. U. Convention the importance of adding a Department of Social Purity work to those already formed, which was done, and she was placed at its head. Petitions were then circulated in all parts of the U. S., asking for the better protection of women, and much has been gained in the way of legislation. She was made a member of the General Conference of the Methodist Church, to which she had belonged since her girlhood, but a ruling of the bishops prevented any recognition of this election. Was editor-in-chief of the *Union Signal*, official organ of the World's and National W. C. T. U., and corresponding editor of Lady Henry Somerset's paper, *The Woman's Signal* (London).

Other Reforms

Miss Willard was also one of the founders of the National and International Women's Council and first president of the council.

Miss Willard's devotion to the cause of woman's suffrage and the Labor movement is well known; was the author of the "home protection" movement, which means the ballot for women as a method of temperance work; also of the expressive phrase "The do-everything policy of the W. C. T. U." She has often stated her platform in these words: "No sectarianism in religion, no sectionalism in politics, no sex in citizenship!" In economics she called herself a Christian Socialist. She built up the largest organization of women in the world. Universally mourned, she died, 1898. Author: "Nineteen Beautiful Years"; "Hints and Helps for the W. C. T. U."; "Women and Temperance, How to Win"; "Woman in the Pulpit"; "A Classic Town"; "Glimpses of Fifty Years"; "A Young Journalist"; and collaborated in "A Great Mother, the History of St. Courageous."

ISABEL SOMERSET.

WILLIAMS, J.: Member British Parliament, of Labor Party for Gower, Glamorganshire; born in 1861, he began work in the collieries, and became chief agent of the Western District Miners' Association, and has been general secretary of the Amalgamated Society of the South Wales Colliery Workers since 1890. He was elected to Parliament in 1906 by the votes of the miners. *Address*: Miners' Association Offices, Swansea, Wales.

WILLIAMS, TALCOTT: Journalist; born 1849 at Abeih, in Turkey; educated at Phillips Academy, Andover, and Amherst College, class of 1873; served on staff of *New York World* 1873–77; Washington correspondent of *New York Sun*, 1877–79; editorial writer for *Springfield Republican* 1879–81. Since 1881, editorial writer for the *Philadelphia Press.* A frequent contributor to literary and philosophical journals, Mr. Williams has wielded a large and powerful influence as well in literature as real life. Two colleges and two universities have dignified him with a doctorate in letters—Amherst and Hobart, Western Reserve and Rochester. In matters economic and social, he declares himself a believer in free contract, free competition, and free labor, subject to such restrictions in regard to child-bearing and child life as are necessary to maintain at its highest efficiency the reproductive agencies of the community. Such a régime, he believes, has steadily tended to diffuse wealth, to improve the condition of those who labor, and to increase the joy, the dignity, and the promise of the general mass of the people. *Address*: 916 Pine Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

WILMS, DR. HEINRICH: Mayor of Posen; born 1866 at Huenshoven, province of the Rhine, Germany; educated at the public schools, the high school, and in 1885 passed the entrance examinations for college; then studied law in Heidelberg, Munich, and Bonn; received, in 1888, as "Referendar" to the court; in 1893 was made "Assessor," and was for some time a judge at the court of Cologne. Appointed mayor's assistant at Bonn in the year 1895. During the three years he occupied this position he worked particularly in aid of the poor, gained admission of women to the city's Poor Department, obtained for them the same rights and duties as the male attendants had and the district superintendents of the poor. This was the first instance in Germany where women were accorded equal rights with men in charities aid organizations, and, curiously enough, Bonn remains to this day the only place where women workers as compared with men are not in the great majority. Accepted in 1899 the same position in Düsseldorf, with a special assignment to the work of improving the wharves of the Rhine. During this appointment was also honorary director of the Düsseldorf Exposition of Industries and Trades. Dr. Wilms was elected Mayor of Posen in 1903. *Address*: Posen, Germany.

WILSHIRE, GAYLORD: Editor of *Wilshire's Magazine* (Socialist); born Cincinnati, Ohio, 1861; entered Harvard College 1881, but did not graduate; in 1884 went into gold-mining in California; founded in 1889 at Los Angeles a weekly Socialist paper, *The Nationalist*; in 1890 ran for Congress as a Socialist; in 1891 he was Socialist Party's candidate for Attorney-General of New York. Went to England, and in 1893 at Manchester became candidate for Parliament of the Social Democratic Federation. Returning to California, was again candidate to represent the cause of the Socialist Party in Congress. In 1900 he founded at Los Angeles *The Challenge*, a Socialist weekly; in 1901 he moved the paper to New York City. Here *The Challenge* was debarred from the United States mails on the ground that it was merely an organ for the advertising of ideas and ideas so essentially personal to the editor, that therefore *The Challenge* was purely an advertising magazine. Mr. Wilshire then moved the magazine to Toronto, Canada, changing the name to its present title, and from there sent it freely everywhere throughout the U. S. until 1904, when he returned with his magazine to New York City. While in Toronto he was candidate for the Canadian Parliament, and on returning to New York in 1904 was made the Socialist Party's candidate for Congress. Mr. Wilshire is now President of the Beaver National Bank of New York City. *Address*: 200 William Street, New York City.

WILSON, JOHN: Member British Parliament, of Labor Party for Mid Durham; born in 1837, he began work at the age of ten in Durham, later in American mines; and was instrumental in forming the Miners' Association in 1869; became its treasurer in 1882, financial secretary 1890, and corresponding secretary in 1896. He was a member of Parliament for Houghton-le-Spring division in 1885–86, and has been returned for Parliament by his present constituency continuously since 1895. In 1906 the miners, assisted by the Liberals, elected him again. *Address*: 1 North Road, Durham, England.

WILSON, JOSEPH HAVELOCK: Member British Parliament, of Labor Party for Middlesborough; born 1858 at Sunderland; he became a seaman, and founded the National Amalgamated Sailors' and Firemen's Union in 1887; was imprisoned during the Cardiff strike in 1891. He was elected to Parliament in 1906, but sat for his district from 1892–1900. The laborers with the assistance of the Liberals elected him. *Address*: Maritime Hall, West India Dock Road, London, E. England.

WILSON, WILLIAM TYSON: Member British Parliament, of Labor Party for West Houghton, S. E. Lancashire; elected 1906; born near Windermere, Westmoreland. He was apprenticed to a joiner and carpenter at Hawkeshead, and worked at the trade in Barrow, Bury, and Bolton. In 1877 he joined the trade society, and has since been in office almost continuously. Was a member of the executive council in 1893–95; became chairman in 1897, and been continued since. He was one of the founders of the Bolton Building Trades Federation, and assisted in the prevention of a lockout in the building trades 1899. He was chairman of the employees' committee which met the National Federation of the Master Builders' Reconciliation Boards for the building trades. In 1895 and since he has been instrumental in bringing about various conferences of his union with the master builders, the result of which was the establishment of conciliation boards and the effective prevention of strikes in the building trades. He has represented his union at several conferences of the Trade-Union Congresses, and those of the Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades Federations. His interests center chiefly in the organization of the skilled working men. *Address*: 248, Oxford Grove, Bolton, England.

WINKELBLECK, KARL GEORGE: German Socialist writer; born 1810 in Ensheim, near Mayence. He became a professor of chemistry, but in 1843, traveling to study technological subjects, he met in Norway a German artizan and became interested in what he heard and saw of the sufferings of the working classes. The result was his book, "Untersuchungen über der Organization der Arbeit oder System der Weltökonomie," 1851–55, written under pseudonym of Carl Marlo, and now recognized as one of the ablest statements of German socialism. He died in 1865.

WISE, HON. BERNHARD RINGRASE, K.C.: Some time State Attorney-General of New South Wales, Australia; born Sydney, Feb. 10, 1858; editor *Rugby*, Queen's College, Oxford; president of the Oxford Union and Athletic Club, 1880. Called to bar in England, 1883; appointed Queen's Counsel, 1898; elected to Legislature, New South Wales, 1887–89 and 1891–94; Attorney-General in Parkes Ministry and in Lyne government, 1899–1901. Took active part in free-trade movement and in movement for Australian Federal Union; member of the National Convention which framed Commonwealth Constitution, 1897–1898. Author of Bankruptcy Act and Industrial Arbitration Act. Identified with prison reform and founded the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Association. Author of "Industrial Freedom." *Address*: Australian Club, Sydney.

WOLFF, HENRY WILLIAM: Chairman of the International Cooperative Alliance; born Dec. 30, 1840, at Leeds, England. After being educated at a private school he studied for some years at the universities of Bonn and Heidelberg. Later he traveled extensively on the Continent in order to finish his education and to inquire into social and industrial conditions. On his return to England he advocated social reforms in his writings, and took a prominent part in the founding of the International Cooperative Alliance, which has extended its work over twenty-five counties. He believes that social betterment can be brought about by the breaking down of class distinctions, by leveling up by means of moral and educational influences, and by self-help. Author: "People's Banks—A Record of Social and Economic Success"; "Cooperative Banking—Its Principles and Its Practise"; "Agricultural Banks"; "People's Bank Manual"; "Village Banks"; "Cooperative Credit Banks"; "Employer's Liability—What Ought It to Be?" *Address*: Reform Club, London, S. W., England.

WOLOWSKI, LOUIS FRANÇOIS MICHEL RAYMOND: Social economist; born Warsaw, 1810. He studied in Paris, but took part in the Polish Revolution of 1830. He became professor of law in the Conservatoire des Arts and Métiers at Paris in 1839, and sat in the Constituent Assembly in 1848. His best-known works are: "De l'Organisation du Travail' (1843); "L'Or et l'Argent" (1870). Died at Gisors, France, in 1876.

WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION: The National and the World's Unions are organizations of women for the protection of the home, the abolition of the liquor traffic, and the triumph of Christ's golden rule in custom and in law.

The National W. C. T. U. is the lineal descendant of the Woman's Temperance Crusade of 1873–74, when in fifty days the liquor traffic was swept out of 250 towns and villages. The logic of events soon forced the women to enlarge the circle of their work until it included "not only mental suasion for the man who thinks and moral suasion for the man who drinks, but legal suasion for the drunkard-maker and prison suasion for the statute-breaker." The National W. C. T. U. of the United States was organized Nov. 18, 19, and 20, 1874, in Cleveland, Ohio. It is organized in every state and territory in the nation, including the District of Columbia and Hawaii, and locally in about 10,000 towns and villages. There are 350,000 members and men are admitted as honorary members. The national motto is: "For God and Home and Native Land." The watchwords are: "Agitate, Educate, Organize." The badge is a small bow of white ribbon. The lines of work are: (1) Organization. (2) Preventive. (3) Educational. (4) Evangelistic. (5) Social. (6) Legal. Under these six heads are grouped forty departments, each one under the charge of a national superintendent. Following the suggestion of Miss Frances E. Willard, who was president from 1878 to 1898, the National W. C. T. U. worked for scientific temperance instruction in the public schools and secured mandatory laws for it in every state; and in the territories and the District of Columbia through congressional legislation. The W. C. T. U. has been the chief factor in state campaigns for statutory prohibition South as well as North, and for constitutional amendments. It aided very materially in securing the anticanteen amendment to the army bill, which prohibits the sale of intoxicating liquors in all army posts. It keeps a superintendent of legislation in Washington during the entire session of Congress to look after reform bills. Congressman-elect Roberts, the polygamist, was prevented from taking his seat in the U. S. Congress by petitions and protests largely gathered by the W. C. T. U. It has been an important factor in the Smoot investigation and is creating public sentiment which it is believed will result in a national constitutional amendment prohibiting polygamy. It has obtained antigambling and anticigarette laws. It has secured many laws for the protection of women and girls, raising the age of protection for girls in every state but two, and securing the appointment of police matrons in nearly all the large cities of the U. S. It has created public sentiment in favor of equal suffrage, equal purity for both sexes, equal remuneration for work equally well done, equal educational, professional, and industrial opportunities for men and women. It has a bureau of scientific research, and sends authoritative statements from prominent physicians who are in favor of medical temperance to practitioners throughout the U. S.; and appeals to publishers of newspapers asking them to discontinue the advertising of alcoholic and other harmful proprietary medicines. It distributes millions of pages of literature every year and fills thousands of columns in the daily and weekly newspapers. The National W. C. T. U. publishes two papers: *The Union Signal*, its official organ, and *The Crusader Monthly*, for young people, and the department of Scientific Temperance Instruction.

History

The World's W. C. T. U., founded by Miss Frances E. Willard in about 1883, is organized in fifty nations with a total membership of about half a million. It is the largest society composed exclusively of women and conducted entirely by them. It has held seven conventions: Boston, Mass., in 1891; Chicago, Ill., in 1893; London England, in 1895; Toronto, Canada, 1897; Edinburgh, Scotland, 1900; Geneva, Switzerland, in 1902, and Boston in 1906. The World's Union has circulated a "Polyglot Petition" in all parts of the world, asking the governments to do away with the manufacture of and traffic in alcoholic liquors and opium and the legalization of impurity. It is the largest petition ever presented on behalf of any object and the most international in its proposed reforms. It has been presented to the President of the U. S., to Queen Victoria, and the Governor-General of Canada.

The officers of the National W. C. T. U. are: President, Mrs. Lillian M. N. Stevens; vice-president at large, Miss Anna A. Gordon; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Susanna M. D. Fry; recording secretary, Mrs. Elizabeth Preston Anderson; assistant recording secretary, Mrs. Sara H. Hoge; treasurer, Mrs. Harriet W. Brand. The officers of the World's W. C. T. U. are: President, the Countess of Carlisle; vice-president at large, Mrs. Lillian M. N. Stevens; honorary secretaries, Miss Agnes E. Slack, Miss Anna A. Gordon; honorary treasurer, Mrs. Mary E. Sanderson.

Miss Frances E. Willard originated the "Do Everything Policy" of the W. C. T. U., and often stated her platform in these words: "No sectarianism in religion, no sectionalism in politics, no sex in citizenship."

Declaration of Principles

We believe in the coming of His Kingdom whose service is perfect freedom, because His laws, written in our members as well as in nature and in grace, are perfect, converting the soul.

We believe in the gospel of the Golden Rule, and that each man's habits of life should be an example safe and beneficent for every other man to follow.

We believe that God created both man and woman in His own image, and therefore we believe in one standard of purity for both men and women, and in the equal right of all to hold opinions and to express the same with equal freedom.

We believe in a living wage; in an eight-hour day; in courts of conciliation and arbitration; in justice as opposed to greed of gain; in "peace on earth and good-will to men."

We therefore formulate, and for ourselves adopt, the following pledge, asking our sisters and brothers of a common danger and a common hope, to make common cause with us, in working its reasonable and helpful precepts into the practise of every-day life.

I hereby solemnly promise, God helping me, to abstain from all distilled, fermented, and malt liquors, including wine, beer, and cider,[1] and to employ all proper means to discourage the use of and traffic in the same.

To confirm and enforce the rationale of this pledge, we declare our purpose to educate the young; to form a better public sentiment; to reform, so far as possible, by religious, ethical, and scientific means, the drinking classes; to seek the transforming power of divine grace for ourselves and all for whom we work, that they and we may wilfully transcend no law of pure and wholesome living; and finally, we pledge ourselves to labor and to pray that all these principles, founded upon the Gospel of Christ, may be worked out into the customs of society and the laws of the land.

In addition to the above the World's W. C. T. U. declares:

To this end we plead with all good women throughout Christendom to join with us heart and hand in the holy endeavor to protect and sanctify the home as that Temple of the Holy Spirit which, next to the human body itself, is dearest of all to our Creator, that womanhood and manhood in equal purity, equal personal liberty and peace, may climb to those blest heights where there shall be no more curse.

We ask all women like-minded with us in this sacred cause to wear the white ribbon as the badge of loyalty; to lift up their hearts with us to God at the noontide hour of prayer; to take as their motto, "For God and Home and Every Land," and to unite with us in allegiance to the foregoing declaration of principles and to the summary of our plans and purposes, as embodied in the preamble of our constitution adopted in Faneuil Hall, Boston, Mass., U. S. A., Nov. 11, 1891.

Preamble

In the love of God and of humanity, we, representing the Christian women of the world, without distinction of race or color, band ourselves together with the solemn conviction that our united faith and works will, with God's blessing, prove healthful in creating a strong public sentiment in favor of personal purity of life, including total abstinence from the use of all narcotic poisons; the protection of the home by outlawing the traffic in alcoholic liquors, opium, tobacco, and impurity; the suppression by law of gambling and Sunday desecration; the enfranchisement of the women of all nations, and the establishment of courts of national and international arbitration which shall banish war from the world.

Lillian M. N. Stevens.

WOMAN'S ECONOMIC POSITION IN GREAT BRITAIN: In Great Britain, as in all industrial countries, the work of women is paid, on the whole, at a less rate than the work of men. It is, however, extremely difficult (for reasons to be examined presently) to estimate how far, if at all, this difference is a direct consequence of difference of sex. There exists, unquestionably, a vague general impression, amounting in many minds to almost the dimensions of a maxim, that the wages of a woman "need not be" so high as those of a man. For this impression custom and the current notion that a man's wages represent a family income while a woman's represent only a personal income are, no doubt, largely responsible.

Differences due to the prevalence of such feelings are not, in the strict sense of the word, *economic* differences.

[1] State and local constitutions can include the words "as a beverage," if desired.

There is, however, another and more important cause of difference between the payments of men and women, respectively; and this cause, though arising primarily from social custom, becomes, in its secondary developments, really economic. This cause is the fact that in most industries women expect to cease from working at marriage. They expect, that is to say—and in the majority of cases the expectation is fulfilled—to follow their callings for only a very few years; they expect to be, and generally they are, rather transient than permanent workers.

Now, transient workers, even altho they may be inherently equally efficient, are of less value to an employer than permanent ones. Every change of hands involves a slight temporary waste of power, nor can any worker, in a short period of work, attain to the higher levels of skill and experience. Moreover, when a worker expects to be employed for only a few years it is not, financially speaking, worth her while to spend a large proportion of those years in being trained or taught. A girl who enters the labor market at fifteen and looks forward to leaving it at twenty-two, is naturally disinclined to spend seven years in apprenticeship—as her brother may be disposed to do, who expects to follow his calling for forty years or more. The more transient worker, therefore, is also the less trained. Thus it comes about that the less skilled branches of industry generally fall into the hands of women, not because women are naturally less capable, but because the probable course of their lives renders them unwilling to undergo prolonged training. This sort of specialization it is which makes any valid comparison between the wages of men and women, as such, almost impossible. Competition between a man and a woman engaged in precisely similar work is exceedingly rare. Where, however, occasional instances occur the woman will, almost invariably, receive less remuneration, even at a piece-work rate. Miss Irwin, secretary of the Scottish Council for Women's Trades, reports having seen the wage-book of a master printer in Scotland who employed both men and women as compositors and who entered and calculated the work of both according to the same piece-work scale. After adding up the several totals, however, he performed, in the case of each woman, a little sum in subtraction and handed to her two thirds of the amount "booked" to her credit. In the same way, when an employer exchanges a man-clerk whose salary has probably been £2 a week, for a woman-clerk, he will probably offer to the latter 14*s.* or 15*s.*, altho he will often admit that the woman does the same work quite as well and gives less trouble. Perhaps that last clause may be, in some degree, an explanation. Women, as workers, are exceedingly apt to "give less trouble"; that is, to endure, without much protest, very unsatisfactory conditions of labor. And this docility, again, is partly due to the habit of regarding industrial work as merely a temporary condition.

Women Workers

While it is practically impossible to measure the share of these various influences in determining the well-nigh universal inferiority of women's remuneration, one fact may be noted which seems to indicate that the expectation of marriage is one of the most powerful. This is the fact that in occupations not habitually given up on marriage the remuneration of women approximates far more nearly to that of men. In

the artistic and literary professions, indeed, payment varies not with the sex but with the individual. The same thing is true of the Lancashire cotton-weavers, who habitually continue to work after marriage. The Amalgamated Weavers' Association is a strong trade-union of men and women (about 80,000 women out of a total of about 120,000 members) and all the members are paid at the same piece-work rate.

Very different from the position of the highly skilled and well-organized women of Lancashire is that of the young unorganized workers in such a district as the East End of London. Young workers in the lowest departments of factory work are paid, not infrequently, as little as 5*s.* a week—a wage upon which it is entirely impossible for them to maintain themselves independently at any civilized level. The average wage of factory girls from fifteen to eighteen years old, in what are called the "unskilled" trades, appears to range from about 7*s.* to about 10*s.* per week. Workers over twenty years of age will generally earn rather more; but the woman in such trades who, not being a forewoman, receives as much as £1 per week is exceptional.

The payment of dressmakers seems somewhat higher; a "full-hand," in London, would receive 14*s.* and upward.

Female shop assistants (and also male shop assistants) generally "live in"; i. e., they are boarded and lodged on the premises of their employer. Their salaries and their hours, by which, of course, their salaries must be measured, vary greatly according to the character and standing of the shop in which they are engaged: £20, £25, or £30 per annum are very ordinary rates. To this nominal salary there will in many cases be additions, commissions on sales—especially of certain specified goods—being not uncommon. On the other hand, fines are frequently inflicted for every breach of an extensive code of rules; and in a good many houses the diet is so Spartan that the "young people" are often obliged to make additions to it at their own expense. In this calling the difference between the remuneration of men and of women is far less than in many others.

Among clerks, whose work appears to have no clear dividing line of sex, this difference is perhaps at its greatest. Instances are not infrequent of responsible posts being offered to thoroughly competent young women at the rate of 12*s.* to 14*s.* per week. In one such case the young woman was to be bookkeeper and cashier to a well-known and wealthy firm and many thousands of pounds would have passed through her hands in the year. Fourteen shillings per week was the payment allotted. No man would have been asked to undertake the work *at less* than 30*s.* a week. The reason of this great divergence is not very easy to fix; it seems probable, however, that clerkships and situations in restaurants, etc. (where also the attendants do not "live in"), attract a great number of girls living at home and partly maintained by relatives, that these girls, very foolishly, are content to accept what is called a "pocket-money wage," and that the competition of these parasitic workers determines a very low average of pay all round.

Domestic servants are relatively well paid, especially in London, where a general servant or a housemaid will receive from £18 to £25 a year, besides board and lodging; a parlor-maid, rather more; a good children's nurse, from £20 to £30. A highly trained cook can command from £30 to £50—a salary higher than that of some resident teachers in boarding-schools. Altho domestic service is reported to occupy in London "about one third of the total unmarried women over fifteen," and altho it is by far the largest women's industry in the United Kingdom, the demand for competent servants is very much greater than the supply; and as the requirements in the way of skill grow continually higher, while the reluctance of workers to enter the calling does not apparently diminish, it seems likely that the discrepancy will be maintained and even become intensified. Eventually the pressure may probably be lightened by improved training on the one hand and on the other by a change in the methods of employment and an approximation of domestic service to the conditions of other industries that are found more acceptable to the workers.

Sick nursing, altho it has become a skilled calling with elaborate courses of training, with examinations and certificates, was, in the majority of cases, very ill paid until not very many years ago. In this instance the explanation lies partly in the idea that nursing the sick was rather a work of mercy than a means of livelihood and partly in the presence of middlemen who, while charging high fees to the public for the services of a trained nurse, paid very small salaries to the nurses. These middlemen were sometimes the authorities of hospitals who made money by hiring out their nurses and sometimes agencies admittedly commercial. Some years ago, however, nurses began to combine into agencies of their own, and this movement has steadily, tho not even yet very largely, raised the general average of their remuneration. There are probably few, if any, trained nurses, nowadays, who accept a salary of £25 per annum, with board and lodging when not "at a case." The minimum charge for the services of a trained nurse in a private house is generally two guineas (£2 2*s.*) per week besides board and lodging, so that a nurse who has a good connection and deals with her clients direct is decidedly better paid than any of the workers hitherto mentioned.

Education presents itself as a calling employing men and women in much the same kind of work. In the volume of statistics issued by the Board of Education in 1906 are to be found two tables showing the salaries of certificated teachers in public elementary schools. Of 13,618 head masters the average yearly salary was £160 9*s.* 5*d.*; that of 14,348 assistant masters, £114 8*s.* 10*d.* Of 17,539 head mistresses the average salary was £109 13*s.* 2*d.*, and that of 32,428 assistant mistresses, £83 11*s.* 3*d.*

Women in Education

No head mistress received as much as £350 per annum, and only 14 as much as £300; while 164 head masters received over £350 (4 of these £500 or over) and 129 received between £300 and £350. One head master and 16 head mistresses were paid less than £50 a year. Of assistants no woman attained a salary of £200 per annum and only 69 women a salary of £150 and over; while no less than 285 were paid less than £50 a year. The men assistants receiving less than £50 numbered only 4; while 17 received upward of £200, one of these receiving £400—or £50 a year more than the best paid head mistress. It should be said that these figures are two years old and that both men and women are probably receiving rather more, but the proportionate rates remain much the same.

In the secondary schools under the London County Council the lowest salary for a head master is £400, and the highest £800; the lowest

salary for a head mistress £300 and the highest £600. The salaries of assistant masters range from £150 to £350 a year; those of assistant mistresses from £120 to £250. Very similar differences prevail throughout all branches of the teaching profession.

In journalism, in the various arts (painting, acting, literature, etc.), these discrepancies disappear. Some branches are extremely unremunerative but not more unremunerative for women than for men. The prizes in journalism, it is true, belong to men; no woman has yet succeeded in being appointed as editor of a large newspaper; but on the other hand the most profitable novels published in England at the present day are probably those written by two women. It appears, therefore, on the whole that the comparative underpayment of women is due principally to the fact that women generally do not continue to pursue a definite calling after marriage. Of course women, like men, are liable, under a system of free competition, to be reduced to the barest subsistence level; but they are liable to this fate not as women but as workers happening to possess nothing in the nature of a monopoly.

Women also are more exposed than men to the competition of the parasitic worker, i. e., that of the partly supported worker who accepts less than a subsistence wage. This form of competition is often attributed to married women, but investigation seems to show that married women are particularly stout in resisting reductions. Married women, as an experienced employer has been heard to remark, know the value of money. It is rather young unmarried women who allow themselves to be paid at rates upon which they could not live, and especially young women of what is called in England the lower middle class, the daughters of clerks, of tradesmen in a small way of business, and of families whose weekly incomes are small but regular and not derived from manual labor. Among women teachers there is direct evidence that those who have some income of their own are firmer in demanding to be well paid than those who have no resource but their earnings—a paradox perfectly comprehensible after all, upon reflection.

That the Factory Acts have lowered the payment of women there is no evidence at all. A committee appointed by the British Association for the Advancement of Science investigated the point and came to this conclusion. What evidence there is points, indeed, rather in the other direction—as would naturally be supposed by any person who recognizes low wages as a direct result of unrestricted competition.

It appears probable that in trades not pursued by women after marriage there will always remain an average of payment lower than the general average payment of men's labor; but there is no reason in the nature of things why the difference should be a very great one; and there is very great reason indeed for hoping that the next ten years may bring a vast improvement in the general industrial training of women—a matter greatly neglected hitherto by parents and by public authorities. The lifting of the greatest possible number of women out of the unskilled and into the skilled class of workers is one of the best methods of diminishing the terribly severe competition that keeps so many working women in Great Britain on the brink of starvation.

CLEMENTINA BLACK.

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WOMAN'S ECONOMIC POSITION IN THE UNITED STATES: Woman's work has changed with economic changes. Previous to the introduction of machine industry, woman played perhaps a more important part in economic production than to-day, but was not a wage-worker. Industry was carried on largely in the home, each family being largely self-sustaining, doing its own spinning, weaving, brewing, cheese and butter making. Woman played naturally a large part in this life, but as wife or daughter or as household maid, not as a wage-worker in the modern sense.

With the development of the factory system, however, this was changed. Production was taken from the home, and woman in the home was left to do only domestic work, to become the domestic drudge. To an extent, however, she followed industry into the factory. The textile factories of England were full of women brought in from the rural districts, or with children sometimes brought from the almshouses. They worked cheaper than men and replaced men. Their pay was the cheapest, their surroundings the worst, the moral tone the lowest. This created such a prejudice against factories that when later factories were developed in New England, from 1815–30, women could only be induced to work in them by offer of higher pay. Partly for this reason, therefore, and in part because popular education was very much farther advanced in America than in industrial England, factory life in the U. S. started on a higher level than in England. Girls from American homes in factory towns and the surrounding villages worked in the factories and maintained, as shown by *The Lowell Offering*, a high level of character. There was little opening, too, for women in other lines. Harriet Martineau, in 1840, found in America only seven employments open to women —teaching, needlework, keeping boarders, working in cotton-mills, in bookbinderies, type-setting, and household service.

Nineteenth Century

But this gradually changed. The successes of American life developed a growing number of families whose daughters did not need to work for a living, and factory work became despised. Irish and other European and, later, French Canadian families came in to do factory work. On the other hand, growing ideals of woman's rights and woman's independence opened other spheres for women—the store, the office, the studio, and, later, the professions. Woman's admission to

professional life was contingent upon her admission to institutions of higher education. In no respect has the century seen greater changes than in this. In the U. S. in 1803, of forty-eight academies or higher schools fitting for college in Massachusetts, only three were for girls, tho a few others admitted both girls and boys. The first female seminary was opened by the Moravians at Bethlehem, Pa., in 1749. The first female seminary to approach college rank was Mount Holyoke, opened at South Hadley, Mass., by Mary Lyon in 1836. Vassar College, the next, dates from 1865. In this movement the West led the East. Oberlin College was founded in 1833, open to both men and women. Harvard Annex, affiliated to Harvard University, was not opened till 1879.

Women in Professions

This higher education led to professional life, tho in a few instances women entered professional careers in the U. S. at earlier dates. Mrs. Margaret Draper was connected with the *Massachusetts Gazette and News Letter* during the Revolutionary War. The first daily newspaper in the world is said to have been established and edited in London, Eng., by a woman, *The Daily Courant*, by Elizabeth Malet. In 1841 Mrs. Lydia Maria Child edited the *Anti-Slavery Standard*.

In medicine the pioneer names are Harriet K. Hunt, of Boston, who from 1822–72 practised medicine without a diploma, and, above all, Elizabeth Blackwell (*q. v.*), who, after a long struggle, received a diploma at Geneva, N. Y., in 1849. Mr. Gregory, of Boston, opened a so-called school of medicine for women in 1848, but the first adequate woman's medical institution was Miss Blackwell's New York Infirmary, chartered in 1854. Women from earliest times had been midwives and nurses; but the New England Hospital first announced the training of nurses in 1863. By 1886 there were twenty-nine training schools for nurses.

In law Mistress Brut seems to have practised in Baltimore in 1647. After her the first woman lawyer in the U. S. was Arabella A. Mansfield, of Mount Pleasant, Iowa, who was admitted to the bar in 1864. By 1879, women were allowed to plead before the Supreme Court of the U. S.

In the ministry, after the preaching of Anne Hutchinson, in Boston, in 1634, of Lucretia Mott (*q. v.*) among the Friends, and Anne Lee among the Shakers in 1770, no women seemed to have preached till recent years, tho among the Primitive Methodists and similar bodies women always exhorted. Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell seems to have been the first woman ordained in the U. S. (in 1852, in the Congregational Church). (For statistics of women's occupations, see article Occupations.)

Such is, in brief, the general survey of woman's industrial professional position during the nineteenth century. Perhaps woman's more industrial advance during the century has not been in the professions, but in commerce, as saleswomen, clubs, typewriters, etc. Here the change has been almost revolutionary. We come now to consider her industrial position.

For the U. S., Mr. Carroll D. Wright has summarized the facts as to woman's work and wages in chap. xvi. of his "Industrial Evolution in the U. S."

In 1850 there were 225,298 female and 741,671 male employees in manufacturing industries in the U. S.—i. e., women furnished 23.30 per cent. In 1890 there were 757,065 females, which was only 17.21 per cent of the employees. Thus, in manufacturing, women play a relatively less important part than formerly—a larger proportion of their work doubtless being done by machinery. On the other hand, the number of occupations open to women has largely increased; and, taking all bread-earning occupations, the proportion of women to men is steadily gaining.

Woman in Industry

Mr. Wright argues in the above-mentioned chapter that women are not replacing men, but that men are being freed for other occupations, and that women are in part replacing the children today employed to a smaller extent in manufactories than formerly, their employment being prevented by factory laws. This view, however, is not held by all. Mr. Wright says that in 1870 114,628 children of both sexes were employed in manufacturing industries, and formed 5.58 per cent of all employees, while in 1890 there were only 120,885 children, or only 2.57 per cent of the total number. But even on this showing, the actual if not the relative number of children had increased, so that women can scarcely be said to have replaced children, while under article Child Labor will be found very serious evidence to show that the census estimate of the number of children employed is very considerably too low. In some states and in some industries child labor has been limited by legislation; but it is exceedingly doubtful if this is true of all portions of the country and all manufacturing industries. It must be remembered, too, that Mr. Wright's statement is only of the manufacturing industries. Taking the great number of children now employed in stores, or who sell papers, run errands, etc., in the cities, child labor in the U. S. has probably not been lessened and women can by no means be said to have replaced children. Mr. Wright further argues that they have not displaced men, because by the census reports a larger proportion of the male population is reported as having occupations in 1890 than in 1870. But having an occupation is by no means synonymous, unfortunately, with having work at one's occupation, which point the census fails to touch. The growing problem of unemployment (*q. v.*), therefore, leaves us still to ask if women working at cheaper wages have not replaced men working at higher wages.

Women's present economic situation in the U. S. is very hard to epitomize. In general their entry in growing numbers, in all branches of industry, especially the commercial (as saleswomen, cash girls, type-writers, etc.), is among the signs of the times. (For details, see Occupations, p. 843.) In professional life, as saleswomen, secretaries, department heads, and even typewriters and stenographers, some (tho relatively few) earn comparatively high wages. Wages for skilled stenographers are not unfrequently from $15 to $25. But the vast majority of women earn scarcely one third of this ($5–$8). Details of wages of women will in many manufacturing industries be found under Wages. (For the lowest paid work, see Sweating System.) The following table gives the condition in a prosperous state:

Women's Wages in 1900 in Eighty-seven Industries in Massachusetts

17 per cent of the grown women and 4 per cent of the grown men received under $5 a week.

16 per cent of the grown women and 4 per cent of the grown men received $5 to $6 a week.
20 per cent of the grown women and 7 per cent of the grown men received $6 to $7 a week.
15 per cent of the grown women and 10 per cent of the grown men received $7 to $8 a week.
12 per cent of the grown women and 14 per cent of the grown men received $8 to $9 a week.
9 per cent of the grown women and 16 per cent of the grown men received $9 to $10 a week.
7 per cent of the grown women and 18 per cent of the grown men received $10 to $12 a week.
3 per cent of the grown women and 14 per cent of the grown men received $12 to $15 a week.
1 per cent of the grown women and 4 per cent of the grown men received $15 to $20 a week.

According to an Ohio report for 1901, 6,920 women in the three largest cities earned $4.83 a week, worked 57½ hours, paid $2.44 for board and lodging, and saved 14 cents, 1,606 people depending on them for support. Quoted in "Getting a Living," p. 480.

In New York City 130,000 women work in 39,000 factories, young girls among them working twelve or fourteen hours per day.

WOMAN'S MOVEMENT, THE, IN EUROPE: The movement for the improvement of woman's legal, industrial, and social condition in Europe is somewhat more recent than that in the United States and Great Britain. It began in 1865–66 with the formation of the so-called *Lette-Verein*, a society of women modeled after the "National Association for Social Science" of Lord Shaftesbury, and was named after its founder and first president, Wilhelm A. Lette. This society gave the impetus to a review of all the various relations of women in the social body.

Industrial

The most pressing need was industrial, and the first woman's societies had purely practical ends in view. As woman came to compete with man, she found that she was not sufficiently equipped from an educational and technical point of view. After education had been provided for her, she found that she was still handicapped owing to certain legal obstacles. The woman's movement had to pass through these three stages: industrial, educational, and legal. The struggle for industrial woman emancipation cannot be given here; only recent facts.

Agricultural and *house industries* have always been open to women; the latter are, indeed, the special field where they can assist their husbands or make provision for their children without neglecting their family duties too much. But the necessity of providing for themselves drove at first single women and later married ones into the factories and professions. The rapid increase in Germany of women wage-earners may be seen from the fact that from 1882 to 1895 it rose from 3,959,995 to 4,853,880; that is, 893,885, or 22.6 per cent. The percentage of women among all wage-earners was 25.7 in 1895. Most of them were employed in agriculture and allied occupations, 2,745,840; clothing, 713,021; textile industries, 427,961; commerce, 299,829; hotels, inns, and restaurants, 261,450; foodstuffs, 140,333; or 94.5 per cent in all. Insurance, with 569, had the smallest number. Many women were independent in their occupations, 1,069,007; of these 698,168 had their own establishments with a number of employees. The independent women were mostly actresses, teachers, deaconesses, sisters of various orders, midwives, supervisors in asylums, matrons, nurses, etc. The women wage-earners under sixteen years numbered 10,728; those over sixteen years, 4,843,152. Of the latter, 2,861,148, or 59.1 per cent, were single or divorced; 935,623, or 19.3 per cent, widowed; 1,046,381, or 21.6 per cent, married. The percentage of single women was largest among domestic servants, 95.5.

Germany

In 1899 women were employed in factories in Germany as follows: under 14 years, 2,911; 14–16 years, 98,664; 16–21 years, 297,387; over 21 years, 501,021. Textile industries gave employment to 393,739 of these total numbers.

Practically all occupations are now open to women in Germany, except the higher civil professions. Germany had in all 66,138 women teachers in 1895, against 151,825 men. The figures in 1882 were: women, 48,000; men, 128,000. Prussia had (1891) only 8,500 women teachers, or 11.9 per cent of the total teaching force in the elementary schools; these were, moreover, mostly sisters of Roman Catholic orders. Of all the teachers in elementary and *middle* schools there were 67,600 men, and 13,250 women, or 16.4 per cent—mostly in girls' schools. To this number must be added 7,000 male and 1,100 female supplementary teachers, e. g., gymnastics, cooking, etc. Women have, of course, charge of the departments of sewing, knitting, crocheting, etc. There were 39,500 of these teachers in Prussia. All Germany had (1895) 2,409 women in the railroad service, 498 in the postal and 7,628 in the telegraph service. Fifty women practised medicine in 1907, and one pharmacy.

Germany had, in addition to these regular wage-earners, 1,746,326 women who either give part of their time all the year round to work for wages, or worked at certain seasons only; 80 per cent of these women were found in agriculture in 1895. In 1907 Germany had 1,119,692 women workers in manufacturing establishments supervised by the State.

Other Countries

Austria had 4,304,581 women wage-earners in 1890, 50.8 per cent of whom were engaged in agricultural and allied occupations; 725,037 were employed in industries, trades, hotels and inns, supplying of foodstuffs, domestic service, mining, etc. About 20 per cent of the teachers in primary and grammar schools were women, chiefly sisters of Roman Catholic orders, and engaged principally in convent schools. The total number of women teachers in all schools was (1890) 22,988, against 53,895 men; in 1880: women, 15,000; men, 41,000.

France had (1891) 1,840,885 women wage-earners employed in agriculture and allied occupations; 1,427,322 were, moreover, engaged in various industries, trades, mining, etc.; and 571,000 in commerce. Paris has now a number of women coachmen. In the teaching profession the percentage of women is much larger than in Germany or Austria. In 1886 the women teachers numbered 67,000, as against 86,000 men; in 1891 the figures were 81,978 and 87,559, respectively. The women teachers were mostly in convent schools. This condition has changed greatly since 1905, when the latter were suppressed, but data are not obtainable.

Italy had in 1891 about 3,100,000 women engaged in agricultural pursuits; 1,993,567 in various industries, hotels, inns, domestic service, etc., in 1881. Of the latter number 1,196,743 were employed in textile industries, which seem to be monopolized by women, since their number

exceeds that of the men 8 to 9 times. In the teaching profession women exceed men in numbers, 46,887, against 32,908; or nearly 60 per cent of the total.

In Japan the number of women clerks has increased 800 per cent in 10 years.

Switzerland had in 1888 about 92,500 women employed in agriculture and similar occupations; 73,011 in factories of various kinds; 59,788 of the latter number were over 18 years old. In 1891 there were 3,108 women teachers, against 6,224 men in the primary and grammar schools; and 703 women in kindergartens. In the *middle* schools there were 192 women, as against 1,178 men, the former nearly all in girls' schools; in normal schools 70 women, as against 298 men. Geneva has a woman dentist since 1907, and a woman lawyer.

The wages of women are from one third to one half lower than those of men in all occupations in which the sexes compete. The reasons for this general condition may be found in the facts that woman entered the industrial struggle comparatively late; that she is more defenseless than man owing to a smaller ability for organization; and finally, that her needs, especially if single, are fewer than those of man, particularly if the latter is married.

The opening of trades and professions to women soon created a need and a demand for better educational facilities. These were technical, professional, and cultural.

In order to enable women to compete with men, particularly in occupations specially suitable to them, a number of so-called *Frauenarbeitschulen* were established. They are a sort of industrial schools for women. The branches taught are: sewing, dressmaking, knitting, needlework, crocheting, etc.; drawing, bookkeeping, correspondence, and commercial mathematics. The school at Reutlingen, Württemberg, is the oldest; it was established in 1868. Other similar schools soon sprang up; Württemberg had 19 in 1890 with 4,511 pupils; Bavaria, 26 with 2,252; Saxony, 11 with 1,081; Baden, 16 with 1,110. Prussia and the other German states have not been slow in adopting this system. France, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland —have numerous schools along these lines with the same curricula in the main. For nurses, deaconesses, teachers, and other vocations excellent technical schools have been established. The demand for special instruction, for instance, in nursing and allied branches, may be inferred from the fact that in 1895 Germany had 66,246 women who were engaged in vocations pertaining to hygiene, medicine, and nursing; Austria in 1890 had 14,662; Italy in 1881 had 15,204; France in 1891 had 17,737.

Professional

The medical profession is open to women in nearly all countries of Europe, but thus far the number of women physicians is small on the Continent. Russia had the largest number, 550 in 1887, as against 18,009 men. The profession of law is closed to them, except in a few countries.

Switzerland was the first country to do this in 1867 at Zurich. The women who availed themselves of this opportunity were, however, mostly foreigners, chiefly Russians. Gradually all the other Swiss universities followed the example of Zurich. In 1898–99 there were in all 937 women at Swiss universities; 555 were matriculated, among whom 473 foreigners, and 382 auditors. According to studies they were divided as follows: medicine, 355; philosophical branches, 93; law, 7.

The university of Bern promoted Miss Fumarkin, Ph.D., Privat-Docent, to a professorship in 1907.

France: Paris opened its university to women in 1868; at first as auditors, later as regular students—principally in medical courses, but now in some others, e. g., art and literature. French universities had 871 women in 1898; 66 per cent of these were Frenchwomen. In 1907 France had 2,500 women students in her universities: 124 in law; 796 in medicine; 1,105 in philosophy. Mrs. Curie was appointed Docent at the Sorbonne.

Other countries soon followed: Sweden and Finland in 1870; Denmark, 1875; Italy, 1876; Belgium, 1880; Norway, 1884; Spain and Rumania, 1888; Greece, 1890; Hungary, 1895; Austria, 1896, as auditors, 1900 as matriculated students in medicine and pharmacy. The attendance has, however, been small, except in Finland.

Russia and **Germany** deserve special mention; the former, because women were admitted to medical lectures in 1876, and has established a special medical faculty for women in St. Petersburg in 1897; the latter because women have, as a rule, no legal status in universities. Baden admitted women at Heidelberg in 1891; at first as auditors, later for matriculation. Other German states followed. But they were admitted as auditors only to special courses, chiefly in medicine; they needed a special permit from the government, and the permission of the lecturer. In 1899 the Federal Council issued an order that women should be admitted to the practise of medicine and pharmacy, and that they should be permitted to matriculate in German universities. Nevertheless, many lecturers still refuse to admit them on the same footing as men. Coeducation is making good progress—in some *Real Schulen* there are 50 per cent girl students—and this must eventually react on the conservative attitude of the universities. At present the only solution seems to be the establishment of special medical courses for women as in Russia. In 1900–1 there were 1,029 women at German universities, 13 of whom received the doctorate.

Holland admits women to the courses and practise of pharmacy.

The cultural schools in Europe were needed for two reasons: (1) as a preliminary training, and (2) as a means to supply information and instruction on general lines. The last need arose first. In order to meet it a number of German cities have established *Mädchen-Gymnasien*; that is, schools which combine the academy and college. Two of these, those at Berlin and Karlsruhe, have adopted the course of the corresponding schools for men and prepare for the universities; others follow a somewhat different course and give instruction more specially adapted to the cultural needs of women. Switzerland has coeducation in the *gymnasien*. Rome has established one for women.

Cultural Development

According to the German civil code a woman is the equal of man as a private individual. She is allowed to own property, give bail, and be guardian; she may sue and be sued; and has full parental power over her legitimate children. She may take up nearly all occupations open to men; but she cannot be a judge or serve on a jury, or as

minister of religion. Practically the same rights and disabilities are accorded to her in all countries of Europe, except Turkey. In most parts of Germany and Austria women have the right of suffrage at communal elections, provided they own property and are single or widowed. In Sweden they may vote at provincial elections—if single and property-owners—and are eligible to offices in the poor relief departments, and, in Stockholm, to the school board. In Norway they may vote at school elections; in Finland at communal, municipal, and State. In Sweden, Finland, Rumania, and some cantons of Switzerland women may practise law; also in France since 1900. In nearly all countries they are admitted to the study and practise of medicine; but are confined to women and children in their practise. In Russia women physicians have the same chances with men in the appointment of positions at State hospitals and health departments. The legal disabilities of women are gradually removed in all countries on the Continent; e. g., they are allowed to organize and thus agitate more effectually for improving their conditions.

Legal Standing of Women

As a compensation for not having the ballot, and in recognition of their peculiar position, women are specially protected by the laws in certain respects, particularly when they are wage-earners. The federal laws of Germany of 1891 prescribe that women shall under no conditions work at night in mines; that a day's work in any industry shall not exceed 11 hours, and on Saturdays and days preceding holy days, 10 hours; that lunch hours must be 1 hour, and for mothers 1 hour and 30 minutes; that for two weeks before and four or six weeks after confinement they must not be employed; that in dangerous occupations special regulations shall be passed for their protection according to local needs. Germany has recently passed special laws against the employment of women as waiters in inns and certain hotels.

References: Bartsch, *Die Rechtsstellung der Frau als Gattin und Mutter* (1903); Gnauck-Kühne, *Die deutsche Frau um die Jahrhundertwende* (1904); *Handbuch für Frauenbildung und Frauenberuf* (1904); Turgeon, *Le Feminism français* (1902); Fenelon Gibon, *Employées et Ouvrières* (1906).

WOMAN'S POSITION IN HISTORY: In prehistoric times and among barbarous tribes, women have occasionally been honored more than in later periods. The savage queen has sometimes been recognized as the superior of the savage king. Women in the legendary or heroic period or Greek history occupy a distinctly higher place than in the classic period. The cause for this is undoubtedly that early in the history of man customs have not yet hardened into social laws, and the position accorded to women depended, therefore, less upon social ideas and more upon the character of women. All history shows the same. Women of beauty or of ability, therefore, can secure a comparatively high place. Around woman, too, more than around man, develops the family and the home. (See Family.) If society first formed around the mother, force was the first law, and woman was usually looked upon as a slave, and later as a slave or a toy. She was early exposed to all those revulsions of feeling that follow the gratification, among rude men, of the animal passion. Chastity on the part of women was at first to large extent a property right. Men demanded it in their property; to far less extent was it considered a merit in themselves. Monetary customs show how far marriage has its basis in property considerations.

Primitive Times

Greece was probably the first country to develop monogamy, and to place women on an established basis of honor and of love. The parting of Hector and Andromache, the fidelity of Penelope to Ulysses, the love of Alcestis dying for her husband, the filial piety of Antigone, the heroic death of Polyxena, the resignation of Iphigenia to her father, who would sacrifice her life to fulfil his vow, the joyous love of Nausicaa, are pictures of Grecian womanhood in the early age, which, Lecky says, "Rome and Christendom, chivalry and modern civilization, have neither eclipsed nor transcended." Yet the heroes of that age had concubines. Female captives were little respected. Woman was always regarded as the inferior of man.

Greece

Marriage was regarded in civic light as the means of producing citizens. Protected somewhat by the law, the Greek wife was by custom fettered exclusively to household circles.

The Greek *hetæra*, or courtezan, was, on the contrary, free to develop mind and body, and become the intellectual companion of man. Statesmen like Pericles and philosophers like Socrates honored the *hetæra* in public and in private. Says Lecky ("History of European Morals," vol. ii., chap. v.):

> If we can imagine Ninon de l'Enclos at a time when the rank and splendor of Parisian society thronged her drawing-rooms, reckoning a Bossuet or a Fénelon among her followers—if we can imagine these prelates publicly advising her about the duties of her profession, and the means of attaching the affections of her lovers, we shall have conceived a relation scarcely more strange than that which existed between Socrates and the courtezan Theodota.

Courtezans were honored, too, in connection with religion. They were the voluptuous priestesses of Aphrodite. The form of Phryne, carved in gold, stood in the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. Schools of vice at Miletus, Tenedos, Lesbos, and Abydos were connected with the temples. In Pompeii a symbol of the male organ of generation seems commonly to have been stamped on bread as representing the sustainer of life. Nor must the sensuality of Greece and Rome be regarded as exceptional. (See Prostitution.) Says Lecky (idem, chap. v.):

> There has arisen in society a figure which is certainly the most mournful and in some respects the most awful upon which the eye of the moralist can dwell. That unhappy being whose very name is a shame to speak; who counterfeits with a cold heart the transports of affection, and submits herself as the passive instrument of lust; who is scorned and insulted as the vilest of her sex, and doomed for the most part to disease and abject wretchedness and an early death, appears in every age as the perpetual symbol of the degradation and the sinfulness of man. Herself the supreme type of vice, she is ultimately the efficient guardian of virtue. But for her the unchallenged purity of countless happy homes would be polluted, and not a few who, in the pride of their untempted chastity, think of her with an indignant shudder would have known the agony of remorse and despair. In that one degraded and ignoble form are concentrated the passions that might have filled the world with shame. She remains, while creeds and civilizations rise and fall, the eternal priestess of humanity, blasted for the sins of the people.

In Rome, woman, except in the very earliest period, was given more legal rights than in Greece. Marriage was regarded in law and in social ideals as a contract between equals. This in the earliest period was overriden, it is true, by the terrible powers given to the father of the family (see

Rome

FAMILY); but this was gradually modified, and the Roman and Stoic exaltation of the individual was extended to the wife. "*Ubi tu Caius, ego Caia*," the Roman wife could say. This conception of marriage as a contract between sovereign individuals led to easy divorce. The disintegration of marriage ties that set in is well known. (See FAMILY.)

The influence of Christianity on the legal and political status of woman has been much discust. (See CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM; CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM.) Viewed from the standpoint of modern ideas, the Pauline conception of woman is distinctly low. "Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord, for the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the Church, and He is the Savior of the body. Therefore as the Church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in everything" (Ephesians, chap. v. 22–24). But St. Paul immediately added, "Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the Church and gave Himself for it." Marriage by the Church fathers, and, to some extent, even in the pages of the New Testament, is conceived of as best a weakness, a legal concession to the flesh.

Christianity

Nevertheless, the ideas of the early Church must be compared not with our ideas, but with those of that day, and the purity of the Christian family and the honor paid to woman is as light itself compared with the darkness of the impurity of the pagan world.

Says Origen: "There is not a Christian community which has not been exempted from a thousand vices and a thousand passions" (*Contra Celsum*). (For the influence of Christianity on the Roman legislation in regard to woman, see CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

Coming to woman's position in the Middle Ages, it appears the result of the blending of many influences, the laws of the Roman Empire, the ideals of Christianity, the asceticism of the clergy, the traditions of the Germanic tribes, the romanticism of chivalry, and the lust of warlike men. (See MIDDLE AGES; FAMILY; CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM: CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM.) The Germanic tribes honored woman, yet rather, as we have seen above, on the basis of savage equality than of legal status. Compared with the corruption of Rome, the purity of Germanic marriage struck Tacitus, and, through him and similar writers, has been much emphasized, but its purity did not begin to compare with that of early Christianity.

Middle Ages

The influence of the Church in the Middle Ages was twofold. The influence of monasticism and asceticism on the ordinary life of woman was almost wholly bad. To conceive of marriage as sin was to give it over to sin. The terrible reactions of asceticism and the corruption developed by monasticism (*q. v.*) are well known. (See MIDDLE AGES.) Nevertheless, the nunneries did enable some women to escape the violence of the times and develop saintly lives.

In connection with this was the development of Mariolatry. The worship of the Virgin has probably more connection with the romantic and partly sensuous ideas of medieval chivalry than all writers are willing to admit. Yet no one can question its influence in part for good. Says Lecky:

> It is also a striking illustration of the qualities which prove most attractive in women that one of whom we know nothing except her gentleness and her sorrow should have exercised a magnetic power upon the world incomparably greater than was exercised by the most majestic female patriots of paganism. Whatever may be thought of its theological propriety, there can be little doubt that the Catholic reverence for the Virgin has done much to elevate and purify the ideal of woman and to soften the manners of men.

Whence chivalry came no man wholly knows. It had a deep root in sensuality. No one can read the romances of the Middle Ages, the poetry of the minnesingers or the troubadours, without realizing this. Men cannot pay certain forms of respect to women without giving them, in their very adulation, the grossest insult. To praise a woman's weakness is to acknowledge it, and to show that one's ideal of womanhood is weak. To worship physical love is to confess to a low type of loving. The connection between chivalry and licentiousness is close. Nevertheless there was another root. Woman in the Middle Ages stood for the softening of war and violence and strife. When the knight knelt before his lady, he rose to a nobler manhood, and chivalry honored the source of the higher life.

The effect of the Protestant Reformation on the social status of woman was undoubtedly good, tho not an unmixed good. Its greatest effect in this respect was to condemn celibacy, the false praise of virginity, and the condemnation of marriage. Second only to this was its effect in freeing woman from subjection to the confessor and the priest. The sanctity of married life, the inviolability of the home, are almost distinctively Protestant conceptions. Undoubtedly, with these enormous strides forward, certain evils came in. The tendency to secularize the marriage relation has to some extent tended also to commercialize it and to increase divorce. (See DIVORCE.) However, of this secularizing and liberalizing tendency has come the modern movement toward woman's rights. It has, however, only developed in our own century. Milton, in his day, makes Eve say to Adam ("Paradise Lost," Book iv.):

Protestantism

> God is the law, thou mine;
> To know no more is woman's happiest knowledge and her praise.

Even Rousseau says:

> Women are specially made to please men . . . all their education should be relative to men. To please them, be useful to them, to make themselves loved and honored by them, to bring them up when young, to take care of them when grown up, to counsel, to console them, to make their lives agreeable and pleasant—these in all ages have been the duties of women, and it is for these duties that they should be educated from infancy. . . . Being incapable of judging for themselves (as to religion) they ought to accept the decision of their fathers and their husbands like that of the Church ("Émile," ch. v.).

In 1797 Charles Fox said in a speech:

> It has never been suggested in all the theories and projects of the most absurd speculation, that it would be advisable to expend the elective suffrage to the female sex.

This brings us, however, to modern times. See various articles.

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE: We present first a general statement of the position of woman's suffrage in the world.

I. PRESENT STATUS

In the United States women possess suffrage upon equal terms with men at all elections in four

states: in Wyoming, established in 1869; in Colorado, 1893; in Utah, 1895; and in Idaho, 1896.

In Kansas women possess school suffrage, established in 1861, and municipal suffrage, 1887.

In nineteen additional states women possess school suffrage: in Michigan and Minnesota, established in 1875; in New Hampshire and Oregon, 1878; in Massachusetts, 1879; in New York and Vermont, 1880; in Nebraska, 1883; in Wisconsin, 1885; in Washington, 1886; in Arizona, Montana, New Jersey, North Dakota, and South Dakota, 1887; in Illinois, 1891; in Connecticut, 1893; in Ohio, 1894; in Oklahoma, 1904.

Two additional states permit women to vote upon the issuance of municipal bonds: Montana, established in 1887; Iowa, 1894.

Louisiana gave all women taxpayers the suffrage upon all questions of public expenditure in 1898.

Either full or fractional suffrage for women exists in twenty-six states.

There are in Australia three distinct classes of suffrage: municipal, parliamentary, and federal.

In the World

Women were given municipal suffrage in New South Wales in 1867; in Victoria, 1869; in West Australia, 1871; in New Zealand, 1877; in South Australia, 1880; in Tasmania, 1884.

Parliamentary suffrage was extended to women of New Zealand in 1893; in South Australia, 1895; in West Australia, 1900; in New South Wales, 1902; in Tasmania, 1903; in Queensland, 1905.

In 1902 the first Federal Parliament extended the federal suffrage to all women in Australia upon the same terms as men. All women in Australia, therefore, upon the same terms as men, enjoy full municipal and federal suffrage, and the women of West Australia, South Australia, and New South Wales possess all forms of suffrage. The women of Victoria do not possess the parliamentary suffrage. New Zealand is not federated, and hence there is no federal suffrage there; women and men vote upon equal terms in all elections.

In the Isle of Man and Pitcairn Island women have full suffrage. In England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales women vote for all elective officers, except members of Parliament. In 1898 women engaged in commerce in France were given the right to vote for judges of the tribunals of commerce. In Sweden women vote for all elective officers, except representatives in Parliament; also, indirectly, for members of the House of Lords. In Norway all women, married or single, who receive a very small income, or whose husbands possess an income of the same amount, vote for all officers, including members of Parliament. In Russia women householders vote for all elective officers and on all local matters for which men are permitted to vote; in Finland, for all elective officers, and nineteen women now occupy seats in Parliament. Property-holding women in Westphalia, Schleswig-Holstein, and Brunswick may vote by proxy at local elections, and for members of provisional diets. Women who are land proprietors may vote in Bohemia by proxy for members of the Imperial Parliament and the local diet. In Saxony women vote on the same terms as men; married women by proxy, a single woman directly. Women have municipal suffrage in Moravia by proxy. In Austria-Hungary they vote by proxy for elective officers. In Croatia and Dalmatia women vote at local elections in person. In Italy widows with property vote by proxy for members of Parliament. In Prussia women vote by proxy at elections and for members of provincial diets, and in Luxembourg for municipal officers and members of the legislature also. In Switzerland women real-estate owners have local suffrage in the canton of Bern. In Rumania women taxpayers have municipal suffrage by proxy.

Carrie C. Catt,
President of the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance.

(For United States and Great Britain, see special articles.)

In general the salient facts of the movement are set forth in *The North American Review* for September by Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, who is widely known as a historian and advocate of the cause. The storm center of the movement at the present moment, says Mrs. Harper, is Great Britain; its most conspicuous triumph has been in Finland, where nineteen women have seats in the National Parliament; and in the U. S. the conditions it has to overcome "are harder and more complicated than in any other country." The two most important events marking this question as a world movement, we are told, were the meetings of the International Council of Women in 1904 and the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Copenhagen in 1906. The International Council of Women, which "comprizes seven or eight millions of the leading women in the various countries," has declared for strenuous efforts "to enable women to obtain the power of voting in all countries where a representative government exists." In fourteen countries the movement is organized and aggressive, and an international paper has been established for purposes of encouragement and propaganda. In New Zealand women have had the full franchise on exactly the same terms as men since 1893. In Australia since 1901 they have had the full federal suffrage and the right to sit in the National Parliament. Turning to Europe, Mrs. Harper points to the curious anomaly that in its two republics—France and Switzerland—"the cause of woman suffrage is more backward than in almost any of the other countries." In France, however, the "Catholics who have always stood inflexibly against giving political rights to women, are now saying that, if women had possest a vote, they would not have shown the indifference to the interests of the Church that men have, and Parliament would not have been able to bring about the separation of Church and State." In the Netherlands the movement "is well organized and advanced," and in Denmark it was greatly stimulated by the convention of the International Suffrage Alliance in Copenhagen a year ago. But in actual results Denmark "is far behind the other Scandinavian countries, behind even its own colony of Iceland." In Germany a leading Catholic paper has recently declared that the laws of the Church do not forbid the enfranchisement of women, and that social and economic development make it desirable, and the strong Socialist party in that country has formally espoused the cause. In Russia "the desire for a voice in the government is strong among all classes of women, but especially among the peasants."

The headquarters of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association is Warren, Ohio.

See page 806.

II. Arguments For and Against Woman Suffrage

(a) arguments against it

The arguments for woman suffrage are based partly upon the asserted natural rights of woman, partly upon the need of woman's influence in politics both to protect her own sex and to purify the increasingly important realm of political action; thirdly, upon the good results of woman suffrage where already tried. Upon the first point, says a leaflet published by the American Woman Suffrage Association:

The basic argument for woman suffrage is that women have as clear a title to the ballot as men have. It is urged that women are governed, but without their consent. From the Declaration of Independence is quoted: "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." In the support of the claim that the suffrage is a right of both sexes alike, the late George William Curtis said, in an address before the New York State Constitutional Convention of 1867:

"The rights which they [the fathers of the republic] declared to be inalienable are what are usually called natural as distinguished from political rights, but they are not limited by sex. A woman has the same right to her life, liberty, and property that a man has, and she has consequently the same right to an equality of protection that he has; and this, as I understand it, is what is meant by the phrase, 'the right of suffrage.' If I have a natural right to my life and liberty, I have the same right to everything that protects that life and liberty which any other man enjoys. I ask the same for every woman in this state.

"Our fathers answered the question of the best and surest protection of natural right by their famous phrase, 'the consent of the governed.' That is to say, since every man is born with equal rights, he is entitled to an equal protection of them with all other men; and, since government is that protection, right reason and experience alike demand that every person shall have a voice in the government upon perfectly equal and practical terms—that is, upon terms which are not necessarily insurmountable by any part of the people.

". . . I deny that the people of the State of New York can rightfully—that is, according to right reason and the principles of this government derived from it—permanently exclude any class of persons or any person whatever from a voice in the government, unless it can be clearly established that their participation in political power would be dangerous to the state."

Upon the second point, the need for woman suffrage, it is claimed that women cannot be adequately protected while men alone make the laws, and the denial of the franchise to women is denounced as a stigma degrading her to the same category with idiots, lunatics, and criminals. It is urged that woman's mind would be broadened and elevated by a study of public questions, and, further, that voting is the quietest, easiest, most dignified, and least conspicuous way of influencing public affairs. It is asserted that women need the ballot to protect their business interests and to acquire social and personal rights that are now denied them. It is claimed that woman suffrage would increase the strength of the home element in politics, secure the election of better men to office, and introduce higher moral standards into government.

(For evidence of the need of woman to protect her sex in legislation, see section 2 of this article, on "Woman's Present Legal Status." See also article Age of Consent.)

Concerning the results of woman suffrage, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, editor of the *Woman's Journal* of Boston, writes the *Voice* of Nov. 9, 1893, as follows:

"In England Mr. Gladstone is on record as saying the women have exercised municipal suffrage 'without detriment and with great advantage.' Lady Randolph Churchill and the band of highly conservative Englishwomen who published a 'remonstrance' against granting parliamentary suffrage to women, a few years ago, were careful to say that they had no objection to municipal suffrage, and even thought its responsibilities had exerted a beneficial effect on the character of women.

"In the states where women have school suffrage only, the vote of women has generally been small, as the vote of men is always small wherever the school committee are chosen at a separate election; but the women who have voted have been almost without exception of the intelligent and respectable class.

"The statement has been widely circulated that the vote for the Boston women for the school board is falling off. At the last school election in Boston 4,000 more women voted than at the previous election; and the women's vote for the past five years has averaged more than six times what it averaged for the five years previous."

In Wyoming full suffrage was extended to women by the legislature of that territory in 1869. The results proved so satisfactory that the law was continued upon the statute-book for twenty years. In 1889, the constitutional convention elected to frame a constitution for the new state of Wyoming, and embodied a woman's suffrage clause in the constitution by a five-sixths vote. The constitution containing this woman's suffrage clause was submitted to the people (the people in this case meaning both men and women), and was ratified by a very large majority. Wyoming was admitted to the union with this clause in its constitution by a vote of 132 to 119 in the House of Representatives and a vote of twenty-nine to eighteen in the Senate. The House of the Wyoming legislature of 1893, just before adjournment, passed by a unanimous vote the following concurrent resolution:

"*Be it resolved by the Second Legislature of the State of Wyoming*:

"That the possession and exercise of suffrage by the women of Wyoming for the past quarter of a century has wrought no harm and has done great good in many ways; that it has largely aided in banishing crime, pauperism, and vice from this state, and that without any violent and oppressive legislation; that it has secured peaceful and orderly elections, good government, and a remarkable degree of civilization and public order; and we point with pride to the facts that after nearly twenty-five years of woman suffrage not one county in Wyoming has a poorhouse, that our jails are almost empty, and crime, except that committed by strangers in the state, is almost unknown; and as the result of experience we urge every civilized community on earth to enfranchise its women without delay.

"*Resolved*, That an authenticated copy of these resolutions be forwarded by the governor of the state to the legislature of every state and territory in this country, and to every legislative body in the world; and that we request the press throughout the civilized world to call the attention of their readers to these resolutions."

Every governor of Wyoming for more than twenty years has testified that much good has resulted from woman suffrage.

More recent experience bears out, according to the woman-suffrage believers, these good results. The first legislature elected in Colorado after the granting of woman suffrage raised the age of consent from fourteen to eighteen, and gave a married woman an equal voice with her husband in regard to children. At the last election in Denver the women are credited with defeating the saloon element. A correspondent of the *Congregationalist* writes from Sydney, South Australia, under date of May 9, 1896, that it is generally conceded there that woman suffrage has made parliamentary elections more orderly. It is true that nowhere has woman suffrage introduced startling changes, but this is neither to be expected nor desired.

objections to woman suffrage answered

The main objections to woman suffrage are that (1) women are physically disqualified from participation in the actual work of government; that they are unfitted for service in the fire and police departments and for the work of paving and lighting streets, building roads, and other forms of public property; (2) home duties would prevent woman, even if she were physically able, from participating in the administration of law, chiefly in such capacities as police officer and juror; (3) woman suffrage would divide the husband and wife and leave the family no longer a social unit; (4) women are now virtually represented at the polls and in government.

To the first objection cited above the answer is

that what the voter needs is not personal knowledge of how to build sewers, construct aqueducts, run law courts, etc., but sufficient judgment and common sense to elect honest men to office to attend to these things. Women share in the results of these material things of government, and if the work has been badly performed, women suffer quite as much as the men, and therefore are entitled to a voice in the choosing of men who shall control these matters.

To the second objection answer is made that a woman need not cease to be domestic because she is also patriotic and takes an intelligent interest in public questions. Such a patriotic woman will be a more rational companion for her husband and a broader-minded mother for her children. Women owe the men of their families mental and spiritual companionship. In none of the states is the ability to bear arms or serve as juror or police officer regarded as a qualification for the suffrage. Not all male citizens, but only able-bodied male citizens, are subject to police duty. Women at home have as much time for voting as busy men, and they have more time for thought.

To the third objection reply is made that in matters of opinion and belief the unit must necessarily be the individual, not the family. The family ought to be a unit in affection, but it cannot always be a unit in opinion, and it rarely is so.

There is no country where the franchise is given to every head of a family and to no one else. No matter how many men over twenty-one years of age there may be in a household, each of them has a vote to represent his opinion. With the family as the suffrage unit, a widower who had lost his wife and children would be debarred from voting, because he is no longer the head of a family.

To the fifth objection, that women are represented already, the reply is, men cannot represent women, because they are unlike women. Women as a class have tasks, interests, and occupations which they alone can adequately represent. Men specially represent material interests; women will specially represent the interests of the home. The laws relating to the liquor traffic and to social purity, and the laws giving the husband power of disposing of his wife's property or children without her consent, and many other laws that might be cited, are evidence that the views of women are not represented in government. James Otis, one of the earliest American orators and a contemporary of Patrick Henry, said: "No such phrase as 'virtual representation' was ever known in law or constitution. It is altogether a subtlety and an illusion, wholly unfounded and absurd."

Other objections are: (1) politics are necessarily corrupting; (2) women would vote as their husbands or fathers do; (3) the best women will not vote; (4) most women do not want to vote; (5) woman suffrage would only double the vote without changing results; (6) woman suffrage would diminish respect for women.

The answers generally made to these objections are: (1) "If politics are necessarily corrupting," why not advise good men to quit voting? (2) Many women have no husbands and no living fathers. If they have and vote as these men do, there will be no quarrel; if they vote differently, then this objection falls to the ground. (3) Women who will not vote are not the best women. Women who are really conscientious will not shirk their duties when the time comes. (4) There is frequently an election toward which a majority of the voters may be said to be indifferent. It has been shown by statistics that, except in years of presidential election, a majority of men in Massachusetts do not vote. (5) But the quality of the voters changes the quality of politics. A political party of men and women will not be the same as a party of men alone. (6) Voting is power. Power always commands respect. Women armed with the ballot will be stronger and more respected than ever before.

THE ARGUMENTS AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

The arguments against woman suffrage are as varied as those claimed for it. The main argument is that influence and power, even political influence and power, are and ought to be of more kinds than one. Voting is not the only means of political and social power. Quiet home influences are greater powers, even in politics, and in this realm woman is supreme. Men rule the outer world, women the inner. To drag women into the public arena is to weaken her influence at home and to violate that law of sex which nature has made, not man.

That women do not need to vote in order to secure proper legislation can be seen by the fact that, without the ballot, laws almost revolutionary have been enacted in favor of women in almost all countries within the last few years. In England and in many American states women are legally protected as much as men. Some injustices doubtless remain, but these are balanced by instances where women are more protected than men. Says Dr. Goldwin Smith, in "Essays on Questions of the Day":

> The law regarding the property of married women has been so far reformed in the interests of the wife that, instead of being unduly favorable to the husband, it seems rather inspired by mistrust of him. The practise is still more so. It has become the custom to tie up a woman's property on marriage so that she shall not be able, even if she is so inclined, to make provision for her husband, in case he survives her, in old age, and save him from the necessity of receiving alms from his own children. . . .
>
> That the administration of the law has been unfavorable to women few will contend. In jury cases, at least, the difficulty is not for women to get justice against men, but for men to get justice against women.

Says Francis M. Scott, of New York:

> The law of this state not only does not discriminate against woman in any respect, save that of voting, but actually affords to her many special privileges and immunities not enjoyed by men.

Undoubtedly laws could be improved for both men and women; but all cannot be done in a day, and the fact, which no one can deny, that enormous progress has recently been made in the legal status of women without woman suffrage shows that it is not necessary to such progress. Nor does woman suffrage necessarily bring great improvement. Even its friends do not claim that it has accomplished much. Says a tract, "Woman Suffrage Tested by its Fruits," published by the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Extension of Suffrage to Woman:

> In Wyoming full suffrage was given to women in 1869, and has been exercised by them ever since, at first under the territorial and later under the state form of government. . . .
>
> Wyoming enjoys the distinction of legalizing gambling. Licenses are granted for gambling just as they are for liquor selling, tho at a higher rate. . . .
>
> There is another section of the Wyoming statutes in which we fail to recognize the gentle and humanizing influence of women. It is section 875, and defines "excusable homicide" thus: "When committed by accident or misfortune in the heat of passion upon any sudden or sufficient provocation, or upon a sudden combat; provided that no undue advantage is taken,

nor any dangerous weapon used, and that the killing is not done in a cruel or unusual manner." There may be other states which pronounce killing "excusable" when done in "the heat of passion," provided it is not attended by unusual cruelty, but we do not recall them.

Of Colorado a writer in *The Outlook* for March 20, 1897, says woman suffrage has not purified politics; that the laws of the state as regards social purity and the rights of married women are not yet abreast of some of the Eastern states, while Wyoming is far behind Colorado.

The bad results of women's entry into the public arena are not so easily shown, because they consist mainly in the weakening of the home life and the quiet influence of women. But tho they cannot be shown, they may be, and many believe that they are, most marked and most threatening.

Feeling that there is a profound law of nature which enthrones woman in the home as men in political life, most women do not want the suffrage. Says the tract, "Tested by its Fruits":

> How small is the proportion of women who really wish the ballot may be inferred from the "referendum" upon the question of municipal suffrage for women, taken in Massachusetts in 1895. The opportunity was given to women at that election, without any expense, or any trouble beyond that of registering and voting, to say whether they wanted municipal suffrage. Out of about 575,000 women entitled to vote, only 22,204 exprest a desire for the ballot. In Massachusetts, therefore, where the suffrage agitation has been as active as anywhere in the union, less than 4 per cent of the women want to vote. Assuming that this ratio holds generally, the suffrage proposition is that the ballot shall be forced upon the 96 per cent of indifferent or reluctant women, because the 4 per cent wish it.

Says Heloise Jamison, in the *Woman's Journal* for May, 1894:

> Woman's place is in the forefront of life, that of the family and of the nation. . . .
>
> Woman's chance of saving, elevating, caring for them lies in staying with them behind the barrier that love has raised. Her chance of protecting herself and man is to go with him to the edge of battle, pray for him in the needs-must of public duty, be the incentive for his return, and the reward of his hard endeavor. . . .
>
> The destiny of the race is in her hands. God and man have placed it there, and it is in no spirit of self-praise or gratulation that she must carry on what is, after all these ages, but just begun. Every power in her must wake; she will decide what public work is consistent with this final duty and what is not. Chivalry is no myth of the Middle Ages, but a truth of the century about to dawn. The names of mother, wife, sister must not become the football of sentiment-mongers or of mistaken realists in thought. If the ballot would be a hindrance, we must have none of it.

REFERENCES: *The History of Woman Suffrage*, Stanton, Anthony, and Gage; *The Legal Status of Woman*, Jessie J. Cassidy; *The Matriarchate*, Elizabeth Cady Stanton; *The Subjection of Women*, John Stuart Mill; *The Rights of Women*, Ostrogorski; *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, Mary Wollstonecraft; *Women in the Nineteenth Century*, Margaret Fuller; *History of Woman*, Lydia Maria Child. For views opposed to woman suffrage, see Helen K. Johnson's *Woman and the Republic*.

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE IN GREAT BRITAIN: When the women of Great Britain obtain citizen rights, they will not be the first of their sex to enter into the political life of the nation. Disfranchisement on the ground of sex is a modern innovation which has crept into our constitution. In ancient Britain women were the political equals of men, having in time of war as well as in time of peace a full share of privileges and of burdens. In Saxon times, too, women were not debarred from taking part in the government of the country. Even after the Norman Conquest the political equality of the sexes was still maintained.

The public offices that women have held include those of queen, high sheriff, earl marshal, high constable, high steward. There have been and still are peeresses in their own right and both peeresses and abbesses were formerly admitted to Parliament. There is conclusive historical proof that women formerly took part in the election of members of the House of Commons.

Early History

The seventeenth century saw a decline in the position and influence of women which coincided with the struggle between king and Commons. It is a curious fact that with the growth of democracy the political position of women tends to deteriorate. Those who believe that humanity rather than property is the true qualification for political rights are prone to consider humanity in this connection as comprizing only males. Nevertheless, there was no trace anywhere in our legislation of any exclusion of women from citizenship until the enactment of the Reform Bill in 1832.

The writings of Mary Wollstonecraft, John Stuart Mill, and others had caused a considerable section of the public to favor the political emancipation of women, and when next the task of reforming the franchise was seriously undertaken by Parliament, there was a vigorous demand that women should share the benefit of the proposed legislation. A numerously signed petition in favor of woman's suffrage was laid before Parliament by John Stuart Mill, and upon the introduction by the government of the Household Suffrage Bill, in 1867, he proposed an amendment for the inclusion of women in the measure. This amendment, tho it received substantial support, was defeated. Nevertheless, it seemed probable that the victory had in fact been won because the new franchise act, unlike the Reform Bill of 1832, employed not the words "male person," but the word "man." Lord Brougham's act, enacted in 1851, had provided that in all acts of Parliament, unless the contrary were expressly stated, words importing the masculine gender should include women. It was, therefore, generally believed that the word man applied to persons of either sex and that women had a legal claim to vote under the newly enacted Household Suffrage measure. The names of several thousand women were placed upon the register of parliamentary voters and the matter was brought before the law courts for decision. In support of the women's case it was argued, first, that sex is no legal disqualification for political rights, and, second, that the provisions of Lord Brougham's act applied, and that the word "man" must be taken to apply to women as well as to men. The judges gave an unfavorable decision and laid down in defiance of all historical fact that according to constitutional and common law women are incapable of exercising any public function. Thus it will be seen that the exclusion of women from political rights rests, not upon legislation, but upon judicial decision.

What is now claimed is that Parliament should set aside the legal decision of 1868 and reestablish the ancient order of things according to which a woman, if she possest the requisite qualification, had the same political rights as a man. In order to induce Parliament to take the desired action, woman's suffrage societies were organized in London, Manchester, and other towns.

As the agitation gained in strength the opposition to woman's suffrage was more plainly manifested. In 1875 a committee of peers, members of Parliament, and other influential men was organized for the purpose of opposing the claim

for the extension of the parliamentary franchise to women. Every time a bill came before the House of Commons urgent whips were issued calling upon opponents to attend and vote against the bill.

In 1884 a further extension of the franchise was proposed by the responsible government of the day. By this time the movement for the enfranchisement of women had so grown as to be far stronger than that which claimed the extension of the men's franchise. Notwithstanding this the government laid before the House of Commons a reform measure applying only to men. It was hoped, and with some reason, that an amendment to include women might be carried. Upon this Gladstone rose and said: "The cargo which the vessel carries is in our opinion a cargo as large as she can safely carry. With regard to the proposal to introduce woman's suffrage into this bill, I offer it the strongest opposition in my power and I must disclaim and renounce all responsibility for the measure should my honorable friend succeed in inducing the House to adopt it." Gladstone's threat was effective and the amendment was lost, the figures showing that if pledged supporters of the women's cause had been true to their convictions, the amendment, instead of being defeated, would have been carried by a majority of 72.

The woman suffragists of that day felt that they had made every possible effort and had failed, and it is perhaps not surprizing that the movement was for many years under a cloud. The agitation suffered a further very serious check by the separation of women into different political camps. Foiled in their attempt to obtain their political rights, large numbers of women attached themselves to one or other of the men's parties.

The Primrose League admitted women to its ranks and in consequence grew very much in strength and importance. In 1887 was formed the Women's Liberal Federation.

A new Parliament was elected in 1886 containing 343 friends of woman's suffrage. Each session bills were introduced, but owing in some cases to the action of the government and in others to unforeseen accident, they made no progress.

During the recent Conservative administration the House approved the principle of woman's suffrage by the substantial majority of 114, but those in office neglected to act upon this favorable declaration, and in the following session the prime minister, A. J. Balfour, resigned office, the present Liberal government being at once formed. It was at this moment that the new militant agitation for woman's suffrage began. Six years earlier a breath of new life had come into the agitation. There were those who felt that there ought, in consequence of the growing political power of the working classes, to be some change in the methods of agitation. A vigorous campaign among working men and women was begun.

In 1903 some of those who had been most active in this work formed a society known as the Women's Social and Political Union.

The older societies for woman's suffrage had been at fault in making their appeal almost entirely to women of the prosperous classes. The Women's Social and Political Union soon discovered that it was equally unwise to make the woman's suffrage movement a purely working-class one. Accordingly this latter society has for a long time past carried on its agitation among women of every social degree.

Immediately upon the formation of the new Liberal government, the Women's Social and Political Union determined to obtain a declaration as to whether the government intended to grant votes to women. At a great meeting in the Free Trade Hall, Sir Edward Grey, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, was to expound the legislative program of the government. To this meeting went two members of the Women's Social and Political Union bent upon obtaining a reply to a question on woman's suffrage. The hall was crowded with representatives of Liberalism from all parts of Lancashire. As Sir Edward Grey proceeded with his address there were frequent interruptions from men seeking information on various matters. To these interruptions Sir Edward Grey did not fail to make a courteous reply in passing. The suffragists preferred to wait until his speech was concluded, when they at once rose to their feet and asked, "Will the Liberal government give women the vote?" In a moment the meeting was in an uproar, some of the audience demanding that the speaker should reply to the question, others calling for the ejection of the two women. No reply was forthcoming and ultimately the suffragists were roughly removed from the hall. On the following morning the Manchester public was surprized to learn of the disturbance in the Free Trade Hall, and of the ejection and arrest of the two women suffragists. This incident was the first of many. During the following months at every meeting addrest by a member of the government, bands of women suffragists appeared for the purpose of demanding the political rights of their sex.

Present Movement

It was then resolved to request Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman to receive a deputation, but this he declined to do. Refusing to allow their claim to be set aside in this cavalier manner, the union appointed a deputation to visit the prime minister's official residence in Downing Street and to wait there until an interview should be accorded. These instructions the deputation carried out. It was only the arrest of three of their number which caused them to cease their attempt to gain admittance. Finding the union to be so determined, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman yielded and announced that he would receive a deputation representing the Women's Social and Political Union and all the other societies having woman's suffrage for their object. A deputation representing nearly all the organized women of the country and numbering 450 persons assembled at the Foreign Office on May 19, 1906. They were accompanied to their destination by a large procession of women from various parts of London and the provinces. Having heard the statement made by the eight spokeswomen, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman exprest his complete sympathy with the woman's suffrage movement, but then went on to say that he could hold out no hope of legislation as his cabinet was not united on the question. Indignant, but more determined than ever, the members of the deputation proceeded to the public meetings which had been arranged and there announced their intention of compelling the government to act.

Before the session closed three other protests were made in the precincts of the House of Com-

mons, involving twenty further arrests. In the new session of 1907 the demand was again made that women should have immediate enfranchisement. Mrs. Fawcett and other members of the older woman's suffrage movement made written application to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman to be allowed to plead their cause at the bar of the House of Commons. His response to this very constitutional action on their part was no more favorable than that which he had accorded to the more militant demonstrations by the Women's Social and Political Union. His excuse in refusing the application of Mrs. Fawcett and her colleagues was that no precedent existed for such a course as she proposed. The Women's Social and Political Union summoned a national convention of women to meet on the first day of the new session of Parliament. At this convention a resolution demanding the vote was carried unanimously and it was further resolved that the convention should march in procession to the House of Commons in order to convey the resolution to the prime minister. Before they had proceeded far on their journey, the processionists encountered a large body of police who attempted to break up their ranks. Undeterred by this opposition to their progress, the women made their way as best they could to the houses of Parliament, where they found awaiting them a band of mounted police. A scene of confusion ensued and several women, not all of them connected with the procession, were placed in serious danger of injury. Fifty-seven women were arrested and were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment. The arrest of such a large number of women created something like a crisis, but the excitement was somewhat allayed by the introduction, by a follower of the government, of a Woman's Suffrage Bill. It was hoped that at a later stage the government might accord to this measure the support which would be necessary for its passage into law. Every section of the woman's suffrage movement was at once engaged in procuring support for the bill. The day for its discussion arrived. It was decided to make no militant demonstration, but to leave the House of Commons entirely free to discuss and vote upon the measure. There was a large attendance of members of Parliament, and the debate reached a higher level than that of any previous debate on the question. The prime minister attended, made a speech that was anything but encouraging, and then left the House. It was generally expected, however, that a favorable vote would be taken, and when, instead of being voted upon, the bill was talked out great disappointment was felt. The fate of this bill confirmed the members of the Women's Social and Political Union in their belief that nothing save vigorous opposition of every possible kind to the government will suffice to obtain legislation. It is by a combination of militant action and of opposition to the government at the elections that women may hope to obtain the vote. The demonstrations here described have brought down upon the heads of those responsible for them much condemnation and hostile criticism, but, what is far more important, they have destroyed the apathy which enveloped the woman's suffrage movement as with a cloud. They have brought to the notice of both men and women the fact that there is a movement for woman's suffrage. They have made people think about the question, and once either men or women give thought to this matter they cannot resist the conclusion that woman's suffrage is both just and expedient. The election policy, tho perfectly orderly and constitutional in its nature, is even more resented, at least by practical politicians. The vehement way in which the tactics of opposition to the government are complained of by Liberals is a sign that such opposition must lead to success. The Women's Social and Political Union by its action at the elections is already something of a menace to the government. As the organization grows stronger it will become a greater menace still and the effort to force the government into granting woman's suffrage will be successful. It has taken half a century to teach women suffragists the lesson that political rights are never granted save in response to irresistible pressure. The means of bringing that pressure to bear has now been discovered, and there is little doubt that as a result of united and vigorous action the enfranchisement of the women of Great Britain will soon be an accomplished fact.

Protests

CHRISTABEL H. PANKHURST.

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 25 Victoria Street, Westminster, S. W. *Secretary*, Miss Edith Palliser.

The National Women's Social and Political Union, 4 Clement's Inn, Strand, W. C. *Honorary Secretary*, Mrs. Pankhurst.

The Women's Liberal Federation, 124 Victoria Street, Westminster, S. W. *Secretary*, Miss Bunney.

The Women's Cooperative Guild, Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmoreland. *Secretary*, Miss Llewellyn Davies.

The Women's Textile Workers' Representation Committee, 5 John Dalton Street, Manchester. *Secretaries*, Miss Roper and Miss Gore Booth.

REFERENCES: Mrs. Swiney, *The Awakening of Women; The Case for Women's Suffrage*, edited by Brougham Villiers; H. T. Buckle, *The Influence of Women*; M. Ostrogorsky, *The Rights of Women*; Mrs. C. C. Stopes, *The Sphere of Man*; John Stuart Mill, *The Subjection of Women*; Miss Constance Smedley, *Woman: A Few Shrieks*; Arnold Harris Mathew, *Woman Suffrage*; Mrs. Perkins Gilman, *Women and Economics*.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES: The year 1848 is to the history of the struggle for woman's political rights what 1776 is to the story of the American Revolution. So strongly did the men and women who inaugurated the struggle for "woman's rights" feel this analogy that at the first convention held for the purpose they used the Declaration of Independence as the model and framework of their own declaration of principles.

But no great movement comes unprepared for or unheralded, and the Woman's Rights Convention of 1848 had had its John the Baptist crying in the wilderness of prejudice and injustice.

In 1790 Mary Wollstonecraft's "Vindication of the Rights of Women," published in London, attracted attention from liberal thinkers. Harriet Martineau, by her numerous writings upon political economy, demonstrated practically woman's ability to enter the realm of politics.

Beginnings

As early as 1820 Frances Wright, of Scotland, visited this country, and in 1828 lectured in many places, striving to arouse the people to the danger threatening from the attempt to unite Church and State. All her influence was toward the recognition of woman equally with man in national affairs. Ernestine L. Rose, a brilliant and beautiful Polish woman, worked earnestly in this same direction.

It would be impossible to even mention here the host of women who, in the first half of this century, bore witness to their faith in the powers of their own sex to fill a wider "sphere" than the one appointed to them by the men of their day and generation. Emma Willard, in education; Elizabeth Blackwell, Clemence Lozier, Ann Preston, Hannah Longshore, Marie Zakrzewski, and Mary Putnam Jacobi, in medicine; Sarah and Angelina Grimke, Lydia Maria Child, Abby Kelley, Sarah Pugh, and Lucretia Mott, through their participation in the antislavery struggle; Margaret Fuller, in her literary work; Antoinette L. Brown, in the ministry; Susan B. Anthony, in the temperance work; Lucy Stone, at Oberlin, and in 1847 from the pulpit of her brother's church at Brookfield, Mass.—these all stood as pioneers making ready the way for the response to the call for the convention which made the first organized demand for "equality of rights for woman, social, religious, and political."

One other influence, and perhaps the greatest of all, leading directly to the calling of the Seneca Falls Convention, cannot be omitted here. This was the exclusion from the World's Anti-Slavery Convention, held in London in 1840, of the women sent there as delegates. A number of anti-slavery societies in this country elected women to represent them in the deliberations of that body; the English members were unprepared for this, and regarded it as an innovation not to be endured; a most exciting discussion filled the first day of the convention. Wendell Phillips, George Bradburn, also of Massachusetts, the venerable George Thompson, and Henry B. Stanton stood as the advocates of the rights of the women as delegates. The clergymen were, as a body, bitterly opposed to their admission. By an overwhelming majority, the World's (?) Anti-Slavery Convention refused to accept the women coming from Pennsylvania and Massachusetts fully credentialed as delegates, among whom were Lucretia Mott, Abby Kimber, Ann Green Phillips, Abby Southwick, Sarah Pugh, and Mary Grew.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who had accompanied her husband, Henry B. Stanton, to London for the convention, in conversation with Lucretia Mott about the iniquitous attitude of the assembly on the woman question, decided that men needed educating on this subject as much as upon the freedom of the black slaves, and they agreed that later they would have a convention to discuss the position and rights of women. This was the seed from which grew the meeting of which the following is the call, which appeared in the *Seneca County Courier* of July 14, 1848:

Woman's Rights Convention.—A convention to discuss the social, civil, and religious condition and rights of woman will be held in the Wesleyan Chapel, at Seneca Falls, N. Y., on Wednesday and Thursday, July 19, 20, current, commencing at ten o'clock A.M. During the first day the meeting will be exclusively for women, who are earnestly invited to attend. The public generally are invited to be present on the second day, when Lucretia Mott, of Philadelphia, and other ladies and gentlemen will address the convention.

This call was without signatures; it was issued by Lucretia Mott, Martha C. Wright (her sister), Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Mary Ann McClintock. Altho not invited to the first day's sessions, men came, and in such numbers as made it impossible to exclude them. It was therefore decided to have a man preside, and James Mott took the chair. After a number of addresses, the new declaration of independence, entitled a Declaration of Sentiments, was presented, and, after discussion and slight amendment, accepted. It followed exactly the form of the Declaration of 1776, substituting the words "all men" for "King George." As the original document related eighteen grievances, so that of the women contained exactly that number. Let me quote some of these:

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable rights to the elective franchise.

He has compelled her to submit to laws in the formation of which she has had no voice.

He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men—both natives and foreigners.

Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppress her on all sides.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single, and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration. He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law she is not known.

He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her.

He allows her in Church, as well as State, but a subordinate position, claiming apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the Church.

Among the resolutions passed by the convention were the following, the only one which occasioned much discussion being that upon suffrage.

"*Resolved*, That the same amount of virtue, delicacy, and refinement of behavior that is required of woman in the social state should also be required of man, and the same transgressions should be visited with equal severity on both man and woman.

"*Resolved*, That it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise."

Since 1848 the work of the advocates of woman suffrage has been to make good the claims set forth at Seneca Falls. To this end they have held conventions, organized associations all over the country, instituted courses of political study in their equal suffrage clubs, in preparation for their exercise of political functions, circulated petitions, sent out lecturers, worked to change laws through various state legislatures and in constitutional conventions, through amendments to state constitutions, and through their national associations, sought to secure from Congress the submission of an amendment to the national Constitution enfranchising the women of the U. S.

For many years this was carried forward by individuals working through other associations. Finding the work for woman suffrage was hampered by its close association with the question of negro suffrage, and the fifteenth amendment to the national Constitution, those who felt strongly that the woman's hour had come and that she should not be made to wait until all sorts and conditions of men had first been admitted to the political kingdom, organized in May, 1869, in New York, the National Woman Suffrage Association, with Elizabeth Cady Stanton as president, her coworker, Susan B. Anthony, being on the official board. This organization bent its efforts chiefly toward national legislation to secure its object.

Associations

In November of the same year, in Cleveland, Ohio, there was formed the American Woman Suffrage Association, with Henry Ward Beecher president, and Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell among its active workers. In 1889 these two bodies of workers joined and formed the National American Woman Suffrage Association, with Elizabeth Cady Stanton as its president, Susan B. Anthony vice-president at large, and Lucy Stone chairman of the executive committee.

In Dec., 1869, the Territorial Assembly of Wyoming enfranchised the women of that territory upon exactly the same terms as men, giving them the right to serve on juries and hold all territorial offices in the gift of the voters. In 1870 the grand and petit juries at Laramie were composed of both men and women, and the results were eminently satisfactory to all except the convicted criminals. The presiding judge, Chief Justice Howe, gave this as his opinion: "In eighteen years' experience I have never had as fair, candid, impartial, and able a jury in court as in this term in Albany County"; and Associate Justice Kingman said: "For twenty-five years it has been an anxious study with me, both on the bench and at the bar, how we are to prevent jury trials from degenerating into a perfect burlesque; and it has remained for Albany County to point out the remedy and demonstrate the cure for this threatened evil."

When, in 1890, Wyoming prepared her constitution for statehood, the women stood upon precisely the same political footing as the men, and this attitude was maintained even when, in the U. S. Congress, opposition was made to her admission as a state unless the men were willing to yield the point and leave Wyoming's women disfranchised. Wyoming is, therefore, the first true republic, the first star upon the woman-suffrage flag.

Where Adopted

In 1893 Colorado enfranchised her women by a legislative enactment ratified at the polls, at which election the majority in favor of woman suffrage was 6,000. The women there have not been slow to use their newly acquired opportunity and have already become a power in public affairs. In the elections this spring in Denver (1897) they have cooperated successfully with the organizations struggling heretofore unsuccessfully for a better city government, and have won a notable victory over the gambling and saloon element which has had control there. That there has been no rush for office by the women is shown by the fact that the women's organizations which helped so effectively to win this victory for law and order asked for not a single name of a woman upon the list of nominations made by them in joint session with the men's organization.

The women of Utah have now the full franchise, secured to them in the constitution with which Utah came in as a state in 1896. As early as 187c they had been enfranchised by the territorial legislature, but were disfranchised by Congress (Edmunds Bill) in 1887. This was done as a blow to polygamy; but it was questionable justice to disfranchise all the women of the territory.

Idaho, by an amendment to its constitution, passed in Nov., 1896, gave its women the ballot on the same terms with the men of the state.

Kansas women received the municipal suffrage by legislative enactment in 1887; this, of course, does not enfranchise all the women of that state, as those outside of the cities cannot vote except upon certain elective trusteeships and upon school bonds and appropriations. Thousands of the Kansas women vote in the cities, and there have been fourteen women elected as mayors of small cities, and at one time two such municipalities boasted their entire City Council as made up of women, with a woman mayor to cooperate with them.

Limited Suffrage

In nineteen states and two territories women vote for all trustees and directors where elective, which in most cases include school directors.

In Kentucky women can vote on school appropriations and bonds, provided they live in the country districts and are either widows or spinsters.

On this question of appropriations women vote (in addition to Kentucky, on conditions named above) on the same conditions as the men in Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey (the only vote they have there), North Dakota, and Vermont.

In Louisiana and Montana they vote as to public improvements if they are taxpayers.

Among the results of the struggle of the last fifty years for the enfranchisement of women may fairly be claimed the great improvement in her legal status (see article Woman's Rights), a marked change in morals looking toward the same standard for man and woman, her admission to most of the great institutions of learning, and to the professions and business life. In many cases these advantages, where they involved legislation to bring them about, were given as compromises to women asking enfranchisement, by men unwilling to grant rights, but anxious to quiet the demands for that right which, once gained and exercised, will guarantee to its possessors all other rights which may come through law.

Rachel Foster Avery.

For recent facts, see Woman's Suffrage on page 1295.

WOMEN'S TRADE-UNIONS (IN GREAT BRITAIN): The object of trade-unionism, broadly stated, is to raise wages and improve conditions of industry by collective action. The improvement of conditions has been largely relegated to the State; factory and workshop laws deal with the conditions of the work-place, but State regulations only touch wages incidentally, and their regulation rests with the laws of the trade. Apart from its effect on wages, the effect of corporate action may have remarkable educational results on the members of trade-unions in widening their outlook, interesting them in the administration of their affairs, and in social questions.

It was at the beginning of the eighteenth century that we first hear of trade-unions, as we now understand them. Prior to that time there was a good deal of oppression, but the workers never appear to have been able to maintain any lasting combination against it, till, in the eighteenth century, we hear of the action taken by the tailors, weavers, and various other classes of workers to protect themselves. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the conditions of work were changing, for it was becoming differentiated, and classes of workers were growing up who were only able to undertake a certain share in the production of the finished goods. Cutters, sewers, and

Beginnings

other special classes of workers were needed to carry on tailoring, and among the weavers some carded and others wove, while the material in both cases belonged to an employer. Therefore the work was being carried out by men the majority of whom could never hope to rise to be employers, who owned nothing but their skill, and whose interests were the same as those of all the other employees in the shop. Here, therefore, we get all the essential elements for a trade-union, in the existence of a permanent wage-earning class in a trade sufficiently skilled to render the workers intelligent and alive to their own interests. The resort of these early trade-unions for the redress of their grievances was always to the law; they did not attempt to keep up their wages by their unions, but used their organization to get the laws put into force; a comparatively easy step, when the government considered that it was their business to obtain for the workers a "convenient proportion of their wages," and when king and House of Commons appear to have held on these questions the workers' "brief."

It is droll to the modern trade-union official, who recognizes the value of machinery and welcomes invention, to find the government itself prohibiting the use of the gig mill at the workers' instance. But the tide of invention and all the conditions of industrial change were not to be kept back by laws, and tho as late as 1756 the Gloucestershire weavers obtained a table and scheme of wages by which their piece-work prices were to be settled by the justices, the act was one of the last of this description which was passed. Nor was this scheme of long existence, for before a year was gone it was repealed, in spite of the workers' struggle to retain it, by the influence of the employers. Henceforth the workers petitioned Parliament in vain, for tho the government agreed with them that their standard of life was lowered, while the production of their labor was enormously increased, they saw no way out of the difficulty, and amid universal discontent and frequent outbreaks, the situation developed till the beginning of the last century. After 1800 the old policy was entirely reversed, the laws giving powers to fix wages were repealed, the laws against combinations enforced, and the individualist school of *laissez-faire* ruled supreme.

For many years there was much oppression and suffering, imprisonment and heavy penalties were inflicted on the workers' leaders whenever trade-unionism showed itself, and the organizations at this date existed rather as secret societies, with quaint oaths and strange mysteries. Meanwhile, however, the division between labor and capital was becoming complete, a "horizontal cleavage" which created a national wage-earning class was taking place, and we owe the modern trade-union movement, with its identification of the interests of the workers as a class, to the persecution of trade-unionists, which did not cease till long after the laws against combinations had been repealed, for the individualistic school died hard.

What part had women played in the vicissitudes and development of the trade-unionist movement? A very small one, tho it is interesting to find that in 1827, when, after the repeal of the Combination Laws, the Grand General Union of the United Kingdom was being started by the cotton-spinners, the women and girls were urged by them to form separate organizations. The organizations did not last; but it is appropriate that what seems to be one of the earliest indications of women's trade-unions should be found in a trade which on the wiser lines of united enrolment includes now in its membership two thirds of the organized women of England.

The industrial interests of men and women are identical, and the present status of women's organization is, we are convinced, due to the recognition of this fact. About 100,000 women are members of the Lancashire organizations, and none are conducted with more wisdom or statesmanship.

The results are what we should anticipate. Wages are at a far higher average than is usual in trades where women are largely employed; hours and conditions in the cotton trade are notoriously above the average; the settlement of disputes is, as a rule, by the deliberation of the officials of the opposing organizations of masters and men, rather than by the rough-and-ready method of a strike. We have in Lancashire the champion women's unions of the world.

Results

The same results have not yet been achieved outside Lancashire. The total of organized women numbers about 140,000, and of these the 50,000 not already accounted for are in scattered unions all over the country, not massed in one district or trade, and as the membership of some of them is very small, numbering even as few as fifty persons, they cannot be named with the great and stable Lancashire organizations. Apart from Lancashire the textile organizations of Yorkshire, and even of Scotland, are comparatively weak; and the same may be said of the textile center in Belfast.

During 1906 a remarkable revival has taken place in Scotland and in Belfast. A lockout in Dundee has resulted in a trade-union of 5,000 members, and struggles in Paisley, Brechin, and elsewhere are awakening the dormant interest in trade-unionism, while in Belfast a lockout of 15,000 operatives has also had as its result the increase of the textile unions there.

As the result of long experience, the W. T. U. League advocates and adopts the policy of organizing the women with the men in trade-unions, or where joint organization is impossible, in closely affiliated organizations. There are, however, some examples in which a women's union has been successful. Leaving the textile trade and coming to those miscellaneous trades in which women are employed, upholstering provides us with an example of a successful union of purely female membership, for in this trade in Liverpool the women have gained a rise of 2*s.* a week through their organization. The London Union of Women Cigarmakers, which forms an organization closely affiliated with the men's union, tho not an integral part of it, furnishes another example; as does the Leicester Cigarmakers' Union, containing about two thirds of the number of the trade in the district, of which two thirds half are women. In the Cigarmakers' Union the trade feeling is so strong that a complete system of boycott is carried out by the women, and non-unionists are not tolerated by them in their workrooms—a newcomer and non-unionist must join the union or relinquish her work. The felt hatters have opened their ranks to women, and have a considerable female membership. There has been a

plucky attempt both throughout the boot and shoe trade, and by the men officials in the tailoring and in the clothiers' trades, to bring the women workers into line with the men. This has not yet been very successful, tho there is a good branch of the first in Leicester.

It is clear that 140,000 women trade-unionists out of 5,000,000 available for organization is not a large proportion. It is, however, worthy of note that at the first Trade Congress at Sheffield in 1866 110,000 men only were represented, and the organization of women dates from a later date than that of men. The difficulties in the way of organization of women are great. Permanency in wage-earning is held to be a first essential for successful trade organization, and marriage, which frequently takes women out of the labor market, militates against this permanency so far as women are concerned. There has nevertheless been remarkable progress in trade-unionism for women during the last few years. The skilled and educated worker, telephonists, general post-office employees, shop assistants, telegraphists, are organizing. The telephonists' organization numbers 1,500, which is 75 per cent of the total available in London, and 100 per cent in some of the big centers, such as Manchester. More than two thirds of the possible female members in the major establishment of the general post-office have been enrolled, while the shop assistants' female membership is over 15,000. This forward movement among the educated and skilled women employees will have a great effect in consolidating the whole movement and giving it permanent stability.

The women to whom the work of trade organization has owed most in England in the past are Mrs. Paterson, the founder of the Women's Trade-Union League, and Lady Dilke, its devoted supporter and finally its chairman. Other strong personalities have been those of Mrs. H. J. Tennant, formerly superintending woman her Majesty's inspector of factories, and the League treasurer, Mrs. Marland Brodie, a textile worker and League organizer. At present magnificent organizing work is being done by the League secretary, Miss Macarthur. Its debt to men trade-unionists, particularly in the textile trade, is very great.

GERTRUDE M. TUCKWELL,
Chairman Women's Trade-Union League.

REFERENCES: *History of Trade-Unionism*, Sidney Webb, (Longmans & Co.); *Women as Trade-Unionists*, Gertrude Tuckwell; *Quarterly Report of Women's Trade-Union League*; *Trade-Unionism Amongst Women*, Mary R. Macarthur; *Industrial Position of Women*, Lady Dilke. All these and other publications dealing with the industrial position of women are to be obtained from the office of the "Women's Trade-Union League," Club Union Building, Clerkenwell Road, E. C., London.

WOMEN IN TRADE-UNIONS (IN THE UNITED STATES): The presence of women wage-workers in the trade-unions of the U. S. is a fact of very recent history; indeed, it is only within the last six or eight years that they have been organized in any considerable numbers. It is true that from the earliest days of American factory industry women have at times gone out on strikes, following the leadership of their men associates, or acting independently upon their own initiative and on account of their own grievances; but they have had almost no part in the successive organized efforts of wage-workers to obtain a larger share of the benefits of advancing civilization. This fact is not hard to understand. The earlier labor agitations were largely political, both in aims and methods, and quite beyond the factory girl's range of interest, even tho she was a New England schoolmistress. Moreover, before industry had been completely taken out of the household, and before the real social significance of the factory system was recognized, women even more generally than at present looked upon wage-earning work as a temporary occupation, and interested themselves in ways of escape from it, rather than in means of improving its conditions. Their indifference to the purposes of the Labor movement was strengthened by the hostile attitude of unionists toward female competitors in the factory and the shop. This opposition has given way, as the men have come to recognize that women are a permanent factor in the present system of industry, and that their competition is much less dangerous when they are brought into the unions and made a definite and controllable element in the labor problem. A new and enlightened policy in regard to women workers was part of a very liberal and aggressive program adopted by the labor organizations about 1890. From that time on, for several years, a very significant trade-union development took place, consisting in the association of local bodies to form national unions, in the growth in numbers and influence of the American Federation of Labor, and in the successful agitations carried on by these societies through their organizers. The movement, checked by the depression of 1894, soon regained strength, and by 1900 was going forward by leaps and bounds. In the later period a large number of women were brought into the unions. Indeed, upon the whole, the organization of women workers has been a subsidiary part of the union program, forced upon the men's societies by the necessities of the situation.

History

The American labor organizations of which wage-earning women are a part fall into four groups of widely differing importance. In the first class are the national and so-called international unions, which form the chief elements of the American Federation of Labor. The membership of these bodies is organized into local unions, which have a large degree of autonomy. The second group consists of those local trade and federal unions which are directly connected with the federation. They are made up of wage-earners in trades for which there is no national organization, or of employees in various industries who cannot be gathered into trade locals because of lack of numbers. To a third class belong those unions, fairly numerous in the Eastern states, which have no national or federal connections. The warring branches of the declining Knights of Labor form the fourth group. The last three classes are of comparatively little significance in relation to the subject in hand, whether judged by numbers, or by the part women have played in their history. For this reason, and because it is impossible to obtain detailed information concerning them, this article is confined to a consideration of the national trade organizations, which are the main factors in the American Federation of Labor.

These unions may be considered in three groups, the basis of classification being the numbers and relative importance of women in the trades; for these facts vitally affect the strength

of the union, the activity of women in its management, and explain many of the details of its history. In the first class are those organizations having jurisdiction over industries in which women are but a small part of the total number of wage-workers, and usually perform unskilled processes. Owing to their relative unimportance union men have not considered it a profitable policy to spend great energy in bringing them into their organizations. The unions of the Telegraphers, the Potters, the Bakery and Confectionery Workers, the Meat Cutters and Butchers, and the Hotel and Restaurant Employees are the chief organizations presenting these phenomena. In all of them the proportion of women organized is much smaller than the proportion in the trade, and in all the women are but an insignificant part of the total membership of the union. In the Potters' Society they are 250 out of 6,050; in that of the Waiters 650 out of 4,800; the unions of women in the packing-houses flourished for a short time under the fostering care of a few social settlement workers, but disappeared when met by the opposition of the last few years; the women telegraphers constitute about 20 per cent of the persons in the trade and a much smaller proportion of the membership of the union. In telegraphy the workers must possess general intelligence and special skill, two characteristics favorable to the development of unionism among any set of workers. The other trades are filled by girls who learn the simple processes quickly, and do not remain long in one trade, but pass on to something new. Under such conditions it is hard to maintain a union scale against competition, and difficult to rouse interest for union principles among workers who are so transient in any one industry.

Groups

The second group of unions consists of organizations which cover trades where women work in considerable numbers and are a serious factor in the labor problem. They may compete directly with men; if so, their presence is likely to be looked upon with jealousy by their brethren, who have grudgingly organized them, because their competition outside the union was dangerous. In those trades in which women's work is supplementary to that of men their organization has usually been due to the belief of the men that the cooperation of so large a part of their fellow workers was desirable. While the number of women printers in the newspaper and periodical offices is small, their relative number in the book trade of certain places, especially in Boston, is so considerable that their competition tends to seriously affect wages. They are not organized in proportion to their numbers, being perhaps 3,000 out of 47,000 members of the Typographical Union. They learn the fundamental process of setting up straight matter in a few weeks, while men acquire proficiency in all parts of the trade during a four years' apprenticeship. Women are as accurate as the men, but not so swift, hence the policy of the union in insisting upon an identical time scale for both sexes tends to keep women typesetters out of the union offices. In places where the union scale does not prevail they receive considerably less than union wages. These facts have led to ill feeling between men and women compositors, which is not conducive to the progress of unionism among the latter.

The unusual success of the boot and shoe workers in organizing women is due to several facts: fair wages have attracted persons with sufficient intelligence to understand somewhat the significance of union principles and to carry on its work; there is little competition and resulting jealousy between men and women in the trade; a closed-shop policy, insisted upon wherever it has been possible to maintain it, has forced many indifferent women into the organization; high dues and benefits have strengthened the society and inspired the members with a sense of its power. About one third of the society's constituency is female. The Bookbinders' Union resembles in its chief features the organization of the Boot and Shoe Workers; but a larger part of the employees in the trade are women. Wages are lower, and union dues are less for women than for men. Perhaps two fifths of the employees of the tobacco factories are girls. The Tobacco Workers adhere to a policy of closed shops and identical wages for women and men, and as a result they have a smaller proportion of women than are found in the open shops where women's wages are much lower than men's. Wherever the trust is powerful a large number of girls are engaged in cigarmaking, but they do not constitute an important part of the Cigar Workers' Union, for the non-union factories make a much greater difference between men's and women's wages than that which is allowed by the union, and hence have a greater incentive to employ women.

In those industries in which women constitute the majority of wage-workers, unionism has not made encouraging progress, but its failure cannot often be attributed to this fact alone, for in a number of cases there are present other unfavorable conditions. In the manufacture of clothing the unfortunate organization of the industry, the nature of the work, which allows it to be carried on in living rooms and small shops, the competition of ever-increasing numbers of foreigners, are facts as fundamental as the presence of large numbers of women. The women's locals of the United Garment Workers have been formed largely under the compulsion of the label policy, and have been maintained by the fostering care of the union's business agents. The Ladies' Garment Workers is a feeble association, which is struggling against overwhelming odds, for to the evils of the men's clothing trade there is added the misfortune of the trade's being peculiarly subject to the influence of season and fashion. But a small percentage of the employees in the great number of laundries scattered over the country are organized in the Shirt, Waist, and Laundry Workers' Union; this is partly due to the fact that, as a rule, the workers are not concentrated in large establishments, but still more to the large percentage of women in the trade. In the glove industry two thirds of the employees are women. The Glove Workers' Union, formed at the instigation of the glove-cutters' society, has effected some improvements in wages and conditions, but does not include a large part of the women glove workers. The failure of unionism among the cotton and woolen factory operatives of the U. S. is explained by a consideration of the successive waves of immigrants with ever lower standards of living which have filled the ranks of the New England industry, and of the ignorance and rural individualism

Difficulties

of the Southern mill hands, together with the fact that about one half the workers are women and young girls. The United Textile Workers is a struggling organization that seeks to include wage-earners of all classes.

Most of the labor organizations with which women are connected are fairly conservative in policy in spite of the declarations of socialistic principles found in their constitutions. Two of them are among the oldest and strongest unions in the country. In practically all women are admitted upon the same terms as men, have the same power of voting, and are eligible to all offices. In unions where women's wages are very low their dues and benefits are smaller than those for men. Usually one local is formed for each department of an industry, which results often in associations composed entirely of one sex, for women's work is to a good degree supplementary to that of men. In their own unions women act as officers, unless the body is very large, or the members are quite inexperienced. Several national organizations support women organizers, and in nearly all they are sent as delegates to conventions, where they serve upon the less important committees. But whatever their constitutional rights, and whatever their nominal recognition, the actual influence of women in determining the general policy of the unions has been small.

The progress of labor organization among women has thus far largely resulted from the proselyting efforts of the men in the unions, and these efforts have been exerted as women were a more or less important factor in an industry. But the success of women's unions is everywhere dependent upon the presence of certain favorable industrial and social conditions. They are likely to be prosperous in a locality where all trades are well organized, and in a trade in which women's work is supplementary to, rather than competitive with, that of men. Women of a comparatively high standard of intelligence and of American birth make the most effective unionists. The label policy often forces indifferent women into a union, and is the means by which a few vigorous members maintain a fairly vigorous local.

Policy

Of the conditions unfavorable to development of unionism among female wage-workers certain ones are temporary and may disappear with the improvement of the organization of industry. In the sweated trades the hopelessness, low degree of vitality and of intelligence resulting from miserable wages and bad sanitary conditions, are an effectual hindrance to the organizing of women workers. The fear that the uniform scale for men's and women's work demanded by certain unions will result in the displacement of the weaker sex keeps women out of some unions. Their interests are not as carefully looked after by the unions as those of their brethren, and less effort is made to bring them into the organizations. In some industries women's presence is recent, which fact explains in part the indifference of the men and the failure of the women to realize their importance in the trade.

More serious are the following considerations, based upon fundamental facts. Women who never become identified with any trade, but pass from one industry to another doing unskilled work in each, can have no real interest in a trade-union. In many occupations the girls are too young and untrained to consider their industrial relations as a very serious matter. Women have more home interests than men, and find there diversions which men must seek outside, and which they find in the activities of their union. The fact that a large number of women work to earn the luxuries, not the necessities, of life, renders them less ready to struggle for a living wage. Often girls refuse to join a union for fear of losing caste among their acquaintances by openly identifying themselves with the wage-workers. Of more importance than all other considerations is the fact that most women look upon work in the shop or factory as a temporary employment between school and marriage; this naturally results in an unwillingness to sacrifice any present for a future good, as is often necessary in a union, or to give time and energy to build up an organization with which they will be identified but a few years.

Wherever vigorous organizations of women have been maintained, wages have been increased and many petty annoyances have been done away with. They have been too much engrossed with the fundamental matter of wages to spend their energies in struggling directly for better sanitary conditions, but the combined labor forces of the leading manufacturing states have been largely responsible for the relatively high standards of safety and hygiene established by the factory codes. The union often serves as an educational and social institution, in which the working girl acquires a broader outlook on life; learns the lesson of subordination of self for the good of her associates; and develops that individuality which the factory life crushes out.

B. M. Herron.

References: (For references on Woman's Suffrage and Economic Position in Great Britain see the articles under these titles.) United States: *Woman's Suffrage*, Mrs. Mary Jacobi; *Common Sense Applied to Woman's Suffrage* (1894), Mrs. Helen Johnson; *Woman and the Republic* (1897) (anti), Susan B. Anthony, Ida H. Harper, and others; *History of Woman's Suffrage* (4 vols., 1883–1900), Francis Parkman; *Some of the Reasons Against Woman's Suffrage*, see also leaflets of the Massachusetts Woman's Suffrage Association, 3 Park Street, Boston; *Woman's Economic Position*, August Bebel; *Woman in the Past, Present, and Future* (1893), Helen Campbell; *Prisoners of Poverty and Household Economics* (1897), Grace Dodge and others; *What Women Can Earn* (1898), Charlotte P. (Stetson) Gilman; *Woman and Economics* (1899), *The Home* (1903), Francis A. Kellar; *Out of Work* (1904), C. Letourneau; *Condition of Women in all Races* (French), Prof. Lucy M. Salmon; *Domestic Service* (1901); *Statistics of Women at Work, U. S. Census* (1907).

WOMEN'S TRADE-UNION LEAGUES: The English Woman's Trade-Union League is a most effective organization, formed in 1874, largely through the efforts of Mrs. Paterson aided by Lady Dilke and now ably conducted by Miss Gertrude M. Tuckwell (its former secretary and now its chairman) and Miss M. R. Macarthur, its present secretary. It has affiliated with it some 100 societies and about 75,000 members. It aims at the organization of working women (usually in the same unions with men), at investigating and endeavoring to right women's trade wrongs, and at promoting remedial legislation. *Address*: Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell Road, London, E. C.

In America a National Woman's Trade-Union League was formed in 1903, largely through the efforts of Mr. W. E. Walling and Mrs. Mary K. O'Sullivan. It has headquarters at present in Chicago, with Mrs. Raymond Robins as president and Miss Annie E. Nicholas as secretary. *Ad-*

dress: 275 Lassalle Street. The aims in the main are the same as the English League, but the society being very much younger has by no means the strength of the English League. There are active branch leagues in Chicago, with Miss Steghagen as secretary (same address as the National League); in New York, with Miss Helen Marot as secretary, 11 Waverley Place; and a less active league in Boston, with Miss Emily Greene Balch of Wellesley College as president. A Woman's Union Label League also exists. *Secretary,* Mrs. J. F. O'Neill, 565 Dickens Avenue, Chicago.

The objects and platform of the Chicago Woman's Trade-Union League, which may be taken as a sample of all, are as follows: 1. Organization of all workers into trade-unions. 2. Equal pay for equal work. 3. Eight-hour day. 4. A minimum wage scale. 5. Full citizenship for women. 6. All principles embodied in the economic program of the American Federation of Labor.

OBJECT

The object of this organization shall be to promote the interests of the trade organization of women, to forward labor legislation, to assist the local trade-unions, and to aid in the formation of new unions in all trades, especially where women are employed, such unions to be affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and with their national or international organization if such exists.

In the U. S. an important Inter-Municipal Research Committee was organized in 1904 for the study of conditions affecting the welfare of the unemployed and unskilled workers. It is composed of representatives of the following societies: Woman's Educational and Industrial Union, Boston, Mrs. Mary Morton Kehew, chairman; Woman's Municipal League, New York, Mrs. Richard Aldrich; Research and Protective Association, Philadelphia, Mrs. Wilbur F. Hamilton; College Settlements Association, Mrs. Arthur H. Scribner; Council of Jewish Women, Miss Sadie American; National League for Protection of Colored Women, William Jay Schieffelin. The committee conducts a correspondence department, "Housewives and Household Aids," in the *Ladies' Home Journal.* It has given large attention to the question of domestics, and from time to time conducts various important investigations. Miss Frances A. Kellor is the general director. *Address:* 19 East Twenty-sixth Street, New York.

In Great Britain another important organization is the Woman's Industrial Council, which publishes the *Woman's Industrial News. Secretary,* Miss Papworth, 7 John Street, Adelphi, London, W. C., England.

WOMAN'S WORK, CLUBS FOR: With women's clubs, so far as they are merely social, literary, artistic, scientific, or religious, this Encyclopedia is not directly concerned, but the general movement and organization of women's clubs is one of the most important and significant of social reform. Women's political and economic societies we consider elsewhere (see WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE, WOMAN'S ECONOMIC POSITION, WOMAN'S TRADE-UNIONS, etc.), but the large majority of women's clubs do not come under this head. The whole number of women's clubs in the United States is not known, nor their membership, though it is estimated at about 1,000,000.

Some 5,261 clubs with something like 800,000 members (active and associate) are organized into a General Federation of Women's Clubs. Of the Federation, Mrs. Sarah S. Platt Decker of Denver, Colo., is president, and Mrs. Charles A. Perkins secretary. *Address:* 1547 W. Clinch Avenue, Knoxville, Tenn.

The following, from the Directory of Women's Clubs in America for 1907, is an approximation to the number of clubs in the different states including the Federation and non-Federation clubs. Most of the states have State Federations. Those starred have none:

STATE	Clubs	Membership
Alabama*	41	.....
Alaska*	4	105
Arizona	14	500
Arkansas	96	3,925
California	185	12,527
Colorado	130	6,000
Connecticut	52	2,560
Delaware	12	1,186
District of Columbia	13	5,000
Florida	23	1,030
Georgia	57	5,250
Idaho	27	700
Illinois	280	.....
Indiana	178	4,000
Indian Territory	59	.....
Iowa	326	12,124
Kansas	250	7,000
Kentucky	49	6,721
Louisiana	21	626
Maine	114	4,300
Maryland	35	3,000
Massachusetts	224	30,000
Michigan	182	15,000
Minnesota	172	7,615
Mississippi	36	.....
Missouri	126	4,000
Montana	26	900
Nebraska	140	4,360
Nevada	1	170
New Hampshire	80	4,775
New Mexico*	4	246
New Jersey	104	11,617
New York	234	42,000
North Carolina	33	1,000
North Dakota	59	1,056
Ohio	297	11,500
Oklahoma	79	2,437
Oregon	36	1,600
Pennsylvania	175	18,000
Rhode Island	25	2,397
South Carolina	64	2,751
South Dakota	46	.....
Tennessee	54	2,400
Texas	231	5,825
Utah	26	700
Vermont	26	1,911
Virginia*	2	54
Washington	88	2,210
West Virginia	20	625
Wisconsin	147	6,200
Wyoming	32	757

WOMEN'S WAGES: If accurate statistics of men's wages do not exist except for a few trades, women's wages are still less known. Nothing that can be called statistics for very recent years exists. An investigation of woman and child labor in the United States now in progress will probably throw much light, but at present only hints can be given from various sources. A Report of the Census for Women at Work (1907) gives only their occupations and numbers. For earlier years we have more information.

Wages

According to Dr. Carroll D. Wright, women's wages in the cotton factories of New England averaged in 1831 from $2.20 to $2.60 per week; in 1880 the average for women ranged as high as $6.37, and in 1890 in the entire U. S. it was $5.53, ranging from $3.21 to $6.42. The average annual wages for women clerks in the U. S. for all industries was, in 1890, $462; $890 for men. Women operatives received $276.

According to Mr. Wright (in the report of the Commissioner of Labor for 1889), the following was the weekly average earnings of women in industries in various cities:

Cities	Average weekly earnings
Atlanta	$4.05
Baltimore	4.18
Boston	5.64
Brooklyn	5.76
Buffalo	4.27
Charleston	4.22
Chicago	5.74
Cincinnati	4.59
Cleveland	4.63
Indianapolis	4.67
Louisville	4.51
Newark	5.10
New Orleans	4.31
New York	5.85
Philadelphia	5.34
Providence	5.51
Richmond	3.93
St. Louis	5.19
St. Paul	6.02
San Francisco	6.91
San José	6.11
Savannah	4.99
All cities	5.24

The report adds:

Much is heard at the present time of the very low wages paid working women. It must be clear that they do not rise, on the average, above $5 per week, or $5.24, as indicated by this report. The summary by cities, Table XXX, on pages 530 and 531, would seem to indicate that the majority are in receipt of fair wages, when the whole body of working women is considered; but 373 earn less than $100 a year, and quite a large number (1,212) earn from $100 to $150 a year; that is, the earnings of these women, distributed by weeks over the whole year, do not amount to more than $2 or $3 per week. These are the great exceptions, but the figures tell a sad story, and one is forced to ask how women can live on such earnings.

Part vii. of the twentieth report of Massachusetts Labor Bureau, 1889, says:

Of the whole number of persons in industry, 73.97 per cent were single and 26.03 per cent were married. Of the males, 67.69 per cent were single and 32.31 per cent were married. Of the females, 88.29 per cent were single and 11.71 per cent were married. In 1885 as compared with 1875, the increase in married females was 39.64 per cent.

The females in industry considered were at least 10 years of age. Those from 10 to 13 years of age formed 0.13 per cent of the total; from 14 to 19 years of age, 23.19 per cent; from 20 to 29 years of age, 41.08 per cent; from 30 to 39 years of age, 15.05 per cent; 40 years of age and over, 20.55 per cent.

Of the total female population from 10 to 13 years of age, 0.55 per cent were engaged in gainful pursuits; from 14 to 19 years of age, 61.11 per cent; from 20 to 29 years of age, 59.77 per cent; from 30 to 39 years of age, 30.44 per cent; from 40 to 49 years of age, 22.58 per cent; from 50 to 59 years of age, 19.79 per cent; from 60 to 79 years of age, 21.80 per cent; 80 years of age and over, 15.84 per cent; those whose ages were unknown, 45 per cent.

Condition

More than one fifth of the women engaged in gainful pursuits in Massachusetts in 1885 were unemployed for a greater or less period during the year.

The figures given and comparisons made in relation to births, marriages, and deaths show conclusively that the presence of women in industry has not decreased the number of births or marriages, nor increased the number of deaths, for fifty cities and towns, having large percentages of women at work, with 64.39 per cent of the total population, had 69.99 per cent of the total number of births, 69.18 per cent of the whole number of marriages, and but 63.53 per cent of the total number of deaths.

Of the whole number of women reporting, 6 were paid less than $25 per month; 88, $25 and under $50; 144, $50 and under $75; 88, $75 and under $100; 73, $100 and under $200; 2, $200 and under $300, and 2 a salary in excess of $300 per month. Forty-eight failed to answer the questions concerning compensation.

According to "What Women Can Earn" (1898), written by Miss Grace Dodge and others, the following are the ordinary city wages for girls and women:

In the manufacture of boots and shoes, $4.50 to $12; cotton goods (spinners), $3 to $6; (weavers), $3.75 to $8; for typesetters, $6 to $12; the silk industry, $4.50 to $7.50; woolen manufacturing, $3 to $9.

In the great stores, salesgirls, $4 to $5; cash girls, $2 to $3; saleswomen, $8 to $10. See also statistics on page 1,290.

Women's wages in Europe are much lower. (For Great Britain, see Woman's Economic Position in Great Britain). In France, according to M. Le Comte d'Haussonville, in the preface to M. Gibon's "Employés et Ouvrières," girls' and women's wages are rarely over three to four francs per day (sixty to eighty cents). In some establishments they are said to be as low as thirty cents per day. In Germany women in factories, stores, and in domestic service are carefully protected and their wages are rising, yet often still very low. In the sweated home industries in Berlin and elsewhere, they receive often as low as two or three cents per hour.

WOODRUFF, CLINTON ROGERS: Secretary of the National Municipal League; born 1868, Philadelphia, Pa.; graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, college and law departments. From 1897 to 1900 member of the Pennsylvania Legislature; in 1903 was special investigator, with the Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte, in the Indian Territory; in 1906 appointed by Governor Pennypacker registration commissioner. Since 1894 Mr. Woodruff has been actively identified with the movement for the improvement of municipal conditions in the United States; served as secretary of the Philadelphia Municipal League and later as its counsel; has also served as secretary of the National Municipal League since its formation in 1894; has been actively and officially associated with the American Civic Association, Electoral Reforms Committee, and various other bodies engaged in the work of improving municipal conditions. Author of the "Personal Registration," amendment to the Constitution of Pennsylvania. A frequent contributor to the current periodicals, and editor of the "Proceedings of the National Municipal League." *Address*: 703 North American Building, Philadelphia, Pa.

WOODS, ROBERT ARCHEY: Head of South End House, Boston; born, Pittsburg, Pa., 1865; graduated at Amherst College, 1886. Studied at Andover Seminary, 1886–90. Resident of Toynbee Hall, London, 1890. One of the founders in 1891 of the social settlement called Andover House, now the South End House, of which he was appointed head worker, a position he has since continuously occupied. Lecturer on sociology at Andover Seminary, 1890–96; since then lecturer at Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge. Mr. Woods has taken part in many movements for the betterment of human conditions, municipal, social, economic, industrial. One of his most important services has been the editing of "The City Wilderness" and "Americans in Process," two volumes of social studies made by himself and fellow-workers at the South End House. He welcomes all well-considered experiments toward democratizing industry and culture. Author: "English Social Movements." *Address*: 20 Union Park, Boston.

WOOLLEY, JOHN GRANVILLE: Temperance reformer; born Collinsville, Ohio, 1850; gradu-

ated from Wesleyan University, Ohio, 1871; A.M., 1873; attended Law School University of Michigan, 1872; admitted to the bar in Supreme Court of Illinois, 1874; admitted to practise in United States Supreme Court, 1885; practised in New York City, 1886; in 1888 entered lecture field, and has since spoken on the subject of prohibition of the liquor traffic in the principal English-speaking cities of the world. In 1899 became editor of *The New Voice*; in 1900 was nominee of Prohibition Party for President of the U. S. Mr. Woolley considers the traffic in alcoholic drinks the greatest question in practical politics, financially, industrially, morally, and believes it to be a question not only for the police power of the states, but also for the police power of the federal government in the District of Columbia, the territories, and the islands; and in the use of the taxing power in the Department of Internal Revenue. Author: "Seed"; "The Sower"; "Civilization by Faith"; "The Christian Citizen"; "A Lion Hunter." *Address*: 5535 Cornell Avenue, Chicago.

WOOLMAN, JOHN: Philanthropist, abolitionist; born Northampton, West Jersey, 1720. His youth was spent on a farm, and he lived by the labor of his hands, chiefly as a tailor. Began his public ministry at Mount Holly, N. J., about 1742 by teaching poor and neglected children. As a Friend (or Quaker) he spent much of his time traveling and preaching. In a tract, "On the Keeping of Negroes" (two parts, 1753–1862), he pointed out the dangers of slavery. In 1772 he visited England, and died at York, in that year, of smallpox. Channing considered his "Journal" the purest and sweetest of autobiographies. The "Journal" has been published with an introduction by the poet Whittier.

WOOLSEY, THEODORE DWIGHT: Former president of Yale College; born New York, 1801; graduated at Yale College in 1820. Read law in Philadelphia; studied theology at Princeton; was tutor at Yale, 1823–25; studied languages abroad, 1827–30; was elected professor of Greek at Yale in 1831 and president in 1846; resigned in 1871. Author: "An Introduction to the Study of International Law" (1860); "An Essay on Divorce and Divorce Legislation" (1869); "Political Science" (1877); "Communism and Socialism" (1879). Died in 1889.

WORKING WOMEN'S CLUBS: A working woman's club or society is an organization formed among busy young women and girls to secure, by cooperation, education, opportunities of social intercourse, and the development of higher and nobler aims in life. They are non-sectarian and self-governing, and they endeavor as far as possible to meet their own expenses by means of fees, entertainments given by the members, sale of articles made in classes, or by good business management in the subletting of club rooms.

In most cases girls are admitted who have passed the age of fourteen. Some require the indorsement of a club member for admission, others welcome freely all newcomers, believing that the general intelligence and serious purpose of the other members will exclude the unworthy.

The fees in clubs vary from ten cents to twenty-five cents a month, while in some clubs yearly fees of $1 or $1.50 are preferred.

EDITH M. HOWES.

WORKMEN'S SECRETARIATES: Legal aid bureaus in Germany, organized and managed by working men.

The Social Democrats early saw the vast advantage which the new laws, particularly those on imperial insurance, gave their comrades, and the more intelligent among them studied these laws not only with a view for their own benefit, but for that of their fellow workers. These men gave their free evenings to the instruction of their comrades in points of law, to advise them in particular cases, etc. The work soon grew to such dimensions in the larger cities, that permanent secretaries had to be appointed to attend to the manifold duties of the office, and to devote their whole time to it.

The usefulness of these bureaus may be inferred from the fact that thirty-two of them reported 195,679 visitors and advice given on 197,927 subjects on different aspects of law in a single year. One bureau of Cologne advised 14,824 people in 1904. A further proof of the importance of this institution is the fact that a Central Workmen's Secretariate was established in Berlin, April 1, 1903, as a sort of clearing-house for the numerous local bureaus. They have rapidly grown in number, as they have extended their sphere of usefulness. The Roman Catholics had sixty-two in 1905; the Protestants have fewer. The most numerous, running into several hundreds, are those of the Social Democrats. The first one was established in Nuremberg, 1891; it worked so well that the Social Democrats saw in it a powerful weapon for benefiting their comrades, and for making propaganda for their partizan politics, that they have created new ones in every industrial center, altho advice is usually given free to all comers, whether trade-unionists of the Social Democratic type, of other associations, or not union men at all.

WORLD'S YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, THE: To Great Britain is due the credit of having the first organization which bore the name Young Women's Christian Association.

This was founded in 1884. And out of that root has grown the mighty tree whose branches now throw their protecting shade over Europe, America, Africa, Asia, and even far-off Australasia.

It is a comprehensive work, yet one neither unpractical nor impossible, as the present number of 7,000 branches in nearly every country of the civilized world will show. Each country has the responsibility of arranging its own details, and modifying or adjusting details to the local conditions, but the fourfold aim and symmetrical development is everywhere kept in view. Such a work can justly claim the interest and cooperation of women of all ranks and conditions.

The central point around which all work centers is an Institute or a Home. Here the fourfold work—physical, intellectual, social, and spiritual—is done.

Executive Committee.—Mrs. G. W. Campbell (president), Mrs. J. H. Tritton, the Hon. E. Kinnaird (vice-presidents), Miss Morley (treasurer), Miss Clarissa H. Spencer (general secretary), Miss Ethel Stevenson (corresponding secretary). *Office*: 26, George Street, Hanover Square, London, W.

WRIGHT, CARROLL DAVIDSON: Former United States Commissioner of Labor; president

of Clark College, Worcester, Mass.; born 1840; educated in common schools and academy of Washington, N. H., high school at Reading, Mass., academies at Alstead, N. H., and Chester, Vt.; taught school in Langdon, N. H., and other places. Aug., 1862, enlisted as private in Fourteenth Regiment, New Hampshire Volunteers; was promoted in 1863 to the adjutancy, and in 1864 to the colonelcy of the regiment; on account of ill health resigned in March, 1865. Studied law, was admitted to the bar in Keene, N. H.; began practise in Boston, Mass., 1867; elected to state Senate of Massachusetts for the terms of 1872–73. In June, 1873, he was appointed chief of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor of Massachusetts; in Jan., 1885, U. S. Commissioner of Labor, holding that position until 1905. By special act of Congress in 1893 was designated by the president to close up the eleventh census, and served in that capacity until 1897. Served as member and recorder of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission appointed by President Roosevelt in 1902; 1902 elected president of Clark College, Worcester, Mass.; university lecturer at Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Northwestern, Illinois, and has lectured at Dartmouth. For ten years was on the faculty of the Catholic University of America, and served for several years on the faculty of the George Washington University at Washington. Mr. Wright believes that political economy should be enriched by dealing with ethical questions; and that all social reform grows out of new conditions, and must be treated from an evolutionary standpoint, ethics prevailing in the treatment. Author of, among other writings: "Industrial Evolution of the U. S." (1887); "Outline of Practical Sociology" (1899); "Ethical Phases of the Labor Question"; "The Battles of Labor" (1896); and many pamphlets on social and economic topics; has also prepared some sixty volumes of official statistics. *Address*: Clark College, Worcester, Mass.

WYCKOFF, WALTER AUGUSTUS: Professor of political economy; born Mainpuri, India, 1865; was graduated from Princeton University, 1888; post-graduate work Princeton, 1888–89; the following year studied and traveled abroad; in 1891, that he might study at close range the sociological and economic conditions of wage-earners in America, he became a wage-earner himself, and during a period of eighteen months lived by day's labor and worked his way from Connecticut to California; spent 1893–94 as private tutor, and traveled twice around the world. Appointed social science fellow, Princeton, 1894; lecturer on sociology, 1895; assistant professor of political economy, 1898; member of American Economic Association and American Academy of Political and Social Science. In economics Mr. Wyckoff is a conservative; in social reform, a liberal. Author of "The Workers—the East"; "The Workers—the West"; "A Day with a Tramp, and Other Days." *Address*: Princeton, N. J.

WYCLIF, JOHN: Wyclif, the great English reformer, never lost himself in purely political affairs. It was only in matters of a mixed ecclesiastical and political kind that he concerned himself. His one absorbing aim was to reform the Church and purify it by leading back to a condition of apostolic poverty. Yet while his conclusions were immediately concerned with the ecclesiastical situation, they have a sociological bearing and show even a socialistic tendency.

In his strictures against Church endowments and papal disabilities imposed on those who withheld their goods from the Church, his main point is that no man can grant anything to another and to his descendants in perpetuity, since possession and the right to possess depend upon a man's being in a state of grace. The argument seems to be an accommodated one, growing out of his championship of the nation's independence of the Roman hierarchy, for he arrives straightway at the conclusion that if the Church fail in its duty the temporal lords may deprive it of its temporal possessions, the judgment of such failure lying not with the theologian but with the civil politician. Nevertheless this position is the groundwork of his Latin treatises entitled "De Dominio Divino," "*On the Lordship of God*," and "De Civili Dominio," "*On Civil Lordship*."

In these two works his thesis is that lordship depends upon service. Here we find the principle of the dependence of the individual soul upon God alone, which distinguishes Wyclif's from any other system of the Middle Ages and which strikes at the heart of privilege. He maintains that no one in mortal sin has any right to any gift of God. He adopts the doctrine of Augustine, who had said, "Sin is nothing and men when they sin become nothing," and he argues that as sinners are really nothing, they of course can possess nothing. Such possession as the wicked have is not possession at all, but they only occupy for a time that which they have unrighteously usurped or stolen from the righteous, who are lord of all things. Even when the righteous are afflicted in this life, they still have true possession of the whole universe, inasmuch as "*all things* work together for good" to them.

Wyclif transfers this conception from the religious to the political sphere. The rank which a man has in the eyes of God must involve his rank in the eyes of men. He pursues his doctrine to the logical conclusion that as there are many righteous, and each is lord of the universe, all goods must necessarily be held in common. He avows this doctrine of community without doubt or hesitation. And yet from several guarded sentences it would appear that he does not favor a communistic reorganization of society for the present, but only looks forward to it as a future ideal.

The possibility of mischief under such teachings is very apparent. It is not for man to judge against man, since the personal equation is never to be depended on. The rich man will accept his prosperity as evidence that he is righteous, as with the ancient Jews. The poor man very easily arrives at the conclusion that he is the only righteous man and that the possessing classes are unrighteous and therefore may be deprived of their lordship. Wyclif recognized this danger and warns against the resort to force except it be likely to put an end to tyranny. And yet while it seems certain that Wyclif had no connection with the Peasants' War, and that he sincerely deprecated it, it is more than probable that John Ball and Wat Tyler found justification for the outbreak they headed in the teachings of the great divine.

PAUL MOORE STRAYER.

Y

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION: Formed (London) 1844, under the leadership in England of Sir George Williams, and in North America of the North American International Committee (1854); on a specific Christian basis, its object is the physical, mental, social, and spiritual benefit (*a*) of its members, (*b*) of young men in general, (*c*) of boys, the young men of to-morrow. Associations in the world, 8,332, of which 1,868 are in North America. The total membership of these North American associations is 405,789; they occupy 552 buildings of their own, valued at $30,857,430. They have 36,293 young men as students in evening educational classes, 153,473 in their physical departments, and nearly 74,478 in Bible classes. They employ 2,339 general secretaries and other paid officials, and expended last year for current expenses—local, state, and international—$5,-314,028. North America contains approximately one quarter of the total number of associations in the world, one half of the total membership, three quarters of the total number of employed officers, and three quarters of the total value of buildings and equipment. This statement of the relative standing of the American movement is essential to the recognition of its real position of leadership, a leadership also signally manifested in the extension of its work to non-Christian lands in other continents. *International Committee*, office No. 3 West Twenty-ninth Street, New York. *General Secretary*, Richard C. Morse. This committee is the general executive of the associations of North America. It consists of fifty-four representative Christian laymen and employs a force of fifty secretaries in the home and fifty in the foreign field. In conjunction with thirty-six state and provincial committees it has promoted every phase of work just described, and has been a leading factor in extending the movement among railroad and other industrial men, students, soldiers, sailors, and negroes. *World's Committee*, office No. 3 rue General Durant, Geneva, Switzerland. *General Secretaries*, C. Fremoud and C. Phildius.

YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION (see also World's Y. W. C. A.): In the United States, the organization was formed 1858 as the "Ladies' Christian Union." By 1871 there were thirty Y. W. C. A.'s in the U. S., and an International Board was developed. In 1886 another national organization was started under the same name with the special object of establishing Y. W. C. A.'s in schools and colleges. In 1906 the two organizations came together. *National President*, Miss Grace H. Dodge; *Secretary*, Mrs. Wm. Rossiter, 125 East Twenty-second Street, New York.

Z

ZACHER, GEORGE: Director of Imperial Statistical Department; born 1854, Königsberg, East Prussia. Traveled for the purpose of social study in Europe and America in the years 1887, 1906–7, and 1904, and in the years 1895, 1903 and 1905 made special journeys to Africa for the purpose. Has written many articles on conciliation and arbitration, strikes and lockouts, out-of-work insurance, etc. Dr. Zacher believes that social reform, if it is to be successful, must be based upon the combination of self-help and State aid; private initiative and State interference. Author: "Working Men's Movement and Social Reform in Germany"; "Guide for Women's Insurance in Germany"; "Die Arbeiter Versicherung im Auslande"; "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften." *Address*: W. I. Potsdamer Strasse 134a, Berlin, Germany.

ZOAR: The communistic settlement of Zoar was founded in 1817 by a sect from Württemberg, in Germany, called Separatists. The communistic element, however, was an afterthought, only dating from 1819. Objection to war and to the formalities of the established religion, coupled with a warm welcome from the Quakers of Philadelphia, seem to have drawn them from Germany. Joseph Baumeler was their main leader till his death in 1853. They allowed marriage, maintained family life, and seemed broader in their religious views than most of the German communistic sects of America. According to Professor Ely's "The Labor Movement in America" (1886), they then owned several thousand acres of land, had several manufacturing establishments, and property valued at $1,500,000, with a membership of 390 souls. They gradually grew however, smaller in number, and more like a rich corporation than a community, till they finally dissolved as a community in 1898.

ZUEBLIN, CHARLES: Professor of sociology, University of Chicago; born Pendleton, Ind., 1866; educated in the public schools of Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Northwestern University (Ph.B., 1887), Yale University (D.B., 1889), and the University of Leipzig. Established, 1891, the Northwestern University Settlement in Chicago, and in the same year organized the Chicago Society for University Extension. In 1892 was appointed instructor in sociology in the University of Chicago. For several years thereafter specialized on English social questions, spending successive vacations in Great Britain. A member of the London Fabian Society, with whose views he is in general sympathy. Early made the acquaintance of ethical culture lecturers and societies in England, Germany, Switzerland, and America, and has lectured for many of the American societies; has also lectured in university extension from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast. During the last ten years has specialized in municipal sociology with special reference to American cities. Mr. Zueblin has written many articles and reviews for the sociological and economic journals. Author: "American Municipal Progress"; "A Decade of Civic Development." *Address*: University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

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